

# Intercultural policies and intergroup relations

## Case study: Frankfurt am Main, Germany



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# About CLIP

In 2006, the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe, the city of Stuttgart and the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (Eurofound) established a 'European network of cities for local integration policies for migrants', henceforth known as CLIP.<sup>1</sup> The network comprises a steering committee, a group of expert European research centres and a number of European cities. In the following two years, the cities of Vienna and Amsterdam joined the CLIP Steering Committee. The network is also supported by the Committee of the Regions (CoR) and the Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR), and has formed a partnership with the European Network Against Racism (ENAR).

Through the medium of separate city reports (case studies) and workshops, the network enables local authorities to learn from each other and to deliver a more effective integration policy. The unique character of the CLIP network is that it organises a shared learning process between the participating cities, between the cities and a group of expert European research centres, as well as between policymakers at local and European level.

The CLIP network currently brings together more than 30 large and medium-sized cities from all regions of Europe: Amsterdam (NL), Antwerp (BE), Arnsberg (DE), Athens (EL), Barcelona (ES), Bologna (IT), Breda (NL), Budapest (HU), Copenhagen (DK), Dublin (IE), Frankfurt (DE), Helsinki (FI), Istanbul (TR), İzmir (TR), Kirklees (UK), Liège (BE), Lisbon (PT), Luxembourg (LU), L'Hospitalet (ES), Malmö (SE), Mataró (ES), Newport (UK), Prague (CZ), Strasbourg (FR), Stuttgart (DE), Sundsvall (SE), Tallinn (EE), Terrassa (ES), Turin (IT), Turku (FI), Valencia (ES), Vienna (AT), Wolverhampton (UK), Wrocław (PL), Zagreb (HR), Zeytinburnu (TR) and Zürich (CH).

The cities in the network are supported in their shared learning by a group of expert European research centres in:

- Bamberg, Germany (European forum for migration studies, efms);
- Vienna (Institute for Urban and Regional Research, ISR);
- Amsterdam (Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies, IMES);
- Turin (International and European Forum on Migration Research, FIERI);
- Wrocław (Institute of International Studies);
- Swansea, Wales (Centre for Migration Policy Research, CMPR).

There are four research modules in total. The first module was on housing – segregation, access to, quality and affordability for migrants – which has been identified as a major issue impacting on migrants' integration into their host society. The second module examined equality and diversity policies in relation to employment within city administrations and in the provision of services. The focus of the third module is intercultural policies and intergroup relations. The final module (2009–2010) will look at ethnic entrepreneurship.

*The case studies on intercultural policies were carried out in 2009.*

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<sup>1</sup> See also <http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/areas/populationandsociety/clip.htm>.

## Acknowledgements

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In addition, representatives of migrant organisations, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), religious communities, the police and the media provided information and useful commentary. The authors would like to thank all those who have cooperated in providing valuable resources for this report. Further thanks go to Rachel Heidmann for her assistance in editing this study.

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# Introduction

Urban populations have become increasingly heterogeneous in ethnic, cultural and religious terms. These multi-ethnic, multicultural and multi-religious structures challenge the ability of municipalities to establish or maintain peaceful relations among the different segments of the population. This third module of the CLIP project focuses on the relations between different groups in the city, as well as local policies established to deal with these relations, and the way in which representatives of migrant associations, religious communities and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) assess the local activities.

The concept of ‘group’ used in this CLIP module is rather broad. According to Heckmann (2008, pp. 3–4):

*‘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 who are included in the category. National, ethnic or religious “groups” in a city would be cases of such categories.’*

Hence, ‘intergroup relations’ deal 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 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 Muslims are perceived as being particularly disconnected from ‘European life’. Compared with other migrant groups, there are higher rates of discrimination and there is more prejudice against and fear of Muslims.

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

Since the national situation has an important impact on activities at local level, the study begins with background information on Germany before outlining a profile of the city of Frankfurt. The following chapters describe the city’s general intercultural policies, as well as specific policies aimed at Muslims. The study also explores the communication strategies of the city administration and local media. Radicalisation and extremist political and religious positions – which can occur both among the native population and migrants – are discussed. The study concludes with a summary and some lessons learnt.

This chapter describes the history of migration to Germany and the resulting societal composition in the country. It also introduces the largest Muslim organisations in Germany and then summarises German integration policy.

## Brief history of migration to Germany

Substantial 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. A combination of high economic growth and internal labour shortages led to a continuous and increasing recruitment of foreign ‘guest workers’ (*Gastarbeiter*): the first contract for the recruitment of such 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).<sup>2</sup> 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, p. 15; Özcan, 2007, p. 2 and following).

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 German migrants (*Aussiedler/Spätaussiedler*<sup>3</sup>). Between 1990 and 2007, 2.5 million *Spätaussiedler* came to Germany. However, in the recent past, fewer *Spätaussiedler* have been arriving (Federal Ministry of the Interior (*Bundesministerium des Innern*, BMI), 2008, p. 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, pp. 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’ descendants. Based on microcensus data for 2007 from the Federal Statistical Office (*Statistisches Bundesamt*), Figure 1 shows that foreigners (8.9%) and Germans with a migration background (9.9%) represented a total of 15.4 million people or about 18.7% of the population.<sup>4</sup>

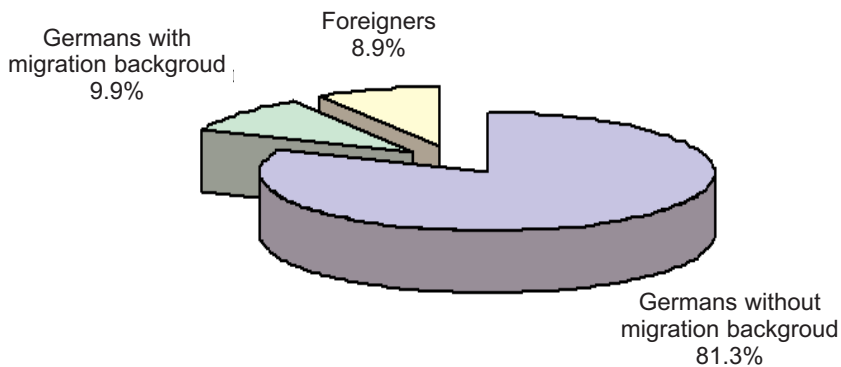
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<sup>2</sup> The Eastern German Democratic Republic (GDR) (*Deutsche Demokratische Republik*, DDR) also recruited contract employees, as they were called, mainly from countries such as Vietnam. Immigration in the GDR was quantitatively considerably lower than in the Western Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) (*Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, BRD).

<sup>3</sup> The terms *Aussiedler* and *Spätaussiedler* refer to the specific dates of immigration: prior to 1993 and from 1993 onwards, respectively. The latter term has become the common term in everyday usage and is therefore used in this study to describe the entire group of *Aussiedler* and *Spätaussiedler*.

<sup>4</sup> Data concerning migration background have 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 German population, 2007 (%)



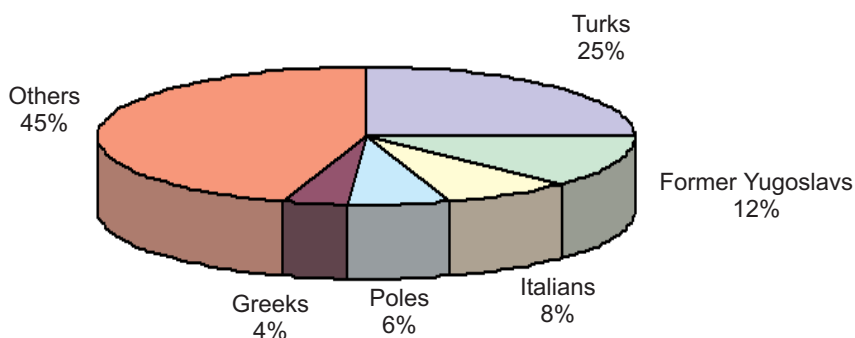
Source: Compiled by the european forum for migration studies (efms) based on data from the Federal Statistical Office, 2008, Table 1

### Societal composition

Of the proportion of people with a migration background, about two thirds have had firsthand migration experience, while the other third were born in Germany and have had no personal migration experience (Federal Statistical Office, 2006, p. 75).

Immigration has led to a more diverse society in Germany, both in ethnic and religious terms. Neither the country of birth nor the ethnicity of immigrants is registered or analysed by official German statistics; official data only exist 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 European Union. As Figure 2 shows, Turkish people – 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 in Germany, by nationality, 2008 (%)



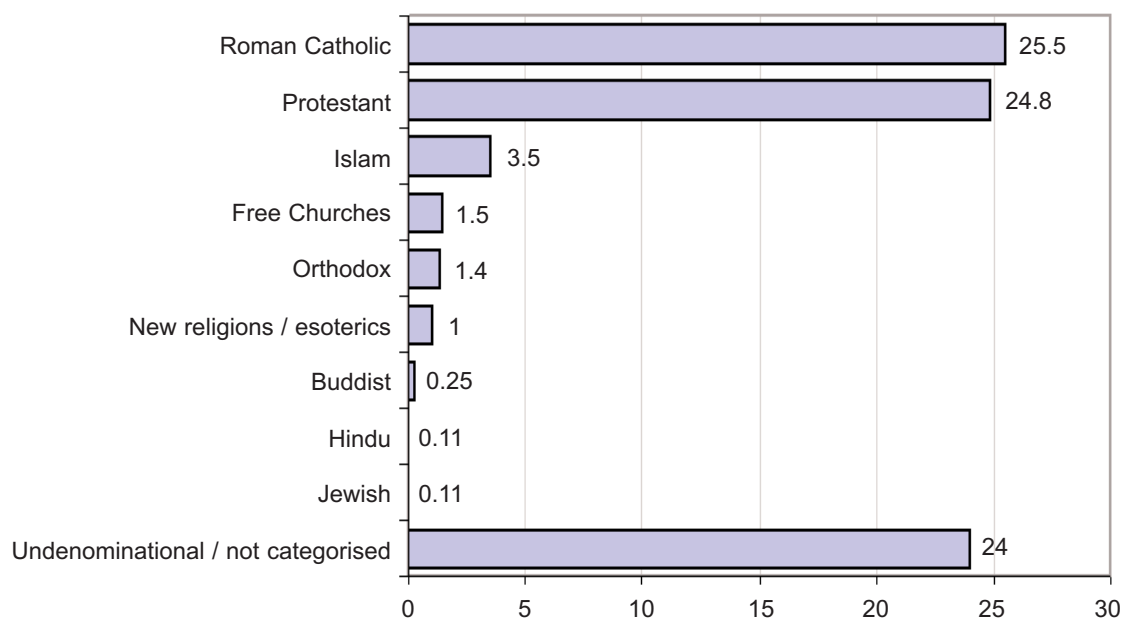
Source: Compiled by efms based on data from the Federal Statistical Office, 2009, p. 30 and following

Immigration has also had an impact on the religious landscape in Germany: the labour market related immigration and the subsequent family reunification process from southwestern Europe increased the number of Catholics in Germany; inflows from Turkey brought Islam; and immigrants from eastern Europe brought 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 record the membership of 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 Church and the Protestant (*Evangelische*) Church in Germany. In addition to these two Christian Churches, several small Christian communities, Jehovah's Witnesses and the Jewish umbrella organisation the 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 German regional states (*Länder*) as long as it fulfils the required qualifications. In practice, however, most municipalities register membership in either the Roman Catholic or the Protestant Church; all other religions, including Islam and Judaism, are registered as 'other'.<sup>5</sup> The figures available for the number of Muslim residents in Germany are estimates based on citizenship and naturalisation statistics; in addition, the number of Muslims holding German nationality is estimated on the basis of the last census from 1987.

Figure 3 shows that the Catholic and Protestant 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%), according to 2007 data collected by the Theological Media and Information Service (*Religionswissenschaftlicher Medien und Informationsdienst e.V., REMID*) (2009b). The third largest religion in Germany is Islam: about 3.5 million people in Germany are Muslims (4.3%). An estimated 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 or esoteric groups (1.2%). The 250,000 Buddhists represent 0.3% of the population; the 110,000 Hindus and the 110,000 Jews each represent 0.1% of the population. Some 24 million people are non-denominational or cannot be categorised (29.2%).

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



Source: Compiled by efms based on data from REMID, 2009b

<sup>5</sup> Some municipalities, for example Stuttgart, differentiate further and use the additional (small) categories 'other religious communities that are public corporations' (for instance, Old Catholic and Israelite) and 'unknown' (mainly for children). The Central Register of Foreigners (*Ausländerzentralregister, AZR*) does not record 'religion' at all.



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

The main Islamic groups in Germany are Sunnis, Shiites and Alevis. The absolute majority of the Muslims are Sunnis: according to REMID (2009a), about 2.64 million Sunnis live in Germany; according to BMI (2009a), the number is 2.5 million. Shiites constitute another large Muslim group in Germany: between 200,000 (BMI, 2009a) and 225,000 (REMID, 2009a) Muslims belong to this branch. The Alevis amount to between 400,000 (REMID, 2009a) and 500,000 (BMI, 2009a) people. Other Islamic persuasions – such as the Ahmadiyya community with about 50,000 persons, the Sufi community with about 10,000 members and the Ishmaelite community with around 1,900 people – 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 are Moroccan, 60,000 are Iranian, 55,000 are Afghan and about one million are German citizens (mostly former Turkish nationals). Thus, Islam in Germany has a largely Turkish character: more than 90% of the Muslims living in Germany are of non-Arabic origin (BMI, 2009a).

## Muslim organisations in Germany

The organisational structure of the Muslim community is 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 of these are outlined below. However, an estimated total of just 10% to 15% of Muslims living in Germany are formally members of religious associations (BMI, 2009a; German parliament (*Deutscher Bundestag*), 2000, 2006). The activities of the following Muslim organisations are relevant at 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 to the Turkish government's authority on religious affairs. Its main activities are the construction of mosques, religious education and other educational activities. With some 870 local associations, 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 nationwide. VIKZ represents a very traditional and orthodox form of Islam. Its activities focus on religious programmes, 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 the western state of North Rhine-Westphalia, the central state of Hesse, the southern state of Bavaria and the capital city of Berlin, AABF is allowed to provide religious education in public schools.

In addition, two councils have been founded representing different ethnic groups and religious tendencies, as outlined below.

- 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. Some 17 federal, 10 state and several regional and local associations are affiliated to IRD, with the quantitatively most important organisation being the Islamic Community Milli Görüş (*Islamische Gemeinschaft Milli Görüş*, IGMG). IGMG is active not only in Germany, but – with about 600 affiliated Muslim organisations – all over Europe. In Germany, it represents one of the largest Muslim organisations, with 274 affiliated associations. IGMG specifically emphasises educational work for young people; there are also specific focus groups on education, public relations and legal matters, as well as groups for women. Furthermore, close cooperation exists with the Muslim newspaper Milli Gazete. The Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution (*Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz*) categorises IGMG as politically extremist and it is, therefore, under observation. According to this office, the organisation represented 27,000 members in 2007.
- The Central Council of Muslims in Germany (*Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland e.V.*, ZMD) consists of Muslims of different ethnicities, mainly Arabs. It comprises 19 organisations, including 300 local mosque associations. Since the terrorist attacks in the United States (US) on 11 September 2001, ZMD 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 interfaith activities.

In April 2007, the four associations DİTİB, VIKZ, IRD and ZMD 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.

### National policy context

In Germany, the 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 or guest workers would be temporary. Until 1998, 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 for improving intergroup relations (Heckmann, 2003). The same is true for policies regarding immigrants' religions, namely Islam. According to Fetzer and Soper (2005, p. 102):

*'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.'*

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. However, 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 21st 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 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, BMI initiated a German Islam Conference (*Deutsche Islam Konferenz*, DIK) in 2006. The DIK is intended to be a communication process lasting several years between the government and representatives of the Muslim population in Germany, and aims to improve the religious and social integration of Muslims in Germany. The DIK has 30 permanent participants – 15 representatives of the German government and 15 Muslim representatives. These Muslim representatives are from the five organisations listed above. Since less than 15% of the Muslim population in Germany are members of an Islamic organisation, 10 representatives of a modern, secular Islam from the private sector, society, academia and the cultural scene were also invited to participate.<sup>6</sup> Achievements of the DIK include an agreement on the necessary introduction of religious education for Muslims at German public schools, a list of suggestions concerning interreligious community life and a common definition of ‘integration’. The DIK 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 a significant, long overdue step in acknowledging the importance of Islam in Germany.

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<sup>6</sup> 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, which focus on the issues of ‘the German society and German values’, ‘religious issues in the 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 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.

# Profile of Frankfurt

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

## Brief description of the city

The city of Frankfurt am Main – or Frankfurt as it is commonly known – is located on the River Main in the state of Hesse, in western Germany. With 676,197 inhabitants recorded at the end of September 2008 (City of Frankfurt am Main (*Stadt Frankfurt am Main*), 2008a), it is Germany's fifth largest city in population terms.

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

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

Of Frankfurt's 2005 resident population, almost half (48%) are in paid employment. Some 62% are white-collar workers, while 18% are blue-collar workers, 15% are self-employed and 5% are government officials. The unemployment rate has decreased over the past years. From its peak of 11.8% in March 2006, it declined to 8% in December 2008 but is now rising again, reaching 8.5% in January 2009 (Federal Employment Agency (*Bundesagentur für Arbeit*), 2007, 2009).

As a result of structural changes and a shift towards a service-based economy, the number of jobs in the services sector has grown. In addition, employment opportunities in the areas of basic services and security have also increased. Despite many positive developments, a large number of well-paid jobs for technology specialists have been lost due to the decline in industry. This development has led to a polarisation within the employee qualification structure: the number of employed graduates, as well as the number of minimally qualified employees, has increased considerably since the 1990s. By contrast, the number of skilled employees without third-level education has decreased to an exceptionally low level (Sautter, 2004, p. 6).

## Frankfurt's migrant population

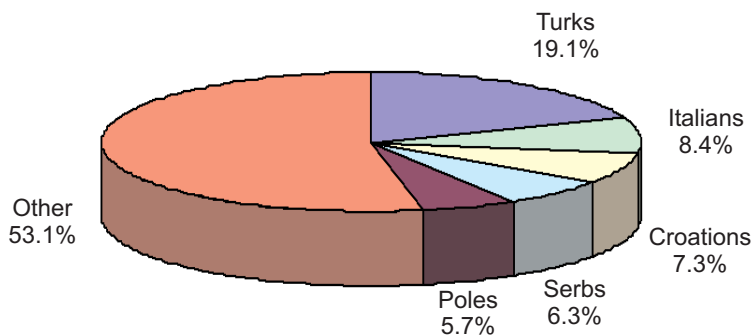
Frankfurt has a long tradition of immigration. From the 1960s to the early 1970s, the city was one of Germany's most important destinations for guest workers. The labour migrants came primarily from Italy, Spain, Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey. After the 1973 recruitment ban, guest worker migration to Frankfurt stopped. Guest workers then increasingly decided to settle in Frankfurt and began bringing their families from their home countries to Frankfurt. Family reunification became the most important source of migration to the city. In the 1990s, immigrants from the former Soviet Union, war refugees from the former Yugoslavia and asylum seekers were the three major groups of immigrants.

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

Because the municipal statistical office has only recently begun to collect data concerning migration background, most of the following information still refers to foreigners only – that is, non-German citizens – and not to people with a migration background in general.

The city's composition of foreigners is characterised by a high diversity of ethnic groups and nationalities. Foreigners living in Frankfurt originate from 175 different countries. As Figure 4 shows, Turkish citizens – comprising 19.1% of the foreign population of Frankfurt – constitute the largest group of immigrants. They are followed by citizens from Italy (8.4%), Croatia (7.3%), Serbia (6.3%) and Poland (5.7%) (City of Frankfurt am Main, 2008c, p. 37).

Figure 4: *Foreigners in Frankfurt, by nationality, 2007 (%)*



Source: *Compiled by efms based on data of the City of Frankfurt am Main, 2008c, p. 37*

A significant number of immigrants are ethnic German migrants from eastern Europe, referred to as *Spätaussiedler*. Since they are automatically given German citizenship, these migrants and their descendants are not represented in general statistics dealing with foreigners. However, statistics concerning the German population with a migration background show that the number of people stemming from the typical countries of origin for *Spätaussiedler* amounts to 22,089 people – that is, 3.4% of the Frankfurt population in 2005. The group of *Spätaussiedler*, their descendants and their family members – for example, spouses of descendants – with a citizenship other than German (for instance, Kazakh) is larger, but this figure remains unknown (City of Frankfurt am Main, 2006, p. 9).

Many foreigners have lived in Frankfurt for a considerable length of time. In 2004, more than one third of the city's immigrant population aged over 18 years had lived in the city for longer than 15 years. Especially among migrants from Croatia and Turkey, there is a high proportion of 'long-term Frankfurters', at 62% and 54%, respectively (City of Frankfurt am Main, 2004, p. 165).

Due to changing motives for immigration, the gender and age composition among foreigners in Frankfurt has changed significantly since the 1970s. The proportion of women has increased from 32.6% in 1970 to 49.3% in 2007. In 2007, 12.8% of the foreign population were aged under 18 years; only 8.1% were over 65 years. More than half (54.6%) of foreigners are aged between 18 and 65 years (City of Frankfurt am Main, 2008c, p. 16).

The German school system is known for being a rigid tier system that is based on early selection mechanisms: all children attend primary school until grade four. Afterwards, they pursue one of three school paths – *Hauptschule*, *Realschule* or *Gymnasium* – based on their school performance at primary level.<sup>7</sup> The entire school system does little to overcome educational inequalities caused by the varying socioeconomic background of families. This inequality can also be noticed in Frankfurt: the educational achievements of foreign students on average are considerably lower than those of German students.<sup>8</sup> Consequently, German pupils achieve higher qualifications than foreigners. Regarding those who left school in 2006 with an A-level qualification from the *Gymnasium*, Germans (47.5%) far outscore foreigners (14.9%). Moreover, 10.9% of non-German pupils left school without any graduation certificate, compared with 4.3% of German pupils (City of Frankfurt am Main, 2008c, p. 77). These figures on the foreign population do not represent the educational achievements of young people with a migration background who are naturalised German citizens.

This low level of educational achievement among foreign nationals is also reflected in the labour market: as stated above, Frankfurt had a total unemployment rate of 8.5% in January 2009. With an unemployment rate of 13.4%, non-Germans are more affected by unemployment than Germans. Some 38.9% of the 28,515 unemployed persons living in Frankfurt are foreign (Federal Employment Agency, 2009).

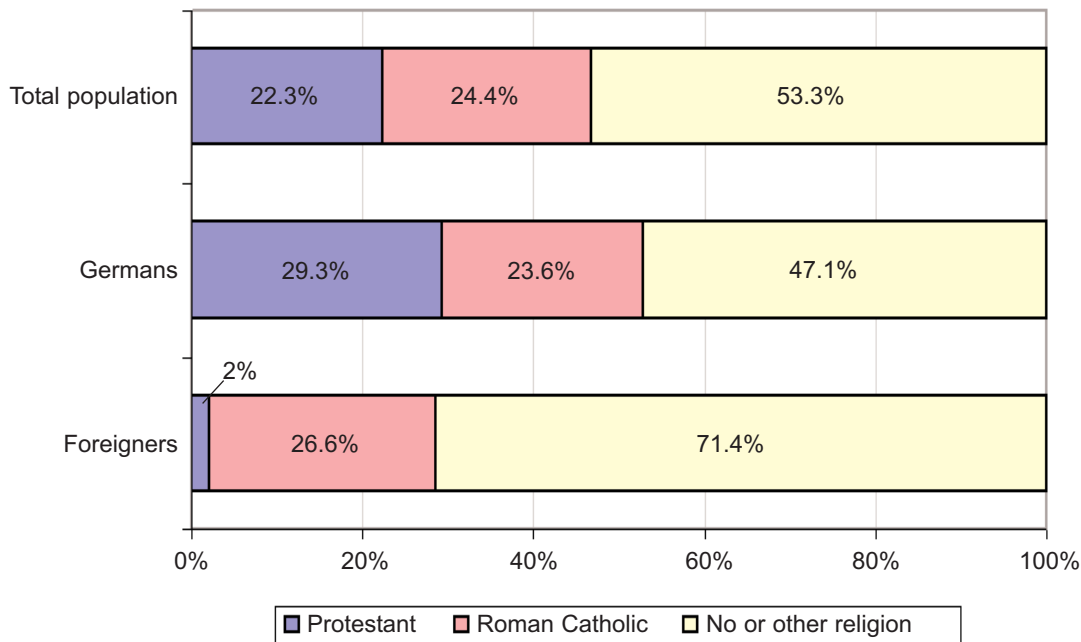
Immigration not only has an impact on the ethnic landscape in Frankfurt but also on the religious composition of its population. However, no official figures are available on each community's size. As explained in the previous chapter, the German registry office only records membership in the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches; all other religions are registered as 'other'. Hence, there are only data on members of the two Christian churches: 22.3% of the people living in Frankfurt are Protestant (*Evangelisch*), while 24.4% belong to the Catholic Church. However, most of the population (53.3%) are listed as having another or no religion (Figure 5).

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<sup>7</sup> 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* aims 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.

<sup>8</sup> In the school year 2007/2008, 55.1% of German and 34.4% of non-German pupils transferred from primary school to the *Gymnasium*. In comparison, 3.3% of German pupils and 7.5% of non-German pupils transferred from primary school to *Hauptschule*, while another 13.7% of German and 25.3% of foreign pupils attended *Realschule* after finishing their primary education. About one fifth of both groups of pupils (21.6% and 23%, respectively) transferred to integrated forms of schooling (City of Frankfurt am Main, 2008c, p. 76).

Figure 5: Religious affiliation of Frankfurt's population, 2007 (%)



Source: Compiled by efms based on data of the City of Frankfurt am Main, 2008c, p. 18

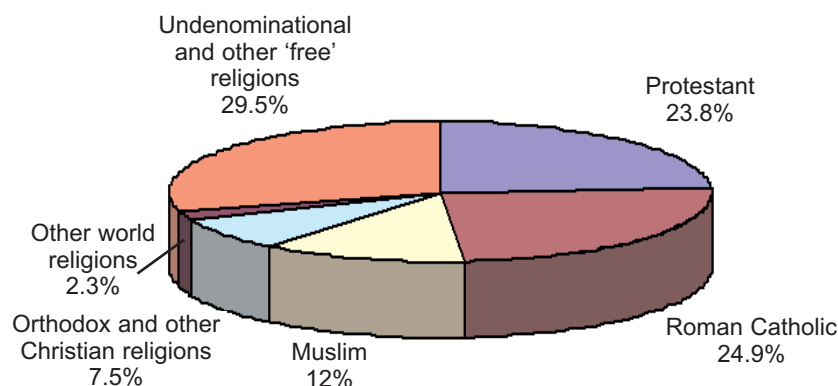
These figures differ significantly according to nationality: of the German population, 29.3% are Protestant, 23.6% are Catholic and 47.1% have another religious affiliation or no religion. Of the foreign population, by contrast, only 2% are Protestant and 26.6% are Catholic, while the majority (71.4%) have another religious affiliation or no religion.<sup>9</sup>

To obtain more detailed information on the religious composition of the city's population, the Statistical Office of Frankfurt estimated the numbers of people affiliated to other religious communities. This estimation from 2005 is based on data on nationality and migration background. According to this calculation, 24.9% of the Frankfurt population were members of the Roman Catholic Church and 23.8% were members of the Protestant Church (Figure 6). Some 12% of the population in Frankfurt were Muslims, 7.5% were members of the Orthodox Church or other Christian communities, 2.3% belonged to other world religions and 29.5% were affiliated to other 'free' religions or did not belong to any religious group (Asemann, 2005, p. 96). These data reflect the diversity of religious communities in Frankfurt.

<sup>9</sup> In absolute figures, 111,822 Germans are Catholic, 139,137 are Protestant and 223,262 have another religious affiliation or no religion; 43,242 foreigners are Catholic, 3,126 are Protestant and 116,175 have another or no religion.



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



Source: Asemann, 2005, p. 96

## Ethnic and religious organisations in Frankfurt

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

### Ethnic associations

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

Like other associations in Germany, some migrant associations are organised within local umbrella organisations – known as Associations' Circles (*Vereinsringe*). In 35 of Frankfurt's 46 districts, organisations can join the neighbourhood-based circle, which supports the cooperation between member associations and the city of Frankfurt. This circle also represents its members and their demands and problems. The local circles are then members of the city-wide Union of Associations' Circles (*Stadtverband Frankfurter Vereinsringe*). According to the person responsible for cooperating with migrant organisations at the Office for Multicultural Affairs (*Amt für multikulturelle Angelegenheiten*, AmkA), only a few migrant associations are members of these circles. This situation should, however, change soon as a result of the evolving structures of the migrant organisations: nowadays, more of the people involved have been born or brought up in Germany, speak German and are aware of the importance of cooperation. They more often join the network and thus get to know other organisations. This leads to a better cooperation and integration of the associations.

### Religious migrant communities

In addition to the various ethnic associations, there are more than 150 religious migrant communities in Frankfurt. Some of these communities have an interreligious orientation, but most are either Christian, Muslim, Jewish, Buddhist, Hindu, Sikh or Bahá'í. This section will examine these several communities, using information from the interviews conducted during the CLIP city visits and the publications *Religionen der Welt* [Religions of the World], commissioned by the city (Bernasko and Rech, 2003 and 2006).



### *Christian communities*

Frankfurt has 84 migrant Christian communities, which are extremely diverse in terms of denomination, national or ethnic heritage, and language spoken. The majority are Protestant (free churches and Pentecostal churches), followed in number by Roman Catholic and then Orthodox churches. Migrant Christian communities have expressed the feeling of not exactly being minorities, since they are Christian like the majority of people in Germany.

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

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

### *Muslim communities*

There are 38 Muslim religious communities in Frankfurt, which are mostly organised as associations. The vast majority are Sunni associations, but Frankfurt also has Shiite, Alevi and Ahmadiyya communities.

A large diversity is also apparent in national heritage and language, and communities have varying levels of religious beliefs and different regularities of mosque attendance.<sup>10</sup> Mosques also differ in their outer appearance. While two of them can be recognised from the outside as mosques, others cannot be distinguished from other buildings in the city. They are located mostly in mixed, industrial or central zones of the city.

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

### *Jewish community*

A Jewish community also exists in Frankfurt. It strives to foster the Jewish tradition, while tending to the interests and needs of its congregation. The synagogue is officially orthodox but it has members from all traditions.<sup>11</sup> Persons attending the synagogue are predominantly from eastern Europe. The community hosts social activities, maintains Jewish cemeteries and is responsible for funeral arrangements. It also offers help to people in need. The Jewish Synagogue in the city of Frankfurt belongs to the Central Council of Jews in Germany and is thus a public corporation like the German Protestant and Catholic Churches. Its membership fees are therefore collected as taxes by the state.

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<sup>10</sup> Only one third of Muslims avail of mosque services (Bernasko and Rech, 2003, p. 156).

<sup>11</sup> It is orthodox because it is possible for non-orthodox Jews to attend an orthodox synagogue whereas it is not possible for orthodox Jews to attend a non-orthodox synagogue.

### *Buddhist communities*

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

### *Hindu communities*

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

### *Sikh community*

In Frankfurt, there is one prayer centre (*Gurdwara*) for Sikhs. It is attended regularly by more than 1,000 persons. These people are mainly from India, Afghanistan, Nepal and the United Kingdom (UK), as well as many other countries. The centre functions mostly as a gathering place for religious activities, where Sikhs attend prayer services and young members of the community can receive (religious) education. The centre also hosts discussions about (political) topics.

### *Bahá'í community*

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

## City's Muslim population and its characteristics

Since Islam has become the largest 'new' religion in the city, this section briefly focuses on Frankfurt's Muslim population. The only official number of the city's Muslim population is based on the population count of 1987. At that time, about 37,000 Muslims were living in Frankfurt. Due to immigration flows in the last 20 years and dynamics within the group itself, this number is outdated.

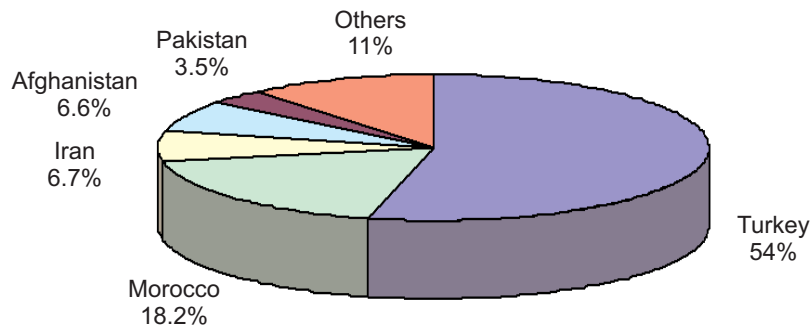
In order to gain an idea of the number of Muslims living in Frankfurt today, the municipal Statistical Office estimated a total based on the number of foreigners and naturalised German citizens from Islamic countries; the single figures were weighted according to the proportion of Muslims living in the country of origin.<sup>12</sup> According to this estimation, about 75,000 Muslims are currently living in Frankfurt. They thus comprise 12% of the city's population.

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

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<sup>12</sup> This method of estimation contains several problems: because there is no reliable information on the percentage of Muslims living in the different countries of origin, the numbers relate to several sources, namely the German Department of Foreign Affairs, the reference book *Harenberg aktuell* and the online encyclopaedia Wikipedia. Furthermore, it cannot be asserted whether the religious composition of the different migrant groups matches the composition of the societies of their country of origin. Finally, the number of German Muslims without any migration background cannot be estimated.

Figure 7: Frankfurt's Muslim population, by country of origin, 2006 (%)



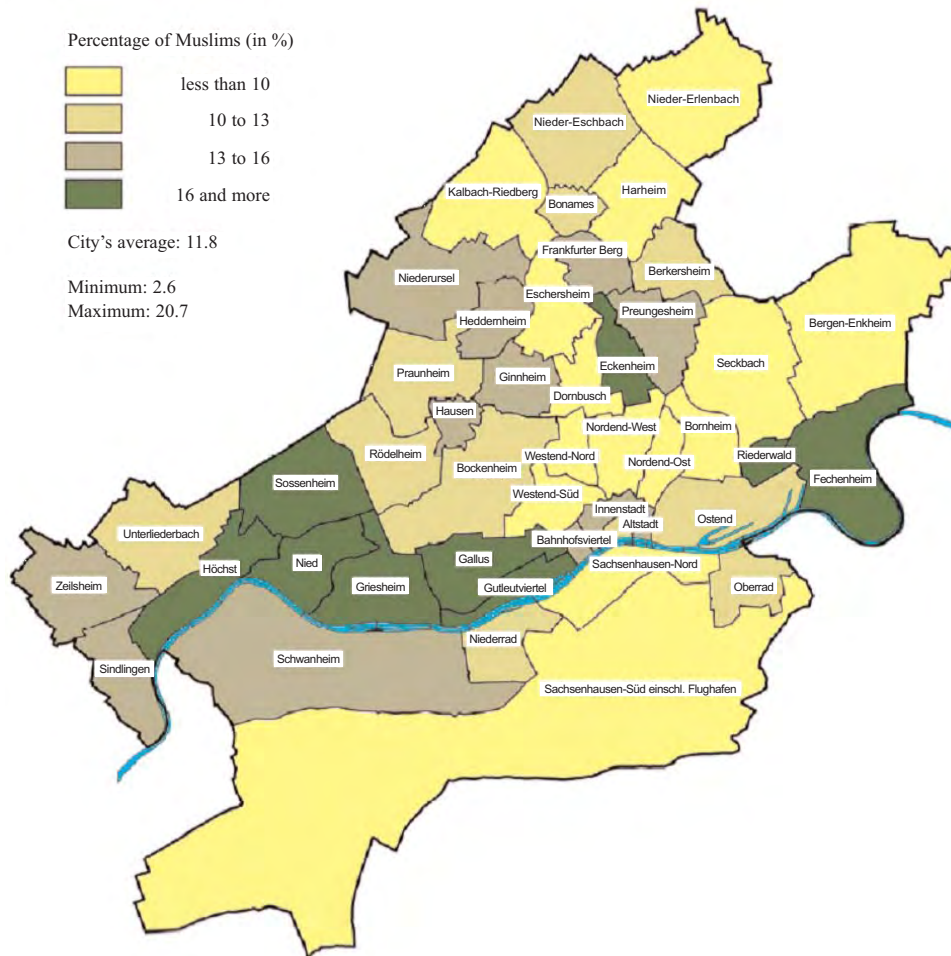
Source: Compiled by efms based on data of Schröpfer, 2007, p. 204.

Some 64.6% of the Muslim population in Frankfurt has a foreign nationality, while the remaining 35.4% are German citizens with a migration background. The city's Muslim population is largely composed of young people: 23.7% are younger than 18 years and about 75% are less than 45 years old. The majority of the Muslims living in Frankfurt are men (54.2%), while 45.8% are women (Schröpfer, 2007, p. 204).

The Muslim population is currently spread throughout the city; nonetheless, several spatial concentrations can be recognised. The majority of the Muslim population in Frankfurt live in western city districts, where a rather high proportion of foreign citizens can also be found. Of the nine districts with Muslims comprising more than 16% of the entire population,<sup>13</sup> seven are located in the western part of the city (Figure 8). However, Fechenheim – the district with the highest proportion of Muslims (20.7%) – lies in the east of Frankfurt. A total of 14 districts in Frankfurt have a Muslim population amounting to less than 10% of the entire population. Both of the districts with the lowest proportion of Muslim inhabitants – namely Harheim (2.6%) and Nieder-Erlenbach (3%) – are located in the north of the city.

<sup>13</sup> These nine districts are Fechenheim, Gallus, Sossenheim, Höchst, Nied, Griesheim, Riederwald, Gutleutviertel and Eckenheim.

Figure 8: Distribution of Muslim population across the city, 2006



Source: Schröpfer, 2007, p. 208

Neither the city nor the Muslim communities have data on the social status and socioeconomic background of the Muslim population in Frankfurt. Most members of the Muslim population, however, are former guest workers from Turkey and their descendants; thus, many of them are part of the working class. In addition, the areas in which a higher percentage of Muslims live are more socially deprived. Consequently, it can be supposed that their educational background and socioeconomic status are below the city average.

# Local intercultural policies in general

This chapter begins with an overview of the most relevant issues, demands and interests of the ethnic and religious migrant organisations. It then focuses on Frankfurt's general policy approach for integrating migrants and dealing with the plurality of cultures and religions. The third section examines formal and informal relations and dialogue between the city and migrant as well as religious organisations; finally, the chapter explores relations between different migrant groups.

## Issues, demands and interests

A diverse migrant population leads to diverse demands and interests. This section gives an overview of the most frequent issues facing migrant communities. Because no survey covers this information and hardly any other kind of data are available on these topics, the information is mainly based on the interviews conducted during the CLIP city visits. In addition, data are used from former interviews with representatives of migrant communities, carried out on behalf of the city to prepare the *Religions of the World* publications and a study about a planned Agreement on Integration (Bernasko and Rech, 2003 and 2006; City of Frankfurt, 2009a).

The issue that recurred most often was the difficulty of the organisations to find available and sufficient space. Almost all of the religious communities – as well as many ethnic organisations – face this problem and mentioned it during the interviews. A particular topic is that of Muslim communities building new mosques, which sometimes leads to discussions or even conflicts – for example, in the district of Hausen in the west of the city (see next chapter).

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

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

Another important aspect comes under the often mentioned category of 'fairness, understanding and appreciation'. The religious communities want to be accepted by people with other religious beliefs. Muslim communities in particular identified this issue of societal acceptance, as it is an important prerequisite for building a mosque, gaining additional space for the community, developing additional programmes and becoming more involved in the society through interreligious dialogue and greater contact with the city government.

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

Furthermore, issues were raised relating to Frankfurt's institutions. Some staff of the city administration highlighted discrimination as an issue in the city. Particularly at school, problems arise: some communities – for example, Buddhists – are interested in (Buddhist) religious education at school, while others – such as Sikhs – would like greater understanding with regard to their traditional clothes. Other issues emerging within the educational system, such as

conflicts concerning school trips, physical education and swimming lessons or wearing a headscarf, are particularly related to Muslims.

The city of Frankfurt has gathered information about the religious groups' issues and is in contact with ethnic and religious communities. According to both the interviewed representatives of migrant communities as well as the employees of the city administration, the city is aware of the communities' demands and tries to respond to them as far as possible – for example, through projects organised by the AmkA. However, the city's resources are limited.

### General approach to ethnic and religious organisations

This section describes political responsibilities for social cohesion and strategies towards integration as well the political participation of migrants.

#### Political and administrative responsibilities for integration

The city of Frankfurt is governed by the city council (*Stadtverordnetenversammlung*) and the city government (*Magistrat*). The former is elected directly by Frankfurt's residents and currently has 93 members. Among its various tasks is the duty to appoint the members of the city government, except for the lord mayor. The city government – as Frankfurt's 'executive institution' – is currently composed of the lord mayor, the mayor of Frankfurt, the city treasurer and seven full-time city councillors along with 14 honorary city councillors. Each of the full-time councillors and one of the honorary councillors is responsible for one of the eight municipal departments.

One of these departments is the Department of Integration (*Dezernat für Integration*) whose main function is to provide the political framework for the municipal integration and diversity policy. Two bodies are subject to this department: the Foreigners' Council (*Kommunale Ausländervetretung*, KAV) and the AmkA. The former is the political representation of Frankfurt's foreign population and an advisory council of the city government. The latter – the AmkA – is responsible for promoting peaceful intergroup relationships among people of different ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds. Therefore, it is in constant contact with other offices, institutions and (migrant) organisations outside the municipal administration. The AmkA regularly communicates with and counsels for ethnic associations. It initiates projects and generally organises them in cooperation with other offices or (ethnic) organisations. Since its foundation, the office has had a focus on religion: it employs a person specifically responsible for religious issues who is in contact with the various migrant religious communities. Furthermore, in 1993, the AmkA became an official anti-discrimination body, where people who feel discriminated against for migrant-specific reasons can file a complaint.

For more than 20 years, the AmkA has had a separate budget at its disposal for funding migrant organisations' projects. In 2009, it spent about €196,000 on supporting organisations and their initiatives. Moreover, the office has a budget of about €1.42 million for the projects that it undertakes and about €1.32 million for personnel costs.

Apart from the AmkA's budget, the city spends about €5 million on measures, projects and programmes that other departments implement in order to enhance intergroup relations. This total is estimated by the city and only includes projects that directly aim to foster intergroup relations. It would be considerably higher if all of the city's expenditure on integration – particularly in the fields of education, youth and social services – could be separately identified and included.

The establishment of a special Office for Multicultural Affairs, which can communicate with other offices at the same hierarchical level, was unique in Germany and is still uncommon. Not only the position but also the name of this unit has been a novelty in the country: instead of a commissioner for 'multicultural affairs', other cities had – and some still have – a so-called 'integration commissioner' or 'foreigners' commissioner'. In Frankfurt, the name of the office



indicates its philosophy. According to the head of the AmkA, the main question is no longer how migrants can be integrated into German society but how the municipality can adapt to be more suitable for dealing with the demands of a heterogeneous, multicultural population; this process is known as the intercultural opening up of the institutions. Additional fields of municipal activity are the empowerment of and cooperation with migrant organisations, the improvement of intercultural dialogue, combating anti-discrimination and conflict management.

### Strategic approaches towards integration

Frankfurt is an international city that has attracted a large number of people from all over the world. As in most German cities, migrant integration in Frankfurt has primarily taken place by opening up the core institutions, such as the educational system and the labour market, and by including migrants in the social welfare system. However, Frankfurt realised earlier than other German cities that specific political measures were needed to foster peaceful and fruitful intergroup relations; it therefore implemented an integration policy targeted at both citizens with a migration background and those without. The city does not have a specific integration concept, but at the time of writing it was working on establishing one. It has already defined goals towards which its integration policy strives. These are:

- encouraging the equal participation of migrants in societal and social life as soon as possible after their arrival;
- promoting peaceful intergroup relations and social cohesion of the heterogeneous population groups;
- supporting the native population in handling change and new challenges.

The second goal – promoting peaceful intergroup relations and social cohesion – targets the various ethnic and religious groups. The city set up the AmkA in order to manage Frankfurt's diverse population. Thus, the city has an approach towards ethnic and religious groups, albeit not an established one.

The city's Lord Mayor, Petra Roth, the Head of the Department of Integration, Nargess Eskandari-Grünberg, and the AmkA believe that it is important to maintain close contact with the ethnic and religious organisations. Thus, they arrange regular meetings, such as the spring reception in the town hall's Emperor's Room. Good contacts between the city and the ethnic and religious organisations are expected to lead to a better integration of the organisations and their members. The city encourages the organisations' participation – particularly at district level – and runs several projects for this purpose. Ethnic or religious organisations often invite the city's representatives to events, for example during the Islamic month of Ramadan or to celebrate the Jewish New Year. Representatives use these occasions to establish contacts with the organisations. Hence, Mrs Roth and the Head of the AmkA, Helga Nagel – as well as other staff members of the office – are in regular contact with migrant and religious organisations.

The city respects freedom of religion and supports the free practice of religion. Thus, it ensures that different cultures and religions are accepted and respected in Frankfurt. This encompasses the city's dedication to combating xenophobia, racism, anti-Semitism and discrimination. The city of Frankfurt published a Declaration on racism and anti-Semitism on the United Nation's anti-racism day in 1990 and reaffirmed it in 2000. This declaration stated that the city must combat such tendencies in order to ensure a peaceful social coexistence of residents of different cultures.

### Political participation of migrants

Residents with a migration background can exercise their voting rights in two ways. Those who have German citizenship or citizenship of another EU Member State have both active and passive voting rights for the local parliament. Hence, they can be elected as representatives of political parties on the city council or can be appointed as a member of the city government. Of the city council's 93 current members, 10 have a migration background: four members have a Turkish background, three have a Greek background and three have an Italian background. The city government currently has 27 members, two of whom have a migration background.

Foreign residents – both citizens from an EU Member State and third-country citizens – can exercise their active and passive voting rights at the KAV. Its 37 members are directly elected by Frankfurt's foreign population and participate in all of the city's committees. Although the KAV has close contacts with the city and particularly with the AmkA, its work was described by one of its members as somewhat frustrating, since it is only an advisory body and thus has little influence in practice.

### Relations and dialogue between the city and migrant groups

This section describes the institutionalised relations and dialogue between different ethnic groups and the city. The first part reports on means of funding the cultural activities of migrant organisations. Subsequent parts outline projects that the city undertakes to enhance communication with and the integration of migrants and their organisations.

#### Counselling and funding for migrant organisations' cultural activities

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

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

Every year, the AmkA spends a total of about €150,000 providing support for around 100 to 150 projects. Furthermore, migrant organisations can use specific rooms for their activities and the city pays for the rent. Another way of funding projects organised by migrant organisations is the Cultural Office's financial support for specific cultural events.

In 2008, the AmkA funded about 150 projects and organised about 20 events. In addition, the office supports two projects within the framework of institutional funding: a project for children without legal residence status receives €25,000 and a counselling centre for Sinti and Roma people is granted €18,000 a year. Before the AmkA started advising organisations on how to apply, more requests were refused. Today, almost all of the applications for funding are accepted; only some are rejected, mainly because of having a religious or political aim.

#### Projects involving mediators and 'multipliers'

The city of Frankfurt organises a number of projects involving residents with a migration background as mediators or 'multipliers'. It believes that this is the most effective way to prevent or solve problems, communicate with migrant groups and support individuals' and communities' integration. Such initiatives use the opportunities that the diverse Frankfurt population offers – for example, language skills or intercultural competencies. In the course of the projects described in this section, migrants are qualified as mediators or 'multipliers' to support other migrants in specific areas of their everyday life.

#### *HIPPY project*

The project Home Instruction for Parents of Preschool Youngsters (HIPPY) seeks to support migrant parents in preparing their children for school. Over a period of two years, preschool children aged between four and six years receive a



weekly package of didactic game activities. A home visitor distributes these packages every second week and teaches the parents through role play how to carry out the activities with their child. The home visitors are migrants, who speak the participants' languages and take part in the programme as parents themselves. They are trained and qualified to act as mediators in the project. A professional coordinator supervises the programme and organises group meetings in the district twice a month.

### *AOE project*

The project Training-oriented work with parents (*Ausbildungsorientierte Elternarbeit*, AOE) aims to inform migrant parents about the German educational and training system as well as related issues such as dyslexia, hyperactivity, career counselling and multilingualism. To reach the parents, the AmkA does not implement these information events on its own, but cooperates with migrant organisations and schools: the AmkA trains interested migrants – such as teachers, social workers and psychologists – on the issues mentioned. These migrants act as mediators; they conduct workshops in migrant organisations and schools, and counsel migrants in their mother tongue. The project, which started in 1997, is highly rated by its participants, as well as the city. Currently, about 60 mediators of 35 migrant organisations and schools counsel migrants and conduct the workshops in 17 different languages.

### *Neighbourhood-based mediation programme*

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

According to some of the persons interviewed, the project has not only contributed to preventing the outbreak of conflicts but has also relieved the police and local authorities. At the same time, it has empowered local community members through accountability in conflict situations by making use of resources and networks of existing institutions. The project also contributes to improving relations between different groups within the city.

### **Police and migrants engage in dialogue**

A further example leading towards the improvement of relations between migrants and the city government is the project 'Police and migrants engage in dialogue'. This initiative is based on the recognition that the relationship between the police and migrants is sometimes tense and should be improved. Neither the police nor migrants usually know much about each other. Nevertheless, although prejudices might exist, the two groups are generally interested in getting to know each other and developing a relationship.

Based on these ideas, the initiative began in Frankfurt as part of the EU project 'NGOs and Police against Prejudice (NAPAP) – Police in a multicultural society'. The initiative was a cooperation programme between the police headquarters in Frankfurt, the foreigners' delegates of the police, the Hessian police school in the southwestern city of Wiesbaden, several NGOs, migrant and refugee associations, and external moderators managed by the AmkA.

The project aimed to overcome prejudices and generate mutual respect through the exchange of information. The different background of each of the two target groups – the role of the police and the life situation of the migrants – should become less foreign to the other group. Discrimination of migrants by the police should be prevented, due to this

increase in understanding. At the same time, migrants should become more familiar with the role of the police, as well as with democratic structures and laws.

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

The project faced certain difficulties: for instance, few individuals and associations were motivated to participate, communication difficulties were encountered and there was no contact person in the associations. Nevertheless, according to the people interviewed from the police and the city administration, this model project was of interest to both the police and the migrants. The police started a process of intercultural opening up and established important contacts to enhance communication with migrant groups. The migrants gained insight into the work of the police, met contact persons and could share their experiences as ‘multipliers’. One result of the project was the creation of a regular get-together (*Stammtisch*) of police and migrants, which continues to occasionally meet in order to renew contacts and remind the parties of the project’s goals.

### Living together in the city districts

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

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

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

### Frankfurt Stage

The ‘Frankfurt Stage’ (*Frankfurter Bühne*) is one element of Frankfurt’s waterside museum festival that takes place each year during the last weekend in August. This festival is a well-attended three-day cultural event that features live music and extended opening hours in many of Frankfurt’s museums. The AmkA plans and hosts the Frankfurt Stage. Its specific goal is to show festival visitors the immense cultural diversity that has developed in Frankfurt because of immigration to the city.

Figure 9: Impressions from the 'Frankfurt Stage', 2008



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

At the Frankfurt Stage, local cultural organisations, featuring about 900 artists, have the opportunity to show their diverse and top-class skills. Groups dance, sing, do acrobatics and play music. All different genres are represented. The Frankfurt Stage is a very popular festival and attracts a large audience. All of the staff interviewed at the AmkA identified it as a good practice project. It encourages participation and networking of the organisations and helps the cultural diversity of Frankfurters to become more visible and respected.

## Relations between ethnic groups

Apart from the dialogue between migrant organisations and the city of Frankfurt, different ethnic or religious groups also interact with one another. This section will describe the relations between these groups. The first part gives a general overview, while the second part portrays two good practice examples – the Council of Religions and the 'Intercultural Weeks'.

### General overview

Data concerning the relations between different ethnic groups in Frankfurt are scarce. Therefore, most of the following information is based on interviews conducted during the CLIP city visits. Data from the city's annual survey, the Frankfurt Integration Study 2008 and a survey about young people are also used.

Every year, the city of Frankfurt conducts a survey: residents can state their satisfaction with the city and identify what they perceive as the biggest problems in Frankfurt. In the last survey for which data are available, conducted in 2007, 16% of the survey participants mentioned the relationship between Germans and foreigners as one of the biggest problems. Looking at the percentage of people giving this response over a period of 15 years, it becomes evident that this proportion has changed: it reached a peak in 1997 and 1998, with 21% of the survey participants viewing the relationship as problematic. It then decreased to 13% in 2004 and 2005. Since then, it has slightly increased (Dobroschke, 2008, p. 34).

In the course of the Frankfurt Integration Study 2008, a survey was carried out among second generation migrants in Frankfurt and residents without a migration background. Participants were asked about their contact with members of

other ethnic groups. The survey shows that many participants with a migration background have persons without a migration background in their circle of friends and acquaintances (88%). The opposite is also true for participants without a migration background: 70% have people with a migration background in their circle of friends and acquaintances. These two groups also reported having neighbourhood contacts (68% and 59% respectively), contacts in the workplace (76% and 68%) and contacts as part of recreational activities (60% and 57%). Although these percentages do not reveal the quality of the contacts and relationships, they show that neither residents with nor without a migration background tend to segregate themselves (Halisch, 2008, pp. 191–192).

A survey about young people and how they spend their spare time found similar results: about two thirds of secondary school pupils whose parents are German spend their free time with their group of friends, including teenagers of different nationalities. The other third has a group of friends where all members have the same ethnic background. Pupils whose parents have a foreign background more often have friends of different nationalities (88%); 12% of them have a group of friends where all members belong to the same nationality (City of Frankfurt am Main, 2007, p. 47).

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

Nonetheless, the interviewees admitted that problems and minor conflicts occasionally arise between different ethnic or religious groups – for instance, between Turks and Kurds. Sometimes, neighbourhood conflicts can occur – for example, between migrant families and elderly residents. One practical example of difficulties between different ethnic groups is the conflict over the construction of a new mosque in the district of Hausen (see next chapter). Problems between the Muslim community that wants to build the mosque and some non-Muslim residents of the city district are apparent in this regard. Furthermore, some interviewees stated that tendencies of latent xenophobia exist within parts of the majority population. Some residents without a migration background continue not to acknowledge that a person with a foreign heritage – and mainly a ‘foreign’ appearance – can be German.

Despite such occasional problems, there are no serious conflicts between different ethnic or religious groups in the city of Frankfurt. Relations among the diverse population are mostly peaceful and cooperative. Problems that sometimes occur are often related to the socioeconomic background of the people involved rather than their ethnic heritage.

In order to ensure good relations and mutual understanding of different religions, interreligious initiatives are organised, for example in Frankfurt’s schools. One example is the ‘Abrahamic teams’, consisting of representatives from Christian, Jewish and Muslim communities. Supported by the German-wide Intercultural Council, the teams visit schools and present their religions. Pupils can ask questions and thus become more familiar with the particularities and similarities of these three world religions (Miksch, 2003). A further example of an interreligious initiative is the Council of Religions.

### **Council of Religions**

In order to reduce the chance of tensions and interreligious or intercultural conflicts and to strengthen the peaceful interreligious life in Frankfurt, the Council of Religions (*Rat der Religionen*) was founded on 1 April 2009. Five years of preparation by a private initiating circle consisting of representatives from the four largest religions – Christianity, Islam, Judaism and Buddhism – led to this development. Thus, the council was established in a ‘bottom-up’ process, which is one of its remarkable features. Currently, 23 representatives from nine religious communities belong to the



Council of Religions.<sup>14</sup> The Greek Orthodox priest Athenagoras Ziliaskopoulos, of the Association of Christian Churches, is the first Chair of the council, while the Protestant minister and delegate for interreligious dialogue, Ilona Klemens, is the Executive Director. The city of Frankfurt is not a formal member of the council and believes that the council's autonomy is important. Nonetheless, the city – especially the employees of the AmKA and the Head of the Department of Integration, Mrs Eskandari-Grünberg – supported the development of the council and considers it an important partner.

The council's charter, which the members collectively agreed, requires it to respect the German Constitution. The charter emphasises the common values of the religious communities and inhibits discrimination and any attempts at conversion by missionary work. In the charter, the members agree to work together, both within the council and with the city.

Figure 10: *Members of the Council of Religions, 2009*



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

Dialogue between the city and the various religions is of primary importance for the council, which sees itself as a consultant to the city and wants to become an interreligious authority. However, the Council of Religions does not engage itself in theological questions; instead, it comments on questions of daily religious life. In the initial stages, it started this mission by getting acquainted with the city and the different religious organisations. The advancement of interreligious dialogue and the cooperation of the religions are additional goals on which the council focuses. In adhering

<sup>14</sup> Among the 23 representatives, five come from Christian communities: two from the Catholic Church, one from the Protestant Church, one from the Association of Christian Churches (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft Christlicher Kirchen*) and one from the International Convent of Christian Communities in the Rhein-Main region (*Internationaler Konvent christlicher Gemeinden in Rhein-Main*). Four representatives come from the Muslim communities and one person represents the Muslim community Ahmadiyya. Three representatives come from the Jewish community. Three people represent Buddhist communities, two come from Hindu communities, two represent the Sikh community, two represent the Bahá'í community and one person represents the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons).

to this objective, the commonalities between the religions should be emphasised and extremist branches and violence should be prevented. The council desires to overcome conflicts and to support peaceful cooperation in Frankfurt. Furthermore, contacts between groups should be established and individual persons should be brought together, both of which strategies can have a positive impact on integration.

It is too early to say whether the goals of the Council of Religions have been achieved and what it has actually been able to bring about. However, its creation is a further step in the realisation of interreligious dialogue and in improving relations between religious communities as well as between the religious life in Frankfurt and the city government. Thanks to the council, members of different religious communities have established contacts and a network that can enhance the communities' work. The council has started working on issues of everyday life: at the time of writing, it was attempting to introduce a hospital chaplaincy for all religious groups in Frankfurt. Furthermore, it organised the inaugural peace prayer for the 2009 'Intercultural Weeks' (see below).

According to the interviewed council members, city staff and other persons, the Council of Religions is considered an important institution for supporting the peaceful coexistence of religious groups and the integration of their members into local society. The council's work is described by Fr Ziliaskopoulos as 'We build bridges'. The city of Frankfurt welcomes the creation of the council and believes it to be a vital institution. However, some people – for example, from the KAV and the city council – express some criticism of the Council of Religions, mainly because the biggest Muslim group, DİTİB, is not a member of the current council. Furthermore, some of the people interviewed would like a more critical debate between the religious groups. The Council of Religions is, nevertheless, widely regarded as a good practice project to support interreligious dialogue in Frankfurt.

### Intercultural Weeks

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

The Intercultural Weeks have several objectives. Firstly, the programme strives to encourage all residents in Frankfurt – regardless of ethnicity or religious background – to live and work together in the city. Secondly, it creates a platform for discussing integration in public and gives groups the chance to present their work and to discuss this work with others. Thirdly, it aims to overcome prejudices and stereotypes, and to highlight and combat discrimination. Lastly, it offers the possibility of networking and dialogue between different groups.

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

# Local intercultural policies towards Muslim communities

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

## Major issues, demands and interests

The Muslim population of Frankfurt is very heterogeneous. Consequently, the demands and interests of Muslims in Frankfurt are also diverse. Nevertheless, three main issues arise in the Muslim communities.

- According to Bernasko and Rech (2003 and 2006) and the interviews conducted during the field visits, a common goal for Muslim communities in Frankfurt is their societal acceptance. The communities' representatives consider this an important prerequisite for becoming more involved in local society.
- Furthermore, the ban on wearing conspicuous religious signs is a particular issue for Muslim women, as they cannot work in some public institutions such as schools when they wear the headscarf. Likewise, they sometimes face discrimination and difficulties with private employers.
- Constructing mosques and/or gaining additional space is another issue of concern to almost all Muslim communities, as they often have difficulties in finding sufficient space.

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

An issue related to the third topic – the building of a mosque – arose in the summer of 2007. At that time, the Shiite Muslim organisation *Hazrat-Fatima-Zahra*, which consists of about 300 families of Turkish and Pakistani origin, announced its plans to build a representative mosque with two minarets in the Frankfurt district of Hausen. The organisation considers this mosque as a symbol of feeling at home in Germany. Nonetheless, there has been – and still is – opposition to this plan. A grassroots organisation was established of members who fear that the new mosque – which would be the third in the district of Hausen – could threaten the neighbourhood's social cohesion. They are afraid that the area could become too foreign, with Islam or Islamisation becoming too dominant; moreover, a chaotic traffic situation could develop. Despite its anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant activities, the organisation Pro Frankfurt does not consider itself a right-wing group. It disassociates itself from right-wing extremist opinions and political parties, and does not cooperate with them.

However, the right-wing National Democratic Party of Germany (*Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands*, NPD) tried to take advantage of the conflict: it organised a demonstration against the construction of the mosque in July 2007 – attended by about 750 people. The city prohibited a second demonstration, planned for October 2007, because of its potential to incite racial hatred. The NPD's attempts to fuel the conflict are not supported by the residents of Frankfurt. Many residents, representatives of churches and city officials endorsed the Muslim community's plans and argued against right-wing opponents. During the NPD's demonstration in July 2007, for instance, about 5,000 counter-demonstrators opposed the right-wing party's followers.

The city agreed to the planning application of the mosque association in July 2008. However, the local action group and right-wing/extremist groups continued to contest the plans. The Muslim organisation used the first day of construction

– which took place in June 2009 – as an opportunity to present itself to the neighbourhood and to (re)start a dialogue with the opponents of the mosque. About 400 people attended the event, among them representatives of the city and other (religious) communities. One representative of the particular Muslim community, Ünal Kaymakci, who was interviewed in the course of the CLIP city visits, expressed his appreciation of the majority population's and officials' reaction and support. According to Mr Kaymakci, the community even gained some good experiences from the conflict, since it is now well known and connected with other communities.

### General approach and policies improving relations with Muslim groups

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

Despite this more general approach, the city launched and is developing several projects directed at Muslims, as outlined below.

- For three years, the city has organised an annual information event for Muslim communities and the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution, where the groups can meet and talk with each other.
- Muslim communities can also attend the counselling for religious organisations on the rights of associations.
- The project 'Living together in the city district' (see previous chapter) aims to improve relations between residents and local religious communities, and mainly involves Muslim associations.
- The police – in cooperation with the AmkA – are planning a new project to enhance the dialogue between Muslims and the police. Similar to the project 'Police and migrants engage in dialogue' (see previous chapter), both groups receive training and are then brought together in seminars to discuss issues and problems.
- A network of Muslim women is being established. The Rhein-Main Competence Centre for Muslim Women has been launched by Muslim women who are involved in other associations' activities. The city of Frankfurt supports the initiative. The women aim to create a network for Muslim women and a place where they can meet outside the mosque. The network will strengthen Muslim women, emphasise their abilities and support their integration in society. The centre's three 'pillars' are: education, for example intercultural training and courses in the women's mother tongues; meetings; and counselling, for instance about the German school system.
- At the time of writing, the city was also about to establish a working group for Muslim women who are active in mosque associations in order to inform, qualify, empower and connect them.
- Another working group is called 'Youth work in the mosque associations'. It was initiated by the city in cooperation with the Hessian Islam Forum and Frankfurt's Department for Youth and Social Services, following a workshop on this topic. The working group aims to qualify young Muslims who are involved in the mosque associations' youth work. Mosque associations were requesting such a project in order to receive support for their youth work. According to the city, the working group is popular with its participants, who enjoy the qualification and professionalisation programme.
- In order to accommodate specific religious needs of Muslim communities, in the 1960s the city allocated part of a cemetery to Islamic burials. In cooperation with the Parks and Gardens Department, the AmkA has issued a leaflet informing Muslims about the possibility to follow Islamic burial rites in Frankfurt's cemeteries and whom to contact for a specific request.



## Public communication

Intergroup relations at 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 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 section therefore examines the municipal communication strategy concerning intergroup relations, as well as media practices at both national and local level.

### Municipal communication strategy

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

Public relations have been an essential issue for the AmkA from the beginning. A staff member stated that 'communication is the key word for this office'. Its internal strategic approach is to offer neutral information to every resident of the city. Publications and information are issued in various languages, as well as in German, since it is also important for the AmkA to address residents of Frankfurt who do not have a migration background. Furthermore, the office reaches some of its target population through personal contacts and regards this as an autonomous part of its public relations. Press releases are also important. The AmkA has a distribution list for foreign media in order to reach migrants who do not follow German newspapers or television stations. In addition, a close cooperation with the local newspapers has always been a crucial part of the AmkA's public relations, resulting in ongoing relationships with certain contact persons. The use of new media – particularly the internet – is another important strategy for the AmkA, which was quick to adopt this new medium; it currently relies on e-newsletters and e-participation.

### Media reporting in Frankfurt

Since not only local but also national media are followed in Frankfurt, this section will first summarise practices of national media, before presenting local media and their practices on reporting on ethnic and religious minority groups.

Several studies have been conducted on the representation of migrants in German media such as the national press and television. Most of these studies find that reports about migrants are biased and reinforce stereotypes; migrants 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 this religion as being threatening and worrisome. In the 1990s, several research studies identified this problem but, since the US terrorist attacks on 11 September 2001, it is more obvious: the media discourse – both on television and in 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. At the same time, the proportion of media reports offering a positive picture of Islam has diminished – for example, portraying Islam as part of the European cultural heritage, Muslims as victims of terrorism or religious discrimination, or calling for interreligious dialogue with Muslims (Hafez, 1991; Halm et al, 2006; Lüken-Klaßen and Heckmann, 2007; Ruhrmann et al, 2006; Schiffer, 2005).

No study is known to have been conducted on the practices of local media in Frankfurt. The following information is therefore based on the CLIP interviews. All of the people interviewed stated that media reporting about migrant-related issues in Frankfurt is generally differentiated and balanced. However, this was not always the case. According to some interviewees, media coverage concerning this topic has changed over the last 10 to 15 years. About 20 years ago, negative issues, such as crimes committed by migrants and even prejudices against migrants, were dominant. Today,

reporting related to migrants is usually more differentiated – particularly when issued by Frankfurt’s two biggest newspapers *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Frankfurter Rundschau*, but also in other newspapers and media.

However, several interviewed persons mentioned that, among migrant or religious communities, Muslims are overrepresented in the media. Other small religious communities, as well as institutions such as the KAV, receive little media attention. According to these interviewees, the media focus on Islam and do not take an interest in smaller communities, such as Hindus or Sikhs. Sometimes, media reporting of the latter group consists of incorrect information or negative stereotypes. These communities would like more media coverage of their religion and their communities’ activities. A reason for this lack of reporting is often because these communities do not give enough information to the press, due to little experience in public relations or a lack of personnel or financial resources. Nevertheless, other associations have developed strong and trusted contacts with the media over the years and regularly inform them of the organisations’ activities and projects. Overall, the majority of people interviewed were satisfied with the media coverage of migrants in Frankfurt.

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

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

# Intergroup relations and radicalisation

Radicalisation and extremist political and religious movements can occur both among native and migrant populations. As the following sections will show, these problems do not play a significant role in Frankfurt. The first section examines radicalisation within the majority population, while the second part considers radicalisation within the minority population; the third section describes municipal provisions focused on preventing or guarding against radicalisation.

## Radicalisation within majority population

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

Right-wing extremism, therefore, does not represent a major problem in the city of Frankfurt. NPD events are usually not popular in the city – about 100 people attended the party's key pre-election event in 2008 (Hessian Ministry of the Interior and for Sport (*Hessisches Ministerium des Innern und für Sport*), 2009). However, two of the 93 members of Frankfurt's city council are representatives of right-wing parties: one is from the NPD and the other is from the Republicans (*Die Republikaner*) party. According to the city representatives and the politicians interviewed, the two right-wing members have little influence on the city's politics.

Another indicator for right-wing attitudes in Frankfurt is the city's annual survey. In the last survey for which data are available, relations between Germans and foreigners were reported as the second biggest problem within the city by 16% of the German participants. Furthermore, 11% of the German participants considered that there were 'too many foreigners', 5% observed a 'lack of integration' and 1% believed that xenophobia was a problem in Frankfurt (Dobroschke, 2008, p. 35).

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

It was mentioned that right-wing parties and a conservative local grassroots initiative tried to use the conflict over the construction of a new mosque in the district of Hausen (see previous chapter) as a means of mobilising people. As a result, racist tendencies among some residents became apparent. Such initiatives were, however, not successful or popular with the majority of the residents.

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

## Radicalisation within migrant population

The information available on radicalisation within the migrant population is sparse; most of the people interviewed could not – or perhaps did not want to – report on possible radicalisation tendencies within the migrant population in Frankfurt. Despite this lack of information from the interviews, according to the report of the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution in Hesse, several migrant organisations have radical tendencies, either political or religious (Hessian Ministry of the Interior and for Sport, 2009).

Organisations that have radical tendencies at political level centre themselves around political events in their home countries.<sup>15</sup> These groups import conflicts to Frankfurt; the results are demonstrations, marches and general tensions between different ethnic groups, for example between national-oriented Turks and separatist-oriented Kurds. Despite the existence of such tensions, they have not developed into severe conflicts involving violence or other more serious altercations. It is neither possible to quantify the number of these groups' adherents nor to analyse the extent and intensity of their radicalisation.

There is little information concerning organisations with radical religious tendencies. Several national Muslim organisations – with branches in Frankfurt – are under the observation of the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution, because they are classified as Islamist. Among them, as noted earlier, is the Islamic Community Millî Görüş (IGMG), which is dominated by Turks. Although it does not officially exist in Frankfurt, two Muslim communities are said to be closely tied to IGMG. Furthermore, the Islamic Community in Germany (*Islamische Gemeinschaft in Deutschland*, IGD), which has ties with the Islamist Muslim Brotherhood (MB), runs an Islamic Centre in Frankfurt. The Muslim Youth in Germany is another organisation with Islamist tendencies, based on ties with IGD, which operates in Frankfurt. In addition, the Islamist Jihad Union and the Tablighi Jama'at both have branches in Frankfurt. The latter in particular seeks a worldwide Islamisation and regularly holds meetings in Frankfurt, using mosques as contact points for its missionary work.

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

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

## General approach, policies and measures against radicalisation

The city of Frankfurt does not implement any provisions specifically focused on preventing or guarding against radicalisation. Nevertheless, it has provisions that indirectly guard against radicalisation. Firstly, the city has put in place a variety of measures designed to support socially disadvantaged persons, because poverty and social segregation are regarded as a breeding ground for radical tendencies.

Furthermore, the city combats racism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism and discrimination: it has published a Declaration on racism and anti-Semitism, organised a campaign against xenophobia as well as festivals on that topic, and established an anti-discrimination office. The city also maintains networks with local actors.

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<sup>15</sup> Examples of such organisations that have an official office or at least a considerable number of followers in Frankfurt are the Kurdistan Workers' Party (*Parti Karkerani Kurdistan*, PKK) – now called Kongra-Gel – the left-wing Turkish Communist Party (*Türkiye Komünist Partisi*, TKP) and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE).

An initiative aiming to counter radical tendencies among Muslim minorities is the project 'Living together in the city districts'. This initiative offers Muslim associations support in escaping their isolation by encouraging them to be active in their city districts and to develop contacts with other local actors. Furthermore, the project 'Police and migrants engage in dialogue' can be considered as a measure seeking to prevent radical tendencies. It brings the police and migrant groups together and provides the latter with a better understanding of democratic structures and the role of the police. Moreover, the project may facilitate cooperation between migrant groups and the police in combating right-wing and xenophobic actions.

The police play a specific role in fighting radicalisation and extremism. Foreigners' commissioners are found in every police headquarters, maintaining close contact with migrant associations as well as youth coordinators who have contacts with young residents. Good relations exist with associations, youth clubs and schools. The police monitor all incidents in the city. As soon as radical tendencies or problems arise, the police talk to the people involved. Although most of their prevention programmes are not specifically directed at migrant groups, they can adjust the programmes to the needs of these groups and send qualified staff to the communities in order to talk about police-related topics. The planned project concerning dialogue between the police and Muslims aims to establish more contacts with these communities. Furthermore, the police hold anti-violence training at schools in order to make children aware of topics such as racism.

# Key challenges and lessons for CLIP

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

These immigration processes formed Frankfurt's population: today, about 38% have a migration background. Migrants living in the city are characterised by a high diversity of nationalities and ethnic backgrounds, originating from about 175 different countries. Apart from the ethnic diversity of Frankfurt's residents, their religious diversity is also notable. About one third of the total population are Roman Catholic, while a little less than one third are Protestant. After Christians, Muslims comprise the second largest religious group in Frankfurt. The city has no official data but estimates that their number is about 75,000 persons and hence around 12% of the total population. More than half of the city's Muslims have Turkish heritage.

The people interviewed as part of the CLIP study characterised the relations between the different ethnic and religious groups in Frankfurt as good and without discernible conflicts. Some minor problems arise between ethnic groups, for example between ethnic Turks and Kurds, as well as some neighbourhood conflicts. However, the city's multicultural image of itself as a diverse city whose population lives peacefully together generally holds true. Hence, radicalisation is not a major issue in Frankfurt. Right-wing or extremist parties or initiatives do not have an impact on the city's policies and are not popular with its residents. Radicalisation among migrants is not a significant topic either. The Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution considers some larger Muslim organisations – which also have branches in Frankfurt – as having Islamist tendencies, but these are individual cases and do not depict the Muslim community as a whole.

Important reasons for this rather peaceful community life seem to be the political setting and the activities of the municipal AmkA within the Department of Integration. The AmkA is on the same level as other municipal offices and is Frankfurt's most important actor regarding integration measures. Its success seems mainly to be based on its continuous, pragmatic work, which values migrants' activities and competences and actively involves migrant representatives in its projects, as follows.

- Firstly, the AmkA maintains regular contacts with the more than 400 local ethnic and religious migrant organisations. Several employees provide counselling (for example, about financial issues) as well as administrative and political support (for instance, concerning mosque building). They also organise common projects, and issue and accept invitations.
- Secondly, the AmkA has a specific budget at its disposal for supporting migrant organisations and their activities.
- A third key to success is the way in which the AmkA organises projects: it promotes the integration of migrants and peaceful relations between the migrant and native population by organising activities in close cooperation with other partners, particularly migrant associations. After a successful implementation, the AmkA aims to pass on the responsibility to migrant communities and other local organisations, and initiates further new projects.

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



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# List of persons interviewed

The field visits took place in March and June 2009. The following people were interviewed:

Blum, Eva Maria, City of Frankfurt am Main, Office for Multicultural Affairs (*Amt für multikulturelle Angelegenheiten*, AmkA)

Eskandari-Grünberg, Nargess, Head of the Department of Integration (*Dezernat für Integration*)

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

Gülegen, Enis, City of Frankfurt am Main, Head of the Foreigners' Council (*Kommunale Ausländervetretung*, KAV)

Gülsin, Zeynep, City of Frankfurt am Main, AmkA

Kaymakci, Ünal, member of the managing committee of the *Hazrat-Fatima-Zahra* organisation, President of the Islamic Community Hesse (*Islamische Religionsgemeinschaft Hessen*, IRH), Vice-chair of the Council of Religions

Kebaili, Akli, City of Frankfurt am Main, AmkA

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

Klemens, Ilona, Protestant pastor and person responsible in Frankfurt Protestant deanship for ecumenism, interreligious dialogue and beliefs

Klinger, Vera, City of Frankfurt am Main, AmkA

Makowski, Martina, Rhein-Main Competence Centre for Muslim Women

Müller-Handl, Utta, City of Frankfurt am Main, AmkA

Nagel, Helga, City of Frankfurt am Main, Head of the AmkA

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

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

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

Wiegner, Markus, City of Frankfurt am Main, AmkA

Will, Mario, City of Frankfurt am Main, AmkA

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

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

**Doris Lüken-Klaßen** and **Franziska Pohl**, european forum for migration studies (efms)