

**Networked Diversity and the Development of
the ‘Frankfurt Model’:**

**Institutional responses to multiculturalism in
the work of the Amt für multikulturelle
Angelegenheiten**

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PhD Thesis

Declaration of Authorship

I, Joanna Cagney, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

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Abstract

Since the late 1980s, the local state in Frankfurt am Main in Germany has developed a distinctive and influential approach to the urban politics of migration and cultural difference. With the ability to build and coordinate elaborate networks, it cuts across the interests of the city's super-diverse population. An early attempt to consolidate the work as a 'Frankfurt model' had limited success, yet the development of this model and how it might be adapted for the present-day is a central focus of this thesis, which uses the case study of Frankfurt to address broader debates about the status of multiculturalism and diversity policy in Western European societies.

The thesis draws upon substantial embedded participatory and qualitative research in one of the main institutional components of the Frankfurt approach: the Amt für multikulturelle Angelegenheiten (Office of Multicultural Affairs / AmkA). The opening chapters outline the framework of networked diversity in response to Frankfurt's super-diversity. These sections underpin the thesis in the context of more traditional debates about multiculturalism, migration and diversity management in Western Europe, focusing particularly on different national policy frameworks. The thesis then presents the distinctive characteristics of Frankfurt, possibly the most culturally diverse city in modern Germany. The history of the 'Frankfurt model' is then examined, with a focused analysis of the 'Frankfurt Integration and Diversity Concept' adopted in 2010. Three chapters based on intensive fieldwork explore: first, the everyday operation of diversity policy within AmkA; second, the interaction between the local state (AmkA) and civil society organisations; and third, the role of special events and symbolic politics in AmkA's work.

Through an assessment of AmkA's success in operationalising networked diversity as a response to super-diversity, together with its implications for a re-thought 'Frankfurt model' in the light of recent political developments in Germany and beyond, the thesis contributes to wider conceptual debates about the supposed failure of multiculturalism as an institutional response. The thesis also makes a distinctive methodological contribution through its reflections on qualitative research in translation.

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Acronyms

AmkA	Amt für multikulturelle Angelegenheiten
AWO	Arbeiterwohlfahrt / Workers Welfare Association
CDU	Christlich Demokratische Union / Christian Democratic Union
CLIP	Cities for Local Integration Policies
DGB	Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund / German Trade Union Confederation
DRK	Deutsches Rotes Kreuz / German Red Cross
efms	European Forum for Migration Studies
ESCO	Eritrean Sport and Cultural Organisation
HIPPY	Home Interaction Program for Parents and Youngsters
HIWA	Advisory service for older migrants
IIS	Islamische Informations- und Serviceleistungen / Islamic Information and Service Centre
IKW	Interkulturelle Wochen / Intercultural Weeks
KAV	Kommunale Ausländer- und Ausländerinnenvertretung / Foreigner's Advisory Council
KRM	Koordinationsrat der Muslime / Muslim's coordinating council
OASI	Offen, Aktiv, Senioren, Interkulturell / Open, Active, Seniors, Intercultural
PEGIDA	Patriotische Europäer gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes / Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the Occident
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands / Social Democratic Party of Germany.
ZMD	Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland / Islamic federation Germany

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Chapter 1

Networking diversity in Frankfurt - an introduction

1.1 Diversity and the policy challenge

Living with people of different cultural, ethnic or religious backgrounds is a feature of urban life. It is also an important challenge for policy makers, both at national level, but particularly for the local state in modern European cities. Set against a backdrop of a long history of migration to Europe, of recent increases in migration to Europe as a consequence of wars and global inequality, threats of home-grown and international terrorism, and the identification by some politicians of the so-called incompatibility of cultures, the search for strategies to help diverse groups of people to live together has never been more important. Recent events such as the attacks in Paris in 2015, the developing refugee crisis in Europe, and the emergence of groups such as PEGIDA (Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the Occident) in Germany are concrete reminders of the ongoing relevance of this issue and the challenges that come with increasing diversity.

The German city Frankfurt am Main has been the site of significant innovation in localised policy responses to diversity. Early recognition and institutionalisation of diversity matters led some to identify a 'Frankfurt model'. In a super-diverse city with people from more than 180 nations, an emerging policy framework built on an idea of a highly networked society, distinguishes Frankfurt as a pioneer of integration measures (see Vertovec 2007, Fenzel 2010). It is the consideration of Frankfurt's institutional frameworks and capacity for networking, or 'networked diversity' and how this shapes the development of a distinctive 'Frankfurt model' that is the subject of this thesis.

1.2 Developing a model response to diversity management

By drawing out key concepts and ideas, which are elements of a model approach, the thesis comments on the distinctiveness of Frankfurt, tracing its path of diversity

management through several phases. In particular, the thesis is focused on the distinctiveness of the local state in Frankfurt, and specifically the development of dedicated government bodies that work across other departments. There are two dedicated bodies within the city administration, the *Dezernat für Integration / Department for Integration* and an accompanying *Amt für multikulturelle Angelegenheiten (AmkA) / Office of Multicultural Affairs*.

In the definition of a present-day ‘Frankfurt model’ the institutionalisation of integration and diversity matters is explored in the thesis as a key element in the approach adopted by Frankfurt. In particular, AmkA is regarded as a key institution, with an assessment to be made on its transferability. It has received some critical attention, notably of its policies and programmes, but this thesis extends this to examine its internal workings and culture, particularly through embedded fieldwork in the organisation. Through detailed examination of two further approaches - the way it develops networks and partnerships with civil society organisations and in the use of symbolic politics within the work of AmkA as a vehicle for engagement across networks, the re-thought ‘Frankfurt model’ presented here cuts across government, policy and rhetoric to provide a new conceptualisation of the work being done in Frankfurt.

1.3 Networked approaches to super-diversity

Underpinning the ethos and operational structure of AmkA is a concept of ‘networked diversity’. Working in partnership with other offices of the local state, with established civil society organisations and individuals, AmkA positions itself as a key player in networks that coalesce under the broad theme of diversity. Developing an integration and diversity concept and agenda, which sets the foundation for policy, networked diversity offers a frame of reference for city partners working within this space.

Networked diversity is a term emerging from work by the Max Planck Institute:

Networked diversity seems to the researcher to be a more up-to-date alternative to the multiculturalism of the early years. In practical terms many of the suggestions

put forward as a follow-up to past work essentially involve bringing people together to talk to one another and exploit shared interests to reduce the barriers between them...Given the “considerable expertise” and plentiful existing contacts to various groups that AmkA can call on, it is in a “unique position” as a public agency to play a leading role in the development of contacts and networks.

Fenzel (2010: 88).

Part of the role of the city is to provide space for interactions, with public institutions having a role in promoting long lasting contact and dialogue, which can then be developed into more sustainable social networks (Fenzel 2010). There is also a need to understand the relevance of integration policy at district level. Vertovec (in Fenzel 2010) describes the need for a common language for the strategies, actions and programmes that may potentially develop, and the benefits of a successful policy of networking or networked diversity. Following on from Vertovec’s (2007) work on super-diversity, which describes the change in international migration from large numbers of migrants from a small number of countries, to a situation of many small groups from differing places of origin, greater understanding of these networks requires direct contact with those involved.

Although networked diversity is not a concept that has been used widely, it offers an important foundation for the thesis and is scoped through the early chapters as a basis for the analysis presented in the empirical chapters. Building on multicultural approaches of the past and using Frankfurt’s capacity to innovate through existing connections, networked diversity is set out here as a viable framework through which to explore diversity management. It indicates a particular way of conceiving a coherent super-diverse society, through wide-reaching, interconnected networks of people and places. The consideration of networked diversity in this way is a key conceptual contribution of the thesis and fundamental element in the present-day adaptation of the ‘Frankfurt model’.

The thesis contributes to the production of an understanding of how this kind of institutionally grounded policy response can be viewed in relation to multiculturalism and integration. Together with an outline of the wider history of immigration policy responses in Germany and Frankfurt, the thesis considers the 2010 ‘Frankfurt Integration and Diversity Concept’ as a defining statement of the

Frankfurt approach. The empirical work carried out in 2012 and 2013 is positioned within the context of this document, which establishes goals and key lines of action for Frankfurt through a range of networked approaches.

1.4. The work of AmkA – uses of symbolic politics

Networked diversity, as conceived in the thesis, refers to a wide portfolio of activity. As well as being a summary method or framework for the work of AmkA, it also demonstrates a way of thinking about how different parts of the city are connected and are brought together at different moments. Activities such as parades and festivals are known to contribute to a certain sense of ‘city-ness’, with the city being the common factor between all participants in an event.

At the same time, events can be highly symbolic manifestations of social, cultural, environmental and political differences, which play out in different ways at different times. For example events of celebration, contrasted with events of protest. Symbolic politics has often been considered as the negative use of symbols, which are used to conceal a particular reality (see Sarcinelli 2008). The thesis does not reject these claims, but explores symbolic politics through a more nuanced explanation of a range of events observed during the research period. These are then considered in the context of Frankfurt’s networked approach and points towards a reframing of the term and its application as part of the ‘Frankfurt model’.

1.5 Research questions

The thesis contributes to debates on policy approaches, institutional engagement and the role of networked civil society organisations as part of the ‘Frankfurt model’.

The thesis has four key research questions:

1. What are the key elements of a ‘networked diversity’ framework in the development of policy responses to cultural complexity in Frankfurt?

2. How are policies, strategies and projects formulated and operationalised in Frankfurt in the context of a networked diversity framework?
3. What does the presence of an institution responsible for integration and diversity management mean for external organisations and individuals living in Frankfurt?
4. How is Frankfurt's unique approach to integration and diversity consolidated through policy and practice and to what extent can this be considered a 'Frankfurt model'?

The research questions are addressed in the thesis by outlining policy responses and strategies, as well as examples of project initiatives observed during the field work. The project, which took place across languages, also makes a methodological contribution. This is considered in detail in chapter four of the thesis and is a consideration across the work as a key element of the methodological framework and the process of emerging qualitative writing.

1.6 Thesis structure

The thesis has ten chapters. After this introduction, the theoretical and conceptual backgrounds to the thesis are presented with a further contextualisation of the case study. The practicalities and methodological framework, through which the empirical data for the case study was generated, are then discussed. Through these initial chapters, the research site is introduced and research questions are developed following a review of historical, social and policy issues addressed in key literatures. After methodological considerations, the main empirical contributions are presented and analysed in five chapters. These are subsequently put into the context of wider discussions about policies and practices that respond to diversity in the concluding chapter.

Chapter two is a contextual review of policy responses to diversity as well as a critical review of approaches to multiculturalism. The chapter introduces multiculturalism as a response to diversity as an important lens for the thesis. It then

takes a series of cuts through debates about multiculturalism, using these as a way of critically engaging with different policy approaches. This review acknowledges that there are a series of interlinked debates about the nature of multiculturalism, but that they are non-exhaustive, non-chronological and differ across local and national contexts. The challenges of definition are discussed here, with multiculturalism used as a tool to critique policy approaches. The chapter also considers debates within the burgeoning social science literature that focuses on this term. Further interrogation of the way that policies develop as part of national model approaches highlights the range of European responses to multiculturalism. The thesis develops this through a critical examination of the backlash against the concept of multiculturalism both from political leaders and academics. A further section explores a range of alternative approaches, which might be drawn upon to replace existing models, or to inform new responses to diversity. The final section of the chapter introduces in detail the emergence and development of the term super-diversity, before connecting it to a conception of networked diversity, which is a key theme of the thesis and element of the 'Frankfurt model'.

Chapter three positions Germany and Frankfurt in the context of the debates discussed in chapter two. It also provides an overview of the complex narrative concerning Germany and its transition from a so-called 'country without immigration' to its present acknowledgment of the presence of migrants. In addition, it examines the distinctive migration and demographic context of Frankfurt, to demonstrate the emergence of super-diversity and the need for institutionally grounded responses. The final section of this chapter outlines a so-called German 'brand' of multiculturalism and what this might mean for the development of a 'Frankfurt model' in line with the wider research questions of the thesis.

Chapter four reflects upon the fieldwork process and methodological considerations over the three research visits, as well as the wider research process, which included close analysis of policy documents. It details the design features of this case study including the site and organisations and groups of interest, and relates the methodological approaches to the research questions set out in this introduction. It discusses the challenges and opportunities of the use of case studies in qualitative

research in general, and in the specific case of Frankfurt. The chapter also provides a justification and analysis of the key methods used, including: semi-structured interviews, participant observation and analysis of key policy documents and other publications. The chapter then critically analyses the methodology and acknowledges the difficulties of confronting topical and potentially sensitive issues in challenging urban environments. It also acknowledges the difficulties of accessing elite participants within political organisations. This aims not only to address issues of positionality, but also ethical considerations. It finally looks at the process of carrying out qualitative research, based on interviews and observations, in a different cultural and linguistic context. This is done by addressing the practical challenges relating to the use, interpretation and analysis of data across two languages in academic research.

Chapter five sets out and critically evaluates the development of multicultural policy and institutional organisation in Frankfurt since 1989. Over the period since the inception of issues of migration and diversity into Frankfurt's city administration, there have been multiple developments in policies, approaches and institutional forms. Chapter five describes early attempts at a 'Frankfurt model' and how this worked in the early days of AmkA. Reflecting on two integration studies and further interventions from academics, which outline the importance of networked diversity, the chapter concludes by setting the groundwork for a new diversity agenda which was mapped out from 2010 onwards.

Chapter six provides a detailed summary and critical commentary of the 'Frankfurt Integration and Diversity Concept' of 2010, together with the structural and operational framework adopted by the city administration. The chapter also analyses the format and function of the '*Vielfalt Bewegt Frankfurt*' website as a recent interactive development for civil society partners and individuals to engage with the concept, as well as being an important demonstrator tool for the networking capacity of the city. The second part of the chapter looks at three discursive frameworks and their relevant geographies. It looks in detail at the sense of collective responsibility and action explored in the concept, the idea of a networked diversity including the

importance of communication and network building, and at what it means to live together in a 'city society'.

Chapter seven focuses on how AmkA's everyday practices are mapped onto the integration and diversity agenda outlined in the preceding chapters. The primary aim of the chapter is to understand the work of the office and how we make sense of their existence in relation to the published goals of the organisation. It outlines the operational and organisational aspects of the office, which sets the scene for the location of the research. It looks at workplace relationships and the role of the different departments and employees. The chapter also looks at the relationship between practice and principle in the case of the integration and diversity concept and AmkA office. It aims to determine how the office and office routines align with policy ideals through conscious and directed efforts, but also through unconscious everyday practices of networking. The chapter develops issues raised in chapter four concerning research practices and assesses the methods and challenges of carrying out workplace based ethnographic research. This includes a discussion of the potential tensions and conflicts of interest of this kind of research when there is a need to maintain relationships with internal colleagues and external organisations.

Chapter eight investigates the relationship between AmkA and civil society organisations as an example of networked diversity in action. The concept of civil society, as well as its role and function, are broadly discussed. With civil society organisations as a primary conceptual lens for the chapter, it sheds light on a number of processes, problems and opportunities within urban politics at the local level. This is done by highlighting the organisation and function of migrant and intercultural organisations in Frankfurt. The chapter works through a series of focused case studies of organisations, projects and initiatives. It also reflects on the different levels of engagement, linking these often small scale initiatives, which are carried out in different ways and in different districts, with city-level and nationwide debates and discussions regarding such issues as ageing migrant populations and religious accommodation.

Chapter nine discusses festivals and events in Frankfurt in relation to debates over the nature of ‘symbolic politics’. Where political activity or work carried out by the city institutions is considered symbolic, there are accusations of this work lacking substance or obscuring realities. The chapter draws on field observations of events and responses to them, while arguing for a different emphasis to the notion of symbolic politics, which recognises the more considered and reflective use of symbols in the Frankfurt approach. The chapter also assesses how AmkA has been able to maintain its position as a key driver of an integration agenda through sustained engagement with networked partners, despite at times being considered superfluous.

Chapter ten is the concluding chapter, which addresses how the institutional response of AmkA, based on the framework of networked diversity, has been demonstrated through a focused study of Frankfurt. Looking at the ways in which organisations and individuals understand their roles within the highly networked ethno-political landscape, the conclusion draws together the findings of the preceding empirical chapters and highlights how the research questions have been addressed. Drawing on contextual evidence from a review of the literature and policy analysis together with empirical analysis, the definition of and case for a ‘Frankfurt model’ is put forward with a number of core elements drawn out. The chapter finally positions the thesis in the context of current events and debates, asserting the position and need for well-networked frameworks for action.

Chapter 2

Understanding multicultural approaches to diversity management – a review

2.1 Introduction

As academics and policy makers strive for new ways of talking about the challenges of increasingly diverse societies, perhaps the most provocative and controversial term is ‘multiculturalism’. The use of this term, either as a general description of societies with a wide range of cultures, migration histories and identities, or as a policy structure which responds to the reality of many cultures, continues to permeate public and political discourses. This interest has generated debates, which are approached from a broad range of positions and which have shifted considerably over time. Whether celebrated, debated or rejected outright, multiculturalism retains its relevance, if only as a framework through which to discuss alternative possibilities. Sustained attention to the ideas embedded within the term multiculturalism has emphasised its position in ongoing discussions about diversity across the world.

Despite consistent engagement from a range of disciplinary perspectives, the development of the concept of multiculturalism has not been a linear process. Instead, there have been periods of heightened attention interspersed with periods of more limited engagement in the public sphere. This presents challenges for this thesis, which does not wish to project an artificial view of the rise and fall of multiculturalism, but instead approaches multiculturalism as a range of challenges, successes and possibilities. For this reason, this literature review and the wider thesis do not seek to tell the comprehensive story of the term ‘multiculturalism’. This would not do justice to the vast range of alternative options, nor cover the breadth of studies and approaches that have been adopted over the past decades. Instead the thesis will engage with the idea of multiculturalism by examining approaches that uncover key characteristics of the term and its use, particularly as an institutionally

grounded approach to diversity. In that vein, this review will consciously separate a number of elements of the debate. This will demonstrate that such elements are not necessarily chronological or cumulative, while allowing space for discussion on how the independent aspects of the debate impact one another.

This chapter will explore the conceptual framings and contextual background that underpin the establishment of a particular urban politics and process of diversity management in the city of Frankfurt, explored through focused enquiries in the empirical chapters of the thesis. In this chapter, I aim to show how usage and understanding of the term multiculturalism has evolved and transferred across a range of academic and policy settings, to provide a frame of reference for the Frankfurt model. This example takes into account the needs of the local population as members of a super-diverse society and revolves around a framework, which is built on a concept of networked diversity.

2.1.1 Structure of the chapter

Starting with a review of the term multiculturalism, as defined in a wide sample of social science literature, a series of conceptual, theoretical and rhetorical framings are outlined. This provides an early indication of the challenges of establishing accurate categories and understandings of multiculturalism. Following this theoretical discussion, the chapter shifts towards the processes through which ideas of multiculturalism are addressed in policy strategies in a wider European context. Addressing the range of national models in existence, this section shows how multiculturalism has been dealt with at the European level by the Council of the European Union, through the development of a selection of common basic principles, and by the Council of Europe as part of a move towards intercultural dialogue. This chapter section also demonstrates how national and local specificities have led to a range of responses to diversity drawing upon a range of national, post-imperial and local traditions. This highlights the extent to which multicultural approaches have been institutionally grounded in a range of contexts.

After outlining a number of theoretical and conceptual developments, the chapter addresses debates and responses to multiculturalism, with particular reference to the

highly publicised retreat of multiculturalism and backlash against the multicultural agenda (section 2.4). The consequences of challenging multiculturalism at a European and national level, whilst simultaneously accepting a number of its core values, are also considered. In light of sustained criticism of the term and its use in policy development since the inception of the idea, section 2.5 of the chapter looks at a range of suggested alternative discourses and ways of engaging with the ideas and processes as part of wider immigration politics or integration agendas that require different levels of institutional engagement. These include possible local level approaches, which can be enacted through civil society partnerships and networks, whilst maintaining a multicultural sensitivity.

In the final sections of the chapter, particular attention is given to Stephen Vertovec's concept 'super-diversity' and its implications for the idea of networked diversity. As an approach that has been influential in the context of cities and was first used to describe London, super-diversity has also been applied in the case of Frankfurt in recent years. The concept of networked diversity is then explored. The definition of these key concepts, in the context of debates on institutionally grounded approaches to multiculturalism, provides an important foundation for the thesis. These converge at different moments in the story of diversity management in Frankfurt and emerge as key considerations for a re-thought 'Frankfurt model'.

Multiculturalism in this thesis is adopted as a reference point through which to survey the status and development of immigration and integration politics, primarily in the case of Frankfurt, but also for its potential beyond this specific example and as part of a transferable 'Frankfurt model'. This process is carried out by reviewing a range of academic, political discursive and practical frameworks, together with the empirical evidence gathered through the fieldwork process. The chapter as a whole examines the multiplicity of frameworks of multiculturalism and how these have developed over time across a range of networks. The chapter also introduces a number of policy strategies and varied responses to them. These ideas are further explored through the empirical chapters of the thesis.

2.2 Problematising multiculturalism

2.2.1 Defining multiculturalism

Multiculturalism is neither easily conceptualised, nor readily defined in public, political or academic spheres. Although limited consensus on the definition of multiculturalism or the related term of ‘multicultural society’ is acknowledged, there is sustained discussion and debate more than four decades after the initial inception of this term.

...‘multiculturalism’ has become a word immediately recognised by policy makers, social commentators, academics and the general public in Western industrial countries, if not elsewhere...Recognition does not, however, ensure uniformity in usage.

Inglis (1996: 15)

Multiculturalism is rejected, feted, celebrated or condemned from such a wide range of positions that it is often hard to pin down precisely what it might refer to in any particular instance, frustrating any attempts that might be made to derive a more general meaning from it.

Pitcher (2009: 1)

Despite the challenges of specifically defining the term multiculturalism, many characterisations exist. Multicultural claims refer predominantly to the broad categories of ‘culture’ and ‘cultural groups’, but also refer to a wider range of claims involving religion, language, ethnicity, nationality, and race (Song 2014). Examples include Taylor’s (1992) ‘politics of recognition’, which describes how multiculturalism was often debated as the imposition of given cultures upon others. This was often seen to be done in a way that assumed superiority of one culture over another. In his essay, Taylor explains a need for a ‘politics of equal recognition’ in considerations of multiculturalism, and for diverse identities to be treated as having equal worth. This is compared with an alternative framing of a ‘politics of difference’, which recognises the distinctiveness of individual or group identities. The positive accommodation of difference is a feature of the more liberal multiculturalism of Kymlicka (1995), which offers cultural accommodation based ‘group-differentiated rights’. In his liberal egalitarian approach Kymlicka (1995) distinguishes between different groups and the need for different multicultural

approaches. In doing so, the differing circumstances of national minorities and indigenous groups who do not choose their minority status, versus economic immigrants who choose to relinquish their native culture, have a bearing on how much cultural accommodation might be afforded (Song 2014).

More recently, Korteweg and Triadafilopoulos (2015) identified definitions and approaches that use the term multiculturalism as: a reflection of the ‘fact’ of diversity; as a formal policy orientation or programme that focuses on the recognition of group rights; and as a philosophy that argues for the moral right of group recognition. Gozdecka, Ercan and Kmak (2014) suggest that the underlying principle of multiculturalism is that it is based on the official recognition of diversity. An alternative variation describes it as “...a set of component concepts pertaining to modern political ideology, the pivotal element being the tension between equal dignity/equality and cultural distinctiveness/difference” (Gressgård 2012: vii). The development of such varied definitions and uses of the term have further complicated attempts to understand what multiculturalism might mean in the context of a present-day policy approach.

Context specific applications of multiculturalism and an observed lack of uniformity of usage of the term have led to distinctive debates across a range of social science disciplines. These literatures are further supplemented by emerging debates which highlight the challenges and possible deficiencies of establishing categories and terminology to describe the complex processes of acknowledging and institutionalising cultural diversity (see for example Goodhart 2004).

After outlining the difficulties of defining multiculturalism, in the next section a review of a range of social science literature provides an overview of the term and its development. When looking at a range of literatures, which outline the concept of multiculturalism there are two factors of particular importance for the development of this thesis. One of these is the sheer range of variation in the ways in which the concept is used across a number of settings; the other is the recurrent issue of the ‘failure of multiculturalism’ across disciplines and policy arenas. This contradictory but common thread of discussion can be seen through the work of scholars from

many disciplinary perspectives. For this reason, it is appropriate to carry out a review of multiculturalism across a broad spectrum of contexts before assessing what this means for the national model approaches in section 2.3.

2.2.2 Key approaches to ‘multiculturalism’

While multiculturalism has been used as an umbrella term to characterize the moral and political claims of a wide range of disadvantaged groups, including African Americans, women, gays and lesbians, and the disabled, most theorists of multiculturalism tend to focus their arguments on immigrants who are ethnic and religious minorities where difference (not only ethnic difference) became publically recognised.

Song (2014: paragraph 2).

Multiculturalism was discussed comparatively earlier in countries like Canada, Australia and the United States where difference, not limited to ethnic difference, became publically recognised. In a British and European context, a more restrictive meaning is supposed, with multicultural society seen as a result of immigration (Modood 2013). As it began to emerge in the mid to late 1960s, multicultural ideas of the right to difference, together with the institutional recognition of difference, led to noticeable shifts in policy and rhetoric from previous national imperatives of assimilation of minority groups (Mitchell 2004). Firmly in place throughout the 1970s to the 1990s, Kymlicka (2012a) describes a trend towards multicultural policies across Western democracies: “Ideas about the legal and political accommodation of ethnic diversity – commonly termed ‘multiculturalism’ – emerged in the West as a vehicle for replacing older forms of ethnic and racial hierarchy with new relations of democratic citizenship” (2012:1). This has also been part of the wider dialogue about the ‘rise of the multicultural state’ (Kymlicka 2003a). In spite of these developments multiculturalism has been persistently criticised and in some cases portrayed as an object of ridicule (Modood 2013). Described by Kymlicka (2012a) as a caricature of multiculturalism, an exploration of the British approach highlights a number of challenges.

In late 1960s Britain, there was a turn towards ideas of ‘community relations’ and ‘race relations’, addressing discrimination, racial hatred and mechanisms for

managing relations within communities (see Bleich 2005, 2003). Sustained interest in questions of race and racism are important features of a constantly shifting field (Back and Solomos 2000). With studies during this period that showed communities as understanding their difficulties in racial terms (see for example Rex and Moore 1967), 'race relations' aimed to combat discrimination through a public policy which recognised cultural diversity and encouraged mutual tolerance, but also promoted a process of acculturation (Jenkins 1967). This constituted a 'weak' form of the multiculturalism, which gathered momentum in the late 1960s (Grillo 2010). Although there is a shift from race-based approaches after the 1960s, it is important to note the continued challenges of the category 'race', framed by riots of 2001 and 2011, which were highly racialized (Bloch, Neal and Solomos 2013).

In the 1970s, a conscious move towards a multicultural policy emerged. This was seen in a number of ways. Firstly, there is a narrative that arises whereby multiculturalism is seen to be characterised in a misleading way (Kymlicka 2012a). The 3S's of: 'saris, samosas and steel bands' became a projection of 1970s multiculturalism in Britain (Modood 2005, Modood and May 2001, Troyna 1987, 1993). By focusing on superficial manifestations of culture, this mantra reinforced disparate power relations between groups by exoticising certain practices (Donald and Rattansi 1992). A problem of this is the possibility of misunderstandings or inaccurate interpretations. By characterising multiculturalism as a positive celebration of the cultural practices indicated by the 3S's, there is also a concealment of more challenging issues such as economic and political inequality (Kymlicka 2012a). Although this narrative is familiar, it might be seen as a distraction from cultural practices which are not as positive and desirable, such as forced marriage or honour killing (Korteweg and Yurdakul 2009).

Previous enquiries into multi-ethnic societies, in which 'race' was seen as a cultural phenomenon and often used as a synonym for ethnicity, there is a sense of limitation (Gilroy 1987). As a response to the criticism of this process of developing race categories, in which minority groups and practices can be seen to be marginalised, the multiculturalism of the 1980s and 1990s took a different approach. There was a clear sense that societies were moving into new realms of interest with a change in

focus from issues of ‘race’ to ‘culture’. Joppke (2004) describes how multiculturalism “had always been more laissez-faire and de-centred, firmly instituted in some branches of the state (especially at local level) but repudiated or at least ignored by others (such as the central government under Thatcher)” (2004:295). That is not to say that multiculturalism is purely an example of symbolic cultural politics (see chapter nine), but that there is a potential divide between rhetoric and reality when it comes to multicultural policies (Kymlicka 2012a).

Although successive British governments since the 1970s have reiterated a multicultural ideal, local governments and local organisations have been responsible for its conceptualisation and implementation (Brighton 2007). Whenever multiculturalism has been called into question for central government, it has largely been because of some crisis (Brighton 2007, see also McGhee 2008). These crises or events are often pivotal in re-igniting discussion on failed policies of integration, which we see propelled into the public sphere by politicians and the mainstream media at different times. From the 2001 race riots in the UK, the events of 9/11 in 2001 and the London bombings of 7/7 in 2005, commentators have often taken these opportunities to implicate multiculturalism as a cause or facilitator of such tragic occurrences (see Vertovec and Wessendorf 2009; Modood 2010). As a result the turn away from multiculturalism becomes increasingly publicised and politicised. This results in increased public engagement and calls for policy directions and approaches to be reviewed. This is addressed further in section 2.4 of this chapter, which specifically addresses the rise and fall of multiculturalism.

2.2.3 Inter-disciplinary engagement with multiculturalism – geography and beyond

Although this project is interdisciplinary, geography is an important subject area for such research, given the role of space in ‘the meeting of strangers’ (Valentine 2008). In the context of this thesis, addressing a range of challenges of intercultural relations and policy adaptations, a discipline with pre-occupation with naming and identifying relations across difference provides a relevant starting point (Wilson 2012). There is also a prevalent literature and engagement in geography with the idea of ‘encounter’, specifically instances of ‘urban encounter’, and how these may or may not be

meaningful (see Amin, 2012; Valentine 2008; Laurier and Philo 2006). This links with the empirical focus of the later chapters of the thesis, which seeks to understand the networks, linkages and encounters between individuals and organisations within the site of study.

Thinking about the ways in which different disciplines approach the question of multiculturalism, Mitchell (2004) acknowledges the range of meanings of multiculturalism in relation to historical and geographical factors and how this might affect human geographers working in this area. In her article, multiculturalism is considered as the philosophy and policy related to immigrant incorporation and minority rights. This she sees not as a process of inclusion or passive acceptance of difference, but of achieving diversity ‘actively’. In recent years she observes a visible decline in the multicultural practices, which developed through the 1970s and into the 1990s. For Mitchell, this signals the end of active achievement of diversity and evidence of the re-emergence of an assimilationist agenda (see section 2.4 for a definition of assimilation), although this can differ according to national context. What she does recognise is an underlying rhetoric with a common tone. In the European context this is generally in terms of a retreat from state-sponsored multiculturalism, and with renewed focus on values of liberalism (Brubaker 2003). Joppke and Morawska (2003) point out a similar discursive change, which indicates that, despite tolerance of cultural diversity in de facto multicultural societies, new points of focus begin to emerge (see also Fukuyama 2006).

In spite of the rapidly developing literature concerning issues of integration, as well as scholars highlighting the importance of a multi-perspective view, it remains clear that many discussions continue to be confined to their respective disciplinary traditions (May, Modood and Squires 2004). While there are clear paradigmatic differences as a symptom of disciplinary specificities and approaches, a lack of adequate research and debate between and within different fields leads to a sense of unevenness and contradictions (Castles et al 2002). A study carried out more than a decade ago entitled: “Integration: Mapping the field”, which surveyed British research on immigrants and refugees within the academic and NGO sectors between 1996-2001, highlighted significant conceptual and theoretical gaps in this body of

literature (Castles et al 2002). Some key findings included a distinct lack of comparative research at all levels and the need for interdisciplinary research teams in this field. Pointing towards the research findings of John Solomos, it was considered that: "...there has been a noticeable lack of research on institutions and social action and a 'fixation with theoretical abstraction and textual and cultural analysis'" (Solomos 1999: 4.7). Although the work presented here does not take a specifically comparative stance, it is the imbalance between research on institutions and institutional actions and processes that the thesis looks to address. This will be achieved through sustained critical analysis, together with detailed empirical research in the context of institutions as well as at the civil level. Abstract analytical debate on the subject of multiculturalism has tended to advance without sensitivity towards the complexity of social and political situations. Following this trend, empirical cases have tended to be utilised as an explication or illustration of a more general theoretical point (May, Modood and Squires 2004). In this thesis the aim is to understand how empirical cases might go beyond general theories about integration and diversity, as part of the 'Frankfurt model', which draws out some of the more specific dimensions of diversity management.

Although this thesis presents a case of one particular urban example, it acknowledges the importance of interdisciplinary, cross-national and cross-lingual developments as well as the pertinence and potential of comparative work. In his work on philosophies of integration, using Britain and France as examples, Favell (2001) conducted a comparative study on political responses to diversity in European societies. This sought to set up and facilitate an important but largely absent academic dialogue between different disciplines, which traditionally adopted different approaches. Attentive to a distinctive debate about the different values of both quantitative and qualitative data, and to introduce the idea that questions about integration are interpreted in different ways according to academic orientation, Favell acknowledges the importance and benefit of an informal and accessible theoretical framework. He suggested specifically that: "any adequate comparative work in fact needs to be highly flexible and fraternal in its methodological approaches, if it is not to denature the case study material it seeks to compare" (Favell 2001: 5). In his study

he combines interpretative description, textual analysis and phenomenological detail. Although this presented a strong methodology, there is still an absence of ground-level interaction in Favell's study. By working with the institutions and civil society actors, who find themselves most affected by the policy responses adopted to deal with the question of accommodating diversity, the thesis looks to provide a framework for a model that might be considered in a comparative way beyond the scope of this project.

With policy shifts towards the multicultural ideals of the right to difference and institutional recognition there was a time when the 'rise of the multicultural state' was seen as an important development (as described by Kymlicka 2003a). In response, and with an emerging backlash (section 2.4) new ideas have begun to transpire in a range of disciplines. This interdisciplinary engagement is important for the thesis as a way of exploring the collaborative power of academic, policy and civil society, to offer new opportunities and models for coping with increased diversity. These are brought into further focus in section 2.5 as part of the discussion of what transformations are taking place, and possible replacements and alternatives to multiculturalism.

In this section, it has been shown that it is widely accepted that many types of multiculturalism exist. It is also the case that distinct versions emerge and take different meanings in different countries (McGhee 2008). The following section reviews a number of policy strategies, which address multiculturalism in a range of country and context-specific ways.

2.3 Multiculturalism and national integration agendas

2.3.1 The role of national models

European debates on integration policies have tended to focus upon a set of issues that are country specific (Fekete 2004). Thinking about the ways in which European nations develop policy responses and approaches to immigrant integration, national models have been one way of characterising this process. These national models have continued to sustain scholarly interest, as means of offering insights into

particular national approaches, as well as a point of differentiation between them (Bertossi and Duyvendak 2012). It is possible to identify three broad approaches or distinguishable models, which are usually discussed in relation to particular states. For example, a model of assimilation usually associated with France, of multiculturalism associated with Britain and the Netherlands and of a third exclusionary model mainly associated with Germany and Austria (Aggestam and Hill 2008; Castles 1995; Joppke 2007). This process of defining countries as adhering to a particular model is not without challenges, as there always remains a possibility that a member state may draw on the elements of more than one model, or that the models may be conceived in different terms (Freeman 2004). Nonetheless, states have traditionally been viewed as supporters of a particular model or approach for the integration of immigrant populations.

Reference to integrative ‘models’ has been widespread in the European context for a number of decades. It should also be noted at this stage, that shifting descriptions and ways of conceptualising approaches is becoming more common, with ‘modes’ (Givens 2007, Heckmann 2003), ‘trajectories’ (Jacobs and Rea 2007, Bloemraad 2006) and ‘paradigms’ (Geddes and Guiraudon 2004) of integration offering alternative perspectives. This section attempts to review the way in which different models or framings of these models work as policy responses to diversity in the European context. This provides an overview of how these approaches become theorised as part of the wider debates on immigration and integration.

2.3.2 The context for national models

One way that European migration research has considered ‘national models of integration’, is as part of a wider legacy of the history of a particular country (Duyvendak and Scholten 2011). They offer a point of departure for comparative studies, where national models are presented as an explanation for differences in effectiveness of the approaches of different countries (see Joppke 2007; Brubaker 1992). At the same time, national models have varying relevance. This is due, in part, to the gap between official positions at the national level and the realities of local practices (Boccagni and Ambrosini 2015). Boccagni and Ambrosini (2015) also

acknowledge that local policies might deviate to cope with failures in national policies.

National models have been widely used as a tool for a range of functions, including: simplifying the complex matter of immigrant integration, allowing for international comparative studies and offering insights into a country's history (Duyvendak and Scholten 2011). With this observation comes an argument for models to be treated with caution. Bertossi (2011) writes of the 'elusiveness' of models, and the challenges of pinning down the structures and ideas that lead to models becoming conceptualised. It has also been considered problematic to claim that national differences can be explained by using models (Bertossi and Duyvendak 2012), with some claiming that models no longer exist in their previous forms (Carrera 2006).

2.3.3 Conceptualising national models – multiculturalism, assimilation and models of exclusion

Despite challenges to their existence and relevance, within perspectives of national models, institutional considerations and arrangements for managing diversity become apparent. These are discussed here as ways in to wider discussions on appropriate futures for migrant integration. The development of multiculturalism as a concept and as a political approach has been exemplified in the early part of the chapter by the British case. It is also interesting to address other model approaches such as the assimilationist approach of France and exclusionary models of Germany and Austria. These offer examples of different ways of managing diversity at the national level. As well as providing a brief overview of the approaches, the ways that multiculturalism has either been considered, or has seen a notable absence in the discussion of model negotiations are discussed here.

Assimilation, as a policy response to diversity, is most often presented as the underpinning principle of the 'French model'. Although France has no specific integration policies, assimilation, based on the premise of individual citizenship, is evident. Brubaker (2002) distinguishes between two basic meanings of assimilation, one being a conversion in which 'becoming similar' is the ultimate aim. In the other there is an emphasis on the process of assimilating, rather than leading to a final

product. Both of these meanings can be used at different moments depending on the view of assimilation being projected.

In the French context, the individualist approach sees people of foreign origin transformed into French citizens, without their own cultures of origin being promoted (Borkert et al 2007). As part of the assimilation process it is considered that cultural specificities should remain in the private sphere and not be recognised in the public domain. This is described as a colour-blind and secular approach to integration (Scholten 2011). It is consistently reinforced that the French model is not traditionally multicultural (Villard and Sayegh 2013), but it is notable that during the early 1980s a number of distinctly multicultural traits emerged with a short-lived programme of *droit à la différence* (right to difference). By the end of the 1980s, however, a return to Republican, individualist values was established (Scholten 2011).

The French model has been continually contested, as is the case with the other national model examples. A number of instances show the challenges of the model itself in the French context and how it has been perceived. Multiculturalism, even in the descriptive sense, has not been regularly used until recently in the French context with the public declaration of its failure by the then French President Nicolas Sarkozy in 2011. The French approach to diversity is presented as counter to the multicultural model, mainly due to its focus on individual rather than group rights (Villard and Sayegh 2013). Criticism of assimilation has been evident in the wake of a number of key moments and challenges to the ideals of the French Republic and particularly the issue of secularism or *laïcité*, which ensures the division of the public and private sphere. Examples of challenges include the ‘headscarf’ affair (see Scott 2009; Kastoryano 2004), and riots in suburban Paris (see Bisin et al 2008; Bleich et al 2010; Dikeç 2007), which achieved high levels of media attention and underlined the possible inadequacies of the French approach. This has been further called into question in the wake of events of 2015 including the *Charlie Hebdo* shooting and a terrorist attack on a factory in Lyon. In spite of these challenges, there is a sense that assimilation is gathering momentum once again. In discussions within different countries in Europe, there is an emerging narrative of traditionally multicultural

countries reorienting their policy responses in ways that align with assimilatory ideals (see Brubaker 2001). This is discussed further later in this chapter.

There is another broad conception of a national model which is seen to adopt an ‘exclusionary’ policy of integration. In the examples which adopt this model, namely Austria and Germany, political measures tend to focus on the regulation of immigration over integration policies, which usually indicates a lack of institutional engagement to develop integration methods (Borkert et al 2007). Austria and Germany are two countries that have distinctive migration situations, with both countries having embarked upon the recruitment of guest workers in the post-war years without specific integration agendas, due to the supposedly temporary nature of this migration (see chapter three). As part of more recent policy measures, Austria regulates long term residence and labour migration (Carrera 2006). There has also been an introduction of an integration contract, which has an impact on long term residence (Jacobs and Rea 2007). In Germany there has been a similarly late engagement with integration matters, with their present orientation towards integration courses and language lessons (see Joppke 2007). An absence of an approach that is referred to as multiculturalism or demonstrates characteristics of it, or has an outspoken goal of multiculturalism, is often acknowledged in these countries (Hjerm 2000). Without a broad framework for integration, a dialogue on multiculturalism, particularly at the level of national policy, is noticeably absent.

Without specific measures in place until relatively recently, integration is seen as quite a recent phenomenon in these countries (Borkert et al 2007). This indicates a reorientation in the ways how immigrants are considered, particularly at the national level in these countries. With this change in approach and recognition of the need for integration measures, the specific situation for Germany is discussed in detail in chapter three in terms of what might be considered a new ‘brand’ of multiculturalism.

2.3.4 Towards a Europe-wide response to diversity?

There have been many developments at the European level in considerations of immigrant integration policies, despite the fact that individual nations are seen to

develop their own approaches. It is considered that a particular EU policy paradigm emerges in the midst of national models of integration (Geddes and Guiraudon 2004), as well as the EU having a central role in regulating an evolving migration and asylum framework (Geddes 2009). Taking an example of the highly political role attributed to the European Commission, it may be the case that “[the] Institution may systematically reject suitable national and policy tools in favour of European solutions” (Parkes 2008: 9). Although there is little evidence of Europe-wide policies being widely adopted, there has been sustained interest in integration policy across a range of European institutions.

One example of action at this level can be seen in the 2004 Council of the European Union’s decision on the ‘Common Basic Principles of Immigrant Integration Policy’. Stemming from a range of conclusions a set of common basic principles became set in motion as a response. To summarise, it was concluded that:

1. Immigration is a permanent feature of European society and in the interest of all member states.
2. Immigration policy can contribute to the success of integration policy.
3. Integration takes place at the individual, family, and general community and state levels at the same time.
4. The failure of an individual Member State to develop and implement a successful policy can have implications for other Member States.
5. Integration policies should be implemented and determined by individual Member States.
6. Integration policies must be reflective of the needs of the receiving society and reflect the legal and historical framework of that state.
7. Developing common basic principles for the EU is essential.

Adapted from: Council of the European Union (2004).

From these seven conclusions, eleven principles were outlined. Within these principles there is reference to a dynamic, long term continuous two-way process. In this process the responsibility of Member States and of migrants is outlined. Member States are tasked with actively assuring all residents understand, benefit from, and

are protected within Europe, whilst migrants should ensure that they have a basic knowledge of the host society's language, history and institutions and suggest that such knowledge is indispensable to integration (Council of the European Union 2004). Although these principles do not define a particular programmatic response to diversity in Europe, it might be considered that a set of guidelines has been provided which gives individual Member States the necessary flexibility to address the changing nature of migration in Europe, without identifying one specific model.

2.3.5 The relevance of national models of integration

There are distinct differences in the historical and cultural underpinnings of approaches to diversity in Europe. It is not always clear how these processes actually converge at the European level, as it is at level of the nation state that regulation takes place (Scalvini 2013), with cross-national differences largely found at the level of institutions (Bleich 2003). Although the EU doesn't have a central influence, the language of EU institutions is largely adopted (Scalvini 2013). This is seen by some as problematic where, "...the EU is handicapped in addressing these issues [multiculturalism and European foreign policy] coherently because member states themselves have different approaches and traditions..." (Aggestam and Hill 2008, 98). This may call for a more centralised European resolution, but thus far the 2004 agenda put forward by the Council of the European Union does not appear to have achieved this. As Freeman (2004) has suggested: "...there is now a clear trend [in Europe] toward a middling form of incorporation – call it integration – that rejects permanent exclusion, but neither demands assimilation nor embraces formal multiculturalism" (Freeman 2004: 945). This is seen as defeating efforts to identify national models and instead suggests a patchwork of frameworks which mix policies and practices (see section 2.5 of this chapter).

Regardless of the critical positions emerging, public and political discourse about the presence and integration of immigrants and minority groups has been heavily focused on national models: "Dense and consistent as they are seen, models are not only a matter of discourses and symbolic representations, but they are also presented as a powerful driver of action and shaper of institutions" (Bertossi and Duyvendak

2012: 241). At the same time this should not overshadow the importance of the local dimension.

In contrast to the European solution to the management of diversity, social integration of migrants has always had a strong local significance. This means that national and European policies must be formulated with consideration for the local (mainly urban) contexts and more specifically the role of cities as stakeholders in the integration of migrants (Borkert et al 2007). As national models have varying relevance, mainly identifiable as a result of disparity between positions at the local and national level, local policies deviate to cope with wider national deficiencies (see Ambrosini and Boccagni 2015). This is of particular relevance to the development of a 'Frankfurt model', the focus of this thesis.

Joppke (2007) makes the case, that in a core group of EU countries such as the Netherlands, France and Germany, national integration agendas are losing relevance. European countries may be developing some common responses but these are still limited at this stage. There is also a further sense that responses at the EU and national level may be inadequate for the needs of an increasingly diverse society; instead a more localised focus is adopted in many cases. This is also evident in the case of Frankfurt.

The following section, through a review of a range of debates and responses to multiculturalism and reference to the so-called failure and retreat of multiculturalism, attempts to outline how the responses to integration agendas and national models have unfolded. This will provide the background for a discussion of possible alternatives in section 2.5.

2.4 Understanding the backlash against multiculturalism

In 2010 and early 2011 the political leaders of the UK, France and Germany, adopted the term 'multiculturalism' to describe a situation in which integration measures had 'failed' (see Cagney 2014). With German Chancellor Angela Merkel in late 2010, followed by British Prime Minister David Cameron and French President Nicholas Sarkozy in 2011, there was public denunciation of the term and policy approach.

Taking France, Germany and the UK as examples of countries that exhibit different approaches or ‘models’, that are not necessarily multicultural (in the cases of France and Germany), the context for this backlash requires exploration.

2.4.1 The context for retreat

The terror attacks of 9/11 2001 in the USA, attacks on Madrid and London, the murder of Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh and riots in the banlieues (the suburbs) of Paris have been presented as evidence of failed immigration and integration policies in Europe (Giry 2006). In late 2010 and early 2011, the political leaders of France, Germany and the United Kingdom publicly questioned the merits of multiculturalism (Scalvini 2013). The relevance of the countries in question arises in part as a result of the fact that they are among the largest recipient countries of migrants in Europe (Dustman and Frattini 2012), but also because they were able to reach the same conclusion on the fate of multiculturalism. Arising in spite of differing histories and national political structures, as well as contrasting philosophies of integration (Favell 2001), this leads us to the question of “how and why such seemingly similar public debates unfolded across such varied social and political situations?” (Vertovec and Wessendorf 2010: 1).

Multiculturalism has been debated in a wide range of public and policy arenas. This section seeks to outline responses to multiculturalism, as well as address the narrative of failure and retreat that has emerged with sustained scholarly and public interest in recent years. Part of this involves the unpicking of particular instances and examples in which multiculturalism might be characterised as a negative or divisive force. Although there are critical dimensions of multicultural approaches outside of Europe, such as Canada and Australia, for the purposes of this review, the focus is predominantly focused on European examples.

2.4.2 The incompatibility of cultures – a shift from ethnicity to religion

There are multiple reasons cited for multicultural failure, and there has been great public criticism directed towards a range of issues. Often cited examples include the self-imposed isolation of groups as part of the formation of ‘parallel societies’ or

focus heavily upon ideas about incompatible practices such as forced marriage, female genital mutilation, honour killing and violence and religious fundamentalism (Korteweg and Triadafilopolous 2014). A critical factor in the debate is an increasingly evident emphasis on cultural differences over similarities. Usually framed as ‘the incompatibility of cultures’, there is now a shift taking place where instead of focusing on characteristics of ethnic difference, emphasis now tends to relate to religious difference (Gozdecka et al 2014). This is not purely a post-9/11 phenomenon nor is it confined to one country, but it is linked with the presence of Muslims (Modood 2013).

Islam in Europe is now highly visible. From debates about the presence of minarets in Switzerland (Mayer 2011) or of Muslim dress in public space (Secor 2002) in France, there is now a prominent discourse used by the media and some politicians, which suggests that Muslim practices and traditions may not be compatible with European traditions (Modood 2012). Scalvini (2013) addresses the media amplification of practices like this, showing how ideas become dispersed across Europe, projected as a negative outcome of an apparent ‘excessive tolerance’ shown in multicultural policies. Some consider that Muslims may have been encouraged by multicultural society to close themselves off (Flood et al 2012). This lack of integration by Muslims has supported a debate whereby multicultural policies are seen as inadequate and even divisive (Vertovec and Wessendorf 2012).

2.4.3 Characterising the backlash

When Angela Merkel, Nicholas Sarkozy and David Cameron publicly stated that multiculturalism had failed, a wave of public, political and academic response ensued. Although the UK is usually said to have adopted a multicultural model, it has also been suggested that none of the countries whose leaders rejected multiculturalism have embraced a ‘genuine’ multiculturalism such as in Canada or Australia (Lesinska 2014). The backlash against multiculturalism is complex not only in the range of debates but in the varying degrees and contexts in which it is being considered. This review seeks to provide a coherent overview of the main characterisations that have appeared to date.

While many characterisations seem to provide evidence of the demise of multiculturalism, it should also be kept in mind that debates are extremely nuanced and non-linear. There was a clear trend across western democracies towards multicultural policies between the 1970s and 1990s, but since the mid-1990s these have been in a state of retreat (Kymlicka 2012a). This process has been visible and discussed to varying degrees at different points in time. Joppke and Morawska 2003 suggest that the extent of the failure of multiculturalism may have been exaggerated. A vocabulary that refers to 'diversity policy' is emerging, but the core programmes of multiculturalism remain, with an observed retreat in just a few countries (Banting and Kymlicka 2012). This stands in contrast to the dominant discourses that are often represented and, it is suggested, shows that the majority of the debate exists at the level of discourse rather than policy.

Kymlicka (2012a) has outlined a set of 'myths of multiculturalism', which dismiss the caricature of multiculturalism as an uncritical celebration of diversity. He suggests that this caricature does little more than to distract and oversimplify what is in fact a highly complex and multi-faceted term. These are important points of opposition in a debate which might be seen as taking for granted a number of these elements, and which may over-emphasise the apparent rise and fall of multiculturalism. Persistent discussion of the retreat has obscured the fact that multiculturalism may still present a viable option for integration (Kymlicka 2012a; 2012b).

Lesinska (2014) outlines a 'backlash politics', which seems appropriate for the way that the issues of integration and multiculturalism have been dealt with in recent times. Vertovec and Wessendorf (2010) write of a verbal backlash that has involved specific idioms or tactics in a 'backlash discourse,' developed by an increasing group of critics of multiculturalism. Although the backlash has not radically changed the basis of policies so far, it has been seen to cause a negative atmosphere and undesirable attitudes towards immigrants and Muslims in particular (Vertovec and Wessendorf 2009).

Another example of multiculturalism experiencing rejection is seen the 2008 ‘White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue’, assembled by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe. In this paper, multiculturalism was dismissed as a failed model in Europe (Council of Europe 2008). Instead, they put forward a suggestion for a model of intercultural dialogue. This idea emerged following a project, which involved distributing questionnaires across Member States, the results of which showed that multiculturalism was widely unsupported. The report states that Member States considered that multiculturalism had failed, regardless of their traditional policy positions and programmes on integration. It was not until the comments of Angela Merkel, Nicholas Sarkozy and David Cameron two years later, however, that the debate on the failure of multiculturalism really gathered momentum (Kymlicka 2012b).

The narrative of retreat does not begin with the 2010 and 2011 statements of European politicians. In his book *Multiculturalism* (2013) Tariq Modood points to a wave of seminars and papers on the out datedness of multiculturalism or the death of multiculturalism, which could be identified as early as 2004. This view gathered further momentum in the wake of the 2005 bombings in London, where most of the perpetrators were British citizens with migration backgrounds. This sense of home-grown radicalism led to great concern and further emphasis on the deficiencies of multiculturalism.

Although there is broad consensus that there is a retreat taking place, there is also evidence of different countries attempting to develop different responses to the observed challenges of multiculturalism. As Favell (2003) notes: “European nations are obviously at different stages of development in their internal debates, but in most cases academic thinking is moving beyond purely denunciatory work on the negative consequences of immigration (such as studies of racism) into the conceptualisation of practical integration solutions and trajectories of multicultural social change”. (Favell 2003: 19). With this we see more experimental projects and approaches emerging such as those outlined in section 2.5.

A serious barrier to multiculturalism appears to be a crisis of perceptions (Vertovec and Wessendorf 2009). Since the events of 9/11 there has been a change in the way that immigrants are perceived (Bauböck 2002), but even prior to 9/11 there was great variation in EU policy making (Favell 2003). The issue of multiculturalism, according to Giddens (2006), is that it has been misunderstood and has never meant to be a policy, which looks to keep cultural groups apart, separate or to develop their own identity as they wish. In the European context, however, there has been no visible policy commitment, like that seen in examples like Canada, where multiculturalism is enshrined in the constitution (Kymlicka 2003). This leads to a call for new policy recommendations and approaches.

2.5 Alternatives to multiculturalism

2.5.1 The need for alternatives to multiculturalism

Existing previously as a very general but satisfactory method of describing a policy approach to migrant integration, the now all-encompassing term ‘multiculturalism’ is no longer sufficient: “Multiculturalism will not suffice on its own although it is almost universally employed in public discussions. It has become, like its root term ‘culture’ so contested and abused as to approach redundancy” (Aggestam and Hill 2008, 98).

At a linguistic level we can identify one problem of how the vocabulary available is a potentially limiting factor. Using the example of ‘race’, Nash (2003) explains how the terminology that we use “...is an issue of boundaries and names for entities, objects and classes of people and things, that both makes communication possible and powerfully naturalizes differences and divisions through those names and categories. She also points towards the “...new challenges to find adequate approaches and languages to understand and critically engage with the social, cultural and political construction and consequences of ideas of racial, cultural and embodied difference...” (2003: 638). As we enter a phase that is arguably beyond traditional multiculturalism, the concept of a ‘post-multicultural era’ has been discussed. For Vertovec (2010) and Kymlicka (2010) post-multiculturalism indicates

is a phase, which emphasises two things at the same time, one being the recognition of diversity but equally the maintenance of common national identities. This prevents one being at the cost of the other. A point of difficulty, however, is whether it signals a continuation of multiculturalism or a retreat from it.

What is problematic about the term multiculturalism is that it is now widely considered as overused and unclear, with ‘post-multiculturalism’ offering a different but underdeveloped perspective. This issue of clarity, or possible deficiencies in this area, was considered by the UK’s Commission on Integration and Cohesion (CIC), which was set up in 2007. Here the decision was taken to avoid the term multiculturalism due to its ‘catch all’ and confusing nature (Vertovec and Wessendorf 2010). Calls for an update in the language have also been widespread elsewhere (Karakayali 2009). Since the 1990s, there have been examples of re-emerging assimilation through renewed focus on language acquisition and courses on civic values and culture (Givens 2007). Thinking in these terms it may be possible to see a possible shift away from national models and instead towards alternative citizenship trajectories (Jacobs and Rea 2007). This section looks at a range of alternatives to multiculturalism that have been discussed, to varying degrees, and in varying contexts, in response to the retreat and reorientation of immigrant integration policy. This is not an exhaustive list but provides an overview of some possible options that might be appropriate, or have elements that can be drawn upon and used for institutionally grounded development of practical policy solutions in the future.

i. Integration

In the absence of an appropriate alternative to multiculturalism, and to counter the ‘retreat’, it becomes ever more useful to use the word ‘integration’. This word becomes popular as a generic, broad and unspecific term, which is far less politically charged than assimilation or multiculturalism (Miera 2012). At the same time ‘integration’ can be a vague, slippery term, which can mean whatever people want it to mean, as well as having less political weight than other available or previously accepted terms (see Castles et al 2002).

Although there is an acknowledged difficulty in using vague and ambiguous terminology, “...integration appears as a concept somewhere between multiculturalism and assimilation, which therefore would ask of immigrants a certain degree of adaptation to existing social norms and conventions without demanding that they give up their cultural specificities” (Miera 2012, 208). Integration positions itself in line with the more general expectations of many states, which now lean more clearly towards a citizenship agenda, based on more neutral and universal principles. The problem with this is that more discrete aspects and nuances can become over-emphasised or diminished by grouping too many complex aspects under one large heading.

The term integration is increasingly used in empirical research, theory and political practice as there is such a diverse range of meaning, “likewise, there is a broad variety of local- national- and European-level policies under label of integration policies” (Miera 2012, 193). In the search for new ways of engaging with diversity, “the most favoured alternative term to ‘multiculturalism’ is ‘integration’ and its synonyms in various languages” (Meer and Modood 2012c 234).

ii. Civic integration policy

A tendency for policies regarding integration to have a basis in something called civic integration policy arises as another alternative to traditional multiculturalism. These are beyond the descriptive term of integration and prescribe a certain set of expectations about how immigrants operate and integrate as part of their new society. There is now a trend in European countries towards having mandatory requirements on language acquisition and knowledge of society as the basis of acquiring not only citizenship, but in many cases permanent residence, where full citizenship is not always an outcome (Goodman 2010). These required skills are examined via a series of tests, courses and interviews. This point of convergence of Western European states is noted by Joppke (2007), although their implementation strategies vary considerably.

Some have viewed these courses and programmes of civic integration as part of a new citizenship trajectory, which replaces traditional national model approaches

(Jacobs and Rea 2007). Jacobs (2004) does not see this as a radical step away from multiculturalism, but the diffusion of this approach across Europe does indicate the increasing importance of the topic. The problem, however, is that these debates become embroiled in a wider narrative with more negative connotations, which suggests that people might be required to assimilate into particular roles.

iii. Local urban responses

Where local-level policy approaches seem to have been less affected by the backlash against multiculturalism, local reframing and urban policies have become increasingly important (Ambrosini and Boccagni 2015). Through a focused study of European cities, including Frankfurt, which looked directly at ‘urban adaptations of multiculturalism’, Ambrosini and Boccagni (2015) present the operational potential for local approaches in a departure from national level rhetoric. Suggesting an increased need for city level comparisons, commonalities between cities and their approaches were remarkable “across otherwise very different local contexts of immigrant reception” (Ambrosini and Boccagni 2015: 36).

As well as understanding how immigrant policies are framed and enacted at this local level, local approaches also consider the increasing role of civil society organisations in urban governance (see chapter eight). In French considerations of *la politique de la ville / urban policy*, municipal associations also act as part of a local policy dimension (Geddes 2003). In their search for alternatives, Ambrosini and Boccagni (2015) describe the relatively autonomous nature of local immigrant policies, as well as the ever more dubious relationships between cities and their respective national models. Instead, a case is presented which favours localised responses, which are attentive to urban differences and allow the development of locally contextualised, tailor-made responses, as demonstrated in this thesis through the example of Frankfurt am Main. These localised responses can then be used as demonstrators in discussions of foundational features for new integration measures, as well as for broader approaches in conceptualisations of national diversity management, as part of a flexible, yet consolidated model of integration.

iv. The return of assimilation

The context for assimilation and its possible challenges was presented initially in section 2.3. Assimilation has been a challenging term which, used in the French context, indicated a lack of integration policy and instead of a sense of the necessity to undergo a process of adaptation and alignment with the host culture. Brubaker (2001) provides one of the most developed arguments to demonstrate how a new kind of assimilation is advancing. This advance or return of assimilation has been considered widely and permeates literatures which deal with the retreat of multiculturalism, with it characterised in many cases as an important force and key driver of this retreat. This ‘new’ assimilation, however, has a more positive character than earlier conceptions, which indicates a broad change in perspective of those adopting more assimilative methods. Instead of expecting the automatic process of shedding cultural differences, as seen in a traditional assimilationist approach, the concept is gradually being transformed to include more nuanced understandings and a renewed concern with civic integration.

v. Interculturalism

The idea of interculturalism as a positive alternative to multiculturalism is not a fully evolved concept, but has been gathering momentum in some fields. As an approach which promotes communication and recognises the dynamism of identity, it does not currently offer a distinct perspective on the kinds of concerns arising in relation to difference and diversity, nor does it show any signs of overtaking or replacing multiculturalism at present (Meer and Modood 2012b). Nevertheless a kind of political interculturalism, or something described as an interculturalism discourse, comes to the fore in the light of the so-called retreat and crisis of multiculturalism, when there is little else to replace it. The problem of this political interculturalism is that there is an inherent fluidity within the conceptualisations of it, which means that it is challenging to generate a stable or clear distinction between the two ideas of interculturalism and multiculturalism (Levey 2012). There are equally accusations of ambiguity within the term itself (Wieviorka 2012), together with considerations that it lacks intellectual substance (Kymlicka 2012b). This suggests that interculturalism remains insufficient at present in the way it addresses the needs of political and

social actors in Europe. It is, however, a potentially viable approach, due to its emphasis on intercultural dialogue, which has been considered as part of a broader European agenda (Council of Europe 2008).

i.v. Multicultural governance

A recent approach, with a focus on policy making over policy outcomes, sees Korteweg and Triadafilopoulos (2014) argue for an additional consideration of multiculturalism as a form of governance. This multicultural governance involves the direct interaction of minority community organisations with political actors. This leads to the implementation of policy, by allowing the community organisations an opportunity to contribute practical, community-specific knowledge to the policy making process. “Multicultural governance builds on the fact of diversity without drawing on any normative claims for group recognition...At the same time multicultural governance differs from civic integration policy in that it is organised horizontally with the input of groups, instead of vertically, with national governments imposing their will in a top down fashion” (Korteweg and Triadafilopoulos 2014: 664).

Although disjointed structural change has taken place across Europe over the past few decades, multicultural governance may respond to a need for the development of governance mechanisms. These need to be relevant those affected by them, but also able to evolve over time, along with the neighbourhoods or districts concerned, as they undergo a transition and learn from experiences (see for example Allen and Cars 2001).

The approaches presented here are a number of examples of possible approaches, beyond the immediate concept of multiculturalism, but still attentive to how it retains certain relevance in the exploration of other possible strategies for diversity management. In thinking further about different ways of underpinning integration policy, the chapter turns briefly to the concept of super-diversity and then to the concept of networked diversity as alternative conceptualisations, which draw on many elements of the proposed alternatives. This proposes a particular foundation for the development of model diversity management approaches.

2.6 From super-diversity to networked diversity

Traditionally, observations and classifications of diversity have focused on ethnicity or country of origin. Often used interchangeably, these two terms have often provided a misleading one-dimensional view of diversity, which does not take into account additional variables that exist in emerging demographic and social patterns (Vertovec 2006). Applied in the first instance by Vertovec (2007) to describe London, super-diversity includes the new conjunctions and interactions that have arisen as a result of a wider range of immigration statuses, labour market experiences, age profiles, spatial factors and local area responses. Despite an evident ‘diversification of diversity’ and the transformation of the social landscape in Britain, policy frameworks and public understanding have not kept pace with the new, smaller, differentiated groups that now exist (Vertovec 2006).

2.6.1 Super-diversity as a placeholder

Super-diversity is a summary term that incorporates, although is not limited to, the dynamic interaction of the range of variables that have emerged from the changing nature of global migration. The term super-diversity is particularly important for the thesis as Vertovec applies it to the city of Frankfurt in his own work, as an example of a place with levels of diversity comparable to London, despite being much smaller (Vertovec in Fenzel 2010). Since 2007, the definition and interpretation of super-diversity has been explored and expanded across academia and public policy. The more than 300 publications that invoke super-diversity have cut across disciplines and provide many readings (Vertovec 2013). Adopted and expanded in ways beyond his initial ideas, Vertovec’s (2014) overview of some of the ways super-diversity has been read and applied include: meaning very much diversity or pronounced differentiation in cultural identities; meaning more ethnicity; as a move beyond a focus on ethnicity; as a changed set of conditions and social configurations that require a multidimensional approach; as urging a methodological reassessment of particular disciplines; and finally as a set of non-linear social trajectories with mixed motivations for migration, blurred racial categories and multifarious networking.

As Vertovec (2014) acknowledges himself, sustained interest and such varied readings have led to the emergence of what might be called a super-diversity ‘lens’ or super-diversity ‘turn’ in the social sciences. In another interpretation, super-diversity has been turned into an adjective used for describing phenomena. This is seen in examples such as: ‘the super-diverse city’ or the ‘super-diverse society’ (Vertovec 2014). Methodologically speaking, super-diversity offers social scientists a way to describe and discuss increasing societal complexity, although Vertovec considers it as a placeholder, rather than a replacement for descriptions adopted in the past (Vertovec 2014).

2.6.2. Towards network-based perspectives

Within the context of super-diverse society in Frankfurt, networked diversity emerges as a concept, considered a more up to date alternative to the multiculturalism of the early years (see Fenzel 2010). Although not widely adopted, networked diversity offers an enhanced understanding of characteristics that are interconnected across both networks of diversity and diverse networks. Whereas super-diversity has implications at the local and national level, the thesis argues that networked diversity addresses even more discrete connections within societies, whilst cutting across omnipresent local and national interest. For this thesis networked diversity is characterised in two ways, both as a characteristic of cities and their societies, but also conceptualised as a possible policy response to the diverse city.

New approaches are not required to start ‘from scratch’ to be relevant in changing circumstances. What Vertovec (2010) refers to as ‘a refashioning of tools’ is taken as an opportunity to make the best use of existing networked approaches, and then to explore them further. Multicultural policies have typically promoted tolerance and respect for collective identities and this has been undertaken through a variety of means. These include: support for community organisations and associations in their cultural activities; monitoring diversity in the workplace; encouraging positive images in the media; and modifying public services (Vertovec 2006). Super-diversity and further networked diversity do not remove this imperative, but offer further

opportunities to understand how tolerance and respect for collective identities can be generated through enhanced networking processes. This is particularly important where the role of community organisations in providing forums for experience sharing and access to services is diversifying. Where local authorities were used to liaising with a small number of large and well-established organisations in the past, there are now many smaller and less organised groups (see Vertovec 2006). The changing role of civil society organisations and the emergence of new organisations in the Frankfurt context is an increasingly visible dimension of diversity management across local institutions (see chapter eight).

The overview presented here offers some preliminary readings of the concept and origin of super-diversity. This is explored in chapter five as part of academic interventions within a local policy consultation programme. It is in this context that we see the concept applied directly to Frankfurt and underpins the application of the idea of networked diversity in chapter six.

2.7 Conclusion

Multiculturalism retains a number of supporters who believe that it should be reaffirmed rather than abandoned. Giddens (2007) suggests that European countries have not been too multiculturalist, but in fact might be seen as not multiculturalist enough. Long term supporters of multiculturalism still believe that it can continue as a working concept, requiring reorientation rather than full-scale retreat (see Modood 2013). This change in direction may be helped by achieving a better understanding of the social, cultural and religious networks that exist within cities. At the same time criticisms of parallel societies and cultural incompatibility continue to gather momentum as one of the growing challenges for multicultural policies.

These discussions and widespread views on what multiculturalism is or may be can be construed as part of the wider master narrative of multiculturalism (see Kymlicka 2010 and Amin 2012). A key element of this master narrative has been the gradual rise followed by the dramatic fall of multiculturalism, as part of a debate which suggests that we are now in a post-multicultural era (Kymlicka 2012b). The problem,

as Kymlicka points out, is that the prevailing narrative has a tendency to mis-characterise the multicultural experiments which have taken place, together with the exaggeration of the extent to which they have been abandoned (Joppke and Morawska 2003). The problem with these positions is that the retreat becomes branded as a failure, without paying attention to more discrete difficulties, or the possible positive aspects that may have been encountered. With multiple rhetorical positions implied in the master narrative about the rise and fall or success and failure of multiculturalism, it is not easy to see what diversity policy might look like in societies and cities that will contain increasingly different cultures. The evolving rhetoric about multiculturalism sets the context and contributes to the way that these ideas become translated practically into policy. For this, the potential for networked diversity to make a distinctive contribution within the policy environment can be explored.

At a time of struggle in the identification and definition of appropriate concepts, it is perhaps not surprising that the concept of super-diversity has been taken up as a placeholder, until more enhanced terms, theories and perspectives are developed. The flexibility of the term super-diversity and its application to cities such as Frankfurt (see Vertovec 2009), gives a practical basis for investigation, and for an exploration of networked diversity, based on an understanding of the extent of diversity and its changing dynamics.

Chapter 3

Frankfurt am Main - the diverse city in a country without immigration

3.1 Introduction

After the Second World War and until the early 2000s the core political narrative and description of Germany's migration situation was one of '*kein Einwanderungsland*' / '*country without immigration*' (see for example Kohl 1991). Despite this position, several delineable waves of immigration were evident in this period (see Castles 1985, Münz and Ulrich 1997; 2003). This denial was consistently recapitulated by political leaders until the change in German Citizenship Law in 2000, which then recognised the presence of immigrants, and the rising need to adopt strategies for their integration. As a result of this late acceptance, Germany has a relatively short history of measures and mechanisms for integration at an official level (Wasmer 2012).

It is unusual to study Germany, a country without historically accepted diversity. This also means that policy objectives and approaches have not been widely defined. With the interest of this thesis based within the city of Frankfurt, this chapter offers two perspectives. First it will describe a number of key moments in the post-war immigration story of Germany, including an outline of the different phases of immigration over this period. These will provide context for the extent of diversity that exists within the country and in Frankfurt particularly, as well as the way it has been managed over time. Secondly, it provides an overview of key developments in Frankfurt's population development, as a way of positioning the research within the perspective of the diverse city. With the denunciation of multiculturalism by Angela Merkel in 2010, as seen in chapter two, an attempt is made in this chapter to understand the context for an emerging German 'brand' of multiculturalism managed through multiple networks in the Frankfurt example.

3.2 Phases of migration to Germany since 1945

Münz and Ulrich (1997) outlined six waves of migration to Germany from 1945 until the mid-1990s. Although there have been further developments since that time, these waves of migration provide important context for understanding the composition of German society and how the situation has developed since the 1990s.

In the stages outlined by Münz and Ulrich (1997) the first stage covers the period 1945-1949. During this time, immediately following the war, there was an influx of previous expellees from Germany and large numbers of refugees. This was followed in the second phase, between 1949 and 1961, by the mass immigration of a group known as 'Aussiedler'. This group are 'ethnic Germans' who had been living in Eastern Europe, but had a right to citizenship under German laws of the time. The third phase involved a group known as 'Übersiedler' who moved from East to West Germany in the period between 1961 and 1973. These two phases are important because they involve a group of people who have the right to citizenship in Germany on the basis of *ius soli* (right to the soil). In later phases, however, this becomes more complex, as different categories of immigrants are given a different legal status (Marshall 2000).

In the fourth phase the nature of immigration shifted with a new scheme of 'labour migration', known more commonly as the 'guest worker' recruitment period. This ran from 1955 to 1973. Industrial growth during different time periods in Germany has seen the recruitment of guest workers from neighbouring countries in order to meet increased labour demands (see Bade 1995). In the 1950s and 1960s these workers were from a number of countries including Turkey, Italy, Spain, Greece, Portugal, and Yugoslavia (Meer et al 2015). When a recruitment ban was enforced in 1973, many of the guest workers chose to remain. They also brought their families, which further increased the number of immigrants. By the 1970s, Marshall (2000) considers that Germany was effectively an immigration country, with immigrants setting up more permanent residences in cheaper areas of big cities. By the time of the recruitment ban, the problems caused by a lack of integration policy had already been created (Collinson 1994). Inadequate responses across political parties and the

official ‘country without immigration’ stance prevented any sustained attention and consideration of immigration as a policy area.

Between 1988 and 1992 up to 4 million immigrants arrived in Germany, both at great speed and via a range of complex migration paths. These pathways included: family reunions of settled labour migrants, further migration of ethnic Jews and Germans who arrived as Aussiedler and Übersiedler, asylum seekers and refugees (Marshall 2000). In the late 1980s and early 1990s (fifth phase), immigration reached peak levels. This was primarily due to new attraction factors and the dismantling of the Iron Curtain and its administrative barriers (Münz and Ulrich 1997). With these rapidly increasing numbers of asylum seekers, ethnic Germans and foreigners, politicians resorted to more restrictive means. These prohibitive measures and a change in asylum law in 1993 saw the beginning of a sixth phase (Hailbronner 1994, Münz and Ulrich 1997).

Beyond the phases outlined by Münz and Ulrich (1997), which cover the period from the end of the war until the mid-1990s, we can consider further shifts and developments that have taken place since the late 1990s. In 1998, the new coalition government of the Social Democrats and the Green Party declared that Germany was a country with immigrants. With this paradigm shift came a range of legal and policy developments throughout the 2000s including: the new Citizenship law 2000, New Immigration Act 2005, German Islam conference 2006, National Integration Plan 2007 and National Action Plan 2011 (Heckmann and Wiest 2015). These important milestones in integration policy development have highlighted a number of commitments, which respond to demands for coordination between political and civil society actors, acknowledge the increasing presence of Muslims in Germany, and set concrete, verifiable targets for integration (Heckmann and Wiest 2015).

These developments provide important background understanding of the Frankfurt context, in which activities at city level will also be shown to align to a wider integration directive at different points in the thesis. The next section turns to the site of study, Frankfurt am Main and outlines the main features of its population structure and sets the scene for the empirical work.

3.3 Researching Frankfurt

Frankfurt am Main is the fifth largest city in Germany and had a population of just over 700,000 inhabitants at the end of 2014 (preliminary figures Stadt Frankfurt 2015). Non-German inhabitants in Frankfurt include representatives of more than 170 nations, representing 24.3% of Frankfurt's total population in March 2010 (Stadt Frankfurt 2010); rising to 26.8 per cent by 2013 (Stadt Frankfurt 2013a). A further 21.8% of citizens are described as German inhabitants with migration background (Stadt Frankfurt 2015a).

With its established networks, infrastructure and position as an important metropolitan hub, Frankfurt has a long history of migration. Although the case of Frankfurt is considered an anomaly in its early institutionalisation of diversity matters, there is a call for developments in local policy to be viewed alongside wider national and international events and developments, in order to understand their impact (Stadt Frankfurt 2009a). For this reason the key migration paths to Frankfurt and their wider contexts are presented here, to demonstrate the ways in which the local, national and international remain interlinked. This also sets the scene for the rapid diversification of the population.

Frankfurt was an important destination for incoming labour migrants in the 1960s and early 1970s. When the recruitment ban of 1973 was enforced, this form of migration to Frankfurt stopped, as was the case across the country (Lüken-Klaßen 2007). In the time immediately after the ban, many guest workers decided that they would stay in Frankfurt, and of those that settled many relocated their families, a further trend which was observed countrywide. This acted as a primary source of migration in the time which immediately followed the end of official labour migration agreements. As a result of this process, which acted as a significant source of migration countrywide, there are now second and third generation migrants living in Germany. It follows then, that this cohort are a significant group within the population of Frankfurt (Lüken-Klaßen 2007).

The case of Frankfurt presents a series of complex processes and developments, which have shaped its population structure. As these evolved, counter to the narrative on immigration within Germany, the shifting population structure led to a number of methodological realignments in the way that data on populations was captured. There are ongoing challenges in charting the demographic development of Frankfurt due to a lack of descriptive statistical data being available. This is not a problem specific to Frankfurt, but relates to the wider immigration stance taken in Germany that it was not a ‘country of immigration’. As a result, data on the number of foreigners was not seen as a necessity and had not been uniformly collected. Nonetheless, efforts to capture data in Frankfurt have become more structured and are now considered an area for continued development (see chapter 5 for a discussion about data and integration indicators). The following section examines the current structure and distribution of the population in Frankfurt. It also looks at methodological developments in the statistical data on particular indicators, which have shaped the way that data is now collected and will have implications for future measurement.

Following the most recent census in Germany in 2011, data on population structure is now derived from the *Melderegister* (Register of Residence) and takes into account the main place of residence of citizens. In the census prior to this, which was carried out in 1987, secondary residence was also taken into account. This is one of the first methodological shifts that can be identified in the most recent survey (Frankfurt Statistik Aktuell 2013). The results of this change are reflected in the following extracts from the *Statistisches Jahrbuch* (Statistical Year Book) published by Stadt Frankfurt’s *Bürgeramt Statistik und Wahlen / Office for Statistics and Elections* (Figure 1 and 2).

Bevölkerung		Population	
Bevölkerungsstruktur		Structure of population	
Bevölkerung	678 691	Population	
weiblich	50,8 %	Female	
unter 18 Jahren	15,9 %	Under 18 years	
65 Jahre und älter	16,3 %	65 years and over	
Ausländer/innen	26,1 %	Foreigners	
Deutsche mit Migrationshintergrund	21,3 %	German inhabitants with migration background	
Einwohner/innen je km ²	2 733	Inhabitants per km ²	

Figure 1 Statistical portrait Frankfurt am Main 2012 (Source: Stadt Frankfurt 2013a)

Bevölkerung		Population	
Bevölkerungsstruktur		Structure of population	
Bevölkerung	698 333	Population	
weiblich	50,8 %	Female	
unter 18 Jahren	15,4 %	Under 18 years	
65 Jahre und älter	16,4 %	65 years and over	
Ausländer/innen	24,5 %	Foreigners	
Deutsche mit Migrationshinweis	13,9 %	German inhabitants with indication of migration	
Einwohner/innen je km ²	2 812	Inhabitants per km ²	

Figure 2 Statistical portrait Frankfurt am Main 2011 (Source: Stadt Frankfurt 2012a)

Jahr	Insgesamt	männlich	weiblich		deutsch	ausländisch	
	absolut	absolut	absolut	in %	absolut	absolut	in %
2000	624 980	306 311	318 669	51,0	444 645	180 335	28,9
2001	619 443	303 077	316 366	51,1	448 269	171 174	27,6
2002	622 460	304 625	317 835	51,1	451 958	170 502	27,4
2003	623 350	304 472	318 878	51,2	455 082	168 268	27,0
2004	625 206	305 472	319 734	51,1	459 606	165 600	26,5
2005	630 423	308 468	321 955	51,1	462 277	168 146	26,7
2006	632 206	308 841	323 365	51,1	469 532	162 674	25,7
2007	636 746	311 234	325 512	51,1	474 221	162 525	25,5
2008	641 153	313 598	327 555	51,1	479 756	161 397	25,2
2009	648 451	317 503	330 948	51,0	485 195	163 256	25,2
2010	656 427	321 887	334 540	51,0	491 545	164 882	25,1
2011	667 075	327 620	339 455	50,9	496 564	170 511	25,6
2012	678 691	334 029	344 662	50,8	501 756	176 935	26,1

Figure 3 Citizens with main residence in Frankfurt 2000-2012 according to gender -männlich (male)/weiblich (female) and nationality deutsch (German) /ausländisch (foreigner)
(Source: Stadt Frankfurt 2013b)

Figures 1 and 2 show that the population declined between the end of 2011 and the end of 2012 from 698,333 to 678,691. This occurs as a direct result of only counting the main residence of citizens, instead of the previous method which accounted for secondary residences. Nevertheless, Frankfurt has shown steady growth in its total population in the period from 2000 to the end of 2012, as shown in Figure 3. Figures 1 to 3 also highlight important developments regarding the number of foreign residents in Frankfurt, and those with migration backgrounds.

With attention to the way that non-Germans are defined, a change in the description of migration is seen between Figure 1 and Figure 2, with a shift from ‘indications of migration’ in 2011, changed to ‘migration background’ in 2012. This reflects a methodological change and positions the issue within a broader discussion, which continues to debate ways of describing people with their origins in other cultures and countries (see Härle 2004). Although debates continue to take place involving the description of people born in Germany with foreign heritage, ‘migration background’ is the terminology that is most widely used at present. With this reorientation, the definition of migration background has also shifted and the figures now include all foreigners, naturalised citizens, Germans born abroad as well as children under 18 who have at least one parent of migrant origin (Frankfurt Statistik Aktuell 2014). Another development, along with this descriptive change, is the adoption of a new evaluation method known as MigraPro. This involves the collection of data according to a range of criteria, which is done using the same indicators as other cities, as part of a procedure to enable future comparison between them (Frankfurt Statistik Aktuell 2013). Although this shift serves to more clearly define migrant background, as well as the groups included within it, the data will not be well-established or easily comparable to that which was collected previously, due to a misalignment in indicators and criteria.

The impact of shifting descriptions on the data is shown in Figure 3. The population in general is shown to have increased steadily, although there are certain periods where the number of foreigners in Frankfurt is decreasing, as well as a general trend of decreasing foreign nationals. This can be attributed to changes in laws as described in the phases of migration in 3.2. For example after the change in citizenship law in 2000, children born in Germany were considered to be German automatically where previously this had not been the case.

Detail on the scope and structure of migration flows within Frankfurt remains limited. Following a study which investigated migration flows in 1994 and looked at the period from 1984 to 1993, a more recent report sought to document the period from 1990 to 2001 (Gutfleisch and Schulmeyer 2002). While the authors recognised that the statistics would not allow for in-depth insight due to their limited nature, they

saw that it was necessary to describe the development of the main demographic and regional structures of Frankfurt. Their statistical analysis in 2002 reflected particularly on motivations for migration based upon a survey carried out in 2000, as detailed in the Frankfurt Statistical Report of 2001, as well as being heavily focused upon the movement of people in and out of Frankfurt. This data is recognised as a significant step towards understanding the development of migration paths to and from Frankfurt in the years to follow (Gutfleisch and Schulmeyer 2002).

3.4 Frankfurt in an era of super-diversity

As well as understanding how migration backgrounds are defined, the countries of origin of Frankfurt citizens also provide key background understanding of migration processes and extent of diversity in Frankfurt. Frankfurt is home to citizens from more than one hundred and eighty national backgrounds.

In 2013 the population of Frankfurt continued to increase by 2.2% to reach a new high of more than 693,000 residents. This included a 0.7% increase in the number of foreigners from the previous year (Frankfurt Statistik Aktuell 2014). The impact of the seventh wave of EU-enlargement to include Croatia from June 2013 was particularly notable, with the number of citizens from EU countries increasing from 69,677 to 87,960 (Frankfurt Statistik Aktuell 2014).

In most recent estimations the total population of Frankfurt has increased to more than 700,000, with the number of people of foreign origin, or with migration background, approaching if not exceeding fifty percent (preliminary figures Stadt Frankfurt 2015a). With the new role of MigraPro, it has been possible to see the familial migration background of individuals since 2012 (Stadt Frankfurt 2015). These levels of diversity underpin the research interest in the city of Frankfurt. The outline of the changing population structure within Frankfurt also provides a demographic backdrop, against which integration measures and policies are then set. This is primarily seen in the work of the Frankfurt administration which is a focus of the thesis.

Frankfurt has always been an important destination for migrants. In addition to the traditionally considered forms of migration to Germany, Vertovec has identified every possible migration trajectory in Frankfurt which also includes more modern forms such as: seasonal workers, nursing staff, foreign specialist and managerial staff, as well as education professionals and other high-skilled migrants (Fenzel 2010). As a global city Frankfurt shows clear evidence of high mobility, with large numbers of commuters into the city daily, as well as people moving in and out of the city each year (Vertovec 2009). For example in 2013 50,014 people moved to Frankfurt and 48,814 left the city (Stadt Frankfurt 2013b). This is what Vertovec (2009) referred to as the population being in a state of ‘flux’ or ‘churn’. This high level of socio-geographical mobility of people in and out of Frankfurt on a constant and consistent basis is also reflected in Vertovec’s characterisation. It also accounts in part for the increasingly familiar case of smaller numbers of people coming from more countries. This has resulted in a significant process of diversification and the application of the summary term super-diversity, reflected in the wider population geography of Frankfurt. This cements its position as a core conceptual framing for the thesis.

3.5 Constructing a German narrative of multiculturalism

As outlined in chapter two, and in the introduction to this chapter, Germany has not adopted an official policy position of multiculturalism at any point. The role of social science is acknowledged as having a role in the institutionalisation of migrant matters, with a large increase in research on the processes of immigrant integration in Germany since the 1980s (see Heckmann and Wiest 2015). A survey of literatures serves to show some more discrete engagements with the idea of multiculturalism over time. These are not to be over-exaggerated, but hint at the possibility of an underlying rhetoric that signals a particular German ‘version’ or ‘brand’ of multiculturalism. This consideration provides an important backdrop to the empirical inquiry within Frankfurt and its particular focus on the Amt für multikulturelle Angelegenheiten (AmkA).

In the 1980s there was renewed scholarly interest in the history of migration to Germany, with studies that considered the integration of first and second generation guest workers into social life moving further up in the research agenda (Winter 2010). Also in this decade, more than twenty five years after the arrival of the first guest workers in Germany, a marginal debate surrounding multiculturalism as a concept developed (Meer et al 2015). With the reality of guest worker settlement acknowledged through scholarly work, and the roots of a discussion on multiculturalism, Germany's status as a country without immigrants came to be a reflection of a political attitude, which conflicted with the evident social reality (Eckardt 2007).

In the late 1990s Germany began to take steps towards admitting its status as a country of immigration. This took place following the accession of a centre-left government in 1998. Following the initial lack of acceptance, there has been great progress made towards integration since the correction of this previous denial in 2001. This change in stance was further cemented through changes in citizenship law at the turn of the century (Meer and Modood 2012a). In spite of this, the idea of multiculturalism as a policy emerged extremely late in Germany, existing only at the level of discourse without being endorsed or administered as a policy by any government (Kraus and Schönwälder 2006). As Joppke (2008) discussed, multiculturalism within public discourse was seen less as a question of immigration, but rather a way to break away from Germany's legacy as an 'ethnic nation'.

In one strand, and as Germany began to take steps towards admitting its status as a country of immigration following the accession of a centre-left government in 1998, ensuing 'Leitkulturdebatte' / 'dominant culture debates' arose. Strongly linked to the idea of immigrants assimilating into a dominant or lead culture, some commentators saw the idea as a direct response to a view of society becoming increasingly characterised "...by the notion of a 'clash of civilisations' and the 'incompatibility of different cultures'" (Pautz 2005: 39). Furthermore, these statements echo with a wider debate taking place in Germany referring to 'parallel lives' and even 'parallel societies', with people of differing cultures living side-by-side without integrating into wider society.

The federal structure of the German state allows considerable room for different strategies at the regional and local level for the implementation of explicitly 'multicultural' programmes. Nonetheless it remains difficult to talk about multiculturalism in relation to Germany as it has never exercised such a policy (Schönwälder 2010). Further, the key terminology and vocabulary relating to integration, including the words 'multiculturalism' and 'ethnic diversity', have been noticeably absent from the country's official political discourse (Eckardt 2007). In addition, multiculturalism tends to be seen as a derogatory term in present day Germany, relating to backward ideas of integration and fostering so-called 'parallel lives', and with politicians tending to omit it from their own vocabulary (Schönwälder 2010). A challenge arises for commentators and public attempts to understand how and why the public denunciation of multiculturalism by Angela Merkel ever came to light, sustaining the multiculturalism question on a German stage, without officially subscribing to it at any point. Germany, like other states, needs to decide what kind of immigrant future it envisages for itself and consider what space will be allowed for the development of immigrant cultures, languages and religions (Schönwälder 2010).

3.6 Conclusion

A new phase of German migration came about at the end of the 1980s with the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989 (Lüken-Klaßen 2007). This was also the year that AmkA and Department of Integration were formed. As such there are five events or key moments since 1989 that are considered as influential factors for Frankfurt's early migration and integration politics and the development of AmkA, and have been reflected in the outline of phases of migration to Germany and Frankfurt specifically. These include the reunification of East and West Germany following the opening up of the Berlin Wall; the Civil War in Yugoslavia and increase in refugees from ex-Soviet countries; the new citizenship law of 2000 including the new 'option' model for children born in Germany; the post-2004 eastern expansion of the EU and finally the new migration laws of 2005 (Stadt Frankfurt 2009a). These events signal a shift in focus from the image of migrants being predominantly ex-guest workers, instead

establishing a more diversified impression of the city, with the proportion of migrants from EU countries now significantly higher.

The rationale for carrying out research in Frankfurt arises primarily from the nature of cultural and religious diversity, resulting from the presence of foreigners from more than 180 different countries. This high concentration of migrants in the city led to the realisation that specific integration measures were required. As a result the municipal government responded with the formation of local migration focused institutions in 1989. The decision to create specialised municipal bodies for multicultural issues signalled the recognition of the challenges and opportunities for the management of a diverse population comparatively earlier than the rest of Germany. These core aspects provide the starting point for the empirical enquiry of the thesis.

As Frankfurt's engagement with the possible issues of immigration arose sooner than in the rest of Germany, it has a comparatively longer and well-defined period of action in this area. Within this timeframe (1989-present) there is a clear tendency towards developing localised methods and means of engagement with different social, cultural and religious groups within the city, namely through networked programmes, projects and partnerships. Though the research field itself is geographically broad, the project does not seek to address trends in particular areas, but to identify how different aspects of this highly networked urban politics, manifest at particular moments across the urban environment. The day-to-day encounters and interactions of groups and individuals with each other and a range of connected institutions within the urban environment, provide the backdrop to the research questions of the thesis and inform the overall architecture of the research methodology outlined in the next chapter.

Chapter 4

Researching multicultural policy in Frankfurt

4.1 Introduction

Empirical social science research, which analyses social contexts by a range of methods, draws upon a number of disciplinary traditions to collect data about people and their life contexts (Somekh et al 2005). This chapter provides an account of the methodological framework adopted during the course of the research. This includes a descriptive report of the qualitative methods chosen, their application within the research setting and their outcomes. In line with the policy focus of the thesis, I present the unique dilemmas that arise in the process of researching policy and policy actors (Duke 2002). After a justification of the methods and analytical approach adopted, the chapter outlines a range of considerations regarding the efficacy and also the possible limitations of the chosen methods. Finally, it includes a commentary on the impact of carrying out qualitative social research in a different cultural and linguistic setting, including the decision-making processes required at all stages of the research process – from accessing and collecting data, to its translation and presentation in the thesis.

4.2 Frankfurt as a case study

The case study approach typically seeks an in-depth understanding through ethnographic research in a particular setting (Ragin 1992). Yin (1994) and Bryman (2004) have argued that the case study is the best research design when the focus of the research is a contemporary phenomenon taking place within a real-life context. This thesis investigates the realities of a super-diverse society through the complex networks that exist within urban environments. This cross-cutting topic is omnipresent within global politics, as well as playing out at an everyday, local level. With the development and expansion of global networks, the diversification of society is of international significance, with the case of Frankfurt providing a

concrete example of unfolding developments in diversity management in an urban, global-city setting.

The processes taking place in Frankfurt and their implications for policy are explored through qualitative methodological strands involving both interviews and ethnographic work in the form of participant observation and ethnographic interviews. In addition, its definition as a case study provides a foundation from which to design the research framework and pursue the defined research questions. Following Vaughan (1992), justification for using cases includes that: “(1) they are potential examples of research topic X, (2) they vary in size and complexity (e.g. groups, simple formal organisations, complex organisations, subunits within them or networks) and (3) they vary in function (e.g. accounting department, church, environmentalist group, research institution, symphony orchestra)” (1992: 175). The research meets this case study framework by providing an example of research on the topic of diversity; it is based within a small yet politically complex organisation which is networked with other different sized organisations within the city; and it addresses the wide ranging functions of the organisations and networks it studies. The case study of Frankfurt provides access to a particular space and analyses a range of social phenomena which are specific to the times and places they are being conducted. This not only generates theoretical insights but also leads to the discussion of a range of general theories and hypotheses (see Ragin 1992).

Due to a small sample size, case studies can present a range of potential disadvantages. For example, a researcher may need to consider the implications of low external validity (Bryman 2004; Strauss and Corbin 1998); the limits of the comparative usefulness of the study (Harper 1992); or on the basis that case studies produce microscopic evidence (Giddens 1984). The main point of concern for many scholars is that the comments and conclusions generated may lack validity or are only valid to a certain extent as they are based on a relatively limited body of data. Nevertheless, Yin (1994) establishes a view that even a single case might be acceptable and claims that case study findings may in fact be generalisable, not to wide populations or locations, but to “theoretical propositions or theories that build on the gained insights” (1994: 36-37). Further, I would suggest that the case study

approach allows the significance and distinctiveness of the case of Frankfurt in its approach to diversity to be examined. For this reason the case study presented here should not only be viewed as a way of generating generalisable insights, but to chart and evaluate the wider potential of a unique approach to institutionally grounded diversity management, network development and leads to the definition of a ‘Frankfurt model’.



Figure 4 Map of Frankfurt Innenstadt /City Centre showing location of AmkA (Source ©2015 GeoBasis DE/BKG © 2009 Google).

4.3 Research schedule

A two-stage process of data collection including two short pilot studies (phase 1) and a third, longer period of research was carried out in Frankfurt (phase 2) (see Annex A). The two preliminary visits, the first in June 2012 and the second between August and September 2012, provided a two-stage pilot study and allowed for initial data collection and network building. A range of exploratory interviews were carried out and gatekeepers within different organisations were identified. This was followed by a sustained period of immersion in Frankfurt from July to December 2013. The main

location of the two preliminary research visits was the AmkA Office, located in Lange Straße on the edge of the *Innenstadt / City Centre* in Frankfurt (see Figure 4). In the final research period, I was based at the Institut für Humangeographie at the Goethe University, Frankfurt. During this time the research schedule became more flexible and combined situated research at the AmkA office (see chapter seven) with visits to civil society organisations (see chapter eight) ,as well as attending a range of events across the city (see Annex B).

4.4 Addressing the research questions

Ritchie (2013) explains the need for researchers to establish research questions that meet a number of structural requirements. These often require a balance between connecting existing theory, whilst allowing original data to be collected. A researcher also needs to ensure that questions are focused, but that this does not become too narrow and restrictive for the collection of data (Ritchie 2013). With this in mind, prior to entering the field for the first time, a number of broad research questions were established. These were then further refined in the interim periods of analysis to create a specific analytical focus for the main data collection period. As part of an iterative process that took place over the course of the field visits, the questions acted as a set of working ideas, which remained open to emerging themes (Layder 1993). A decision about the most appropriate methods to explore the questions and generate empirical data was made as part of this ongoing process. The following table outlines these questions in their finalised form and the combinations of methods of investigation selected to address each question:

<p>1) What are the key elements of a ‘networked diversity’ framework in the development of policy responses to cultural complexity in Frankfurt?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Review of reports and literature commissioned for Integration and Diversity Concept document. • Ethnographic insights from informal interview and participant observation of how this develops in-situ. • Interviews with networked partners of AmkA as well as organisation-organisation links.
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<p>2) How are policies, strategies and projects formulated and operationalised in Frankfurt in the context of a networked diversity framework?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Semi structured interviews with key actors including project leads and gatekeepers working at the municipal level. • Interviews with individuals and groups attending events. Event ethnographies
<p>3) What does the presence of an institution responsible for integration and diversity management mean for external organisations and individuals living in Frankfurt?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Semi structured interviews with gatekeepers of social, cultural and religious organisations. • Ethnographic interviews with participants at events and participant observation of day to day workings of AmkA.
<p>4) How is Frankfurt's unique approach to integration and diversity consolidated through policy and practice and to what extent can this be considered a 'Frankfurt model'?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Semi structured interviews with gatekeepers of social, cultural and religious organisations. • Review of policy and overview documents on status of 'Frankfurt model'

Figure 5 Research questions and method of investigation

The combined methodology chosen includes: semi-structured interviews, ethnographic observations and ethnographic interviews which are less structured, conversational style interviews with participants. Utilising these methods the research sought a robust qualitative analysis of the key points of interest within the case study site. In addition to these methods of empirical data collection, a range of policy documents, pamphlets and institutional reports which act as a supporting literature alongside the more traditional methods of qualitative enquiry, were drawn upon.

Much of the scholarship on combining methods suggests that it is important to mix methods with complementary strengths and contrasting weaknesses, so as to improve the overall validity of the research (Tashakkori and Teddlie 2003). Accordingly this combination of the two selected data collection methods of interviews and participant observation has been used widely in qualitative research. The advantages of using these methods in conjunction with each other are well understood; with each kind of data able illuminate the other at different points (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). Although multiplicity of methods does not ensure rigour in the research process,

considerations of the limitations of each method have been made throughout and are discussed here (see Baxter and Eyles 1997).

4.4.1 Semi-structured interviews

To establish the perspectives of research participants on a range of issues, semi-structured interviews were used. Eighteen participants took part in in-depth interviews, with four participants taking part in follow up interviews at different points in the research process (see Annex C). Pre-arranged interviews were carried out with employees working across subject areas in the AmkA team, with gatekeepers from civil society organisations within the AmkA network and representatives from religious communities and other organisations operating in the city outside of AmkA's direct influence. As each of these engage with the subject matter in different ways, interviewing multiple actors allows for the diversification of the data. These interviews allowed exploration of the research questions but also provided the opportunity for new themes and perspectives to emerge.

As all of the interviewees were approached as a result of their role within a particular organisation or network, it is important to consider that responses may be influenced by a particular institutional perspective. Coming from a range of institutions, many without official status, it may also be the case that organisations differ significantly or even lack an overarching institutional framework (see chapter eight). This could mean the interview is more susceptible to the individual agenda of the participant. Despite these disadvantages, interviews can still be analysed "in terms of the perspectives they imply, the discursive strategies they employ and even the psychosocial dynamics they suggest" (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 97). With these factors in mind, together with the research agenda, a semi-structured approach to interviewing was adopted. This was done in order to provide some structure, as well as to minimise further influence from the researcher that could result if a very rigid interview schedule was adopted.

4.4.2 Ethnographic observation and interviews

The use of ethnographic observation is one of the most appropriate means of understanding case study sites (Crang and Cook 1995; Cloke et al 2007). Compared

with other methods, the data generated from participant observation can offer a better overview and understanding of the area being studied (May 1997). This is particularly useful when the project is based in a particular geographically-defined area. Using observations of the urban environment in conjunction with interviews, as previously discussed, shows how the two methods can be seen as part of a complementary framework, with each method highlighting a number of different perspectives.

By carrying out an immersive, localised case study in Frankfurt, it was possible to reflect upon the processes involved in data collection and to engage with the findings whilst still living within the field (Glaser and Strauss 1967). Before discussing any particular research site or describing observed events, it is necessary to emphasise the importance of a number of smaller scale gestures which materialise just by living within the case study site itself (Herbert 2000). By living and existing within the same spaces on a daily basis, in addition to sharing the same environment as the research participants, the researcher is admitted a more extensive overview of the everyday rhythms and routines of urban life.

The process of carrying out direct, day-to-day observations means that data can tend to be unstructured, mundane and not always aligned directly with the research questions (see chapter seven). Nonetheless, any extended insight into the site of study can be of benefit to the research and data collection process (Amaratunga et al 2002). Fuller (1999) explains that there is a distinction to be made between being 'part of the action' and 'going native'. It was previously the case that researchers were only considered to be 'going native' when they attempted to integrate themselves into neighbourhoods and tribes within the developing world or in regions that had previously been inaccessible. In more recent times case study sites have extended to include cities and other less remote areas. These areas become part of an extended framework for comparison, in a situation where the researcher is experiencing the environment first-hand, whether in a 'developed' or 'developing' setting (see Crang and Cook 1995).

Crang and Cook (1995) outline three stages of immersive fieldwork which are to be achieved for a successful ethnographic case study. One is the initial accessing of the area, second the period spent living in the area and finally the return to the academy after the fieldwork period. DeWalt and DeWalt (2011) develop this further to include dimensions such as: learning and using the local language and dialect, actively participating in a wide range of daily, routine and extraordinary activities with participants, the use of everyday conversation as an interview technique, informally observing leisure activities, recording observations in field notes and using a combination of tacit and explicit information in analysis and writing. All of these aspects have been addressed extensively across the fieldwork periods, with the project focused on day-to-day routine experiences of institutionally grounded diversity management and networked diversity, within the specific linguistic and cultural urban context of Frankfurt.

Participant observation is used widely in fieldwork (see DeWalt and DeWalt 2011) and in more structured terms it involves the researcher taking part in activities and events which place the 'participant as observer' (Flick 2006). The researcher participates to varying degrees over a designated research period. During this time of observation, Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) recommend a participant observer watches, listens, experiences and then asks questions. This process allows the researcher time to adapt to the new situation and the possibility of new discoveries which can then be recorded. When immersed in such a way, however, the recording of data becomes a challenge as note taking in everyday interactions is not necessarily appropriate. In this scenario taking notes immediately after is recommended (Walsh 1998; Laurier 2010) and the chosen method of recording insights during the research period. Fortunately, many of the observed events were meetings, press conferences and workshops and so it was not inappropriate to use a notepad. This was not always the case but periods of 'down time' between meetings and appointments were common and using this time to make a record proved effective. During this time field notes could be written up, together with personal reflections.

In conducting observations as a participant observer, there are a number of guidelines which have been outlined. Within these are particular challenges related to the wider

method of ethnography, including its analysis. These accentuate some of the primary issues which extend into further debates on positionality and ethics in this type of research. These are discussed later in this chapter.

In addition to the observational data, an approach which Spradley (1979) referred to as ‘ethnographic interview’ was employed as part of the data gathering process. In ethnographic interviews the discussion is more conversational, but with research questions included (Bernard and Ryan 2010). These interviews were carried out and recorded as part of field note observations rather than in transcript form, as was the case in the more structured interventions. Both of these forms of interviewing provided important insights for the research and were used in varying combinations, or in isolation, according to the research situation.

4.4.3 Review of further literature

The research methodology also addresses a range of policy documents and other institutional reports. These provide background information which supplement the empirical chapters and are an important resource for the framing of chapter five and six. These chapters use an analysis of this literature as a method of understanding the situation in Frankfurt and highlight the studies which have been carried out previously. This enables us to establish an overview of the status quo, the opportunity to suggest interventions, and then to monitor their impact. These documents have not been subject to a particular method of textual analysis such as content analysis, which looks systematically at text down to word and sentence level in order to understand communications (see Glaser and Strauss 1967), nor does it take the form of discourse analysis which looks at “how texts work within sociocultural practice” (Fairclough 1995:7). Instead it takes a more holistic approach to the content, what it means in the context of Frankfurt and the main themes which emerge. These themes are then further explored through ethnography-led approaches in the empirical chapters of the thesis. The close reading of these policy documents and other written documents have been an important way of identifying areas for inquiry within the site of research. The influence of these documents is also reflected in the research questions and helps to inform the structure of empirical chapters by

providing additional context. These texts also form an integral part of the argument regarding the use and analysis of target language data in the thesis as discussed later in this chapter.

4.5 The challenges of conducting ethnographic research

Though ethnographic research provides a multi-dimensional approach to data collection, this does not come without difficulties and controversies. The following section outlines some of the primary challenges a researcher faces when entering the field to carry out such research, as well as some more personal reflections on research challenges. Although these do not have a negative impact on the overall study, considerations of limitations and challenges are integral aspects of the research process and research conduct.

4.5.1 Accessing participants

Finding a point of access is a common research challenge. In the case of this project, an anecdotal example of this challenge is presented in the process of negotiating access to AmkA to carry out research.

Initial contact with the AmkA office was made through an email enquiry to a generic email address. I had requested some information and asked about the possibility of visiting the office. Following this initial attempt I did not receive a response. Then, around six weeks later, I received an email from my then supervisor, who had received an email written in German which said that they had been trying to contact me. The email invited me to get in contact about the possibility of a visit to AmkA which later became the primary location for the project. This starting point demonstrates the unpredictability of the process of accessing participants. Although an exemplification of the messiness of research, a combination of luck and persistence from an Office employee, who attempted to reach me through multiple channels to respond to my request, was invaluable for the research.

Employees within the office, as well as external organisations and the actors within these were identified and approached where possible during the first two pilot

research visits. This group became the key informants who provided the vital links for building and exploring wider networks within the city as part of the research project. These people are often referred to as the 'elites' (see Herod 1999; Rice 2010) and in this case included municipal government actors, leaders of cultural and social organisations and community members. These actors, in their roles as 'gatekeepers' (see Cloke et al 2007) enabled a process of 'snowballing' by introducing me to further relevant contacts and groups (Crang and Cook 2005). The role of gatekeepers, and a group of individuals termed 'multipliers' are discussed in chapter seven in their role as facilitators and enablers in the research process, but also of their roles in the dissemination of information and operationalising wider initiatives in the city.

Following the establishment of an initial point of access, interviews were then sought with individuals who did not hold specific roles in organisations or who were part of peripheral groups. This proved more difficult, as even with influential gatekeepers in place and the process of snowballing, some groups, for example religious groups, remain hard to access (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). This brings to the surface a range of difficulties regarding the extent to which a sample is representative, especially where informants may fall into one of the typologies identified by Dean (1967 cited in Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). The two typologies are comprised firstly of those participants who are particularly sensitive to the topic of concern, and secondly of participants who are far more willing to reveal information on a particular topic. When the researcher experiences reluctance from research participants, ethnographic interviewing becomes more likely and was a technique adopted during the research. This leads the researcher to record informal conversations had during the day in order to develop field notes (Bernard 1995), or at least take part in a more informal interview process where a topic or focus is set and selected points are being followed up on or clarified (Spradley 1979). Even so, informal questioning can often be seen as threatening, particularly when approaching potentially vulnerable or marginalised groups (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007).

The idea of questioning being perceived as threatening is not limited to those less willing to divulge information, although it is one characteristic. The more informal

method was applied across a range of situations, however it is noted that this may occasionally be the only possible way to gather data from certain groups. It should equally be considered that elites are not always forthcoming in their responses to semi-structured interviews, as was experienced by Lerner (1957) when interviewing French elites. Both Lerner (1957) and later Rice (2010) focus on the necessary appreciation of power relations between elites and the research, and also look at ways the researcher can aid the interview process by ensuring that elites do not feel that their power is being rescinded. In any case, in conducting interviews with elites, and with foreign elites specifically, is qualitatively different from that of non-elite groups or interviewing elite members of one's own nationality, and must be a consideration within the research process (Herod 1999). This is discussed further in considerations on positionality later in this chapter.

Where gaining access to informants can be complicated the use of gatekeepers is one of the simplest ways to negotiate access to both participants and, in many cases, the research setting (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). Following the identification of many of the issues of sampling and gaining access to research subjects and environments, attention is now directed towards some of the practicalities of the interviewing process.

4.5.2 Scheduling and structuring interviews

Crang and Cook (1995) suggest a formal method of interview scheduling, however the adopted strategy was far more ad-hoc and included both formal and informal interview arrangements. Primarily, it was necessary in my role as researcher, to take the lead and make firm arrangements with the participants at a specific date and time, usually in person or by email. In a small number of cases people offered to be interviewed without a request being made directly. Though the agenda of those who offered may be questionable, these interviews were an integral part of the snowballing process which ensued when in the field. A disadvantage of interviewing arises here as it relies specifically on the availability of especially targeted individuals (Bozoki 2011). Even in cases where there is willingness to take part, sometimes it becomes logistically impossible; particularly in the case of elites who

may have public or official duties to fulfil or need to be nationally or internationally mobile as part of their job (Herod 1999).

When considering how to structure the interview itself, there are wide-ranging guidelines available which include ways of designating an interview setting, and how to design appropriate interview questions (see Crang and Cook 1995; Cloke et al 2007). Over the course of the research period, as contextual knowledge improves and as the researcher gains confidence, what may have started as structured open-ended questions, may end up in the form of a few notes or key words which act as a topic guide to prompt the interviewee (Crang and Cook 1995). In some cases this elicited long, narrative responses, which allowed themes to emerge from the data more spontaneously (Punch 1999). Allowing the interviewees this freedom added new dimensions to the research questions and enriched the data set further. These themes could then be followed up in further interviews or be used to develop the approach to interviews with other participants later in the research process. This increased the possibility of spontaneous and unsolicited accounts, which ethnographers have come to see as an important dimension in combating the inherent issue of reduced validity that can be caused by the use of structured interview methods (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). In addition to the way an interview is structured and conducted, the location and recording of the interview are also important elements of the overall process.

Interviews can vary in their level of spontaneity. In the majority of cases, the scheduled interviews were conducted in an office setting, particularly in the case of interviews with AmkA employees, or in a public space such as a café with representatives from civil society organisations. Ethnographic interviews are not the focus here as they can occur at any time and are less bound by time and space.

At the beginning of each interview it was explained to the participants that the interview could be stopped at any time and that they had the choice as to whether or not it was recorded. This matter was discussed verbally as well as in a written consent form, translated into German, which participants were asked to read and sign to confirm their participation in the process. Many of the interviewees were very

comfortable and familiar with the structure of the process of being interviewed. This is a notable characteristic of interviewing elites, who are often used to public speaking and are confident and well-versed in the key policies and aspects of their institution, which the researcher tends to be investigating (Bozoki 2011). The recording of interviews however, was not always appropriate or welcomed. This was due in some cases to a lack of availability of a recording device during impromptu meetings which turned into interviews. Additionally there was reluctance from many interviewees to have their statements recorded digitally, although consent was provided and they answered questions while notes were taken.

The disadvantages of not recording an interview are self-evident. Even if notes are taken, it is likely that sections will be missed out. Another issue arising is that the researcher may concentrate more on recording responses by hand than being able to react and respond, in the way that is possible when the interview is recorded. This creates a more stilted exchange, and can limit opportunities for exploratory conversations. A further disadvantage, which is specific to this case, is the problem of a language barrier. Interviewing took place in German and was then transcribed and translated by the non-native researcher. The implications of this are discussed later in the chapter, but it is necessary to point out the logistical disadvantages of conducting and recording data from interviews in other languages, as well as the potential analytical difficulties that may arise as a result of the interview not being recorded digitally. These include the time-consuming nature of the transcription, and a further level of data processing involved in the translation of responses, which removes the researcher from the field for long periods of time. Research questions and the approach to the interviews also need to be considered carefully, as these may be interpreted differently according to different cultural and linguistic context. Nevertheless, interviews remain one of the most productive methods, through which themes emerge. These can improve understanding of different national and regional contexts from the direct experiences and anecdotes of actors living and working within it. At the same time, these should not be overemphasised or taken for granted.

There is an emerging trend of researchers relying almost exclusively upon interviews within qualitative research. This has developed in line with the changing nature of

society, who increasingly demand the so-called ‘inside story’ (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). The issues and challenges of this research trend have been highlighted through the acknowledgment of a number of disadvantages of the method. For this reason, it seems necessary to introduce complementary methodological approaches, to allow for a broader and richer data set. This was done through the incorporation of ethnographic observation and interview techniques.

4.5.3 Ethical considerations

There are practical ethical considerations that emerge within the research process. The primary ethical challenges of the participant observer are visible on a number of levels. Primarily, when seeking access to a group, organisation or even an individual, it is usually necessary to gather consent. For this research project, wherever possible consent was gathered prior to arrival at a particular site or for an interview, and then confirmed through the signing of a consent form immediately prior to the interview. As an overt approach was adopted, the implications of covert research are not discussed here although the ethical implications of a covert approach are appreciated and are considered, particularly where consent was not always easily obtained. Although all observation was carried out overtly, it was often the organisation’s gatekeeper who provided access and this does not necessarily indicate that each participant has consented individually. Nevertheless, research intentions were openly discussed with everyone I encountered, and there were no objections to the research. Although this meant that the research was carried out with relative ease, there were still further ethical implications in understanding how to use data, and whether my dual-role as a researcher and intern within AmkA was always appreciated by those I was working with:

At lunch there were many comments about a piece of ongoing work. Although these were not expressly ‘off the record’ I had a feeling that this kind of lunchtime chit chat was not something they would expect me to be reporting. We were out of the office and it was like they had forgotten I was researching them - or maybe they just thought I wasn’t looking at that for my research.

Field notes 1 (02/06/12)

In each situation, I decided that I would record the observations or conversations

accurately and later considered whether particular details, such as a specific project or person mentioned, were integral to the research agenda. As signalled by the X in the above extract, I felt it did not affect the overall research findings, but brought to light an important ethical issue. This also links with my position as researcher when carrying out participant observation.

Following the practical issue of consent, the next ethical issue is that of exploitation. In securing contacts with gatekeepers and key informants and then further developing research networks there eventually becomes a need to analyse and report on the data gathered in the field. The question of how to use this data leads to challenges, as many people with whom rapport has been built could be left feeling exploited for something they have said, or an observed behaviour during the research period. To overcome this, the researcher needs to make responsible decisions but must bear in mind that consent was granted in the first instance to allow for the data to be gathered and should not skew the content recorded. Ultimately it would be unethical to exploit participants for the researchers own academic gain but these decisions must be carefully considered, especially if the intention is to re-enter the case site at a later date. This requires relationships to be built and sustained through honest approaches. The rapport necessary for the researcher/participant relationship to be productive and mutually beneficial requires a sense of reciprocity. DeWalt and DeWalt (2011) point out a number of ways of ensuring this. For example: explaining the research purposes in terms comprehensible to the participants and being truthful about what you have to gain from it. By maintaining an open approach to the research as far as possible, it is easier to justify the researcher's position and to build trust in professional relationships with participants.

A significant amount of my time in the field was spent within AmkA. Here I was given the opportunity to access numerous resources, through talking to employees, as well as through the large archive of textual materials produced by the office. I was given permission generally to observe the day-to-day operations of the office, to attend meetings and to take part in events. These opportunities provided me with the chance to make contact with a wide range of people and elaborate on the research questions. With this access comes a certain amount of responsibility and a need to

respect complex power relations (England 1994). This is true both of in the daily conduct of the researcher within the research setting, and in the way that the data is then used. Further to this maintenance of ethnical awareness in my day to day research at AmkA, there were also issues to be considered in terms of my positioning within the research site.

4.5.4 Positionality

Within the research environment, positionality can fluctuate greatly. As a British research student, studying at a UK university, but carrying out research in German, in Germany, my first challenge was to justify my interest in the German case. I reflected upon this in an early entry in my research diary:

I've tried to explain my research but I am in a strange position here. I'm an intern in the sense that I am a visiting student but it is not a traditional work placement like the other interns I have met so far. It seems that I am young for a PhD student in German terms from the comments that people are making. They also seem surprised that I speak German and want know why I am interested in their work.

Field notes 1 (02/06/13)

After introducing myself as a PhD student from the UK and describing my research interest, I began observing and interviewing in different situations. What was clear in some areas (such as AmkA), was that my role differed according to who I was with and the activity being undertaken. At times I felt like was an insider and considered a member of the team, at others I was referred to simply as an intern or visitor. In some specific scenarios, I was a recognisable outsider (see chapter seven). This fluctuation between insider and outsider is recognised as a feature of ethnographic research, although the researcher is always an outsider in theory (Rabinow 2007). There is a need to understand this when determining the role adopted in the field, whilst understanding that certain characteristics will automatically exempt the researcher from certain situations (DeWalt and DeWalt 2011). This was particularly noticeable in situations where I was engaging with religious communities in the city.

An alternative consideration to the insider outsider framework is put forward by Ryan (2015):

Instead of insiders and outsiders, I suggest that interview processes should be understood in terms of the 'dynamic rhythms of multipositionalities'. Such an approach enables researchers to be reflexive about the instability and contingency of empathy, understanding and rapport, and how these need to be continually negotiated across layers of power differentials.

Ryan (2015: paragraph 4).

In a research process where multiple boundaries between researcher and researched are identified, not limited to factors of language, ethnicity, religion, age and gender, the range of roles adopted and the relationship dynamics at different stages needs to be considered. The terms above, outlined by Ryan (2015) are one way in which to consider the multiple dimensions of the role of the researcher. The challenges of interviewing across divisions have been touched upon earlier in the chapter with reference to the fact that many gatekeepers and interviewees might also be defined or considered as 'elites'. For the purpose of this study, which is interested in the implications of the 'Frankfurt Integration and Diversity Concept' and the wider integration politics of the city, these interviews were invaluable. Where elite workers are often considered as critical actors in the shaping of policies and characteristics of organisations, the perspectives of this group provided an important dimension (Harvey 2010). That said my overall strategy was to achieve a balance of responses from those working and volunteering in organisations that are affected by the policies within and outside of the administration. In the case of gatekeepers from civil society organisations, I would suggest that I was also addressing 'elites' from the point of view that they are responsible for shaping the organisational and structural aspects of their own initiatives. Taking this approach allowed me to operate with flexibility and reflexivity.

By understanding my own positionality in terms of Ryan's (2015) 'dynamic multipositionalities', although I was essentially always an outsider in the terms suggested by Rabinow (2007), I was able to demonstrate adaptability. This meant that in each situation it was possible to adopt a suitable framework, which led to the generation of empirical data for the study.

4.6 Approaches to data analysis

Approaches to qualitative data analysis have been consistently discussed in academic literature (see Strauss 1987; Mason 1996; Bryman and Burgess 1994). The process of analysis of the research arises from a multilayer processing of the data. Although the field is entered with a specific research strategy, research questions and outcomes in mind, analysis of data is required to understand the extent to which these have been addressed. Although there is a tendency in the literature to suggest that the researcher should approach the data as though it were new, it is important to acknowledge that the themes existed prior to the analysis period (Strauss and Corbin 1998).

Strategic approaches remain difficult to define in qualitative research although many scholars have attempted to outline analytical strategies. Tesch (1990) has defined 26 analytical strategies, Ryan and Bernhard (2003) identify 12 approaches to identifying themes and Miles and Huberman (1994) provide an encyclopaedic collection of approaches. Where most qualitative researchers analyse their own data, coding and analysis strategies are often adapted and can involve manual or electronic methods, or a combination of the two. The coding approach and rationale outlined here, which formed the basis of analysis, were chosen to approach the qualitative data which included detailed interview transcripts and field notes in both German and English.

4.6.1 Coding

Coding, the process of subdividing the data and assigning codes at word, sentence and paragraph level, is a significant step to organise and make sense of the text. The researcher has the choice of whether to carry out the process manually or electronically (Basit 2003). For my own research, a manual method of coding was adopted. This involved attributing labels to segments of text through close reading of the data including interview transcripts and field diary notes (Schiellerup 2008). Although specialist digital software for interview and field note coding exists, this was discounted for a number of reasons. There is concern in some cases that software programmes may lead the researcher in a particular direction (Seidel 1991), where others suggest using such packages distances the researcher from their data (Hinchcliffe, Crang, Reimer and Hudson 1997). By taking the decision not to use this

method it meant that the analysis phase could remain part of an ongoing process throughout the time spent in the field, informing further reflexive inquiry.

For the purposes of the case study of Frankfurt, and given the combination of English field notes, German interview transcripts and then translations, I considered a manual approach to be the most rigorous. This is because the process of translation by a non-native researcher has meant the text has already been subjected to interpretation. It then did not seem appropriate to distance myself further by integrating another level of processing at machine level.

The most codified parts of data interpretation are thought to be easiest to talk about - attributing labels to segments of fieldnotes (coding) (Schiellerup 2008). The development of research questions and analysis of data was an iterative process, which emerged through the development of the field diary in which I made detailed records. The evolution of questions and analysis over time was due in part to the way the fieldwork was structured in three phases. A first round of analysis took place in the time immediately following the first two visits for the pilot study when some preliminary coding of the work was carried out to help refine the research questions and research strategy. This was repeated again after the third phase of fieldwork when I returned from the field, with coding carried out in a more focused way, based on the emerging conceptual framework of the thesis.

Miles and Huberman (1994) point to a way of coding that includes developing a 'start list' of codes and ideas which comes from research questions, hypotheses and problem areas rather than grounded approach. Using a cut and paste approach to the collated data, highlighting themes that emerged as well as cut across the notes, was the initial strategy adopted. This created an audit trail of the key emerging themes and also allowed quotes to be categorised and sorted (see Maykut and Morehouse 1994). A process then took place in which I was able to write through the codes that emerged as most important which included among others: networked diversity, super-diversity and symbolic politics. This process of writing through codes and presenting the data in the empirical chapters links to ideas of narrative description.

4.6.2 Emerging narrative description

As well as adopting a manual coding strategy, focus was placed on the process of emerging qualitative writing and the way that this functions in a cross-linguistic and cross-cultural setting. Schiellerup (2008) describes generating a research narrative based on the data as a mysterious process which draws on the relationship between the narratives of the researcher and the researched. Transcription and writing through of themes also offers the opportunity to familiarise oneself with the contents of the notes in more detail (Bong 2002).

Thinking about the interplay between action and language, there is a clear self conscious use of the researcher's ordinary meaning making processes that take place in the analysis process (see Charmaz 2006). Nonetheless, using descriptive categories that the researcher has generated are one way of moving from the inside understanding to describing from the outside. Further distancing can be done by referring to people as interviewees or informants and presenting their work in their own words can enhance the overall narrative (Schiellerup 2008). As narrative enquiry requires close reading of individual cases there is a chance for the researcher to carry out in depth involves looking for implicit as well as explicit messages within the text (Ayres et al 2003).

The work of carrying out coding and using narrative writing echoes with two common strategies outlined by Bliss, Monk and Ogborn (1983), which are to use a simple category scheme and put quotation from the data in front of the reader. Both were done in this case study. Where little attention has been paid to the creative process of attributing meaning to data and the transformations of meaning into written work (Schiellerup 2008), the use of narrative strategies is an emerging area which draws on the creative use of qualitative data, whilst maintaining rigour through the use of strategic coding and audit trails.

4.6.3 Mixing analytical approaches

Mixing analytical approaches is a strategy increasingly used by qualitative researchers. Where there is a tension between analysis and interpretation in the literature, the combination of analytical strategies can help to provide signals of

different parts of the process. Schiellerup (2008) describes how analysis and interpretation are linked through a process of cutting up, examining pieces and using them to better understand the whole, which is closer to a creative process of constructing and attributing meaning to phenomena or sense making.

Although coding is considered in many cases as a data handling strategy, for some it is more closely related to interpretive work, with the more procedural tasks of categorising seen more as part of the preliminary work that happens in the sorting of the data (see Coffey and Atkinson 1996). Several analyses were carried out during and after the fieldwork for this project. Reading notes and transcribing and translating interviews into English, as well as processes of re-reading transcripts a number of times, summarising and choosing categories, coding statements, linking themes and selecting quotations all involved different emphases and illuminated different parts of the data. This could then lead to general observations and grouping. Generalisations by qualitative researchers are embedded in contextual richness of experience. Data processing and management strategies which rely solely on coding are sometimes seen as stripping much of the richness of the data away (Ayres et al 2003). By using multiple approaches to develop a conceptual structure, combined with the richness of quotations from the data, a large amount of contextual detail remains which can enhance and support the overall research narrative.

4.7 Language and translation in qualitative research

An important methodological concern for the thesis is the use of non-English language materials, including secondary literature, interview responses and participant observation data. As a non-native speaker of German conducting research in Germany, there are implications for every stage of the research process. This begins with the initial data gathering following through to the processing of data (including transcription and translation), and finally in the analysis and presentation of the empirical data. Thinking critically about my own role in this process, I will outline the key challenges and possible ramifications of working across linguistic and cultural settings and the significance of these for the thesis.

4.7.1 The researcher as translator

The practice of collecting data in one language and presenting it in another is now becoming increasingly common in social research. Due to the range of translation-related decisions which may arise, it is important to reflect on how this might affect the validity of research (Birbili 2000). In addition to this pattern of increasing foreign language research, is the challenge of presenting the work in English (Müller 2007). English remains the dominant language in cross-European projects and publications (Kushner 2003) and is the output language of this research. As European research expands, collaborations across disciplines and country boundaries are encouraged more and more. In this process language is becoming an important issue (van Nes et al 2010). By focusing on it here as a methodological issue, I hope to show the complexity of language research and outline how the data has been approached in the empirical chapters.

Negotiating a non-native language context for qualitative social research is a daunting but exciting prospect. The opportunity to research social phenomena in the target language of the research context affords the researcher a level of access, which those without the specific linguistic competency of the site of study may struggle to achieve. The role of the researcher as translator is not particularly common in social research, but offers opportunities which are not open to other researchers (Temple and Young 2004). In my own case, my language training pre-dates any social research training. In addition, my connection with the German context, and Frankfurt specifically, was the result of a language-focused placement as part of my undergraduate studies in 2008. During this period of immersion I improved my language skills to near fluency, which I maintained through social connections after returning to the UK. This led to my decision to carry out the research in Frankfurt and to conduct interviews in German. I am not professionally trained as a translator or interpreter but have experience of both and feel that my first-hand experiences and near-fluency in the language justify my decision to conduct the research and analysis myself. As with any decision when carrying out qualitative social research, there are limitations.

The possible consequences for the final product when using a translator or interpreter in research must be considered (Temple and Young 2004). In the search for ‘correct’ interpretations, a translator or interpreter does not carry out a word-level process but must be attentive to a range of external criteria. As Simon (1996: 137) highlights: “the solutions to many of the translator’s dilemmas are not to be found in dictionaries, but rather in an understanding of the way language is tied to local realities, to literary forms and to changing identities. Translators must constantly make decisions about the cultural meanings that language carries...”

Taking this into account while remaining cognisant of the limits of my abilities has required a process of evaluating whether the use of a translator or interpreter would have led to inconsistencies in the research, or whether an intermediary would harm the research. In response to this possible challenge, a particular strategy for identifying target language material in the thesis has been adopted, particularly where terminology is used that might have varying meanings or be used in different contexts.

4.7.2 Identifying acts of translation – the use of target language data in the thesis

The approach to language data in the thesis has been carefully considered in relation to the different kinds of data being analysed. In many cases, where literature written in German has been used to provide an overview of a particular situation, this is not directly translated. The literature and data from secondary research is primarily used to construct a discussion or commentary and is referenced in the same way as English language data. Where work has been quoted and translated, it is followed by ‘Author’s Translation’ to indicate this process. In other cases there are ‘side by side translations’. These are used particularly in examples where concepts are being used or defined. In these cases the German is presented first with an equivalent in English directly following it. The aim of this is to ensure that German concepts are not reduced to English terms. Where this strategy has been adopted, it should be assumed that the terminology is indicative of a particular case or frame of reference that is adopted in the target language as a means of describing a certain situation, but does not necessarily emphasise nuances that may exist in the original text.

In the case of interviews, quotations tend to be presented in translated form. If a direct equivalent cannot be found for a particular word then this will be indicated by the use of the German word which will be italicised. Ethnographic observations and interviews from field diaries were mostly recorded in English and appear here in their original form unless otherwise indicated.

The question of whether the act of translation must be identified at every stage, or at all in the research process has been widely discussed, as have the ways that translation potentially introduces bias (Temple and Young 2004). There is always a challenge of finding equivalence in meaning however, as Frey (1970 quoted in Birbili 2000: para. 6) explained “the process of gaining comparability of meanings is greatly facilitated by the researcher not only having proficient understanding of language but also an intimate knowledge of the culture. Only then can the researcher pick up the full implications that a term carries for the people under study, and ensure that the cultural connotations of a word are made explicit to the readers of the research report”. By adopting a particular strategy of direct, literal translation where possible, but with more developed free translations to explain more complicated terms, it is hoped that readers can fully engage with the range of ideas as well as gaining an understanding of their linguistic contexts.

Thinking about qualitative research as a creative endeavour, Roth (2013) suggests that there are a range of processes of translation incorporating transcription and interpreting. These exist within as well as between languages. It must not be forgotten that variation in concepts is very likely across cultural and linguistic spheres, and exists as an implication of qualitative research more widely (van Nes et al 2010). Translation literature suggests that there is no single correct translation, as it is not always possible to find word matches or equivalencies without taking into account a wider contextual or conceptual framework (Temple et al 2002). This remains an important feature, which runs through the entirety of thesis. It demonstrates not only the slipperiness and ambiguity of language but also the fluidity and creative potential of qualitative research.

4.8 Conclusion

By entering the case study site with a set of semi-structured research questions and a range of methodological approaches, it was possible to orient myself and my research within the new environment through an embedded ethnography (Adler and Adler 1994; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). Based predominantly on interviews, but complemented by corresponding observation, it was possible to generate a wide-ranging data set. Through its reflexivity it has allowed for a process of “reflection, revision and iteration” (Allen 2003: 11). This ultimately informs the chapter structure of the thesis.

It is possible to infer that the results of this research would look different without both methods of inquiry being adopted. Where interviews can be seen to take place in an artificial environment, the opportunity exists for the research agenda to be more directly addressed. In contrast, the use of participant observation provides supplementary insights, both regarding the general area being researched and, equally, geographically- and temporally- specific moments. Despite the additional challenges of incorporating target language data, this dimension of the project does allow a certain richness to emerge. It also establishes a well-rounded basis for the findings of the thesis, as outlined in the following empirical chapters.

Chapter 5

Institutionalising integration - the introduction of the 'Frankfurt model'

5.1 Introduction

In response to migration and the challenges and opportunities which arise from an increasingly diverse society, the city of Frankfurt took action through the formation of migration focused municipal institutions in 1989. These included the Department of Multicultural Affairs which is now known as the Department of Integration and its associated Office of Multicultural Affairs (AmkA). The decision to create specialised municipal bodies for multicultural issues signalled the recognition of emerging issues related to the management of a diverse population. This arose comparatively earlier in Frankfurt than the rest of Germany.

This chapter provides a chronological overview of the development of integration policy in Frankfurt. This includes a description of the structure of the city administration and the position of these institutions within the wider administrative framework of the city of Frankfurt. It also assesses the status of migration and integration matters immediately prior to and following the foundation of AmkA. In the second section, the chapter reviews the various processes of consolidation within AmkA, through the early idea of a 'Frankfurt model', and the later development of a number of model projects in the lead up to and immediately following the change of the Citizenship Law in Germany in 2000. It looks at the way a shift in the national narrative had an impact on the work being carried out in Frankfurt, together with the realignment of AmkA in line with new national policy guidance. In the third section the chapter draws on two important evaluations of the integration process carried out in Frankfurt in 2001 and 2008. These demonstrate the importance of an analysis of integration processes and also reflect the changing nature of these processes over time. In the final section the chapter describes the academic interventions which were the precursor to integration and diversity concept for the city, and were key documents in the outlining of the principles of networked diversity. Following the

invited contributions and policy recommendations of two academics, as well as an enhanced public consultation process, the steps to develop a new policy framework, which provide the basis of the empirical interests of the following chapters, are outlined.

This chapter situates Frankfurt as an example of the negotiations with issues of difference and suggests how it addresses identified policy gaps through the institutionalisation of conceptual and operational issues of diversity and integration. This extends to further assess the way that the efforts of city-level institutions are functioning as cross-sectional and communicative vehicles for the urban political interests of the city and its citizens, within a system of networked diversity. This sets the scene for an adapted 'Frankfurt model' for the present day, in line with the wider aims of the thesis.

5.2 Key developments for Frankfurt

5.2.1 Institutionalising migration matters

The Department for Integration (Dezernat XI) is the youngest of the city of Frankfurt's administrative departments with the express function of establishing and providing the political framework for municipal integration policy since 1989 (Lüken-Klaßen 2007). Known in its early days as the Department for Multicultural affairs, it stands as the umbrella department for the *Amt für multikulturelle Angelegenheiten* (Office of Multicultural Affairs) and for the *Kommunale Ausländervertretung* (KAV, Foreign Advisory Council). These municipal institutions were unique to Germany for many years and function at different levels (Lüken-Klaßen 2007).

Dezernat XI (the Department for Integration) is one of eleven city departments and forms part of the City Executive Board. This administrative body is the city government and includes multiple offices and institutions organised into 11 key policy areas, of which the Department for Integration is one (see Figure 6). This board is elected by the City Council, which is responsible for decision making and

running the city administration, and is led by the Lord Mayor who is elected directly by all eligible citizens of Frankfurt every six years (Stadt Frankfurt 2012).

In addition to these two administrative bodies, there are local councils in each of the 16 city districts, as well as the KAV (Foreigner’s Advisory Council) who confer on matters and decisions discussed by the City Executive Board and City Council. In addition, the local councils also have the power to make decisions on matters assigned by the City Council (see Figure 6).

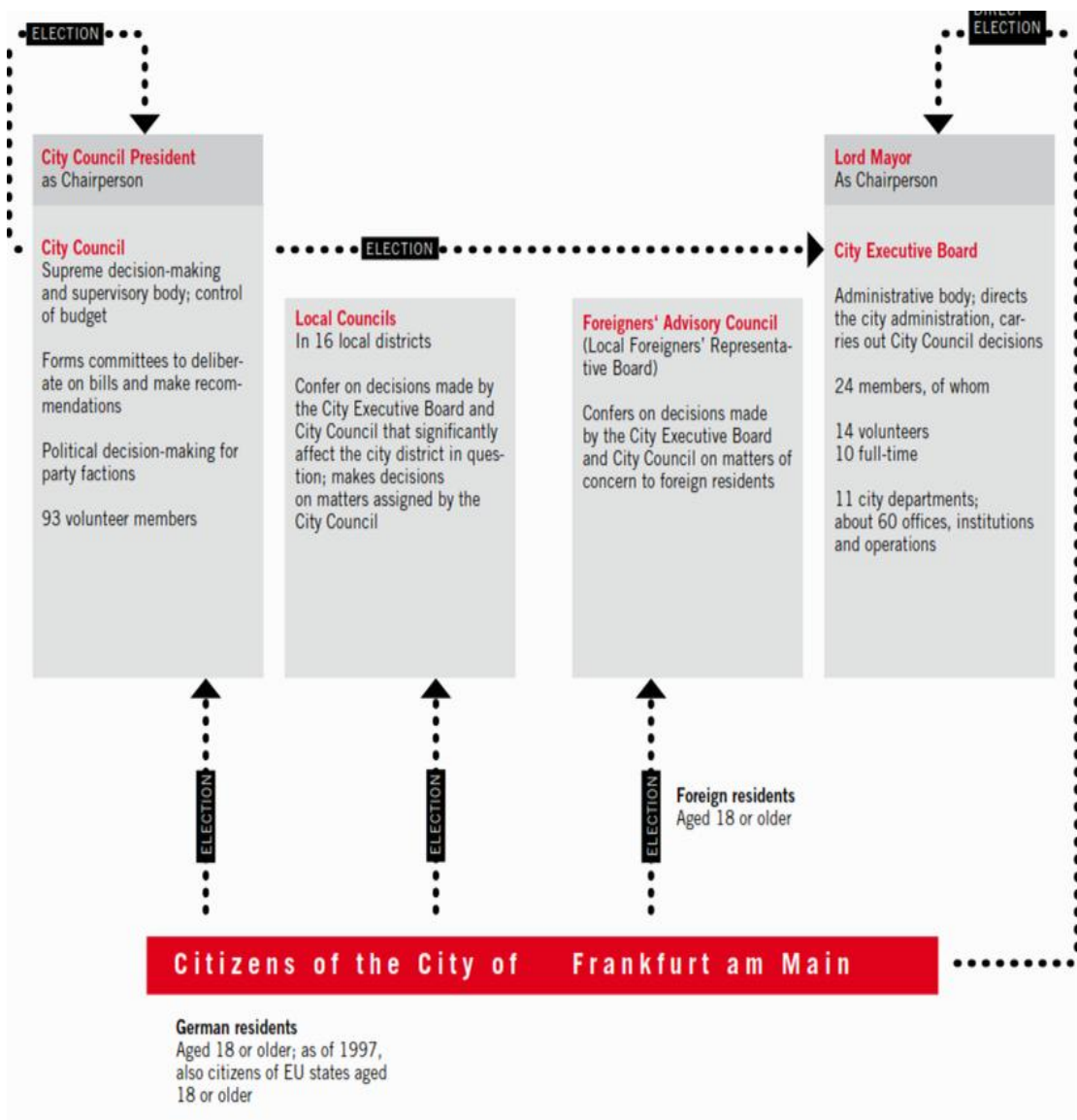


Figure 6 Administration of the City of Frankfurt am Main (Stadt Frankfurt 2012c)

Although the Dezernat XI sits within the City Executive Board, the KAV, one of the two bodies the Department of Integration takes responsibility for, is considered independently as shown by Figure 6. The KAV is an important body for the residents of Frankfurt without German citizenship, as it represents their interests at the city level, acting as a coordinating agency between the City Council and City Executive Board (see Vielfalt Bewegt Frankfurt website, KAV website 2012). A key role of the KAV is advising the administrative bodies of the city on matters affecting and of interest to the foreign citizens of the city of Frankfurt. It is described as “a political body anchored in Hessian Municipal code between the city council and administration on the one hand; and a foreigners association on the other” (KAV website 2012 Author’s Translation). Although it works towards local integration policy and on issues such as equality and antidiscrimination, it sits outside of the main administration and has its political opportunity limited to suggestion making and enquiries to the magistrate on matters relating to foreign residents. The KAV meets at monthly plenary meetings and is comprised of 35 members from different city districts. These individuals are elected for a period of 5 years to represent the interests of the foreign citizens living within their districts. Despite its lack of political power, members of the KAV are permitted to attend all meetings of the city council, committees and local council meetings, but they do not have the right to speak except at the latter. Despite its relatively limited opportunities to have direct influence, the KAV is able to issue opinions on reports and presentations and utilises public relations work as an important instrument to inform the public through the writing of press releases (KAV website 2012).

AmkA is the other municipal authority in Frankfurt, which is focused upon matters relating to diversity in Frankfurt and was founded at the same time as the Department of Integration in 1989. As the first office of its kind in Germany it functions as a coordinating agency “to promote and support the various ethnic groups in Frankfurt in living together constructively” (Stadt Frankfurt 2011). Unlike the KAV its focus is not only foreigners, but also seeks to address matters of interest to all residents of Frankfurt regardless of their origins. AmkA and its development over time are a

primary focus of the thesis and will be addressed through the empirical accounts of the following chapters.

Twenty five years after its inauguration and with ongoing developments within the ethnopolitical landscape of Frankfurt, through migration channels both old and new, this chapter now traces the development of the Department of Integration and AmkA, providing a chronological outline of the foundations and establishment of the organisational structures, strategies and narratives under which Frankfurt was able to develop this one-of-a-kind approach to migration and integration questions arising in the city.

5.2.2 Early days of AmkA – inception and reception

If a country with immigration doesn't want to be a country with immigration, then of course there are also no rules, laws or consensus on how to deal with immigration. It shows time and again that what is not meant to be will not work, no matter how unmistakable a reality. While this does have a peculiar logic, it is not particularly productive.

Cohn-Bendit and Schmid (1992: 283 Author's translation)

In the 1992 book 'Heimat Babylon', Daniel Cohn-Bendit, the first Head of the Department of Multicultural Affairs, which later became the Department of Integration, and his advisor Thomas Schmid pleaded for "...*die Anerkennung der Wirklichkeit*" / "the acknowledgement of the reality" (Cohn-Bendit & Schmid 1992, Author's Translation). At a time when 'Einwanderungsland' or the idea of Germany being a country of immigration remained a taboo subject, the election campaign of the SPD at the end of the 1980s tentatively embarked on a campaign which hinted at the possible engagement with issues of migration, under a slogan of 'New Thinking for Frankfurt' (Cohn-Bendit and Schmid 1992: Author's Translation).

Following the elections of 1989, the SPD and die Grünen/Green Party formed a new Red-Green coalition government. As they came to power reservations about the disputed 'country of immigration' terminology remained. Instead of addressing the subject directly, what appeared within the coalition agreement was a convoluted 'Foreigner and Refugee Policy for Frankfurt', set quite subtly around the realities of

an increasingly multicultural society and human rights (Cohn-Bendit and Schmid 1992). This avoided directly approaching the contentious issue of whether Germany was a country of immigration. Nevertheless, in recognising that a policy for refugees and foreigners was required, the acceptance of the reality of immigration was implicit.

Following the indirect acknowledgement of immigration immediately following the election, the suggestion of the Green Party led by Daniel Cohn-Bendit, to establish an institution for matters involving foreigners in Frankfurt, was accepted. This sparked a particularly intense and unusual public political discussion on the matter of foreign residents and the controversy of a multicultural society; a discussion which politicians at the time were keen to put an end to, after an already heated election campaign (Wolf-Almanasreh 2009). In spite of this, the organisational and administrative decision brought about by the coalition government, to set in motion the establishment of Frankfurt's Amt für multikulturelle Angelegenheiten (AmkA) provided the first institutional recognition of both the existence and needs of migrants.

Rosi Wolf-Almanasreh, the first Head of the AmkA office under Councillor Cohn-Bendit, suggested that prior to the foundation of AmkA integration policy in Frankfurt was not particularly innovative and that there was a lack of a systematic integration politics (Wolf-Almanasreh 2009). There was also a lack of a coordinating agency with the ability to bring institutions in Frankfurt together with people of different national backgrounds (Wolf-Almanasreh 2009). In addition to the fact that the new initiative included the formation of municipal institutions, the decisive action taken also had a symbolic significance. Not only did it demonstrate a change in paradigm for integration politics, but it also showed that this was something the rest of Germany was unprepared for (Cohn-Bendit and Schmid 1992).

5.3 The previous Frankfurt model

With the foundation of AmkA came an attempted 'Frankfurter Modell' which was forged during the first three years. Cohn-Bendit and Schmid (1992) outlined the two

key messages upon which the model was devised:

Firstly immigrants are responsible people who earn our acceptance. They should be free from discrimination both institutionally and within society. What they have to offer economically and culturally is important for everyone in the city. They shouldn't be 'looked after' and are not just a 'social problem'. Their offer to society and their social needs affect all aspects of urban life. Foreigners don't need to be paternally patronised, nor do they need to be wholly 'loved'... Secondly, foreigners themselves need to find their way and respect the structures, justice system and values of the country. Domestic institutions want to contribute to that. It implies that the existing multiculturalism should be taken seriously and ways of living together that are acceptable for everyone need to be found

(Cohn-Bendit and Schmid 1992: 286 Author's Translation)

Based upon two important ideals: one being the acknowledgement of migrants as people deserving acceptance and recognition of their contribution to city life; second the responsibility of migrants to find their own way within German structures and values, in its first three years AmkA aimed to act as a broker between German and non-German residents. With these messages and approaches to the diversity question, AmkA sought to inspire other municipal authorities to take integration work in new directions by using Frankfurt as the 'face' of integration (Roth 2009). By bringing different groups into conversation, the aim was to stimulate processes of rethinking at all levels using the expertise and suggestions from the employees working at the main interface of multicultural relations (Cohn-Bendit and Schmid 1992). Although it was a very small office with only fifteen employees at the start, and a budget including salaries of 1.7 million DM (around 850,000 Euros), AmkA had the same rights, responsibilities and operated at the same hierarchical level as the other municipal offices within the city administration, in spite of its more limited resources. In its first year of existence there were numerous discussions with migrant groups, German clubs, religious communities and employees of municipal offices.

5.3.1 Developing a model

In the beginning the political and social agenda around which AmkA was established – including its structure, the choice of employees as well as their assignment of tasks, was that they should be based on planned tasks of the Office. Therefore there was and still are employees of AmkA with different language skills, professional training and experience. This quickly led to the growing confidence of the foreign population in the city administration.

(Wolf-Almanasreh 2009: 18. Author's Translation)

AmkA was set up to undertake tasks which helped to coordinate the promotion of integration across all institutions and agencies of the municipal government, as well as working directly in the public sphere (Friedmann and Lehrer 1998). Although civil society can be viewed negatively, when seen it as social life beyond the grasp of the state, by linking with civic level groups and organisations of which there are more than 200 in Frankfurt, AmkA can maintain its link between those on the ground and the state (Friedmann and Lehrer 1998). In their case study on Frankfurt which looked at the period 1989-1993 Friedmann and Lehrer (1998) suggest that: “The multicultural affairs office [AmkA], though clearly part of the local state, was itself so closely linked with migrant organisations that it was frequently perceived, especially by the German public, as an outpost of foreigners civil society in the municipal administration” (1998: 67). This observation highlights the position of AmkA and its overlapping or in-between role, bringing together society and the state in Frankfurt’s local politics. This is explored further in chapter eight.

Although AmkA provided new opportunities for engagement across origins and cultures, it is not to say that there were not profound challenges in its early development and in the potential for a ‘Frankfurt model’ of integration. A key challenge was seen in some backlash from the municipal departments who were not keen to be coordinated (Friedmann and Lehrer 1998).

At the end of 1993 the political objectives of AmkA included: reducing fear of the other; researching youth violence; encouraging public discussion on migration; engaging in educational reform; encouraging the active participation of newcomers; establishing an idea of ‘every day cultural life’; providing social services for migrants; providing migrants with information on German ways of life; training of the municipal bureaucracy on migrant matters; assisting self-reliant institutions and improving all aspects of foreigner participation (Wolf-Almanasreh et al. 1993 in Friedmann and Lehrer 1998). In the report on the first two and a half years of AmkA, Wolf Almanasreh et al. (1993) indicate that it is not expected that AmkA will achieve all political aims single-handedly, instead reinforcing the idea that this was not the job of a single agency and cut across all aspects of the municipal administration. In the 1993 report, AmkA colleagues also recognise that the social

integration of migrants is not a quick process and would require at least two or three generations. Friedmann and Lehrer (1998) suggest that this acknowledgment of the scope of the task at hand was one of AmkA's biggest achievements in its first three years of existence. This self-awareness was significant in a time where there was a strong anti-foreign sentiment and public backlash against the Office's existence, as well as political uncertainty regarding its position if another government were to come into power.

In spite of setting out clear political objectives, AmkA remained a novelty in its early years (Roth 2009). Helga Nagel, the second Head of AmkA, references the ongoing challenges of the Office in the time between 1989 and 1995, when there was a constant pressure to justify their position within the city, as well as an emotionally charged and ideological struggle over the word 'multicultural' which appeared as a component of the name of both the Office and the Department at the time (Nagel 2009). In these early days there was an outbreak of activity within national politics which focused heavily upon a cost-benefit analysis of migrants in Germany which undervalued, if not dismissed the matter of an urban perspective, which Frankfurt had already adopted (Friedmann and Lehrer 1998).

Nevertheless, being reduced to a communications office with extremely limited resources from the outset, AmkA came to enjoy unlikely and unexpected success through the urban level activities undertaken (Radtke 2003). Radtke (2003) outlines three major tasks which led to this success: first AmkA made the issue of cultural pluralism relevant for all other administrative bodies through communication, networking, cooperation and persuasion. This paved the way for public and administrative recognition of cultural differences. Second, the multilingual AmkA staff offered a place for immigrants to come and be provided with information and advice on all legal and social questions, as well as advice on how to understand and work with the local administration. Finally, it established itself as an antidiscrimination institution which could intervene on behalf of those who had experienced forms of discrimination. Through activities such as this, which supported and promoted intercultural communication, AmkA's activity was

consolidated in a way that made it difficult for its staff and budget to be reduced (Radtke 2003).

AmkA was able to cement its position in the urban political landscape of Frankfurt and still exists today as a result of its development of a location specific approach to integration and what could be called a 'Frankfurt model'. It is evident that through the opening up of institutions, AmkA has managed to carve a path, which has seen it succeed at both a conceptual and operational level (Lüken-Klaßen 2007). Assessing how approaches to and acceptance of AmkA and its work has changed over time, Wolf-Almanasreh points to the fact that AmkA is no longer challenged as an institution, stating that "today the establishment of AmkA is not seriously questioned...everyone within and outside the administration has experienced the ways that the ideas of the Office founder can be successfully developed" (Wolf-Almanasreh 2009: 18. Author's Translation).

Although in Frankfurt there was a visible development and wider acceptance of AmkA after its initial inception, beyond the city of Frankfurt the 'Frankfurt model' was not widely adopted. One possible reason for this is that different cities experience diversity in different ways. This could be due to differences in socio-spatial processes, different relative migration trajectories and varying levels and types of engagement with integration politics according to political developments within different regions or cities in Germany. For example Eckardt and Merkel (2010), in a comparison of city districts in Berlin and Frankfurt, point out that despite both cities being highly engaged with the question of integration of people from different cultural backgrounds, there are very different social and economic factors in play. In Frankfurt: "...the social problems of structural unemployment and poverty don't condense in a spatial way..." (Eckardt and Merkel 2010: 99). This suggests that, although there are city districts which have a higher percentage of migrants, there is not a sense of spatial segregation as strongly as other places. This is an important observation for an understanding of the urban politics of the city of Frankfurt, the way that ideas of living together are experienced and how networks become developed.

Another example which shows the limited transferability of the 'Frankfurt model' at relates to these different networking structures found in different cities. For example in Berlin there is a focused administrative engagement, while in Frankfurt we see a more developed sense of civic engagement (Eckardt and Merkel 2010). It is also important to keep in mind that, although Frankfurt has obtained a status as a global city and is extremely diverse, it is also smaller in size and population than other German cities. This may render civil engagement more appropriate than in larger cities, despite similar levels of diversity. There is also a question of what each kind of engagement entails. Through AmkA we have seen how it operates and communicates with the other administrative offices of the city at the same level, although its programmes and initiatives are aimed primarily at the civil level, with attempts to engage all citizens of the city. It arguably carries out both administrative and civil engagement and is able to adapt to exploit multiple networks. It is arguably the position of the organisation directly within the administration that makes both of these functions possible. Where integration matters are considered cross-sectional and the concern of multiple offices by many regional and city governments, the absence of a dedicated body to inspire and push through new initiatives suggests why Frankfurt as a model could not be replicated, mainly due to a lack of desire to create a new institution for an issue which was already being dealt with through other administrative structures and functions, for example through other offices.

A third factor which can be considered is the important dimension of national policy focus. Eckardt and Merkel (2010) observe that simply looking at local integration processes or wider transformations in the global economy, although potentially important, is insufficient and instead that a better conception of historical developments at the national level will provide a better comparative backdrop. Although the national developments in integration politics are considered a trigger for a broader normalisation process by Nagel, she also suggests that changes in national policy "made communal integration politics easier and harder at the same time" (2009: 24). New national policy focus brings new attention to matters which were previously dealt with individually and independently. While this may involve the rethinking or restructuring of previously autonomous work carried out by AmkA,

it also can be seen as the provision of particular instruments and methods to consolidate, coordinate and streamline complex processes. This includes integration courses and citizenship testing as well as providing the basis for new expanded networks and sharing of resources at the national level.

Despite AmkA being considered as successful and offering a model approach to social and cultural integration, it is clear that this has not been fully realised in other cities in Germany, as in the example of Berlin. Nevertheless a range of initiatives, better described as model projects, have been more successful beyond the local level.

5.3.2 Model projects

Following the early challenges and struggles of AmkA, in the late 1990s there was a process of consolidation which included the formation of some model projects. These model projects “entered the repertoire of urban actions to promote integration” (Nagel 2009: 21 Author’s Translation). These contributed to the good reputation of the work taking place in Frankfurt and in many cases inspired other cities and neighbouring countries to undertake similar projects based directly on those being carried out in the city (Nagel 2009). Examples of projects developed and disseminated in Frankfurt include but are not limited to: the ‘Mama learns German’ language programme which launched in 1997, ‘Die Multikulturelle Bühne’, a stage which has presented multicultural entertainment at the yearly museum festival since 1999, the Parade of Cultures since 2003 and the Intercultural weeks since 2006 (see chapter nine). These provide concrete examples of the way that AmkA has developed methods and events for public engagement on a large scale. In addition AmkA has been involved in collaborative projects including European model projects such as ‘NGOs and Police Against Prejudice’ (1998), ‘Overcome Racism’ (1999) and joining the CLIP European Cities Network in 2006. The quantity and scope of the projects carried out by AmkA are exceptional but can usually be seen as focusing on key areas concerning integration such as: religious communities, migrant organisations, language and education, ageing populations and intercultural contact. They also make efficient and appropriate use of networks that have been established over many years and continue to develop today, consistently opening up new opportunities.

As well as inspiring similar projects to be undertaken within Germany and Europe, projects have also had impact in different ways. For example the *Mama lernt Deutsch-Papa auch!* (Mother learns German – Father too!) programme, in which parents attend language sessions during the school day to help facilitate their child's linguistic integration at school, was reported in the New York Times as an example of a successful integration programme, based upon small steps to aid students of migrant parents (Mekhennet 2008). In another example of the impact of a linguistic programme one can consider the pilot project of Dr Albrecht Magen, a previous Head of the Department of Integration, which provided orientation courses for newly arrived migrants (Nagel 2009). This was “highly respected and praised as a good practice model at the EU level and in some way was considered a municipal precursor to the integration courses initiated in the federal law of 2005...” (Nagel 2009: 23. Author's Translation). These examples demonstrate some of the ways that model projects can translate into usable frameworks outside of the Frankfurt example.

Though it was highly criticised from both above and below in the beginning, AmkA and the Department of Integration provide a story of institutions which have become established in a highly contested environment, without any form of precursor or model (Eskandari-Grünberg 2009). Through the acknowledgement of its position on the boundary between the state and civil society and the advantages and disadvantages this afforded, AmkA has maintained a continuous presence in political and public spheres through large-scale events and model projects. As well as developing projects, AmkA has also worked towards developing strategic instruments which enable evaluation and monitoring of integration processes and the impact of their work. The chapter now describes the development of evaluation processes and the outcomes of studies which aim to measure and monitor the status of integration in Frankfurt.

5.4 Evaluating integration processes

Against the backdrop of the 2000 Citizenship Law change, AmkA entered a new period of development in which it needed to align with federal policy guidelines and

a shift in the national narrative of Germany. The following section outlines two evaluations of integration processes carried out on behalf of AmkA. These offer a number of suggestions for the further monitoring and development of integration policy in Frankfurt.

5.4.1 An analysis of the 2001 integration study

In 2001 AmkA commissioned the European Forum for Migration Studies Institute (efms) to carry out a report entitled *'Evaluation of Integration Processes in Frankfurt am Main: A Study on the integration of immigrants and Germans in Frankfurt am Main with special focus on three selected city districts'* (Straßburger 2001). Predominantly carrying out empirical social research, the efms [sic] is an interdisciplinary research body based at the University of Bamberg, Germany. Set up in 1993, it was one of the first of its kind with a focus on migration and integration in Europe and “was understood as a necessary step towards institutionalising research into migration and integration in Germany and Europe” (Bosswick and Heckmann 2006).

The 2001 study characterises the concept of integration as:

...a complex cross-generational process in which the addition of immigrants changes the structure and culture of the host society. The aims of integration are social relations, based upon a set of common political, legal and social values (e.g. human rights, the Basic Law), with the acceptance of diversity allowing a relatively conflict-free coexistence of various immigrant groups with each other and with Germans

AmkA (in Straßburger 2001. Author's Translation).

In an attempt to represent integration processes in the whole city of Frankfurt, a multi-strand study, including both qualitative and quantitative data analysis, was carried out looking at four forms or dimensions of integration which were defined as: “structural integration (participation), cultural integration (competences, values), social integration (relationships, networks) and identificational integration (self-perception)” (Currle 2010a). Although the study sought to provide a representation of the whole city, it also carried out a focused study on three city districts in order to “...evaluate the process of integration in a specific local context, and to look for

means of comparative analyses in order to see how local contextual conditions affect integration” (Straßburger 2001: 24. Author’s Translation). The districts were chosen according to certain socio-spatial criteria which were decided upon as part of the consultation process between the efms and AmkA and included: the Gallus district, a working-class area with high numbers of migrants; the Northern city districts (encompassing Eckenheim, Bonames, Preungesheim and Frankfurter Berg) as an example of a relatively middle-class residential area but with a large increase in migration to the area; and Bornheim, a relatively central district which is statistically representative of the city average (Straßburger 2001). A set of specific research methods were then developed in order to gather data, which was then analysed to produce an overall picture of the status of integration in Frankfurt.

The 2001 study participants comprised 1300 Frankfurt citizens who were between the ages of eighteen and forty. This included a targeted sample of second and third generation migrants, who were either born in Germany or who had lived there since childhood, and were living in one of the three chosen study districts, as well as a German control group without migration background (Straßburger 2001). One method adopted to assess integration across the city was an analysis of available secondary data which included municipal statistics from the previous three decades on subjects such as education, naturalisation, population structure, employment and unemployment. Additionally, a series of expert interviews sought an overview of integration processes in Frankfurt and included representatives from city advisory services, political leaders and city district experts. Furthermore Straßburger (2001) also adopted two methods focused specifically on the three selected city districts, including a postal questionnaire aimed at second generation migrants, as well as interviews with so-called actors and residents of these particular districts.

Through the development of this set of research methods, the key objectives of the study were: to outline integration processes and allow the early recognition of disintegration processes; to evaluate the status of integration; and to provide a rational factual basis for political decisions and an estimation of future developments (Curre 2010b). Dr. Albrecht Magen, the third Head of the Department of Integration (as it came to be known) stated that: “for the first time in a major German city, an

attempt is being made at measuring and presenting the status of integration” (Magen in Straßburger 2001: 3. Author’s translation). Through the development of a set of descriptors of integration processes or integration indicators, the study aimed to provide a usable instrument and to generate a specific database for the planning and implementation of future integration policies in the city of Frankfurt (Magen in Straßburger 2001).

As well as generating tools for city-wide development, it is notable that the study was focused on second and third generation migrant groups which showed that: “...integration is a varied individual process, whose successes and deficits can only be seen in retrospect and in comparison with the succession of generations (Magen in Straßburger 2001: 3. Author’s Translation). Through this statement Magen (2001) acknowledged the importance of individual experience to the integration process. For this reason it seems appropriate that the study focused on a particular demographic (second and third generation migrants) and in specific areas (three city districts) to address the binaries of past and present and successes and deficits through the development of relevant indicators which would be replicable. Magen (in Straßburger 2001) also recognised the importance of the succession of generations and did not discount the experiences of first generation migrants and the many problems they face, but underlined that they were not the focus of this study. Considering integration as an issue which crosses generations suggests that it is something which affects many people in many areas of their everyday life. In the following section the main findings of the study are discussed in relation to each integration category as defined by the study.

The study shows that in recent decades the integration of immigrants is much more advanced than is commonly assumed. This is also due to the carefully planned policy of the city. Frankfurt can boast demonstrable good progress in the areas of structural, social, economic, cultural and identificational integration.

(Magen in Straßburger 2001: 3-4. Author’s Translation).

In the 2001 study structural integration refers to: “the acquisition of member status in the core institutions of the host society” (Straßburger 2001: 140. Author’s

Translation). When looking at indications of structural integration, core institutions such as educational establishments and workplaces are considered as well as other indicators such as naturalisation rates. One of the key findings of Straßburger's (2001) study was that, where educational opportunity had been equal for both the German group and the migrant group, success levels were almost equal, with attendance at Kindergarten having an impact on overall success. Some deficits were identified depending on whether the migrant was born in Germany or arrived later, with the latter more frequently demonstrating lower achievement levels. In the workplace there were more differences between the groups. The study identified a significant gender difference between those employed in either casual or salaried jobs, with migrant men five times more likely to be working than migrant women. However, women of both migrant and German background were equally likely to be in salaried jobs. The study also concluded that many of the migrant participants in the study were well integrated due to the fact that many had already naturalised, or that this was being considered. Overall indicators were deemed to have shown that structural integration has been "largely successful" Straßburger (2001: 10. Author's translation).

Indicators of cultural integration considered by the study included: language competency and language use, the use of different media, modes of life and interethnic relationships. Language was a particular focus area for Frankfurt with AmkA having already developed some specific programmes such as *MitSprache* in 2000 to help with the linguistic integration of migrants. The second and third generation migrants were shown by the study to be highly proficient in the German language, although verbal communication tended to be rated higher than written communication. There was also a clear tendency for second and third generation families to adopt German as the main familial language, further indicating widespread linguistic integration.

Following on from general linguistic abilities of the participants, the study also addressed the subject of media use. Straßburger (2001) pointed out the relevance of this indicator not only as a conveyer of information, but also of attitudes and values. It had previously been assumed that those with migrant backgrounds tended towards

media from their own ethnic backgrounds and that this led to a potential decline in the language competency of the second generation. Conversely the study showed this to be an inaccurate reflection and that migrant groups were in fact greater consumers of German media than first imagined: “As the results of the study show, these assumptions broadly disregard the reality: half of the immigrants consumed exclusively German media and another quarter said they use mostly German media” (Straßburger 2001: 11. Author’s translation). Through these findings the study was able to actively dispel commonly held myths relating to factors of cultural integration.

Another factor of cultural integration analysed by the study was that of ‘modes of life’ and included aspects such as familial traditions, marriage, divorce and inter-ethnic marriage. The study acknowledged a widespread social change in Germany where people tend to marry and start a family much later in life, as well as a marked increase in the number of people living together unmarried or alone (Straßburger 2001). Under this category the research revealed that migrants were more likely to be married than Germans and also that the rate of divorce was lower amongst migrants than their German counterparts. The measurement on inter-ethnic marriage in the study of this particular category of integration was based on a question which looked into the attitudes of each group towards the idea. The results on this were varied particularly between different migrant groups and according to religious orientation; however the study did show that more than 70% of migrants questioned claimed that being motivated by love was a key criterion for an inter-ethnic marriage (Straßburger 2001a).

On assessment of these indicators of cultural integration, Straßburger viewed the outcomes regarding language competency, and further to this decisions about how people live their lives and operate in a familial setting as: “constituting a high level of cultural integration” (Straßburger 2001: 12). Following these, closely linked indicators of social integration were also analysed and discussed. This section of the study looked at social interactions and included further detail on inter-ethnic marriages, as well as looking more generally at friendships and relationships between different groups.

The study made particular reference to the media portrayal and discussion about migrant groups supposedly isolating themselves, living in so-called 'parallel societies' and causing the formation of ethnic ghettos which are seen as barriers to social integration (Straßburger 2001). Yet results from the study demonstrated to the contrary that high numbers of migrants cited good and important relationships with German citizens in Frankfurt, with inter-ethnic marriage common amongst migrants of the second generation (Straßburger 2001). The demonstration of the existence of social relationships between migrants and Germans showed that the overarching debates suggesting a lack of social integration may be misleading and that there were multiple instances which actively demonstrated examples of progressive social integration.

The final category of integration included indicators which demonstrated how much the migrant population identified with the host society and more broadly with the host country. In the study itself, Straßburger (2001) questioned the extent to which second generations migrants saw themselves as Frankfurt citizens or 'Frankfurters', as citizens of Germany and their sense of connection to the of their families. The findings of this part of the study revealed a strong sense of 'belonging', yet this was predominantly in the local context of Frankfurt and not a feeling of belonging to Germany itself. In this section the study also considered the issues of racism and disadvantage and asked whether participants felt that they had been affected by these issues. The number of participants who had experienced these kinds of behaviours was in fact very low. In spite of the a good sense of belonging to the local culture and limited disadvantage due to their migration experience, the identification of migrants with the host society as a form of integration was considered the weakest area by the study.

The study also took a more detailed look at three different city districts of Gallus, Bornheim and the northern city districts comprising Preungesheim, Frankfurter Berg, Bonames and Eckenheim, through a series of extended interviews with migrants in those districts. In addition to this the population structure and the development of the population in these areas was assessed. Overall Straßburger (2001) concluded that

Gallus and the northern districts differed greatly, with Bornheim in-between, occupying a relatively neutral position.

In the district of Gallus, Straßburger found that social integration is in fact quite high compared to very low levels in the northern districts. The reason for high social integration in Gallus is attributed to the fact that Germans and migrants live side by side in small flats and have very similar living situations, as well as working in similar jobs in this relatively industrialised area. In the northern districts however, there is a high level of fluctuation in the population and limited long-term settlement. Differences between these districts are also attributed to their location and dependence on social welfare. The northern districts are further from the city centre and the infrastructure is not as developed as the other areas, and there are also higher levels of social housing and youth unemployment in the area, in a way that is not comparable to Gallus. The evaluation also showed that there is a higher potential for conflict in the northern city districts due to stigmatisation, where the similar living and working situations of Germans and non-German's in Gallus mean that conflict is unlikely to arise. These conflicting cases demonstrate that a one-size-fits-all political approach to the city of Frankfurt is not appropriate and instead district level engagement should be maintained.

5.4.2. Reflections on the 2001 study

The 2001 study provides a snapshot example of the status of integration in Frankfurt and offers a first attempt at the development of a systematic and replicable approach to gathering data and analysing integration processes in the city context. Typically integration measurements are quantitative and in the form of statistical databases, however due to the inadequate data collection processes of the past and resulting lack of detail on integration factors and processes, this study adopted a multi-method empirical approach which included the use of interviews and questionnaires. This section comments on some of the key features of the study and how it might link with the wider aims and institutional discourse of AmkA.

One feature of this study is the presence of a discourse of integration. The study concluded that integration should be understood as: “the cultural and social

convergence of immigrants and native Germans and the alignment of their lives” (Straßburger 2001: 270. Author’s translation). Following the change of the name of the Department of Multicultural Affairs to the Department of Integration around this time, a shift away from a focus on ‘multiculture’ and towards the more all-encompassing term of integration was quite natural. With that, the idea of alignment with a national narrative and a greater focus on becoming integrated shows a shift from usual ideas of groups merely ‘living side by side’, instead indicating that there are opportunities for overlap. The 2001 study also arises in the period following one of the most significant changes in German Citizenship Law since World War Two, where migrants were afforded more rights and the opportunity to naturalise. This also sits in the wider context of Germany looking to shed its old persona of being a ‘country without immigration’. Against this backdrop, integration (in contrast to multiculturalism) seems an appropriate and lesser disputed criterion from which to approach processes of migrants and non-migrants living together in Frankfurt at this time. Nevertheless, the term integration remains highly politicised and overused as a term without full understanding as explored in chapter 2. For some the term integration is seen as outmoded as it does not allow for the fluctuation of identities according to the status and background of the migrant in question (Friedmann and Lehrer 1998). Despite the limitations of the terminology available to describe the situation, a definition of what integration means can be extracted.

In the 2001 study, the idea of integration is taken as an umbrella term for multiple processes, which includes different kinds of integration forms (structural, cultural, social and identificational) and ways of expressing integration through the establishment of so-called integration indicators. Integration is presented in the study as something ‘measurable’ in both a qualitative and quantitative sense, with the idea of developing a set of objective criteria for the measurement of discursive integration features, as well as traditional statistical data on a range of aspects. By presenting integration as multidimensional, it also justifies multi-method analysis and the development of a normative approach to how migrants and non-migrants are living together in the city.

It is notable that one of the key objectives of the 2001 evaluation was to provide a factual basis for political decisions and future policies, but the study itself fails to focus on any particular political model or approach regarding the past, present or future projections. The absence of a particular political programme or policy direction, although there were implicit political assumptions, allows for an exploratory methodology to be employed and for recommendations to be made independently. This then provides a foundation for the development of policies by the Department of Integration itself. Essentially by using non-specific terminology, which incorporates wide-reaching indicators, the study sets the scene for further more complex and multi-strand monitoring processes, with flexible yet evidence informed policy decisions. This could be a useful approach for the development of an adapted 'Frankfurt model'.

The aims of this study were to take account of the social situation of second generation migrants and Germans without migration experience living in Frankfurt and to show the status of integration in the local context of Frankfurt. The study stated the potential benefits of looking not only at the city context but further into specific city districts for a better understanding and engagement with the situation from a grounded local perspective. As well as being a way of developing tools for further research such as indicators and a database, the efms study sought to adopt a number of methods which allow for a cross section of aspects to be researched and analysed. Another observation by Straßburger (2001) underscored the importance of these multiple methods for allowing better social differentiation which would have been difficult due to the limitations of statistics collected to this point. In the conclusion to the study, Straßburger recommended both the ongoing collection of descriptive statistical data, as well as the repetition of the empirical aspects of the study within three years as part of a new and ongoing evaluation and monitoring process.

After the 2001 report, the next follow up project which assessed the developments in integration in Frankfurt was undertaken once again by the efms and published in 2008. Broadly seeking an update and analysis of developments since the publication of the 2001 study, the new report adopted the same multi-method approach as the

previous study. It also took note of the indicators developed in the previous study and defined new ones, with a more focused approach to social factors relating to employment and unemployment, population movement and structure.

5.4.3 An overview of the 2008 integration study

With the 2001 study considered a valuable first step towards a replicable and comprehensive evaluation process, the 2008 *Frankfurt Integration Study* was considered a repetition and update of the previous work carried out by Straßburger in 2001 (Halisch 2008). Carrying out analysis up to 2006 this study, like its predecessor, was also set up as part of the foundation of an ongoing process of evaluation but also as “...an impetus for the conception of an integration monitoring system which the City of Frankfurt aims to establish in the near future. Once again the study should infer concrete recommendations for action, which provide suggestions for municipal integration policy” (Halisch 2008: 10. Author’s Translation).

Where the previous study approached integration in terms of four different integration forms or dimensions, the 2008 study combined these dimensions with a slightly different conceptual underpinning. Instead of beginning with the definition of integration used by AmkA, it recognised that there was no unified conception of what is meant by integration within migration research, politics or the wider public but sought to provide a contextual basis for the use of the term: “This includes the central understanding of integration, its actors and how to represent and measure integration” (Halisch 2008: 11. Author’s translation). From here the study addressed integration under a sociological framing which sees the concept as divisible into two dimensions: ‘system integration’, which encompasses key mechanisms and institutions and ‘social integration’, which assesses the individual actors in a social system (Halisch 2008). Halisch (2008) finally returned to the four integration forms defined in the 2001 study of structural, cultural, social and identificational and clarified that these are only analytical categories and influence each other, rather than being isolated indicators.

The 2008 study adopted a similar methodological framework and sampling strategy to the original study and administered postal questionnaires to 1700 participants in six city districts which included the same districts as 2001, except the previously grouped 'Northern Districts' of Bonames, Frankfurter Berg, Preungesheim and Eckenheim had become independent city districts by 2008. As with the previous study, where there was a lack of statistical information, supplementary qualitative data in the form of interviews was used to provide an extension on different perspectives (Halisch 2008). As well as addressing education, naturalisation and workplace integration, the new study developed categories which assessed the city administration as an employer and the political participation of those with migrant background.

5.4.4 An analysis of the 2008 integration study

With the 2001 and 2008 study a comparable sample and methodological framework has been used, however the presentation of results differs and looks at the results of individual parts of the study (separating empirical data and secondary analysis of statistics) but grouping them under the same indicating categories. The following section outlines and comments upon the main developments uncovered by the updated study.

A notable trend highlighted by Halisch (2008) is that the largest proportion of foreign residents in Frankfurt is made up of those from EU member states and wider Europe. The largest increase is seen in the number of Polish residents and with the number of EU citizens from the previous guest worker countries decreasing in the years captured by the study. This is attributed to two main developments: firstly the expansion of the EU and secondly the change in citizenship law. These developments are noteworthy in isolation, but also when assessed alongside each other. There is also an important link with another trend which shows a decrease in the number of citizens naturalising.

The expansion of the EU is important for the evaluation of integration processes as rights to residence are not challenged. As EU citizens enjoy a certain level of rights and political participation there is potentially a lesser need to naturalise in order to

have access to core rights and institutions. In this case the drop in this figure can be understood. At the same time, with the change in citizenship law, a shift is taking place with more people of migration background (i.e. second and third generation migrants) now considered German from birth, and thus accorded the rights of any other German citizen. In contrast to the 2001 study, Halisch (2008) underlined how there was a sudden increase in naturalisations that took place immediately after the law changed in 2000 and 2001. However following this peak numbers continued to decrease until in 2005 they reached the lowest level for more than a decade. Following these observations Halisch (2008) asserted that the change in citizenship law will continue to have a great impact on data regarding population structure.

Another trend noted by Halisch (2008) was the increased mobility of foreign residents. As seen in other German cities, there is a trend of migrants living in low quality centrally located housing. Although it is true that the central districts followed this trend, Halisch's (2008) study shows that the northern city districts have seen the greatest increases in migrants. This movement pattern contradicted, in the same way as the 2001 study, that the idea of consolidated ethnic ghettos and parallel societal structures and showed that groups are relatively mobile.

On certain topics, the results were not shown to be as conclusive as in the previous study. For example statistics on education (particularly kindergarten) and bi-national marriage were considered to be inadequate in isolation (Halisch 2008). In most cases this was due to the fact that couples getting married and kindergarten visitation figures did not take note of migration background or experience. For this reason integration experience is difficult to estimate without a clear measurement and instead empirical elaboration was needed.

In comparison to the 2001 study, this updated version has outlined the way integration is held up as a concept and basis for investigation in a more detailed way. Whilst still acting as an umbrella term, integration is approached from a sociological perspective which further breaks it down into 'system' and 'social' integration, before looking more closely at the multiple forms of integration outlined by the first study. It implies that conditions and influences should not be taken for granted and

that discrete measurements which fit uniformly into categories may not exist. This allows for a more nuanced reading of the term and points out how indicators of integration may be descriptors which fall into these categories, but are better considered as part of a wider analytical framework for investigation.

Although addressing similar indicators and perspectives Halisch (2008) made explicit reference to the difficulty using markers of integration as something measurable. This is seen particularly in areas where more detailed empirical engagement is required in order for the indicator to be made sense of. What the use of multiple methods has shown in both studies is that the application of integration indicators may refer to a range of data which can be descriptive in both a qualitative and quantitative sense.

The main recommendations of both studies are towards a forward looking integration politics. Both Straßburger (2001) and Halisch (2008) pointed towards the importance of well-established statistical material and clear indicators which could be used as part of a future monitoring process by the city of Frankfurt.

5.5 Academics' intervention

After intensive consultation about the results of the 2008 study on integration, in July 2009 the Head of the Department of Integration will publish guidelines for further integration policies for Frankfurt. These should be considered as impetus for a political process of mutual understanding of the city society and not as a top-down programme, in which a particular form of urban development should be advanced.

Eckardt and Merkel (2010: 96. Author's Translation)

The city of Frankfurt has presented a new approach to integration, which is to initiate a change of perspective in integration policy. The concept design provides factual information, suggestions for discussion and suggests a working structure proposal which aims to make integration policy in the future even more efficient.

Vielfalt Bewegt Frankfurt.de. (Author's Translation)

Following the outcomes of the 2008 Integration study, the Department of Integration set about developing a unified integration concept for the city which would be able

provide a set of recommendations to be carried out across the municipal government (Vertovec 2009). To carry out the task of establishing an integration concept the City of Frankfurt commissioned Professor Steven Vertovec, Director of the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity, Göttingen, Germany together with cultural anthropologist Professor Regina Römhild to provide an academic backdrop to the new integration and diversity plan (Fenzel 2010).

The project is based on recent approaches to international urban and migration research (particularly in relation to 'super-diversity' and 'transnationalism') as well as on specific local conditions, and consists of a process of deliberation for the city of Frankfurt...

(Max Planck Institute 2014: Author's Translation)

The selection of these individuals to consult on the new concept is significant in the context of their previous research, its application to Frankfurt and its shift in its framing of matters of diversity. Römhild is currently Professor of European Ethnology at the Humboldt University, Berlin and previously worked as an anthropologist at the Institute for Sociology at Ludwig-Maximilian University, Munich. She also spent time as an assistant professor at the Institute of Cultural Anthropology and European Ethnology at the Goethe University in Frankfurt am Main. During her time in Frankfurt, Römhild directed the project "Global Heimat Germany: Migration and the Transnationalization of the Nation-State" which explored indicators of the state of transnationalism within Frankfurt 'from below' through a focused ethnographic research project (Römhild 2004). The research project assessed the idea of contradiction within German national political discourse against the realities of migration namely: "the contradiction between the nation-state's claim to power and the reality of migration that has for long surpassed and rendered fictional this claim" (Römhild 2004: 1). The project examined different forms of transnationalisation and the cultural globalisation of the 'small global city' of Frankfurt. A further project 'Transit Migration' carried out between 2002 and 2006 provides an example of a collaborative transdisciplinary project which was concerned with how: "transnational migration movements are transforming Europe and its discourses on governance, citizenship and labour markets. Transit migration

asks how, and whether, it is possible to represent this reality in academic discourse, in the media and in art” (Römhild 2004).

The work of Römhild, particularly the ‘global heimat’ study was considered to have been an influence on the blueprint of the new integration and diversity concept (Arning 2009). In 2009, when being interviewed about the new blueprint for the integration and diversity plan for Frankfurt by the Frankfurter Rundschau newspaper, prior a period of public consultation, Römhild was characterised as: “the mother of multicultural society moving away from this perception of living together” (Arning 2009: Line 1. Author’s Translation). She suggests that this perceptual change is positive as it allows a fresh look at the situation for this city and society:

It can no longer be assumed that different groups live here that we can classify according to their nationalities and which we consider as minorities compared with a German majority society. That was the multiculturalism model, which was important at the beginning to break through and make it clear to the national society that there are other people who are also part of this society. This however, has consolidated a picture of minority communities that stand next to a majority. From this viewpoint we cannot go any further.

(Römhild in Arning 2009: line 5-17 Author’s Translation)

Where diversity has been considered as part of a challenge or problem Römhild argues for a different perspective: “From the diversity of cultures arises potential for Frankfurt: We can be a cultural global city, not just an economic one” (in Arning 2009: line 52-54. Author’s translation). She also dispels the widely held narrative of parallel societies and dismisses that the new suggestion puts forward a “utopian vision of human coexistence” (Arning 2009: Line 56. Author’s translation). Instead Römhild suggests that the existence of so-called parallel societies has not been scientifically proven in Frankfurt, and that this view is dependent on what perspective is taken. For example it is not denied that the old industrial areas next to the Main River are characterised by high numbers of migrants, but these are from a multitude of different backgrounds and not just one national group with consolidated ethnic structures and separate lives (Römhild in Arning 2009). This highlights further that the skewed and standard outlook of Germans and non-Germans living together as suggested by older ideas of multiculturalism, and the concept of integration taken

to mean the minority adapting to the dominant majority, has become more complex and needs to be revisited and rephrased for today's reality (Fenzel 2010).

The interview with Röhmhild suggests a number of necessary changes in perspective in line with the day to day realities of the city which cannot be achieved through looking solely at statistical data as an indicator, in isolation from actual experiences and realities of the day to day situation. This need for a change in overall perspective, including a departure from a simplistic multicultural view of people of different backgrounds living together side by side as an outcome of traditional migration trajectories, is also reflected in the work of Vertovec and his introduction of the concept of 'super-diversity' in 2007.

As shown in chapter two, the development of the concept of 'super-diversity' was "intended to address the changing nature of global migration that, over the past thirty years or so, has brought with it a transformative 'diversification of diversity'" (Vertovec 2014). He explains that diversification of diversity refers to the existence of more ethnicities, languages and countries of origin but also suggests that there are other factors to consider (Vertovec 2014). Instead of limiting descriptors of diversity to ethnicity and country of origin, attempts should be made to address more discrete variables which are rarely described side by side including: "differential immigration statuses and their concomitant entitlements and restrictions of rights, divergent labour market experiences, discrete gender and age profiles, patterns of spatial distribution, and mixed local area responses by service providers and residents" (Vertovec 2007: 1025). These are important considerations for the development of a new concept.

Super-diversity was initially applied to the example of London, yet Frankfurt, with its comparably smaller size and population, ranks alongside global cities such as London, New York and Tokyo. This is not limited to parallels in its infrastructure, financial economy and commercial position, but also in regards to their social structures and mobility of the population (Vertovec 2009; Fenzel 2010). If compared directly the number of nations co-existing in London (179) is almost equivalent to Frankfurt (176) (Fenzel 2010). Expanding upon the trend of more EU migrants

shifting the picture of population structure by Halisch (2008), Vertovec further reinforces how common perception of migrants originating from Turkey and South East Europe is contrary to the reality and that these sectors of the population are in decline, as the origins of newcomers to the city further diversify and social realities shift (Fenzel 2010).

Although the previous studies have attempted to demonstrate shifting social realities, Vertovec also points to the challenges of the previous statistical categories used and the challenges of formulating an integration plan which is based solely on the existence of 'foreign nationality' (Fenzel 2010). The application of the term super-diversity aims to reflect pluralism at all social levels and within individual groups, which is significant in that it addresses a variety of migration trajectories and also recognizes that these may differ, even between migrants from the same national background (Fenzel 2010). Therefore social scientific research and analysis can be seen as an important tool in "discovering and acknowledging the nature and extent of diversity [as] a crucial first step in the development of adequate policies on both national and local levels" (Vertovec 2007: 1050). "An integration policy that takes account of the difference between indications of immigration and actual immigration experience and the specific distribution of the population would more closely reflect the social reality and thus be more effective" (Fenzel 2010: 4).

Since the turn of the century migrant integration has become of central political interest at European, national and municipal level and has now gathered momentum in the German context. Now that it is of interest at the federal level, the previously self-defined integration measures undertaken by cities must now shift into line with national policy recommendations and EU directives (Stadt Frankfurt 2009b). In 2009, the twentieth anniversary of AmkA saw the launch of a new approach and conceptualization of diversity management in the form of a new 'Integration and Diversity Concept'. Building on experience from the last two decades, the concept was set in motion with a range of recommendations set out.

5.5.1 Networked diversity

The suggested alternative model proposed by Vertovec and Römheld on analysis of the present situation is one of ‘networked diversity’ with a sense of connectivity to extend across all aspects of city life (Vertovec 2009). “From this perspective integration will be understood in new ways as an overarching policy of linking social and cultural diversity city-wide, across all layers and origins” (Stadt Frankfurt 2009b: 21. Author’s translation). For Frankfurt, networked diversity refers particularly to:

...the economic and cultural potential of the economic metropolis and city of migration seen as being related and used to promote global city development; that more people from existing ethnic, national and social margins are brought into contact above and beyond fleeting encounters, formally (institutionally) and informally at a social, political, economic and cultural level; that those at the level of municipal politics are engaged in the same way as economic and civil society actors and institutions; that common interests are recognized at civic and institutional level and become the basis for co-operation, participation and interdependence; that relationships develop with greater respect for each other; and that social barriers caused by lack of information and lack of trust can be overcome.

Stadt Frankfurt (2009b: 59. Author’s translation)

This approach to diversity looks towards a comprehensive and usable framework that the city of Frankfurt can adopt as part of its continuous development. The description of networked diversity is not a deviation from the current focus areas of AmkA but a process of consolidation which should provide practical solutions to diversity issues. The blueprint document confirms this:

A value-based networking approach does not exclude conventional integration measures which lay value on aspects for example school education, language acquisition and vocational training – rather it complements such measures and should allow for a better tuning of instruments to the varying needs of urban society.

Stadt Frankfurt (2009b: 59. Author’s translation)

In practical terms networked diversity means bringing people together in dialogue and activities in the city. Referring to it in this way presents it as an up to date alternative to the multiculturalism of previous years (Fenzel 2010). AmkA is also

ideally placed to act as the coordinating agency for networked diversity, after carrying out more than 20 years of communications work which has resulted in enhanced communication networks across Germany and beyond.

Against the backdrop of the concept of networked diversity the 256 page consultation document or blueprint for the new diversity concept is set out.

5.5.2 Consultation process

Following the release of the blueprint document of recommendations in September 2009, Frankfurt citizens were invited to engage with the development of the concept as part of a dialogue between the city and Frankfurt citizens. The audit captured the opinions of an unprecedented 47,000 citizens of Frankfurt through the use of the internet, in which a three phase online consultation process was carried out (Cities of Migration 2011). Frankfurt citizens were invited to engage in a number of ways including: contributing blog posts; recording videos entitled ‘I am a Frankfurter because...’ partaking part in a series of five online surveys and finally, providing any new ideas that might have been missed previously (Cities of Migration 2011). In addition, the city-wide consultation process included more than forty outreach events, which included presentations by the Head of the Department of Integration, collaboration with city advisory services and other formal and informal networking associations and a project where students from the Goethe University were provided with netbooks and entered schools, government offices, and city squares to survey people directly (Cities of Migration 2011). The public participation in the consultation process was a critical part of the consolidation process and formation of the finalised document which became the new ‘Integration and Diversity Concept’ published in September 2010. This is explored in more detail in the following chapter.

5.6 Conclusion

Over the past two decades since the inception of matters of migration and diversity into Frankfurt’s city administration there have been multiple developments in perceptions and policies. The impact of developments in national policies and

narratives is seen in this chapter through the use of integration studies which directly evaluate integration processes. By contextualising these studies and describing the key national developments of the time, we see how the specific situation for migrants in Frankfurt shifts. Aspects such as the redefinition of migrant background in 2012 (see Chapter 3), as well as EU expansion, can be mapped onto the Frankfurt landscape through the use of statistics which map both population structure and development. This realigns traditional views of migrants being predominantly from former guest worker countries and sets the scene for a new policy based on networked diversity.

Although the importance of the local dimension is indicated frequently in the literature, little research has been carried out on the impact of local urban policy on foreign migration and integration (Friedmann and Lehrer 1998). There has also been a lack of empirical study which is focused on self-organised migrant groups (Radtke 2003).

As the underpinning framework for the work of AmkA and the suggestion of a 'Frankfurt model', the next chapter sets out the 2010 integration concept. Following the evolution of this new integration and diversity concept the thesis then presents an empirical study of the urban politics of Frankfurt explored through chapters seven, eight and nine.

Chapter 6

Conceptualising Integration and Diversity Policy in Frankfurt

6.1 Introduction

The Frankfurt ‘Integration and Diversity Concept’ was adopted by the City Council at the end of September 2010. A year after the publication of a blueprint for a new diversity concept (Entwurf eines Integrations- und Diversitätskonzepts für die Stadt Frankfurt am Main 2009) and following an intensive period of public consultation, the 80-page publication ‘*Vielfalt bewegt Frankfurt: Integrations- und Diversitätskonzept für Stadt, Politik und Verwaltung*’ (Diversity Moves Frankfurt: Integration and Diversity Concept for City, Politics and the Administration) was unveiled. This conceptual document sets out guiding principles and aims for policy, outlining a range of approaches for different city actors. Although there were goals for integration policy prior to 2010, there was no official diversity concept (Lüken-Klaßen 2008). As a result, the publication of the document is a first attempt at implementing a defined and formal concept and is a key consideration for the ‘Frankfurt model’. The development of a coherent plan to address the challenges of integration and diversity in the city provides operational guidelines for all public administrative bodies including AmkA and the Department for Integration.

This chapter provides a commentary of the Frankfurt Integration and Diversity concept as a guiding philosophy and agenda setting tool for the city of Frankfurt. It outlines the structure and content of the document to provide a comprehensive overview of the concept. It then describe how the document works beyond the 80-page text, by looking excerpts from the new website which is dedicated to charting initiatives taking place across the city. This provides an example of one of the ways that the concept is disseminated to those within and beyond the AmkA network.

After providing an overview of the document, the chapter looks at three distinctive discursive strategies that emerge within the concept and suggests how these address

and create contradictions and tensions at the urban level. First it provides a discussion of the surfacing rhetoric of mutual responsibility and action at the operational level, as well as offering a possible reading of responsibility within this context. Second it looks at the importance of communication in the document and the development and exploitation of networks. These are presented in the document as essential action areas for the dissemination of information concerning integration and diversity in Frankfurt. Finally it looks at how Frankfurt can adopt and use the concept as part of a wider idea of what it means to live together in a city society and what this might contribute to the thesis' conception of the 'Frankfurt model'.

6.2 Concept overview

Frankfurt's Integration and Diversity concept document has an overall title of '*Vielfalt Bewegt Frankfurt*' (Diversity Moves Frankfurt) and outlines the way that the integration concept paves the way for a politics of diversity. Following introductory comments by Petra Roth (Mayor of Frankfurt 1995-2012) and Dr Nargess Eskandari-Grünberg (Head of the Department of Integration since 2008), the urban experience of diversity is discussed, as well as an overview of the main approaches and aims of the policy. The remainder of the document is structured under three main headings of: principles, goals and approaches. These provide detail on the main categorical focal points addressed by the concept and how these are dealt with as part of a wider integration politics.

6.2.1 From an integration concept to a politics of diversity and networking

Frankfurt is described as a "crossroads of economic and cultural exchange" (Stadt Frankfurt 2010: 12. Author's Translation). The city of Frankfurt has always been an important migrant destination, but as chapter three demonstrated, there has been an evident shift in the origins of Frankfurt citizens which has led to significant diversification of the city over the past few decades. In addition, the situation of migrants in Frankfurt is no longer limited to stories of the first generation migrants, now including many second and third generation German citizens with migration backgrounds. Many of these citizens have no personal direct experience of migration.

Instead the idea of diversity in Frankfurt includes the wider economic, social and familial experiences of multiple generations of ‘foreigners’ who themselves have become independent citizens of Frankfurt (Stadt Frankfurt 2010). In acknowledging this multiplicity of factors the concept describes: “a politics of diversity which takes the urban reality seriously” (Stadt Frankfurt 2010: 12 Author’s Translation). The urban reality is that migration as an urban phenomenon does not sit as a simple question of majority and minority populations, but instead a more complex process of movement of people into and out of cities from an unprecedented variety of backgrounds (Stadt Frankfurt 2010). With that, there are a number of important questions which arise, such as: “What holds our society together and what makes it viable for the future?” and “How do we want to live together?” (Stadt Frankfurt 2010: 12. Author’s Translation).

In her introduction, Petra Roth (in Stadt Frankfurt 2010) describes how the integration concept is a symbol and contract for everyone, which includes those employed in politics and the administration and the citizens of the city. As well as being a concept for everyone, the idea that integration itself can only be achieved by working together is widespread. Yet, as the Head of the Department of Integration reminds us, this approach to integration as a group endeavour has not always been self-evident. In the foreword to the concept she explains: “It implies a change in thinking: namely that this is not a question of different small minorities integrating into a supposedly homogenous society, instead it must be about living together in an open society” (Eskandari-Grünberg in Stadt Frankfurt 2010: 9. Author’s Translation). Eskandari-Grünberg (in Stadt Frankfurt 2010) also offers a reminder about the use of terminology such as ‘integration’ which itself is part of a technical sociological vocabulary. This language is something that people have become accustomed to due to its catch-all nature and increased use.

With that in mind, the implication of a change in perception about integration and diversity leads to questions of what integration politics actually refers to and how it is considered by residents and the administrative bodies of the city. As Eskandari-Grünberg explains: “Integration politics is neither a niche politics, nor one which is focused upon a particular group such as ‘the foreigners’ or ‘the migrants’”

(Eskandari-Grünberg 2011: 9. Author's Translation). This addresses the ways that groups might be considered or how differences are categorised in traditional ideas about integration. In removing such categories, or rather expanding them, it limits the possibility of simply reducing people and the idea of integration to something related purely to country of origin. Instead it makes a greater attempt to understand their connections to each other and to the place that they live.

As a concept that the administration established in conjunction with its citizens, through large scale public participation, Roth also reinforces that: "Integration is not least an expression of communal self-administration...Frankfurt is a city in perpetual motion. Our streets and squares are communicative spaces. Communal self-administration and societal integration go hand-in-hand" (Roth 2011: 7. Author's Translation). Although it is true that differences exist in every society, in cities these become magnified due to spatial limitations (Eskandari-Grünberg 2011). With that, the question of 'how we want to live together', becomes more pertinent in thinking about the way that diversity is managed and in decisions about the integration measures that are put into place. The multiplicity and proximity of citizens affects the ways that networks are established and exploited in the Frankfurt case. As a result the concept and policy reiterate the importance of these networks and processes for everyone. "The concept formulates long-term requirements for institutions, public services regarding legal and social conditions, but also for us all... The city of Frankfurt bases its integration policy on the values of our society and will seek to ensure that all citizens allow these values and goals to be effective in their everyday lives" (Stadt Frankfurt 2010: 16. Author's Translation). As Eskandari-Grünberg considers, "...there is scarcely an area of our city life where this concept isn't relevant", yet she also recognises that "it is not realistic that everyone (with and without migrant background) will take an active role in society". (2010: 10. Author's Translation). In spite of this the goal remains to try and reach and include everyone possible.

A politics of diversity and networking, then, takes an approach to integration which is established upon the idea of diversity and the interconnectedness of city life.

Integration policy today also means diversity management. If they are to be effective, integration measures... which aim for equality and participation, need to be up to date and geared towards different and changing groups, or even towards new groups. To achieve the aim of equal opportunity and equal rights, we have to travel different paths again and again. That is why this concept of integration policy is also described as a policy of networking.

Stadt Frankfurt am Main (2010: 15. Author's Translation).

A focal point of the concept and its aims for policy is the importance of looking at long-term solutions with sustained attention to integration matters. This acknowledges the continuously developing process. It also requires taking the existence of cultural differences seriously and realising that integration politics is not simply aimed at foreigners but at the whole city population. Finally it highlights that an approach is required which improves cross-city cooperation and participation. Following this, the focus now shifts from the integration concept and its policy approach based on diversity (not limited to country of origin) and multi-channel engagement through the use of networks, towards the foundational principles of integration policy.

6.2.2 Integration policy principles and goals

Integration requires a strong foundation and one of the primary factors upon which the concept and policy are based is the fact that it is something to be addressed by people at all levels of society, not just the city administration. With the overarching importance of the principle of integration as a task for all, the policy itself has further foundational principles which include: the clarification of people's rights and obligations, the counteraction of extremist ideas and the generation of a sense of common responsibility (Stadt Frankfurt 2010). The idea of positive co-existence is seen to arise where: "people feel welcome and feel at home, when they are acknowledged as members of our society and can take part in city life" (Stadt Frankfurt 2010: 19. Author's Translation). With that, the concept can be seen not only as a foundation for integration policy but more simply as a foundation for living together.

The idea of living together and what this entails is dealt with in detail through the first thirty 'Ziele', translated as 'objectives' or 'goals' of the concept. Objectives one

to five describe factors of ‘communal self-administration’. Following the term used by Roth (2011) in the introduction to the concept, it generates key aims for elected bodies of the city to balance the interests of its citizens. These include: 1) promoting communication from communities, 2) facilitating ways of dealing with difference, 3) promoting dialogue and networking, 4) expanding participation in decision making and 5) exploiting opportunities within local politics (Stadt Frankfurt 2010).

Each of these five objectives emphasises a slightly different point of focus for the greater task of living together. Objective 1 recognises that regardless of the status of citizens, whether they are newcomers, long term settlers or temporary members of society, that official occasions and events should be inclusive and representative. Objective 2 follows this in calling for the way that difference is dealt with to be facilitated, and specifically suggests that groups which were previously inactive or on the periphery should be actively targeted and invited to offer their opinions. For this the promotion of dialogue and networking outlined by objective 3 as well as participation in decision making in objective 4 become important. These highlight the importance of contact between municipal institutions and citizens as well as the use of multilingual multipliers. While stressing the importance of knowledge of the German language for participation, it recognises that “new encounters in our city are often most likely to succeed in a low-threshold and multi-lingual environment” (Stadt Frankfurt 2010: 21. Author’s Translation). To increase participation, the concept document also suggests that opportunities should also be provided for regular communication between different offices, committees and elected officials formally in discussion forums, informally through work in city districts and also through the use of new forms of media. This links to the final objective of this section which assesses the ways in which municipal powers might be used as a vehicle for integration. Although these interlinked objectives and the idea of ‘communal self-administration’ provide a number of key aims of the concept, this offers only one dimension.

Following the aims for the elected bodies of the city, the concept points towards some more abstract goals surrounding common values and an open and tolerant society (Objectives 6-13) before looking at the importance of a democratic culture

(Objectives 14-19) and Frankfurt as a city society (Objectives 20-28). Living together involves not only a sense of common values but respect and recognition from all sides. The idea that independent individuals are found within a community also signals an important frame of reference for the concept, which calls for equal opportunities for everyone, regardless of whether they share opinions or have corresponding lifestyles. This individualised approach is also important for the way that people consider each other as part of particular cultures or groups. “Frankfurt’s urban policy is not trying to ‘culturalise’, neither in data collection nor in the justification of its decisions... Existing communities and individually communicated feelings of belonging are to be regarded respectfully as equal parts of the city community” (Ziel 7, Stadt Frankfurt 2010: 23. Author’s Translation).

The first thirty objectives of the Integration and Diversity Concept adopt an approach to living together which acknowledges both physical and abstracted aspects. This is useful as it considers the necessity of balancing interests of all members of the population. It also acknowledges that whilst particular groups might not be active participants (for example attending events or being members of extra-curricular groups), there is a need for a sense of common values across all aspects of city life when these opportunities are taken up. Although commonality is emphasised, it is not enforced in a way which denies the importance of individuality, nor assumes the superiority of one culture over another.

That said, a notable tension can be observed where particular groups might be targeted due to lack of participation. Here the use of multilingual ‘multipliers’ might be used to enhance participation of those on in peripheral groups (see chapter seven). Although there is a rejection of the idea of ‘culturalising’ through urban policy, it must be clarified that some objectives may unintentionally do this, particularly where it is inferred that special measures or attention is being paid to actively include those who may not have good working knowledge of the German language. Nonetheless there is sensitivity towards the way that behaviour or particular approaches may be construed and the overarching message remains that positive co-existence and equal opportunity is a primary aim, rather than privileging certain parts of society. This

ethos is further highlighted in the next set of objectives, which aims to prevent disadvantage and discrimination through action at the administrative level.

6.3 Guidelines for integration policy

The guidelines for integration policy are introduced through objectives 29-34. The idea of this small section of the policy document is to demonstrate how integration policy can be considered a core task in city development without considering it a troublesome or “problematic politics” (Stadt Frankfurt 2010: 35. Author’s Translation). Suggesting that appreciation of individual experience is borne out of a strong European tradition, the policy concept states that people should not be disadvantaged. It also pays particular attention to anti-discrimination and diversity management (Stadt Frankfurt 2010). For this the public administration is not the sole protagonist but holds a particular responsibility and should serve as a model feature in the professional handling of diversity. This in turn should help with the structural opening up and regulation of opportunities offered by institutions (Ziel 29, Stadt Frankfurt 2010). City offices and establishments should also be well connected to advisory centres and be sensitive to different forms of discrimination (both direct and indirect) so that these can be quickly and competently recorded and categorised through the city’s anti-discrimination office.

The linking of different agencies across the city and their negotiations with the public on matters of diversity management and anti-discrimination reinforce the importance of networking and participation. “The complex social network of the city together with its multiple public offerings and private initiatives are difficult to grasp and so constant co-operation and networking is required” (Ziel 32, Stadt Frankfurt 2010: 37. Author’s Translation). A guideline to address this aims to enhance the quality of information being provided to citizens on societal developments, and municipal measures, but should not replace the encounters between individuals and groups.

The city of Frankfurt provides occasions and creates space for contact and regular encounter. At the same time access to information should be facilitated...With the help of new media communications people should be informed and brought together...At www.vielfalt-bewegt-frankfurt.de new opportunities for increased citizen participation through the internet can be achieved: as an up to date source of

information as well as a possibility for faster paced reciprocal networking.

Stadt Frankfurt am Main (2010: 37. Author's Translation).

For communication between different groups the policy document also advises that commonalities should be stressed. "We want to find accented, cross-cutting themes, which affect different groups and individuals equally and put them forward for discussion to promote their engagement" (Ziel 33, Stadt Frankfurt 2010:37. Author's Translation). For this the city of Frankfurt looks to diverse and well-qualified city partner organisations, while also supporting private networks within the city districts.

In spite of these attempts there is the possibility that conflict will arise. The final aim covered within the guidelines for the policy focuses upon the prevention of conflict, but also on its use as a mechanism of bringing people together and allowing mediation. (Ziel 34, Stadt Frankfurt 2010: 38). Through understanding early indications of potential discrimination and conflict, which comes about in the majority of cases as a result of misunderstandings when people encounter difference, the city administration and cooperation partners can be important actors in the diffusion of issues. This demonstrates the importance of organisations and individuals approaching the task of integration and the inception of an integration and diversity concept being viewed as part of an intersecting team of protagonists, who all have a role to play in municipal developments in integration policy in the city of Frankfurt. This is highlighted in the third section of the concept outline.

6.4 Structure and organisation

Over the past few decades Frankfurt was able to appropriate a range of network structures, which now provide a core structural basis for many areas of action and cooperation in the city (Stadt Frankfurt 2010). The third section of the policy concept document incorporates policy goals 35 to 60 and is focused on the idea of the policy as cross-cutting issue for the whole of Frankfurt at an operational as well as conceptual level. This sets a strategic overall framework built on a foundation of

interconnected diversity, but also on the establishment of specific initiatives across agencies in the city.

Where the opening sections of the policy document have outlined the task of integration policy for all citizens of Frankfurt, in goals 35 to 43 the operative framework is set out. This includes more tangible aspects of dealing with diversity and, such as specific one-off and model projects and centrally managed events. This should be combined with a process of mid-term and yearly goal-setting, reporting and reflection. It also asserts the importance of standardised criteria which can be periodically evaluated, monitored and studied both in statistical terms and also through deeper empirical research to be carried out in conjunction with students working at different institutions in the city: “We want to build, use and promote a skilled regional network which suitably complements Frankfurt’s urban development, as well as the implementation and development of this concept in an advisory capacity” (Stadt Frankfurt 2010: 45 Author’s Translation). For this to take place the structure and organisation of the tasks is considered through goals 44 to 48.

These four goals show how the administration operates and outlines how co-operation on matters across different municipal Offices and Departments is an ever-present factor. “During training and standardisation meetings, the basis of city integration policy can be discussed; procedural processes explained, developed further and most importantly are formalised so that quality criteria can be developed. This is so that double structures can be avoided, as well as ensuring that subject specific knowledge, resources and contact with the city administration can be used in the best possible way” (Ziel 44 Stadt Frankfurt 2010: 46. Author’s Translation). Through a yearly conference with the main administrative offices of the city (Ziel 45), and the establishment of project groups comprised of specialist agencies and businesses, this should allow for exchange of experiences in a structured and continuous manner (Ziel 46). Regular reports can then be generated to monitor progress. In addition to this there are calls for efficient technological support, for example through database style internet resources (such as www.vielfalt-bewegt-frankfurt.de), which can further assist in cooperation and coordination between different partners (Ziel 47), as well as meeting a broader aim of ensuring city-wide

extension of the diversity policy (Ziel 48). With these goals set out the third section of the document, the tasks of AmkA in relation to these objectives are addressed. Their function as an agency of the city is also addressed specifically in goals 49, 50 and 51.

Objectives 49 to 51 assert the role of AmkA as a neutral coordination and information agency which has direct contact to the public. As objective 49 outlines: “The Office of Multicultural Affairs combines scientific and practical professional capacities and functions as a point of contact for the integrative management of diversity...integration cannot be imposed, the work of the Office of Multicultural Affairs is largely based on advice and advocacy. Implementing a cross-cutting operation requires a series of coordinated and connected processes” (Ziel 49, Frankfurt 2010: 48. Author’s Translation). AmkA also supports regular collaborative work between departments to support political decision making (Ziel 50).

As well as this supportive and coordinating function, which has been reinforced through this section of the concept document, AmkA has a further important position as a central place of clearing and as an ombudsman (Ziel 51). Acting not only as a point of contact for newly arrived migrants, established organisations and professionals, it holds an important position as a conflict management and antidiscrimination agency. This means that through awareness building mechanisms, enacted through different modes of communication and public relations work such as hearings and cultural events, AmkA can provide information and help to all Frankfurt citizens and to intensify the frequency and nature of relations across Hessen (Ziel 52). This scaling up from the city level to the regional level is then explored in the final aims of the concept.

The final objectives outlined by the concept document consider the city of Frankfurt as having multiple regional, national and international relationships and dependencies which require some focus in order to promote political cooperation (Stadt Frankfurt 2010). What this means is a strengthening or deepening of regional relationships within the wider region of Hessen to communicate issues related to integration policy (Ziel 52). In addition there should be a sense of moving closer to a

strategy of engagement and participation at the federal political level, as well as cooperating with universities and research institutions across Germany, to assert the position and successes of Frankfurt further afield (Ziel 53). This links with objective 54, which broadly aims to represent local interests in the expansion of its experiences of integration policy measures beyond Germany, to the European and International levels. This can be done through links to institutional partners across associations, chambers, and religious communities and also incorporates the work of German and foreign language media (Ziel 55). This further asserts how the regulation and shaping of a citizen's life in the public realm is not a task of the public administration alone.

On the basis of these 55 overarching goals the concept formulates sixty separate lines of action or approaches (Handlungslinien (HL)) arranged into 11 specific topic areas. These stand as a list of responsibilities and assists in the setting direction for policy and the administration (Stadt Frankfurt 2010).

6.5 Approaches to integration and diversity

The approaches are intended to provide a way for the defined objectives to be operationalised and to allow the development of a baseline measurements to promote systematic reporting of these planned action areas. Through these channels the objectives of the concept and policy outline should be achievable through the combined work of actors within the city. It also looks at each topic for areas where overlap and engagement might be achieved with external cooperation partners including: regional and federal government, media outlets, religious organisations, privately-run external organisations and research institutions.

The following table outlines the eleven subject areas covered by the action guidelines and the accompanying approaches adopted in the pursuit of fulfilling the aims and objectives set out by the policy. Summarizing the approaches according to topic area in this way provides an overview of the document and shows direct lines of action between the conceptual issues identified as requiring attention, with focused methods for achievement.

Topic Area	Approaches
Mission: A Networked City	HL1 & 2: Bringing people together and formulating common topics and interests.
Encounter: A Welcoming Culture	HL3-5: Developing measures for newcomers; Simplify information and access; Demand mutual appreciation
Principle: Participation and Working together	HL6-10: Open up and use existing structures, achieve new forms of participation, increase political participation, develop information and political education, support willingness to change.
Planning: Development of an Integrated City	HL11-15: Pursue city-wide strategies, encourage local districts to be viewed as shared spaces, use and shape public space, encourage development of city districts, adapt housing policies.
City Districts: A good life together	HL16-18: Establish points of contact, oppose segregation, strengthen and build networks.
Understanding: Language and communication	HL19-24: encourage early use of German language, assist with language acquisition, take multilingualism into account, ensure differentiated German courses are offered, ensure knowledge of German, and create spaces for communication.
Education: Future opportunities for migrant society	HL25-33: Future opportunities for migrant society – implementation of a municipal control model, facilitate access, support families, network across institutions, deal with diversity, facilitate social education, encourage togetherness, facilitate transitions, and customise adult education.
Economy and job market	HL34-40: Ensure readiness for training, assist with vocational training, connect further education, promote integration in working life, facilitate assessment of foreign qualifications, support independence, and expand support networks.
Creativity: Art and Culture	HL41- 44: facilitate art and culture, establish connection points, support participation, and promote cultural education.
Social Cohesion: A city society	HL45-58: combat social exclusion, be aware of gender specific aspects, help older generations, expand family work, network youth services, solve conflict and look out for violence, protect refugees, assist people without residents status, ensure healthcare requirements are met, help people with disabilities, be aware of sexual orientation, acknowledge new forms of living together, be aware of changes in city milieus, appreciate existence of religious communities.
Public Service: Managing Diversity	HL59 & 60: apply principles of diversity management, further develop structures and competencies.

Figure 7: Summary table of 11 Key Topic Areas and Accompanying Approaches

These approaches address wide reaching themes which directly impact the local population. Whilst some are focused on general aspirations such as bringing people together (HL1) and establishing points of contact (HL16); others are concerned with specific groups and promote awareness of differences (HL45-58). Due to the breadth of areas of interest and range and number of objectives, it is difficult to establish how the key components of the integration concept can work in an integrated way towards successful policy outcomes. The following section outlines an example of how the separate parts work together, as part of a framework for addressing objectives in a way that combines the policy concept with an interactive website which was published alongside the concept.

6.6 Vielfalt Bewegt Frankfurt web project

To exemplify how the specific projects and activities of different agencies, groups and individuals are considered in conjunction with the proposed goals and approaches set out in 2010, we can look to the dedicated internet site www.vielfaltbewegt-frankfurt.de. This site acts as a database of societies, groups, activities, events and projects as well as generating an interactive ‘diversity map’ which provides an overview of key locations and offers across the city (see Figure 8). The coloured circles on the map contain a number which shows the number of events and activities taking place as well as the different community groups or initiatives operating in a particular area. By clicking on these it is possible to see what is scheduled or available by zooming in on the map and finding the precise location. It is also possible for any individual or group to upload their data and location so that it can be viewed on the map.

The use of this map entitled “Karte der Vielfalt” (Map of Diversity) provides a visual aid to understand the way that integration and diversity are spatialised in Frankfurt. The choice of using a mapping tool is significant in its role as an opportunity for dissemination of information and to locate initiatives. The map itself shows how activities and opportunities are distributed across the city which allows us to see where the greatest number of initiatives is concentrated. These are primarily centrally

located, both north and south of the river Main, with further high concentrations in the northern and north western areas of the city, although the quantity of opportunities reduces as the activity moves further away from the centre. The use of the map here also allows for moments of interaction and encounter with different opportunities city-wide. These may not have been visible at street-level with many organisations working on a predominantly voluntary basis unable to secure a permanent space of their own.



Figure 8: Vielfalt bewegt Frankfurt Interactive Diversity Map (vielfalt-bewegt-frankfurt.de – Source Google).

At the same time it shows areas where there are fewer opportunities (as indicated by smaller circles). For example both east and west Frankfurt show fewer examples of activity. This leads to a problem of how we consider the visualisation of opportunity through maps and further the spatialising of integration and diversity in this way.

Kitchin and Dodge (2007) suggest that “maps are of the moment, brought into being through practices (embodied, social, and technical)... As such, maps are transitory and fleeting, being contingent, relational and context-dependent” (2007: 336). The

practice involved in the process of mapping on the *Vielfalt Bewegt Frankfurt* website is a participatory act allowing individuals to populate it and hubs of activity to naturally emerge. The relational and context dependent aspects of Kitchin and Dodge's reflections on maps are important here. The way the map looks is contingent upon people taking the lead in the initiative and uploading their data. This indicates their engagement with AmkA and other organisations in Frankfurt. This makes it difficult to tell whether there is a lack of opportunity in the areas that seem to have fewer initiatives and organisations listed, or if there is a lack of knowledge of the tool and the concept. It may also demonstrate an abundance of activity, which may make potential organisers of activities feel that there is too much competition between different events. Another consideration is that civil society organisations are not always fixed to locations due to limited space or organisational challenges (see discussion in chapter nine). If these groups use different spaces or have irregular meeting times, it may not be appropriate for them to upload their data onto the map as it would not be counterintuitive.

Although the aims of the integration concept document do not suggest that the interactive map will be used as a way of measuring engagement, it does point to the website as a primary output and important dissemination tool. In understanding perceptions and realities of the Frankfurt situation is significant in its ability to measure engagement, and to connect the integration concept with the publics and partners beyond the text. The map itself then becomes an example of a social construction (Crampton 2001), which through its appearance reflects a certain version of a reality. At the same time, as Kitchin and Dodge (2007) point out, maps should perhaps be viewed as processual as opposed to representational. This seems particularly useful in the example of the *Vielfalt Bewegt Frankfurt* website, as it is indicative of the process of inception of the integration and diversity concept, and could indicate the extent to which it is gathering momentum across the city.

In addition to the mapping of events and initiatives the website publishes key documents, a calendar of events, news, services and networks. For every element embedded within the website there is an explanation of the item linked to a map to locate it and a direct link to the integration and diversity concept.

As shown in the example in Figure 9, the content of each event is carefully considered and published with a description and reference to the specific objectives (Ziele) and approaches (Handlungslinien) being addressed.

The image shows a screenshot of a website advertisement for an event. On the left side, there is a map titled 'Karte' and 'Streetview' showing a location in Frankfurt. Below the map, under the heading 'Ziele und Handlungslinien Integrationskonzept', the following goals and approaches are listed:

- Ziele:**
 - Ziel 31: Gleichberechtigte Teilhabe sicherstellen
- Handlungslinien:**
 - Handlungslinie 7: Neue Beteiligungsformen schaffen
 - Handlungslinie 10: Veränderungsbereitschaft unterstützen
 - Handlungslinie 37: Integration im Berufsleben fördern
 - Handlungslinie 43: Beteiligung unterstützen

On the right side, the event title is 'Partizipation von Migrantinnen und Migranten stärken und Barrieren überwinden'. Below the title, the text reads: 'Mitmachen Mitgestalten Mitentscheiden'. A paragraph explains that participation in social decision-making processes for migrants has increased, but they are underrepresented in many areas. The event focuses on forms and possibilities of participation in three areas:

- politische Gremien und Organisationen
- Gewerkschaften
- Elternvertretung an Schulen

The event is scheduled for June 13, 2014, at 10:00 AM. Registration information is provided at the bottom: 'Anmeldung unter: kontakt@berami.de'.

Figure 9: Event advertisement including an explanation of which integration concept goals and approaches it addresses (Source: vielfalt-bewegt-frankfurt.de)

For example this event, organised by the non-governmental organisation Berami in Frankfurt was a one day conference on the topic of strengthening participation of migrants and overcoming barriers and understanding opportunities in German society. On the right hand side there is an explanation of the event and the key details on content of the programme. On the left hand side there is a map to show where the event is taking place and below it on the left hand side it shows that this event covers goal 31 which ensures equality of opportunity and approaches 7 (establishing new forms of participation), 10 (supporting willingness to change), 37 (promoting integration in working life) and 43 (support participation). These can then be directly cross referenced with the paper based or pdf version of the Integration and Diversity concept. This shows the importance of achieving aims and ensuring that the concept remains a key framing device for activity.

What this visualisation provides is a direct and current link with the integration concept itself. Rather than the document existing as an isolated set of policy guidelines, it demonstrates how it is being used on a day to day basis. This asserts both its relevance and usability and provides a simple referencing tool for anyone who wants to see how different policy aims are being achieved and targeted through different events and initiatives. It also encourages event organisers and community groups to think about the ways in which their initiatives fit in with the wider aims of integration politics in the city.

6.7 Analytical frameworks and the consolidation of the integration and diversity agenda

From the Frankfurt Integration and Diversity Concept emerges a particular policy response to the integration and diversity question in Frankfurt. Following the concept blueprint document which was published prior to the consultation process and linking up with the 2010 concept, the following section starts to draw out a set of features which reflect a transitional or consolidating process of integration and diversity management. The frameworks are chosen due to their prominence as key features in the finalised document as well as for their comment on the wider thematic and empirical interests of the thesis.

6.7.1 Collective Responsibility and Action

A message which is consistently repeated throughout the Integration and Diversity concept document, is that the task of integration is one which cuts across the interests of the whole city, from citizen level to city government:

In densely populated cities especially, integration is a central task in all areas of life. Its importance has increased and will continue to grow. This problem affects all of us and must be pursued in the long term.... Integration is neither the task of the state nor of the municipality but of society as a whole

Stadt Frankfurt am Main (2010: 16)

This leads to a consideration of how people relate to each other across different spaces, in this case city space. This echoes with a wider geographical concern with

responsibility and the relational nature of space and identity (Massey 2004). Massey sees space as a product of practices, trajectories and interrelations made through interactions at all levels. Identities are similarly relational in that they are developed through engagements and practices of interaction (Massey 2004). She also suggests that these theoretical reformulations of space and identity as relational have: “gone alongside and been deeply entangled with political commitments” (Massey 2004: 1).

Responsibility for the diffusion of the integration concept lies with all citizens regardless of their position. Many of the objectives identify a need for multi-actor engagement at a number of levels and are part of a wider discursive framework calling for collective action.

Integration in practice means and requires the participation of different groups; a responsibility jointly acquired which then establishes a stronger identification with our entire city. In our urban communities, we have to devote more attention to each other and work better together. Therefore this concept not only informs us of the basic facts, but also provides guidelines for cooperation and division of labour of city government, other stakeholders and the public.

Stadt Frankfurt am Main (2010: 18 Author’s Translation)

Through a combination of goal setting and the definition of key approaches, the document calls to into action the different groups in the city, with a large amount of responsibility remaining with the administration. There is also a strong emphasis on the citizens of Frankfurt as “partners in integration politics” (Stadt Frankfurt 2010: 41. Author’s Translation). Responsibility, as shown in the quotation above, is seen as something jointly acquired. The word responsibility (Verantwortung) in the document is nearly always accompanied by an adjective, which suggests that it is something collective, joint or shared (gemeinsam/geteilt). This acts as a constant reminder and reinforcement of the importance of encounters of individuals and groups with others in the city. There is also an emphasis on networking and togetherness indicated by reference to “Zusammenhalt” (togetherness). This is combined with sustained references to “Zusammenarbeit” (working together) and “Zusammenleben” (living together). The focus on joint activities of working and living together serve to spatialise collective action, compared to more abstracted

ideas about responsibility. Living and working together and the ways that this operates at multiple levels may further encourage collaboration of individuals, groups and organisations through a sense of shared responsibility.

The interactions and encounters made possible through multi-level promotion by citizens, organisations and policy actors can also be seen as examples of spatialised practices. This may be through public events such as festivals and conferences (see chapter nine) or smaller de-centralised initiatives (see chapter eight), which still serve to include diverse population groups. In principle, transformative relational practices across space can be seen as one method for inspiring a sense of collective responsibility, however, there are other considerations that might be made.

Extending further beyond geographies of responsibility, we can look towards the idea of geographies of care. As McEwan and Goodman (2010) point out, much work in this area of geography has been: “concerned with distance, or the ethics arising out of a sense of responsibility towards those with whom we have caring relationships and toward different and distant others” (McEwan and Goodman 2010: 103). Although there is a positive case to be made for inspiring collective action, there is a counter-argument which suggests that it can be problematic (Barnett 2005). Writing in relation to ethical consumption McEwan and Goodman (2010) reveal that increased knowledge of the plight of distant workers has seen a turn towards ethically-sourced products. McEwan and Goodman state: “This is because they focus on the responsibilities of individuals rather than how individuals can become collective actors, and they underplay a range of other considerations (in addition to knowledge of distant others) that play a role in shaping people’s dispositions towards others. Thus debates about ethics in geography have been accused of turning attention away from the political since they focus on individual rather than collective action” (McEwan and Goodman 2010: 105).

Although their work was focused on ethical consumption, there is an argument to be made for the application of geographies of care and questions of ethics to this work. In the example of Frankfurt and its diversity, there is a lack of knowledge in many cases about ‘distant others’. In this case, however, the distant others are living in

close proximity within the same city – yet social and cultural difference is more significant than spatial distance in providing opportunities for encounter. A problem then, is that the citizens of Frankfurt are being mobilised as actors in a concept which refers to them as part of a collective, but does not necessarily give them the tools to establish the necessary connections. This relates to a second important discursive framework established by the concept, which looks at the importance of networks and communications.

6.7.2 Networked Diversity and Communication

Linked with themes of shared responsibility, cooperation, and connectivity is the question of how people and organisations themselves are actually able to come together, to interact and relate to each other in the ways that Massey (2004) has indicated. There is a strong emphasis in the concept document on the value and importance of networking. It is important to establish here precisely how networking and networks are conceived in the document.

The website www.vielfalt-bewegt-frankfurt.eu which constituted the main portal during the consultation period, before being superseded by the now operational www.vielfalt-bewegt-frankfurt.de, defined networking in its own glossary as follows:

The term networking can be understood quite figuratively: It's about "network building"... to make connections. Networking of people or organizations means encounters and cooperation, which are not accidental or rare, but regular and deliberate and formulate or pursue specific goals. In this case networking means a large-scale measure that will bring very different people or organizations into a relationship with each other - like a web.

[vielfalt-bewegt-frankfurt.eu](http://www.vielfalt-bewegt-frankfurt.eu) (2014: Author's Translation).

We see in the concept document itself: "In Frankfurt, a differentiated network structure has been built over the past decades. Thus, there is a good and expandable foundation for multiple collaborations and new approaches to action" (Stadt Frankfurt 2010: 39 Author's Translation). One approach to networking outlined in Ziel 25 is that of utilising and promoting existing structures. That means understanding at a local city-district level, what the environment itself has to offer.

These offers may include “educational and charitable institutions...clubs, citizen-led initiatives, business associations, homeowners, religious communities and voluntary as well as professional engagement” (Ziel 25, Stadt Frankfurt 2010: 32. Author’s Translation). In addition migrant organisations and cultural societies and groups are seen as having an important bridging function when they establish connection points within the city districts. This is seen as a way of stabilising and facilitating contact with the unfamiliar, with the opportunity to expand existing relationships and to promote the development of new structures for integration.

Shifts in traditional networking measures and processes are also acknowledged through the concept. For example under the heading of “Acknowledging new forms of co-existence”, approach 56 establishes how classic clichéd images of family life no longer reflect the reality of Frankfurt. Instead new and unconventional forms of living together come to light as a result of processual shifts visible in the economic development, education and job market and social policy (HL 56, Stadt Frankfurt 2010). This undoubtedly impacts the way that networking between people on the ground is carried out, as well as the way the administration considers the ways that people now live together.

Additionally the Integration and Diversity concept takes the idea of networking beyond the local and into a wider network of cooperation promoted through higher education establishments. As Ziel 43 suggests: “universities and research institutes are found within a worldwide competition and are embedded within international networks” (Ziel 43, Stadt Frankfurt 2010: 44. Author’s Translation). This larger-scale process of network building is further discussed in Ziel 54 and 55. Here there is attention to representing interests at European and international level (Ziel 54) and of building relationships with institutional partners. What these objectives provide is the opportunity for exchange of experiences as well as promoting Frankfurt on an international stage. Where integration politics is organised as a multi-level task, attention is also focused on establishing international as well as domestic links with societies, religious communities and media outlets. The participation of Frankfurt in communal administrative committees as well as in international city networks serves to improve their own work and to represent them as a successful local authority (Ziel

55, Stadt Frankfurt 2010: 50. Author's Translation). This links with the work of Amin (2004) who referred to cities in relation to a politics of propinquity and a politics of connectivity.

Cities and regions possess a distinctive spatiality as agglomerations of heterogeneity locked into a multitude of relational networks of varying geographical reach. As such, they express, perhaps more than other socio-spatial formations (nations, households, organizations, virtual and imagined communities), the most intense manifestations of propinquity and multiple spatial connectivity.

Amin (2004: 43)

Firstly taking into account different levels of spatial connectivity, a politics of propinquity refers to "...a politics of negotiating the immanent effects of geographical juxtaposition between physical spaces, overlapping communities [and] contrasting cultural practices," (Amin 2004: 39). A number of the Handlungslinien (approaches) of the document which refer to networking specifically can be seen as responses to this juxtaposition. For example HL11 pursues a line of city development which aims to act as a model for a so-called networking concept. This functions across political fields from integration policy and economic structures to environmental, traffic and infrastructure measures, thereby showing the interconnectedness of different network spaces.

The juxtaposition of physical space with overlapping communities and cultural practices is also negotiated through HL18. This looks at the importance of traditional or ethnic networks and the role they can play in integration processes. For example for sports and events where usage of facilities may lead to conflicts arising in spaces where different activities are carried out, the concept aims to build networks between different groups and strengthen relationships, so that they can all be supported and conflict can be minimized. These provide just two examples of how connectivity and cooperation take place across physical space.

Although the city provides what Amin (2004) considers the most intense demonstration of propinquity and connectivity, he also recognizes the existence of a multiplicity of socio-spatial formations as constituent parts of a connected network to

include virtual and imagined communities. Sheller (2004) argues for a revised approach, which looks beyond the traditional networking perspective. Thinking about technologies and mobile publics, Sheller argues that transformations in modes of communication may mean that “taken-for granted geographical understandings of public and private spheres as *spaces* and *networks* continue to limit the ways in which we might imagine the dynamics of public formation” (Sheller 2004: 39). For Sheller “practices of social co-ordination and connectivity shift in contemporary urban spaces” (2002: 40), and the shifting sites of public and private are seen as affected by new forms of mobile technologies, which highlights a need to move beyond the traditional network metaphor.

Following this, although traditional networking frameworks and practices are itemised in the Integration and Diversity Concept, it is also important to note that new formats like the website are established as an important networking tool. For example in Approach 56: “Through new possibilities of communications technologies virtual networks are also developed which we support through our own offers and want to use as a context for real encounter” (HL 56, Stadt Frankfurt 2010: 79. Author’s Translation). The importance and possibilities of virtual networks and communication structures has already been established and is considered an extremely important part of the dissemination of the project. After carrying out a multi-stage consultation process, including the largest web-based campaign in Germany, the importance of these technologies for promoting encounter has been demonstrated. More than 45,000 people interacted, offered opinions and were surveyed online as part of the process (vielfalt-bewegt-frankfurt.eu accessed June 2014). This acts as a demonstration of how the city of Frankfurt values new forms of communication and network building as well as traditional networking processes.

Following on from the distinctive framework of “networked diversity” put forward by Vertovec and Römhild (2009) in the blueprint for the integration and diversity concept, the importance of networks and networking has been discussed in relation to the finalised document. Graham (2000) has suggested “The high-modern ideal of the ubiquitously networked city [has] thus achieved widespread currency as a rhetorical and ideological device” (Graham 2000: 184). Following this attention is now turned

to the way that the idea of connectedness and the networked city functions as a greater comment about the way that integration policy functions at the city level.

6.7.3 Living together in a city society

The importance of the urban and what the Frankfurt Integration and Diversity concept means for the city are set out in the document. It begins by explaining migration as an experience which is quintessentially urban. Although this is a general observation about cities and the urban experience, the story of Frankfurt as presented in the previous chapters has already shown the extent of migration to the city. In addition to this established migration Frankfurt also has the status of a ‘global city’, adding another dimension to its urban character. As a global city Frankfurt has an international profile characterised by high mobility, economic prosperity, creativity and innovation (Stadt Frankfurt 2010). By international reckoning Frankfurt is a small city which has a particular impact on the way a normative vision of the city or notion of city-life might manifest.

References to the city in the concept document take on diverse forms. From reference to ‘city life’, ‘city society’, ‘city districts’, ‘networked city’ and ‘city development’, the city and the urban experience appear as spatialising reminders of the task of integration policy. Through constant references, the concept itself is grounded in a particular context, which reveals a particular character and nature of the way that social relations and diversity management unfold within the case study site.

Although Frankfurt is a small city, city-district level engagement is seen as an important area for the dissemination of integration policy as well as large-scale events. There is an evident focus on a ‘city society’ over the idea of developing a ‘city community’. The idea of city society and what city life entails emerges as an area of interest in this context. As Young suggests: “appeals to community are usually antiurban” (1990: 236), however, putting forward the idea of city life as a normative ideal, Young touches on what might be considered a constructive vision of the city and an applicable model for Frankfurt. There is in fact direct reference to

something that can be translated as city life (städtisches Leben), although the meaning of this is not elaborated upon in the concept document.

Young (1990) describes city life as a form of social relations defined as the being together of strangers:

In the city persons and groups interact within spaces and institutions they all experience themselves as belonging to, but without those interactions dissolving into unity or commonness. City life is composed of clusters of people with affinities – families, social group networks, voluntary associations, neighbourhood networks, and a vast array of small “communities”...

Young (1990: 237).

City life according to Young is composed of clusters of people. This echoes with key sections of the Frankfurt Integration and Diversity Concept, referring to the multiplicity of networks and potential for working and living together. By looking at these as small “communities” but not reducing them to this, allows the presence of difference in urban life without seeing it as a barrier to living together. This can also be seen as part of a spatialised urban process: “Most people frequently encounter strangers in their daily activities. The material surroundings and structures available to us presuppose our urban relationships” (Young 1990: 237). Echoing Lofland (1973), Young describes how those living in the city frequently venture beyond their familiar clusters to the “more open public spaces of politics, commerce and festival, where strangers meet and interact” (Young 1990: 237). These observations and comments on the nature of city space and interactions within it reflect not only the aims of the integration concept, but also the empirical interests of the thesis regarding the negotiation of space and encounters with different types of organisations and in different spheres of interest.

In addition to the importance of individuals and groups as actors in a city society as part of city life, there is also a relationship between city life and politics. This is raised through the design of an integration concept which seeks to provide the basis for a wider integration policy.

Objectives 29 to 55 are arranged under the title of “Integration policy as a city-wide task”. This sets in motion the overall message put forward by Roth and Eskandari-

Grünberg in the introductions of the document. Reinforcing that integration politics is something which affects everyone and is the task of everyone. Providing the conceptual backdrop to the topic of integration and diversity management, this document offers the foundation for a politics of integration. By raising important issues and suggesting how institutional as well as ground level encounters cities can contribute to this conceptual framework, the Frankfurt concept addresses a view of politics in line with that of Young:

Politics, the critical activity of raising issues and deciding how institutions and social relations should be organised, crucially depends on the existence of spaces and forums to which everyone has access.

Young (1990: 240).

As well as addressing how institutions and social relations should be organised, the Frankfurt concept addresses the importance of space and of these spaces being accessible to everyone. For example it states: “Our streets and squares are communicative spaces (Stadt Frankfurt 2010: 7); “Our city is a public space” (2011: 16). This perpetuates a view of Frankfurt as an open and accessible environment.

Access is also reinforced through the promotion of participation in the concept. One of the primary ways to promote participation in public space is through centralised events. Ziel 42 puts forward the suggestion that large scale events have “...symbolic appeal which can sharpen our awareness of the demands placed on all of us in Frankfurt, and contribute to the feeling of togetherness in the city.” (Stadt Frankfurt 2010: 44. Author’s Translation, see also chapter nine). However these macro-scale events are not the only focus of the concept. There is also an important emphasis as seen in Ziel 29 of promoting the participation of some smaller groups who have not actively participated previously.

In addition to goal setting, which sees more people taking an active role, the idea of promoting participation also features in many of the approaches. These also take on a slightly different focus, looking at concrete measures and aspects of participation which extend beyond taking part in intercultural or extracurricular events and activities. Participation measures mentioned in the concept include approaches such as HL8 which looks at the opportunities for political participation, HL21 which

establishes knowledge of the German language as a key to participation and HL42 which looks at how cultural offers are used to help promote participation. Looking at these aspects in terms of city life provides a way of seeing how transitions can be made from private to public life and encounter in public space. For example, if there is a deficit in someone's ability to speak German they will find it more difficult to integrate into city society and to participate in city life. What these approaches do is identify the potential areas of difficulty and look for ways to improve participation and access. City life as a normative ideal then, provides a basis for city dwellers not only to interact but to develop a relation to the city in terms of a politics (in this case integration politics) which is applicable to all.

6.8 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an outline and commentary of the Frankfurt Integration and Diversity Concept. It has demonstrated the structural and operational framework adopted by the city administration. The aim of the publication document is to provide a set of objectives and approaches towards productive and positive co-existence in the city of Frankfurt for all citizens. By considering the specific challenges presented by extreme diversity without problematising them, it lays the conceptual backdrop for a substantive integration policy. Although these guidelines and concepts are not new for Frankfurt, it is the first time these have been consolidated in this way.

The chapter also analysed the format and function of the *Vielfalt Bewegt Frankfurt* website. It showed that mapping should be considered processual rather than representational following the work of Kitchin and Dodge (2007), and also highlighted that mapping processes are context based. It also considered the map as a social construction as a result of the collaborative and open-access process involved in its formulation (see Crampton 2001). Following on from the way that events become mapped across the Frankfurt landscape, focus turned to the way in which events are presented and described in relation to the objectives and approaches outlined by the document. This showed an inherent usability of the concept document and a real-life application of the individual aspects.

The second part of the chapter looked at three discursive frameworks and related these to relevant geographies. It first looked at the sense of collective responsibility and action explored in the concept. This included its aspirations to be a place of positive and productive co-existence but also the dilemmas arising when seeking collective outcomes. Following this the chapter addressed the idea of networked diversity, including the importance of communication and network building for successful and productive living together. It finally commented on what it means to live together in a city society.

Having commented on the individual objectives and approaches of the Integration and Diversity concept as well as wider geographical implications, the following chapter turns to examine how the Integration and Diversity concept informs and operates in the day-to-day practices and activities of AmkA.

Chapter 7

AmkA - Reflections on Workplace Practices and the Integration Agenda

7.1 Introduction

Since its foundation, AmkA has been positioned as an administrative office with the aim of developing information structures and networks which connect publics and the local administration (Cohn-Bendit and Schmid 1993; Radtke 2003; Wolf-Almanasreh 2009; Stadt Frankfurt 2009a). With the inauguration of the 2010 Integration and Diversity Concept, AmkA's role as a co-ordination and information agency was cemented within the core integration policy agenda of the city of Frankfurt. This chapter explores how the idea of an integration and diversity concept is discussed and operationalised through the work of AmkA in their day to day activities and practices, heavily based upon networking principles. It considers this work as a manifestation of networked diversity in action, as well as an important feature of the 'Frankfurt model'.

In the publication which details the Integration and Diversity Concept for Frankfurt AmkA is defined as "the co-ordinating specialist unit and information agency in questions of integration and diversity with a cross sectional function" (Stadt Frankfurt 2010: 48. Author's Translation). Using data gathered through ethnographic research in the form of observational diaries and interviews, this chapter establishes how the day to day work of AmkA is mapped onto the integration and diversity agenda outlined in the preceding chapters.

The chapter first outlines the operational and organisational aspects of the office which sets the scene for the location of the research. Taking a particular interest in the work that they do and how the employees see their role and function, the chapter is particularly sensitive to workplace routines and organisational structures. This also includes potential for challenges or tensions related to the way the work of the office is structured. It then looks at the relationship between practice and principle in the

case of the integration and diversity concept and the AmkA office. It seeks to determine how office routines align with policy ideals through conscious and directed efforts, but also through unconscious everyday practices. The primary aim of the chapter is to understand the work of the office and how we make sense of its existence in relation to the published goals of the organisation.

7.2. Overview of the AmkA Office

AmkA is located on the edge of the city district known as the “Innenstadt” or city centre. Based just north of the River Main on Lange Straße, the four-storey office building is the workplace of approximately thirty AmkA employees. It is also shared with the other branch of the Department for Integration, the KAV, as discussed in chapter five.

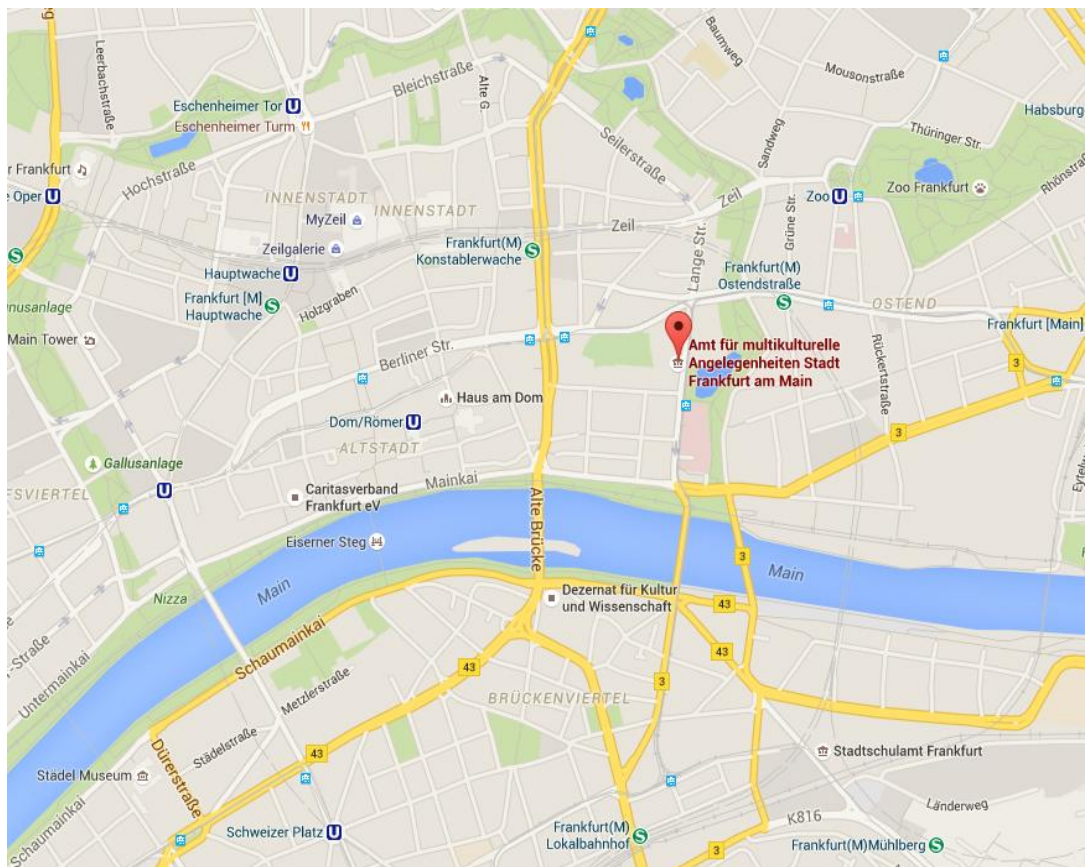


Figure 4: Map of Frankfurt Innenstadt /City Centre showing location of AmkA (Source ©2015 GeoBasis DE/BKG © 2009 Google).

The roles undertaken by AmkA colleagues cover a wide range of areas and functions. Along with traditional administrative roles such as appointment making, promoting events, and finance, specific interest areas include: public relations, communications and media, integration and conflict management, education, working with parents, religion, culture and anti-discrimination. Studying the individual job roles and action areas of the office it is clear that under these headings a vast range of projects and initiatives are included. There is usually an individual in each department who is responsible for coordinating these initiatives within these often broad interest areas.

In general I observed one or two people working in each subject area, often supported by interns and other members of staff with whom there is an overlap. A colleague listing shows for example that there is one person working in the area of 'age and migration', two people focused on 'anti-discrimination', one person on 'religion', another on 'conflict management'. This provides very little information on the formal division of labour, including roles and responsibilities of employees. The coverage of such wide-reaching areas raises the question of how the workload is distributed, in order that employees are able to work on their own or in very small teams, on a diverse range of complex issues.

In order to gather a better understanding of how this format might function in a diverse city with a population of 700,000 residents, interviews with employees provide an important point of entry. This gave me the opportunity to explore the role and function of individuals within the office and the nature of their work. The AmkA website also provides background information on core interest areas, and outlines themes and approaches through short descriptive sections on each topic. For example a section on 'age and migration' indicates the motivation and thematic focus of the work done in this area:

The number of older migrants in Germany is growing from year to year and leads to a great diversity within ageing groups. This development has long been known in Frankfurt and makes new demands on the elderly care system. Multilingualism and intercultural opening of institutions are relevant topics regarding the elderly.

In Frankfurt am Main, the proportion of older migrants is 18.4%. This number is composed of the persons over 65 years without a German passport (14.3%) and

those over 65 years with migration backgrounds (4.1%) together (Statistical Yearbook 2012). Many of them have spent most of their lives in Frankfurt.

The Office of Multicultural Affairs of the City of Frankfurt am Main (AmkA) has been dealing with the issue of age and migration since the early 90s. The integration of older migrants and their social, health and mental health care in old age is an important factor. But also questions of intercultural outpatient and inpatient care, the housing situation and opportunities to meet with compatriots, are concerns that are taken seriously by the administration and supported by targeted measures.

AmkA.de (2012 Author's Translation)

From this contextual entry on 'age and migration' as an example of an area of concern for AmkA, a developed evidence base on the current situation for Frankfurt demonstrates the nature and contextual relevance of the issues that are being tackled here. Furthermore there is indication that there are targeted measures, both in place and being developed, to tackle many areas of concern for ageing migrants who are living in the city (see chapter eight). What is not clear is how these measures are carried out through the work of AmkA office This becomes more apparent through an assessment of the different operational levels and tools that the Office adopts in order to carry out its work.

7.3 Ways of working – day to day functions

The building itself is quite inconspicuous. I wasn't really sure I was in the right place. There was just a leaflet holder and some AmkA leaflets when I walked in. Upstairs the main Office corridor reminded me of a doctor's waiting room. The corridor was quite wide with individual offices on each side. There were posters on the walls and some fixed benches are located outside some of the offices. Most of the office doors were closed.

Field notes 1 (1/6/12)

...the offices are on either side of the building with a long corridor between. They are all quite loud. On one side of the building there's the Strassenbahn [tram] stop and a busy road, on the other there is a Kindergarten where the weather is nice enough for the children to play outside. If the windows are open and a meeting is going on it is almost impossible to continue without closing them because of noise disturbances.

Field notes 1 (4/6/12)

The office environment itself became a focus of my research when thinking about how the location of the office and the spatial organisation of AmkA affected the day to day operations of it. Later, in interviews, it became clear that the operative nature of AmkA had shifted over time. In the early days AmkA was considered a place for people to come and consult with AmkA employees. There were opportunities for people to make appointments and meet face to face with relevant employees according to their needs. This role has shifted over time, in line with the differing needs and challenges of the city and also in the way that AmkA tries to operate in a wider capacity, not just as a consulting body:

The office used to be buzzing with people who would come in person and meet with AmkA representatives, but these days the corridors are empty. Is that negative? No, because it means that we have built sufficient and efficient networks. We are not just offering orientation and advisory services any more, but multiple offers for every aspect of society depending on their own needs and wishes. I think that is where we are now. We offer a service and that is a communication service, AmkA workers aren't just doing things themselves directly, but instead are acting as a coordination agency. We are an overview agency, an agency with a good idea of the situation and there is a multiplier factor which goes a long way. We are working with others through multiplying opportunities for communication. Times have changed. Dealing with new realities requires a different approach but communication will always be necessary in every aspect of what we are doing here.

Interviewee A (2/10/2013, Author's Translation)

In the context of how the work of the office is structured, this employee response underlines some of the main changes that have taken place and gives a sense of how AmkA's work has been carried out over time. One indication is that the networking task, as referenced in the previous chapters, has been consistently developed. This is not confined to the office environment, but is part of a continuous process with individuals and organisations across the city in targeted interest areas. This means that some of the Office's work becomes outsourced and facilitated through city actors operating at the ground level. This takes place through representatives from within AmkA and other administrative departments, but primarily happens through individuals and groups who act as intermediaries between the city administration and citizens, safeguarding the interests of the local population at the civil level (see also chapter eight). These ground-level facilitators known as *'Multiplikatoren'* /

multipliers provide one of the most important channels through which AmkA can operate:

There is the very important function of multipliers – representatives from and within different cultural groups and clubs that people are attending or using as a way of communicating with other citizens in a sociable way. They are absolutely integral to the work we do here. We communicate through them, collaborate with them. That is what allows us to reach a lot of people.

Interviewee B (2/10/13 Author's Translation)

The idea of '*Multiplikatoren*' translated as 'multipliers' became a recurring feature in interviews, with these key individuals seen as a valuable and productive way of distributing information. The role of these so-called multipliers, which includes representatives within groups and organisations outside of AmkA, is a particular focus of chapter eight, but arises here in the context of the direct links that AmkA has to its citizens on the ground. These key actors are important for the establishment and development of networks city-wide, providing momentum for AmkA and administration-led initiatives through the feeding of information. Often these multipliers are volunteers and many have first-hand experience of migration or of working in the migration context. Sometimes they are able to facilitate contact between the administration and external organisations due to their linguistic competencies. As one interviewee indicated:

Some of these women here, they tend to speak in their own languages when they have the chance. The important thing is they can speak German, probably as well as you or I. They have lived in Germany for more of their lives than they had lived in their own countries in some cases. Many have worked here, they have had families here, but maybe they just lacked confidence to go out into the community and get involved in initiatives at that level. That is why I am here. It is partly an advisory service but also to give them a sense of community. So I can get messages to them about different events or developments that they wouldn't hear about otherwise, that's basically my role here.

Interviewee B (8/11/13 Author's Translation).

The use of the word '*multiplikatoren*' which I have translated as multiplier in this context reflects the particular way in which information travels and looks to provide the most accurate translation of the way interviewees adopted the term. As a concern of the thesis relates to the use of language and the way that terminology is developed

and translated, the example of '*Multiplikatoren*' is one which highlights the importance of decisions taken by researchers in the translation and interpretation of terminology and language that can be more nuanced than a direct translation might suggest. In an English-speaking context this term is not generally used to describe how organisations use other people to disseminate information but in its original German is indicative of how information itself is transmitted. It is literally 'multiplied'. An alternative translation or way of thinking about the role of these people is as gatekeepers, which emphasises different functions.

Gatekeepers regularly provide a point of contact for researchers and fulfil a role which not only sees the 'multiplication' or expansion of initiatives, or the spread of information, but also act as organisational figureheads who are seen as having a particular status within an organisation. Working across organisations, similar to working in a research context, the gatekeeper usually determines whether or not a particular project is able to proceed at a certain site (Buchanan and Bryman 2008). For this reason relationship building and negotiation with gatekeepers, who can then act as multipliers, is an integral part of the work of AmkA. It is important to note that, while gatekeepers may act as multipliers, it is also possible that the term 'multiplier' could be seen as a more general term for the way that information is fed through to ground level without the requirement of a particular figurehead.

Following this acknowledgment of the importance of gatekeepers and the idea of multipliers for the work of the Office, the following section assesses the different frameworks and arrangements adopted in order to meet the demands of the local population, whilst satisfying the aims of the integration agenda. In the process of networking and establishing networked diversity, recognised gatekeepers arise as natural facilitators in many of the projects and initiatives developed by AmkA.

7.3.1 Examples of work practices in AmkA

I sat down and explained my project and what I hoped to get out of the visit. I explained that at this stage I am interested in an overview of how the office works and what activities they do on a typical day. I had some idea of the areas covered from the research I did before leaving the UK but there is always a limit to what you can learn from a website... We talked about what we would be doing in the following week. It started with a meeting today and then we went to Friday prayer at

a Mosque across town. Then the next day there was a weekend seminar/training workshop that had been organised between AmkA and some other local organisations on the rise of Right Wing Extremism and methods of identification and conflict management. Then next week will be quite flexible. There might be times when there isn't much going on but there is a lot for me to read. I have been told to speak to colleagues in the building and see if there is anyone I am interested in speaking to specifically about my work. If I can make some appointments with them it will fill some gaps. There is a Press Conference on Monday about the upcoming Parade der Kulturen event and then some other meetings next week at the office. There might be interesting things that other people are doing that I can go along to. Once I have had a chance to meet more of the team it will be clearer what opportunities there are.

Field notes 1 (1/6/12)

As the observation above demonstrates the structure of day to day office business varies. For the field work I was based specifically in the area of religion and so this may have varied from other sections depending on the nature of the work. The work with religious communities is divided between onsite engagements, which include meetings, phone calls and general administrative functions, as well as offsite visits which include meetings at Mosques as well as workshops, press conferences and seminars. Over the three field visits there were many opportunities to attend offsite events and see how AmkA functions within the city first-hand – both as an intern of the office but also as a member of the public. The sheer range of activities going on at any one time meant that there was always an event to attend. At the same time, based within the office environment on many days, there was also a sense of the mundane and a certain 'every-dayness' when there was no specific activity:

I arrived at 915. Everyone was really busy today so I sat in a different office to get on with some background reading. Mid-morning there was a team meeting which I couldn't go to but my boss said she would come and get me for lunch. But then as the afternoon went on no one seemed to be around. At 5pm she came in and said she had forgotten I was there and apologised – she said it was one of those boring days where nothing really happened but she felt really busy and that perhaps she should have sent me home. It felt like a bit of an unproductive day but I suppose that there are not always things to do or that are appropriate for me to go along to. It was a good opportunity to get my head around some of the key publications of the office as well. I suppose there are just days like this sometimes.

Field notes 2 (27/8/12)

AmkA works across multiple formats and across numerous networks within the city.

As suggested previously, the nature of the encounters between different parts of the city population within and outside AmkA has changed. Where the observation above shows an example of a ‘normal day’ at the office where nothing has specifically happened, the following examples provide a sample of case studies reflecting different forms of engagement observed outside of the Office across the field research periods. The aim is to show how vast topic areas can be dealt with through approaches which extend beyond face-to-face contact in the Office environment. A large proportion of the work done by AmkA is described as *‘Netzwerkarbeit’*. This work which looks at the development and maintenance of formal and informal networks is part of the wider project of networked diversity which stands as a key aim of the institution. The following sections provide a number of examples of the different ways that networked diversity operates between the Office and Frankfurt citizens on the ground.

7.3.2. Case study: Department of Anti-discrimination case work

The Department of Anti-discrimination offers a particular kind of service and format which operates from within AmkA building. AmkA has been the responsible body for anti-discrimination in the city since 1993 and Frankfurt was the first city in Germany to adopt an official anti-discrimination directive in 2003. The purpose of this directive is to allow for the complaints of citizens against municipal offices and businesses to be heard and acted upon (amka.de 2014. Author’s Translation). This is publicised in city departments and administrative offices through posters and pamphlets and is a service available to all citizens who feel affected by the issue of discrimination.

Although in 2006 anti-discrimination practices became concretised in German law, as one interviewee explained: “only two of the sixteen German ‘Länder’ have a dedicated department for the issue of discrimination. Although some people are starting to look at it on a smaller level in places like Cologne and Munich, it is still more of a symbolic thing” (Interviewee C Author’s Translation). Although the idea of symbolic politics is picked up in greater detail in chapter nine, this observation of a lack of engagement through dedicated departments elsewhere in Germany suggests

that there is a sense that there has not been sustained focus on this issue. In line with observations in earlier chapters, with AmkA being in a unique and novel position as an institution, this shows that AmkA appears more experienced in issues related to migrant integration, and particularly on the matter of discrimination, than other parts of Germany. The engagement of AmkA with this issue of anti-discrimination since 1993, and the change in law in 2006 shows once again a time-lag between when issues become institutionalised through AmkA and the rate at which they then develop in the national context.

The way that the department for anti-discrimination operates was explored through a combination of semi-structured interviews as well as reading published projects carried out beyond AmkA, at the national and European level. As this chapter is focused upon specific work practices the Office the interviews were focused on how the anti-discrimination service functions at the local level.

The Department of Anti-Discrimination has a headcount of two employees who work together in an advisory capacity, with Frankfurt citizens who approach them after experiencing what they believe to be occurrences of discrimination in their day-to-day affairs with city institutions and businesses. People who feel they are victims of discrimination are encouraged to approach the Office to discuss their individual case either by phone, email or using a faxed form. Following the initiation of contact, the complaints are dealt with on a case by case basis by AmkA employees. In the first instance measures are taken to establish whether there is a legal violation taking place. Once this has been established complaints are categorised and then comprehensive reports are written regarding actions taken or details of how the case was resolved:

The number of instances which are reported as discrimination but actually turn out to be discrimination vary year to year between 11-21%. Only a small minority are actually considered discrimination cases in the eye of the law. Regardless of whether it is or not, work needs to be done to improve or resolve the situation where possible. For example where there have been misunderstandings these need to be alleviated. Part of the job then is preventative work. For example a project which looks specifically at police training and police-migrant relations helps to understand potential areas for concern...By acting as a go between – either between the general public and police or the general public and institutions the department facilitates dialogue and attempts to extinguish any issues. An example of a common

misunderstanding which isn't illegal but is construed as discrimination relates to family unification. People live in Frankfurt and want their family to join them – they feel discriminated against when their family have their visa application rejected but it is usually because of the criteria that they have been unable demonstrate.

Interviewee C (5/6/12 Author's Translation)

If only a minority of reported cases of discrimination are considered as such by law then it can be viewed as a positive reflection of city institutions and businesses which do not demonstrate instances of discrimination in general. That said, with a very small team serving the entire city it is difficult to know how many cases of potential discrimination go unreported, due in part to the fact that the employees of the Office are not in a position that enables them to do large amounts of outreach work or public engagement projects. Conversely, where focused prevention work has been carried out, such as the EU-project based on police and migrants in dialogue, it has been possible to dispel a number of myths on both sides. This has provided an opportunity to look at ways to establish better relationships between migrants and this particular institution. This asserts the importance of the department for anti-discrimination, in spite of its small size, as well as the range of small-scale engagements such as meetings between community groups and relevant department representatives of AmkA, both inside and outside of the office environment. An example of these is seen in the offsite visits carried out by AmkA employees.

7.3.3. Offsite Visits – Relationship Building in the Community

As part of the work of AmkA, direct links to the community are formed and maintained through face-to-face meetings and ad-hoc visits, as well as through organising, attending and participating in events. During the research period I was able to accompany employees at many of these meetings and events to establish a broad overview of the multi-format agency and its operations in the city.

When we got to the Mosque my AmkA colleague was immediately recognised and welcomed by the Imam. We made our way into the Mosque through the designated entrance and entered the area where many women had already gathered for the Friday sermon and prayer. We sat amongst them and listened to the sermon which is delivered in German at this Mosque...when they moved together to pray we exited quietly. As we walked back we talked about AmkA's aims with regards to the

Mosques they have connections with. The idea is that through forming a relationship there is a better chance of achieving mutual respect between the citizens of Frankfurt and religious institutions. By facilitating dialogue and contact it is possible to maintain strong and meaningful links between the Office and communities.

Field notes 1 (01/06/2012)

This example shows a number of key features of ways of working in the AmkA office. The visit itself was striking in its ordinariness. We took part in a regular routine of the local Muslim community. This observation shows not only the nature of the work of the day to day work of AmkA being non-spectacular, but also the freedom of AmkA employees to take part in ad-hoc visits to different community partners. This practice of offsite visits (scheduled and impromptu) was observed across the fieldwork period. This example also reflects an ethos of the maintenance of relationships and networks which extends beyond the written policy concept into a physical encounter with ground-level citizens.

Although this example emphasises the wider reach of AmkA and a commitment to the integration and diversity concept, there are examples of more challenging engagements.

District X is a place which has been in the news a lot recently. Barely a day passes at the moment without a news report or reported case of disagreement between the Muslim community and the local population in this area. We are going to visit a Mosque there today which the Office has been trying to build links and start a dialogue with for a while.

Field notes 1 (08/06/2014)

There has been a call from the Mosque in District X and we've been told to stay away from there today. The Imam doesn't have time to meet us and we are not welcome for the Friday prayer. I am told that this is a regular occurrence. People cancel appointments with little notice. When AmkA want to try and improve relations or facilitate contact between them and they are met with this kind of barrier it is just a stalemate situation which slows any possible relationship building opportunities.

Field notes 1 (08/06/2014)

In this scenario where AmkA has been refused access to a particular group there is little that can be done. Although they will continue to try and build relationships where possible with harder to reach groups in more isolated areas, as suggested by the integration and diversity concept, there must be a reciprocal desire for contact and development of links between community groups if they are to be successful.

These short case studies provide a snapshot of the nature of the work of the office on a day to day basis. Additionally the Office is responsible for organising and supporting many high profile events which are discussed in the context of symbolic action in chapter nine. This chapter is focused on the ways that individuals and groups working together in their day-to-day programmes of activity can provide an example of how AmkA is maintaining and developing relationships through its typical working practices. Many of these are routines ingrained in the day to day running of the establishment and so are not forced or seen as out of the ordinary. Their everydayness is significant, showing that migration matters are of daily concern and not only responded to when matters related to migration challenges receive increased attention. The relationship between the Mosque community and AmkA in the first example is one which has been ongoing and thus allows for impromptu visits. It is also one of the only Mosques in the city to operate in German, therefore increasing its inclusivity and opportunities for exchange. In the second example there is resistance to AmkA, although the reason for this is unclear. This highlights difficulties in the way that AmkA is able to conduct its work in the city and calls for a greater discussion of the blurred divide between AmkA and the principles of its work and how this is reflected in Office practice.

7.4 Between practice and principle – positioning AmkA

The different ways in which AmkA coordinates its work in the city of Frankfurt has shown that the Office operates at different levels. As many of the examples have shown so far, AmkA occupies a position somewhere between the city administration and ground-level. It is also apparent that this position is not fixed at any time, with multiple projects taking place simultaneously across varying areas of interest. Although this fluidity allows for great flexibility in approach, understanding exactly

how initiatives are being targeted and at what level they are effective is challenging. The next section presents a number of examples which demonstrate the complexity of the work being done by AmkA and also highlight possible challenges or tensions between theory and practice. This is considered in relation to the Integration and Diversity Concept of 2010 as well as what we might consider as issues related to the wider integration and diversity agenda and the development of a 'Frankfurt model'.

7.4.1 Targeting different areas of the population

With part of AmkA's agenda being concentrated on city-wide engagement, not just with migrant groups but also with Germans with and without migrant backgrounds, it is difficult to envisage how all target groups can be reached. In the case of the Integration and Diversity Concept, it is a document which is supposed to be applicable for the whole city and makes particular reference within it regarding the responsibilities of the administration. This was expressed by one informant:

The target group for the Integration Concept and now for the recent Monitoring Document is, firstly, the other administrative departments and offices of the city. The main reason for this being that together with these departments the goal is to implement the concept. Of course then we have the general public and then particularly the big municipal players in the city such as the Caritas, Trade Unions, Protestant and Catholic Churches and smaller NGOs. To put it simply we are talking about everyone who lives and works in this city. The decision was taken to implement the Integration and Diversity Concept city-wide so that doesn't just mean administrative offices but also other institutions.

Interviewee D (28/08/12 Author's Translation).

This statement is a demonstration of top-down implementation, but one which still encourages bottom-up engagement. The implementation of the concept is seen as a mutual task and momentum is gathered through a unified approach to the multiplicity of diversity in the city. The importance of this unified concept, rather than initiatives targeted at individual groups, is that people do not necessarily define themselves as having a particular trait or need related to their origin. Instead a range of needs which can be general or specific should be considered:

We have a broader range of understanding: people do not only define themselves only by their origin. The intersection of migrant associations and other associations

is larger. Multiculturalism is therefore not only promoting cultures of origin but communication and interaction....It is not only about cooperation between the Office of Multicultural Affairs and clubs and associations, but also for clubs together to explore new ways of networking.

Eskandari-Grünberg, (31/10/2013a Author's Translation)

As well as highlighting an important issue about self definition, this quote by the Head of the Department of Integration highlights the recurring theme of networking. It also promotes links not only between the administrative offices and organisations but actively encourages inter-organisational networking. At these two levels, contact and interest in processes and programmes of integration becomes more likely as people who work in administrative roles, or those who occupy multiplier roles within community organisations, are more likely to be actively engaged through their own interest. There is still the matter of individuals to be taken into account:

I like this job because I like people. I've put a lot of emphasis on the theory aspect but of course this is not purely theoretical. As long as there are people there will be work to do. For me personally, I don't want us to lose sight of people. Of the individuals... The direct line that we have to people that need something can't be lost. We need to reinforce this in the city sectors.

Interviewee A (2/10/13, Author's Translation).

As the studies discussed in chapter five have shown, it is not possible to engage every single individual with integration issues especially if they do not consider that they affect them. What is important, however, is that individuals feel confident and well-equipped in order to approach relevant bodies when they feel that it is necessary or appropriate to do so. This may be in cases of difficulty such as discrimination matters or problems with the administration, or alternatively in the search for support in developing new initiatives towards integration in the City. In spite of the good intentions set forth by the integration agenda and the open approach of the city administration, it is also apparent that it is unrealistic to attempt to address all issues at the same time. As a result certain tensions may arise.

7.4.2 Identifying disparity between aims and outcomes

Although there is a clear agenda in Frankfurt and a multi-level operation which has been deemed successful in many of its aspects, there arise natural tensions between the vision and principles of the integration agenda, and how this plays out at city level. Although great progress has been indicated it is important to note that the administration is not suggesting that the integration concept has been set in motion and is successful. Instead it is seen as the first step towards building structures which enable the best possible outcomes for all Frankfurt citizens:

An issue is that the city administration is distanced. It is not seeing what is happening on the street and so the future needs to be based on finding structures and means of making the best of the situation. In future we can't have children leaving school without qualifications. We need structures in place.

Eskandari-Grünberg, (30/10/2013b, Author's Translation)

The city administration is responsible for implementing all aspects of the Integration and Diversity Concept, but recognises that it still has work to do. This is emphasised through their continuous feedback processes and through the publication of a document which provides an overview of some interim monitoring of a number of key integration indicators. The first 'Integrationsmonitoring' for Frankfurt was published in 2012 as part of a new systematic process which sees the collection of statistical data on particular indicators, in this case 47 indicators in 7 topic areas (Frankfurter Integrations- und Diversitätsmonitoring, Stadt Frankfurt 2012). This analysis of different areas carried out systematically should provide the administrative bodies concerned with an opportunity to identify priority areas and then develop 'structures' or structural responses as mentioned by Eskandari-Grünberg as measures which address these areas. Through consistent monitoring, envisaged to take place every three years, it will be possible to see where shifts have taken place within society and what the policy implications of this might be. This will then allow the development of strategies and structures in order to address areas of deficit.

Reference to ‘structures’ and their development also appeared in dialogue from AmkA employees as shown by one interviewee in relation to communication strategies:

Everyone has their own strategies of communication whether that is consciously or unconsciously. What is clear is that all strategies must be tactical, regulated and structured and so what we are trying to do is to build and put in place structures...

Interviewee A (02/10/2013, Author’s Translation)

The proactive development of tactical structural features, particularly in regards to communication, can also be seen as a step towards successful implementation of schemes and concepts such as the Integration and Diversity concept as well as other programmes and initiatives. At the same time there needs to be a clear and balanced decision making process to ensure that the needs of citizens are met in the fairest way possible:

It’s a balancing act. We need to make sure we are not taking a particular position on an issue, rather that we try to get a neutral and representative overview of every situation. Of course it’s hard. We are dealing with many abstract themes and multiple opinions but we try to keep on top of it and aim for an overview of situations which is as clear as possible. You can’t pretend that we aren’t people making these decisions. We all have our own positions and stand points and individual opinions on matters. We can’t all think the same that isn’t realistic. We also have to take note of the politics and law.

Interviewee A (02/10/13, Author’s Translation)

Here we see the emergence of a number of possible points of tension. Firstly the idea that situations will be treated as neutrally as possible. However, as the interviewee references, that the law and politics must be taken into account, which themselves may not be considered as neutral or treat citizens in a neutral way. For example in the way that illegal immigrants and people without permanent rights to residency may be considered by the law may conflict with particular initiatives of AmkA which help to support undocumented migrants. It also indicates the challenge of dealing with complex and abstract theoretical issues which may not have easily identifiable concrete solutions. To combat this the development of extensive networks provides a

broad database of opportunities for communication and problem solving. It also includes more people in decision-making processes:

We need partners in the city these are generated through the day to day work of all of the different departments that we have here. Working on these networks is a primary goal that we have. There can be changes in politics, changes in leadership at the office level but our work remains the same. We have certain communication channels and these have been opened now so even when the politics changes, the communication channels remain open and that is so important for us.

Interviewee A (02/10/13, Author's Translation)

Although there may be challenges for neutrality in all aspects of the work of AmkA there is also a clear sense of consistency through goal setting and identifying opportunities for improvements. The recurring theme of communication and networking means that contact is readily available through multiple open channels. A sense of continuity of relations in spite of political and leadership changes sets a strong foundation to resolve tensions as they arise. What this provides in the day to day running of the Office is a practical means through which to develop upon the theoretical foundation put forward by actors within the administration such as through the Integration and Diversity Concept, as well as through the physical act of relationship and partnership building.

On the topic of building partnerships, the cultural groups and societies are a main channel for this. There are around 350-400 in the database so this is a huge source of networking across the city. In addition there is a second thread or stream of network of religious communities. Here we have about 150 contacts and these contacts need to remain active for our work to be possible. We do follow a kind of snowball system but it has always worked.

Interviewee A (02/10/13, Author's Translation).

Through the feeding of information via '*multiplikatoren*' and in many cases long-term relationships and well-developed communication channels we see how information is disseminated and how this impacts the relationship between practice and principle. However, with hundreds of contacts and linkages developed primarily through snowballing rather than systematic negotiation, what remains in question is the importance and relevance of a body such as AmkA in the 2010s, after more than

twenty-five years of developing integration measures and a shifting national narrative.

7.4.3 Ongoing impact and relevance of AmkA office

Vertovec (2010) indicated that the blueprint for the integration and diversity concept made AmkA appear “at least nominally obsolete” (2010: 1). In spite of such a suggestion AmkA has retained its position at the heart of migration and integration matters. Within the scope of the thesis which aims to understand the case of Frankfurt and its approach to integration through the ‘Frankfurt model’, the question of the influence and pertinence of the Office in its current form was frequently explored through interviews.

In professional circles within Germany AmkA is well-known, purely because it was the first of its kind. Many cities later developed their own offices which were based on the model of AmkA. In the city of Frankfurt AmkA is known by everyone who works for the city or for specific institutions that work with migrants or are concerned with integration issues. Of course there are also people on the street who have never encountered these kinds of issues and have never heard of us.

Interviewee D (28/08/13, Author’s Translation).

Some cities have copied our work here and we had this so-called “Frankfurter Modell” but that time has passed now as the issue has been put into national interest and everyone deals with it in their own ways. What AmkA need to do now is to fight to keep up the profile of the Office and make sure it remains on show. There are fewer people fighting against integration now so we are not as visible perhaps. The main thing is that things change and the office needs to move with these changes and not resist them.

Interviewee A (02/10/13, Author’s Translation).

The impact of the Office can be seen to have changed over time as a result of the issue of integration becoming of greater national interest on the one hand, but also integration issues being seen as something more frequently encountered in recent times. This stands in contrast to the early days of the Office when immigration and the presence of migrants were not accepted widely. The emphasis by these two interviewees, firstly on the idea that there are people at ground level who have never encountered such issues or the office itself and then on the issues of integration being

less conspicuous, portrays a sense of an Office which must now fight for continuity of exposure where impact achieved through their initiatives has become commonplace. The idea that cities have ‘copied’ AmkA’s approach also recurred in interviews. Reference to a ‘Frankfurter Modell’ which was not successfully rolled out in the early days leads to questions of how much national integration policies have been influenced by action pioneered in Frankfurt, or whether other regions have adopted policy approaches based on other factors. It also asks the question of what a current ‘Frankfurt model’ might constitute and what key areas arise as components of this version. What is clear is that Frankfurt and AmkA have been highly influential although this has not always been recognised publically.

In the 22 years of its existence AmkA has moved many things on. This brochure (20 Jahre AmkA) shows how the organisation has really consistently incorporated important questions about integration. An example is this ABZ (Anlauf Beratungszentrum für Zeiteinsteiger) – so children who come here with their parents and are being integrated into schools. There is an advisory centre at the State’s Office of Education which lies within the Hessen Ministry of Culture and this is based on an initiative by AmkA...today it is hardly considered that this was originally an AmkA initiative. The same goes for the Council of Religion.

Interviewee D (28/08/12, Author’s Translation).

In this thesis, which argues for recognition of a ‘Frankfurt model’, I suggest that the waning focus on Frankfurt as the place of initiation of many ideas should now be brought back into view. It might be noted that the multiplicity of initiatives and activities of AmkA may have made it difficult to understand what a unified ‘Frankfurt model’ might have entailed in the past. As one interviewee explained:

We published the Integration concept in 2010, and with that there was a conceptualisation of how we can go about working in the city, working with these groups. Prior to 2010 we had a long line of measures, but previously there was no roof so to speak, no overarching criteria or concept which drew all of this into place. So with the concept is not only for us internally and the public of Frankfurt but also the other offices with a way to conduct themselves.

Interviewee A (02/10/13, Author’s Translation).

Under the new concept and policy direction AmkA seems to be more unified in its approach, with an explicit multi-agency focus on the same integration strategies.

What this provides for the municipal offices of Frankfurt and the citizens on the ground is a concrete set of lines of action and focus areas. This then provides the critical theoretical backdrop through which AmkA and other City departments and offices can carry out the more practical tasks associated with integration of migrants in the city. If this is the case then a refocus of all AmkA initiatives into specific and defined action areas means that the relevance of AmkA becomes written into the primary conception of integration and diversity policy in the city. This then reinforces the importance and relevance of the Office in this new era of handling integration and diversity matters.

7.4.4 The future for AmkA

Although AmkA seems to have established a place within the 2010 Integration and Diversity concept, the actual work that they do does not seem to have changed greatly. Although this is positive in the sense that they are able to continue to do their work with relatively few employees, there is a need to maintain a forward looking approach to the work being done in Frankfurt:

For me this continued mix of theory and practice is the way forward. There is a need to understand what the actual needs are, whether that's through trainers of the HIPPY programme carrying out home visits or being available for individual telephone queries. ...That is why it has been useful to set this concept in motion. It is very practical and remains a practical way of conducting our business. It has been taken on by all sectors within the city and the profile needs to be maintained so that people continue to work on it not just think 'yes, integration done' because that is also not the case.

Interviewee A (02/10/13, Author's Translation)

This interviewee indicates the importance of continued attention, not only to the approach used in the work of AmkA but also in the conduct of their business. Although integration may be less of a 'taboo' topic in Germany, it should not become an invisible issue.

Integration is and will remain a theme of interest. Every 3rd article in the press involves migration, integration, migrants...something on the topic. I think that we should be continuing to provide a welcoming culture and on further structures and theories that we can work by. There is still a lot to do, groups that remain unheard or at least underrepresented. Whether people are living together happily or there is

conflict, there is always something else to be done. We need to understand where the deficits are and give the people who think 'we have no opportunities here' a chance to realise that this is not the case.

Interviewee A (02/10/13, Author's Translation)

7.5 Reflections on AmkA Office

The fact that the staff headcount has remained fairly constant during the twenty-five year existence of the Office demonstrates how a focus on effective networking practice has been adopted to maintain control over integration issues and projects. Such networking potential makes it possible to connect individuals and organisations with relevant services according to their personal needs. Additionally, with sustained attention placed on the integration agenda, new realities need to be identified and acted upon by those within AmkA in order to maintain a relevant approach and address constantly evolving issues.

There can be changes in politics, changes in leadership at the office level but our work remains the same. We have certain communication channels and these have been opened now so even when the politics changes, the communication channels remain open and that is so important for us.

Interviewee A (02/10/13, Author's Translation)

Although there is a general feeling that communication structures are well developed there are still some identifiable tensions. I would argue that now that the format of the work done by the Office has changed, a consideration could be made about whether the current layout and set-up of the Office is fit for purpose considering that one-to-one meetings are no longer the norm. Where intercultural projects, which simultaneously address multiple features of diverse society, are now commonplace and multi-level, there is a possible argument for greater internal cooperation rather than working in distinct areas. Team meetings and large AmkA organised events take place very frequently but there is sometimes a sense that people are working in quite an isolated way:

One of the most interesting things about being here is the multiplicity of projects going on in all of the different areas but they always seem to have one clear owner who is in charge of a certain thing. People work away in their offices and the place

always seems quite quiet. I guess this ownership means that people are taking responsibility but then maybe they could link up with others and reach more people if they worked together or if they had more people coming up with ideas on a more regular basis.

Field notes 2 (22/8/12)

On the way back from lunch today we ran into a colleague from the office and we were introduced. During this time my colleague said to me that there was of a lack of discussions and cooperation between different departments. Not just in AmkA but with the wider offices and the Dezernats. What can be done? She says that they just need to keep working until they get told otherwise or something new materialises in the way they should work. She uses the example of the colleague we just ran into – they work just down the corridor from one another and get on well but actually there is no sense of a dialogue going on between those two departments.

Field notes 1 (4/6/12)

These observations are not a negative reflection but provide a snapshot of my impressions as an outsider within an institution with developed working practices. Although there are few people working in each area and in some cases one person with what appears to be sole responsibility, it cannot be said that AmkA employees are entirely isolated. They do work across departments within AmkA but also across the city administration and its various offices as well as with non-governmental organisations and migrant organised groups which links the internal vision with the external context.

7.6 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of what might be considered the ‘ordinary practices’ of a unique organisation. With the Integration and Diversity concept there is now a sense that staff attitudes are focused around a particular mission, but there remains a need for focused attention on how conceptual ideas might link up with practical solutions, through complex networks that operate between the office and those on the outside.

What remains here is a sense of distinctiveness in their approach with relentless network building and ensuring the development of new opportunities for participation. What these show is a commitment not only to the Integration and

Diversity concept but to a wider sense of what Frankfurt has to offer. The longevity of the office in spite of seemingly limited development on the surface level indicates the importance of the dynamic networking processes going on behind the scenes on a day to day basis.

This chapter has moved from the conceptual framings of chapter five and six to assess the practicalities of how ideas become operationalised in the office environment. Working largely in a grey area between the general public and the wider administration, the next chapter adopts a civil society lens to discuss the in-between-ness of AmkA.

Chapter 8

Examining relationships between AmkA and civil society organisations in Frankfurt

8.1 Introduction

AmkA supports and works alongside many associations and organisations. Many of these are set up for particular migrant groups or have an intercultural focus. Although many of these are developed from AmkA initiatives, there are also examples of groups who are not engaged with the office in an everyday way. For both kinds of organisation there are considerations to be made regarding the way that they are set up, funded and operate on a day to day basis. There are also questions of how much intervention they require from external actors at city level or from other civil level partners. This chapter critically reflects on the nature of the networks and relationships between AmkA and civil society organisations as a core element of the ‘Frankfurt model’.

The relationship of the state with its citizens and wider society is often discussed in the social sciences in relation to the idea of civil society. Recognising voluntary organisations and associations as important non-state actors, scholars have discussed the complexity of interactions at the different interfaces of civil society. Acknowledging these various framings this chapter will outline examples of civil society organisations in Frankfurt. It will first show how they position themselves and see their role in the city of Frankfurt and address their relationship with AmkA and other state actors. This will highlight the possible models for interaction with different facets of city society, by working specifically with those non-state organisations which operate at the forefront of migrant affairs. It then unveils the primary challenges for migrant groups and how they engage with social and political organisations in the city. Finally it will assess the ‘in-betweenness’ of AmkA

regarding its position as a local government agency, but with strong civil society connections.

8.2 Civil society and the Global City

With a surge of interest in bodies that are institutionally separate from the state, the concept of 'civil society' has been described as 'bewildering' (see Salamon, Anheier 1998), and 'slippery' (Bebbington and Ridell 1997). Although much of the discussion of civil society has emerged in development geography since the 1990s there has been sustained interest within the social sciences and geography more broadly (see McIlwaine 1998; 2007).

Anheier (2004) offers a working definition of civil society which is "the sphere of institutions, organisations and individuals located among the family, the state and the market, in which people associate voluntarily to advance common interests" (2004: 22). Flyvbjerg (1998) echoes a number of these features: "Most writers agree that it has an institutional core constituted by voluntary organisations outside of the sphere of the state and the economy (1998: 210). These institutions may also be referred to as 'non-profit', 'independent', 'voluntary' and 'non-governmental' (Lewis 2005). Although there is a risk of oversimplification of the term, the nature of the relationship between the state and civil society is determined by the particular circumstances of countries, which includes their political and historical circumstances (see McIlwaine 1998).

Civil society is inherently spatial (see Marston 1995). Although civil society organisations are extremely varied, in the context of the thesis and constructing a 'Frankfurt model', the possibilities within the urban context are of particular interest. The city provides an important arena for social movements and other civil society social experiments (Gerometta, Häussermann and Longo 2005). As Berger, Galonska and Koopmans (2004) have pointed out; engagement at the civil level is seen as an important for a successful democracy in general and so can be seen as an important part of city life for all citizens. Taken descriptively as a domain of organisations, operating across a range of scales from ground-level initiatives to national

organisations (McIlwaine 2007), the chapter addresses the diversity of civil society organisations and opportunities in Frankfurt.

Frankfurt is also an example of a global city which may also affect the way that civil society is considered. As Sassen (2002) suggests, the global city can be seen as a strategic instantiation “which operates as a partly denationalised platform for global capital and, at the same time, is emerging as a key site for the most astounding mix of people from all over the world” (2002: 217). Notable in Sassen’s observation of the global city is the importance of the idea of the ‘local’ in the formation of global non-state networks. She suggests that the convergence of political and civic cultures in large cities serves to localise global civil society, through a series of micro sites and micro transactions operating from the ground up (Sassen 2002). With a growing number of organisations which address issues for migrants in global cities, urban politics becomes something more concrete enacted by people who can: “experience themselves as part of global non-state networks as they live their daily lives. They enact global civil society in the micro-spaces of daily life rather than on some putative global stage” (Sassen 2002: 217). In this chapter the incorporation of daily life observations provides a bottom-up view of how civil society organisations function alone, but also how they might work together with agencies of the local state such as AmkA.

Empirical enquiries into social participation in the German context have shown that involvement in voluntary organisations is an explanatory variable in people’s social and political integration (Berger, Galonska and Koopmans 2004). Within this idea of voluntary organisations we can include a whole range of social organisations, which differ greatly in their nature and function. For example, some can be described as having purely social aims such as sports and hobby organisations; others have social and political aims such as women’s and youth organisations. There are also examples of purely political organisations (Berger, Galonska and Koopmans 2004). Whilst this chapter is focused upon social integration through civil society organisations in Frankfurt, there is an undeniable link between social integration and political participation to be addressed at the civil level. In an example from the Italian context, Putnam (1993) demonstrated that strong civic participation and organisations led to

greater policy effectiveness. This was also emphasised by Jacobs and Tillie (2004) who suggested that ‘ethnic social capital’, which they described as participation in ethnic associational life led to a higher level of social trust which in turn leads to greater political trust and greater political participation. For this reason this chapter looks at the relationship of AmkA as a political organisation, but one with particular characteristics, relationships and networks with civil organisations.

Building upon the idea of civil society and the importance of voluntary organisations, the next section of this chapter outlines the development of the voluntary sector in Germany. This provides the context for the way that migrant civil society organisations become established and operate in the examples from Frankfurt presented later in the chapter.

8.3 The voluntary sector and migrant organisations in Germany

In recent times increasing population turnover and increasing diversity has seen social networks become stretched in cities (Wills 2012). Against a narrative which has largely suggested a decline in the idea of geographical community in modern cities, there has been a rise of community level organising and localised initiatives (Wills 2012). This idea of increased relevance of bottom-up social networks and their possible implication for politics provide an important starting point for understanding how migrant civil society organisations might function in a German context.

The voluntary sector in Germany has been established over centuries, with not-for-profit agencies and organisations positioned as important actors in social welfare policy, and as instruments of social integration (Hardtwig 1984). In a study of the structural features and trends of voluntary associations in Germany between 1789 and 1848, Hardtwig (1984) makes a number of observations about the nature of the development of the voluntary sector. A key feature of early voluntary associations was that they were expected to remain free from political influence, however, this was difficult to administer and it soon became clear that clubs and associations could not remain apolitical (Hardtwig 1984). Nonetheless social organisations were able to develop and were an important feature in the development of social policy.

8.3.1 Voluntary organisations and social policy

After 1871 official social policy was developed under the rule of Bismarck. This was largely administered by utilising the existing social organisations which, as part of a pluralistic network of voluntary agencies, were in a position to implement social policy (Solsten 1995). Solsten 1995 demonstrates how the German idea of ‘*Subsidiarität*’ is particularly important in this process:

Fundamentally, *Subsidiarität* means building social organizations and society from the bottom up rather than from the top down. As a result of this concept, Germans rely on grassroots social entities whenever possible to provide social services and make use of higher-level institutions only when lower-level ones are found to be inadequate.

Altenstetter (1995: 198).

The impact of this *Subsidiarität* has predominantly been a continuous and close working relationship between the state and voluntary organisations, both secular and religious (Salamon and Anheier 1998). Continuity is also emphasised by Altenstetter (1995) in noting that despite the changing political landscape since 1871, German social policy has maintained its organisational arrangements and financing.

In the early twentieth century, German voluntary agencies started to cooperate across institutional and civic environments (Bode 2006). From the 1920s onwards, social service provision was provided by developing voluntary organisations into networks called welfare associations, which were rooted in faith-based communities, or in social democracy (Bode 2006). During this period civil society linked organisations were being utilised in the planning, delivery and supervision of governance of social services. In this role they were able to develop their own projects and routines, rather than being transmission belts of top-down social policy (Bode 2006). This definition and function of welfare associations in religious and secular communities became particularly important in the development of voluntary organisations specifically for migrants.

8.3.2 Migrant organisations and welfare associations in Germany

Strongly linked with Germany's immigration history and the guest worker programme, in the fifties and sixties, the social welfare of migrants was becoming a topic of political interest (Hunger 2002). At this time there was also increasing civil society engagement from the German population, which showed concern for the working conditions of migrants (Kyrieri and Brassler 2012). At a time when migration was still considered temporary, an official declaration was made by the German state, which positioned the existing German welfare associations and charitable organisations as the responsible bodies for migrant care (Hunger 2002 see also Kyrieri and Brassler 2012). Charitable organisations performing this function of supporting migrants weren't unheard of in Germany. In the nineteenth century, the Catholic charitable organisation known as Caritas, was already active and had taken the role as the responsible advisory and care service for Polish and Italian labour migrants working in the Ruhr coal region (Hunger 2002). This experience meant that the Caritas and other organisations were well positioned to take on this new role.

Although there was no specific guideline or policy put into place, naturally occurring divisions along national and religious lines were visible and are still evident today – for example the Caritas was responsible for Italian, Spanish and Portuguese migrants, the Diakonisches Werk for Greek migrants, and workers associations for former Yugoslavian and Turkish migrants. By the mid-1970s each national group had established its own organisations as well as a number of multinational groups (Hunger 2002). Further, Hunger (2002) points out that the German welfare associations supporting migrants have a social function, looking after their social care, providing meeting places, putting on festivals and advising them directly on matters to do with life in German society. Additionally they have a political function through which they must try and represent the migrant community, although the migrants themselves are not actually stake holders in the organisation. Although this was a positive development, notable deficits and limitations have resulted in migrants founding their own organisations as a means of asserting their own social identities.

Over time more and more independent migrant organisations have been set up to cover a wide variety of functions and specifically address issues of migrant interest. A primary reason for this departure from traditional welfare association networks to create independent initiatives is that they are not considered (or able to be considered) as equals through the welfare organisations, nor have they been considered as active citizens in social integration policy (Hunger 2002). In more recent times there has been an emerging question of how self-organised migrant groups (MSOs), sometimes known as immigrant associations, might be considered as partners for political institutions and a social policy tool for a more successful integration policy (Kyrieri and Brassler 2012). Where Hunger (2002) identified nine different kinds of migrant association including cultural organisations, sport and hobby, religious, work and political organisations we see the diversification of interest areas and new emerging arenas of engagement which require attention.

MSO is a collective name for informal groups, networks and projects set up for migrant interests which are not necessarily fully registered and ratified organisations, recognised in Germany by the term '*eingetragener Vereine*' or more simply followed by the initials 'e.V', to demonstrate that they have achieved this status (Thränhardt 2005). Huth (2005) defines MSOs as part of what might be called migrants 'self-help' and is linked very closely with immigration histories. Others have looked at the way MSOs are used by migrants as a means of self-empowerment within dominant systems (Pallares, Zitzelsberger, Öksüz and Hradská 2006). With the active work being carried out by MSOs they are often well positioned to understand and elaborate upon deficits and problems for migrants living in the host society. This also suggests a need for greater connectivity and partnership building with political institutions in order to express these deficits and how they might be addressed through social policy.

In more recent times there has been a trend towards MSOs being considered as part of Germany's National Integration Plan. For example the 2006 Integration Summit saw MSOs included in the 'civil society' category with proposals for greater cooperation with MSOs as the outcome of further meetings (see Kyrieri and Brassler 2012). In any case MSOs have become embedded in the prevailing system of

‘*Subsidiarität*’ (Hunger 2002). What remains problematic is that many MSOs are unable to meet the formal requirements for state funding and so struggle to develop further (Kyrieri and Brassler 2012).

In the following section I will outline examples of migrant civil society organisations encountered during the research, which differ in their stages of development and operational framework. These serve both as case study examples of bottom up initiatives within the civil sphere, but also provide opportunity to comment on the extent to which migrant organisations cooperate with political institutions like AmkA in the Frankfurt context.

8.4 Developing initiatives in the city

Following the historical and political context of migration to Germany outlined in the early chapters of the thesis, in Frankfurt the question of how to manage an ageing migrant population has been gradually coming to the fore. In a country with a rapidly ageing population and very low birth rate, ex-Guest workers who arrived in the 1960s and 1970s and settled in Germany have now entered or are entering retirement age. In the context of civil society organisations and provision for this group, there are a number of initiatives that have been developed in the city to address different concerns of ageing migrants including advisory services, health care, and more socially focused initiatives. One example which combines the traditional structure of a migrant association operating under the umbrella of the welfare organisation Caritas, but also has an intercultural outlook, is the OASI Interkultureller Treff based in Höchst, West Frankfurt. In the first case study presented here I outline how the OASI functions on a predominantly autonomous basis, before assessing the relationship of AmkA with this particular organisation and the subject of ageing migrants in the city.

8.4.1 OASI – Interkultureller Treff

An example of a volunteer-led initiative which is aimed at older migrants is the ‘OASI’. OASI stands for *Offen, Aktive, Senioren, Interkulturell* / *Open, Active, Seniors, Intercultural*. Described in its own literature as *„Das Netzwerk für active*

Seniorinnen und Senioren’/ *‘the network for active seniors’*, the aim of the organisation is to create a meeting point for intercultural encounters (OASI 2013). This was borne out of an initiative supported by the Catholic charitable organisation Caritas, together with a donation from the City in 2001. This arose following a surge in interest in the question of ageing migrant populations within German society and at the political level.

Around 1997 there was a greater attention turned to older people. That was something of personal interest to me. The idea that the migrants of the guest worker generation were now entering retirement, we had all these new questions - Where should they go? What should be done? At this time the municipal institutions also diverted some attention to this issue.

Interviewee B (8/11/2013, Author’s Translation)

The main organiser and founder of the OASI is a volunteer who arrived in Germany in 1960, the daughter of Spanish parents and has been living in Germany for most of her life. She studied social work at university and during this time she also did internships with the Caritas and became interested in the idea of intercultural meetings.

I realised that in the city there were many groups already forming but they were national groups and the only members were people of those nationalities. I wondered why these other groups didn’t have interest in meeting or working together. I thought, since I could speak good German and had good understanding of the difficulties that foreigners might have, that I wanted to do something intercultural.

Interviewee B (8/11/13, Author’s Translation)

In 1989 she was involved in the formation of the first intercultural group in the city district of Höchst. This was an intercultural initiative which was aimed at young people, but sought to provide a meeting point for migrants more generally. As an employee of the Migrant Advisory Service in Frankfurt, the organiser was in contact with many migrants as part of her day job and was able to signpost people to the meeting through existing networks. However, this proved challenging to administer:

We wanted to do something but there were a lot of obstacles... That’s not to say there was no help available. Previously support was provided in Höchst by the Catholic Church but the rooms they had available were very small and only available once a week. So then came the question of where we should go? To meet in a cafe

was a possibility, but still a question of space and costs remained. We couldn't just meet on the street so it was a struggle.

Interviewee B (8/11/2013, Author's Translation)

Later the focus of the work changed and with the financial support of the Caritas and the City of Frankfurt it was possible for a small space to be rented. As a result OASI was developed in Höchst in 2001 as a specific initiative for older people. As an area of heavy industry during the guest worker period, Höchst is still home to many migrants, with many of the people who settled here during that period now retired or approaching retirement. Through its network the OASI organises many events which include: a monthly international lunch, a weekly breakfast for women in the community, fortnightly art sessions and weekly aerobic sessions. These are targeted specifically at older people from all backgrounds to spend time together and engage in different activities. The space that the OASI occupies is small, however having a permanent space is invaluable and means that activities can be planned accordingly. In its current format the programme of activities is published in the window of the centre and people can attend a range of events. Outside of these specific event times the centre is open Monday to Friday offering a general space for people to meet regularly and socialise with each other.

Celebrating 10 years of existence in 2011, part of the success story of the OASI relates to its openness, the range and nature of activities and the way it embraces the multiplicity of cultures in the city. This does not suggest that there are no other opportunities but this format which differs from other German organisations may be seen as one reason for its success:

The thing is, there are lots of German groups and of course other people can go to them. But the way they are run and structured, is very *German* and so without even intending to there are people who feel excluded. After 20 years there has been a change and we do see the opening up of German clubs and institutions but there are still difficulties where structures and procedures have been in place for a long time.

Interviewee B (8/11/13, Author's Translation)

Many of the women here [at the women's breakfast meeting] are in Germany as a result of bi-national marriage and so don't always feel confident in their abilities

speaking German or independent enough to go elsewhere and this gives them a safe space... The idea is that all languages are equal here. We are always open and understand that language can be a barrier. Then we must find a way. If we can work together and find mutual understanding then that's great. What we are achieving here is a sense of solidarity and of networking activity. No one should feel like they have to come. Some might come once and never again, some just occasionally. We want it to be a drop in thing so people don't feel like they are tied to something.

Interviewee B (8/11/13, Author's Translation)

The idea that there are structural differences in the way that traditional German organisations are formed and run brings into question how the OASI functions within the arena of civil society which is inherently German. This is not to suggest that OASI is run in opposition to traditional German organisations, but indicates a need to observe how civil society organisations differ within certain environments. This echoes with a need to view civil society as a complex arena of processes, organisations and institutions which interlink across multiple criteria as outlined in the first part of the chapter. There is a secondary function which emerges here which is about making people aware of the opportunities available to them. With that there is a reinforcement of the importance of civil society organisations and their network building processes. This was further emphasised in the interview showing the different nature of organisations and how initiatives such as the OASI operate as part of a wider civil society network of different kinds of voluntary organisation, as well as their relationship to the wider political institutions such as AmkA.

Through links with AmkA and other groups like the Bunter Tisch in Höchst we are able to achieve a lot with collaborative projects. The Bunter Tisch in particular is good for us because they are more political where we here are more socially oriented. The fact they are in the same city district [Höchst] helps and we have a lot of contact. Also with many more organisations such as the HIWA which is an organisation which gives migrants advice - I am also part of that and they really are more active in a political sense.

Interviewee B (8/11/13, Author's Translation)

Here the importance of networked organisations is expressed. The HIWA (Kurdish for 'hope'), which is an initiative of the *Deutsche Rotes Kreuz (DRK) / German Red Cross* offers a particular advisory service to older migrants, while the OASI provides

a distinct social dimension for people who may otherwise be excluded. This observation seems to suggest that the social focus of OASI is a benefit in terms of openness and the opportunity for collaborative activity through its networks with other organisations. However it also comments directly upon the importance of a political dimension for further progress and development of the organisation. Linking back to the idea of the more rigid structural features of German organisations, it is noticeable that there is a potential struggle for purely social civil society organisations who require the backing of more formalised organisations to develop and expand their networks. With a strong sense of their role in the civil society landscape, the self-awareness and an apparent self-consciousness in the way that interactions between migrants and Germans materialise, the use of established German organisations and networks such as the migrant advisory centre as a point of contact indicates the necessity for cross-organisational partnerships. This then becomes a balancing act between satisfying the social needs of ageing migrants and cementing the longevity of projects and initiatives within the City of Frankfurt through collaboration with more established partners.

8.4.2 Migrant organisations as actors in civil society, Mehrgenerationenehaus, Gallus.

The project Aktiv für Migrantenselbstorganisation, is an initiative which enables and supports migrant organisations at different points of their development in the city of Frankfurt. Different parts of this project were observed during the field visit with one to one meetings, as well as an information event as part of the Interkulturelle Wochen (see chapter nine) entitled: *‘Migranten Selbstorganisationen als Akteure der Zivilgesellschaft’* / *‘Migrant Organisations as Actors in Civil Society’*. As the project leader explained to me “it is really about looking at how MSO’s can expand across the city and beyond and really develop as civil society actors” (Interviewee E 21/11/13).

This initiative is part of a three year project supported by the *Bundesamt für Migranten und Flüchtlinge* / *Federal Office for Migrants and Refugees* and so is supported at the national rather than local government level. This Bundesamt was established as part of the Immigration Act to take care of procedures surrounding

asylum, and has further developed into a centre for wider migration and immigration issues (BAMF Website 2014). It now provides support for these issues through its twenty-two field offices, four remote sites and with a staff headcount of around two thousand people. The nature of the work carried out by the BAMF does not seem to differ significantly from the functions and areas covered by AmkA at the local level. However there are clear differences in the level of resources for the national initiative, where AmkA is notably more limited in staff numbers. What appears is that BAMF, through its greater headcount, is able to carry out effective networking through the use of regional multipliers, such as in the example of *Aktiv für Migrantenselbstorganisation* in Frankfurt.

The wider role of the MSO project here is to support the formation of new migrant-led projects and facilitate their work in the local community. The following is an example of an organisation which participates in the project and is an MSO formed from a group of asylum seekers. This differs from other established organisations which usually cater for migrants from the ex-guest worker countries as seen in the previous case study. The selection of this example shows another dimension of the position of migrant organisations in civil society and highlights some academic shifts in perspective in recent times about the role of these kinds of organisations.

8.4.3 Eritrean Sport and cultural organisation

The Eritrean Sport and Culture Organisation (ESCO) is a relatively new and small initiative and is one of the participating groups in the *Migranten Selbstorganisationen als Akteure der Zivilgesellschaft* project. The group has a weekly two-hour meeting at the *Mehrgenerationenhaus* in the city district of Gallus on a Friday evening which is where the wider project is based. The Friday night programme consists mainly of language classes for children whilst the parents sit and talk to each other outside. In addition they organise events and trips such as summer garden parties, Christmas celebrations and sports days. During the field work period I was able to interview the group organiser and also attended their Christmas celebration where I spoke to many more group members. I was able to observe a

tightly-knit community group who chatted to each other in their mother tongue and enjoyed socialising together. As the organiser explained to me:

We are just doing simple social activities, just really giving people that opportunity to be sociable. It is particularly hard for the parents who don't have a great grasp of the German language, or maybe not as good as their children. It is also a feeling of home for these people who were in the most case forced to leave their homes and came here as asylum seekers. That connection to home and the chance to speak their own language is important.

Interviewee F (10/12/13, Author's Translation)

In this background to the association, the organiser references a number of important factors that align with a number of features of the OASI group, namely giving people the chance to speak to each other (sometimes in their own language) and giving opportunities for people to engage with each other socially. There is an additional factor to be mindful of relating to the status of this particular migrant group and their background as asylum seekers as opposed to settled labour migrants and their families.

Eritrean refugees and asylum seekers in fact have a long history in Frankfurt. The majority arrived in the early 1980s, fleeing the impact of a war which lasted more than thirty years (Nolting 2002). Despite the country gaining independence in 1993, still today there are high numbers of Eritrean residents in other places due to a consistently uncertain situation in their country. The fact that many children have now been born in Germany is also a factor with many people feeling that they have settled permanently. As the interviewee explains, the potential precariousness of their situation can in fact be improved by generating a sense of community and togetherness:

There are a lot of us (from Eritrea) here. Most are asylum seekers of course. So the way it worked was that groups would arrive in Giessen which was like a central point and then get sent to different locations across the state of Hessen. Many actually wanted to come to Frankfurt am Main because there are quite a few thousand people from our country here. In Munich which is a bigger city there are only 3-400. With such a big difference it is obvious why people try to come to Frankfurt. It is easier to build a community and feel less alone when there are more people like you, but you really have to work hard

when you arrive in a situation like that. We know now that we are here to stay and we want to create opportunities for our children.

Interviewee F (10/12/13, Author's Translation)

Positioning itself as a social and cultural organisation for Eritrean nationals and their families, the association differs from the OASI which had an intercultural focus. Although they do not actively exclude people who are not from the same migrant background, its focus on the Eritrean language does not attract wide external interest and enables a family oriented atmosphere. As a guest I was welcomed but I fully understood the importance of this opportunity for them to gather, as well as the sentimental reasons for them teaching their children their mother tongue in this social way.

Additionally this organisation has different organisational ambitions to the OASI which has been supported through the traditional welfare structure under the umbrella organisation of the Caritas. In the ESCO example the organiser was describing how the association was on the path to gaining 'eV' status. This was predominantly for financial and basic administrative reasons. This includes making them eligible for more financial help and to give them the opportunity to take part in more events and activities. As a not-for-profit organisation he explained how forming a registered association would be beneficial for their initiative, although he knew that there would be challenges due to previous experiences of being a part of associations in Germany:

I was actually part of a Verein in Frankfurt previously but it was so difficult. It is hard to work within the German structure and there are so many criteria to fulfil. I realised that it wasn't that fun and left. But then this time I have been responsible for setting this up and it is close to my heart. I am the person who has brought everything together and it is ok because I at least know I'm in control and where everything is up to. It's still taken more than 6 months so far just to get to this stage. Hopefully we will be ratified by the end of the year but really it's a waiting game.

Interviewee F (10/12/13, Author's Translation)

The effort and challenges involved in achieving official registered status was found to be a barrier for other migrant organisations encountered during the research

period. For that reason it is interesting that this particular group were interested in applying for it. On the one hand, the experience and drive of the main organiser, his fluency in German and his desire to create a legacy for his family and other Eritrean families in Frankfurt provided an example which was contrary to many others. Even in cases where language skills were not a barrier to the possibility, many migrant groups were more interested in the sociability factor and the activities they were carrying out themselves, rather than trying to meet specific criteria. Of course availability of resources is a very important factor for these groups and their futures:

It's an absolute accident that we ended up setting up here in the Mehrgenerationenhaus. In the summer it was easy, we could just go to a garden space but we wanted something more formal. I had made a lot of effort to contact different places and people but there is nothing you can really apply for when you don't have eV status. Everyone just said sorry but no. And then I was close to giving up. Then with this place, I just enquired as I live close by and knew they had lots of activities going on. When they were organising the project they just happened to see my enquiry at the time the project was starting and invited me to be part of it. It means for 3 years we have the rooms/spaces for our activities. Who knows after that? But we have breathing space and so much help and advice for becoming registered as part of this bigger project.

Interviewee F (10/12/13, Author's Translation)

In this statement the organiser raises a number of important general challenges for migrant organisations trying to establish themselves in the city. Throughout the fieldwork period the struggle for migrant organisations to find suitable and affordable space to carry out activities was a persistent struggle particularly in the case of social, cultural and sport organisations. This was not so much the case for religious groups who frequently were able to make use of religious buildings such as the Mosque for their activities. A key aspect is the idea of eligibility for help with resources and the search for space. For this group however, they had managed to find this space in their local community and were fortunate enough to do so at the time when the BAMF funded project was starting. However when questioned whether he had sought help from other city-level actors or AmkA directly, the response suggested had not been successful in approaches made previously:

No we don't really have any experience with other city institutions. Once we went to the Catholic Church here in Gallus and they didn't say no to us but said we needed

to be registered. They need that clarification of what we're doing and that official status to be able to help. We haven't approached AmkA or anyone else like that because we know they will only advise us to become e.V. I would feel happier about going there with the paper in my hand and clear requests. In this business you are always asking and begging. You are just trying to do something nice for people, give them a place to go, a chance to feel secure and happy but it is always difficult.

Interviewee F (10/12/13, Author's Translation)

The comments here also provide a more general view of the way that migrant organisations interact with city-level partners like AmkA, with the perception that they will not be able to provide much assistance due to the status of the group at present. It is also a comment on what migrant organisations might hope to achieve. In the majority of cases observed during the research period there were a series of aims and objectives which seemed to align and involved allowing individuals to socialise, to feel secure and to learn rather than being active at a political level. This once again asserts the importance of multi-modal and in some cases migrant-led interactions over politically motivated top-down initiatives.

8.5 Perceptions of 'guests' and their accommodation in civil society

The potential role of migrants as civil society actors has been overlooked for many reasons. There has been widespread scepticism regarding migrant organisations as promoters of parallel societies (Bradl and Groß 2011), as indicators of disintegration (Huth 2005), or simply not taken seriously (Pallares and Zitzelsberger 2006). However in the past few years, academic discussion and empirical enquiry has resulted in a resource oriented perspective on MSOs which sees a paradigmatic change *“weg von einem eher karitativen, gleichsam paternalistischen Ansatz hin zu einem Konzept, das die aktive Rolle von Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund für die Integrationsprozesse ernst nimmt / away from a away from a more charitable, almost paternalistic approach to a concept that takes the active role of people with a migration background seriously in the integration process”* (Bradl and Groß 2011). Although there is an evident shift in attention and change in approach to the potential of migrant organisations, there exist a number of identifiable challenges and

discussions which arose during the fieldwork period itself which can be considered. One of these refers to how new organisations establish themselves officially within the long established German ‘Verein’ structure. As one participant explained:

There is a very specific structural thing about German clubs that these new migrant societies might not know about or not know how to overcome. Then it looks like you have two things – German structured and well established organisations over decades, next to unstructured and ‘messy’ migrant organisations that are very early on in their journeys. And they don’t really come together very well, not because it is anyone’s fault but a sense of that’s just how it is. For a long time there has been a very particular discourse about migrant societies and parallel societies and it is these kinds of structural issues that have unwittingly caused these kinds of problems. The migrants and the Germans are both equally affected and conscious of this but little is being done to overcome it.

Interviewee G (21/11/2013, Author’s Translation)

As the examples in part two of this chapter have shown, migrant organisations have different ideas about how they want their organisations to run. Within this, the choice to be registered and ratified and appear on the register of associations in Germany, or alternatively to operate independently of this framework lies with the individual organisation. A clear difference between the OASI and the Eritrean Sport and Culture Association lies in this fact. The OASI is already well-established and supported through its welfare association structure; whilst the ESCA is confronted with challenges which they feel can be addressed by achieving the status of ‘eingetragener Verein / ‘registered association’.

These considerations are part of wider debates of what civil society should be able to achieve and the tools that are available to do so. Thinking of cities as ‘places of crisis’ Gerometta, et al (2005) also consider cities as “...places of innovation in governance relations and institutions and are the primary arenas of social movements and other civil society experiments” (2005:2008). The examples outlined here were selected to highlight particular instances of civil society development according to different circumstances and interest areas experienced during the field work period. Whilst these show organisations at different stages in their development, the bottom-up reflection on the circumstances for grass-roots initiatives in Frankfurt has

provided useful insight. Nonetheless “civil society is and always will be supplementary to the local state and will never replace it” (Gerometta et al 2005: 2008). The varying roles of AmkA, either as supporters in the case of OASI, or in their lack of involvement with the ESCO have indicated ways that AmkA might be perceived.

Looking further now to the wider AmkA network which has 350-400 sport and cultural organisations in their database and a further 150 religious organisations (Interview, Interviewee A, 2/10/2012), I think about how the office operates ‘in-between’ through a range of active as well as more passive or indirect networking activities.

8.6 The in-betweenness of the AmkA Office

Although AmkA is well developed, its position as an agency is often called into question. Where chapter seven addressed the possible divide between practice and principle, here the focus is on AmkA in its role between different kinds of organisation and initiatives. Where the thesis has shown AmkA as an office in flux, which is part of a comprehensively networked system, we can also think about ways that AmkA might be considered outside of the office itself. This is explored here particularly in relation to the migrant organisations it works with, and also those which do not interact with the Office in a day to day way. Establishing how AmkA understands its position and where attention is focused is particularly interesting:

In terms of target groups – for us national is not a target category. We are very much based in Frankfurt and use local network channels. Newcomers to Frankfurt need very different attention and help to other groups who are more established and we hope to set ourselves as an organisation who can cater to needs as required. The idea being that we have something to offer for certain groups of people. ...we carry out a lot of indirect communication, guiding people to different areas, we are not necessarily doing the work ourselves but we have well-functioning structures in place to satisfy the needs of a wide range of people.

Interviewee A (10/12/13, Author’s Translation)

Working both directly and indirectly, AmkA maintains a certain fluidity between the state and civil society organisations, in many cases acting as the missing link

between them. It may also be the case that AmkA suggests that someone contacts another organisation within the network without the need for AmkA to intervene. This might mean that AmkA is not necessarily considered as the direct facilitating partner but as an intermediary.

As well as networking, AmkA also carries out projects that may be seen as indirect, such as neighbourhood conflict management and education programmes which are seen as preventative measures. These projects might be concentrated in particular areas of concern or as part of a wider educative process. Although there are many examples of events and initiative, it may also be the case that some individuals or organisations only come into contact with the Office in times of difficulty. This may seem to be counterproductive for the effective planning and networking of the Office, yet it also provides an opportunity for people to approach this Office which in its considered to be more accessible than other government offices or the police for example. The AmkA section of the Stadt Frankfurt website means that the office is also amenable to this kind of ad-hoc contact, with the names, email contact and direct telephone number of each employee listed. Lines of communication are extremely important.

Internally we talk about the communications concept. Suggestions are made by everyone about how we go about concepts and work through them in our day to day functions. Every second word used here is communication and it should also be understood that everyone here is actively doing public relations work. Whatever the department they are taking calls, dealing with queries, visiting groups out there in the city. They are all doing communication and public work to implement the concepts that we have brought together in the city.

Interviewee A (10/12/13, Author's Translation)

There is also a sense that there is a lack of knowledge about what is available and how organisations can help themselves. Although AmkA carries out extensive public relations work, it is possible that people still do not feel able to approach the Office. Nevertheless it has attempted to position itself in a way which allows people to discover offers themselves through the development of the database style website Vielfalt-Bewegt-Frankfurt.de as well as through direct contact with its employees.

People might hear a little about us, or see our stand at an event, or even speak to a team member. Then they look for information and see what we might be able to offer. They are looking to see how what we do might be able to help them in their own offers to their communities and groups. Lots of people and resources are needed for that and the process can be pretty individualised – we need to care for these relationships quite intensively and maintain them as far as possible. The sense of mutuality or reciprocity needs to be there. They want to be able to profit from it as much as possible and that is normal.

Interviewee A (10/12/13, Author's Translation)

Through this multichannel focus and a commitment to communication AmkA has been is an Office that operates effectively between the city administration and wider civil society. Through extensive networking this Office has developed a multi-level model which allows it to have a role, both on the ground amongst the Frankfurt citizens who are developing intercultural initiatives and setting up migrant organisations as well as in city politics. Many examples through the thesis have shown this changing position of the Office and the nature of engagements that this affords and reinforces the importance of networking for the 'Frankfurt model'.

8.7 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated how migrant organisations adopt an important position within a civil society framework. By charting the development of welfare organisations in Germany it has been possible to see how migrants take part in social and cultural activities as part of a wider engagement with civil society. Through engagement on both sides, on the part of the migrant and German society, it has been possible to look at different kinds of organisations, the way that they are set up, funded and also how they operate on a day to day basis. The examples here show initiatives aimed at specific groups (Eritrean nationals and older migrants) but also show their potential for intercultural focus.

The chapter has also looked at the different points of intervention from city and civil level partners in different instances. A defining feature in understanding how much intervention is required or seen lies in where the organisations position themselves, both as local entities but also their position as city actors.

Finally the chapter has demonstrated the challenges for engagement between social and political organisations in the city. It has also shown AmkA's position as a transitive and fluid agency. Operating somewhere 'in-between', for some it has been shown that AmkA is out of reach, particularly when dealing with more informal initiatives like the ESCO. This is due in part to perceptions about the AmkA which, due to its position as an institution of the local state, may be seen as unreachable. Nonetheless AmkA continues its work in network development and establishing communication channels. In the next and final empirical chapter of the thesis the ongoing relevance and position of AmkA is explored in the context of 'symbolic politics' and 'cultural events' and how these are positioned in the context of the 'Frankfurt model'.

Chapter 9

‘Symbolic politics’ and intercultural events – the festivalisation of culture in urban engagements with difference

9.1 Introduction

The city of Frankfurt is the stage for many events, which focus upon the opportunities for intercultural cooperation and dialogue. Annual events such as the ‘*Tag der Offenen Moschee*’, ‘*Interkulturelle Wochen*’ and ‘*Integrationspreis*’ award ceremony, offer a range of opportunities for AmkA, along with other governmental and non-governmental partners, to engage with the diversity of the city in different ways. The urban politics of the city of Frankfurt, were considered in chapter seven through an examination of day-to-day, AmkA-led department work, and in chapter eight through analysis of a range of civil society initiatives. In this chapter the focus is upon Frankfurt as a platform for conspicuous interventions in the city which offer an example of networked diversity in action.

The term “symbolic politics” is usually adopted in a critical way, which emphasises the use of abstract symbols, and suggests a lack of tangible practical action. The chapter addresses this, first by presenting the idea of the symbolic uses of politics as it has been discussed in academic literature, as well as in the context of German approaches to immigration and integration politics. It then focuses upon cultural festivals in the city, and how they are adopted as a method for addressing the realities and challenges of diversity. Following this, a range of events which were observed first hand are outlined and considered as empirical examples of their possible symbolic influence for the city and its citizens. In the latter part of the chapter, I discuss AmkA as an institution often accused of operating at a symbolic rather than substantive level. After considering a range of events and perspectives on AmkA, I argue that there is an inherent value in what might be called a ‘symbolic’ or ‘gesture politics’ as a practical response to the diverse city.

9.2 Defining symbolic politics

Implying a lack of authentic politics, the idea of symbolic politics which adopts the use of political symbols has been widely discussed. Present in key literatures on German politics and public relations (Sarcinelli 1987; Saxer 1993), on city-local politics in Frankfurt (Keil and Lieser 1992; Faist 1994), and more recently on the specific case of Frankfurt's Department of Multicultural Affairs (Friedmann and Lehrer 1998; Eckardt 2007), the term is outlined here as a backdrop to the discussion of individual events, and to the wider impact of AmkA as a 'symbolic' institution.

In *The Symbolic Uses of Politics*, Murray Edelman (1964) describes how much of what politics does can be considered as symbolic rather than concrete action. In research conducted on this topic, he suggested, that the "most cherished forms of popular participation in government are largely symbolic..." (Edelman 1964: 4). Thinking about the general characteristics of these symbols that penetrate every day perceptions of politics and political action, it is further suggested that: "Politics is for most of us a passing parade of abstract symbols" (Edelman 1964: 5). The use of symbols as verbal and non-verbal tools, are a valuable resource for conveying potentially complex information: "symbols refer to a body of social values, knowledge and practices which offer guidance for interpreting, processing and coping with specific issues or situations" (Blühdorn 2007: 255). Although considered a relatively simplistic way of assessing the different uses of the term, there is a distinction that arises between a symbolic politics staged for the media, contrasted with 'real' or 'authentic' politics which goes on behind closed doors (Blühdorn 2007). This idea of symbolic versus authentic action underpins a number of responses to symbolic political action.

In everyday language use *Symbolische Politik / symbolic politics* "... means a publicly displayed deception or surrogate action that is used to detract from actual political reality..." (Sarcinelli 2008: 3047). Göhler (2002) draws upon another dimension: "when policy is referred to as being "symbolic", the pejorative notion commonly associated is that it is 'merely' symbolic – namely vacuous, insubstantial or staged" (2002: 27 Author's Translation). Although this points towards an

excessive manipulation of information which results in a negative and overworked output, it is also possible to view the use of symbolic politics as a strategy of complexity reduction as a positive factor. Following Edelman's (1964) observations of politics as a spectator sport, political complexity may mean that the general public come to favour "symbolic condensations of politics". Although this might be considered as a 'substitute' or 'placebo' politics, it is not the case that this type of political action is ineffective or immoral, but is more accessible (Blühdorn 2007). Blühdorn further acknowledges a shift in Edelman's impressions in the 1990s work *Politik als Ritual*, whereby his previous analyses from the 1960s and 1970s are no longer considered to be appropriate. Instead, it is suggested that citizens no longer have an expectation that their interests will be represented in politics. Nonetheless, as Sarcinelli (1987) notes, studies that have been carried out on symbolic politics and political symbolism, have been predominantly abstract, with only a few examples of operational research and empirical studies. In this chapter, empirical examples of intercultural events are discussed from a symbolic politics perspective. This generates a commentary which considers the value of this approach. Before outlining examples from my own research, I will outline how the broader German immigration story can be considered in these terms.

Faist (1994) addresses symbolic politics in the context of immigration to Germany in the 1980s and 1990s, when the development of a multi-ethnic society was officially denied in political discourse. Faist (1994) describes the successful use of symbolic politics to uphold the view of Germany as a 'country without immigration' but also the consequences of delaying its uptake as a legitimate policy object. Previously considered a 'low politics' domestic issue, in the 1980s immigration to Germany became a topic which traversed both domestic and foreign concerns, becoming considered as a matter of 'high politics'; that is a politics usually reserved for political issues such as defence, foreign and security policy (Gregory et al 2009). With this, a new opportunity for dialogue surrounding issues of guest workers and asylum seekers arose in the late 1980s. The symbolic politics approach was a useful concept to be adopted at this time, as immigration became more politicised. Faist (1994) explains how: "Symbolic politics that promoted the return of guest workers to

their countries of origin in the early 1980s offered a way to avoid discussions of membership and citizenship of settled migrant labour” (1994: 51). As well as focusing attention on return policies, there were additional framings which offer alternative points of focus. For example when the settlement of guest workers became increasingly apparent, the *Ausländerproblem / Foreigner Problem* was the terminology adopted. In this case what is not articulated is the extent of the so-called ‘problem’ related to wider issues of social and economic integration. Instead, by using a word with negative connotation such as ‘problem’, it is evident that these more complex issues are condensed into a single idea. This links with Edelman’s (1964) observation of the way that political complexity is often reduced through symbolic condensations of politics. In the following section, symbolic condensations of politics are linked with the idea of “festivalisation” and symbolic action in the city. I set up the case of Frankfurt as a backdrop for cultural events, before considering the ways these individual events might operate as symbolic instantiations of politics.

9.3 Festivalising culture in Frankfurt am Main: urban engagement with difference

In the late 1970s, Frankfurt’s cultural policy underwent a transformation, with the intention of regenerating the image of the city. At this time, it was seen as a centre for banking and characterised by high levels of crime and construction (Friedrichs and Dangschat 1993). With 1977 being seen as a turning point in the municipal politics of the city, the new Mayor embarked upon a new programme of changes, which would generate what Flagge (1988) refers to as a “...a trendsetter of new urban lifestyles” (in Friedrichs and Dangschat 1993: 123). As part of this process of change, new cultural symbols appear or are regenerated including museums, memorials and buildings of cultural significance, including theatres and galleries. In this regeneration, building facades become restored, old parts of the city are rebuilt and these all become used as part of a political picture supported by local politics to enhance the image of the city (Klein 2004).

The strategy of cities redefining their image is not uncommon and can be paralleled with other examples of places, which have undertaken place-marketing projects and have been subject to physical transformation. An example of such a transformation was seen in Glasgow, Scotland, where the previous image of industrial decline was reconstructed through a new focus on the arts and culture (see Paddison 1993). Rather than being considered as an advertising strategy, place-promotion has tended to be part of a wider project to rebuild and reconstruct the image of a city (Paddison 1993). The social implications of image reconstruction are also widely considered within the literature, with the challenges of place marketing seen to be a strategy for diverting attention from social and economic inequalities (Griffiths 1998). This has been particularly evident in the context of sporting mega-events, which see cities transformed into host sites for high profile events such as the Olympic Games or FIFA World Cup.

Black (2007), has referred to ‘the symbolic politics of sporting mega-events’. In the case of these events large cities compete for recognition and status and the opportunity to improve their cities image (see Gold and Gold 2005). This may involve infrastructural upgrades and urban development projects as possible benefits (Steinbrink, Haferburg and Ley 2011). At the same time as these upgrades and other benefits such as increased tourism, the socio-spatial consequences of such events can be seen as detrimental to host cities in the long run. For example, following the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa, inner city disparities continue to present challenges, despite investment from the event (Steinbrink et al 2011). The impact of festivals on the direction of urban policy is called into question here. Thinking about the ways that events imprint on the city, carnivals and parades offer a further area for consideration.

9.3.1 The symbolic nature of carnivals and parades

Carnivals have traditionally been seen as symbolic forms which neutralise social conflict (see Cohen 1982). This section explores carnival culture from the perspective of the *Parade der Kulturen* which takes place in the city of Frankfurt. By

using an example that takes place in the research site, a number of the symbolic elements can be highlighted in a contextualised example.

The *Parade der Kulturen / Parade of Cultures* is an event which takes place in Frankfurt biannually. As an umbrella organisation for around thirty youth associations in the city, the main organising body of the Parade is the *Frankfurter Jugendring / Frankfurt Youth Agency*. Representing the interests of children and young people in Frankfurt, it works in conjunction with wider cooperation partners including AmkA and the KAV. Patronage for the event is taken up by the Head of the Department for Social Affairs and the Head of the Department for Integration, further asserting the role of the administrative bodies of Frankfurt being involved in city-level events which cut across departments and interest areas. A third external patron is elected for the Parade outside of the administration. For example, in 2014 this was German-Malian football player, Bakary Diakité. With high profile patrons for the event, and a well-established and networked umbrella body, the co-ordination of the event is facilitated through high level buy-in from city stakeholders, civil society organisations (in this case predominantly youth organisations), and the citizens they work with directly.

The official website of the Parade states: “It is a clear commitment to diversity in our city and against discrimination and exclusion” (Parade der Kulturen.de 2015). For almost ten years the Parade has been a demonstration of mutual respect and ‘friendly living together’ (Parade-de-kulturen.de 2015). The event itself combines a carnival-style parade through the city, a programme of entertainment on a number of stages and a market of culture, with food and drink stalls offering cuisines from across the world. The Parade is a self-defined symbolic movement, which initially arose in the wake of murders carried out by neo-Nazis, which were seen to threaten the mutual respect between cultural groups, and their ability to live together (Parade der Kulturen.de 2015). As a form of symbolic opposition against extremist actors, the parade is an example of visible action being taken. This may suggest the potential influence of symbolic activity for strengthening intercultural relations, dispelling prejudice and rejecting extremist views. Richards and Palmer (2010) suggest that cities have a tendency to turn to strategies which focus on their own innate resources;

such as their histories, spaces or creative energies. The understanding of a positive sense of diversity and well-developed networking practices generated by Frankfurt's long history of recognition may be seen as a resource in this way, which could lead to it being operationalised as a vehicle for more substantive political action in the city.

The event is promoted, both as a symbol and signal of the particular circumstance of living with difference and diversity in Frankfurt, and in line with the wider symbolic influence of festivals. Festivals influence people's ideas of a city. They provide many points of identification and contribute to the birth of non-mainstream urban identities. They consolidate subcultures and create togetherness among amateurs of a common field (Silvanto and Hellman 2005: 6). The ability of festivals to influence people's idea of a city is not exclusive to the Parade of Cultures in Frankfurt. It is a phenomenon which can be viewed across the world. However, the fact that this particular Parade provides the opportunity for people to adopt multiple identities, including those that are not non-mainstream identities could be viewed as a symptom of the specific locality of Frankfurt and a reflection of its diversity.

...with the Parade of Cultures, many clubs and organisations are taking part and are very happy and proud to exhibit their traditional dress or regional clothing or to present their dance forms in public space. On the flipside, however there are members of these groups as well as people at the AmkA who voice their concerns at the hints of culturalism. Here people are being reduced or reducing themselves to something that they are not. So yes they may be Colombian folk dancers or Chinese dragon dancers, but they are also residents of Frankfurt. At the moment there are also the unanswered questions of how these people can be part of Frankfurt but be of a different background, and how can this be communicated publicly without the culturalist exoticism that goes along with it. We are in discussions as to how we can present events like the Parade differently. But this is very difficult because the groups and organisations have ideas about how they want things to be and what they want to show....we need to look at how we can change things without going over the heads of the organisations themselves.

Interviewee H (June 2012)

There remains uncertainty as to how being a member of a migrant community, but also a citizen of Frankfurt, might transcend into a usable and functional politics. With the concept of culturalism coming to the fore, seeing culture as something static, reified and homogenous, leads to particular understandings of immigrant and

national cultures (Vertovec 2011). This is reflected in the idea of reductionism and is not just a problem caused through the treatment of other cultures by non-migrants, but can also be caused as a result of the way the migrants choose to project themselves and images of their cultures. Gotham (2005) has reflected upon this as a symptom of these kinds of festivals and events which must be recognised to avoid such these tendencies: “Grasping that spectacles are multi-dimensional and embody contradictory tendencies is crucial to articulating the conflictual and contested meanings and avoiding one-sided, monolithic and reductive conceptions”(Gotham 2005: 226). There is also a question of how these conceptions become condensed and crystallise within the city setting.

9.3.2 The city as a site of symbolic action

Festival and event management takes on different forms and can be read in a number of ways. Klein (2004) has looked at the way that the post-industrial city provides a certain set of socio-spatial conditions for festival and event culture. This leads to a theatrical reorganisation of public space. In the city, the idea of ‘theatre’ has been discussed in a range of contexts, referring not only to entertainment forms but a broader spectrum of performance, which includes rituals of government, of city institutions and of individual experience. “Across these many forms stretches a theatrical continuum through which cultures both assert and question themselves” (Harvie and Rebellato 2009: ix). With this, festivals are seen as symbolic due to the way that they relate to key values recognised by the community in question (Falassi 1987).

Although this perspective considers that the city is always a site of theatrical performance, this materialises in different ways during events and festivals. Responses are varied, with some suggesting the value of urban festivals to be in their ability to increase local exposure and the prestige of local products and institutions (see Schuster 2001). Others see them as controlled visual productions, which objectify social relations by projecting them upon the cityscape (Gotham 2005). In the examples provided in this chapter, there is also an assessment to be made of which groups and individuals are being targeted through the events in question and

how they are identified through existing networks. With much of the literature on mega-events and city marketing pointing towards strategies of attracting tourism and investment, the chapter evaluates the nature of festivals and intercultural events, as community-based initiatives where local residents have the opportunity to take the role of organisers and participants in the initiative (de Bres and Davis 2001). By looking at a number of organised events, in which groups are invited to present their culture in a controlled rather than spontaneous way, we can see how different activities can reflect certain traditions and norms, and to address the main formats and approaches taken to share customs and experiences in the Frankfurt context.

This chapter explores the way that different events have developed within the Frankfurt context. Although it focuses on smaller-scale or decentralised events compared to the *Parade der Kulturen*, the mega-event literature highlights the presence of a particular scepticism towards cultural events that take place in the city, and also in the way that events cut across different scales and networks. With different kinds of events occupying the landscape in different ways, the ubiquity of initiatives affects the ways in which they are considered. With more prominent events like carnivals and parades that: "...transform places from being everyday settings into temporary environments that contribute to the production, processing and consumption of culture, concentrated in time and place" (Waterman 1998: 54); there is a contrast with what I consider in the examples presented later in the chapter to be a 'shop window' approach to events. In these instances, participation takes place in more intimate, isolated event-locations around the city. This, I acknowledge as a way of combining an event and festival mentality, with an everyday reflection of cultural practices. Thinking about cities and the unfolding events from a range of viewpoints casts a lens on the performative elements of cultural politics. This may be considered in a pejorative sense, in line with symbolic politics approach outlined at the beginning of the chapter, or more positively. The event examples presented here appropriate different symbols according to the event setting, allowing a range of themes of interest to emerge.

Building on examples from interviews and observations carried out during the fieldwork period, whilst linking these with existing theories and literature on this

particular category of community-based urban events, the following section reflects a range of different instances which were observed first-hand. Looking at examples of symbols which project a particular political message or comment on a political reality, the chapter seeks to understand the potential value, but also the limitations and perils of ‘festivalising’ issues of cultural difference, through the staging of cultural events. It also reflects on the extent to which this can be considered as symbolic political action and looks to understand AmkA’s role in these events.

9.4. Interkulturelle Woche

The “Interkulturelle Woche” / “Intercultural Week” takes place annually in late September in Germany. The “Frankfurter Interkulturelle Wochen” (IKW) is a multi-week adaptation of this national initiative. While it shares the underlying ethos of the national event, the ‘Frankfurt version’ exhibits a range of organisational differences. This section first outlines the development of the national event, before describing the approach taken in Frankfurt. It then provides an account of a number of events observed during the 2013 “Frankfurter IKW”. With the symbolic politics considerations outlined at the beginning of this chapter, these events are presented as illustrations of the work taking place on the ground in Frankfurt. These are later considered in line with the wider interests of the chapter and the idea of a symbolic politics approach to diversity.

The “Intercultural Week” is an initiative which was triggered by social observations of the implications of guest worker settlement in Germany after the 1973 recruitment ban. It began in 1975 as a single day which recognised the existence of immigrants in German society known as the "*Tag des ausländischen Mitbürgers*" / "*Day of the foreign fellow citizens*", developing into a week-long event “*Woche des ausländischen Mitbürgers*” by the 1980s. The event underwent a change in name following discussions in the 1980s, in which the original name was no longer seen as a sufficient: “Many do not feel addressed by the name “Week of foreign fellow citizens”. They see themselves as nationals, even if they often have a foreign passport. The term “fellow citizen” in the ‘80s was a trademark which sought the widest possible equality between immigrants and those living here”

(interkulturellewoche.de 2015: Author's Translation). As well as the name of the event being focused on intercultural opportunities, the central concerns of the initiative have remained the same, with the aim of advocating better political and legal frameworks in the relations between Germans and immigrants. This has been in conjunction with a secondary concern of eliminating prejudice through improved contacts and encounters (interkulturellewoche.de). Each year there is a particular "motto" or tagline adopted which focuses on a particular aspect of intercultural engagement and provides a thematic orientation for the week.

The event was borne out of an initiative of the German Bishops' Conference, the Council of the Evangelical Church in Germany and the Greek-Orthodox Metropolis. The Ökumenische Vorbereitungsausschuss (ÖVA) / Ecumenial Preparation Committee was established to coordinate the event and retains its position as the organisational body for the "Intercultural Week" nationwide. The committee makes recommendations and provides materials for groups organising events elsewhere, as well as running a central event themselves. This sees a particular city or district selected each year as a focal point for the event. The ÖVA is comprised of 15 members of Church groups with up to six other members elected from other institutions, organizations from across the country. The initiative is also supported and sponsored by a range of non-Church actors including trade unions, welfare associations, municipalities, Migration Advisory Councils, the Commissioner for Integration and German-foreign citizens' groups.

Although the social discussion on the settlement of guest workers which underpinned the event contrasted with prevailing political opinion of the time, it has remained an important intercultural event across Germany. There are now more than 500 cities, districts and municipalities which take part with around 5000 individual events. With its foundation in 1975 the national "Intercultural Week" provides an example of the way that intercultural recognition can become established through organisational alliances. This reverberates with the way that AmkA and the Department of Integration became established in Frankfurt at a time when diversity was not a policy focus for Germany. With such widespread uptake of the event in Germany the importance of intercultural contact is foregrounded, as well as the importance of the

many networks that have been established. The following section discusses how the event has been adopted and organised in Frankfurt and provides the context for a discussion on why Frankfurt has adapted the established national model for its own situation.

9.4.1 The development of the “Frankfurter Interkulturelle Wochen”

The IKW was first implemented in Frankfurt in 2006 with 32 events. This was established by an organisational committee from churches and associations in Frankfurt with AmkA in the role of coordinator for the event. This differs from the national initiative which lacks the direct involvement of central governmental institutions in its coordination. With a dedicated staff-member within AmkA, the event has been held in Frankfurt on an annual basis since 2006 and has now expanded to around one hundred activities over the course of the event each year and remains a major element in the work and annual calendar of AmkA. This institutional foregrounding has been an integral part of Frankfurt’s development of the IKW and allowed the event to be taken in new directions in a number of ways.

Taking its impetus from the national event, the Frankfurt version of the IKW has always taken place over a period of two or even three weeks as seen in 2013. This sees the distribution of events over a longer time period and also allows the inclusion of more events. This is particularly useful as events are not centrally located, instead in the place where the organisation usually meets at different locations across the city. Although the events are distributed over a longer time period, the way that AmkA coordinates the events is by asking organisations and individuals to propose an event during a designated registration period. Prospective participants should download and return a form in which they are required to propose a date, time and description of their event which, if accepted, will be published in the programme for the IKW both online and in print. This form usually has to be returned by early June in order for all events to be collated and categorised for the programme. As a result of this process of coordinating the individual events it is sometimes possible that events will unavoidably clash with each other, however once events have been

accepted into the programme, it is very difficult to cancel or change details due to the complexity of administering the programme and its format of publication.

The format of the publication was the same from 2006 to 2013 with an online and print version of the brochure in the same layout and format (see Figure 11). This included in each case the motto and date of the Frankfurter IKW of that year. Inside the events were organised into categories according to what the proposer had selected as the general category of the event which is colour coded (see Figure 12). As well as detailing each event with a short description, location and contact details of the organiser, a map which shows the distribution of events across the city was also included (see Figure 13).



Figure 11: Photograph of 2013 IKW Programme (Author's Own Image).

	KULTURELLE VIelfALT	GESELLSCHAFT	RELIGIONEN	KINDER UND FAMILIE
BOCKENHEIM	• Seite 20, 22, 24	• Seite 42, 44, 50, 54, 56		• Seite 74, 76, 85
BORNHEIM		• Seite 56		• Seite 78, 82, 86, 87
BERGEN-ENKHEIM				• Seite 74
DORNBUSCH	• Seite 38		• Seite 66	
FECHENHEIM				
FRANKFURTER BERG	• Seite 30, 34			
GALLUS	• Seite 26, 28	• Seite 50, 54	• Seite 60, 66	• Seite 74, 78, 82, 87
GINNHEIM	• Seite 22			
GRIESHEIM		• Seite 50		• Seite 76, 86
HÖCHST	• Seite 16	• Seite 49		
INNENSTADT	• Seite 16, 30	• Seite 42	• Seite 62, 64, 69	
NIED			• Seite 70	
NIEDERRAD	• Seite 20			• Seite 84
NIEDER-ESCHBACH				• Seite 82, 85
NIEDERURSEL		• Seite 46		
ORDEND	• Seite 24, 34, 38	• Seite 52		• Seite 76, 78, 80
ORDWESTSTADT	• Seite 24, 32			• Seite 87
BERRAD	• Seite 22			
TEND	• Seite 28, 30, 32, 36	• Seite 42, 53	• Seite 62	• Seite 80
AUNHEIM	• Seite 22			
DELHEIM				• Seite 80, 85, 87
HSENHAUSEN	• Seite 19, 20, 26	• Seite 46	• Seite 64, 66, 70	• Seite 85
KBACH				• Seite 84, 86
LINGEN				• Seite 87
ENHEIM	• Seite 28			• Seite 86
ND	• Seite 36		• Seite 60	

Figure 12: Photograph of 2013 IKW programme contents with colour coded categories of event (Author's Own Image)

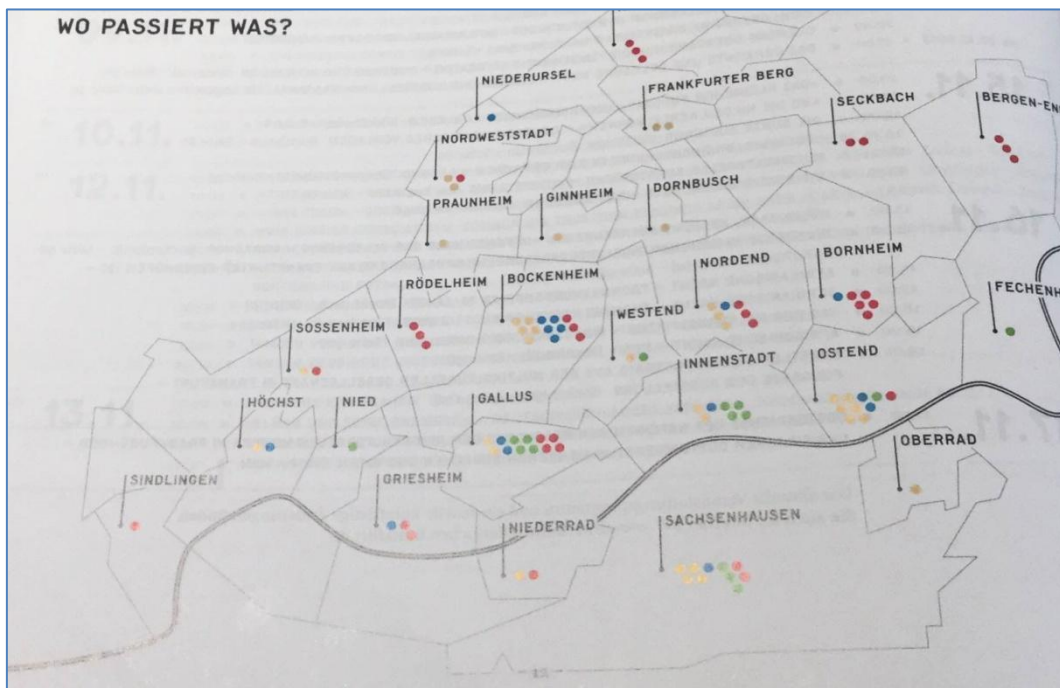


Figure 5: Map extract from IKW 2013 programme showing distribution of events across city
(Author's Own Image)

A final differentiation from the original national model evident in Frankfurt's development of the event is its separation both from the motto of the national event since 2010 as well as the fact it takes place in late October or even November, compared to the original timing of the event which is at the end of September. The official website for the national IKW indicates that this separation is permitted and supported and that the suggested dates are to be taken as a guideline.

The Intercultural Week provides an umbrella for all organizations, communities and individuals who participate in intercultural dialogue. Be it among others in the Church, an association of children and young people, the city administration, trade unions, charitable associations, as integration councils etc...The events should attract the widest possible audience and reflect the intercultural offer of the community / municipality.

Interkulturellewoche.de 2015

Where the aim is to reach the widest possible audience, the symbolic separation from the national narrative rearticulates Frankfurt's position as a pioneer of integration

politics and agenda setting. By establishing their own motto the organising committee can focus on Frankfurt-specific issues and provide possibilities for input from a range of different sources, through a range of activities, based on what is available locally. It can also be used to provoke intense debate and reflect the multiplicity of challenges of diverse societies. In the following examples, events are outlined and discussed under the umbrella of the IKW as a centrally coordinated initiative with a prominent position in AmkA's calendar. At the same time the fact that the activities are sporadically located means that the 'scale' of the event can also be considered in different ways. This is often related to the particular groups and identities that are being addressed, the format adopted to do so and how conceptions of wider publics are expressed through these intercultural encounters.

9.4.2 The Frankfurter Interkulturelle Wochen 2013 – an overview

The Frankfurt IKW ran from 27th October to 17th November 2013. The motto of the 2013 IKW was "*Frankfurt: Offen – Tolerant – Solidarisch*" / "*Frankfurt: Open – Tolerant – in Solidarity*" and there were 94 events scheduled in the official programme. With a committee of organisers from twelve different organisations including: AmkA and the KAV, regional Trade Unions such as the *Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbundes (DGB)* / *German Trade Union Confederation* and *Arbeiterwohlfahrt (AWO)* / *Workers Welfare Association*, religious organisations such as the Evangelical Church, Evangelical Regional Association and a range of charitable, sports, educational and family establishments based in Frankfurt, there were a further 76 organising groups and bodies from across the city who put on individual events as part of the IKW 2013 either alone or in conjunction with other partner organisations.

To look in more detail at the events, the programme was divided into four categories and each event was listed under a particular colour section as shown in Figure 12. The first category was *Kulturelle Vielfalt / Cultural Diversity*. There are 29 events listed in this section which vary greatly in content. For example the opening event of the IKW – the *Interkultureller Staffelmarathon / Intercultural Relay Marathon* where participants from Frankfurt's non-European partner cities form relay teams and

demonstrate the cross-border potential of sport for intercultural interaction is featured alongside events such as: dance workshops of the traditional dances of different countries including Scotland, Bulgaria, Greece, Russia, Italy and Germany; an interactive theatre workshop which focused on intercultural dialogue through the explanation and performance of individual and collective experiences; an excursion through cemetery which considered “Diversity in Remembrance”, telling the stories of the many foreigners buried in Frankfurt, many of whom were forced labourers; a painting workshop on the banks of the Main River as well as a number of events called *Kulturabend / Evenings of culture* which included concerts, readings of texts and musical performances. The events in this category were largely arts based. Some were described as ‘multicultural’, for example *Multikulturelle Kunststücke / Multicultural Art*, ‘intercultural’ such as *Bühne Auf für interkulturelle Begegnung / On Stage for Intercultural Encounters* or ‘international’ such as *Nacht der internationalen Kirchenchöre / Night of the international Church choirs*; while others were focused on presenting the culture of a particular national group such as ‘Scottish Dancing’, ‘Discover Nepal’, ‘Jambo Afrika’, ‘Afrikanische Nacht’.

The second category of events falls under the title *Gesellschaft- Arbeit – Politik / Society – Work – Politics*. There are sixteen events listed in this section which took place across the three week period. In this category there were some examples of arts-based initiatives such as film screenings and theatrical events, but in general most were discussion based or incorporated discussion on specific issues which affect people’s interactions and integration into society, work and politics in Frankfurt and more generally in Germany as a host country to migrants. Knowledge and story sharing was encouraged through events such as “*Geschichten aus der neuen Deutschen Gesellschaft*”/ “*Stories from the new German Society*” and “*Von Gastarbeitern zu Ehrenbürgern- 50 Jahre Marokkanische Migration in Deutschland*” / *From Guest Workers to Honorary Citizens – 50 years of Moroccan migration in Germany*”. This category of events also included advice and training sessions on topics such as, “*Chancen Weltweit*”/ “*Opportunities Worldwide*” which focused on particular opportunities outside of Germany such as work placements and

study abroad programmes, as well as a session which presented the German school system in comparison to the school systems of other countries.

The third section of the programme is dedicated to *Religionen in Frankfurt / Religions in Frankfurt* which included fifteen separate events. Six of these were interreligious events based on discussions and religious services which aimed to bring people of different religious backgrounds into dialogue on a range of issues including different religious festivals, worshipping practices and figures of worship. Of the remaining events six offered glimpses into the Muslim faith with Mosque tours, discussion events and invitations to Friday prayer. These were divided between two Mosque communities who took part. There were also single events which offered the opportunity to explore the Sikh, Buddhist and Hindu religions with tours, information and discussions. Three of the events specifically focused on women in religion and feminist perspectives, which were not explored in other categories.

The final section outlined events for children, parents and families. There were 34 events in this section and a large majority were as part of a series which took place during the IKW and explored the idea of "*Viele Sprachen – Viele Bücher*" / "*Many Languages – Many Books*", through bilingual reading sessions. There were 18 of these sessions across the course of the IKW which included German-English, German-Russian, German-Spanish, German-Turkish and German-Arabic readings of children's books in public libraries and bookshops across the city. The remaining events included family fun days, cooking courses and discussion opportunities for parents on the challenges of multilingualism and intercultural upbringing as well as theatrical performances of fairy tales in multiple languages for children.

The following examples address different kinds of event and how they function both as reflections of how organisations engage with the concerns of the IKW as well as part of a wider evaluation of the role of festivals as local initiatives which tackle questions of diversity in the city. These are discussed in conjunction with feedback from the event alongside a commentary of how the work of AmkA and the question of symbolic politics can be addressed in the context of these events.

i. „Von Gastarbeitern zu Ehrenbürgern – 50 Jahre Marokkanische Migration in Deutschland” Presentation, Discussion and Photo Exhibition.

The event took place at the *Islamische Informations- und Serviceleistungen (IIS) / Islamic Information Service Centre* which is a German speaking Islamic centre founded in Frankfurt in 1995. It was the first and still one of only a few Mosques which operates entirely in German and is also a unique example of a Mosque community, which also seeks specifically to engage and inform the non-Muslim community in Frankfurt. This is part of a wider initiative to promote intercultural and interreligious dialogue, while actively seeking to tackle and deconstruct prejudices and misunderstandings about the Islamic religion through their openness and transparency.

The event had three different elements to demonstrate the transition of Moroccan guest workers into their new status as honorary citizens over the past 50 years. The first element was an exhibition of photos from families who are members of the IIS Mosque community. There was then a presentation by emeritus Professor Stefan Gaitanides from the Institut für Migrationsstudien und interkulturelle Kommunikation in Frankfurt, which outlined the phases and history of labour migration as well as the realities of guest worker life in Germany. Finally there was a discussion during which invited members of the community, including an ex-guest worker and children from guest worker families, were invited to tell their stories and were asked questions by the public. This event for the IKW was one of five events put on by the IIS but was published under the category *Gesellschaft – Arbeit – Politik / Society – Work – Politics* rather than its other four events which were categorised under ‘Religion’. It also took place in a separate room underneath the main Mosque which reflected the fact that this programme approached aspects of guest worker integration that were not focused on religious practice but showed another dimension of the kind of work the IIS is doing in Frankfurt. There were around twenty people who attended, many of whom were members of the Mosque community as well as a representative from AmkA and a number of interested members of the public.

The photo exhibition was set up at the back of the room. The photos had mostly been donated by one family and included mainly guest worker portraits as well as an example

of a newspaper article about the guest workers in Frankfurt which featured a family member. The pictures demonstrated the living and working conditions for those who came to work in Germany. These images were then reinforced in a presentation by Professor Gaitanides, in which he described his personal experiences as a student with a Greek name and beginner's level Greek language skills, during the time of the guest worker recruitment. Through the use of striking images, personal anecdotes and established social science models, he outlined the guest worker experience from departure from the home country, through to the arrival and initial period of adjustment, to their working life and then to their decision to return or to remain.

Language acquisition was highlighted as a significant issue during this time. With his Greek skills some companies asked the Professor, who was a student at the time, to act as an interpreter. This was to enable employers to understand what was being discussed by the workers, rather than as a way of facilitating dialogue between the employers and employees. There were some basic German courses but these were limited and usually part of an orientation programme in the factories and work places. The newly arriving workers needed to be able to understand basic signs and machine instructions for safety reasons, as well as the commands of their employers.

The detailed account of the challenges and experiences of guest workers were crystallised during this event through the personal account of the Professor and the participants of the final discussion of the event. Three young men who were the children of guest workers, together with one of the first Moroccan guest workers to arrive in Frankfurt and his daughter offered personal and emotionally driven experiences of their lives and their transition from 'guest' to 'honorary citizen' status. Different elements were reflected in the accounts of the participants:

The family have always had German friends and helpful German neighbours and they both thanked the people of Germany for the opportunities they have had and their consistently open and welcoming nature. They understood that they were lucky. They know other people have had difficulties and that there still exist prejudices and examples of discrimination. However in their own personal experience they really feel like they have been given the chance to succeed in Germany in the same way as anyone else. It has required determination and focus on the importance of language and education but they have benefitted greatly from that.

Field notes 3 (12/11/13)

As one of the first fifty-two guest workers from Morocco in 1970, the gentleman provided an account of his arrival and working-life. He then described the process of family reunion which took ten years to complete, before starting his life with his family in Frankfurt where he has lived and worked until retirement. In spite of difficult living and working conditions and family separation for long periods, there was a sense of gratitude which stood out above all of the struggles. The guest worker and his daughter felt privileged to have been given the opportunity to succeed in their own lives in Germany and also to provide futures for their children.

The three young men who were also from the community discussed their fathers' memories and stories of the guest worker time. They told the audience how accurate Prof. Gaitanides was in his explanations, from the pictures they had seen and the stories they had heard from their fathers.

Talking about their own childhoods they reflected on many difficulties they had experienced as children of guest workers. All had lived as a family in a single-room for many years. There were also challenges of the school system and language acquisition to contend with. Another difficulty is the conflict between generations which arise as a result of the parents and children being brought up and living in different situations and having different priorities. They presented the very real difficulties of cultural differences faced by the children of guest workers attempting to integrate into German society but also practising the religions and customs of the 'home' country.

Field notes 3 (12/11/13)

These were not presented as negative experiences but as an exemplification of a particular set of circumstances that is common for guest workers and their families who have settled in Germany. These circumstances are acknowledged in Frankfurt in many ways, both directly through the Mosque community at the IIS, but also in the wider initiatives such as integration and language courses provided by the local state. Further assistance is provided through information and advisory services in a variety of languages for adults and specifically parents who require help to orientate themselves in the city institutions, as well as through events such as the IKW, which encourage intercultural dialogue.

A key agenda of this research revolves around the extent to which there is something particular about approaches to diversity in Frankfurt. Although AmkA was not directly involved in this , the IIS and AmkA have a well-developed relationship. During the research period I visited the Mosque here on three separate occasions for events such as this one for the IKW as well as a *Freitagsgebet / Friday Prayer* and as part of the Tag der Offene Moschee discussed later in this chapter. From my experience at this event and the others I attended I would suggest that the operational framework of the IIS, which actively seeks interaction with the wider community in Frankfurt as well as with other organisations and the city administration through wide-reaching events, can be seen as a novel approach to interreligious and intercultural dialogue and interaction and an example of how networked diversity can be operationalised.

The event itself was revealing in a number of ways and contributed to an enhanced understanding of the guest worker situation and for the second and third generation migrants living in Germany. Although the event focused on one particular group of guest workers it traced their transitional development into honorary citizens through their experiences in Frankfurt. While the group that shared their experiences with positive reflections of their time in Germany, and demonstrated linguistic and academic successes, it is also important to acknowledge that other groups and individuals may not have had the same experiences and opportunities. In addition, although the idea of ‘honorary’ citizen is expressed as a positive term, it masks the reality of the fact that many migrants lack the usual rights afforded to citizens. Taken as a positive symbol ‘honorary citizen’ can be seen as recognition of a particular set of achievements and an assertion of their position as citizens of Frankfurt. At the same time the success of the individuals who attended the event and the sense of prestige of being honorary citizens may mask a different set of realities that are more challenging.

ii. Film screening and discussion - ‘Heimatträume’ / Dreams of Home

The screening of the film ‘Heimatträume’ (Delalic, Stadler and Methling 2009) took place at the Bockenheimer Campus of the Goethe University. The documentary film

shows a passage through the city of where film makers follow the personal trajectories of female migrants of different generations. During the film the women interviewed trace their memories of their official place of birth and discuss the day to day realities of living as a migrant in the Main region.

In the interviews within the documentary the women speak frankly about their experiences, their feelings about their home country and Germany and their decision making processes when it comes to deciding whether or not to stay in Germany. For many of the women in the film, they have now been residents of the guest country and spent more of their lives and memorable years in Frankfurt than in their own 'home'. Others described the feeling of returning 'home' to their country of origin and explain that they felt as much of a stranger there as they did in Frankfurt. One of the women explained the challenges of this and felt that it was better to feel like a stranger in a foreign land, than to feel like a stranger in your own home as she experienced when she went back.

After the screening there was a question and answer session with the film maker and also some of the film participants. An audience member questioned the validity of the film and the extent to which it was a true reflection of the situation for migrants in Frankfurt. As in the previous example at the IIS events where the participants were well established academically and/or in the labour market with fluency in the Germany language, all of the women here seemed well integrated. In the film nearly all of them spoke German well, many had jobs in German businesses and they also had a well-established friendship group. This may project a particular version of a reality that shows the success of women in their integration but may not be widely applicable.

As in the previous example there was no direct involvement of AmkA in this particular event. The film focused on the wider Main Metropolitan region which extends beyond Frankfurt. Nonetheless it reveals another dimension of the way that migrants achieve success and come to view host countries as their new 'home' as a result of structured initiatives and commitments to integration and language courses

for migrants in the region which bring groups of people together through active networking processes.

iii. AmkA Annual Meeting of migrant associations

Another event example is the ‘First Annual Meeting of the Frankfurt Migrant Associations’. The aim of this inaugural event of AmkA was to act as a starting point for developing better networks and increasing cooperation of the city administration with the clubs and associations in the city. Set against the backdrop of the IKW (although not an event of the IKW) this standalone meeting involved over 160 participants from more than 80 migrant associations working in Frankfurt. The venue was a hotel complex on the edge of the city centre which provided a large reception area and a large room for the main event.

As the first event of its kind it was experimental in its approach and divided into three main sections. It started with presentations given by the Head of the Department for Integration and the Head of AmkA who outlined the aim of the event and how they intended to take action from the issues raised during the evening:

We have a broader range of understanding: people do not only define themselves by their origin. The intersection of migrant associations and other associations are larger. Multiculturalism is therefore not only promoting cultures of origin but communication and interaction.

Eskandari –Grünberg (in Stadt Frankfurt 2013d)

The idea of intersection and interaction were key messages of the event. Although the ongoing support of AmkA was reinforced through the announcement that there would be a new staff member dedicated to working with clubs and associations, there was a clear orientation towards the importance and potential of associations working together in city districts, as well as a call for them to explore creative ways to achieve more in the city (Ungern-Sternberg in Stadt Frankfurt 2013d).

Following the initial presentations and a brief introduction by each AmkA team member the second part of the event continued with a series of ‘breakout sessions’. Using flipcharts located at different tables, AmkA team members facilitated conversations between participants on different issues including: the work of clubs

and associations, promotion of clubs and associations and networking and cooperation with the district cultural institutions. I observed the conversations at two of the tables:

At both tables the main topic of conversation was about finding rooms and spaces in the city that were affordable, with good availability and of suitable size. Many people were frustrated that their hard work had paid off and they have established themselves as clubs, but now they were facing the problem of not being able to progress, to get any bigger, to help any more people... Although this was a recurring problem, already at the tables people were starting to talk to each other and realise that they perhaps needed to look closer to home than to AmkA for support with this. One group that hires a room on a Tuesday offers to put someone else in touch with the owner as his initiative runs on a Friday. They are practically neighbours in the same district of the city but they just don't know each other exist or where to start looking for support when AmkA can't help them directly.

Field notes 3 (31/10/13)

As well as networking between themselves, the participants were encouraged to engage with the new *Vielfalt bewegt Frankfurt* website (see chapter six). The website which allows the groups to upload their details to an interactive map would allow them to see other clubs and associations in the area and have a better understanding of how they might be able to cooperate with each other. In the final section of the event people were given the opportunity to talk to each other, to find out more about the website and upload their club information and to meet with AmkA employees positioned around the room.

Attending this event was a unique opportunity to understand how AmkA develops new ways of interacting with a wide range of local stakeholders with whom it has existing relationships, but with varying levels of interaction. Although it was the first official meeting of such a large group of associations the event was a success with many of the participants leaving with new ideas and contacts. Although some might consider this as a tokenistic response to migrant groups, I believe that the structure and content of this event, which incorporated a significant commitment to 'listening' through the table conversations, demonstrated a commitment to understanding ground-level processes and challenges and valuing the work of these organisations in the city. It also demonstrates the institutional commitment to interactive, two-way

communications rather than adopting a strategy led by purely symbolic action and through the promotion of symbolic events.

iv. Podiumsdiscussion – Frankfurt: Offen, Tolerant, Solidarisch!

Another event which reflected a number of issues related to symbolic politics was a podium discussion between the Head of the Department of Integration, the Head of the KAV as well as members of two trade associations who were also organising partners – the AWO and the DGB. The main aim of the event was to discuss the implications of the motto of the 2013 event: *Frankfurt: Offen, Tolerant, Solidarisch!* / *Frankfurt Open, Tolerant, In Solidarity*. Actively addressing the tagline of the event and what it is supposed to demonstrate provided an example of how the inclusion of a motto can be more than just a symbol for the event but a point of discussion about the wider implication for policy and for intercultural understanding in Frankfurt.

The Head of the Department of Integration outlined the importance of a motto as an overview and mission statement for the event. Approaching the content of the motto she tried to take it away from a place of abstraction and firmly placed it within the day to day considerations of everyone in the city and how it shapes their daily lives. There are so many different lifestyles, religions, cultures etc. playing out in the city. She pointed out that the City Administration can be seen as distanced. It is not seeing what is happening on the street and so the future needs to be based on finding structures and means of making the best situation which involves not only being open but on breaking down complex challenges into usable city structures.

Field notes 3 (30/10/13)

This idea of removing the abstract, metaphorical ideas and refocusing on a day to day consciousness shows an emphasis on opening out the complex ideas embroiled in words and mottos in this way. At the same time, mottos and symbols which provide an ‘overview’ are considered useful tools for conveying information in a condensed and clear way. As well as a word-level discussion, there is also an orientation towards an approach to diversity here, which reduces the complexity of political messages and instead focuses on developing robust structures that enable and improve the situation for Frankfurt citizens. This recognises that the work that needs to be done is on a day-to-day level and requires policy solutions which directly address challenges. Although this goes beyond a symbolic politics approach, there

are still those who are critical of the way AmkA operates. During the event the Head of the KAV, Enis Gülegen took a more provocative approach to the motto.

How can we verify whether Frankfurt is open, tolerant and in solidarity? With the current and increasing problem of high rental rates in the city which are always hitting migrants hard. Migrants always live on the 6th floor (or above). The job market sees an under-representation of migrants and this is reflected equally in the lack of migrants in the city administration. And 90% of street cleaners and bin men are of migrant origin, what is that telling us? And what about the fact that 25% of the Frankfurt population have absolutely no right to vote?

Gülegen in Field notes 3 (30/10/13, Author's Translation)

The two sides demonstrated here show both the opportunity to unpack mottos as symbols of positive messages, but also an argument that such positive language and focus is concealing other realities. These offer two sides of an omnipresent dialogue taking place in many areas which link with the symbolic politics approach put forward in the earlier part of this chapter. On the one hand the motto is a symbol which condenses the positive aspects of diversity and integration in the city, but at the same time there is an accusation that it avoids the inherent challenges that come about as a result of this positive projection.

9.4.3 Reflections on the Frankfurter Interkulturelle Wochen as a symbolic event

Evaluating the success of an event is difficult. Using a combination of estimated attendance figures, an important part of the process of the IKW is a feedback process in which event organisers and participants are invited to give details of how successful their events were and how they could be improved. This gives the organisers an opportunity to address feedback and to reflect on ways that they can improve the administration of the event.

There were two main questions raised by the organisers. One was whether the three week model works. The other was on the need for more focused attention on the motto in order to make progress in the areas set out. This is difficult because the motto is purposely broad to allow for wide participation but also means that people do not try to engage with the subject matter. Instead some members think that it is just an opportunity for organisations to promote themselves rather than engage.

Field notes 3 (26/11/13)

Much of the feedback from organisers of individual events is simply that not enough people attend or that they don't know how many people to expect. This is challenging from the point of view that the organisations struggle to prepare for visitors. It is also disheartening for many smaller organisations that may spend months preparing for a performance or event, only to find that a handful of people turn up. This is also why it is difficult to enforce that people stick to the motto. As one member of the organising committee explained:

Well yes some of the organisations are just doing their normal activities and just opening their doors to more people for one of the days. But then if we want them to come up with new and exciting things that are fully engaged with our expectations they need some kind of assurance that their efforts are not wasted. There needs to be a balance to make sure people are not wasting their time. Or we need to accept fewer events into the calendar. Maybe the time has come to make people pitch their event and how it links with the motto and then we just support fewer events rather than this wide reaching model we have now.

Interviewee J (26/11/13, Author's Translation)

As well as concerns about the number of people attending events and the content of them, there is also a question of how the organising committee distributes resources. As part of this year's event there were a few 'lighthouse' events. At these events the organising committee either took on the role of facilitator of the event or had an existing role in its organisation. From the feedback received these events were extremely well attended and enjoyed by participants, but there was also some criticism which appeared in the official feedback forms from the event. The criticism was usually from organisations whose events were scheduled at the same time as these events and felt that there was competition between them. In this scenario some groups felt that people would be inclined to attend the more 'high profile' events than smaller-scale initiatives. Where members of high profile institutions are seen to be supporting one initiative over another, it may symbolise that one event or organisation is considered more important than another. By refocusing the programme on fewer events over a shorter period it should be possible to capture more focused interest in the aims of the event rather than it being considered as a promotional tool or measure of popularity for organisations.

A final problem of the IKW is that events are not centrally located. They require residents to actively seek out the locations and events. This brings about questions of scale and the way in which events are administered. Although comprised of a range of initiatives around the city, the IKW is one of the highest profile events in a busy calendar of intercultural events in Frankfurt. Its feedback process is an important part of the analysis and improvement of the event which is not found in other events. This commitment to understanding and improving can be seen as a way of moving beyond symbolic action, towards attempts to consistently improve the way that these initiatives function in Frankfurt.

Another nationwide initiative which has been adopted into the Frankfurt calendar is the *Tag der Offenen Moschee / Mosque Open Day*. This annual one-day event is supported and coordinated by AmkA but on a smaller scale.

9.5 Tag der Offenen Moschee – October 2013

The *Tag der Offenen Moschee / Mosque Open Day* is a nationwide initiative in Germany which has been running since 1997. In 2014 it was thought that more around 1000 Mosques took part, offering tours and presentations about their Mosque communities and activities with more than 100,000 visitors across the country (KRM 2014). At a time where there are concerns about the image of Islam in Germany, the ‘Mosque Open Day’ is an important way to break down prejudices and offer transparency (Glitz WDR Tagesschau 2014). The Koordinationsrat der Muslime (KRM) which is the coordinating umbrella organisation for Muslims in Germany describes it as an opportunity to “see Islam and Muslims in a new light” (KRM 2014: 8. Author’s Translation). The initiative started in Cologne and takes place every year on the 3rd October.

The 3rd October was chosen because it is a bank holiday in Germany. It marks the reunification of the country. This is a significant day for two reasons – one because it means that people have a day off so they might be more likely to think about visiting a Mosque. It also has another symbolic importance which is also linked with the idea of unification. It sends a message that Muslims and Islam are part of the unified Germany.

Interviewee K (October 2013, Author’s Translation)

During my internship at AmkA in 2012 I had the task of sending invitations to different Mosques in the city, asking them if they wanted to participate in the Tag der Offenen Moschee. Invitations are sent each year to around 50 Mosque communities. The community then responds to AmkA who put together a programme and this is published online. AmkA also coordinate with the local press to advertise the fact that the event is happening and publicise a website link to the programme. In 2012 there were 17 participating Mosques.

I was fortunate to attend the 2013 *Tag der Offenen Moschee* in person with two colleagues from AmkA office. Twelve Mosques were participating in the 2013 event and we visited four different Mosques. My own impressions, along with those of my colleagues and the official coordinating bodies can offer some important reflections regarding possible symbolism and the question of festivalising cultural practices.

Each Mosque sets its own agenda for the day and this varied greatly from simple tours of the Mosque to a full programme of food and entertainment. As well as being an opportunity to meet members of the different communities, there was also an opportunity for more substantial discussions. For example at the first Mosque we visited I recorded the following discussion in my field notes:

We were encouraged to split up from the people we came with at the tables and then a few girls from the Mosque came and sat at each table. There were some younger girls at my table and they were so happy and confident to talk about their community, about the activities that they do. When asked about the *Tag der Offenen Moschee* they were really positive about its impact. One girl said that negative media coverage makes days like this extra important. They need others to understand that they are worried about extremism and their religion, which has been tarnished by the acts of others, is actually very special and peaceful. She also said that she would be interested in exploring other religions and other religious buildings but it is hard to find the confidence to enter another place when you don't know the customs. That's why these kinds of open-door events are so important to learn more.

Field notes 3 (3/10/2013)

The *Tag der Offenen Moschee* is an opportunity to reassert trust between Muslims and non-Muslims at a time where Islam is increasingly being seen as an aggressive and threatening (Frankfurter Neue Presse 2014). Although the event is seen as a good

opportunity to learn about Islam, the Zentralrats der Muslime in Deutschland (ZMD) / Central Council for Muslims in Germany has also acknowledged that this day alone is not sufficient to challenge perceptions. Although it sets the tone for contact between neighbours and interested parties, there needs to be more action for this to translate into meaningful action and ongoing cooperation (ZMD: 2007). Although opening the doors to Mosques is a vital step in increasing understanding, there is a further challenge of convincing the general public to participate in an initiative. This was also evident in the case of organising other interreligious opportunities through AmkA:

On the way to the next Mosque we talked about what AmkA could do to encourage more interreligious opportunities. For example arranging a trip for the youth groups at this Mosque to a Church or Synagogue or something. My colleague said that they had tried to organise things before but usually they got cancelled due to lack of participation. It seems a shame but when things take a lot of effort and organisation like that and are not centrally organised it is harder to administer.

Field notes 3 (03/10/13)

The effort required for organising events and decisions about which events should be supported are also important to consider. With limited financial and human resources, attention and support cannot be easily distributed amongst all of the initiatives taking place in the city. From this point of view larger events such as parades and festivals might be seen as more important and also easier to organise due to their mass-engagement, higher profile and central location. The ability for AmkA to divide its attention between these different kinds of events is an important factor for its success and increased outreach across the city. Smaller-scale, yet nationally recognised events like the *Tag der Offenen Moschee* are high profile examples which affect how AmkA is perceived to be dealing with religious diversity in the city and building supportive networks and methods of transmission through sustained institutional engagement.

Perceptions were a recurring theme of the day and another important dimension of many intercultural events. These were dealt with directly through presentations and conversations. As well as these notes from my field diary on the *Tag der Offenen*

Moschee, I also provide an example from an interview with a member of the Sikh community in Frankfurt who described how people often response to religious difference without having full understanding:

When we left we each received a small gift of some mint tea in a cup with a German translation of a quote by William Blake “In the universe, there are things that are known, and things that are unknown, and in between, there are doors”. At the end of the earlier presentation this quote had been used and it was a really good refrain for the overall ethos and aim of the day.

Field notes 3 (03/10/13)

During the discussion at the second Mosque one of the other visitors asked some challenging questions about the highly publicised cases of the oppression of women. The community member was really concerned that there were no women from the community there because he felt like they were giving the wrong impression of a male dominated religion. He didn’t want us to perceive it in that way. It just happened that way that no women were there.

Field notes 3 (03/10/13)

There is an image problem for Muslims, but this causes problems for Sikh’s because people assume we are the same. I can’t really explain why but when something bad happens in the world there is often some kind of backlash. I understand there are visible features of our religion but they are not the same as Islam. I suppose it’s just a visible difference and so people read into that.

Interviewee F (November 2013, Author’s Translation)

These three short extracts from my notes address different aspects of the way that perceptions are developed. In the first example which uses a literary reference to suggest that concerns about the unknown need not be a problem. It highlights how events like this which involve the physical as well as symbolic ‘opening of doors’ to Mosques or to other unknowns are the best way to challenge and overcome any possible difficulties. This differs from the second short commentary which focuses on a particular example of the way that perceptions of women in Islam are considered by outsiders. With highly publicised cases of ‘honour killing’ and oppression of Muslim women in Germany, female perspectives are an important dimension of dispelling myths and increasing understanding. This links with the final example where religious practices such as items of dress or customs that are

considered as incompatible in mainstream society are seen as symbols of difference and can lead to misunderstandings. The significance of these observations lies in the wider considerations of events being seen as examples of symbolic politics. As the *Tag der Offenen Moschee* itself seeks to tackle directly the prejudices and misunderstandings that people have of Islam, through the examples here it is evident that misperceptions and concerns can be raised more easily through these intimate interactions. This in many ways allows for a more direct response to issues that are of concern to populations outside of the Mosque communities.

Although the first Mosques we visited had fully embraced the aims of the day, the third Mosque stands out as an example of a community who are working consistently to change perceptions of Islam and to increase understanding of the religion in Frankfurt. I reflect on this towards the end of my research diary after visiting multiple times:

IIS is a different kind of Mosque to any others I've been to during my time here. I have been there three times now for different events: for Friday prayer, for the *Tag der Offenen Moschee* and now for this event for the *Interkulturelle Wochen*. It challenges perceptions about Islam. I've really experienced this on a personal level. It feels so open, so diverse. The diversity of ages and backgrounds, the fact that everything is in German makes it easier to understand. I don't feel uncomfortable here as I do elsewhere. Of course I am an outsider and I stand out but it feels different. It is like they are more used to visitors, which makes me feel more comfortable. They have good community links and so there are fewer challenges because of good external relations.

Field notes 3 (12/11/13)

Frankfurt also has a problem with conflict over the construction of new Mosques in the city. This has an ongoing problem and is the reason why many buildings which are not necessarily fit for purpose or constructed in a traditional way. Instead it is often that case that old factory buildings or warehouses are taken over by Muslim communities to provide ad-hoc solutions. The visibility of Mosque's in the city was picked up very early on in the research during a visit to Friday prayer in the city on my first day at AmkA office as well as in my notes of the *Tag der Offenen Moschee*:

As we walk down a busy street in the Bahnhof district of the city, my colleague points out 'Mosques' on the way. I am surprised. They are so inconspicuous, just

rooms above buildings in the busy street. She explains that many of them are just prayer rooms and get very overcrowded but there are difficulties with finding spaces and building new buildings in the City.

Field notes 1 (01/06/12)

The final Mosque we went to was the most impressive. They had a long established community and this one really 'looked like a Mosque' inside and out. It was completely purpose built and decorated to perfection. The others had all of the features and symbols you would associate with a Mosque like separate entrances for males and females, prayer mats, the qu'ran -but they seemed more like improvised, ad-hoc solutions to house particular Muslim communities and the locations are always really out of the way. There are always a number of connections on the train or a bus and a long walk. This one really feels well established, like it was meant to be a Mosque, not just a warehouse that now gets used as one.

Field notes 3 (03/10/13)

My experiences of the *Tag der Offenen Moschee* were very positive and in line with the aims suggested by the various Muslim councils of Germany, including the ZMD and KRM. I would also agree that this is just one dimension which could aid a change in perception of Muslims in Germany and should be part of a broader focus on strategies for integration and greater networking with religious groups. The symbolic significance of the 3rd October as the date of this event is also extremely evident. At each of the Mosques visited reference was made to the pertinence of the day and the symbols associated with German unification, not only in a geographical sense but also in the unification of people across the country.

The *Tag der Offenen Moschee*, like the *Interkulturelle Wochen* is an interesting case of an intercultural event which is also recognised nationally. Despite this profile, they require a focused strategy to encourage members of the public to actively seek out locations across the city in order to take part in these events, rather than taking place in the city centre.

9.6 Integrationspreisverleihung 2013

The Integration Prize Giving is an annual event which recognises commitment to diversity and integration in Frankfurt (Stadt Frankfurt 2013c). The prize money of

15,000 Euros is divided between associations, organisations and individuals who and are selected by a jury. Since the beginning of the integration prize giving ceremony in 2002 the money has always been divided between three organisations.

The criteria for the award of the Integration Prize are detailed in the *Magistrats-Beschluss / Municipal Decision* article no. 663 from 06.06.2008. The preamble to the criteria focuses upon the characterisation of Frankfurt as a diverse city, not just in the context of origins but also diversity of experiences:

The idea of civil society and the openness to other cultures have always featured among the citizens City of Frankfurt am Main. The magistrate and the municipal bodies are working together with organizations and associations within the scope of integration, which requires further civic engagement. So the promotion of multicultural societies and working in the area of integration organizations plays a crucial role.

Article no. 663 (2008 Author's Translation)

Set against the backdrop of actively engaging with the diversity of the city, the Integration Prize is awarded “in recognition and appreciation of the commitment of individuals and innovative projects” (Article no. 663: para. 1). The prize can be divided between several different winners with acknowledgment and certificates given to those who did not win the prize money in recognition of their achievements (Award Criteria 2008). The jury of elected individuals from the municipal government, the KAV and of three migrant organisations are responsible for selecting the winning initiatives which: “whatever their origin, language or cultural background and way of life have rendered outstanding services in everyday life allowing for the integration and equality of all citizens of Frankfurt, and for a mutual recognition of cultures to occur” (Article no. 663 2008: para.1).

Whilst the positive messages of the Integration Prize suggest that the Frankfurt approach to diversity is working, one of the most public accusations of symbolic politics that I observed during the research period was at the integration prize giving ceremony of 2013. In my research diary I made the following entry:

When we arrived there was a group dancing right outside the venue. At first it looked like they were part of the event as a Romany Association was one of this years' prize winners and there were lots of people gathered around. The group girls danced for a while and then a man with a microphone made a speech. He was happy and said that it was positive that this group had won recognition for its work; however Stadt Frankfurt cannot just give a prize to a Romany group and expect the problems facing Romany people to go away. He continued that if there are problems under the surface then you cannot just give someone a trophy and some money to cover it up. There were colleagues around and lots of members of the public and many were in support of what he was saying.

Field notes 3 (26/11/13)

In what Best (2008) refers to as 'Prize Proliferation', there has been an evident trend in recent decades of an increasing number of awards and prizes distributed by a range of social sectors. Awards themselves are symbols of particular achievements, but also symbols of a wider process of identifying and judging who the award is presented to. I draw on this argument of prize proliferation, not suggesting that prize giving is inappropriate, but to indicate how the giving of prizes might be seen as another means of legitimising the actions of those working in the field of integration and diversity in Frankfurt. "Prizes also make claims of legitimacy outside the social world" (Best 2008: 15). As a projection of a success story of the wider 'Frankfurt model', prize giving is another way to gather publicity and to affirm the positive influence of AmkA and its relationships with organisations in the city. This does not come without counterclaims or critique, as demonstrated in the field notes observation above.

Klapp (1991) refers to a process of "symbolic inflation" which in turn leads to loss of values. Applied to the case in question, the idea of symbolic inflation suggests an overstatement of the achievements of the winning Romany organisation, with the ongoing precarious situation for other Romany people in Frankfurt. This is another example of the ability for conflicting positive and negative symbols to converge at the same point leading to ongoing considerations of the complexity of political negotiations with difference and diversity. At the heart of each of these considerations is the role of decision-making institutions and the extent to which

these engage in symbolic politics. This is discussed in the next and final section of the chapter.

9.7 AmkA – an institution engaging in symbolic politics

The political decision taken to found AmkA and Department for Integration was borne out of a desire to facilitate Germans and non-Germans living together in Frankfurt. With the formation of institutional bodies to address the political issues of integration and migrant relations, AmkA and the Department for Integration exist as an enduring reminder of the city's political response to its high concentration of migrants. Despite this endurance, both AmkA and the Department for Integration have been characterised as inessential with critiques suggesting that it is a department engaging in symbolic politics.

Lenhart (1992) suggests that “AmkA engages in merely “symbolic politics” (in Friedmann and Lehrer 1997: 72) Friedmann and Lehrer (1997) offer contrasting reflections on this point:

This way of describing AmkA's work is, of course, largely true, given the legislative constraints on national citizenship and the diminutive budgetary allocations...A symbolic politics aimed at creating a multicultural city in which people can live peacefully with each other at close range therefore seems an entirely appropriate response. At the same time it must be admitted that there are social and material problems affecting migrant communities which do not yield to “symbolic” treatment and require a more direct response.

Friedmann and Lehrer (1997: 72)

The tone of this response is evident in other critiques, for example Hennig (1997) suggests that too much stress is put on communication and mediation in AmkA's work whilst other difficulties such as labour market access or socio-spatial segregation are not considered. At the same time the idea that this response is ‘appropriate’ for the situation acknowledges a certain value in this kind of approach as long as other challenges are identified and a more direct response is seen. During the fieldwork, examples of direct responses by AmkA were described by colleagues and members of different organisations who had direct experience with the Office.

Many of these responses were positive but there were also cases where there was an observed lack of action:

One example that I always use is a situation in the city district X. When the planning permission for a new Mosque went through there was outrage and we had to respond quickly. There was a public meeting in the district. AmkA were there to mediate the discussion and this was acknowledged as clear action and interest from the administration by the local residents. They knew it was being taken seriously. A conversation was started between people who misunderstood each other. They had lived next door to each other for ten years and knew nothing about their neighbours. We had to start this process because tensions were rising. After this things were different and conflict didn't escalate any further. It's just one example but I think it does show the impact of communication and how making intercultural dialogue a reality can actually help.

Interviewee M, (July 2012, Author's Translation)

To me it seems AmkA has taken the first steps but it lacks the ability to go any further. There doesn't seem to be anyone there with a clear overview. That's just my personal opinion but any interaction I've had with them it is almost impossible to get an answer or to actually speak to someone who has a solution to the kind of problems I have here. They are definitely in the public eye and you can see them there talking about broad issues like Islam and Mosque building. But they are not the only challenges for Frankfurt and not the only examples of diversity.

Interviewee H, (21/11/2013, Author's Translation)

These two examples approach distinct forms of communicative politics. The first example prioritises dialogue as a key component in establishing grounds for communication whereas the second example underlines an approach which prioritises symbolism and a sense that there is a focus and performance on controversial issues. Both of these also emphasise differences in the way that AmkA responds to challenges, through a proliferation of contact building and network development, which works in different ways at different times. In the case of the Mosque conflict in example one there was a pressing need for mediation and AmkA was able to attend to the scene and start a dialogue which calmed the situation. In the case of the second example the lack of 'straight answer' indicates that AmkA may prioritise cases based on their profile, or that it may lack the expertise or resource to deal with all enquiries.

Following the discussion of the relationship between AmkA and the KAV in chapter five, Klopp (1998) describes a further “curious situation” (1998: 46) which sees AmkA as the executive office responsible for multicultural affairs combined with the KAV as a separate and unequal legislative body to represent foreign residents. Here “Frankfurt’s population is nominally represented by a symbolic and rather ineffective parliament, but is served in practical ways primarily by unelected officials in a bureaucratic office of the city administration” (1998: 46). In Klopp’s own research in which he attended a plenary session of the KAV he outlines the self-awareness that the members have of the inefficacy of their institution. However, he quotes the then president of the Foreigners Parliament (Grigorios Zarcadas), who praises AmkA for its work and “respects the positive symbolic value regarding “foreigner policy” that the establishment of AmkA has produced...nevertheless he views the administration of AmkA as sometimes a “state within a state” (Klopp 1998: 59). This brings about a particular tension between AmkA and the KAV where AmkA might be seen to limit its powers. Klopp also refers to another interview with a member of the KAV who views the decision to establish a foreigner’s council as: “an implicit political strategy by the parties to “save face” (interview with Dr Bahman Nirumand in Klopp 1998: 59). The establishment of the KAV has also been viewed as a “token effort” to appease politically active “foreigners” (Klopp 1998). Klopp concludes that AmkA plays a significant role in the “quasi-objective representation of “foreigners’ interests” (broadly defined as equality and antidiscrimination)” (1998: 60).

In spite of challenges these institutions have remained a feature of the local political landscape of Frankfurt for more than two decades. During this time enduring criticism, changes in party leadership and shifts in political agenda have brought their role into question but have not resulted in the closing down of the Department or Office. It is apparent that once institutional recognition had been gained in Frankfurt it proved very difficult for it to be retracted (Cohn-Bendit 2009). As one interviewee explained to me during the research:

Closing down an office that deals with these issues - it would be a big statement by any government. It might look like they are turning their back on the very real issues that affect migrants but also Germans. It would create a lot of negative publicity. Instead if they just leave it there, running as it always has then there is no problem.

Immigration and integration don't have to be the main policy focus if they just leave AmkA as it is. It doesn't demand a lot of their attention.

Interviewee N (November 2013, Author's Translation)

Although AmkA is criticised for having limited influence and for engaging in symbolic politics, it would also be 'symbolically' difficult to close it down. It has significant force which arises simply through existing and continuing to exist. The quotation above demonstrates elements of this, suggesting that it could cause reputational damage to the city and particularly the incumbent political administration. From this point of view it is clear that factors of immigration are considered pertinent and that they should remain on the agenda. What is problematic is understanding the extent to which issues are being critically addressed and whether it is possible to measure how effective the institution might be. Nonetheless with the rising publicity of the negative effects of diversity, the presence of a dedicated municipal office with the resources and experience to confront arising issues are a comforting symbol for residents:

If you think about the presence of police officers on the street. It doesn't mean that there aren't any problems, that there is no crime. But then there is a comfort in knowing that there are people there, that there is something there to call on if you need to. I feel like AmkA works in that way. Discrimination for example. It's not like you are discriminated against every day but in the event that something happens there is somewhere to report it.

Interviewee N (November 2013, Author's Translation)

This quotation describes a situation where an institution symbolises a particular set of values and practices. Comparing the work of AmkA to that of other public services provides an example of a more positive symbol which contrasts with some of the more negative emphases that are frequently projected.

Sometimes it seems like it is all façade. We are here but we are not really able to expand. It's a bit like "People can see that we have a department for that issue". That is enough for some people.

Interviewee C (June 2012, Author's Translation)

The consideration of façade links with ideas of symbolic action and a sense of superficiality in the way that work is carried out. This generates an impression in which the existence of the department alone could be considered more important than the function it carries out.

Much of the work done within AmkA involves information gathering which is then turned into outputs. This may be fed through the employees of the organisation to external stakeholders as part of meetings or workshops. Often there are resulting publications such as the Integration and Diversity Concept, or press releases which act as concrete examples of action. With a proliferation of written and electronic resources outputs can utilise a range of media. However with accusations of symbolic politics it seems necessary that these more distanced outputs are combined with a programme of initiatives which engage with contacts on the ground.

Although not every output can be labelled as symbolic politics it is possible to acknowledge the different ways that a symbolic political approach might be applied. This is important in the case of AmkA where the majority of its work can be seen in this way and is largely criticised as such. By looking at more nuanced versions of symbolic politics it is possible to reflect on more positive aspects which may facilitate living with difference over those which result in negative and extremist outcomes.

Some might say “yes ok why do we need this [AmkA] then” as was the case at some points in the past but that is now over...It would of course be great to say that we no longer need an Office like this, because AmkA has solved everything, but for a city like Frankfurt I just don’t see it. Certain problems that we have in today’s society system have come about due to more than fifty years of labour migration history, which was denied...and these problems will be solved over generations. Already of this group of migrants there are second and third generations of people of Turkish and Moroccan origin who are successful – in jobs, in politics – no one would have imagined that the Federal Chairman of the Green Party would be of Turkish origin.

Interviewee P (June 2012, Author’s Translation)

9.8 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the notion of symbolic politics and different negotiations with this approach as we see in the city of Frankfurt. By commencing with an outline of the traditional sense of symbolic politics described by Edelman (1964) and Sarcinelli (1987), a call has been made for the establishment of a ‘softer’ version which might be applied in different contexts, such as the localised example of Frankfurt. Through this kind of approach a more subtle reading of local policy aims and programmes have been addressed.

Where AmkA is criticised and accused of carrying out symbolic politics as though it were a negative approach, the examples in this chapter are offered as examples of positive negotiations with difference. These do not exist without limitations and challenges, but overall, it can be concluded that with more than twenty years of work in this area, AmkA’s ongoing existence as a municipal office can be seen as an exemplification of the value of this kind of action in city-local politics, in looking towards constructive ways of living and working together in the multicultural city. It also highlights the ever-increasing importance of communication and network structures that can permeate city society at every level.

Chapter 10

Conclusion

10.1 Introduction

In this concluding chapter I outline the main findings of the thesis. This is done by drawing out a set of ideas which emerge in response to the research questions, as well as real-time developments within Frankfurt. This brings together the main themes of the research to define three key elements which converge to produce an idea of a 'Frankfurt model'. The research questions were:

1. What are the key elements of a 'networked diversity' framework in the development of policy responses to cultural complexity in Frankfurt?
2. How are policies, strategies and projects formulated and operationalised in Frankfurt in the context of a networked diversity framework?
3. What does the presence of an institution responsible for integration and diversity management mean for external organisations and individuals living in Frankfurt?
4. How is Frankfurt's unique approach to integration and diversity consolidated through policy and practice and to what extent can this be considered a 'Frankfurt model'?

With sensitivity to the realities of integration policy development as an ongoing process, and building on previously imagined model responses, the 'Frankfurt model' here is offered as a conceptual framing of the main ways that work is being undertaken in the city. These characteristics underpin the practical, theoretical and policy implications of the research for the field and assert the importance of institutional engagement through bodies such as AmkA.

After defining and the discussing the elements of the model, a statement is made on the ongoing relevance of multiculturalism. The idea of multiculturalism remains an

important lens to understand the ways that dialogue on diversity has developed in public and political spheres (see discussion in chapters 1 to 3), and to understand the nature of approaches based on super-diversity and the emerging concept of networked diversity. This conclusion also discusses Frankfurt and the importance of the sense of ‘city-ness’ that has emerged in the thesis, demonstrating characteristics of a city-society that sits outside of purely policy focused outcomes. Finally a commentary is provided on the present context for the ‘Frankfurt model’ and the concept of networked diversity in light of recent challenges.

10.2 Defining the ‘Frankfurt Model’

The thesis has tracked the idea of the ‘Frankfurt model’ as a way of understanding the development of a distinctive approach to the administration of integration and diversity policy in the city of Frankfurt. Working within this framework, the Frankfurt approach has a number of key features that can be identified as key dimensions of the ‘Frankfurt model’. These include:

- 1) **An institutionally grounded response:** The early and continued institutionalisation of diversity and integration through dedicated administrative bodies.
- 2) **A response founded on networked diversity:** The use of networked approaches as a means of cementing the relationship between the local state and civil society.
- 3) **A response that operates through a smart use of symbolic politics:** The adoption of a range of symbolic and promotional tools for communicative action in the city.

Working through these individual elements through the conceptual and empirical chapters, the thesis has not provided a fixed template, but an assessment of the changing importance and development of these core areas in the time since AmkA’s formation in 1989. By consolidating these features as structural elements of a model, the possible application of similar approaches beyond the Frankfurt case might be considered.

i. An institutionally grounded response

The early chapters of the thesis showed that integration and diversity politics was considered as an important dimension of the local state, and was therefore institutionalised relatively early in Frankfurt. Through the Department for Integration, AmkA and to some extent the KAV, the action taken in Frankfurt was a pioneering decision to build diversity recognition, together with the establishment of integration measures, into its administration. The action taken here was particularly distinctive in its formation of specific bodies, rather than having a set of policies that were spread across other local state departments. This commitment to integration and diversity through a set of championing institutions are a key part of the model that has developed in Frankfurt.

From the outset, "the little authority [...] had the same rights and obligations as any other municipal office" (Cohn-Bendit & Schmid 1992: 285). This work at eye level as well as the Office of Multicultural Affairs "as a neutral coordination and information point equidistant from different fields of urban policy" (Stadt Frankfurt, 2011:48) form a permanent and central component of the so-called "Frankfurt model" of integration policy. Once again today, it is experiencing similarly strong attention - nationwide and internationally - as it was already in 1989.

Stadt Frankfurt am Main (2015: 14-15 Author's Translation).

For integration policy to be represented politically by a separate department was a crucial part of the nationally famous 'Frankfurt model' from the outset. The diversity of a city should be politically, institutionally and administratively supported by its own full administrative Office.

Stadt Frankfurt am Main (2015: 8 Author's Translation)

In the wider national and international landscape, the presence of a body that has this role is not common, with many of these roles and policies carried out across departments and offices at state level. This further reinforces the distinctiveness of AmkA and other associated institutions as part of the 'Frankfurt model'. At various points in its history, AmkA's existence has been challenged. Chapter seven, for example, discussed AmkA's role becoming potentially obsolete following Vertovec's (2010) intervention. This was also discussed in chapter nine where its role was criticised by some as 'mere' symbolic politics. In spite of these positions and challenges to its existence, it has remained a primary driver of integration

measures in Frankfurt. With such early discussions about the nature of diversity in Frankfurt, the handling of diversity matters has been enshrined in the way that the local state operates.

Much of what was put in place in the early stages of AmkA - hearings, campaigns, publications; at the time was widely unique, had an engaged and dynamic direction and has remained unchanged and of relevance. In the second phase of the structural-professional consolidation of the Office - important innovations here were language and orientation courses, education and anti-radicalisation work - the Frankfurt integration policy was at the forefront nationwide political developments. The AmkA evolved into an institutional symbol that showed that the city of Frankfurt am Main takes the diverse perspectives of its inhabitants seriously. It was also clear that "integration policy", not only concerned a segment or a single population group, but society as a whole.

Stadt Frankfurt am Main (2015b:14 Author's Translation)

Throughout the thesis the Department for Integration, AmkA and the KAV, have been presented as part of the Frankfurt approach, and are drawn out here as an integral element of the 'Frankfurt model'. As well as asserting the role of institutions, another dimension of the 'Frankfurt model' is the way that the institutions operate through a process of active networking. As a distinctive feature of these institutions, but also of the way that other organisations interact with the local state, the next section provides a discussion of the way that their work has developed through the formation and negotiation of networks, which reach across the city.

ii. A response founded on networked diversity

In a context where the limits of the local state institutions are acknowledged, there is an important relationship with civil society organisations in the city, as shown in chapter eight. Recognition of the distinctiveness of these organisations, and how they assist in the operationalising of integration and diversity measures, is a core element of the 'Frankfurt model'. Projects can be carried out without being centrally organised or directed, instead working through dense relationships between these civil society organisations, which often have a more direct link with citizens in city districts, and the bodies operating at state level.

The integration studies presented in chapter five have realigned traditional views of migrants being predominantly from former guest worker countries and set the scene

for a new policy based on networked diversity. Networking and networked diversity feature predominantly in chapters five and six as part of a new dialogue which focuses on the means by which the interconnectedness of city life can be established as the basis for new approaches. Interaction and communication are part of a dialogical function of AmkA, whereby different communicative devices are adopted across a range of spheres. This may be through intergroup work with other administrative offices in the city, or through events on the ground such as parades and awards ceremonies, as described in chapter nine.

This ability to draw upon different modes of communication is a core element of the Frankfurt approach. This is demonstrated through a range of formats including: the *Vielfalt bewegt Frankfurt* website, on-the-ground events and written publications. This is a particularly significant element as it is an example of direct action with visible outputs. Although it cannot be concluded that every example of action has had a significant impact, it is the case that the use of ready-developed channels and initiatives, which are examples of tried and tested methods, are important features of the suggested model. The empirical chapters have shown how this operates at different levels, whether in the office environment or at external events. This feature of the model, based upon an aim of facilitating organisations' connections with each other, shows a wide understanding of the importance of network building and stakeholder engagement across different areas of migrant interest. This can be further evidenced by directly assessing the ways that networks operate between the administration and civil society organisations.

The layering of organisations within cities is a key feature of the urban political landscape. The way that bodies with different functions can cement themselves within this complex civil society framework relates to how they see themselves and their role, as well as the ways in which the local state perceives these roles. This was a key finding of chapter eight which differentiated between the ambitions of a range of organisations. Comparing small initiatives which provided opportunities for a particular group of people such as in the example of the Eritrean Sport and Cultural group, and the greater political ambitions demonstrated by the OASI, indicates that different approaches and ambitions exist. It is the role of city institutions to respond

to these needs. At the forefront of these activities was a demonstration of how civil society initiatives span a range of functions at a practical level. There is also an added dimension of how these operate psychologically as symbolic responses to diversity in the city.

iii. A response that operates through smart use of symbolic politics

Although symbolic politics is subject to critique, it has also been concluded in chapter nine that some form of symbolic action is both unavoidable and may also be effective in the management of complex issues. Addressing the idea of ‘event culture’ as an example of symbolic politics, symbolic elements of policy are shown to be productive as long as they are not the only policies implemented. In using symbols that people understand on an everyday level, the impact of using symbolic devices as part of integration politics can be seen as a component of the ‘Frankfurt model’. Although there is a danger of reducing complex political messages to simplified and distorted symbols, there is a trade-off to be made, and this approach can allow a wide range of people and groups to have a point of reference on how challenging questions are being addressed.

As well as thinking about symbolic politics in the transmission of messages, chapter nine also considered the symbolic nature of AmkA. Practical reasons exist for the seemingly ‘limited’ capabilities of AmkA. For example: “financial restrictions also lead to integration and intercultural activities that are often implemented in the form of (model) projects” (Stadt Frankfurt am Main 2015:14 Author’s Translation). Additionally with a headcount of around thirty employees, it is likely that people perceive that there is limited ability for outreach. While these practical problems are evident, there is also an argument for a more positive consideration and a need for greater understanding of the potential opportunities offered by networks. Model projects have been a critical point of entry into the wider city districts for AmkA. This, combined with the networking building capabilities of the core group of AmkA employees, sees their work extend across more than forty topic areas (Adeoso 2015). As part of an open-door strategy to give citizens on the ground access to the city

administration, AmkA continues to welcome new challenges and demonstrate its ongoing relevance.

The thesis also considered the symbolic nature of events and concluded that these are also part of a strategic way of encouraging the sharing of ideas and cultures in the public sphere. These not only operate as part of a counter-narrative to ‘parallel societies’, but actively seek to dispel myths about the nature of diversity and incompatibility of cultures, by providing an arena for encounters. They also act as a way of reinforcing the idea of ‘city society’ explored in chapter six, extending beyond policy aims, but reflecting the possibility for interactions that are facilitated as a result of institutional engagement.

10.3 The relevance of multiculturalism for the ‘Frankfurt model’

The application of the idea of multiculturalism to the context of Frankfurt, as described in chapter two and chapter three, is not a simple task. Where the thesis has taken definitions and debates as a point of entry into wider discussions on immigration and accompanying integration policies, the term itself remains contentious and provocative, but still very relevant in the Frankfurt context. Helga Nagel, a previous Head of AmkA, described the challenges of the continuing presence of the term ‘multicultural’ in AmkA’s name as part of an emotional and ideological debate about what it might mean. At the same time, the decision to include it in the name of the office can also be considered as intelligent and forward looking (Nagel 2008). Thinking about what ‘multicultural’ means, Nagel (2008) suggests that the preservation of the term stands as an important symbol of shifting demographic change, rather than pertaining to a particular policy programme. More recently, Dr Armin von Ungern-Sternberg, the current Head of AmkA, has rearticulated the relevance of multiculturalism and considerations of AmkA: "We are not the migrant office, but the office for dealing with each other...I, therefore, find the word ‘multicultural’ continues to work well, if separated from the culture of origin" (in Adeoso 2015: para. 2). To consider these ideas about multiculturalism as part of broader conceptualisations of difference and diversity, AmkA is portrayed as

an office with a multicultural ‘ethos’, rather than one which confines itself to a particular policy model or programme.

The empirical chapters of the thesis provide examples of the different ways that multiculturalism is considered, although this is rarely linked to an overtly multicultural policy agenda. Reflecting on a particular reference in chapter nine as part of a speech by the Head of the Department for Integration, multiculturalism is seen not only as a means of promoting countries of origin, but within a wider remit which promotes communication and interaction and a core dimension of network building. Seeing multiculturalism as a way of promoting different aspects of difference in an open and participatory way emphasises a commitment to processes of demographic change, rather than accepting a narrative of parallel societies and incompatible cultures. This is an important comment for the way that Frankfurt’s approach to diversity is being played out, and what aspirations are exhibited by the city institutions. By thinking of multiculturalism beyond the boundaries of ethnic origin, it continues to be a productive term for describing how AmkA considers the different areas in which it works. What has emerged in the ‘Frankfurt model’, and in the continued use of the term ‘multiculturalism’, is a redefinition of that term, which emphasises both cultural difference and interconnection; a redefinition that emphasises the significance of networked diversity.

10.4 A networked approach to city society

The ‘city-ness’ of Frankfurt, or idea of Frankfurt as a ‘city society’ was predominantly explored in chapter six, although it emerges, both implicitly and explicitly, throughout the empirical chapters as a key element in the Frankfurt story. As a pioneer in integration policy, the fostering of a sense of community at the city level also acts as a reminder that integration and diversity management are inherently spatial processes, taking place on the ground and through intricately linked networks. This allows citizens to think of themselves as ‘Frankfurters’, who are not solely defined through countries or cultures of origin, but are part of the wider urban community, with opportunities to participate in its activities.

Meetings and interactions between people in the city were shown to take different forms. As chapter seven showed, there are many ways for the public to gain direct contact with AmkA. Making appointments with specific departments is one method which asserts the idea of the local state being in contact with its citizens. This two-way relationship reinforces the position of AmkA within the urban fabric of the city, its wide-reaching abilities due to its position in-between the local state and civil society and its ability to network consistently. In chapter eight, this was further reinforced when moving beyond the office environment and towards initiatives taking place in city districts. The distribution of initiatives as shown by the interactive map in chapter six, combined with the explanations of civil society organisations in chapter eight gives a sense of ‘locatedness’ beyond more abstract considerations of the networks within the city and the way that projects become operationalised at a city-district level. Chapter nine further located networks within the city landscape by exploring a range of events which combine a sense of community with a sense of place. Through an interrogation of event culture, expressions of what it means to be a citizen of Frankfurt, whilst exhibiting practices of countries and cultures of origin, were projected onto the landscape. Unfolding in the city, amidst discussions on intercultural possibilities, opportunities for networking and communication, these different methods of engagement foster a wider sense of mutual action and ‘city-ness’.

10.5 The present context for the ‘Frankfurt model’ – final remarks

At the time of writing, Europe is in the midst of a refugee crisis with the biggest displacement of people since 1945 (The Economist, 2015). Germany has been at the forefront of debates, with Angela Merkel taking a leading role in steps towards a European solution. The scale of this influx of more than 800,000 refugees and asylum seekers into Germany by the end of 2015, leads to questions on the impact this will have on towns and cities across Germany (Carrel and Barkin 2015). This situation will present a range of unique challenges and requires a substantive and coordinated approach.

There are also a range of secondary narratives emerging, as a result of Germany's central position in this crisis. Firstly, the response of Merkel has established integration as a priority with direct lessons to be learned from the guest worker experience (Martin 2015). Secondly, there is suggestion that Merkel's position in the present crisis contradicts her 'multiculturalism has failed' discourse of 2010 (Carrel and Barkin 2015). Although it remains to be seen how this situation will develop, the German response to the crisis has shown a clear transition from the previous 'country without immigration' stance highlighted in the early chapters, to a proactive approach towards the accommodation and integration of refugees and asylum seekers.

Against the backdrop of a European-wide crisis, in mid-September 2015 AmkA celebrated its twenty-fifth birthday. As the oldest and largest integration authority of Germany, it is considered as a: "powerful symbol for the nationally famous "Frankfurt Model"" (Stadt Frankfurt 2015b). As part of the celebrations there was an event with community partners, politicians and academics at the Town Hall as well as an open day at AmkA office. This open day exhibited the newly refurbished ground floor, which provides space for groups to meet within the newly branded '*Haus der Vielfalt*' / '*House of Diversity*'. A new AmkA flyer included a picture of the House of Diversity with its windows open, to present an image of openness and access for the people of Frankfurt (see Adeoso 2015). The Head of the Department of Integration and the Head of AmkA reflected on the importance of this openness, but also of the structures of networked diversity at a time when the complexities and challenges of the European refugee crisis are becoming more visible:

It is now necessary to design scenarios of what coexistence could look like the day after tomorrow - so that we can be prepared. "Welcome culture needs welcome structures", said Eskandari-Grünberg, and these have already started to be created.

Adeoso (Frankfurter Rundschau 2015)

The early months of 2015, as the research for this project was being completed, were framed by tensions in the wake of the *Charlie Hebdo* shootings in Paris and the counter-action that ensued. Subsequently, other attacks in Europe, and the unfolding

refugee crisis have reinforced the ongoing challenges for people from diverse backgrounds to integrate and co-exist. The future is unclear and current challenges must be met with focused and substantive action. Here, model approaches, which constitute a range of tried and tested measures, together with best practice examples which draw on experiences from the urban political responses of AmkA (and beyond) will be of increasing relevance. The significance of the process of integration of new refugees and asylum seekers, as well as more established migrant groups, which will take place predominantly at the urban level, will require flexibility and focus and the ability of partner organisations at all levels within the city to draw on their networks. This shows, not only the relevance of the research, but the need for sustained focus on the ways that networked diversity and institutional responses that can draw on a range of tools, can be used to meet the ever-evolving challenges of increasingly diverse societies.

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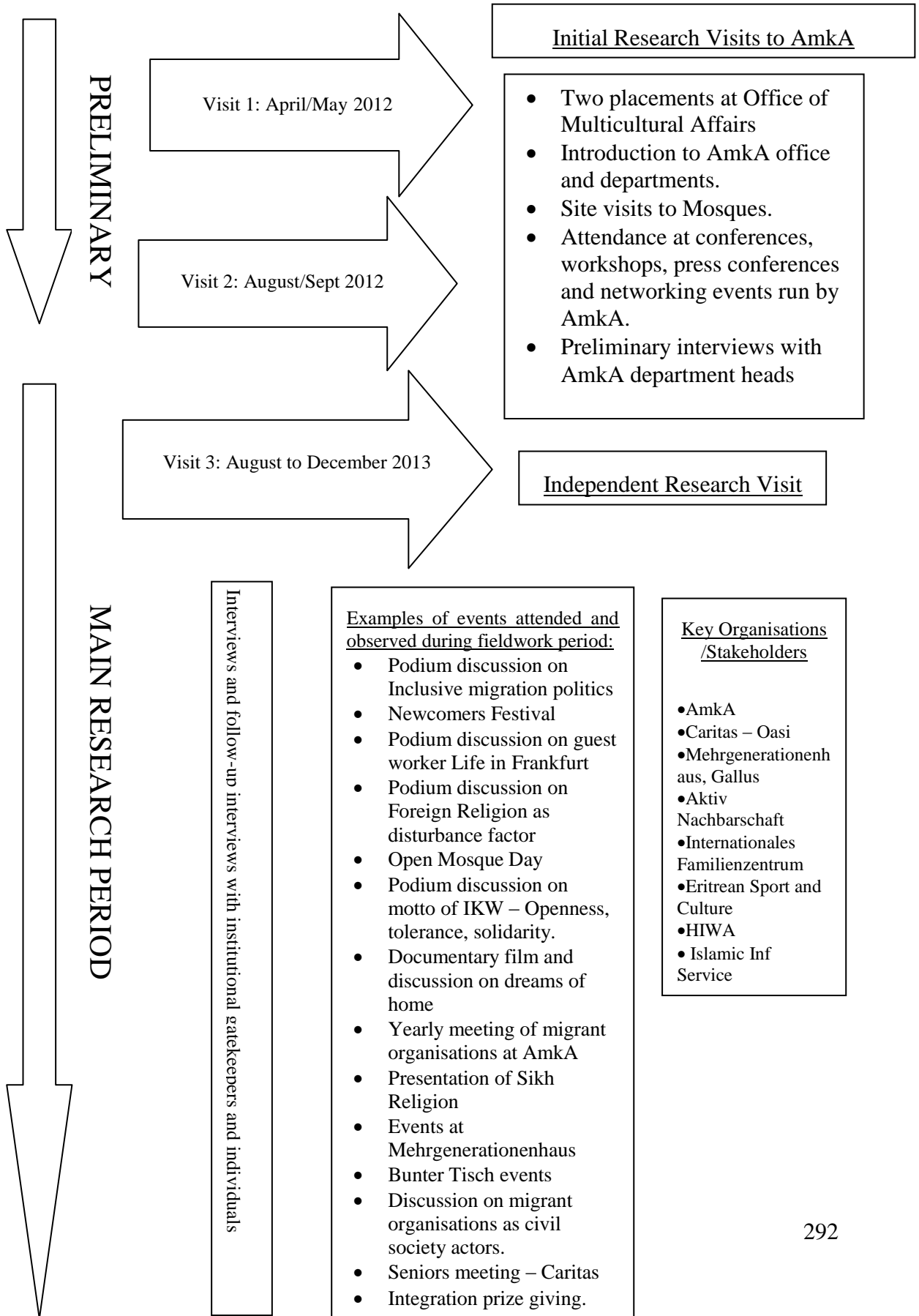
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Annex A

Fieldwork Timeline



Annex B – Meetings with stakeholders and events attended

Visit 1

- HIPPY programme meeting
- Friday Prayer at IIS
- 1 day conference on Right Wing Extremism and Nationalism in Frankfurt.
- 1 day workshop on dealing with extremism when working with young people.
- Press Conference for Parade of Cultures
- MitSprache programme meeting
- Visit to new build Mosque near Hauptbahnhof– Taqwa Mosque
- Stadtakademie Lunch – Why is the sky blue?
- Religion and Migration Team Meeting

Visit 2

- Meeting with migration officer for Hessen Police
- Spatialising the Geopolitical (conference at Goethe Uni – Institut für Humangeographie)
- Conference on the development of religious fundamentalism in Germany
- Sunday Mosque visit
- Meeting with representative from Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge
- Frankfurt als Global Heimat – journalistic conference at AmkA
- Planning workshop for the 2013 Interkulturelle Woche (organising committee).

Visit 3

- Podium discussion on expectations of the future government at the regional level.
- Angela Merkel visit to Frankfurt
- Event at Frankfurt's History Museum on Drago Trumbetas work – Gastarbeiter in Frankfurt
- Podium discussion on issues of the unknown in religion at the Haus am Dom
- The Newcomers Festival 2013
- Tag der Offene Moschee 2013
- AWO podium discussion on motto of the Interkulturelle Wochen
- Film screening – Dreams of Home of Migrants in Frankfurt
- Yearly meeting of city migrant organisations arranged by AmkA
- Podium discussion and film screening about the Sikh religion
- Event on Migranten Selbstorganisationen at Mehrgenerationenhaus

- Breakfast club at OASI Seniorenentreff
- Film screening – Remind at BERAMI
- Podium discussion on transformation of guest workers to honorary citizens at IIS
- Plenaarsitzung of the KAV
- Meeting of the IKW initiative group
- Integration Prize
- HIWA Sitzung
- Tour of Gurdwara
- OASI event about pensions in Germany
- IFZ Eltern Kind Café
- Eritrean Christmas Event

Annex C –

Overview of semi-structured interview participants and organisations

Organisation	No. of Participants Interviewed	No. Re-interviewed?
Amt für multikulturelle Angelegenheiten.	8	3
OASI	2	
Eritrean Sport and Cultural Association	1	
Mehrgenerationenhaus	1	
HIWA	1	
Internationales Familienzentrum	2	
Diakonisches Werk: Nachbarschaftsbüro Rödelheim-West	1	
Gurdwara Singh Sabha Frankfurt	1	
Islamische Informations- und Serviceleistungen e.V. (IIS)	1	

Annex D – Interview schedules

Interview Question Set A (AmkA) English Translation

1. What is your job role and function within AmkA? How many people work within your team? What are your main tasks?
2. How are communication strategies developed? Are there defined target audiences? How can communication be achieved with different groups (majority vs. minorities).
3. How is AmkA positioned within the wider urban politics of Frankfurt? How do you communicate with other offices at the same hierarchical level.
4. How do you work with different media? Does AmkA have a direct link to regional/national media?
5. How have developments in new media including social media been used in your work?
6. How are controversial themes dealt with in a neutral way.
7. How does AmkA work as part of its broader networks – with the general public/other offices and departments/within politics?
8. What are the advantages/disadvantages of an office focused on communications?
9. What are the future possibilities/challenges for AmkA?
10. Are there new/emerging thematic interests for AmkA? How do these play out?
11. Can you give an overview of the situation (religion/school/language/communication/age) and migrants in Frankfurt?

Interview Question Set B (General)

1. Tell me about the work of the organisation. Founded? Nature of work? Role of work?
2. What is the current status of working with migrants in Frankfurt? How has the nature of migrant work changed?
3. How is the organisation structured? What are the main goals and concerns of the organisation?
4. What are the key success stories?
5. What are the key challenges in your work?
6. What are the typical activities of the organisation?
7. How is initial contact with participants made?
8. What are your primary communication channels?
9. What (if any) relationship does the organisation have with AmkA?
10. Do you have links to other organisations and offices within Frankfurt and beyond?
11. How does the organisation benefit from its links with other partners?
12. How do you see the future of this organisation?