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Intergroup Relations and Intercultural Policies in Stuttgart, 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, multi-cultural 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 Stuttgart.² Together with the contact persons from the municipality of Stuttgart, Gari Pavkovic and Ayşe Özbabacan, an enormous effort has been taken to collect data for this report. Many officials from the city of Stuttgart and the International Committee were interviewed during the city visit in February 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, social partners, representatives of migrant organisations, religious communities, NGOs, the police and the media provided information and useful commentary. I would like to thank all those who have cooperated in providing valuable resources for this report and particularly Ayşe Özbabacan for coordinating the data search.

Doris Lüken-Klaßen
Bamberg, April 2009

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

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1. Introduction

Urban populations have become increasingly heterogeneous in ethnic, cultural and religious terms. These multi-ethnic, multi-cultural 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 (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 12 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. In the following the population's composition in terms of citizenship and, then, in terms of religious affiliation are described.

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 in 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).

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.

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

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 2009), 2.5 million. Shiites constitute another large Muslim group in Germany: between 200,000 (BMI 2009) and 225,000 (REMID 2009a) of Muslims belong to this branch. The Alevis number between 400,000 (REMID 2009a) and 500,000 (BMI 2009) people. Other Islamic persuasions – such as the Ahmadiyya community with about 50,000 persons, the Sufi community with about 10,000 and the Ishmaelite 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 1 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 2009).

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 2009, 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 Koran 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, 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, IGMG 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 19

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 DITIB, 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 30 permanent participants – 15 representatives of the German government and 15 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 30 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 Stuttgart

This chapter provides useful background information on the city of Stuttgart. The first section gives a brief general description on the city (cf. section 3.1), the second section illustrates the composition and the characteristics of the local (migrant) population (cf. section 3.2) and the third examines Islam, the largest of Stuttgart's newer religions (cf. section 3.3).

3.1. Brief description of Stuttgart

Stuttgart is located in southern Germany and is the capital of the federal state of Baden-Württemberg. It covers an area of approximately 250 km². With 593,070 inhabitants (as of December 2008) Stuttgart is Germany's sixth largest city (LHS Stuttgart 2009a). In the early 1990s, Stuttgart's population rose significantly and, in 1992, it reached its peak with 613,316 residents. After this peak, the population began to fall steadily. Since 2000, a slight rise in the population has been documented.

Stuttgart is at the heart of one of the strongest industrial regions in Germany. The city is a major location for the automotive industry, as well as for science and technology: companies such as Daimler, Porsche, Bosch, Hewlett-Packard and IBM have all settled in the Stuttgart region. In addition, almost 45% of Baden-Württemberg's research and development capacities can be found in Stuttgart and the city is one of the federal republic's top educational locations. The region is also well-known for its wines.

The gross domestic product for market prices in 2006 was EUR 33.871 billion (Statistische Ämter des Bundes und der Länder 2009). The unemployment rate was 5.9% in January 2009 (Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2009).

3.2. Stuttgart's migrant population and its characteristics

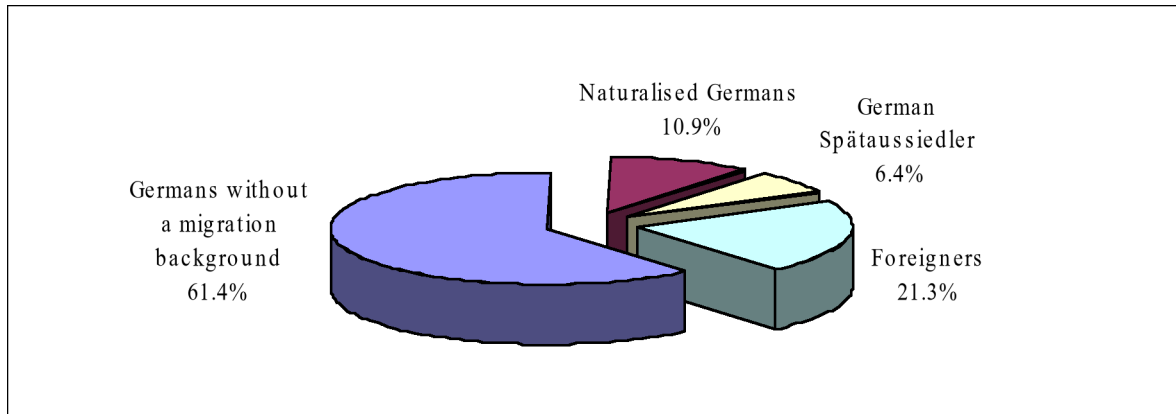
The mid-1950s marked the start of the immigration of (primarily male) 'guest workers' (*Gastarbeiter*) from southern European countries such as Greece, Italy and Turkey to Stuttgart. It became apparent in the 1970s that Stuttgart's migrant workers were not, as previously expected, going to return to their native countries, but were instead staying in Stuttgart and bringing their families to live with them. At the start of the Balkan wars (early 1990s) refugees from that region also migrated to Stuttgart. In recent years, Stuttgart's migrants have had stronger economic reasons than political ones for migrating to the city.

Today, people from over 170 countries live in Stuttgart. At the end of 2007, 38.5%⁸ of the population had a migration background: about a quarter (21.3%) of the population were foreigners, 10.9% were naturalised Germans or descendents of migrants with German citizenship, and 6.4% of the population were ethnic German *Spätaussiedler*, most of them stemming from the former Soviet Union. The population with a migration background

⁸ According to the city of Stuttgart, 38% of the population have a migration background; according to the Microcensus, even 40% have a migration background.

continues to increase constantly; more than half of the children living in Stuttgart have a migration background (see figure 4).

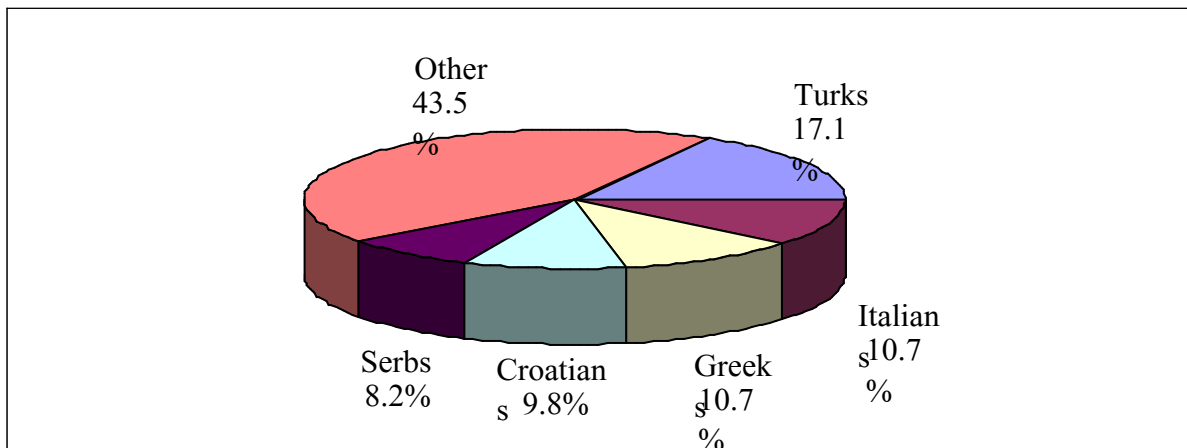
Figure 4: Population of Stuttgart according to migration background (2007)



Source: Compiled by efms based on data of LHS Stuttgart 2009a

Since the municipal Office for Statistics has only recently begun collecting data concerning its citizens' migration backgrounds, most of the following information refers to foreigners (i.e. non-German citizens) only and not to people with a migration background in general.

Figure 5: Composition of foreigners in Stuttgart (2008)



Source: Compiled by efms based on data of LHS Stuttgart 2009a

Of the foreign population, the Turkish citizens make up the largest migrant group, representing 17.1% of all foreigners. They are followed by citizens from Italy and Greece (10.7% each). Croatians and citizens from Serbia make up 9.8% and 8.2% respectively (LHS Stuttgart 2009a). More than half of Stuttgart's foreign population (53.8%) has lived in the city for 10 years or more. Many migrants were born in Germany and belong to the second or third migrant generation (LHS Stuttgart 2009a).

When examining the age groups of Stuttgart's foreign population in 2008, it is apparent that the 18 to 45-year-old age group was the largest (52.2%). The percentage of foreigners aged 65 years and above was, at that time, about 9.3% and the proportion of minors was, in total, about 12.8% (LHS Stuttgart 2009a). Hence, foreign children made up a large portion of

Stuttgart's young population: in 2007/08, the percentage of non-German primary school pupils was nearly one third.

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.⁹ The entire school system does little to overcome educational inequalities caused by the varying socio-economic background of families. This inequality can also be noticed in Stuttgart: the educational achievements of foreign students on average are considerably lower than those of German students. In the school year 2007/08, 67.4% of German and only 28.0% of non-German pupils attended *Gymnasium* (grammar schools, the highest level in the secondary system). In comparison, 11.2% of German pupils and 43.4% of non-German pupils attended *Hauptschule* (secondary modern schools, i.e. the lowest level of schooling) (Statistisches Landesamt 2008). The total percentage of non-German pupils in schools for children with 'special needs' (*Sonderschulen*) was 39.8% (LHS Stuttgart 2007c: 241). 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: the foreign population is considerably more affected by unemployment than Germans. In January 2009 Stuttgart had a total unemployment rate of 5.9% for all people living in Stuttgart (including foreigners). Non-Germans, with an unemployment rate of 10.4%, are more affected by unemployment than Germans are. Of Stuttgart's 17,189 unemployed persons, 39.5% are foreigners (Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2009).

Immigration also has had an impact on the religious composition of the city's population. After the Reformation in the mid of the 16th century, Stuttgart has been rather Protestant (*evangelisch*), whereas the influence of the Protestant church has constantly decreased since the Second World War. On the one hand, Catholicism gained importance due to the influx of persons from the surrounding region, which is rather Catholic, and the immigration of German refugees and expellees in the 1950s as well as of Southern European (labour) migrants. On the other hand, immigration brought 'new' religions to Germany and Stuttgart, specifically Islam, but also Orthodox Christianity, unaffiliated churches, Buddhism and others. Last but not least, the number of non-religious people has increased in recent years.

In 2007 30.4% of the people living in Stuttgart were Protestant, 25.8% were Roman-Catholic and the remaining 43.8% had no religious affiliation or belonged to another religion. There were major differences between the religious affiliations of German nationals and foreign nationals living in Stuttgart. Of the German population 38.2% were Protestant, 24.9% were Roman-Catholic and 36.8% had no religious affiliation or belonged to another religion, whereas of the foreigners, only 1.9% were Protestant, while 29% were Roman-Catholic and

⁹ 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.

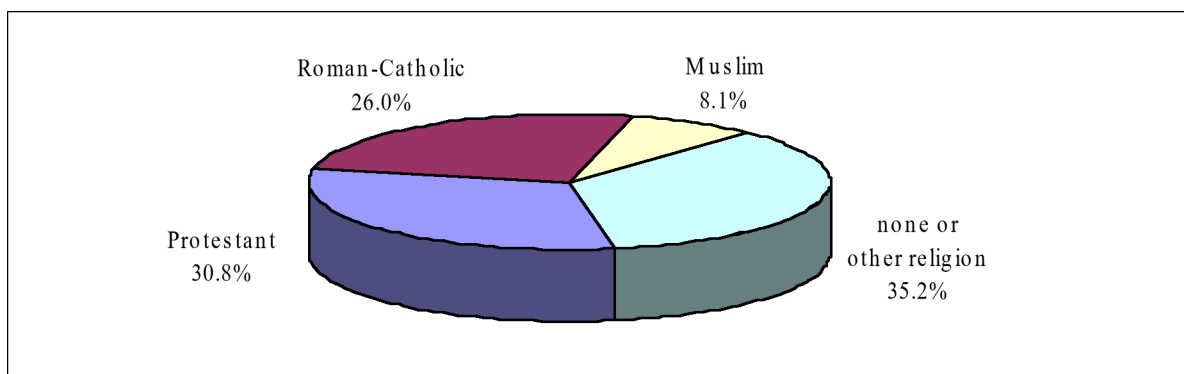
the vast majority of 69.1% had no religious affiliation or belonged to another religion (see figure 6).

Figure 6: Religious affiliation of Stuttgart's population (2007)

Source: Compiled by efms based on data of LHS Stuttgart 2009j

The exact religious affiliation of the population is merely known for the two major Christian churches since the German registry offices only register the membership in communities that are public corporations and collect their taxes via the state. Hence, there are no official data on the religious affiliation of those with 'no or another religion'. One can presume, however, that a significant number of persons in this group are Muslims. The number of Muslims living in Stuttgart was estimated by the municipal Statistical Office in 2006 – based on the number of foreign nationals and naturalisations of foreigners stemming from Islamic countries (Lindemann 2006, cf. section 3.3) – to be about 8.1% of Stuttgart's population (see figure 7). That means that Islam is the second largest religion following the two main Christian denominations Protestantism and Catholicism.

Figure 7: Religious affiliation of Stuttgart's population, inc. estimated Muslims (2006)



Source: Compiled by efms based on data of LHS Stuttgart 2007c and Lindemann 2006

The religious diversity is reflected in the variety of religious communities in Stuttgart. There are seventy-two Protestant, forty-six Catholic congregations and, additionally, eighteen Catholics congregations with migration background, thereof four Italian, two Croatian and two Albanian congregations. Furthermore, there are ten 'foreign' Orthodox congregations in Stuttgart, mainly with Greek or Russian background.

Besides the Christian communities, there are about eighty non-Christian religious communities in Stuttgart, which are mostly organised by and for migrants. First, there are twenty-four Muslim communities, of which the majority bears reference to a specific nationality and most communities consist of people with Turkish background. Second, roughly ten Hindu, Buddhist and Zen communities and one Jewish community can be found in Stuttgart. Last but not least, there are about thirty communities associated either with the Salvation Army, the Free Evangelical Church, the Anglican Church, Methodists, Mormons, Quakers and Jehova's Witnesses (LHS Stuttgart, 2007a; unpublished data on the city of Stuttgart on migrant communities in the city).

Apart from the various migrant religious communities, there are about 250 migrant associations and intercultural initiatives in the city of Stuttgart. There are, for example, intercultural associations dealing with migrant culture and traditions as well as associations offering people of different nationalities opportunities to get to know one another. The activities of these organisations are as diverse as their backgrounds. They reach from cultural or social activities, to cultural education programmes for children and young people and assistance for persons in the migrants' countries of origin. Since migrant organisations can be a bridge between the migrant cultures and the city's social and cultural life, the city considers the migrant organisations important for the integration process (LHS Stuttgart 2009d).

3.3. Stuttgart's Muslim population and its characteristics

As written above, there are twenty-four Muslim communities in Stuttgart, of which most are attended by people with a Turkish background. Others are run by residents from Albania, Afghanistan, the Maghreb region, Bangladesh, Bosnia or Pakistan. Aside from these communities, there are also specific Islamic groups such as the Alevis.

The exact number of the city's Muslim population is unknown. The only official number of this population is based on the census of 1987: at that time 22,599 Muslims lived in Stuttgart. Due to immigration flows within the last 20 years and dynamics within the group itself this number is outdated. In order to get an idea of the number of Muslims living in Stuttgart today, the municipal Statistical Office estimated the Muslim population by reviewing the number of foreigners and naturalisations of foreigners stemming from Islamic countries and by weighing the single figures according to the percentage of Muslims living in the country of origin. According to this estimation, at least 47,800 Muslims are currently living in Stuttgart. Since the naturalisation rate is rather high in the region, the city presumes that the Muslim population is even higher; it estimates that about 60,000 Muslims live in Stuttgart and at least 14,300 have German citizenship (Lindemann 2006).

By far most of the Muslim population have Turkish citizenship (22,485 people), followed by Germans (14,329 people; most originating from Turkey), people from Bosnia and Herzegovina (2,042 people) and Iraq (1,619 people) (see figure 8).

According to an expert report from Baden-Württemberg's state ministry, the number of Muslims is even higher than 60,000 and lies at 64,800 (Staatsministerium Baden-Württemberg 2005: 10).

Figure 8: Stuttgart's estimated Muslim population according to citizenship (2006)

Source: Compiled by efms based on Lindemann 2006

In June 2008, the total unemployment rate of people living in Stuttgart was 6%. Though, as seen above, the unemployment rates differed significantly according to the country of origin. While in June 2008, the unemployment rate was 5% for Germans and 10% for foreigners, we can further distinguish foreigners stemming from non-Muslim countries and those stemming from Muslim countries. This evaluation shows that the unemployment rate of foreigners of non-Muslim countries accounted for 9%, and the unemployment rate of people stemming from Muslim countries was 13% (cf. figure 9).

Looking at these figures, two details must be considered: first, the unemployment rates for people from different Muslim countries show large differences. While the unemployment rate for people from Saudi Arabia, Malaysia or Indonesia was below 4%, more than half of the Afghans or Albanians were unemployed. Second, the data classifies foreigners from Muslim countries as Muslims, but it is not clear whether or not these people are Muslims. Moreover, people from Muslim countries who already had gained German citizenship were also not included in this figure.

Figure 9: Unemployment rate according to nationality (6/2008)

Source: Compiled by efms based on unpublished data of LHS Stuttgart 2009a

As seen in the case of the unemployment rate, the child poverty rate from 2008 – which indicates the share of children between 0 to 14 years of age, who receive a certain type of

social benefits (*Sozialgeld*) – differed according to the nationality of the beneficiaries as well (cf. figure 10). Whereas the child poverty rate of the total population was 16%, 12% of German children were considered poor according to these definitions. In contrast, the child poverty rate among foreign children from Muslim countries amounted to 49%. Considering foreign children from non-Muslim countries, the rate was 27%. Similar restrictions as stated above also apply for this rate.

Figure 10: Child poverty rate according to nationality (6/2008)

Source: Compiled by efms based on unpublished data of LHS Stuttgart 2009a

To summarise, most Muslims living in Stuttgart are by far of Turkish origin. The majority are former guest workers or their descendents. Thus, many of Muslims are part of the working class. Hence, it can be supposed that their educational background and their socio-economic status are below city's average. According to the data given, Muslim residents are more often affected by unemployment and the child poverty rate is higher. As mentioned above, several of the Muslims living in Stuttgart form religious communities: there are twenty-four Muslim associations in Stuttgart. The majority bears reference to one ethnic background: most communities consist of people with Turkish heritage.

4. Local intercultural policies in general

The city of Stuttgart has an 'intercultural policy', with a clear intercultural approach. Within this framework, the city deals with the plurality of cultures and religions as well as with the dialogue between different groups. In the following, Stuttgart's general policy approach and the responsibilities for this topic within administration and polity are described (cf. section 4.1). The subsequent section gives an overview of the most relevant demands and interests of the local groups (cf. section 4.2). Section 4.3 provide an impression of the formal and informal relations and dialogue between the city and migrant as well as religious organisations, before section 4.4 focuses on relations between different migrant groups.

4.1. General approach to ethnic and religious groups in Stuttgart

General political approach

As explained above, Stuttgart is a truly international city that has attracted a large number of people from all over the world. As in most German cities, migrant integration in Stuttgart has

primarily taken place by the opening up of core institutions, such as the education system and the labour market, and by including the migrants in the welfare system (cf. section 2.3). In 1971, when the city recognised that the number of migrants was increasing and some challenges arose, the municipality established the first advisory committee on foreigner issues (*Ausländerbeirat*) with members from the municipal council as well as foreigners. In addition, the municipality, namely the municipal office of social affairs, organised initiatives supporting the integration and well-being of immigrants, often in cooperation with welfare organisations.

Since the beginning of the new century, the city of Stuttgart has explicitly considered immigration as desirable for the development of the region: people of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds are seen as a benefit and resource for the city as a whole. Hence, the municipal integration policy has been re-orientated towards a resource approach. Thereby, migrants are not only seen (or even 'reduced') as members of their ethnic community, but as individuals with multiple identities which are shaped by their ethnicities, but also by inter-ethnic relations in education, employment and the neighbourhood, opportunities of political participation and mainly by their socio-cultural milieus. Hence, according to the Integration Commissioner, the city neither follows a multicultural nor an assimilation approach, but an intercultural approach focusing on individuals' needs and resources instead on focusing on (ethnic) groups.

The city of Stuttgart maintains that successful integration of migrants is the 'glue' for social cohesion and, in order to be successful, integration policy needs to be backed up by a strong partnership between the public sector, the private sector and civil society. Consequently, Stuttgart city council has adopted a comprehensive integration policy concept in the form of the *Pact for Integration*. This pact, developed in a top-down process, is a coalition between the public sector (politics and administration), the private sector (special interest groups and businesses), and the civil society (associations, sport clubs, community groups, and other NGOs).

According to the *Pact for Integration*, integration is a two-way process. The precondition for this is the ability and the willingness of both the migrant and native populations to follow this course. Thus, the target groups of the municipal integration policy are recently arrived migrants, established immigrants as well as the native population.

The pact defines three main goals for the municipal integration policy:

Promoting participation and equal opportunity for every person in all spheres of everyday life.

Promoting peaceful cohabitation and social cohesion of all population groups.

Capitalising on cultural diversity to extend the personal and professional competences of everyone within the international municipal society.

The practical implementation of these goals is undertaken in twelve fields of activity: (1) Language training for newly arrived and established immigrants, (2) Language and educational support in preschool education, (3) Equal opportunities in schools and education, (4) Integration in the labour market, (5) Intercultural orientation of the city administration,

(6) Integration and participation within the districts of the city, (7) Urban planning and housing policies for integration, (8) Intercultural and international orientation of culture, economy and science, (9) Stuttgart's Partnership for safety and security, (10) Religious dialogue, (11) Political participation and (12) Public relations and media.

The *Pact for Integration* was first adopted in 2001; an enhanced version was published in 2007; another one will be published in 2009. The pact gained national and international recognition: in 2003, for instance, the city was awarded the 'Cities for Peace Prize' by UNESCO and in 2004, the European Council adopted key points of the pact as its official policy on integration. It has further become a model for the development of integration strategies in other cities.

Political responsibility

The political responsibility for integration, diversity and intergroup relations lies with the Lord Mayor. He takes active interest in these topics: owing to his engagement and commitment, Stuttgart's integration policy has been re-orientated towards a 'resource approach' and the *Pact for Integration* was set up to make integration policy a top priority in Stuttgart.

The active political participation of migrants is relatively low: despite the fact that about 38.5% of the population has a migration background, there are only two out of the 60 elected representatives in the city council with a migration background: one council woman of the Green party and one council man of the social democrats, both of Turkish origin.

To involve migrants' expertise in local policy making, the city installed an International Committee (*Internationaler Ausschuss*) that is in charge of advising the municipal council and the administration concerning all matters of integration and diversity. The thematic priority lies on the following five topics: (a) language and education, (b) city planning and security, (c) youth, social affairs and health, (d) employment, (e) culture and intercultural dialogue. The committee consists of thirteen members from the municipal council and twelve individual residents with different ethnic backgrounds, denominated by the city council based on recommendations made by the Lord Mayor. The committee's members with migration background are *not* selected as representatives of their particular ethnic group or organisation, but are selected according to their thematic and political competences in one of the five thematic priorities mentioned.

Administrative responsibility

Within the administration, the Integration Commissioner and his central Department for Integration Policy (*Stabsabteilung für Integrationspolitik*) which is directly answerable to the Lord Mayor are in charge of the strategic orientation of the municipal integration policy in general. More specifically, eight employees of this central unit develop official policy strategies and gives impetus, recommendations and support to the municipal and non-municipal bodies that carry out measures enhancing integration and intergroup relations in their own right. The city of Stuttgart allotted five permanent posts to the Department for Integration Policy (i.e. about 330,000 Euro) as well as a budget of 210,000 Euro per year

(60,000 for projects, 10,000 for Public Relations and 140,000 for language courses). Three additional employees are financed by external funds.

In addition, five other offices need to be mentioned in the context of integration, diversity and intergroup relations. The Office of Social Services, the Youth Welfare Office and the Health Office support persons in need by providing social, medical and financial information, and then organising counselling and other services. Each of these three offices provides a variety of diversity-sensitive services that either promote the integration and individual well-being or enhance intergroup relations. The Cultural Office promotes (inter)cultural projects and festivals hosted by migrant organisations. Last but not least, the Department of Security Partnerships in Municipal Crime Prevention organised and coordinated several initiatives that – indirectly – support peaceful intergroup relations and prevents radicalisation. The concrete budget for all integration and diversity related activities of these offices cannot be specified.

4.2. Issues, demands and interests of migrant groups

This section gives an overview of the demands and interests of local migrant groups. There is no survey or other kind of data on these topics. Therefore, the information is solely based on the interviews conducted during the CLIP city visits.

At the beginning, we must emphasise the heterogeneity of the migrant population. Hence, its demands and interests are very diverse. Nevertheless, some issues were mentioned time and again that are depicted in the following.

One important aspect – named in a variety of interviews – is the demand for respect and acceptance in general, and in particular of religion. According to the respondents, symbolic invitations of city officials to municipal events and, vice versa, the acceptance of invitations on the part of Muslim organisations would be a good first step.

Along the same lines, most interviewed migrant representatives stressed the wish to be involved in local activities. Several interview partners regret not having enough contact to the city administration and local politicians and would like to have much more cooperation (in form of loose contacts, but also of communal projects) with the city. It is worthwhile to note, however, that this demand was expressed primarily by representatives of ‘newer’, less established, migrant communities (e.g. Muslim communities), while migrant groups of more established religions (e.g. migrant Orthodox churches) did not express this demand.

Third, the acceptance of Muslim organisations as legally established religious communities is a prevailing topic for many Muslim organisations in Stuttgart. Because this legal acceptance would allow them to offer Islam education classes in public schools, it is something that many migrant organisations actively strive for. The decision on that demand has to be made on the *Länder* level; the city has no official influence on that. The city officials, however, encourages the Muslim organisations to continue their engagement.

Fourth, demands that migrant organisations have addressed to the city include the issue of meeting places. In Stuttgart, rooms are scarce and the rental fees are very high. Hence, an important demand of migrant groups is municipal support for finding and financing rooms

that can be used as associations' headquarters as well as for migrant groups' activities. Notably, this is true for Muslim organisations.

Fifth, several organisations would like to get more financial as well as non-material assistance for their projects and festivals.

Furthermore, most interviewed migrants referred to migrants' challenges concerning the fields of education, housing and employment. These are rather problems on the individual level and do not – or only in an indirect way – concern intergroup relations. Nonetheless, they are briefly mentioned in the following, since they seem to be 'typical' problems for migrant groups in general. First, education is seen as a challenge. The rigid German school system (cf. section 3.2) in combination with prejudices of some teachers makes it very difficult for migrants to follow the more academic path and graduate from the highest level of the secondary school system, the *Gymnasium*. Several interviewed persons asked for more support for migrant children at school and more information for and cooperation with migrant parents. A second challenge raised by several interviewed experts is housing: according to several interviewed experts, migrants have more problems in getting affordable housing in a non-segregated area than natives have. Third, migrants reported challenges when applying for an apprenticeship or a job. In both cases, discrimination, in particular of Muslim families, is seen as a serious problem. The wish of more social acceptance in general and more acceptance of women wearing a head-scarf was expressed several times.

To summarise, demands and interests of local migrant groups are more respect and acceptance, more cooperation with the municipality, the acceptance of Muslim organisations as legally established religious communities that are allowed to offer Islam education classes in public school as well as municipal financial and political support for finding and financing meeting places and conducting projects and festivals. Additionally, most interviewed experts referred to 'typical' migrant challenges and discrimination in the fields of education, housing and employment and expressed their wish of more support.

The city is aware of most of these challenges and demands. Since the city has only limited resources, however, it cannot approve every application and respond to every demand.

4.3. Relations and dialogue between the city and migrant groups

This section reports on regular institutionalised and non-institutionalised forms of relations and dialogue between the city and different groups: the first section comments on contacts between the city and migrant organisations, the second describes the municipal funding mechanisms for migrant organisations' cultural activities, the third section introduces the municipal initiative to establish a Round Table of Religions in the city.

4.3.1. Contact with migrant organisations

The city highly appreciates the activities of the local migrant organisations – may they be religious or ethnic. The city considers these groups very important and helpful for organisations' members, because they provide networks and support. On the other hand, the migrant organisations, especially the organisation's leaders, are also helpful for the

administration; since they are respected in the migrant communities and know their members quite well, they can act as bridges between the administration and individual members.

Therefore, first, the Cultural Office provides financial support for migrant organisations' cultural activities (see below). Second, the Lord Mayor sends his compliments on religious celebrations and invites Muslim representatives to celebrate iftar evenings in the townhall. Third, the Department for Integration Policy maintains continuous contact with the organisations. This includes that the department's officials try to accept most invitations of migrant organisations to jubilees, celebrations and religious holidays. Still, since the department is rather small and the resources only limited, the staff is not able to accept all the invitations to that extent they would like.

The interviewed migrant organisations find it unfortunate that the department staff and the mayors cannot attend more of their events. Interview partners stated that they do not know the contact partners in the city administration and feel that their organisations are not properly recognised.

4.3.2. Funding for migrant organisations' cultural activities

The city of Stuttgart decided to provide funding for cultural activities carried out by migrant organisations. Therefore it has established 'inter-culture', a department within the Cultural Office. This office is responsible for implementing as well as promoting cultural organisations and activities. Within the office, the 'department for cultural funding' provides the financial resources for funding not only 'inter-culture' but also organisations, events and projects in several areas such as theatre, music and literature.

Thereby allowances are given to the migrant organisations in order to support their cultural events.¹⁰ Funding by the city is only provided for strictly cultural activities and not for those associated with commercial, religious, ideological and political interests or charity events. Another condition is that the event must be public and advertised in German as well. Funds are paid within two categories of activities: (a) cultural events of single migrant organisations or German-foreign groups and (b) events with an 'intercultural' character which are conducted by at least two migrant organisations with a different ethnic background. Though the latter are entitled to higher funding, 'intercultural' events are rare (LHS Stuttgart 2000: 1f.). In addition to this funding, once a year every migrant organisation is also given the opportunity to use a hall for their cultural event without having to pay rent.

The city of Stuttgart spends about € 110 million per year for cultural affairs, including 28 million euro for cultural funding, which equals a share of about 5% of the city's yearly budget (LHS Stuttgart 2008c: 16f.). In 2008 Stuttgart spent € 377,000 for the department 'inter-culture'.

Apart from funding individual projects, four organisations receive a yearly institutional funding: the Forum of Cultures (€ 193,000), the German-Turkish Forum (€ 100,000), the

¹⁰ In order to provide funding for as many migrant organisations as possible, every organisation is only entitled to a financial support up to € 2,500 within the first nine months of each year. After the end of September the organisations can apply for the remaining funds (Landeshauptstadt Stuttgart 2000: 3).

German American Centre (€ 57,500) and the Institute for Foreign Cultural Relations (€ 350,000).

4.3.3. Round Table of Religions and its ‘Manifesto for a peaceful and active cooperation of the religions in Stuttgart’

As a result of the decades of immigration of persons from all areas and cultures of the world to Stuttgart, there is currently a wide variety of religions represented in the city. In order to promote peaceful cooperation in the religious sector, and to be in contact with it, Stuttgart’s Lord Mayor invited leaders of local religious communities to establish a ‘Round Table of Religions’ in October of 2003 for discussing questions of daily interactions of people with different religions and at preventing religious misunderstanding and conflicts.

In the following, representatives of seven important religious communities convened regularly in 2003 and 2004: representatives of the Catholic Church, the Protestant (*Evangelisch*) Church, the Turkish-Islamic Union DİTİB, the Baha’i, the Bosnian Islamic, the Israelite and the Buddhist community. Together, they developed a ‘Manifesto for a peaceful and active cooperation of the religions in Stuttgart’. This manifesto has been signed by representatives of twenty religious groups in November of 2004. It stresses the positive aspects of the plurality of cultures and religions in the society and emphasises that the peaceful living-together in the city is a responsibility of everyone, regardless of religious beliefs. Hence, the manifesto calls for tolerance and respect in regard to religious beliefs of others; their traditions and cultures should be accepted. According to the manifesto, this does not mean, however, that religion can be used as an excuse for violence: religious fundamentalism should be prevented. These goals should be achieved especially through interfaith dialogue and activities that encourage persons of different religious groups to meet each other. In signing the proclamation, the representatives of the religious communities concretely agreed:

that conflicts can be solved non-violently

that religion cannot be used to legitimate violence

that religion cannot be misused for political purposes

that religious community encourage mutual respect and tolerance

that religious communities actively support and protect our democratic and constitutional state in order to fight against every form of extremism, fundamentalism, nationalism, or any other inhuman ideology in Stuttgart;

that religious communities organise encounters and dialogue between different religious communities

that religious communities help to achieve equal opportunities, for instance in school, at work and in daily life, in order to enhance the integration in our society (LHS Stuttgart 2009c, translation by efms).

The proclamation was again made public in the brochure ‘Religious Partnership in Stuttgart’ that was published in 2007. The brochure also includes a section describing the twenty signatories’ communities in order to increase the knowledge of other religions.

Afterwards, the Round Table met once in 2007 to discuss values in different religions. Since then, there have been no meetings – and the principles risk to remain without impact or even be forgotten.¹¹ Anyway, a new meeting is envisaged for 2009.

4.4. Relationship between different ethnic groups in Stuttgart

Apart from the dialogue between migrant organisations and the city of Stuttgart, different ethnic or religious groups interact with one another. This section illustrates, first, the relationships between different groups in the city; afterwards, three initiatives are presented that are committed in bringing different ethnic groups together: the association German-Turkish Forum and the two umbrella organisations Forum of Cultures and City Youth Association of Stuttgart.

4.4.1. General overview

Most respondents emphasised that the diversity of Stuttgart’s population is regarded as normality in the city. They agreed that at school, in the workplace and in individual neighbourhoods, there are good relationships between people of different backgrounds.

In private life, however, this may not always to be the case. The interviewed representatives of migrant organisations and from the International Committee, the administration, the police and the churches conceded that most immigrants remain ‘within their own ethnic group’ and that both migrants and natives have few ‘private’ contacts to people of other backgrounds. Although interethnic friendships and marriages do exist, they are less ‘normal’ than one could assume for a city as international as Stuttgart is.

This also seems to be true for relations between associations and organisations with different cultural backgrounds. According to the representatives of the Forum of Cultures, examples of cooperation between migrant organisations of different ethnic backgrounds are uncommon. The same can be seen in the Cultural Office: even though events with an ‘intercultural’ character (i.e. conducted by at least two migrant organisations with different ethnic backgrounds) are entitled to higher funding, they rarely are held.

Exceptions are religious communities that only differ by ethnic or confessional background: the representatives of different Muslim groups, for instance, meet regularly to discuss current issues. Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox priests of different ethnic backgrounds meet regularly as well.

It is worthwhile to note that in there is also some cooperation between migrant groups and social partners. Interviewed representatives of both local trade unions as well as local employers’ associations stated that they have commissions for migrants and international issues to deal with the topics of migrants’ integration in general and migrants’ employment

¹¹ The younger leaders of religious communities that were interviewed in the course of the CLIP project did not know the Round Table.

situation in particular. An important aim of the social partners is combating migrants' discrimination on the labour market. To achieve these goals and to stay in touch with migrant groups, the social partners maintain personal contacts to migrant organisations and engage themselves in local projects and initiatives. The local trade union *ver.di*, for instance, organises seminars and trainings concerning this topic. Though social partners are involved in the areas of social inclusion and anti-discrimination work and take account of members with a migration background, religious and cultural issues are generally not attended by the social partners. According to the social partners and city representatives interviewed, the social partners do not conduct direct intercultural or inter-religious measures and do not directly support intergroup relations.

There are no severe conflicts between different ethnic or religious groups, as we shall see in chapter 7. There are, however, several individual "intercultural inter-generational disagreements", as named by the city official interviewed, between elderly natives and younger migrants that are perceived as being too noisy or not respecting general house rules.

The use of public space, by contrast, is not a conflictual issue. According to the integration commissioner, there are no conflicts between different ethnic groups about the use of public space for barbecues and picnic or whatever.

4.4.2. German-Turkish Forum

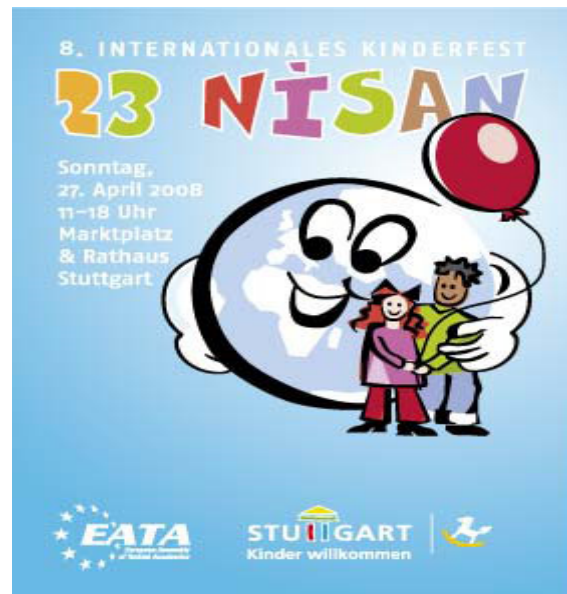
The association German-Turkish Forum, which aims at enhancing mutual understanding and cooperation of people with Turkish and German backgrounds, can be seen as an interesting good practice initiative. It was formed in 1999 by German and Turkish citizens in Stuttgart. It was chaired by the Professor Dr. Manfred Rommel, former mayor, and received financial support from the Robert Bosch Foundation. Today, it has more than two hundred members.

The forum believes in the importance of engaging Germans and Turks to work together in the fields of education, parenting, art and culture, sciences and research. One example for an educational project is the project *Abi-Abla* that includes a scholarship and mentoring program for pupils and university students of Turkish origin funded by the Robert Bosch Foundation; the scholarship recipients volunteer as tutors or mentors for younger pupils and students with lower educational achievements.

A very large and popular programme put on by the German-Turkish Forum in cooperation with the European Assembly of Turkish Academics (EATA) is the festival 23 Nisan. 23 Nisan (or April 23rd) is an official holiday in Turkey that was established in 1920 by Atatürk. The motto of the holiday is 'our children are our future'. In 1979 the name was extended to include the phrase 'international children's festival'. It is therefore not only a festival focused on children, but also integration and learning to understand other cultures at a young age. With the desire to continue this tradition, persons with Turkish heritage began celebrating this festival in Germany. In Stuttgart the festival has been held since 2001 on the town square, where the goal of the festival is to offer an opportunity for children to learn about different cultures and where tolerance and acceptance are stressed. From ten to twenty thousand children and adults attend the festival each year. The festival has wide support of community organisations; up to forty-five partners – city offices, youth and children's service

organisations, other organisations and international associations – contributed to the programme, which consists of music, dancing, theatre and a variety of other special activities for children. The festival is financially supported by the city of Stuttgart.

Figure 11: International Children's Festival '23 Nisan'



<http://www.eata.info/bawue/kinderfest/2008/index.html>

Besides, the forum hosts a variety of cultural programmes, including cabaret, open-air-concerts as part of the summer festival of cultures, German-Turkish film days and (modern) German-Turkish literature nights. In addition, the forum runs an information centre for German-Turkish interests and offers group hikes and a literature discussion group. Cultural, music, literature, film and theatre activities in schools and after school programs are another focal point of the forum's work.

4.4.3. Forum of Cultures

The Forum of Cultures was founded in 1998 as an umbrella organisation for migrant organisations in the city of Stuttgart. Today eighty organisations are active members, but a total of 270 organisations are supported by the forum.

The city of Stuttgart finances a third of the Forum of Cultures' budget. The Forum of Cultures is responsible for coming up with the remaining two thirds.

The Forum of Cultures has daily contact to migrant organisations offering advice and other forms of assistance. It offers continuing education classes for representatives of migrant organisations, with topics such as fundraising, computer skills and intercultural competence.

The forum cooperates closely with its membership organisations as it aims to open rooms and arenas of the city for the projects and initiatives of artists and groups of non-German origin and to offer counselling to these artists and groups. Its goal is to create mutual understanding and active dialogue through these cultural events.

Each year the Forum of Cultures organises the large Summer Festival of Cultures, which presents theme evenings focusing on different world regions and hosts events on the town square. Other special cultural projects in Stuttgart include a migrant theatre festival, theatre plays, immigrant literature in Stuttgart and world music. In addition, it offers regular get-togethers in the form of discussion forums, discussion cafés, language cafés and work in the field of political education. The Forum of Cultures also has several workgroups focusing on Africa, India, socioculture, international development and migration, cultural diversity and ‘intercultural city’.

Figure 12: Summer Festival of Cultures



Source: City of Stuttgart

In the field of publicity, the Forum of Cultures remains active. It publishes a list of events offered by membership organisations, and since 2001 it has edited the magazine ‘Intercultural Stuttgart: Encounter of cultures’, which currently has a circulation of 18,000 copies.

On the national and international level, the Forum of Cultures has taken part in various dance symposia, music competitions, expert meetings and juries.

In conclusion, the Forum of Cultures is a good practice project, because it offers qualification programmes for migrants and migrant organisations, encourages and assists participation and networking, and helps ‘interculture’ to become visible and respected in Stuttgart. The fact that the city helps finance the organisation is also positive; because it shows the city’s interest in supporting migrants, their organisations and other intercultural elements in Stuttgart.

4.4.4. Cooperation of (migrant) youth organisations in the City Youth Association of Stuttgart (SJR)

Another umbrella organisation – indirectly – committed in intergroup activities is the City Youth Association of Stuttgart (*Stadtyugendring Stuttgart e.V. – SJR*). This is an umbrella organisation for fifty-seven youth projects and youth organisations and around 100,000 active youth that represent the interests of young people in Stuttgart. It is financed by membership fees and the municipality.

Out of the fifty-seven member organisations, twenty-three are organisations associated with a specific non-German ethnic group (for example, the Eritrean Youth or the Russian Orthodox Youth); many of these organisations were first partial members that the City Youth Organisation supported, so that they could further develop their organisation and eventually become full-members. Three of the seven members of the managing board also have non-German backgrounds.

The foundations of the City Youth Association's work include self-determination, self-organisation, teamwork, joint responsibility and social engagement. The association works individually with member organisations offering counselling, support, networking and the development of new activities and approaches. It is also a member of communal, state-wide, and national committees. Already due to the diversity of its members, intercultural discussion and discussion across societal boundaries are viewed as important elements of the association's work. In its yearly youth leader training program, for instance, it offers a day-long intercultural training.

As a result of its large support of youth organisations in Stuttgart, many of whom are migrant youth organisations, the City Youth Association of Stuttgart is a positive example of an umbrella organisation that values, includes and integrates migrant organisations.

5. Local intercultural policies towards Muslim communities

As explained 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 (section 5.1), the general municipal approach concerning contact with Muslims (section 5.2) and examples of concrete activities and measures aimed at improving relations with Muslim groups (section 5.3).

5.1. Major issues, demands and interests

The Muslim population of Stuttgart is very heterogeneous. Subsequently, the demands and interests of Muslims in Stuttgart are also very diverse. In addition, it must be acknowledged that no research on the needs of the Muslim community in Stuttgart is known. As a result, the following information is based once again on interviews conducted over the course of this and former CLIP modules.

Several experts, including the representatives of the mosque associations, the police and the city, have the impression that Islam has become a politicised issue since 9/11. They stated that the consciousness and pride of being Muslim seem to have increased, and religious aspects and traditions have gained importance for a number of Muslims. They also pointed out that this could be due to more discrimination and Islamophobia, or that immigrants are now more identified by their religion and less by their ethnicity. For example, before 9/11

residents with a Turkish heritage would have only been seen as Turks. Now they might just be seen as Muslims.

The demands of Muslims, however, vary only slightly from those of migrants in general (cf. already section 4.2): above all, they want to be respected and accepted – both by city representatives and the population in general. They claim to face discrimination more than other migrant groups do. According to interviewed Muslims, this is true in the fields of housing, employment and at school.

Most Muslim interview partners criticised that for many years the city did not attempt to have contact with Muslim associations. The Police is the first city institution that openly approached the mosque associations. Participants praise that the city did finally undertake a project, in which city representatives came into contact with the association; and that it also brought young association leaders together (cf. section 5.3.1). At the same time the large need for the city to have even more contact and further cooperative projects was mentioned. According to the interview partners, the associations themselves do not have the capacity to organise such cooperation themselves.

The interviewed mosque associations also desire more political and financial support for their activities, as well as help in finding and building subsequent space for mosque buildings.

Lastly, the acceptance of Muslim organisations as legally established religious communities was a prevailing topic in the interviews. Because this legal acceptance would allow them to offer Islam education classes in public schools, it is something that many migrant organisations actively strive for (cf. section 5.3.3).

5.2. General approach and policies improving relations with Muslim groups

The city of Stuttgart does not have an official policy focused on Muslims. This does not mean, however, that religion is considered unimportant. By contrast, ‘inter-religious dialogue’ is one of the fields of activity stressed in the *Pact for Integration*: the city defines the goal to support inter-religious dialogue in the city for enhancing the peaceful co-habitation in the city. This city’s field of activity, however, does not focus on Muslims, but on religious communities in general. The city prefers following a generalised integration policy aiming at the integration of 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 administration began the trendsetting project ‘Inter-cultural opening-up and qualification of mosque associations in Stuttgart’ focusing on Muslim communities that will be depicted below. In addition to this project, the city also supports activities promoting the contact between mosque associations and the police, as well as private initiatives that focus on Muslim involvement and the development of inter-religious dialogue groups (see below).

Furthermore, the city tries to meet Muslims religious needs, in particular those concerning (a) funerals and (b) mosques. (a) Although there has been considerable progress in the process of

Muslim integration in Stuttgart, it often ends with death, as many Muslims are still buried in their countries of origin. This trend is, however, starting to change; there is evidence that an increasing number of Muslims prefers being buried in Stuttgart. Therefore, the city dedicated a part of the municipal cemetery for Muslims in 1986. The number of Muslims buried there is still small, but increases. (b) Since there is no ‘visible’ classical mosque in Stuttgart, there has not been any severe conflict around this issue as it has occurred in other European cities. Some communities want, however, to construct a representative mosque: the Ahmadiyya community for instance is currently concretely planning a mosque. Therefore, the city developed a procedure to prevent conflicts: Even before a community buys a property, it can get a counselling of the city – in particular of both the department for city planning and buildings and the department for integration policy – on potential neighbourhood problems and on planning and building laws to be considered.

Last but not least it is worthwhile to note that the city council decided not to cooperate with Islamic organisations that are officially suspected being politically extremist and acting against the constitution and that therefore are under the observation of the German Office for the Protection of the Constitution (*Verfassungsschutz*).¹² As a consequence of this decision, the city – including both the administrative staff and politicians – has been very cautious when interacting with that kind of organisations. Still, there seems to be slightly different approaches within the city. Both, the city council and the administration accept not to cooperate with Islamic organisations that are suspected acting against the constitution. But while the city council even avoids contact with them, the Department for Integration Policy, preferring not to isolate any of the Muslim organisations, attempts to stay at least in dialogue with them.¹³

5.3. Examples of good practice projects and other measures for improving relations with Muslim groups

In Stuttgart, there are several interesting projects aiming at improving relations with Muslim groups; some of these are presented in this section. The first initiative is a project conducted by the city: ‘Inter-cultural opening-up and qualification of mosque associations in Stuttgart’. The other initiatives mentioned afterwards are conducted by other actors than the city, but are appreciated and actively supported by the city of Stuttgart and therefore described as well: the cooperation between the police and mosque associations, the model project to introduce Islam class in public schools in Stuttgart and Christian-Islamic Dialogue Initiatives.

¹² One prominent example for that kind of organisation is Millî Görüş that is excluded of the city project ‘Inter-cultural opening-up and qualification of mosque associations in Stuttgart’.

¹³ In the past, there have been some conflicts in the context of these political decisions. In 2000, a discussion series was held in the town hall, which was planned mostly by the Muslim organisation Millî Görüş. Because Millî Görüş was and continues to be investigated for unconstitutional activity, the city’s cooperation with this specific group led to complaints by various, and specifically Turkish, organisations. Subsequent to these complaints there were many discussions about how the city should interact with associations that are under investigation – and the decision was renewed that the city should not cooperate with them. As a result of the cooperation and the following controversial discussion, the responsibility for the policy field of integration was removed from the Office of Social Services and the city reorganised its structure of accountability in regard to integration policy (for the new structure please see section 4.1).

5.3.1. Intercultural opening-up and qualification of mosque associations

Mosque associations do not only offer religious services to their members, but also offer educational programmes and social activities. Because of these elements, mosque associations have become important actors on the local level. Still, many of these associations remain isolated and have few official interactions with others in the community. These interactions include, for example, participating in Day of the Open Mosque, inter-religious activities such as Christian-Islamic Dialogue and discussion groups with police officers or integration representatives. Apart from these activities most associations have only few established contacts with other immigrant associations, to the city government or in their neighbourhoods. In order to combat this isolation and to help the associations establish themselves better in local structures, the city developed the project *Intercultural opening-up and qualification of Muslim organisations in Stuttgart* – in short: *Islam Project*.

The main goals of the project include the opening-up of Islamic associations in Stuttgart to the larger community and involving their members into the municipality's integration work. In order to achieve these goals, the city of Stuttgart offers training sessions for active young (leader) members of the associations, who will have a larger responsibility in the association, especially in the associations' youth groups, afterward. In addition, they will build contacts to German organisations and other cooperating networks. They should bridge together the associations' members, the city government and the residents of Stuttgart (LHS Stuttgart 2008b, 2009b, 2009h).

Since April 2008 twenty-five active members, who are between twenty and thirty-five years old, from six mosque associations¹⁴ in Stuttgart have participated in the weekend classes offered by the project. In these classes they learn about association leadership, project management, youth work and publicity. They also visit schools and city offices, establish contact with the city's Youth Welfare Office and Youth's NGOs. Muslim women are also included in the project to help strengthen their roles within the associations. A third of the participants are female.

Boards of directors and imams are also included in the *Islam Project*. This is important, because they are those responsible for opening-up the organisation to the larger community.

¹⁴ Turkish-Islamic Union DİTİB, Association of Islamic Cultural Centres (VIKZ), Alevi Community, Culture Association Al Maghreb, Islamic Centre for Albanians, Islamic Community of Bosnians.

Figure 13: Participants of the city's qualification programme for young Muslim leaders



Source: City of Stuttgart

The young Muslim participants should continue to stay in contact with one another after the seminars are complete: a long-term objective is the formation of an 'inter-cultural task force', consisting of the young Muslim leaders and external experts from churches and NGOs. This group should accompany the changes in the Muslim organisations and help in case of any conflicts. The close partnership of the religious communities with the city should help fight prejudices against Muslims held by the larger population, reduce neighbourhood conflicts and increase the acceptance of Islam.

The city also wants to organise a working group focusing on Muslims and integration: a local *Islam Forum*, along the lines of the German Islam Conference (DIK) on the national level (cf. section 2.3). This forum on the local level should discuss and solve questions of co-existence and cooperation between Muslims and non-Muslims in Stuttgart. Not only the already named mosque associations, but also other interested Muslim groups and leaders of city institutions, welfare organisations, schools, media representatives and police are invited to participate. Other community groups, such as churches, youth programmes and the city's International Committee should also participate as part of a partner programme.

To support other municipalities in carrying out similar plans, a handbook will be completed, where municipalities can find information about the development and establishing of local forums on Islam and connecting Muslim organisations to city structures.

The project *Intercultural opening-up and qualification of Muslim organisations in Stuttgart*, which is funded by the city and the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF), cannot currently be fully evaluated, because it has not yet completed its first round. Already, though, it can already be seen, that the discussions with the imams, the boards of directors and the young leaders have helped to develop an awareness of the importance of opening-up their associations. The interviewed participants praised the project, stating that practical information is presented, while also initiating an intensive contact with the city and representatives of other Muslim groups.

In addition to the inter-cultural opening-up of city offices and other organisations, the opening-up and qualification of Muslim organisations also add important elements for mutual understanding, efficient partnerships and peaceful communal life. Therefore, this project is considered a good-practice-project that can only be recommended to other cities.

5.3.2. Cooperation between the Police and Mosque Associations

A good practice project that will be presented in this study is the cooperation of Stuttgart police with local mosque associations. This project was initiated as a model project as part of the initiative *Transfer of inter-cultural Competence (TiK)*. This initiative, which has been initiated by an association in Berlin, has fought since 2000 for the intercultural ‘opening-up’ of the city administration, in particular of Youth and Health Offices.¹⁵ Between 2003 and 2005 three additional model projects in Berlin, Essen and Stuttgart were completed in order to initiate cooperation between the police and mosque associations.

In Stuttgart, the project has the four following goals:

- (1) The police gains inter-cultural competence regarding Islam.
- (2) The police and the local mosque associations build strong contacts to one another.
- (3) The mosque associations are included in communal crime prevention.
- (4) The mosque associations and their members become actively integrated in their neighbourhoods.

The cooperation began in Stuttgart in the district of Feuerbach, where the local police contacted the mosque of the Turkish-Islamic Union DİTİB. Employees from the municipal Youth Welfare Office were later involved in the project as well.

For the police officers it was first important to achieve a basic knowledge of Islam. Next they made first contacts in the mosque association through visiting it and through welcoming the management board and the imam to the police. Together, they discussed the first information session that would take place in the mosque. At the start of the project, the police had to gain the trust of the Muslims and dissolve any of the Muslims’ concerns, for instance the concern that – under the disguise of ‘cooperation’ – the police just would attempt to control the mosque association. Hence, the police first presented information on ‘harmless’, but nonetheless important topics such as fraud by insurance and telephone companies and traffic safety. Later topics such as drugs, raising children, education and preventing youth criminality were discussed. Certain programs were presented by women for women, others were specifically for youth and still others were open for all. After trust had been won, there was even a programme on abuse in the home. Although this topic is often viewed as taboo, it was attended by many persons.

¹⁵ The association’s name is *Verband binationaler Familien und Partnerschaften*.

Figure 14: Cooperation between the Police and Mosque Associations in Stuttgart (I)



Source: http://www.polizei-beratung.de/file_service/download/documents/Imagebroschuere-Muslime.pdf

Currently the representatives of the mosque associations and the police meet with each other once yearly in order to discuss future information sessions and also new opportunities for cooperation. Sometimes this meeting occurs together with representatives of the Youth Welfare Office or the Department for Integration Policy.

In addition to DITIB, other Muslim associations also started to take part in the programme. In all of the police stations in Stuttgart, there are contacts for mosque associations. This resource helps to continue to strengthen the cooperation between the police and mosque associations. In order to institutionally secure the project, it was included in the municipal project ‘Stuttgart’s Safety Partnership’.

The largest challenges of this project were: the difficulty that the project had to be organised and completed parallel to the normal daily work of the police officers, which at first led to them having to work overtime. A second challenge was that building trust took time, perseverance and openness from both sides. A third challenge was that the contacts between the police and the representatives of the mosque associations were strongly dependent on individual persons. For example, when a person leaves the project (as happened in Stuttgart), trust has to at least partially be rebuilt. In order to assist other police stations in overcoming these and other challenges and in establishing similar cooperation, a handbook was established together with participants from Essen and Berlin.

Figure 15: Cooperation between the Police and Mosque Associations in Stuttgart (II)



Source: http://www.polizei-beratung.de/file_service/download/documents/Imagebroschuere-Muslime.pdf

The feedback on the project is very positive. The mosque association, participating police officers and the city all rated the results of the model project very positively. Achieved goals of this project include the intercultural opening-up of the police, the collection of knowledge and the formation of contacts. After initial extra work, the project even was able to reduce and ease their day-to-day work. In addition to the police's intercultural opening-up, this was also true of the mosque associations: the Muslims learned how the police and the administration function, discussed values, education and child raising methods and were able to resolve reservations they had previously had regarding the police and administration. The associations are now involved in their city districts in that they participate in local security commissions and district committees; these organisations also cater themselves to the mosque associations. A further result is that the other organisations lose their fear of the mosques and the Muslims become more appreciated in the district, which they can also more actively participate in. In addition, the associations improve their publicity work and establish first contact with other groups. The collaboration with the police frames the basis for this cooperation with other actors in the district (Geyer 2005, LHS Stuttgart 2009i, Schmid et al. 2008, Verband binationaler Familien und Partnerschaften 2009).

To conclude, we can cite a member of the mosque association's management board. During a CLIP-interview, he stated: "The police achieved what no one had previously achieved: it helped us to open up to the outside and to build bridges from here to the outside. It was able to do this in two ways: first, through the police, we were able to trust ourselves to open up. Second, other organisations were then open to working with us, because the police also had been." The cooperation of Stuttgart's police with the local mosque associations is therefore an outstanding example of a good practice project.

5.3.3. Islam Class in public schools in Stuttgart

As illustrated in the sections on issues, many Muslims in Stuttgart require Islam education in public schools. Until now, however, there are Catholic and/or Protestant religions classes in all German *Länder* (which are responsible for education), but no regular Islam classes.¹⁶ In 2006, the *Land* of Baden-Württemberg started a model project for Islamic religious education in twelve elementary schools (with a total of about 230 children). Two of these schools are located in the city of Stuttgart and about hundred pupils (the half of the Muslim students) take advantage of this voluntary offering and receive two hours of religious education weekly.¹⁷

Even though this project is not a local one, it will be illustrated in the following, because the project is highly appreciated and supported by the city of Stuttgart who was – and still is – in

¹⁶ The introduction of Muslim religious class in public schools has proved to be very difficult, because the constitution stipulates that solely established and recognised official religious communities have the right to offer religious education in public schools. Muslims, in contrast to most Christian groups, are seldom organised in official religious communities; they must first establish themselves as organisations in order to fulfil the official requirements. A further challenge is that there are differences between Muslim groups – and leads to questions of whether Islam classes should be offered by Sunnis or Alevis.

¹⁷ The schools are the *Schwabschule* in the West of Stuttgart and the *Rosensteinschule* in the district *Nordbahnhofsviertel*. Both schools offer Sunni religious education.

close contact with the schools conducting the model project as well as in contact with Muslim parents.

As part of the instruction Muslim elementary school students should learn the basic values of their faith and also the mutual values that they share with other religious traditions. The instruction is completed in German and allows children the chance to learn how to express their beliefs in German, so that they can also discuss religion with other persons, who neither have a Muslim family background nor speak their language. In this way, Islam class is a unique and important contribution to inter-religious dialogue. Through official instruction during school hours students learn to appreciate their religion. At the same time, extremism can be prevented, as the curriculum was approved by the Ministry for Culture.

Instruction is given by state certified teachers, who belong to the respective religious groups. These teachers have either completed a continuing education class in Islamic religious education or have studied this subject as part of their university education. Therefore, teacher qualifications are standardised. The curriculum for the classes was prepared in Baden-Württemberg by a steering committee which, under the leadership of the Ministry for Culture, consisted of representatives from the four Sunni organisations that applied for Islam religious education in schools, and two scholars: one of education, the other of religious education.

Figure 16: Islam class in public schools in Stuttgart



Source:

<http://www.swr.de/nachrichten/bw/-/id=1622/vv=zoomNoJs/nid=1622/did=1543728/o78135/index.html>

There is a relatively high demand for Islamic education by Muslim parents – although some parents fear, that the class is too liberal – and the children have positively embraced Islamic education so far. Media sources also overwhelmingly offer positive coverage of the topic. In addition, the city of Stuttgart believes that the project is beneficial and pleads for it.

If the model project receives a good evaluation when it ends in 2010, the goal is to extend the project throughout Baden-Württemberg and establish Islamic religious education as standard religious education. At the current stand, this development seems quite likely. (DIK 2009, Haasis 2008, Ministerium für Kultus, Jugend und Sport Baden-Württemberg 2006, Reichart 2008).

5.3.4. Christian-Islamic Dialogue Initiatives

The dialogue between different religious communities can be valuable in order to establish stable relations between the representatives. In Stuttgart there are, first, ecumenical working groups in both the Christian churches and in Muslim associations in various forms. Second, several inter-religious initiatives have also been established.

One example is the Christian-Islamic Society, founded in 1998 by young adults coming from various religious backgrounds, organises projects and discussion groups. The seventy-five members aim at breaking down prejudices and fears in regard to other religions and establish mutual tolerance and better cooperation. Instead of stressing the differences between the world religions, the organisation focuses on the commonalities of Christianity, Islam and Judaism and conducts ‘Abrahamic discussions’ between these religions. Out of this focus grew ‘Abraham’s Festival’ and the meeting and information centre ‘House of Abraham’. The organisation also organises individual projects, such as a ‘Festival of Religions’, a ‘World Cup of the Religions’ and the inter-religious afternoon coffeehouse, in which speakers lecture on different local, religious and social topics.

The Society for Christian-Islamic Encounter and Cooperation (CIBZ), founded in 1999, engages itself in similar topics. The goal of the organisation is to encourage interaction and understanding between Christians and Muslims and also support a peaceful community based on mutual respect in all sectors. As it works towards these goals, it organises information sessions, lectures, podium discussions and theme nights and acts as a contact partner for questions of Christian-Islamic dialogue.

In addition to the two organisations, there are a variety of other initiatives, projects and events in Stuttgart that focus on inter-religious dialogue.¹⁸

Also the Catholic and Protestant Churches themselves consider relationships between Christians and Muslims to be an important component of their work. The Protestant regional church of Württemberg has its own Islam representative and focuses most of its inter-religious work on dialogue with Muslims.¹⁹ The Catholic diocese Rottenburg-Stuttgart also gives special attention to inter-religious dialogue.²⁰

Despite the different origins of these initiatives and projects, they all have the goal of establishing a culture of exchange and trust, as well as mutual understanding among persons of different religious backgrounds. The city embraces these activities.

¹⁸ For instance, there is the Inter-Religious Alliance for Peace (IGF) and a community group of ‘Religions for Peace,’ which offers monthly information sessions on a variety of different religions. With its project ‘Inter-Religious Dialogue’, the Youth City Association of Stuttgart also plays an important role. The Dialogue-Forum Stuttgart is a Muslim association that also is active in this field.

¹⁹ At the theme day ‘Islam in Württemberg – learning to live together’ in 2006, the regional church encouraged its congregations to create opportunities for Christians and Muslims to come together, to meet Muslims and to organise inter-religious study groups.

²⁰ The diocese, like the protestant church, also has a special delegate in this field and focuses on relations with Islam. Once yearly the bishop meets with Muslims. In addition, the church organises conferences, invites Imams to seminars and created the ‘Theological Forum Christianity – Islam’ and the project ‘Moulding Society Together – Islamic Associations as Partners in Baden-Württemberg’.

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 populations 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 city of Stuttgart does not have an officially formulated strategy for public communication concerning ethnic and religious groups living in the city. It is worthwhile to mention, however, that the city put emphasis on this topic as depicted in the following.

Since 2001, when the *Pact for Integration* was established, the city emphasises its status as an international city – and that the city benefits from this. In a paper on the municipal integration policy, the city points out that it “regards cultural heritage as a wellspring of creativity. It therefore needs to be preserved, enhanced and handed on to future generation. The *Pact for Integration* emphasizes the view of cultural diversity as a resource for the city community and the administration. [...] Social cohesion in such a culturally diverse society as we have in Stuttgart can be achieved and increased by a durable political and administrative reinforcement of pluralism as a common value. For the social cohesion of a diverse community, differences not only have to be tolerated, but they have to be warmly welcomed and appreciated” (LHS Stuttgart 2003: 39). On national and international conferences, the Lord Mayor and other municipal officials usually also state that a large percentage of people with a migration background should be seen as a benefit and resource for the city as a whole.

To institutionalise this approach, the city has defined ‘public relations and media’ as one of the city’s field of activity in the context of integration policies as well: “Integration has to be presented as a learning process of both newcomers and natives – in a differentiating and unexcited manner, including challenges and opportunities” (LHS Stuttgart 2009g: 84).

In addition, the city financially supports the magazine ‘Encounter of cultures’ (*Begegnung der Kulturen*), edited by the Forum of Cultures. This monthly magazine, which has a circulation of 18,000 copies, informs primarily about (inter)cultural events (including a calendar of activities), but also about seminars and topics related to integration (policy). Indirectly, the city considers the magazine as improving the city of Stuttgart’s image as an international city.

Hence, although the city does not have a formulated communication strategy, its officials are strongly involved in spreading the idea of diversity as a benefit that has not only to be accepted, but appreciated.

6.2. Media reporting in Stuttgart

This section deals with media reporting in Stuttgart. It is self-evident that not only local, but also national media are noticed in Stuttgart. Therefore, the first paragraphs 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 Stuttgart. The following information is therefore based on the CLIP interviews as well as on a review of local newspaper articles dealing with ethnic and/or religious minority groups – particularly Muslims – that were compiled by the city of Stuttgart.

To start with, it is of certain interest that there are several weekly and monthly newspapers in Stuttgart of which most are for free. Some of these newspapers are made by and for migrants: seven Turkish newspapers, two Greek newspapers, a Russian, a Spanish and a Croatian one are edited in the Stuttgart region. According to the interviewed experts, these newspapers are not political: in the seldom cases they report on political events, such as the visit of a Turkish minister in Stuttgart, the migrant newspapers generally avoid taking a stand; they just report on the fact that the person was there. Instead, they report on sports, on (private) festivals, concerts and celebrations; they give advice on medical topics and publish poems, short stories, riddles and a lot of advertising. Hence, they do not attempt to exert an influence on local intergroup relations.

Concerning the daily newspapers, the local media market in Stuttgart is dominated by two rather large ones: *the Stuttgarter Zeitung* and the *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*. Of the former 100% and of the latter 80% belong to the publishing house *Südwestdeutsche Medien Holding* (SWMH). Neither of the newspapers has a specific strategy on how to report on ethnic and religious minority groups. According to the city and the media experts interviewed, of the regular employed journalists, “very few” have a migration background, and a regular contact

with migrant organisations has not been established. According to the city, migrant representatives and media experts, this is unfortunate, since, first, migrant journalists (or contacts) could deliver a different, interesting view of common, well-known things and function as a bridge between native and migrant residents. Second, it is unfortunate, because migrants are excluded from positions that decide which stories are reported on and how these topics are publicly represented.

Besides the local newspapers, the public radio station SWR has to be mentioned in the context of intergroup relations. The SWR broadcasts for the whole states of Baden-Wuerttemberg and Rhineland-Palatinate in the south-western part of Germany; hence, its topics cover several regions. However, since the editorial teams are located in Stuttgart and Stuttgart is a rather active city, many topics and portrays deal with activities or people in the city of Stuttgart. The SWR installed the multicultural editorial team *SWR International*, consisting of a dozen of journalists of different ethnicities, that broadcasts twice a day. This team provides both updated daily news related to migration and ‘interculture’ on the local, regional and international level and background coverage on selective topics. Hence, the team reports on the local International Committee’s activities, local integration policy and regional events related to intergroup relations and minorities, on other countries and cultures and conducts interviews with persons of interest.

According to the interviewed experts and the short media analysis, there was broad media coverage on intergroup relations in the city, cultural and religious minorities and their activities and religions – mainly Islam – in general. In the course of the last two years, some articles and programme comments on these issues in a rather negative, others in a rather positive way; most of the times, it seems to be rather balanced.

Articles with a negative connotation mainly focus on national topics, such as the German Islam Conference (DIK, cf. section 2.3) or forced marriage. Local reporting also occasionally has a negative connotation, specifically reports on fundamentalism, terrorism and Islamic extremists in the Stuttgart region and the state Baden-Württemberg, as well as on police actions against them. Articles with this content are written with a more negative tenor against Islam and risk reinforcing fears and prejudice of an allegedly violent Islam.

Local initiatives, projects and activities enhancing the inter-religious dialogue regularly get a very positive media coverage. For instance, journalists report very positively on Muslim Associations’ initiatives to invite non-Muslims to the fast-breaking in the Muslim month of Ramadan. Reports on the inter-cultural opening-up and qualification of mosque associations as well as the Islamic religious education at school are really favourable, too.

Most articles, however, are written in a neutral tone, providing the readers with objective information on, for instance, the building of mosques, the establishments of Islamic cemeteries and on the local Muslim population, Islam and other ‘new’ religions in general. Good practice examples for the latter point are the informative series ‘Muslims in Stuttgart’ by the *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, the series ‘What Stuttgarters believe in’ by the *Stuttgarter Nachrichten* as well as the series ‘Islam – nearby yet still foreign’ of the radio station SWR.

This short media analysis shows that the media coverage on ethnic and religious minorities, in particular Islam, differs from topic to topic. This explains the very different estimations of

the interviewed experts: while some stated that the local media coverage on minority groups is rather positive, other experts stated that it is clearly negative and/or not deep enough. Most interviewed experts agreed that the local media is interested in reporting on ethnic and religious minorities and attempts to be neutral.

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 Stuttgart. 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

There are residents of Stuttgart that have right-wing attitudes. First, this tendency is recorded in the citizens' survey performed by the city every two years. In the last survey, which was performed in 2007, 28% of the participants believed that 'too many foreigners' live in the city. At the same time, 15% of the participants stated that the increase in xenophobia was a problem. In addition to this evidence of xenophobia from the survey results, another sign is that there are currently two representatives of the right-wing xenophobic party *Die Republikaner* in the city council. These two politicians have, however, little influence in politics, as other parties isolate them.

Xenophobia and the fear of foreigners were topics mentioned in interviews. Several interviewed persons referred to problems with (negative) generalisations of certain groups and especially of 'the Muslims', as well as antipathy and a lack of understanding or respect towards migrants. Fears, prejudices and (latent) discrimination exist as well. The interviewed experts agreed, however, that an organised radicalisation process against minority groups has not occurred in Stuttgart.

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 Stuttgart. Despite this lack of information from the interviews, according to several interviewed experts and reports of the local police and the Office for the Protection of the Constitution (*Verfassungsschutz*) there are several migrant organisations that have radical tendencies, either (a) political or (b) religious (Innenministerium Baden-Württemberg 2008, 2009).

(a) Those that have radical tendencies on the political level centre themselves around political events in their home countries.²¹ These groups ‘import’ conflicts to Stuttgart; 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, or between Albanians and Serbs. Despite the existence of such tensions, they have not or merely 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. In Stuttgart, there are two Muslim organisations that are under observation of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution (*Verfassungsschutz*), because they are classified as Islamist. They are the Islamic Community Millî Görüş (dominated by Turks; cf. section 2.2) and the Islamic Cultural Centre (dominated by Arabic Muslims). Furthermore, there are two mosques, which are said to belong to the Sunni Islamic movement Salafism; one of these Salafi mosques is mainly Arabic, the other Bosnian/Kosovar. The numbers of official members of these mosque associations vary between 35 and 100. On Fridays, however, these mosques are well attended: about 100 men attend prayer in the Salafi mosques, between 100 and 250 go to the Islamic Centre and between 250 and 300 pray in the Millî Görüş mosque.

Some interviewed experts consider several mosque associations to have fundamental tendencies. This is manifested, for instance, in traditional clothes and beards (that have increased), but also in paternalistic family structures, women’s rights or the acceptance of other religions. According to several interviewed experts from the police and the city, fundamental religiousness seems to have increased in recent years. These experts are bothered by this development and alert that it can be the breeding ground of social isolation, inner-family discrimination and even radicalisation. It is, however, impossible to analyse the extent and the intensity of the radicalisation tendencies in the course of this study.

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.

7.3. General approach, policies and measures against radicalisation

The city of Stuttgart does not implement any provisions that specially focus on preventing or guarding against radicalisation. But in 1997 the city did begin a programme of preventative actions against crime in general and therefore also radicalisation; this programme is ‘Stuttgart’s Security Partnership’. At the centre of this programme are three partners: (1) the city with its own ‘Department of Security Partnerships in Municipal Crime Prevention’, (2) the specialist division ‘Criminal and Traffic Prevention’ of the Police and (3) citizens’ organisations, which have joined under the name of ‘A Safe and Clean Stuttgart’. A steering committee, led by the Lord Mayor and the chief of the police, establishes goals and provisions

²¹ Examples for such organisations that have an official office or at least a considerable number of adherents in Stuttgart are the Kurdistan Workers' Party, best known as PKK, now called KONGRA-GEL, the Turkish ultra-nationalist organisation Turkish Idealist Movement, better known as Grey Wolves, the left-wing People's Liberation Party-Front of Turkey THKP-C, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and adherents of the Kosovar UÇK.

for the safety partnership and puts together a prevention report. Stuttgart's security partnership focuses its work on following ten areas:

- (1) Good social politics are the best preventative measures
- (2) The safety partnership covers all areas of life and all population groups
- (3) Safety for our children
- (4) The Pact for integration
- (5) Prevention through sports
- (6) Guarding against and fighting juvenile delinquency
- (7) Safety on the road and in public areas
- (8) Safety in public transportation
- (9) Safety and cleanliness
- (10) Prevention of crime and urban development

In all of these areas there are provisions, which also indirectly guard against radicalisation. Because poverty and social segregation can be a breeding ground for radical tendencies, a variety of provisions that are meant to support socially disadvantaged persons have been put in place as part of the first of the ten focal areas. As part of the focal area 'Prevention through Sports', athletic projects such as 'Basketball at Midnight' are put on, in order to offer youth meaningful leisure and evening activities (LHS Stuttgart 2007b, 2009h).

Two provisions, which aim at countering radical tendencies of Muslim minorities, are described in section 5.3; they are the 'Inter-cultural opening-up and qualification of mosque associations in Stuttgart' and the cooperation between the police and mosque associations. Both projects serve not only as qualification opportunities for Muslim leaders and the police, but also offer the associations support in escaping their isolation by helping them with publicity, encouraging them to be active in their city districts and building contacts with other local actors.

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

Stuttgart is the capital of the federal state of Baden-Württemberg. With 593,070 inhabitants Stuttgart is Germany's sixth largest city. It is also the heart of one of the strongest industrial regions in Germany. As such, it has attracted migrants from all over the world. Today, people from over 170 countries live in Stuttgart; a quarter of the population are foreigners and 38.5% of the population has a migration background. 30.8% of the population is Protestant, 26% Catholic and about 8.1% of Stuttgart's population are Muslims. Of the latter, the majority are former guest workers and their descendents from Turkey. Thus, they are mostly part of or stem from the working class.

According to the experts interviewed, the diversity of Stuttgart's population is regarded as normality in the city. Nonetheless, most people mainly live within their ethnic communities; people of different ethnic backgrounds are considered living 'side by side' rather than

‘together’. All the same, there are a lot of positive contacts at school, in the workplace, in individual neighbourhoods and specific projects and the relations between different ethnic groups are considered peaceful and harmonious; there are neither visible tensions nor significant radicalisation tendencies in the city.

Nonetheless, migrant groups expressed several issues and demands: First of all, they would like to receive more respect and acceptance from other citizens and also from the city. Additionally, they would like to have more contact and different forms of cooperation with the municipality. Another issue that they focus on is the acceptance of Muslim organisations as legally established religious communities, who are therefore allowed to offer Islam education classes in public school. They also stress the importance of municipal financial and political support for finding and financing meeting places and conducting projects and festivals. Additionally, most interviewed experts referred to challenges and discrimination in the fields of education, housing and employment, which they believe are typical for migrants, and expressed their wish of more support.

The cities’ policy concerning intergroup relations and intercultural activities is the following: since the 1970s, the city has organised initiatives supporting the integration and well-being of immigrants. In 2001, the Stuttgart city council adopted a new comprehensive integration policy concept. The *Pact for Integration*, as the concept is known, explicitly states that people with a migration background benefit the city as a whole and that cultural differences are officially appreciated. Hence, within the framework of the ‘integration policy’, the city deals with the plurality of cultures and religions and follows an intercultural approach. It is committed in supporting migrants in ‘integrating’ in the majority society, promoting peaceful cohabitation and social cohesion but also in enhancing migrant cultures. In addition, the city finances several institutionalised organisations and conducts some initiatives to bring groups of different ethnic, cultural or religious backgrounds together. Examples for this approach are the migrant organisations’ umbrella organisation Forum of Cultures, the Round Table of Religions and the projects involving mosque associations.

In order to support migrant cultures, the city supports the activities of the numerous migrant organisations with financial contributions and public recognition: first, the municipal Cultural Office gives financial contribution to migrant organisations’ activities. Second, the city supports migrant organisations indirectly via the substantial financial support of the migrant organisations’ umbrella organisation ‘Forum of Cultures’. This organisation offers qualification programmes for migrants and migrant organisations, encourages and assists networking, and helps ‘interculture’ to become visible and respected in Stuttgart. Third, the city includes migrant organisations in local (municipal) activities, information events and local discussion forums and therewith gives them public recognition. Both kinds of support, the financial and the political, are highly appreciated by migrant organisations. These organisations would even appreciate more financial support (especially for finding rooms) and more cooperation (in form of loose contacts, but also of communal projects) with the city.

Regarding Muslims and other (migrant) religious communities, the city of Stuttgart does not have an officially adopted policy. This is because the city pursues an integration policy that provides for the integration of all residents in society; independent of their ethnic, cultural

and religious heritage. A special policy for specific religious groups is therefore seen as unnecessary and inappropriate. Nonetheless, the city initiated several good practice projects for enhancing inter-religious dialogue and supporting the involvement of Muslim organisations in local activities.

One interesting initiative is the 'Round Table of Religions'. It shows how a city can bring together representatives of different religions and initiate important discussion processes. In the long term, the personal contacts between the representatives can help to settle disputes between groups and hence to facilitate the peaceful cohabitation in the city. It is however not sufficient to adopt principles without severe consequences, as happened – until now – in Stuttgart. One should, first, establish certain regularity and, second, secure the transfer of knowledge and ideas from the religious leaders into the communities. The city is aware of these risks and challenges and has therefore envisaged a next meeting for 2009.

A second good practice project is the cooperation of the police and mosque associations. Achieved goals of this successful project include the intercultural opening-up of both the police and the mosque associations. As a result, the associations are now involved in their city districts, where they participate in local security commissions and district committees; moreover, the other local organisations lost their fear of the mosques.

A third municipal project is the intercultural opening-up and involvement of Muslim organisations by qualification of young leaders: the city of Stuttgart offers training sessions for active young members of the associations, who will have a larger responsibility in the association afterward. They will be able build contacts to non-Muslim organisations and cooperating networks and should bridge together the associations' members, the city government and the residents of Stuttgart. This project is also considered a good-practice-project that can be recommended to other cities.

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