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Intercultural policies in European cities

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Intercultural policies in European cities



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The Council of Europe has 47 member states, covering virtually the entire continent of Europe. It seeks to develop common democratic and legal principles based on the European Convention on Human Rights and other reference texts on the protection of individuals. The Congress of Local and Regional Authorities, one of the pillars of the Council of Europe, is an assembly of elected members representing over 200 000 local and regional authorities in the Council's member states.

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Foreword

In 2006, the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe, the city of Stuttgart and the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (Eurofound) came together to form the European network of Cities for Local Integration Policies for Migrants (CLIP).

The CLIP network, officially launched in Dublin in September 2006, brings together more than 30 large and medium-sized cities from all regions of Europe in a joint learning process over several years. The network seeks to support effective and sustainable social, economic and societal integration of migrants, combat social inequalities and discrimination, and help migrants preserve their cultural identity. Through this joint initiative, the partners are continuing their longstanding commitment and activities in the field of social inclusion and improved social cohesion within local authorities in Europe.

The network is supported by the Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR) and the Committee of the Regions (CoR) of the European Union. After 2007, the cities of Vienna, Amsterdam and Malmö joined the network's steering committee. In addition, the CLIP network has formed a partnership with the European Network Against Racism (ENAR).

The first module of work undertaken by CLIP focused on housing, a key issue in the integration of migrants into host societies. It led to an overview report that examines segregation as well as migrants' access to affordable housing and presents innovative policies and their successful implementation at the local level. The second module addressed equality and diversity in municipal employment and services provision. The network analysed policies enhancing migrants' access to municipal jobs and progress in employment as well as cities' efforts to provide adequate services for migrants.

This report, the third produced by the CLIP network, focuses on intercultural dialogue in European cities. As the multicultural, multiethnic and multireligious structures of urban populations challenge the ability of cities to secure social cohesion, cities have a genuine interest in establishing effective intercultural policies and promoting peaceful intergroup relations at the local level.

Reflecting on this, the report presents and analyses intergroup relations and intercultural policies within the CLIP cities, allowing for an exchange of experiences that encourages a learning process within the network. The report is based on CLIP city case studies that comprise information provided by the

individual city representatives and administrators, but also assessments made by representatives of ethnic associations, religious communities, and non-governmental organisations as well as social partners, politicians and other local experts.

As intergroup relations, intercultural and interreligious dialogue represent a central issue in the ongoing European, national and local policy debates, we hope that this report will communicate policy-relevant experiences and outputs of the CLIP network to local, national and European administrative staff and policymakers.

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1 – Introduction

Aims of the report

European cities, and in particular cities with strong economies, attract immigrants from all over the world. As a result, urban populations have become increasingly diverse in ethnic, cultural and religious terms. The multiethnic, multicultural and multireligious structures of urban societies present, on the one hand, opportunities for cities, for instance in terms of cultural innovativeness and international competitiveness. At the same time, however, diversity challenges the ability of cities to establish and maintain peaceful and productive relations between different segments of the population.

This report looks at interrelations between different groups: between local authorities, ethnic and religious migrant associations, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and other civil society organisations. The study is based on an intergroup approach and grounded in an empirical analysis. The aim is to identify and analyse those relations and intercultural policies that work rather successfully and hence bridge ‘gaps’ between the different ethnic and religious groups, contribute to enhance positive intergroup relations and foster the integration process of migrants and ethnic and national minorities.

The term ‘migrants’ is used to refer to those people who have immigrated themselves and their children who form the second generation. The term includes asylum seekers and refugees. In some countries, such as the United Kingdom (UK), these groups are referred to as ‘foreign born’ but may also be included in wider categories of ‘ethnic minorities’, which includes those who are both born abroad and born in the UK. In other countries, such as Germany, migrants are referred to as ‘people with a migration background’. Some of the policies outlined in the report refer to ‘national minorities’. These are historically and legally established groups in multiethnic states, whose inclusion in the state is, in most cases, not due to migration, but the result of the way in which borders have been drawn, or re-drawn, between states.

Although this report explores relations between all groups living in the cities that make up the CLIP network, this module places a particular focus on the experiences of Muslim communities. This reflects the fact that Islam is the largest ‘new’ religion in European countries of immigration, and because, in some contexts, Muslims are perceived as disconnected from ‘European life’. Compared with other migrant groups, Muslims experience higher rates of discrimination

and prejudice, sometimes reflecting underlying anxieties about Islam as a threat to the culture and way of life in European cities, and to security.

CLIP network

Cities have a genuine interest in successful local integration practices. Reflecting this, the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe, the city of Stuttgart and the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (Eurofound) launched the European network of Cities for Local Integration Policies (CLIP) in 2006. At a later stage, the cities of Vienna, Amsterdam and Malmö also jointly established the CLIP Steering Committee.

The city network is supported politically by the Committee of the Regions (CoR) and the Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR) and has formed a partnership with the European Network Against Racism (ENAR).

The CLIP network seeks to:

- support the social and economic integration and full participation of migrants;
- combat social inequalities and discrimination against migrants;
- create conditions conducive to the peaceful coexistence between migrants and natives;
- engender respect for migrants' own cultural identity.

The CLIP network aims to achieve these goals by bringing together European cities and fostering a joint learning process about successful integration practices over several years. By encouraging the structured sharing of experiences through the medium of city reports and workshops, the network enables local authorities to learn from each other and, thus, pursue a more effective integration policy for migrants. The analysis of innovative policies, carried out under the auspices of CLIP, not only enhances the emerging policy debate at the local level, but also at the European level.

The CLIP network is composed of more than 30 European cities. In total, 31 cities participated in this third research module: Amsterdam (Netherlands), Antwerp (Belgium), Arnsberg (Germany), Athens (Greece), Bologna (Italy), Breda (Netherlands), Budapest (Hungary), Copenhagen (Denmark), Dublin (Ireland), Frankfurt am Main (Germany), L'Hospitalet de Llobregat (Spain), Istanbul (Turkey), Kirklees (UK), Lisbon (Portugal), Luxembourg (Grand Duchy of Luxembourg), Malmö (Sweden), Newport (UK), Prague (Czech Republic),

Stuttgart (Germany), Sundsvall (Sweden), Tallinn (Estonia), Terrassa (Spain), Turin (Italy), Turku (Finland), Valencia (Spain), Vienna (Austria), Wolverhampton (UK), Wrocław (Poland), Zagreb (Croatia), Zeytinburnu (Turkey) and Zürich (Switzerland) (Figure 1).¹

Figure 1: CLIP cities covered in this report



Source: Compiled by the european forum for migration studies (efms)

¹ The cities of Helsinki (Finland), İzmir (Turkey), Liège (Belgium) and Strasbourg (France) are also members of the CLIP network. These cities have not participated in this research module, but maintain an interest in the findings of the research.

It is worth noting that there is considerable variation in the CLIP cities. Their political structure and organisation, economic performance and migration histories vary both between and within the countries. In addition, the size of CLIP cities varies considerably. The smallest city is the German city of Arnsberg with about 80,000 residents, while the largest cities, such as Prague, Vienna, Budapest and Istanbul, host more than a million residents (see Table 1). This diversity is one of the strengths of the CLIP network because it provides an opportunity to better understand the implications of variations in organisation size and political organisation for the nature of intergroup relations. Diversity also presents opportunities for, and barriers to, the introduction of policies that promote intergroup and intercultural dialogue.

The CLIP network is managed by Eurofound, which also chairs the CLIP Steering Committee. The steering committee consists of representatives of the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe, CEMR and the cities of Amsterdam, Stuttgart and Vienna. NGOs are represented by ENAR; the CLIP Research Group is represented by its coordinator, the European forum for migration studies (efms). The work of the steering committee is politically supported by the CoR.

The cities' shared learning process within the network is supported by the CLIP Research Group – a group of six scientific centres that implement the research. The centres are the Institute for Urban and Regional Research (ISR) in Vienna, the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES) in Amsterdam, the Forum of International and European Research on Immigration (FIERI) in Turin, the Institute of International Studies (IIS) in Wrocław, the Centre for Migration Policy Research (CMPR) in Swansea and efms in Bamberg, which coordinates the research group.²

European policy background

Concern about, and interest in, relations between different groups in cities are reflected, at the political level, in discussions on 'intercultural dialogue'. Intercultural dialogue is an important issue at the European policy level. The EU, the Council of Europe and other European actors play a vital role in promoting intercultural dialogue and intercultural relations.

² A total of 18 academic researchers from these institutions completed the research activities for this module (see Annex 2). Most of them are members of the EU-funded Network on Excellence on International Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion (IMISCOE).

The EU – and particularly the European Commission – is an influential policy driver in the field of intercultural dialogue. European legislation is an important foundation for intercultural dialogue. The EU Charter of Fundamental Rights – as well as several directives and agendas – guarantees by law certain political, social and economic rights pertaining to equality and freedom for EU citizens and residents. In addition, the Commission has issued several statements in relation to this topic. For example, in its ‘Common Agenda for Integration: Framework for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals in the European Union’ of 2005, the Commission recognises the importance of intercultural as well as interreligious dialogue and emphasises its impact on the local context (European Commission, 2005).

Similarly, the ‘Common Basic Principles’, issued by the Council of the European Union in order to form the basis of a common European framework on migrant integration, emphasise that:

frequent interaction between immigrants and Member State citizens is a fundamental mechanism for integration. Shared forums, inter-cultural dialogue, education about immigrants and immigrant cultures, and stimulating living conditions in urban environments enhance the interactions between immigrants and Member State citizens (Council of the European Union, 2004, p. 22).

In order to put the issue of intercultural dialogue firmly on the table of national debates, and to create a more open and diverse environment by promoting the basic values of mutual respect and participatory European citizenship, the EU declared 2008 the ‘European Year of Intercultural Dialogue’. In the course of that year, the EU initiated and supported a number of projects at European and national levels involving and mobilising civil society. The aim of the Year was to raise awareness of existing cultural diversity and its advantages by promoting more frequent interactions and dialogue between different cultural, ethnic and religious groups.

As one of its core objectives, the Council of Europe also actively promotes intercultural dialogue at the European level. During the Third Summit of Heads of State and Government in 2005, the Council emphasised the importance of intercultural dialogue for the integration and cohesion of society. It issued the ‘Faro Declaration’ stating that there are three main goals for the development of intercultural dialogue: maintaining a shared political vision, defining lines of action and setting up instruments to implement the strategy (Council of Europe,

2005). A further aspect of the declaration was the decision to issue a ‘White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue’, which was finally published in 2008. The paper highlights the aims and conditions of intercultural dialogue and makes five general suggestions for policy approaches. It defines intercultural dialogue as ‘an open and respectful exchange of views between individuals and groups with different ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic backgrounds and heritage, on the basis of mutual understanding and respect’ (Council of Europe, 2008, p. 17). In order to support the White Paper and to emphasise the importance of local actors for dialogue, the Council of Europe’s Congress of Local and Regional Authorities brought out the recommendation ‘Intercultural and interreligious dialogue: An opportunity for local democracy’ (Council of Europe, 2009).

In addition, the Council of Europe established the ‘Intercultural Cities’ project in cooperation with the European Commission. This project is based on the idea that the local level is crucial in implementing intercultural dialogue and aims at assisting cities in becoming places for this intercultural dialogue to take place. It strives to identify conditions and strategies in the participating cities and to develop future strategies (Council of Europe/European Commission, 2008).

Intercultural dialogue is also a topic of focus for intergovernmental organisations. The United Nations (UN) – particularly the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) – has promoted the importance of intercultural dialogue for decades and considers it even more relevant nowadays in light of a globalising world. In 2005, UNESCO adopted the ‘Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions’, which aims to encourage dialogue and exchange among cultures (UNESCO, 2005). NGOs and civil society platforms at European and international levels are also vital partners for European institutions in developing intercultural policies. The Platform for Intercultural Europe, for example, published a paper providing recommendations aimed at improving intercultural dialogue, including through education, capacity building and mobilising (Platform for Intercultural Europe, 2008).

It is clear that intercultural policies, in particular intercultural dialogue, are an important policy item of various European actors, including the EU, the European Council, intergovernmental organisations and NGOs. All of these bodies and organisations emphasise the relevance and benefit of this policy field at the European, national and local levels. Nevertheless, there is an inadequate theoretical base of underlying concepts about how to analyse and improve intercultural relations in western societies: in the European public discourse, the

concept of intercultural policies is rather fuzzy and vague without a broadly accepted definition and without concrete recommendations. Given that policymakers face serious challenges in coping with societal diversity, this deficiency is a serious challenge that should be tackled.

Conceptual approach

This report is based on the concept of intergroup relations as an analytical framework for understanding intercultural and interreligious dialogue.³ The intergroup relations concept is well established in the social sciences, particularly in sociology and social psychology. In general, 'intergroup relations' refer to the state and process of interactions between groups, which could, for example, consist of friendship or hostility, cooperation or competition, dominance or subordination, alliance or enmity or even peace or war (Sherif and Sherif, 1969, p. 222). The broad concept includes different kinds of 'groups' at the local level.

The term 'group' has two different basic meanings. On the one hand, it refers to stable structures of interaction between people, for positions and roles and a concept of membership ('real groups'). On the other hand, the term is understood as a social category, which does not necessarily imply relations between the people who are included in the category. In this sense, national, ethnic or religious groups are people with some common characteristics that are seen by others as belonging to a group, but these people do not necessarily interact with one another and/or form a system of relations. The perception of ethnic and religious groups by 'others' – in other words, by people not belonging to one of these groups – is often shaped by stereotypes that have developed historically.

This differentiation applies to local politics as well. For example, relations between a local religious community and a city administration department constitute both relations between real groups, as well as relations between a local migrant association and a local branch of a political party. When, however, a mayor wants to improve relations between Christians and Muslims or between natives and ethnic minorities by using a certain public communications strategy, the mayor may refer to categories and images of groups and often to stereotypes that exist in the communication of the urban public. In this latter sense, the term 'intergroup relations' refers to relations between categories of people. The images and stereotypes of the categories typically hide the socio-structural and cultural diversity that exists in these groups.

³ The concept has been outlined in the initial paper prepared by the CLIP Research Group (Heckmann, 2008) as well as in an expanded version prepared by Eurofound in 2009.

When considering intergroup relations, it is necessary to address both meanings of 'groups', i.e. real groups as well as social categories and images of groups. Both groups are considered in the CLIP project.

To refer to policies influencing intergroup relations, the term 'intercultural policies' has been established in present-day political discourse. CLIP defines local intercultural policies as the specific policies, programmes and activities of local authorities and organisations that aim to influence the social interaction, communication and mutual understanding between native and migrant populations and their organisations and to bridge differences between ethnic and religious groups in a city (Eurofound, 2009, p. 74).

The concrete aim of intercultural policies is to manage and improve relationships between groups from different cultural backgrounds – in other words, to influence the relationships between groups with different behaviours due to values, norms, interests and ideas. The management and improvement of intergroup relations includes the management and enhancement of relationships between:

- native and migrant groups;
- migrant groups of different ethnicity, culture and religion;
- local authorities ('city') and native as well as migrant and minority groups.

CLIP does not view intercultural policies as a new paradigm to manage diversity or migrant integration, but as part of a comprehensive integration policy, considered as a two-way strategy, with the aim of improving social cohesion in cities. Intercultural policies are understood as an overarching concept that includes intercultural and interreligious dialogue. Intercultural and interreligious dialogue are seen as a specific form of communication and exchange between groups, taking place within a structured or even institutionalised setting between different migrant organisations, between migrant and native organisations or between local authorities and migrant/native organisations.

Not only the objectives, which are related to the immediate outcome, but also the purpose of intercultural policies can vary between cities. Cities try to achieve a wide variety of objectives within the remit of their intercultural policies:

- cities may pursue intercultural policies to ensure that migrants have equal human and social rights compared with nationals;
- other cities may stress the need to improve social cohesion and avoid conflicts and radicalisation tendencies;

- an intercultural approach may follow a more economic rationale and is applied especially in consideration of a city's short-term and long-term labour demands. Such a strategy aims to increase the city's creative and innovative potential through diversity and by competing for the most productive parts of the global labour force.

Research method

The CLIP network aims to facilitate a common, research-based learning process between European cities. The research process was organised in a series of steps. First, experts from the research group compiled a concept paper suggesting an analytical framework for the module. This paper was discussed with the steering committee and city representatives. On the basis of these discussions, the research group refined the conceptual approach, which was then used by the research group to develop a standardised Common Reporting Scheme (CRS) for research in each city. This reporting scheme included a variety of (mainly open) questions concerning statistical information on the city and its populations, general approaches towards ethnic and religious minorities, objectives and city policies, as well as interesting activities to enhance intergroup relations. The last section of the CRS concerned radicalisation processes both in the majority and minority population. The reporting schemes had to be completed by city officials in order to provide researchers with comparable data for each participating city.

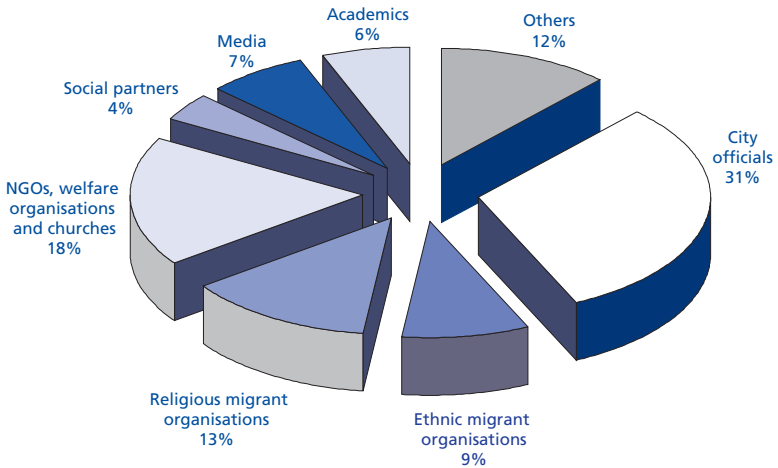
Once the completed CRS document had been received and analysed, the research team organised four-day to five-day field visits in each participating city, which were completed by the researchers in the spring of 2009. The purpose of the field visits was to elaborate on the responses provided by the city through the CRS document. Therefore, the visits consisted of semi-standardised interviews and group discussions with a variety of local actors.

The researchers discussed the issues of focus for this report with city officials (both administrative and political), ethnic and religious migrant organisations' representatives,⁴ representatives of the Catholic and Protestant churches as well as of NGOs, welfare organisations and the social partners. In addition, interviewees included journalists, academics, police officers as well as teachers and participants in integration projects. In total, the researchers met with about

⁴ Most of the latter were representatives of local mosque associations of different denominations and ethnicities as well as of larger Muslim organisations such as the Turkish-Islamic Union (*Türkisch-Islamische Union der Anstalt für Religion e.V.*, in Turkish: *Diyanet İşleri Türk İslam Birliği*, DİTİB) or the Islamic Community Millî Görüş (*Islamische Gemeinschaft Millî Görüş*, IGMG). Moreover, Christians, Sikhs, Jews, Hindus and Buddhists were interviewed.

700 people in the course of the city visits. Figure 2 illustrates the proportion of organisations represented in the interviews.

Figure 2: Groups represented in the interviews during CLIP field research (%)



Source: Compiled by efms, based on information provided in the city case studies

The CLIP network is interested not only in talking about migrants, but also in communicating with migrants. Thus, efforts were made to interview not only native, but also migrant experts. About 40% of the respondents are migrants or belong to migrant or ethnic minority organisations. Slightly more than 60% of them were men. This is due to the fact that higher positions in administration and policy are often occupied by men, and (migrant) organisations' chairpersons and religious representatives are also generally men.

Based on the information reported by cities through the CRS and additional information collected, the research teams produced a case study for each of the 31 cities participating in this CLIP module.

The systematic analysis of the case study texts has been carried out with the help of professional Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS); the software programme used is MAXqda2.⁵

⁵ This software facilitates the analysis of qualitative research such as text interpretation, recursive abstraction and content analysis by supporting the systematisation of texts, the construction of a hierarchically structured code system, the assignment of text segments to codes ('coding') and text retrieval. For more information, see <http://www.maxqda.com> or relevant literature such as Flick, 2006 and Kuckartz, 2005.

This report is therefore based on data gathered through a mixed method approach and includes evidence gathered through quantitative and qualitative research methods: a standardised CRS for each city, statistical data, observations and qualitative semi-standardised expert interviews with local actors. The project actively involves local experts in the research and throughout the entire joint learning process. This method has its merits and represents a useful methodological approach. There are however some limitations of the approach including:

- problems of reliability arising from the fact that questions in the CRS may have been understood differently;
- variations in the quality of the case studies reflecting differential availability of and access to information;
- the fact that the case studies are mainly based on expert assessments and that policies and programmes lack robust independent evaluations;
- the fact that there may be variation in the assessments made by experts; for example, whether or not a mosque is considered as ‘radical’.

Despite these limitations, the mixed methods used by the CLIP research teams and the triangulation of information gathered through these methods enables a large amount of information to be gathered and cross-checked to increase the reliability and validity of the data.

The systematic analysis of the case studies, which was followed by discussions within the research group, with city representatives and external experts, led to this final report.

Research questions and structure of report

The report sets out to explore the relations between cities and migrant and minority populations. It explores the major needs and issues in intergroup relations between municipal authorities and migrant and minority groups, the responses of cities and migrant organisations to meet these needs and the measures taken by cities to improve attitudes and relations between majority and minority groups. In addition, given the growing problem of radicalisation in recent years in both majority and minority populations and its threat to social cohesion, the research explores how cities deal with the radicalisation processes and what measures they have put in place to counter it.

The report is structured as follows. Chapter 2 begins with an overview of migration experiences of CLIP cities and provides information on the ethnic and religious diversity in these cities. It then goes on to describe and analyse the major needs and issues in intergroup relations in these cities. Chapter 3 discusses the general approaches of cities towards intergroup relations and the structure of relations between cities and migrant and minority organisations. The third chapter also analyses patterns of intercultural policies and illustrates these with good practice examples. Approaches towards religious communities as well as approaches fostering interreligious dialogue are discussed in Chapter 4. Policies preventing and guarding against radicalisation and extremist political and religious positions, which could occur among both majority and minority populations, are the focus of Chapter 5. The report ends with conclusions and recommendations for policymakers at local, national and European levels.

2 – Intergroup relations and major issues in CLIP cities

The population structures of European cities have been significantly shaped by recent migration processes. The resulting plurality challenges social cohesion and relations between groups. This chapter starts with an overview on the diverse population structures of the cities that are part of the CLIP network and then discusses major issues of intergroup relations that are of concern for both city representatives and migrant and minority groups. These issues include recognition for migrants' heritage and religion as well as experiences of discrimination.

Overview on cities' populations

The CLIP cities are located in 21 different European countries with different migration histories. Some common themes found among these countries are that most of them have experienced the inward migration of labour migrants, asylum seekers, family members of former migrants, and students as well as of irregular migrants – albeit at different levels and times. While some countries, such as the UK and the Netherlands, have a long tradition of immigration as a result of their history as colonial powers, major migration processes to other European countries started more recently in the late 1950s: the combination of high economic growth and internal labour shortages led to the recruitment of foreign 'guest workers' in several northern and central European countries. In other countries, mainly those in southern Europe, immigration is a relatively recent phenomenon. For example, the city of Valencia, like the other Spanish cities in the CLIP network, was a city of emigration until the early 1990s. It has changed from a region of emigration to immigration only in recent years. Eastern European countries, by contrast, had a very restrictive regime with regard to migration, both to and from the country. Hence, the migration experiences of these countries are rather recent. In the Turkish cities of Istanbul and Zeytinburnu, the number of residents with a migration background is very high, but different from those in the other CLIP countries: by far the largest group consists of internal migrants, namely Kurdish-speaking migrants from eastern Turkey.

Differences in migration history are not only found across national borders. Even within one country, it is possible to observe significant differences, as different regions or cities have not necessarily shared the same experiences. For example,

while the German cities of Frankfurt and Stuttgart have experienced considerable immigration, relatively few migrants live in the smaller city of Arnberg. The same can be said of UK cities: the proportion of migrants in Wolverhampton is considerably higher than it is, for instance, in Newport.

One of the consequences of these different migration histories, both inside and outside of national borders, is that the CLIP cities differ significantly in the composition of their current populations.

CLIP cities produce very different kinds of data on their migrant and minority populations. While some cities only have data on foreign nationals, others have official data or estimates on the number of people born outside the country of immigration ('foreign born'), ethnic minorities and or second-generation migrants. This results in different terms and categories: the Dutch cities of Amsterdam and Breda, for instance, categorise 'people with a migration background', by which they mean foreigners, immigrants with Dutch or dual citizenship as well as second-generation migrants. Comparable data exist for the German, Swedish and Austrian cities. The British city of Newport, by contrast, differentiates its population in 'ethnic groups' and distinguishes between 'Whites' (which include 'white' British natives, but also, for instance, Polish migrants) and 'ethnic minority groups' such as Black, Asian, Chinese and others. Thus, the data are only comparable to a very limited extent.

Another difficulty in identifying the composition of populations arises from the date the information was produced. Information for some countries, for example the UK, is recognised as being outdated because a national census is held only every 10 years. In other cities, it is recognised that the official data underrepresents the migrant population for other reasons – for example, because these populations are difficult to capture in existing data-collection methods. Moreover, the cities do not survey all of the information every year: while the total population and the number of foreign citizens are documented annually, the number of people with a migration background is estimated only occasionally. Some general information, however, can be given (Table 1).

Table 1: CLIP cities' populations and migrant proportion

City	Total population	Foreign citizens*	Population with a migration background or minority status (as defined in each case)
Amsterdam	758,198	11%	49% with a 'migration background' (foreigners, immigrants with Dutch or dual citizenship and second-generation migrants)
Antwerp	482,456	16.4%	30% citizens with a 'foreign background' (<i>alloctonen</i>) (foreigners and naturalised migrants)
Arnsberg	80,341	6.6%	15% with a 'migration background' (foreigners, naturalised Germans and an estimated number of ethnic German immigrants and their descendants)
Athens	745,514**	20%	n.a.
Bologna	372,000	10.5%	n.a.
Breda	172,085	4.3%	21% with a 'migration background' (foreigners, immigrants with Dutch or dual citizenship and second-generation migrants)
Budapest	1,777,921	4.2%	n.a.
Copenhagen	518,574	13.0%	20.4% with a 'migration background' (immigrants and their descendants)
Dublin	506,211	15%	n.a.
Frankfurt	676,197	24.8%	37.7% with 'migration background' (foreigners, people with dual citizenship, naturalised Germans and people born abroad)
L'Hospitalet	266,973	24%	n.a.
Istanbul	12,569,041	0.34%	47% internal migrants; many of Kurdish origin
Kirklees	388,567	n.a.	14.4% 'ethnic minority groups' (Indian, Pakistani, Other Asian, Caribbean, others)
Lisbon	565,000***	3.3%	n.a.

City	Total population	Foreign citizens*	Population with a migration background or minority status (as defined in each case)
Luxembourg	86,977	62.6%	n.a.
Malmö	286,440	n.a.	37% with a 'migration background', (people born abroad and people with both parents born abroad)
Newport	137,000	n.a.	4.8% 'ethnic minority groups' (Black, Asian, Chinese and Other)
Prague	1,258,062	10.2%	6.6% 'ethnic minorities'
Stuttgart	593,070	21.3%	38.6% with a 'migration background' (foreigners, ethnic German <i>Spätaussiedler</i> , naturalised Germans and their descendants)
Sundsvall	94,955	3.4%	5.3% with a 'migration background' (foreigners, people born abroad and people with both parents born abroad)
Tallinn	399,096	28.9%	45.1% with 'ethnic nationality' other than Estonian
Terrassa	207,663	14.0%	n.a.
Turin	908,902	11.4%	n.a.
Turku	175,286	4.4%	6.7% born outside Finland
Valencia	810,064	14.4%	n.a.
Vienna	1,670,749	19.4%	30.9% with a 'migration background' (foreigners, people born abroad and people with parents born abroad)
Wrocław	634,000	<1%	n.a.
Zagreb	786,200	3%	5.1% 'national minorities'
Zeytinburnu	288,058	n.a.	n.a.
Zürich	380,499	31.0%	About 45%–50% with a 'migration background'

Note: n.a. = no data available. * These data include foreign citizens with foreign citizenship only. ** The city of Athens has about 750,000 inhabitants. If one takes into account the city's urban or even metropolitan area, the number of inhabitants rises to about 3.1 and 3.7 million people respectively. *** The city of Lisbon has 565,000 residents. The Lisbon Metropolitan Area, however, has about 2.8 million inhabitants and about 3.3 million people live in its broader agglomeration.

Sources: CLIP case studies

In central and eastern European cities, the proportion of migrants and ethnic minorities is comparatively low. In the Polish city of Wrocław, for instance, the share of foreign nationals is below 1%; and although the percentage of ethnic minorities is not exactly known, it is not estimated to be much higher. In Zagreb, 5.1% of the population belongs to a national minority. Some western and northern CLIP cities also have a population with significantly less than 10% from ethnic minorities. For example, 5.3% of Sundsvall's population has a migration background.

In most European cities, however, the proportion of migrants and their descendants is higher: people with a migration background represent 15% of the total population in Arnsberg and 21% of the population in Breda; 22.2% of Wolverhampton's population belongs to an ethnic minority group. One can assume that the migrant population in some southern European cities is similarly large, although official statistics suggest a different picture, since they record only the number of legally registered foreigners. Four cities – Vienna, Malmö, Frankfurt and Stuttgart – have a population with a migration background representing from 30% to just under 40% of the population. In four cities, the proportion of persons with a migration or other ethnic background is clearly over 40%. Nearly half (45.1%) of Tallinn's population has an ethnic national background other than Estonian (mainly Russian) and 49% of Amsterdam's population has a migration background. In Luxembourg, nearly two thirds (63%) of the population are foreigners. The fourth city in this category is Zürich, where 45%–50% of the population have a migration background.

The range of countries from which migrants originate is truly diverse, notwithstanding that they may be predominantly of a particular nationality. In Frankfurt, Malmö, Stuttgart and Zürich, for example, migrants originate from some 170 countries.

In terms of gender, a significant number of cities reported that a slightly higher proportion of migrants are men, but there is some evidence that these proportions are equalising over time. This is partly due to family reunification, but also due to the feminisation of labour migration. In relation to age, a number of cities reported that migrants are younger than the national population as a whole.

Migration towards CLIP cities is not only reflected in increased ethnic diversity, but also in increased religious diversity. Almost all European cities are experiencing an ongoing increase in both ethnic and religious diversity in general,

and in their Muslim populations in particular, while the proportion of residents belonging to Christian churches is decreasing.

Table 2 presents the most recent data on religious composition of city populations. Again, it should be noted that the data in relation to religious background are limited. Official national statistics on religious affiliations are only available for the cities of Vienna, Zagreb and Zurich as well as for the British cities of Kirklees, Newport and Wolverhampton. In other countries, for example in Germany, official data are only available for the members of the Catholic and Protestant churches while data for the members of other religious communities can only be estimated. The German, Spanish and Italian cities estimate their Muslim population based on data about the number of people originating from predominantly Muslim countries. Some cities, for example Amsterdam and Wrocław, base their data on surveys and interviews, while in others such as those in Sweden, the collection of data relating to religious affiliation or beliefs is prohibited, resulting in a lack of data for these countries and their cities.

Increasing diversity challenges intergroup relations in CLIP cities. In the analysis that follows, the study addresses those issues, expectations and demands that have a high priority in intergroup relations and that are of concern for both city representatives and migrant and minority groups. They relate to recognition for migrants' cultural heritage and religion, concerns about discrimination and media representation, language, the use of public space and safety, imported ethnic and political conflict, and the status of national minorities as well as gender issues.

It should be noted that, during the city visits, socioeconomic issues were also regarded as crucial. Both city officials and migrant representatives in many CLIP cities emphasised that segregated, disadvantaged neighbourhoods can negatively affect intergroup relations. This report does not explore this issue in detail because it was addressed by CLIP in the first research module on housing and integration of migrants (Bosswick, Heckmann and Lüken-Klaßen, 2007). In addition, many of the experts who were interviewed during the course of this research expressed concern about employment issues. This is the case in Amsterdam, Antwerp, Arnsberg, Dublin, Frankfurt, Malmö, Stuttgart, Sundsvall and Vienna. On average, the level of unemployment is higher among migrant groups than among natives and many employed migrants are in low-paid employment. This is true for most migrant groups, but seems to be a particular concern among Muslims – nevertheless, this situation is primarily a reflection of socioeconomic background rather than religion. This is the case in most but not

Table 2: Religious composition of CLIP cities' population

City	Christian			Muslim *	Other/no religion
	Catholic	Protestant	Orthodox		
Amsterdam	8.40%	5.70%	n.a.	11.40%	74.10%
Antwerp	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	16.60%	n.a.
Arnsberg	64%	18.60%	n.a.	2.50%	14.90%
Athens	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	5.4%–13.4%	n.a.
Bologna	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Breda	60%	5%	n.a.	5.40%	30%
Budapest	47.10%	15.90%	0.20%	0.1%–0.3%	34.50%
Copenhagen	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	12.60%	n.a.
Dublin	~80%			2.40%	
Frankfurt	24.90%	23.80%	7.50%	12%	31.80%
L'Hospitalet	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	3.40%	n.a.
Istanbul	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Kirklees		68%		10%	22%
Lisbon	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	6.20%	n.a.
Luxembourg	over 80%	n.a.	n.a.	1.71%	n.a.
Malmö	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Newport		71.90%		2.60%	25.50%
Prague	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	0.10%	n.a.
Stuttgart	26%	30.80%	n.a.	8.10%	35.10%
Sundsvall	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Tallinn	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Terrassa	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	6.50%	n.a.
Turin	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	2.90%	n.a.
Turku	/	78.70%	/	0.10%	21.20%
Valencia	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	1.70%	n.a.
Vienna	49.20%	4.70%		7.80%	38.30%
Wolverhampton		66.50%		1.72%	31.78%
Wrocław	96%	~1%	~1%	~0.1%	~2%
Zagreb	87.10%	0%	2.00%	2.10%	8.80%
Zeytinburnu	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Zurich	31.90%	27%	4%	7%	30.10%

Notes: n.a. = no data available. * Most figures are not official data, but are estimates made by cities' statistical offices or NGOs.

Sources: CLIP case studies

all CLIP countries (in the UK, for instance, the evidence is very mixed). The main reasons for the challenges associated with employment reported in the CLIP case studies include migrants' education level and poor language performance, as well as non-recognition of education or training obtained in countries of origin and discrimination in both the employment and education sector. As a result of employment problems, poverty among some migrant groups is high, creating difficulties for integration and participation in the broader sense.⁶ It seems likely that the current economic recession will have a particularly adverse impact on these already vulnerable migrant groups. These challenges, however, are issues of general integration policies, which are outside the focus of this CLIP report.

Recognition and resources for migrants' heritage

The preservation of cultural heritage and, in particular, demands for recognition of and resources for this heritage appears to be the most crucial issue affecting intergroup relations and intercultural policies in many CLIP cities. The importance of this issue reflects the fact that migrants and national minorities often have cultural preferences and adhere to cultural practices that are not shared by the majority population. They want 'their' cultures to be preserved and they also want these cultural traditions to be represented and recognised in the urban public and cultural life of the cities in which they now live.

In many CLIP cities, migrants have come together to form ethnic, cultural and/or faith-based organisations. In the smaller cities of Sundsvall and Arnsberg, there are, respectively, 12 and 13 migrant organisations. In slightly bigger cities with a rather recent migration history, there are more migrant organisations: in Valencia there are about 20 registered migrant organisations, in Terrassa 35, in Turku 55, in Breda about 65 and in Bologna 75 migrant organisations. In cities with a longer history of immigration and a higher percentage of migrants, the numbers are much higher: in Copenhagen there are about 250 migrant organisations, in Frankfurt about 300, in Stuttgart about 350 and in Vienna about 730 registered migrant organisations. The number of migrant organisations is even higher in Amsterdam, at around 3,950.

⁶ For example, nearly half of young people in Amsterdam with a Moroccan background grow up in families that live 'below the minimum' as it is termed. Likewise, in Stuttgart, the 'child poverty rate' of German children was 12%, while the child poverty rate among foreign children from Muslim countries amounted to 49%.

Although the composition, background and activities of migrant organisations are quite diverse, the major demands and interests of these organisations are rather similar and related to recognition and resources; in other words, funding and space.

Acceptance and involvement of migrant organisations

Migrant organisations seek official recognition of their existence and activities. A large number of representatives of local migrant organisations emphasised the importance of general recognition by the city mayor and the local administration – for instance, they praised invitations from city officials to municipal events and expressed regret when not invited.

Most of the CLIP cities appear to be aware of migrant organisations' desire to be recognised. According to the Kirklees case study, for instance, the 'city council considers that the major demands and interests of ethnic and religious groups are similar to those of other voluntary and community organisations – this includes the need to be heard and to have views represented'. There was also evidence of good relations between migrant organisations and city representatives in some cities. Migrant representatives in Zürich emphasised 'the significance of individual contact among municipal officers and migrant representatives ("not a letter, but a face")'. Similarly, in other cities, representatives of migrant organisations applauded city officials for the excellent relationship between administration and migrant organisations. The ethnic associations and religious migrant communities in Frankfurt, for instance, highly value the municipal Office for Multicultural Affairs (*Amt für multikulturelle Angelegenheiten*, AmkA) as a 'crucial partner'. In Terrassa, a representative of a Muslim association expresses his respect by referring to the mayor as 'a friend and brother'. By contrast, migrant organisations in some cities considered that the relationship with the city was not as good as it could be and emphasised the need for improvements in this relationship. This was the case in Dublin and all three British cities (Kirklees, Newport and Wolverhampton). This may partly reflect the nature of civil society and migrant organisations in these cities.

In most cities, including those where relations between migrant organisations and city representatives are already considered to be good, migrant representatives expressed a wish to intensify contacts with the city and to undertake common projects. Better contacts were considered necessary for ensuring that migrant organisations have more information on local policies and activities and that the city is aware of migrants' demands and issues. The desire

for improved contact was explicitly expressed in 12 case studies (around 39% of the cities): Antwerp, Arnsberg, Bologna, Budapest, Frankfurt, Lisbon, Malmö, Prague, Stuttgart, Turin, Wrocław and Zürich.

Even though most of the migrant organisations interviewed as part of the research seem to desire more contact or even cooperation with city officials, there is wide variation in their efforts to create opportunities for greater contact. While some organisations invite city officials to their (cultural) events and actively try to increase cooperation, others have never made such a request of city officials.

It is worth noting that only minor sections of the migrant populations of CLIP cities are members of migrant organisations. As a result, cities should bear in mind that by cooperating with these organisations and their representatives, they reach only a minority of the respective population. Migrant organisations cannot, and do not, speak for the whole group.

Funding and space for migrant organisations

Most migrant organisations have very limited financial resources and require external support. They apply for grants and subsidies to secure support for cultural events and activities such as language courses. Cities' abilities to meet demands for funding are, however, limited. In Amsterdam, for instance, it is considered impossible to fund all ethnic organisations. In cities such as Dublin, Kirklees or Bologna, there are complaints about an unfair distribution of resources. In Bologna, in particular, representatives of relatively 'new' migrants expressed the view that scarce financial resources are mainly given to the established organisations. A general lack of sufficient funding for ethnic migrant organisations was raised as an explicit issue by migrant organisations' representatives and officials in 17 of the CLIP cities: Athens, Bologna, Breda, Budapest, Dublin, Kirklees, Luxembourg, Newport, Stuttgart, Sundsvall, Terrassa, Turin, Turku, Vienna, Wolverhampton, Zagreb and Zürich. In Athens and Budapest there seems to be no funding at all; the others provide funding, but the migrant organisations would like to receive more. In nine other cities – Amsterdam, Arnsberg, Antwerp, Copenhagen, Frankfurt, Lisbon, Malmö, Prague and Valencia – migrant organisations seem to be satisfied with the funding they receive. In Malmö, for instance, migrant representatives complimented the city for its provision of funding and financial support. In five cities, L'Hospitalet, Istanbul, Tallinn, Wrocław and Zeytinburnu, there seems to be no funding for migrant organisations, but the migrant representatives interviewed did not raise this as an issue.

However, the problem most often raised by both migrant representatives and city officials was the difficulty that many ethnic organisations experience in trying to find an available and sufficiently large space for their activities. This concerns all migrant groups and includes both religious communities and cultural associations in the large majority of CLIP cities. Notably, however, this is particularly the case for Muslim organisations. The migrant organisations' demand for (more) space was mentioned in 25 cities: Amsterdam, Antwerp, Arnsberg, Athens, Bologna, Breda, Budapest, Copenhagen, Dublin, Frankfurt, L'Hospitalet, Istanbul, Lisbon, Luxembourg, Malmö, Newport, Stuttgart, Sundsvall, Terrassa, Turin, Turku, Valencia, Vienna, Zagreb and Zürich. In six CLIP case studies, namely Kirklees, Prague, Tallinn, Wolverhampton, Wrocław and Zeytinburnu, the lack of meeting rooms was not mentioned as an important topic.

The 'space challenge' is twofold. On the one hand, migrant organisations need rooms for regular activities, and on the other they require large rooms or public spaces for particular activities such as festivities celebrating national or religious holidays. The main reasons for the lack of meeting places are the scarce financial resources of the associations and high rental fees for such premises. In addition, however, there is evidence of a lack of information about what is possible: in the case of L'Hospitalet, it is noted that there is 'poor knowledge of the legal possibilities for organisations, of sound and safety rules and of possibilities to acquire financial assistance, combined with limited organisational capacity within the communities'.

To tackle both the general funding question and the challenge of finding available space, many migrant organisation representatives would like to be provided with, firstly, more direct financial support from the city, secondly, more indirect financial support, such as municipal rooms given for a symbolic rent, and, thirdly, non-material, organisational assistance (staff, workers, personnel) for finding and financing their own premises. The cities' resources are, however, ultimately limited. In addition, many cities do not consider these kinds of support to be their responsibility. The cities' approaches towards the issue of recognition and funding differ, as can be seen in the next chapter.

Religious practices, identities and needs

Religion is an important topic for many migrant as well as native groups in the CLIP cities. As can be seen in Table 2, in most cities, the majority of residents officially belong to a religious group. However, this does not mean that all of

them are religious. Many live a secular life, which is also true for Muslims. According to Hirschman (2004), however, little support can be found for the general secularisation hypothesis that religion will disappear with modernity: 'It is only through religion, or other spiritual beliefs, that many people are able to find solace for the inevitable human experiences of death, suffering and loss' (p. 1207). In the context of the migration experience, religion can play a significant role in dealing with the implications of leaving one's home country. Religious organisations can also play an important role in the creation of community and as a source of social as well as economic assistance. As Hirschman suggests:

[i]mmigrants, as with native born, have spiritual needs, which are most meaningful when packaged in a familiar linguistic and cultural context. In particular, immigrants are drawn to the fellowship of ethnic churches and temples, where primary relationships among congregants are reinforced with traditional foods and traditions. Immigrants also have many economic and social needs, and American churches, temples and synagogues have a long tradition of community service, particularly directed at those most in need of assistance (2004, pp. 1207–1208).

The combination of culturally attuned spiritual guidance and material assistance increases the appeal of religious organisations for immigrants after their migration: 'Although religious faith provides continuity with experiences prior to immigration, the commitment, observance, and participation are generally higher in the American setting after immigration than in the origin country' (Hirschman, 2004, p. 1208). This observation seems to be valid for many migrants in the CLIP cities as well.

Migrants' religions, however, often differ from those prevalent in the immigration country. As a result, migrants bring along new practices as well as new needs. These practices enrich the local society, but also have the potential to affect intergroup relations through conflict.

A number of issues relating to religious practices, identities and needs have been identified during the course of this research: religious buildings, burials, education, religious dress codes and food. The following sections describe the issues in more detail while the policy approaches taken by cities in dealing with these issues are discussed later in the report. Since Muslim communities represent the largest of the 'new' religious groups in CLIP cities, many of the following examples refer to this group.

Religious buildings

The planning and building of representative migrant religious buildings challenge intergroup relations in most CLIP cities – in particular when the building is a mosque. In many cities, Islamic groups want to erect new mosques as a visible and representative building equal to the Christian churches. They see the permission to build a mosque as a sign of recognition of their religion that could help improve their present status. The significance of the new building thus goes beyond its pure religious use and meaning.

A classical sociological study in the United States (US) found that there is a general sequence of steps in the institutionalisation of migrants' religious practices, beginning with the holding of religious gatherings in private homes, followed by the rental of temporary quarters and finally the construction of permanent, representative and visible churches, mosques, temples or synagogues (Warner and Srole, 1945). Although the study was published more than half a century ago, these experiences seem to be mirrored in today's Europe. Some CLIP cities are experiencing the second phase of this sequence in which migrants search for rooms for religious gatherings, while others have already reached the third phase in which they plan to and subsequently build new, large and representative religious buildings – mostly mosques.

As long as the issue remains rather general and 'far away', representative mosques are not seen as problematic by the native population. For instance, according to a survey conducted in 2001 in Luxembourg, 70% of the respondents were in favour of building a mosque in the city. In Bologna and its surrounding area, about two thirds of respondents to a survey had a positive attitude towards the construction of a large mosque. The picture looks different, however, when plans for a new representative mosque become concrete in a certain area or neighbourhood. In such a case, it often happens that native groups and organisations in the neighbourhood protest and try to obstruct the plans.

Migrant groups in many CLIP cities expressed a demand for more space – either in the form of prayer rooms or representative religious buildings. The cities in question can be categorised into four groups.⁷

⁷ As a matter of course, these categories are somewhat stereotypical and neglect differences within the cities: migrant organisations within a city differ greatly in terms of size and degree of organisation. Thus, while some established communities have had representative places of worship for decades, 'newer' communities are struggling to find first premises.

- In four CLIP cities (13% of cities), the religious migrant communities are so small and/or rather new that the issue of representative religious buildings is not of high importance. These cities are Turku, Tallinn, Prague and Wrocław.
- In eight CLIP cities (26%), religious migrant communities already have some places to worship. Due to financial restrictions, these are mostly located in cellars or in backyard buildings. Since migrant communities increase in size over time, the spaces they are using for prayer become too small. In Terrassa, for instance, both Pentecostal and Muslim migrant communities lack enough space for their activities. One problem is that the current mosque space is too small during festivals, with the result that the Muslim community is forced to pray in the streets in front of the mosque due to the lack of space inside during the *Eid* festivals. Most of these communities express their wish for better prayer rooms. They would like to have a representative building, but because they are either too small or lack the financial resources, they do not seriously attempt to make this a reality. Instead, they attempt to find centrally located spaces that are larger and of better quality than where they are currently located. This observation was made in eight cities, notably in Arnsberg, Athens, Budapest, Luxembourg, Sundsvall, Terrassa, Turin and Valencia. The city of Valencia is a sort of ‘intermediate case’ between this group and the next one. While one Muslim organisation has already built a representative mosque with a minaret on a piece of land granted by the city, other Muslim associations rent private premises in backyard buildings and look for better accommodation.
- In nine other cities (29%), religious migrant communities already have some places to worship (in some cities, including mosques) and are currently building (additional) representative buildings or making serious efforts to reach this aim: cities that are illustrative of this trend include Amsterdam, Antwerp, Bologna, Copenhagen, Frankfurt, L’Hospitalet, Stuttgart, Vienna and Zürich. In all of these cities, this is mainly an issue for Muslims who want to build a representative mosque. They want it to have a minaret and be clearly recognisable as a mosque, and want city support for their plans.
- In the 10 cities (32%) of Breda, Dublin, Istanbul, Kirklees, Lisbon, Malmö, Newport, Wolverhampton, Zagreb and Zeytinburnu, the building of representative religious buildings currently is – according to the case studies – no longer an important issue for migrant organisations and the city. This is primarily because they already have representative mosques or Sikh temples and are currently not planning to enlarge or to move premises.

Conflicts about religious buildings occur in a number of CLIP cities. It appears that conflicts associated with the building of religious buildings (both mosques and churches) occurred in the cities of Amsterdam, Antwerp, Bologna, Breda, Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Terrassa, Turin and Vienna. In Bologna, Breda, Frankfurt and Vienna, for instance, groups and organisations from the majority population opposed the construction of a mosque in their neighbourhood and launched campaigns against it. This led to vivid public discussions about mosques – in the case of Vienna, it even led to a nationwide debate on Islamic values. In Frankfurt and Vienna, right-wing political parties tried to use these conflicts for political mobilisation and communication of their extremist, racist and Islamophobic ideas. In the city of Vienna, an incident occurred that ended in physical violence between supporters and opponents of the mosque. In contrast to this example, conflicts in Breda and Frankfurt were resolved peacefully. In Zürich, the (nationwide) discussion about a ban on minarets is not yet resolved. However, at the end of November 2009, the Swiss population voted in a national referendum in favour of an amendment to the constitution forbidding the construction of minarets in Switzerland. The two political parties initiating the referendum sparked fears of Islam as a threat to the ‘Christian country’, for instance by issuing posters depicting a threatening image of the religion.

Unwanted external influences – real or assumed – can also affect intergroup relations and are particularly evident in relation to the development of new religious buildings. One example can be found in Turin: information revealing that the Moroccan state would finance a new mosque in the city drew criticism from certain political parties that feared the influence of the Moroccan king on the choice of imams. Another example is the building of the West Mosque (*Westermoskee*) in Amsterdam, which caused conflict between the mosque association (*Millî Görüş*) and the city (district) administration. There were assumptions of financial mismanagement and mistrust due to the interference of the German headquarters of the conservative Muslim association.

Besides Islamophobia and the fear of external influences, challenges relating to the construction of religious buildings also include practical issues such as parking facilities, traffic and noise. The latter issue was a problem in Terrassa, where neighbours complained about the steady noise of a Baptist Evangelic migrant church. In Dublin, the case study showed that ‘some concerns have also been raised by local residents relating to Muslims parking in the surrounding areas of the South Circular Road mosque. (...) Local residents have consistently complained about the high volume of parked cars in the area during prayer times

and festivals.’ Similar complaints were made in Zürich. The religious groups are aware of these issues. In Lisbon, for example, the Hindu community pointed out the need for better public transportation connecting the temple to the rest of the city and thus preventing parking problems.

Burials and cemeteries

Many migrants – in particular Muslims – are still buried in their countries of origin. This trend, however, is starting to change and there is evidence from the case studies that an increasing number of migrants, including Muslims, are being buried in their countries of immigration.

The issue of burials is mainly discussed in cities in relation to Islam, since there are key differences in burial rules between the Christian and Muslim traditions. The topic of Islamic burials has been mentioned in the case studies of 24 CLIP cities: Amsterdam, Antwerp, Arnsberg, Athens, Bologna, Breda, Budapest, Dublin, Frankfurt, Istanbul, Lisbon, Luxembourg, Malmö, Newport, Stuttgart, Sundsvall, Terrassa, Turin, Turku, Valencia, Vienna, Wolverhampton, Zagreb and Zürich.

The challenge is manifold. A central difference in Muslim and Christian burials is that according to Islam, the body should be placed directly into the ground, without a casket and wrapped in simple plain cloth. This burial rule, however, was or is not in accordance with many national or local laws in Europe, which traditionally require the use of a wooden coffin. Secondly, according to Islam, the grave itself should be aligned towards Mecca – which is often not in accordance with local traditions and with the arrangements of local cemeteries. Thirdly, there is the tradition – both in Christianity and Islam – of not being buried close to people of other faiths. In many CLIP cities, however, shortages of space make the provision of separate Muslim cemeteries difficult. Fourthly, the outer appearance of the burial site is an issue of debate: careful gardening of the burial site is less known in Islam, a fact that might lead to conflict with Christians. Other differences include the amount of time between death and burial, since Islam prescribes a quick burial after death.

Regarding Islamic burial grounds and rules, the CLIP cities can be categorised into three groups:

- in eight cities, certain burial grounds exist for Muslims, but discussions continue to take place about the expansion of these areas and/or about burial rules. The eight cities are Amsterdam, Antwerp, Athens, Budapest, Dublin,

Malmö, Newport and Terrassa. In Athens and Budapest, the cemeteries do not yet exist, but are envisaged;

- in 14 cities, the needs for (Muslim) burial grounds seem to be met and currently do not represent an important issue. The 14 cities are Arnsberg, Bologna, Frankfurt, Lisbon, Luxembourg, Stuttgart, Sundsvall, Turin, Turku, Valencia, Vienna, Wolverhampton, Zagreb and Zürich;
- respondents in six cities, Breda, Copenhagen, L'Hospitalet, Prague, Tallinn and Wrocław, did not cite burials as an important topic – probably because the number of Muslim residents is so low that they do not (yet) raise the need and/or because they are buried in a cemetery outside the city, as is the case in Breda.

In most of the CLIP cities, however, the issue did not and does not lead to controversial debates. In Luxembourg, for instance, according to a survey carried out in 2001, the majority population has a positive attitude towards Islamic cemeteries. The response of cities to Islamic burial rules and cemeteries is discussed further in Chapter 4.

Dress codes

Another issue that may lead to conflict between groups concerns that of religious dress codes. This issue has two main aspects.

On the one hand, compliance with religious dress codes, most notably the wearing of headscarves by Muslim women and of turbans by Sikhs, is often associated with discrimination. Above all, this affects the opportunities available to these groups in the labour market, with many interviewees reporting that it is more difficult for individuals in these groups to secure appropriate employment. In addition to labour market issues, dress codes can be associated with discrimination in other spheres of life such as the housing market and educational system. Complaints about such discrimination have been cited in the cases of Antwerp, Dublin, Frankfurt, Kirklees, Stuttgart, Vienna and Zagreb.

At the same time, religious dress codes can challenge intergroup relations, not least because large parts of the majority population assume that Muslim women wearing headscarves, and particularly the full religious *burka*, are oppressed and discriminated against by men within their own religious community. Among others, respondents in the cities of Breda, Stuttgart, Sundsvall and Vienna emphasised this aspect.

Religious dress codes and gender roles can also have an impact on participation in sports, most notably swimming. Women's swimming is an issue of intergroup relations in several CLIP cities. Many women enjoy swimming, but do not like to do this in the presence of men – or are not allowed to swim when men are present due to religious or cultural norms. This is particularly true for Muslim women. In some cities, Islamic organisations have launched initiatives to introduce 'women's swimming' in public swimming pools. These initiatives, however, lead to public debates in most cities, because separate swimming times affects the interpretation of gender roles and opening hours in public swimming pools for women put male users at a disadvantage. In Sundsvall, for instance, the initiative to introduce 'women's swimming hours' launched a debate about both gender roles in Islam and the role of public institutions. Some groups, including migrant groups, considered it an unnecessary special treatment afforded to Muslims, hindering integration and discriminatory against male swimmers. Similar discussions occurred in Turin, Valencia and Vienna.

Challenges related to religious dress codes have been mentioned in 11 case studies. The reaction of cities to these issues and public debates is discussed in Chapter 4.

Education

Religious education is an issue of importance in 15 CLIP cities – Amsterdam, Antwerp, Breda, Budapest, Copenhagen, Kirklees, Lisbon, Newport, Stuttgart, Terrassa, Turin, Valencia, Vienna, Wolverhampton and Zürich. Two topics are related to this issue: religious classes at public schools and the establishment of private religious schools.

The latter is an issue in Kirklees, for example. Representatives of Muslim organisations complained about the lack of a state-funded Muslim school, which they believe would reflect recognition of the community and its needs. The same issue can be seen in Copenhagen and Newport. In addition, although the Muslim community in Budapest is very small, the Organisation of Muslims in Hungary would like to have a Muslim school in Budapest, which would be open to all students and focus on teaching the Islamic faith and the Arabic language. Similarly, in Wolverhampton a private religious school is a desire of the Sikh community.

In Amsterdam, the city currently faces the problem of public concern about the content and style of teaching in a private Quran school giving Quran and Arabic classes on Saturday, and what effect this teaching might have on integration. But

the activities of these schools cannot be controlled by school inspection because they are considered voluntary initiatives.

Muslim representatives in Amsterdam, Lisbon, Stuttgart, Turin, Valencia and Vienna expressed the need for (improved) Islamic classes in public schools. In Vienna, a doctoral (PhD) thesis about anti-democratic attitudes of teachers of Islamic education at Austrian public schools recently received considerable media attention and initiated a controversial political discussion about integration and the value of Muslim religious education.

Food

Most religions have specific rules in relation to food. Some key principles of Islam and Judaism differ from traditional Christian principles that were once predominant in Europe. Muslims, for instance, are not allowed to eat pork and they believe that animals should be slaughtered by cutting the animal's neck in a single continuous cutting movement with a sharp knife and having it bleed to death, without having it stunned beforehand (*halal*).

The religious requirements of having *halal* or *kosher* food can affect intergroup relations in several ways. First, it can lead to sometimes heated discussions about slaughtering practices. Islamic and Jewish practices conflict with animal protection laws in many European countries where the legislation requires that animals be stunned before being slaughtered to render the animal unconscious and to prevent it from feeling pain. The Vienna case study, for instance, reports that animal welfare activists protested against Islamic slaughtering practices. In other cities, such as Zagreb, Islamic slaughtering does not cause tension or conflict, because it is quite similar to Orthodox practices. The issue of *halal* slaughtering was also referred to in the case of L'Hospitalet, where the problem lay in differences between two Muslim interpretations on how to slaughter – a problem that could be solved by mediators at the slaughterhouse.

A second challenge is that food served in public institutions such as schools, hospitals, prisons and workplaces can create problems for religious minorities. Several case studies, for example Lisbon, Sundsvall, Turin and Valencia, reported the desire of Muslim parents for *halal* food at public schools. In Turin, Muslim groups would like to have *halal* food in public canteens. In all cities mentioned, the debate centred on the question of whether to give special treatment to certain groups.

Although the issues of ritual slaughtering and *halal* food have been raised in nine case studies (29% of CLIP cities), they were not emphasised as being critical for relations between Muslim or Jewish groups and the city. The topic was raised in the cases of Athens, Antwerp, L'Hospitalet, Lisbon, Sundsvall, Turin, Valencia, Vienna and Zagreb. Moreover, the issues have seldom received much publicity in these nine cities. In the Lisbon case study, during the CLIP interviews, Muslims pointed out that some religious needs – including in relation to *halal* food – have never been presented to the city or been indicated as being of particular significance.

Prejudice and discrimination

Most CLIP cities describe relationships between majority and different ethnic and religious groups as generally peaceful and unproblematic. In the city of Turku, for instance, there is a broad consensus that intergroup relations are 'relatively harmonious'. Similarly, in Wolverhampton, the city administration considers the 'overall state of affairs in relation to ethnic and religious groups and organisations to be good'. This assessment is reflected in the findings of a survey undertaken in 2007, which found that 88% of all residents agree that their neighbourhood is a place where people from different backgrounds get along well together. In Zürich, the general state of relations between migrant groups and natives is considered 'to be quite pragmatic and friendly'.

It is important to recognise, however, that even in cities where the relations between the main groups of residents are generally considered peaceful, the quality of intergroup relations seems to vary considerably. In some cities, various groups tolerate one another and live peacefully 'side by side', while in other cities there is cooperation between groups and the social distance between groups decreases. The latter tendency can be seen in some of the larger CLIP cities with a relatively high proportion of migrants. Survey data from Amsterdam, Frankfurt and Vienna suggest that the different groups resident in these cities have many friends and acquaintances with ethnic backgrounds other than their own. The large majority of Amsterdammers – either with Dutch or any other ethnic background – have an ethnically mixed group of friends. Data relating to Amsterdam suggest a trend towards increased social and ethnic mixing in the city (see respective case studies and Department for Research and Statistics, 2009). A survey about intergroup relations carried out in Frankfurt shows similar results: by far, most people with a migration background (88%) have persons without a migration background in their circle of friends and acquaintances. This is also true for participants without a migration background: 70% have persons

with a migration background in their circle of friends and acquaintances (see respective case studies and Halisch, 2008).

Despite the predominance of what can generally be described as peaceful intergroup relations, prejudice and discrimination between different migrant and majority groups are an urban reality to be found in all CLIP cities. Prejudice, stereotypes and fears about migrants in general, and about Muslims in particular, occur in every CLIP city, as reflected in the CLIP case studies as well as in a number of academic reports.

In Turin, for instance, public opinion towards immigrants has undergone a major transformation in the past 20 years. While two decades ago, a majority of citizens were indifferent, but generally benevolent, towards immigrants, the majority of citizens – as stated in the respective case study, which quotes research carried out in the area – now have negative feelings towards minorities and immigrants. In Copenhagen, immigration, especially from non-western countries, is predominantly seen as a possible threat to the welfare state and in recent years also as a threat to Danish identity and values (mirrored in the discussions on ‘parallel societies’). Muslim immigrants, in particular, are often singled out in public discourse as raising particular integration issues. This assumption is also prevalent in the Netherlands: a national survey showed that about half of the native population considers that the western lifestyle does not correspond with the Muslim one. Thus, prejudice is one of the greatest concerns of most Muslims. According to experts interviewed in Breda, the stereotypical Dutch view on Muslims is that they are generally conservative, that they suppress women, and that they do not actively stop their children from participating in criminal activity, or even becoming sympathisers of fundamentalist movements.

In some cities, for example Amsterdam, Vienna, Stuttgart and Bologna, experts pointed out that the – sometimes even hostile – attitudes towards Muslims are influenced and enforced by international events such as terrorist attacks on 11 September 2001 in the US, on 11 March 2004 in Madrid and on 7 July 2005 in London, as well as the murder of film director Theo van Gogh on 2 November 2004 in Amsterdam. This is particularly true for Kirklees. The leader of the men responsible for the London bombings in 2005 lived in the Kirklees borough of Dewsbury and worked as a ‘learning mentor’ with migrant children – he was considered an example of a well-integrated Muslim. His involvement in the London bombings created tensions between groups living in Kirklees by reinforcing negative attitudes towards Muslims living in the area.

Prejudice and discrimination can occur independently from one another, but quite often they are causally linked and prejudice and fears are translated into discrimination. Consequently, discrimination against migrants is of significant concern for many migrant representatives and city officials interviewed in the CLIP cities. Although almost every ethnic and religious group experiences such discrimination, it appears from the evidence that Muslims face an even greater level of discrimination when compared to most other groups. Evidence of this can also be found in a variety of recent studies, including for example the European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (EU-MIDIS) carried out by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) in Vienna.⁸

Discrimination occurs in different areas. Discrimination in the housing market was mentioned in a number of case studies. According to the interviewees, migrants have more difficulties in finding high quality, yet affordable housing in a non-segregated area. As this issue was the focus of the first CLIP module, it will not be discussed in any detail here. Many migrant representatives also reported discrimination in the labour market: migrants face more challenges than natives when applying for a job, an apprenticeship or even an internship. Discrimination appears to be a particular problem for Muslims. Employment-related discrimination was considered as an urgent issue of intergroup relations in nine cities – Amsterdam, Antwerp, Arnsberg, Dublin, Frankfurt, Malmö, Stuttgart, Sundsvall and Vienna.

Many migrant representatives expressed concern about experiences of discrimination within the education system. Although measures such as pre-school education, communication with migrant parents and language training have been introduced in most cities, many respondents believe that school systems are not doing enough to combat discrimination or to overcome educational inequality caused by varying ethnic and particularly socioeconomic family backgrounds. Since all European cities are knowledge-based societies in which education is immensely important, the education gap between native population groups and migrants is of great concern for both city representatives and representatives of migrant organisations in a variety of CLIP cities. This was discussed as an important issue in the cases of Amsterdam, Arnsberg, Frankfurt, L'Hospitalet, Kirklees, Lisbon, Luxembourg, Malmö, Stuttgart, Sundsvall,

⁸ FRA has published short EU-MIDIS reports on discrimination against Muslims and Roma people in EU countries. In the near future, the agency will publish EU-MIDIS results that refer specifically to some of the CLIP cities.

Terrassa, Turin, Valencia, Vienna and Zürich. In addition, prejudice and discrimination occur in everyday social life. In most cases, discrimination and racism remains 'hidden'. However, in some cities, for instance in Dublin and Breda, Muslim communities reported receiving threatening telephone calls, hate mail and individual physical attacks. Similar attacks were reported in the cases of Malmö, Kirklees, Vienna and Zagreb. Certainly, they also occur in other cities.

Migrants and minorities in all CLIP cities reported concerns about prejudice and discrimination. It is clear that the demand for respect, acceptance and tolerance of migrants in general, and particularly those from minority religious groups, is a central issue of intergroup relations in cities. Policies to meet these demands are discussed in Chapter 4.

Representation of migrants in the media

Media reporting on migration, diversity and intergroup relations can have a significant impact on the perception of migrants at the local level. This is reflected in the fact that media reporting, in particular representations of migrants in the local and/or national media, was discussed in 23 case studies – Amsterdam, Antwerp, Arnsberg, Athens, Bologna, Budapest, Copenhagen, Dublin, Frankfurt, Kirklees, Malmö, Newport, Prague, Stuttgart, Sundsvall, Terrassa, Turin, Valencia, Vienna, Wolverhampton, Wrocław, Zagreb and Zürich. Most of the experts interviewed stated that, while some media reports are written in a neutral manner, or are even positive, many have a rather negative tone or stereotype migrants.

In several cities, interview partners reported prevalent negative portrayals of migrants. In Kirklees, this critique was aimed at the *Dewsbury Reporter*, whose portrayals of migrants were described as hostile and negative. Ethnic and religious minority groups in Newport consider one of the regular feature writers of the principal local newspaper *South Wales Argus* to be hostile. In Wolverhampton, both the city and many (ethnic minority) residents consider the local newspaper *Express and Star* to report very negatively about asylum seekers. In Bologna, there was concern about the topics covered, as the local media seem to pay attention to immigration only when conflicts develop. Respondents in Zürich expressed anxiety about whether to mention the migration background in news about crime.

Some cities specifically criticised tabloids for their portrayal of migrants. For example, in Vienna, tabloids are often not objective and have discriminatory

tones in their writing. Similarly, in Dublin tabloids tend to be biased, and since the economic downturn the negative tone of this media reporting of migration issues has increased.

In several cities, there were also specific complaints and worries about the portrayal of Islam and Muslims in the media. With regard to Valencia's media, respondents stated that there is little interest in Muslims, except when there is a focus on male attitudes towards women. According to respondents in Vienna, Muslim women are often portrayed as victims, while Muslim men are portrayed as fundamentalists or terrorists by the media. Muslim representatives in Kirklees expressed concern that the media portray Muslims as an enemy both locally and nationally. A similar observation was made in the case of Antwerp. According to both the city administration and representatives of migrant organisations, the local daily newspaper *Gazet van Antwerpen* and the regional TV station *ATV* do not report neutrally: 'Generally, the media try to maintain prejudices against the Muslim community or, in other words, they fail to break certain stereotypes by reporting mainly about negative occurrences. The media have been focused on supporting Islamophobia and giving accounts of threats connected with the growing number of Muslims in Belgium.' An interview partner in Amsterdam stated that the media focuses on everything controversial, including anything on Islam and Muslims, and is 'flexible' with regard to its attitude on the precision of reporting. Respondents in Budapest reported negative and even discriminatory articles about Muslim and Chinese immigrants in the media.

Although respondents showed concern about the media representation of minority groups, the research also identified examples of alternative practice. First, certain newspapers or groups of journalists have developed an ethical framework for reporting on migrant issues. The National Union of Journalists (NUJ) protocol in Ireland, for instance, is seen to have a positive impact in Dublin, where it helps to avoid bias in reporting, especially about refugees and asylum issues. Second, some interviewees have mentioned examples of informative and positive reporting. In Stuttgart and Valencia, for instance, there was praise for articles presenting different religions as well as articles featuring the voices of Muslims. Several newspapers, for instance in Arnsberg, portray good practice intercultural initiatives in an interested and supportive tone. The same can be seen in Sundsvall, although several interviewees regret that some of these stories are written as 'tear-jerkers' and in a stereotypical way. A local newspaper (*Gazeta*) in Wrocław has tried to impact positively on intergroup relations by launching the campaign 'We are racists', which brought attention to

the reluctance of city residents to interact with foreigners. As part of this campaign, interviews with immigrants were published under provocative titles. This campaign led to a broad discussion in the city, suggesting that the media can play an important role in generating public debate about intergroup relations.

Language

Most migrant organisations as well as several city representatives who participated in the research emphasised the importance of issues around language learning. Language performance is crucial for ensuring success at school and for finding appropriate employment. It is also an important factor necessary for immigrants to come in contact with natives and other immigrant groups. As a result, language has an enormous impact on intergroup relations and social cohesion in general. Respondents in 25 cities highlighted the importance of this issue – Amsterdam, Antwerp, Arnsberg, Athens, Bologna, Breda, Budapest, Dublin, Frankfurt, L'Hospitalet, Istanbul, Kirklees, Luxembourg, Malmö, Newport, Prague, Stuttgart, Sundsvall, Tallinn, Terrassa, Valencia, Vienna, Wolverhampton, Zeytinburnu and Zürich. For some of the cities in the CLIP network, the language issue is 'doubled' due to the specific language requirements of the particular region. In Luxembourg, migrant pupils have to learn both French and German; in Zürich, they need to learn German and Swiss-German. The Spanish CLIP cities also have two official languages: in the region of Valencia, Spanish/Castilian and Valencian are spoken; in Terrassa and L'Hospitalet, Spanish/Castilian and Catalan are the official languages. In other bilingual cities, like Newport in Wales, the dual language requirement is not the same. Despite the fact that Wales is officially bilingual, migrants in Newport can choose to speak either English or Welsh (for example, for the purpose of citizenship).

City officials are aware of the importance of migrants' language competences. This is reflected in the fact that most European cities offer language courses for migrants. Most of these language courses aim to enhance migrants' competence in the language of the country of immigration. Nonetheless, some language courses are also offered that aim to enhance migrants' competences in their mother tongue (see also Chapter 3). Despite this, a number of interviewees expressed concerns that the language support available to migrants is insufficient and that the cities should offer a broader variety of courses. This is also true for English-speaking cities such as Dublin. Some of the cities' efforts are referred to in Chapter 3.

Use of public space and safety issues

Public spaces and neighbourhoods are important locations for different ethnic and religious groups to meet. Public spaces include market places, parks and public institutions such as libraries and swimming pools, but also spaces that have not been intended as meeting points at all, for instance street corners or grassed areas between buildings. Since groups in cities are very diverse, there are also very different perceptions regarding what, and whom, public spaces are intended for and how they can and should be used. In some CLIP cities, these varying perceptions seriously challenge intergroup relations.

In Turin and Vienna, conflict has arisen about the use of public parks. These are often a favourite place for migrant families to hold weekend picnics and barbecues. On sunny days, migrants come in large numbers and enjoy the park facilities. Although many natives are also used to spending their time in parks, some complain about the 'occupation' of 'their' parks by migrants. In Turin, for instance, every Sunday, immigrants, especially Peruvians, come together in parks to eat, dance, play and converse. The number of park visitors is over 12,000 people every Sunday in spring and summer. This custom is becoming a social problem and a cause of protests among Italians because of the noise, the amount of rubbish left behind and the use of parks as barbecue areas without suitable facilities.

In other cities, intergroup conflicts occur due to different assumptions about appropriate behaviour in public squares and in the streets in general. In L'Hospitalet, for instance, Spaniards occasionally complain about Latin Americans who drink in the street and gather noisily during the night. Similar instances may exist in other cities as well. In several cases, this concern is related to the issue of safety. In Wolverhampton, Turin and Kirklees, public concern arose about the behaviour of migrants (in general young men) hanging around together and drinking alcohol in the streets. In the two British cities, this concern is mainly expressed by established minority communities who feel disturbed by new migrant groups (for example, Kurdish men in Kirklees and migrants from eastern European countries in Wolverhampton).

Conflicts over the use of public space are often found in segregated neighbourhoods. In nearly every CLIP city, migrant organisation representatives emphasised the negative influence of segregated and disadvantaged neighbourhoods (having both a higher concentration of migrant residents and of socioeconomically disadvantaged natives) on intergroup relations. On a limited

scale, irritations between groups have led to riots in some of the cities. For instance, about 10 years ago in Terrassa, the irritations between the newly arrived Moroccans and autochthonous Spanish residents escalated:

During a neighbourhood festival, some fighting broke out on one of the squares. People got wounded, cars were set on fire and a demonstration was held. The festival had to be cancelled. At that time, the media did not portray a positive image of Moroccan immigrants and published articles that did not improve the peaceful coexistence of both native and migrant groups.

However, on a positive note, this event put immigration and its influence on neighbourhoods on the political agenda, and everyone realised that peaceful coexistence between groups is important.

Similarly, in Turin, 'issues of control and safety have been on the agenda for many years'. The residents' committee of a neighbourhood in which the Arabic community is rather visible 'through ethnic shops, women wearing the chador and men wearing long robes' expressed concerns to the city administration about their personal security.

In Athens, tensions exist due to the high numbers of people coming illegally to the city, who end up living in particularly deprived conditions. This situation has created 'ghettos' in the heart of the historical centre of the city, and tensions between new migrants and native neighbours. The natives complain about the deterioration of their neighbourhood and their living conditions: they are afraid of the new people and they feel that their area is not safe any more. Other cities like Valencia, Breda and Kirklees report similar worries.

Imported ethnic and political conflict

In some CLIP cities, intergroup relations are influenced by ethnic or political conflict that originated in emigration countries and has been 'imported' by immigration to European cities. These conflicts can be of concern to migrant communities as well as politicians since they have the potential to influence local intergroup relations in a negative manner.

Examples of imported conflicts are tensions between different ethnic and national groups – such as Turks and Kurds or Serbs and Albanians – that run along traditional conflict lines existing in the countries of origin. The Vienna case study, for instance, reports that there were occasionally critical phases in Turkish-

Kurdish relations in Vienna that were influenced by political developments in Turkey and Iraq. Open manifestations of the Turkish–Kurdish conflict arose in the context of political demonstrations because of Turkish military invasions of northern Iraq. In 2006, for example, violent incidents involving Turks and Kurds occurred in Vienna. Since then, a calming down of the conflict can be observed in the city. Similar tensions have existed in other CLIP cities including Stuttgart and Kirklees.

A more recent international conflict affecting intergroup relations in CLIP cities – in particular between Muslim and Jewish communities – is the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. Several city visits by the CLIP research team took place during an Israeli bombardment of Gaza in spring 2009. During this conflict, a constant stream of images of severely wounded Palestinians were broadcast on TV, particularly on the international news network *Aljazeera*. In a great number of cities, including Amsterdam, L'Hospitalet, Malmö, Terrassa and Vienna, migrant representatives reported that the situation of the Palestinians and/or the relations between Muslims and Jews was of great concern to them. In Terrassa, a Muslim group organised a roundtable discussion on these issues.

In most cities, local authorities are not overly concerned about this interest in situations in other countries. Although local authorities are aware that a lack of critical reactions from European leaders might lead to mistrust and hatred among Muslims against western Europeans, they do not believe that this is something that they can or should respond to at the city level. In Amsterdam, by contrast, the (Jewish) mayor met with Moroccan associations to discuss this issue, with the aim of preventing the development of further hostility. Such preventive intervention can be very useful. In Malmö, some respondents suggested that new conflict lines have been drawn over the past two years. Several arson attacks have been carried out on both Malmö's main mosque situated adjacent to the Islamic Centre and the Jewish Chapel in central Malmö. Respondents suggested that the troubles in Gaza have compounded interreligious conflict on the streets and also in the classroom. These developments highlight the need for engagement and subsequent dialogue to begin as soon as possible.

Issues in relation to national minorities

National minorities are ethnic groups in multiethnic states, whose inclusion in the state is typically the result of a change of borders between states. If migration plays a role in the development of the minority situation, this is not recent immigration as found in most CLIP cities, but migration that has taken place

historically. National minorities desire forms of cultural and political autonomy that often meet with resistance from the majority population and lead to tensions or conflict in intergroup relations.

Within the CLIP network, Tallinn and Zagreb are examples of cities where the status of national minorities is an issue in intergroup relations. These issues and tensions exist at the urban level, but originate from the macro structure of the state and international relations. The situation in Tallinn provides a particularly clear example.

In the Estonian capital, there are two large ethnic groups: ethnic Estonians and ethnic Russians who settled after the occupation of Estonia by the Soviet Union in 1940. Intergroup relations in the city are mainly peaceful, but nonetheless characterised by a division along ethnic lines: there are two parallel communities comprising Estonian and Russian groups. Ethnic media and separate education systems in the Estonian and Russian languages reinforce these divisions. All those interviewed in the course of this study highlighted that the communities are not cooperating with each other and efforts to establish relations meet with enormous difficulties.

Riots and disputes surrounding the relocation of a Soviet World War II memorial illustrate the tense state of intergroup relations. The memorial, a bronze statue of a Soviet soldier, had been erected in 1947 on a centrally located place in the city of Tallinn. Today, this 'bronze soldier' highlights two different perceptions of history: while for many Russian residents the memorial primarily symbolises the Soviet victory over Nazi Germany, many Estonians consider it to be a symbol of Soviet occupation and repression. In 2007, the local government decided to relocate the statue to the military cemetery on the outskirts of the city. Disagreement over this action led to mass protests, which culminated in rioting and looting in downtown Tallinn on the night of 27 April. Hundreds of people were arrested, about 70 were hurt and the riots even claimed the life of a young Russian. After the clashes, coined the 'Bronze Night', the whole Estonian society was out of balance: tensions escalated and relations became somewhat hostile. Today, these problems have not disappeared but the situation has become more stable.

Gender roles and relations

The issue of gender roles and gender relations in migrant families is referred to in several cities. In most cases, (changing) gender roles are mentioned in the

context of Muslim families. Like the issue of religious dress codes, gender roles challenge intergroup relations in two ways. On the one hand, several of the experts interviewed, for example those in the cities of Arnsberg, Malmö, Stuttgart and Sundsvall, stated that individual Muslim families are very traditional in terms of customs and habits and live in paternalistic family structures manifesting 'traditional' role models. This is expressed in discussions between parents and teachers about sexual education at school, women's rights, threats towards other family members and also cases of female genital mutilation and arranged marriages. It should be emphasised that several of these practices are not generally Muslim practices, but associated with specific cultures or regions. Some experts have concerns about these developments and criticise the social isolation of certain families and (inner-family) women's discrimination. On the other hand, prevalent stereotypical views on the part of the majority population about gender relations in Muslim groups challenge mutual perceptions of groups and intergroup relations – for example, when Muslim men are assumed to generally suppress women, as reported in Breda.

The situation in Malmö illustrates the perceived clash between Swedish society and Muslim beliefs in relation to gender roles:

The issues surrounding perceived gender roles are ... complex. On the one hand, new arrivals are unfamiliar with Swedish gender equality legislation, which conflicts with some traditional aspects of the Muslim faith. An academic at Malmö University suggested that a key issue for the Muslim communities in the city is their inability to compromise or be flexible over conflicting ideologies such as gender roles. It was further suggested that Swedish society has compromised a step too far and is afraid to debate conflicting issues for fear of being labelled racist. At the same time, the majority population is unfamiliar with traditional aspects of the Muslim faith and this also creates conflict. This evidence suggests that there is a lack of understanding on both sides.

Violence against women – both migrant and native women – is another important issue of intergroup relations referred to in some of the case studies. Violence can be both physical and emotional and includes domestic violence, female genital mutilation and unwished arranged or even forced marriages. In Sundsvall, some experts reported on inner-family violence against Muslim women. The same is true in Stuttgart and Arnsberg, but Russian women also seem to be victims of inner-family violence. The issue of violence against women in general and against Latin-American women in particular was also mentioned in the case of

L'Hospitalet. Feminist and human rights groups from the majority and minority society, among others, protest and try to act against violence experienced by both migrant and native women.

Conclusions

It is clear that the increasing ethnic, religious and cultural diversity associated with migration represents an opportunity for cities, because it enhances cities' economic performance and international competitiveness. At the same time, however, increased ethnic and religious diversity challenges intergroup relations and raises new issues for local politics in CLIP cities.

General picture

Within the 31 CLIP cities in this research module, urban intercultural relations are ambiguous. On the one hand, it is possible to identify a peaceful coexistence. This is characterised by limited and partial cooperation between different ethnic, religious and cultural groups, pragmatic and friendly relations between these groups, only a small number of major and violent conflicts, a low degree of radicalisation from both sides and an emerging legal framework of anti-discrimination.

On the other hand, however, there appears to be a low involvement of migrants in the governance of intercultural policy, insufficient resources for migrant organisations and a lack of personal intercultural competences on both sides. There is also strong spatial segregation ('parallel communities') in many cities, dissatisfaction on both sides over specific issues, a lack of awareness regarding relevant topics in several cities, as well as perceived tensions between various ethnic and religious groups.

In a number of cities with available surveys, there is a perception of pragmatic and friendly relations between different ethnic and cultural groups. Surveys in some cities also show good social interaction between natives and culturally different groups. However, when interpreting these results, one should consider that evidence is available for only 20% of the CLIP cities.

Many cities report a widespread perception of existing discrimination in relation to important structural dimensions of quality of life such as employment, housing and education. In some cities, reportedly good intercultural relations go hand-in-hand with perceived and experienced discrimination. The importance of discrimination is confirmed by wider survey evidence such as FRA's EU-MIDIS study.

However, while day-to-day conflicts are a part of intercultural relations, major and violent conflicts rarely occur. Nevertheless, imported conflicts from migrants' countries of origin are shown to play an important role in nearly 20% of the cities.

Issues of intercultural relations

Besides socioeconomic issues that were considered crucial for social cohesion, a number of additional issues and demands have a high priority in intergroup relations in CLIP cities. The CLIP case studies confirm that issues related to intercultural relations are of high importance on the policy agenda of most local authorities. Out of a set of 15 important issues affecting intercultural relations, the interviewees in CLIP cities have highlighted on average between seven and eight issues of importance for their own city. In a total of seven (22% of cities) multi-issue cities, 10 or more of the issues affecting intercultural relations were mentioned: these cities are Antwerp, Stuttgart, Sundsvall, Terrassa, Turin, Valencia and Vienna.

A far-reaching agreement is apparently evident in nearly all CLIP cities, which is that discrimination towards migrants, ethnic and religious groups (30 cities), and religious aspects and resources for migrant organisations are important issues for intercultural relations (27 cities each). Nevertheless, language, media reporting and specific issues like burials and provision of space for migrant organisations are of importance in more than 75% of the cities. The relatively least important issues for the CLIP cities are gender issues related to intercultural relations, food provision due to religious needs, imported conflicts and the use of public space.

Overall, there appears to be agreement on the importance of the main issues affecting intercultural relations between the different groups – migrant and faith organisations, city officials, NGOs and experts interviewed. Nevertheless, there are differences regarding the importance of the specific dimensions of most issues. For example, with regard to the issue of place of worship, for migrants or faith organisations this issue is combined with challenges related to 'recognition', 'visibility' and sufficient room for prayer, whereas for the city administration practical issues like traffic, parking and noise as well as the feelings and worries of the native population and local electorate are important.

It should be noted in this context that at least some agreement between the main stakeholders is a necessary but not sufficient condition to start an exchange on the abovementioned issues and to develop relevant intercultural initiatives and policies.

Satisfaction and dissatisfaction

The level of satisfaction and dissatisfaction varies in relation to the different issues and between the various stakeholders. Overall, however, it should be noted that there is a weak empirical basis.

Regarding satisfaction, the following can be said:

- on contentious issues related to faith and to recognition and contacts with ethnic and religious organisations, between a third and half of the cities report some level of satisfaction on both sides;
- higher levels of satisfaction are reported with regard to recognition (half of cities) and contacts with the majority society than regarding faith issues (a third of cities);
- no information is available related to issues of gender, public space and safety, language and media reporting.

Regarding dissatisfaction, a number of observations can be made:

- the widest 'soft' dissatisfaction among ethnic and religious organisations in nearly half of the cities relates to recognition and contact with the city; in those cities, requests have been made that more be done by cities on the basis of existing activities. In a minority of cities (15%), migrant organisations are very dissatisfied;
- dissatisfaction with faith and media issues can be found in around a third of the cities. Both sides have similar levels of dissatisfaction but regarding different dimensions and for different reasons.
- concerns about and dissatisfaction with the use of public space and personal safety as well as on gender issues are relevant in 20%–25% of cities.

Religious issues

While many migrants are not religious, religion is of importance for others. Since migrants' religions often differ from those prevalent in the immigration country, migrants bring along new practices and needs with regard to religion. This creates challenges in all CLIP cities. These challenges encompass the issues of burials, religious education, religious dress codes and food. At present, the issue of religious buildings seems to be the most significant challenge for cities: the planning and construction of religious buildings requested by migrants currently challenge intergroup relations in 17 CLIP cities, most notably where the building in question is a mosque. The debate concerns, on the one hand, the question of

acceptance of the religion and, on the other hand, the questions of funding and space.

As far as intercultural relations are concerned, there is a particular Muslim focus prominent in cities with a high proportion of migrants with a Muslim background. A high proportion of Muslims is not only important in relation to faith issues but also regarding general issues of intercultural policy such as labour market discrimination or access to housing. Overall, the results show that practical issues related to burial grounds and religious education are more important than highly symbolic issues like representative mosques or dress codes. There are indications of some pragmatism on both sides. Also, satisfaction and dissatisfaction levels on important symbolic issues are fairly balanced.

The importance of religious issues varies greatly between the cities, if one considers that five issues have been included in the research. There are seven multi-issue cities (where four issues or more are mentioned by respondents): Antwerp (where 16.6% of residents are Muslim), Breda (5.4%), Stuttgart (8.1%), Sundsvall (no data available), Turin (2.9%), Valencia (1.7%) and Vienna (7.8%). As the results show, there is no direct relation between the multi-importance and the percentage of Muslims in the city. At the other extreme are seven cities in which no or only one issue has been mentioned (Istanbul, Malmö, Prague, Tallinn, Turku, Wrocław and Zeytinburnu).

Following this discussion of needs and issues in intergroup relations, the report now turns to the political responses of cities towards these needs and issues.

3 – Patterns of intercultural policies in CLIP cities

This chapter first discusses general approaches that cities take towards integration and intercultural policies, then looks at the ‘organisational chart’ of relations between different organs of city government and migrant groups. An analysis of concrete policies and measures that cities take towards migrant and minority groups follows.

General approaches

This section looks at general types of policies that underlie concrete measures of intercultural policies. For the purpose of the analysis here, it is necessary to differentiate variables in the general approaches taken in relation to intercultural policies on the basis of the following dimensions: the definition of the target group(s); the focus on individuals or groups; the acceptance or non-acceptance of migrants’ culture and religion; and the time span of policies. Particular combinations of these variables in association with the characteristics of the receiving society result in different types of general approaches towards intercultural policies. On the basis of these characteristics, it is possible to differentiate between an ‘integration policy approach’, a ‘diversity approach’ and an approach based on ‘national minority rights’.⁹

Integration policy approach

In the vast majority of CLIP cities, intercultural policies and intergroup relations are embedded in an integration policy concept.¹⁰ Although there are a number of differentiating aspects, there is sufficient commonality of framing and planning to justify describing cities as pursuing a common integration policy approach. The majority of these cities have official documents on integration, many of which use the term ‘integration’ in the title of the document. Such documents emphasise:

- inclusion of individual migrants into welfare state institutions;

⁹ The Lisbon case study reports early trends of a republican approach in city policies, which, however, seem to have changed so that there is a greater appreciation of the contribution of migrant and minority cultures and their organisations.

¹⁰ According to the Turku case study, the city’s concept is one of refugee reception. When one looks at its characteristics, it is very similar to integration concepts and is probably an early phase of an integration concept due to the recent history of migration to the city.

- respect for the cultures of immigrants and their organisations;
- awareness raising in the receiving society;
- adaptation of public services;
- establishment of consultative bodies of migrants;
- raising participation of migrants in public life.

There are nonetheless some differentiating features within the integration policy approach. While all cities support the integration of individuals and families and want to improve intergroup relations, the emphasis given to the importance of intercultural policies for intergroup relations differs between cities. Sundsvall and Copenhagen, for example, are cities that pursue an individual-based strategy. Other cities focus more on promoting groups. Turin, for instance, emphasises social cohesion ‘on the basis of collaboration among the various formal and informal organisations living in an area: e.g. parishes, ethnic associations, local resident committees, entrepreneur organisations, youth and elderly groups’.

Dialogue between groups, stimulating mutual understanding and retaining or developing relations with groups whose activities and goals one does not much appreciate are central to the approach. This is evident from Vienna’s policy in the context of radicalisation prevention, which states: ‘The general perception and attitude of the city towards radicalism among immigrant and minority groups focuses on upholding sustainable relations with all immigrant organisations and fostering sustainable and cautious dialogue’. This is in line with the strong tradition of corporatist policies in Austria, which try to include all groups that have a stake in a political process.

Another line of differentiation within the integration approach is the emphasis given to anti-discrimination and anti-racism strategies in the UK and Ireland. Newport, Kirklees, Wolverhampton and Dublin reflect this approach and – on a national and city level – have established systems of anti-discrimination and anti-racism institutions, reporting systems and sanctioning systems. As a consequence of European anti-discrimination legislation, other European countries are at the initial stages of establishing similar institutions.

Diversity policy approach

Four cities – Amsterdam, Breda, L’Hospitalet and Terrassa – do not subsume their policies under the category of ‘integration policies’ but rather describe their approach as a diversity policy approach, one which explicitly values the ethnic

cultures of their inhabitants.¹¹ The emphasis here is not on individual integration and rights but rather on the needs of particular groups. Relations between groups are regarded as central for social cohesion. A central theme in the policies of Amsterdam, for example, is the ‘connecting’ (*Verbindend*) of groups; the development of social cohesion is seen as a consequence of the search for connections between groups. The director of the programme Platform Amsterdam Together (*Platform Amsterdam Samen*, PAS) explains: ‘By itself, social cohesion is nothing, but for the administration the main issue is where to find connections.’ The diversity approach also fully accepts the cultures and religions of migrant groups and looks upon diversity as an asset to urban life. In the Catalan cities of L’Hospitalet and Terrassa, there is a particular emphasis on equal rights and citizenship for migrants.

National minority rights

Some of the CLIP cities do not yet have significant immigration, but they do have national minorities within their populations originating from the multiethnic structure of their country’s population. This structure has mostly arisen from the drawing or changing of borders as a result of conflict or war, or when the formation of nation states included people of different ethnicities. Like any population, these national minorities want favourable material living conditions and aspire to some degree of cultural and political autonomy within the nation state, including recognition of their language.

Modern international law, many treaties and national legislation all recognise the legitimacy of these goals and define the rights of national minorities. Integration of minorities into a multiethnic nation state that respects and protects minority groups is thus the recognised goal of national minorities in many democratic societies.

Budapest, Prague, Tallinn and Zagreb are those CLIP cities in which this general legal framework is relevant for intergroup relations.¹² Zagreb, for example, applies national Croatian legislation, which exists in the form of the Constitutional Act on the Rights of National Minorities, giving minorities rights of representation and cultural autonomy. In addition to applying this national legal framework, Zagreb has also set up a Committee for National Minorities, which considers

¹¹ Many other cities equally value diversity, but do not make it the focus of their policy approach.

¹² Other cities also have officially recognised national minorities – for example, Sundsvall and Turku – but the minority groups play a less significant role in the local intercultural policies of these cities.

issues that are important for implementing the rights of the city's national minorities.

Structure of relations between city and migrant and minority groups

Although there are traditions of institutionalised relations – such as those between economy and state, labour and management, voluntary associations and public authorities – in several areas of public life, the same cannot be said of relations between cities and migrant or minority groups. This is an area in which new patterns of relations and structures have had to be 'invented', tried out and created. This section looks at the formal and informal structures of urban government.

The key players within these structures are the city council, the mayor and the administration. All of the cities in the CLIP network are in democratic countries and they have an elected council that is the responsible legislative and budgetary body at the local level. The city mayor can be directly appointed by the electorate or be elected by the city council. Nothing happens without the work of the city administration, which executes national, federal states' and local policies.

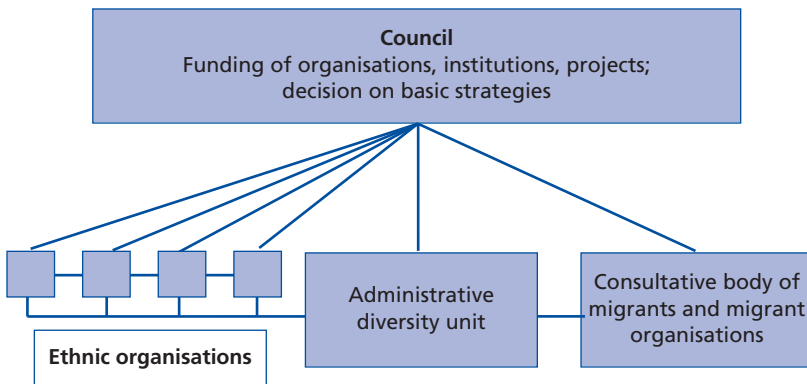
City council and its partners for intercultural policies

The city council as the local administrative body has to either initiate or sanction basic statements and policy concepts and funds concerning intercultural policies. Most councils have adopted an integration approach, as reflected for example in Stuttgart's 'Pact for integration' or Dublin's integration policy document *Towards integration: A city framework*.

As the body with the budgetary responsibility, the city council also has to decide on whether a department in the administration should be created (and/or kept) that has the primary responsibility for designing and implementing intercultural policies, or whether intercultural policies should be the competence of other departments. Funding decisions also have to be taken by the council on larger projects of immigrant integration and support for migrant and minority organisations.

The second module of the CLIP project on diversity has shown that the general administration in many cities makes considerable efforts to better service the needs of immigrants and adapt to the diversity of its residents. The great majority of CLIP cities have decided to create a special administrative diversity unit or department for intercultural affairs within the administration. Examples include

Figure 3: City council and intercultural policies



Source: Compiled by efms

the Office for Integration in Dublin, the Office for the Integration of New Citizens in L’Hospitalet, the Immigration Support Centre (*Centro de Apoyo a la Inmigración*, CAI) in Valencia, the ‘Living together in diversity’ (*Samenleven in diversiteit*) service in Antwerp, the Department of Integration Affairs in Turin and the Municipal Department for Integration and Diversity Affairs ‘MA 17’ in Vienna. The weight that a city gives to intercultural policies and integration is reflected in the power, size and quality of the department to which the responsibility for intercultural relations is designated.

A relationship between the council and migrant groups can be realised by having migrant representatives in the council, or by the creation of a consultative body. The proportion of persons with a migration background in elected positions, however, is rather low or non-existent in most cases.¹³ In Athens and Dublin, for example, as in six other cities for which information is available, there are no elected representatives with a migration or minority background in the city council. A major reason for the low degree of migrant representation in the city council is the lack of voting rights for foreigners. The fact that many migrants are still foreign nationals and have no voting rights or the right to campaign for political office has been mentioned as a challenging issue in several cities, including Terrassa, Vienna and Stuttgart. Only a few cities have a significant representation of migrants and minorities in the council. For example, 25% of council members in Malmö, 20% of those in Amsterdam, 17% in Kirklees, 16% in Antwerp, 15% in Copenhagen and 15% in Wolverhampton have an ethnic

¹³ Information in this regard is available in the individual case studies or via the Internet for 19 out of the 31 cities participating in this third CLIP research module.

minority background. In Tallinn, representation of the Russian national minority is regulated by national minority protection legislation. As a result of this legislation, 20 out of 61 city council seats are held by national minorities.

Since representation of migrants and minorities in the city council is, in most cases, low or even non-existent, the prime articulation and representation of migrants' interests at the local level is through some kind of consultative body for migrants and migrants' organisations and/or through single ethnic and minority organisations. Seventeen cities report the existence of these kinds of institutionalised consultative bodies – Amsterdam, Antwerp, Arnsberg, Athens, Bologna, Copenhagen, Frankfurt, L'Hospitalet (still being set up), Kirklees, Lisbon, Luxembourg, Stuttgart, Tallinn, Terrassa, Wolverhampton, Zagreb and Zürich.

Half of these bodies gather representatives of migrant or minority organisations and NGOs – for example, the Municipal Council for Interculturality and Citizenship in Lisbon – and thus place a higher emphasis on groups. In general, these representatives are appointed by their respective organisations.

The other half of councils assemble individuals with a migration background and/or relevant expertise and thus put a higher emphasis on individuals. Of the latter, some consultative bodies solely have foreigners as members (such as the Foreigners' Council in Frankfurt and Zürich), whereas others (such as the International Committee in Stuttgart) consist of foreigners, (naturalised) residents with a migration background as well as experts of the native population. The council's members are either elected (as in Frankfurt and Zürich) or appointed (as in Stuttgart). Some bodies, such as the Integration Council in Copenhagen, have both elected as well as appointed members.

In most cities, relations between the 'diversity department' and a representative body of migrants and single ethnic organisations are not institutionalised and are mostly informal.¹⁴ The intensity of contacts depends on issues that have to be resolved. Contacts can be initiated from both sides.

Another possibility for enabling migrants' participation in the political process is through introducing new forms of governance in cities, as exemplified by the approach taken in Breda. In light of frustrations with the planned top-down introduction of a concept of integration for the city, it was decided that a public

¹⁴ Subsidies to ethnic organisations are exceptions, which, of course, have to be formally regulated.

inquiry process should take place ‘from the bottom up’, organised with the help of the communication department of the Breda administration and an expert institute. The process chosen was ‘Appreciative inquiry’, developed by the American professor of organisational behaviour David L. Cooperrider. Appreciative inquiry is a positive organisational development process, in search of what people ‘see as their dreams’ and the focus of which is on discovery and design. This process intended to inspire people from different nationalities and backgrounds to participate in the policymaking process, to stimulate them and to make them enthusiastic about a common future. As a starting point, so-called ‘Town discussions’ (*Stadsgesprekken*) took place, which resulted in the identification of 14 initiatives reflecting the main issues, demands and interests of immigrants in Breda. These initiatives became project proposals. A ‘Building group’ (*Bouwgroep*) was set up to steer this process, which resulted in a new proposal for an integration concept.

Intercultural policies towards ethnic organisations

Most city representatives stated that they consider local ethnic and religious migrant organisations important in the context of integration and intergroup relations. On the one hand, these organisations are helpful for their members, because they provide networks and promote familiarisation with the ‘new’ society. On the other hand, relations with migrant organisations, and in particular with their leaders, are useful for the city as well. The leaders are usually respected in the migrant communities and can act as bridges between the administration and individual members, bringing people together and sharing information about different cultures and religions.

The intercultural policies of the city towards ethnic organisations reflect the meaning and relevance that cities give to the role of ethnic organisations in urban life and for the integration process. This study identified five important components of intercultural policies towards migrant organisations: mapping of migrant organisations, funding of migrant organisations, empowering them, policies of recognition and policies promoting a shared vision.

Mapping of migrant organisations

Having information about the membership, activities and demands of migrant organisations is an important prerequisite for establishing effective policies towards them. With this in mind, several cities gather systematic information about migrant organisations in their locality.

Most – but not all – cities collect the names and addresses of migrant organisations and publish this information on their websites or in brochures. Good examples of the latter are the ‘Multicultural Guidebook’ of the city of Frankfurt, the reports of the Provincial Immigration Observatory (*Osservatorio provinciale delle Immigrazioni*) in Bologna and the ‘Atlas of the city’ of Antwerp.

Antwerp: Atlas of the city – Guide to multicultural associations

In 2002, the city of Antwerp published the first edition of the ‘Atlas of the city – Guide to multicultural associations in Antwerp’. On 264 pages, it presents all migrant organisations in the city, including addresses and a description of areas of interest. Since 2002, the city has reissued this publication three times to ensure that it provides up-to-date information about migrant associations and their activities.

Other cities, for example Amsterdam, L’Hospitalet, Lisbon and Vienna, benefit from studies carried out by external researchers. Some even use research to get input into, or feedback on, policy strategies. The city of Frankfurt, for instance, commissioned a local researcher to conduct interviews with migrant representatives in order to get their assessments of a planned ‘integration agreement’. The results influenced policy decision making. The Islamic Centre of Malmö appointed two community researchers to collect data concerning the main interfaith issues within the city in the course of the ‘New Ways’ project and then established an interreligious council to respond to these issues.

Seven cities – Amsterdam, Dublin, Frankfurt, Kirklees, Malmö, Turin and Vienna – placed particular emphasis on mapping religious groups. The city of Frankfurt has gathered information about all religious migrant organisations in the city – their history, members and activities – and presented this information in the publication ‘Religions of the World’ (*Religionen der Welt*). Similarly, the cities of Kirklees and Amsterdam collected research on religious organisations, later published as ‘Mapping faiths in Kirklees’ and ‘Houses of prayer in Amsterdam’. In Amsterdam and Frankfurt, ‘mapping’ should be understood literally: all religious buildings are marked on city maps.

The Turin the ‘Integration Affairs Department’ was also interested in outlining the religious situation – in particular, concerning Muslim communities – in the city and therefore collected general information as well as communities’ requests and demands in order to understand the needs of the Muslim communities. Likewise, the city of Dublin carried out research on the demands of Muslim

communities. In Vienna, MA 17 (the Division for Integration and Diversity Affairs) cooperated with the Turkish media organisation *ZAMAN Avusturya* to carry out a survey among 200 young people with a Muslim background about their attitudes and experiences in Austria, as well as their attitudes towards integration in general.

Funding of migrant organisations

Cities that pursue a general integration or intergroup strategy appreciate the social capital that is produced through the activities of migrant organisations. Most migrant organisations, however, have very limited financial resources: they lack both funding in general and space to run their activities. Thus, in one way or another, most CLIP cities support migrant organisations either through direct financial support (project funding and/or institutional funding) or by providing space for activities and/or rent allowances.

The most common way of funding migrant organisations is the provision of direct financial support for cultural, social and educational activities such as festivals, caring for elderly people, support for students and language training. Projects associated with commercial, religious, ideological and political interests are generally excluded from municipal financial support. Some cities promote intercultural projects enhancing intergroup relations. In Copenhagen, for instance, projects funded by the 'We Copenhagen' fund (see below) have to highlight the city's diversity and must be based on cross-cultural cooperation. The city of Stuttgart grants a larger amount of money to events that are conducted by at least two migrant organisations of different ethnicities. Similarly, the city of Antwerp provides a variety of subsidies for activities 'aimed at breaking the bias against different groups and building diversity'. Thus, the funds are allocated for a) labour costs for organisations dealing with living in diversity; b) projects on diversity that contribute to the emancipation of a minority group; and c) projects that aim to promote dialogue between different ethnic-cultural or religious communities living in the city.

Single migrant associations secure institutional funding – that is, financial aid that does not depend on specific projects or activities, but constitutes a general fund for the relevant association. This is the case for such associations in Malmö, Stuttgart and Sundsvall.

Financial funding of migrant organisations and their (integration-promoting) activities is reported in 24 cities – Amsterdam, Antwerp, Arnsberg, Bologna, Breda, Copenhagen, Dublin, Frankfurt, Kirklees, Lisbon, Luxembourg, Malmö,

Newport, Prague, Stuttgart, Sundsvall, Terrassa, Turin, Turku, Valencia, Vienna, Wolverhampton, Zagreb and Zürich. The amount of money provided for migrant associations' activities varies greatly from city to city, depending on the city's size, the proportion of migrants living in the city, the budget available and the city's general approach towards these organisations. The city of Turku, for instance, annually supports migrant organisations with funding of about €7,000, while Sundsvall provides about €12,400 in funding. Lisbon and Zürich offer funding of about €25,000 a year, while the cities of Frankfurt and Stuttgart annually support migrant organisations' projects with funding of more than €200,000. It should be noted that these cities only fund activities promoting migrants' integration and/or social cohesion in general. While the cities of Frankfurt and Stuttgart support migrant organisations directly with the amounts specified, the city of Newport supports them indirectly: it provides the South East Wales Racial Equality Council (SEWREC), the Gwent Association of Voluntary Organisations (GAVO) and the Citizens Advice Bureau with about €236,000. The three organisations then provide funding at their own discretion to migrant and other associations to fund their activities.

While several cities, including for example Frankfurt, have specific funds for migrant organisations, other cities only have general funds that migrant organisations can apply for. The city of Valencia, for instance, does not have specific budgets for migrant organisations, but these organisations may apply for funds for social and cultural activities of civil society organisations in general. These applications, however, are often not successful, since the organisations do not have enough knowledge about the respective procedures. To overcome this challenge, the city of Breda has developed a good practice approach.

Breda: Funding for migrant organisations' projects

In Breda, there are two kinds of municipal funds that migrant organisations can apply for: 'diversity funds', which are linked to the policy goals of participation, social cohesion and integration, and 'funds for social development' (*Fonds Maatschappelijke Ontwikkelingen*, FMO). In the period between 2007 and 2011, the FMO has a budget of €10 million to support initiatives of citizens and organisations. Promoted activities should:

- enable citizens to come forward with project ideas for their surroundings;
- increase social cohesion;

- support groups with difficulties;
- develop into a durable service after the subsidy stops.

To increase and improve migrant organisations' applications, the city highlighted the possibilities for funding at information meetings held at migrant associations. In addition, municipal administrators support organisations in creating attractive project ideas by transforming the proposals into a well-written application including a budget plan. Thus, residents with little knowledge of the Dutch language have a better chance of getting funding for their project.

To coordinate municipal and private support for migrant organisations, the city of Turin set up an interesting public-private partnership with a private foundation.

Turin: Public-private partnership

In 2008, the Department of Integration Affairs of the city of Turin and the private foundation *Compagnia di San Paolo* established a public-private partnership to combine and coordinate their funds for NGOs.

Together, they addressed calls for proposals to (inter)ethnic associations and schools that could get funding for projects promoting the social inclusion of migrants. During the last two years, two calls have been launched; 30 projects have been funded in the first round, 24 in the second. Altogether, the partnership has spent €2.6 million since 2006.

Likewise, the city of Zeytinburnu supports associations in acquiring external funding and in establishing international cooperation, for example, via the project 'Municipal dialogue for integration of migrants' with the cities of Berlin (Germany) and Beringen (Belgium).

In all, 17 CLIP cities (55%) address the challenges associated with a shortage of meeting spaces – these cities are Amsterdam, Arnsberg, Bologna, Dublin, L'Hospitalet, Istanbul, Kirklees, Malmö, Newport, Stuttgart, Sundsvall, Terrassa, Turin, Turku, Zagreb, Zeytinburnu and Zürich. They provide municipal space for migrant organisations, either rooms for regular meetings, as in Turin, or larger rooms and public places for specific events. In the city of Zürich, for example, migrant organisations use the (subsidised) rooms at community centres for their specific or regular activities. Similarly, in Stuttgart, all ethnic associations are

given the opportunity to rent a municipal hall once a year. Furthermore, some cities provide rent allowances for ethnic organisations. Arnsberg, for instance, covers 15% of migrant organisations' rental costs. In Sundsvall, a rent subsidy covering up to 40% of the premises' costs can be given by the city. Turku pays a significant, but variable, part of the rent for several migrant organisations, including religious associations.

Some cities promote the collective use of buildings since this can encourage informal meetings and cooperation between different groups. The city of Turin has established a database on available venues for special events and meeting places across the city. In Amsterdam, one of the facilities is *Wereldpand* ('World House'), a multi migrant organisation building. It includes 25 organisations that are mainly active in the field of refugee support. Its large premises can be rented by external organisations at a daily rate between €50 and €150. Another effective example of providing space for migrant organisations is the municipal intercultural centre *Zonarelli* in Bologna. It hosts cultural, sport and artistic events – for example, language, cooking and music courses, films, exhibitions, concerts, seminars and conferences – to highlight the cultures of ethnic minorities and foster relations between them and with the native population. Similarly, the 'House of National Minorities' in Prague is a meeting place for national minorities, which is funded by the city.

Prague: House of National Minorities

In 2007, the city of Prague opened the 'House of National Minorities' in which the 11 officially recognised national minorities – the Polish, Bulgarian, Slovak, Roma, Hungarian, German, Ruthenian, Greek, Russian, Croatian and Ukrainian groups – have offices for their civic associations, including rooms for club activities and editorial offices for their publications. The house is a place to hold social and educational events. Furthermore, it promotes amateur artists' activities (for example, fine arts, literature and drama), presents minorities' activities through exhibitions and facilitates the development of minorities' folklore performances.

The house is a place for meeting and cooperating within national minority communities, between national minorities and with the majority society. The house plays a central role as a contact point for those who are interested in national minority issues. Furthermore, other ethnic or religious minorities and multicultural associations have the opportunity to use the house to get involved and present their activities.

Empowering and connecting migrant organisations

Funding is one important means of empowering ethnic organisations. Empowerment, however, is a broader concept. This study identifies three different kinds of measures that potentially contribute to the empowerment of migrant organisations: programmes to build the capacities of migrant groups, the establishment of umbrella organisations, and connecting and involving migrant leaders.

Capacity building

Capacity building, in particular training in organisation management and leadership as well as programmes involving migrants as ‘multipliers’, can be considered an important means of empowering migrant organisations. Nine (29%) of the CLIP cities reported on programmes that can be regarded as good practice initiatives. Specific training in organisation management is offered, for instance, in Amsterdam, Newport, Stuttgart, Sundsvall, Turin and Turku.

Copenhagen, Newport, Stuttgart, Sundsvall and Turku: Courses in association management

Following the philosophy of ‘providing help to self-help’, the cities of Copenhagen, Newport, Stuttgart, Sundsvall and Turku provide or support courses in association management.¹⁵ Most courses focus on administrative and legal aspects such as establishing an association, defining rules, calculating the budget, accountancy and fundraising; other seminars concentrate on the creation of websites, public relations and computer skills. The courses are offered for all local migrant associations, in particular the board members, and get very positive feedback from the participants.

The cities of Amsterdam, Stuttgart and Turin train Muslim groups in project management, youth work and public relations. The city administrations also provide these groups with media training and try to establish links between them as well as with local institutions. These projects are described in more detail in Chapter 4.

¹⁵ In Stuttgart, the migrant organisations’ umbrella association ‘Forum of the Cultures’ provides the courses, in Newport, it is the umbrella association GAVO, while in Sundsvall it is the city’s Labour Market, Adult Education and Integration Office FAVI. In Turku, the courses were held by the – now abolished – International Meeting Point (IMP) at the municipal Cultural Centre (*Kulttuurikeskus*).

Some capacity-building programmes are based on the concept of involving migrants as ‘multipliers’. The idea is that a city trains committed migrants on specific issues, thus equipping the migrants to act as ‘multipliers’ and transfer their knowledge and competence to their communities. The ‘intercultural stewards’ in Antwerp are one example of migrant ‘multipliers’. In this case, there are about 30 volunteers who are committed to enhancing intercultural dialogue. These individuals are active in organising and implementing cultural events and festivals and informing their community of municipal projects. Other examples can be seen in Dublin and Frankfurt. The Dublin Office for Integration has developed a Migrant Voters Campaign, which is being used as a model for other councils throughout Ireland. In the course of this campaign, 75 migrants received training and links were established with other groups. This allowed them to then act as ‘multipliers’ in raising migrants’ awareness of their right to vote.

Dublin: Migrant Voters Campaign

The Migrant Voters Campaign, led by Dublin’s Office for Integration, aims to empower and enable migrant representatives to increase community members’ awareness about their right to vote. First, the city invited all local migrant communities to discuss and agree on the project. It set up a steering committee comprising 16 migrants from 12 different countries, who represent community, religious, cultural and business interests. The committee makes all decisions on the campaign’s operation, policy and practice in a democratic manner. An atmosphere of cooperation and mutual respect underlies all of the work.

The response to the campaign has been significant: 75 migrants attended courses on how to deliver voter information sessions within their specific migrant communities as well as in other communities across the city. Posters advertising the campaign have been translated into 25 languages.

Despite these activities, the number of people registering in local electoral registers has increased only slightly; the city revealed an increase in immigrants’ registration of 2% following the campaign. However, the creation of new networks is seen as a more important outcome of the campaign. The city underlines that its leadership and the principles for working together have underpinned the campaign’s success. If migrant communities are involved in a respectful and meaningful way in projects, including providing the necessary resources to achieve their respective aims and objectives, they will become mobilised, as they have through this campaign. Hence, the

campaign is a good example of how the active involvement and empowerment of migrant ‘multipliers’ can increase social capital and lead to stronger relations among individuals and communities.

The city of Frankfurt undertakes a variety of projects through which migrants are trained as ‘multipliers’ to transfer their knowledge to other migrants. A good practice example is its training-oriented project work with parents (*Ausbildungsorientierte Elternarbeit*, AOE), which aims to inform migrant parents about the German educational and training system as well as issues of child development such as dyslexia, hyperactivity and multilingualism. To reach the parents, the city cooperates with migrant organisations and trains qualified migrants – for example, teachers, social workers and psychologists – on the issues mentioned. These migrants act as ‘multipliers’ or mediators and conduct workshops in migrant organisations and schools. The project is highly rated by its participants, as well as by the city. Currently, about 60 mediators conduct workshops in 17 different languages.

Establishment of umbrella organisations

Another means of empowering migrant associations is through the establishment of umbrella organisations. Umbrella organisations strengthen cooperation between member associations, enable the members to create and use synergies and can thus increase the associations’ influence within the city. Umbrella organisations of (migrant) associations are mentioned as an important means of empowerment and establishing a sense of belonging in six (19%) CLIP cities – Antwerp, Newport, Stuttgart, Turku, Vienna and Zürich.

One such body, the Union of Multicultural Associations in South-West Finland (SONDIP), in Turku, for instance, currently has 12 member organisations, including cultural associations, ‘multicultural’ associations and student organisations. It consults the city about migrant groups and cooperates with the city and the regional employment service to inform migrants about job-related projects. A further good practice example in the field of migrant associations’ umbrella organisations is the Forum of Cultures in Stuttgart.

Stuttgart: Forum of Cultures

The Forum of Cultures is an umbrella organisation for migrant associations. It aims to raise mutual understanding and active dialogue through seminars and cultural events. Founded by the city in 1998, it now has 80 active member associations. A total of 270 organisations are supported by the forum.

The forum receives considerable institutional funding from the city. This funding allows it to offer advice and other forms of assistance to migrant organisations – for example, courses on fundraising or intercultural competences, hosting cultural projects such as migrant theatre plays or ‘intercultural breakfasts’, and engaging in the field of political education. Another activity of the forum is the organisation of the city’s yearly Summer Festival of Cultures. Since 2001, the forum has successfully edited the magazine *Intercultural Stuttgart: Encounter of cultures*, promoting migrant organisations’ activities.

Some umbrella organisations gather together specific groups. The city of Zürich, for instance, encouraged Muslim organisations to establish an umbrella organisation (*Vereinigung der Islamischen Organisationen in Zürich*, VIOZ) to represent the ‘Muslim reference point’ for the city. The city of Vienna initiated a network of migrant women’s associations to strengthen these associations and their initiatives and to increase their involvement in urban affairs. In Newport, several umbrella organisations are currently supporting refugee services and voluntary organisations to enhance their cooperation to achieve common goals.

Connecting and involving migrant leaders

It is of high importance to involve community leaders in intercultural policies.¹⁶ Connecting leaders of different ethnic and minority populations with leaders in the majority population creates an opportunity for these people to use their leadership positions in their ethnic groups to improve relations between such groups, or, in the case of conflict or even violence, try to stop the conflict or violence. Alternatively, elite groups might also use their influence to mobilise and further aggravate a conflict.

The PAS in Amsterdam provides an interesting and promising concept of connecting and empowering leadership groups. For instance, it established a network of Muslim ‘key figures’. Other examples of initiatives aimed at migrant leaders are the Tallinn project ‘Peace in the community’ (*Kodurahu*), the qualification programme for young Muslim leaders and the planned local Islam Forum in Stuttgart that will be described further in Chapter 4.

Another initiative in this regard is migrant leaders’ involvement in local forums. Within local forums, migrant associations establish contact with other relevant

¹⁶ The ‘Intercultural Cities’ project and the White Paper of the Council of Europe have both emphasised the importance of intercultural leaders in intercultural policies (Eurofound, 2009, p. 37).

actors in the city and become more involved in local decision-making processes. Seven CLIP case studies – Frankfurt, Lisbon, Stuttgart, Valencia, Vienna, Wolverhampton and Wrocław – provide information on such measures. In Vienna, for instance, forums have been set up at the neighbourhood level that serve as a meeting point for district associations, NGOs and local politicians. The city encourages migrant associations' participation in these forums. Likewise, in Frankfurt and Stuttgart, projects have been launched to try to enhance the involvement of mosque associations in different neighbourhoods.

Other cities have established city-wide forums to connect and empower migrant associations. Within the Social Network (*Rede Social*) in Lisbon, associations operating in the social sector exchange information and develop common strategies for local social policies. More than 200 partners are involved, including various migrant associations. Several similar examples are worth mentioning here. The city of Wrocław, for instance, established two forums for ethnic minority organisations to exchange experiences and cooperate with each other – the Working Group for National and Ethnic Minorities and the Centre of Information and Social Development. In Wolverhampton, the Community Cohesion Forum provides a platform and an institutionalised structure for maintaining and improving relations between ethnic and religious organisations, and between these organisations and the city. The forum meets on a bi-monthly basis and encourages organisations to work together to promote cohesion and integration across the city.

Policies of recognition

Funding and empowerment are important policies towards migrant organisations that, in one way or another, are applied by most CLIP cities. But policies of recognition are also crucial. Evidence from the case studies strongly suggests that most migrant associations would like to have greater recognition from the cities in which they operate.

Pursuing acceptance and recognition policies means treating migrants and minorities as equal in a universalistic sense, while recognising the cultural and ethnic particularistic traits of individuals and groups. Thus, recognition is a principle and basic orientation relevant for different spheres of social life. It can, however, be translated into concrete policy measures.

The formation of an institutionalised consultative body of migrant and/or minority representatives that advises the city council and its committees in all matters of local politics is an example of such a concrete policy. The creation of

this type of consultative body officially recognises the importance of migrants and minorities for the city and values their expert knowledge and assessments (see previous section on structure of relations between city and minority groups). In nearly all cases, however, some discussion has taken place on what the actual power of such an unelected body should be.

Policies of recognition are also part of a national minority policy that aims to keep ethnic boundaries intact. In the case of migrant ethnic minorities, policies of recognition can go along with acculturation policies and processes that – throughout the generations – will eventually lead to obscuring of former ethnic boundaries in a process of new nation building.

Zagreb: Institutionalised and informal contacts between city and minorities

The city's relationship with national minorities is institutionalised in the form of a special council for national minorities in the city. Among others, each national minority that is represented in the council celebrates certain holidays important to their respective ethnic or national tradition. These events are usually visited by city representatives and members of other ethnic minorities who show respect and recognition.

Respecting and valuing ethnic, cultural and religious customs, symbols and holidays and giving them a place in the city's life is important for minority groups. Several cities show this respect by supporting ethnic heritage events and intercultural festivals (see also the following section on policies improving attitudes and relations between groups). Sending greeting cards for ethnic and religious holidays to local organisations is a rather simple, but highly valued measure that shows the respect and recognition for migrants' heritage, and can be observed in many cities.

Similarly, according to the case studies, most migrant organisations highly value mutual invitations. Thus, several city officials – both administrative and political officials – invite migrant organisations' representatives to official events and accept invitations from these organisations to events. The Social Policy and Integration Alderman of the city of Valencia, the Integration Commissioner of the city of Stuttgart, the Mayor of the city of Newport and many other city representatives frequently attend minority ethnic events and celebrations such as the Chinese New Year and fast-breaking *iftar* dinners during Ramadan (the Islamic month of fasting).

In turn, several cities invite migrant representatives to official receptions. In Arnsberg and Frankfurt, for instance, high-level politicians invite representatives of local organisations to receptions; the cities of Breda, Copenhagen, Stuttgart, Vienna and Zürich invite Muslim representatives to *iftar* dinners in the town hall. More informal gatherings take place, for instance, in Breda: the diversity officer arranges informal ‘meet and greet’ gatherings between city staff and migrant groups at the town hall so that officials can talk to migrants and answer their questions directly. They learn to understand migrants’ needs and develop personal, direct contacts with them. For migrants, such contacts represent another form of being respected, being taken seriously and being recognised.

Continuous informal contacts are another important dimension of relations between city and migrant organisations. Migrant representatives of the smaller cities of Arnsberg and Sundsvall, for instance, praised the non-institutionalised and low-threshold personal contact with both administrative officers and local politicians such as the mayor in Arnsberg and the chair of the Labour Market, Adult Education and Integration Committee in Sundsvall. This kind of non-institutionalised, informal contact between the city and migrant groups seems to be a success factor of integration policies in smaller cities. In larger cities, however, such contacts are also feasible. According to the numerous interviews conducted with migrant representatives during the city visits in Frankfurt, the ethnic associations and religious migrant communities highly value the AmkA as a crucial partner. The AmkA’s philosophy – in particular the active involvement and valorisation of migrant groups – can be considered as an example of good practice from which other cities can learn.

Promoting a shared vision

Organisations are formed to pursue a common interest. Migrant organisations are no exception. Some mainly aim to preserve ‘their’ culture and conduct cultural and religious activities; others mainly provide support for their members, or act as a representative voice on behalf of a group and/or aim to improve the organisations’ recognition in urban life. Some organisations have multiple objectives.

Conflicts can arise when groups strive for different goals, or when they strive for goals that each urgently desires, but which can be attained by one group only at the expense of the other (Sherif and Sherif, 1969, p. 239; Esser, 2000, p. 39). There are divergent interests about material goods, such as funding resources, but also about values, beliefs, norms and lifestyles. To avoid or resolve conflicts

between various groups, some cities explicitly strive for a 'shared vision' in the city. The Faro Declaration on intercultural dialogue, issued by the Council of Europe, also mentions a shared political vision as an important goal for (and of) intercultural dialogue (Council of Europe, 2005).

An example can be found in Amsterdam. The PAS wants to promote a 'shared vision of a hopeful future' as a basis for peaceful intergroup relations in the city. This shared vision must go beyond the respective individual interests followed by the organisation and become an overarching goal for all. Likewise, the Spanish cities of Terrassa and L'Hospitalet promote a peaceful 'coexistence' (*Convivencia*) between all groups.

The British cities of Kirklees and Newport promote a shared vision within their community strategies. In Kirklees, 'Shaping our future together: Kirklees Community Cohesion Strategy' was developed with partners and aims to ensure that everyone has a sense of belonging to their communities and considers the city to be a welcoming and enjoyable place to live and work. Similarly, Newport's Local Strategic Partnership (which became One Newport in 2009) developed 'A Community Strategy for Newport – Building our future together 2005–2015'.

An interesting example in the context of relations with national minorities that tries to establish common visions is a project of the city of Tallinn, which aims to improve communication between Estonians and Russians.

Tallinn: Kodurahu – Peace in the community

The city programme 'Kodurahu – Peace in the community' aims to improve relations between Estonians and Russians living in Tallinn. It focuses on the development of intergroup relations and interactions between both communities through different forms of communication. In all activities, the authorities strive for the common interest of the groups in order to bring them closer and to reduce the division between two communities in one city society. The programme includes five working groups with NGO leaders on media, education, culture, politics and economics as well as training trips for the NGO leaders, media scholarships for journalists, a mentoring programme and other activities.

A reduction of conflict and a basis for cooperation can be achieved when actors find an 'overarching' goal that is unattainable by one group independently and can be reached only through a common effort (Sherif and Sherif, 1969, p. 255). Social cohesion and integration in the city can be one such overarching goal, if

it has successfully been promoted as a shared vision by the city and the ethnic associations. An overarching goal is not some kind of formula compromise that each side interprets differently. An overarching goal must be a 'genuine' goal and in line with the interests of the groups.

In quantitative terms, the relative importance of cities' activities towards ethnic organisations can be summarised as follows:

- policies of recognition: universal in all cities;
- funding support: 75% of cities;
- supporting space allocation, mapping and participation in consultative committees: 50%–55% of cities;
- empowering and supporting a shared vision: 20%–30% of cities.

Policies improving attitudes and relations between groups

In differing degrees and kinds, prejudice and stereotypes between ethnic groups tend to be found in all CLIP cities. This needs to be taken into account when considering intergroup relations, because stereotypes and prejudice can develop into discrimination and threaten the social cohesion of a city. In its concept paper for the third CLIP research module, Eurofound states:

the core issue of intercultural policies is to influence the mindset and related behaviour of culturally diverse groups. In practice, this means initiating policies, programmes and activities that have the objectives: to create mutual knowledge from other cultures, to accept and tolerate each other, to create empathy, to trust each other, to cooperate with each other across cultural boundaries ... and to create intercultural relationships at the individual and organisational level (Eurofound, 2009, p. 77).

This section explores policies and measures that cities can pursue to reduce hostile attitudes and enhance relations between groups. The study identifies eight policy approaches: institutionalised intercultural dialogue, humanising the 'other' by creating informal contact, (inter)cultural events, intercultural competence building, anti-racism/anti-discrimination work, propagating an inclusive identity strategy, communication strategies and public space management.

Institutionalised intercultural dialogue

The introduction to this report recalls that the EU declared 2008 as the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue. Intercultural dialogue can be defined as ‘an open and respectful exchange of views between individuals and groups with different ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic backgrounds and heritage, on the basis of mutual understanding and respect’ (Council of Europe, 2008, p. 17).

It is perhaps surprising to note that none of the cities that form the CLIP network have comparable activities and institutions under the explicit heading of ‘intercultural dialogue’, in the sense that individuals or groups sit around a table to exchange and discuss different cultural values, views and traditions. It was not possible to identify single events, conferences or courses that were explicitly declared as forms of intercultural dialogue.

There are, however, various initiatives to foster interreligious dialogue, which must be understood as part of intercultural dialogue. The CLIP network has indeed identified numerous interreligious dialogue activities organised by churches, religious associations, cities and NGOs. The two forms of interreligious dialogue – dialogue about faith topics and dialogue among religious representatives about secular topics such as social cohesion – are described and discussed in the next chapter.

Referring to the other parts of the definition and the broad understanding of intercultural dialogue, it is evident that almost all activities and initiatives improving attitudes and relations between groups are also forms of intercultural dialogue.

Furthermore, intercultural dialogue takes place through the abovementioned consultative bodies (see the section ‘Structure of relations between city and migrant and minority groups’). Their general objectives include encouraging the integration and participation of foreigners at local level as well as improving relations between migrants and other segments of society. Consultative bodies also participate in (joint) political, social and cultural activities, such as intercultural festivals. They sometimes involve – apart from migrant residents – people without a migration background (for example, the International Committee in Stuttgart) and generally target not only foreigners, but society as a whole. Within their activities, consultative bodies provide a forum for dialogue between migrant and native residents and can contribute to promoting a peaceful coexistence between different groups. Consultative bodies are thus an important means of intercultural dialogue.

Humanising the ‘other’ by creating informal contact

Stereotypes and prejudice between groups and the devaluing of ‘other’ groups are reinforced by limited contact between and knowledge about other groups. Hence, increasing contact may contribute to reducing stereotypes and thus help to ‘humanise’ the ‘other’ (Staub, 2007).¹⁷ It is important to note that contact alone does not necessarily reduce prejudice, and may even reinforce it. Contact generally can be a successful means of changing attitudes if groups meet on an equal footing and engage in mutually rewarding activities. This is, however, often difficult to achieve. Staub claims that even if this ‘ideal’ condition is not met, contact between groups can help to reduce prejudice, since it may allow one group to get to know ‘the other’ through direct interaction, and not through stereotypical perceptions.

In most CLIP cities, examples can be found of initiatives that deliberately create opportunities for groups to meet and build contacts. Such initiatives can be categorised as:

- attempts to create informal contact between individuals of different ethnic groups;
- attempts to encourage migrants’ participation in majority organisations.

Creating informal contact between different ethnic groups

The Malmö Central Library has developed a project to establish connections between individuals, namely a ‘Life Library’, where members of the public borrow a person rather than a book for 45 minutes to find out more about their particular experiences. The ‘person on loan’ changes weekly, with the subjects coming from diverse backgrounds. For example, previous participants have included a transvestite, a lesbian, a homeless man, an ex convict, a Muslim and an imam. This is a popular project and attracts wide participation from both minority and majority groups. Another good practice example is the ‘International cooking night’ in Arnsberg, appreciated by both its (migrant) participants and the city officials.

¹⁷ On the request of the city of Amsterdam, Staub (2007) applied his research about intergroup relations to the situation among Muslims in Amsterdam after the murder of Theo van Gogh. A few of his recommendations can be summarised as follows: a) encourage feelings of empathy for other groups, for example through media projects and or stimulating contact, b) promote dialogue between Dutch and Muslim leaders to develop a shared vision and c) involve minority groups in political debates.

Arnsberg: International cooking night

The international cooking night is a good practice example in Arnsberg, organised by the NGO International Working Group (*Internationaler Arbeitskreis*) and financially supported by the city. The international cooking night occurs about five times a year. Each evening is attended by around 50 people from different ethnic minority backgrounds and focuses on a different topic relating to a specific region. Participants spend an evening together while learning about and cooking food related to the specific theme. The series therefore makes it possible for participants to get to know each other, try new foods and talk about different cultures. Another element that makes this series a good practice example is that each evening is organised by a different ethnic or social group.

Two other good practice examples are organised by the Kirklees Faith Forum, which encourages all faith communities to work together and challenge all forms of discrimination and injustice. First, the forum offers GBP 5 (€5.70) 'faith meals'. Communities from all faiths are invited to take part in a faith meal, where a 'menu of topics' is put forward for discussion over supper. These meals are very popular and well attended. In addition, the Kirklees Faith Forum developed the 'Tea for Two' project. As part of the project, neighbours from differing ethnic backgrounds are encouraged to visit each other's homes for tea in an attempt to encourage people to get to know one another, break down cultural barriers and reach a better understanding of other people's lives.

Sport can be an effective means to establish contacts between individuals of different ethnic groups. A good practice example is the annual week-long football project called Soccer Fest in Dublin, which brings together parents and children representing over 40 different nationalities for a football tournament. Plans are underway to convert this project into a Sports Fest involving other sports such as basketball and swimming.

Some cities use (new) media projects to help some groups feel empathy for others – in particular young people. The city of Arnsberg, for instance, completed a video project in which school children were taught about filming techniques and then visited *Spätaussiedler* classmates from the former Soviet Union and interviewed their families. The film was shown in the course of local exhibits. The Zonarelli Intercultural Centre in Bologna runs a similar project called '2 X 1 X 2g. Expression and Identity'. The project focuses on the participation of second generations and encourages exchanges with other native young people. Interesting activities – most of which are implemented in cooperation with

migrant organisations – are a web television channel run by Italian and foreign young people ('Crossing TV'), a series of workshops on interculturality ('I go around with the radio on my shoulder') and a festival featuring meetings, readings, videos, music and theatre performances promoted by second generations ('Second Generations Festival').

In Kirklees, the city's Community Cohesion Strategy aims to bring the majority or settled populations together with people from different backgrounds. One example of this work brings different women's groups together: a women's group predominantly comprising Asian Muslim members has developed links with a women's group with a majority of white Christian members. The groups meet two to three times a term in a relaxed atmosphere to discuss issues through a common fusion of interests such as cookery, education and family life in an open and safe environment. These meetings constitute a rather easy and very successful example of how positive intercultural dialogue can be achieved.

Encouragement of migrants' participation in majority organisations

Successful practices that aim to improve relations between the majority and minority populations include the encouragement of newcomers and minorities to participate in local majority associations.

The city of Malmö, for instance, funds the project 'Integration through non-profit associations'. The Malmö non-profit organisation MIP (*Malmö Ideella föreningars paraplyorganisation*), an umbrella organisation representing some 250 local associations, runs the project. The participating associations have mentors who are allocated to each new arrival and provide information concerning projects that they consider most appropriate for the new arrival based on their interests and experiences. This project is produced in 11 different languages and is available in various public organisations, including schools. In a similar project, the city of Athens encourages migrant children to participate in the Greek Scout movement, which currently has 2,500 registered members in the city.

Athens: Responsible little citizens

The city's Intercultural Centre of the Migrant Services Department collaborates with the Athens Scouts to integrate migrant children into the scout movement. The programme will last for seven years, enabling 500 foreign children, aged seven to 12 years, to register as part of the movement.

For 2009, the intercultural centre undertook the integration of the children into the movement by covering their registration and uniform expenses, as well as their participation expenses for the various activities. A social worker at the intercultural centre is responsible for the cooperation with parents and children.

The objectives of this initiative are to raise migrant children's environmental awareness, increase their competence and self-esteem through participation in outdoor activities, technical skills, spiritual development, community service and social interaction and thus to make the children 'responsible little citizens' integrated in Greek society.

In a variety of CLIP cities, sports are considered 'a useful instrument for enforcing dialogue and social cohesion among natives and migrants, among old and new generations, among people with different religious backgrounds', as stated in the Luxembourg case study. The two Swedish CLIP cities make an effort to establish contacts between migrants and local majority sports clubs: the Council of Sports Clubs in Malmö (*Malmö Idrottens Samorganisation*, MISO) helps to integrate newcomers to different clubs across Malmö city. The city of Sundsvall supports a project in which members of a local football club inform migrants, in particular newly arrived young people, about the local clubs and help them to get into contact with clubs.

Sundsvall: Contact and integration through sport – 'Fotboll Plus'

The city of Sundsvall supports the project 'Fotboll Plus'. Its basic aim is to strengthen immigrant children's self-confidence, extend their social networks and counteract the feeling of being left out of the community. These goals are achieved through the children's participation in one of the football clubs in the city. Members of the football club visit migrants, for example, while they are participating in language courses, inform them about different clubs and help them to find leisure time activities. They present information on various activities, such as swimming for women or aerobics, which allows migrants to try out different sports and facilitates contact between immigrants and sports clubs in the Sundsvall area.

The city of Copenhagen also runs the sports project 'From sport to job', which aims to enhance migrants' participation in sports clubs in order to form new networks and secure employment.

Intercultural events

Attitude change research has shown that changing the ‘feeling’ component within the structure of an attitude can effectively contribute to a shift in attitude. Experiencing diversity through art and other cultural activities can help people to get rid of ethnic and racial stereotypes. Therefore, the majority of cities in the CLIP network support a wide variety of such events and activities, including intercultural festivals. These events increase the visibility of the city’s cultural diversity and encourage the city’s entire population to interact with, learn about and enjoy other cultures. Cities do this by organising cultural activities involving theatre, music and film as well as offering food specific to certain ethnic groups. In general, the cities do not organise these events on their own; usually the events are planned and organised in cooperation with migrant organisations, a migrant representative council and/or local mainstream organisations such as cultural associations, welfare organisations, NGOs and churches. Such cooperation is, in itself, often a valuable part of the process.

As a means of enhancing intergroup relations and social cohesion in the city, intercultural festivals were specifically mentioned in 23 cities (74% of cities) – Amsterdam, Antwerp, Arnsberg, Bologna, Copenhagen, Dublin, Frankfurt, L’Hospitalet, Kirklees, Lisbon, Luxembourg, Malmö, Newport, Prague, Stuttgart, Sundsvall, Turin, Valencia, Vienna, Wolverhampton, Wrocław, Zagreb and Zürich. According to their (initial) goals, these (inter)cultural events can be classified as:

- events that celebrate ethnic and religious heritage;
- intercultural events celebrating diversity and internationality;
- traditional local festivals that encourage the participation of migrant groups and consequently become ‘intercultural’.

Celebrating ethnic heritage

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the preservation of cultural heritage is a common need of migrants and minorities in most CLIP cities. Migrants and national minorities often have cultural preferences and adhere to cultural practices different from the preferences and practices of the majority population. Minorities often want to practise and keep alive elements of the culture and history of their country of origin. They also want this culture to be represented and recognised in the cultural life of the cities in which they live. This desire is not necessarily related to a rejection of the majority culture and should not be considered as

hindering the integration process. Rather, it can assist migrants to feel ‘at home’ in their new city.

Many CLIP cities value the ethnic identity and heritage of migrant groups as part of a policy of recognition. They actively support ethnic or religious heritage events by providing funds, staff resources, and/or logistical assistance. Valencia, for instance, supports the Ukrainian Independence Day and the Colombian National Celebration, while Wolverhampton supports Black History Month, as well as religious heritage events such as *Diwali* (Festival of Lights) and *Vasaiki* (ancient harvest festival), associated with the Hindu and Sikh communities. Moreover, many cities support the organisation of the Irish St Patrick’s Day (for example, Luxembourg), the Chinese New Year (for example, Antwerp, Dublin and Turin) and a variety of other annual religious or secular holidays such as the Peruvian Feast of Our Lady, the Feast for Buddha, Africa Day, or the end of Ramadan.

Newport: Encouragement to celebrate ethnic heritage festivals

The city recognises the importance of ethnic heritage festivals for religious and ethnic communities and supports these events. Major festivals, such as the Chinese New Year, Bahá’í New Year, *Eid al-Fitr* (end of Ramadan), Pakistani Independence Day and Bangladeshi Independence Day, are celebrated by the communities and are open to other residents to participate.

In the city of Zagreb, the focus is less on ‘migrant’ heritage and more on the heritage of ethnic and religious minorities traditionally living in the city. The city supports activities organised to preserve the ethnic, cultural and religious identity of ethnic and religious minorities. In recent years, for example, the Jewish holiday *Hanukkah* (Festival of Lights) has been celebrated at the main city square with the first candle on the Menorah candelabrum being lit by the ambassador of Israel and the city mayor.

Another example of celebrating a national holiday is the festival ‘23 Nisan’ (or 23 April) in Stuttgart, which is attended by up to 20,000 children and adults each year. The festival, organised by German–Turkish associations and financially supported by the city, is based on an official Turkish national holiday celebrating children. Today, it has an international message and aims to encourage integration and learning about different cultures at a young age.

Intercultural events celebrating diversity

Another way of recognising the ethnic and religious heritage of the local minority populations is through intercultural events that celebrate both the different individual cultures and the diversity and internationality of the local population in general. Some of these events took place within the framework of the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue in 2008 and received support from the EU. Most, however, are local events with a longer history, financed by cities and local organisations.

Some of these events primarily have the character of a big ‘party’ with music and food from different migrant cultures. Vienna and Luxembourg, for instance, have festivals focusing on immigration (Immigrants’ Day and *Festival des migrations* respectively), while other cities organise or support festivals focusing on internationality in general, such as the Malmö Festival, the Maindee Festival in Newport, the *Bazaar* festival in Antwerp, the Global Village in Dublin, the International Day in Copenhagen, the International Mother Language Day appreciating different migrant languages in Sundsvall and the intercultural festival in Lisbon.

Lisbon: *ImigrArte* intercultural festival

The annual three-day *ImigrArte* festival involves many different ethnic associations as well as the city of Lisbon, which provides technical and logistical support (including placards and flyers, stages and sound systems) and promotes the event. The festival aims to enhance intercultural dialogue through artistic performances, such as music and dance shows, workshops, screening of movies, debates, exhibitions and food.

The cooperation of different local migrant organisations that organise the festival is considered crucial: not only the festival itself, but the common organisation of the festival is an important aspect of enhancing intergroup relations in Lisbon.

Luxembourg: *Festival des migrations*

For 26 years, the city of Luxembourg has organised an intercultural festival. Each year, there is significant public interest in the event, at which people find information about cultures, taste food from various countries and collect information about the role and activities of ethnic associations in the city. This event represents a good opportunity to improve relations between the city and migrants and also the communication among the various migrant groups that collaborate to organise and successfully run the festival.

In some, mainly eastern European cities, the festivals focus on national minorities, such as the festival of national minorities and ethnic groups living in the Czech Republic called 'Prague – Heart of the Nations'. In Zagreb, the coordination of national minorities has established a 'day of national minorities', which is held in April every year. Along with city representatives of national minorities, the mayor and representatives of government and city offices attend this event. The national broadcaster Croatia RadioTelevision (*Hrvatska radiotelevizija*, HRT) regularly broadcasts reports on this day.

Other events place a higher emphasis on awareness raising and knowledge building and transfer about different cultures and religions. The Turin event 'Identity and diversity', which took place annually from 1997 to 2002, provided information about the different ethnic, religious and cultural aspects of migration. The city council in Wolverhampton hosts an annual multifaith festival involving pupils from schools across the city. The city of Newport also organises events that aim to increase knowledge of other ethnic groups. The city participates in the UK-wide Refugee Week during June every year. This is a programme of events (for example, social and sporting events as well as lectures, discussions and conferences) that explain and celebrate the contribution of refugees to the UK. The Swiss 'Week of Religions' in Zürich and the German 'Intercultural Weeks' in Frankfurt also aim to foster the exchange between cultures and religions.

Frankfurt: Intercultural weeks

The city of Frankfurt sees the annual 'Intercultural weeks' as a crucial programme. Over the course of these weeks, initiated by the churches and supported by the city, there are events focusing on music, cooking or sports as well as exhibits, presentations and roundtables on different cultures and religions. All people living in Frankfurt and all groups based in the city are invited to organise an event – the stipulation is that it must be related to the motto and be used to create dialogue or support network building. Over the course of three weeks, a huge variety of events are organised in the fields of 'society, employment, politics', 'cultural diversity' and 'religions in Frankfurt'; there are also specific events for children, parents and families. The city administration regards the intercultural weeks as an opportunity to overcome prejudices, as well as to create a platform for discussing integration in public and a dialogue between groups living in Frankfurt.

Valencia took advantage of the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue and organised and financed the project *Divercinema: Cine para la convivencia*

intercultural. The project aimed to raise awareness among young people about intercultural issues through various audiovisual means such as films, a music laboratory and two exhibitions, one on toys from around the world and the other on drums. Teaching aids were produced to support discussion and work in the classroom. Similarly, the city of Turin used audiovisual techniques to organise an intercultural film festival entitled *Mondi vicini, mondi lontani* ('Worlds far away, worlds nearby').

Local festivals with migrant participation

The Dublin 'Fusion Project' – a community project celebrating cultural diversity and promoting ethnic inclusion in the city – is held in conjunction with St Patrick's Day events in March. It is an interesting approach to celebrating a traditional national holiday, while simultaneously including migrant groups. The project's goal is to engage migrant communities in the Irish national festival. A similar initiative occurs in Wrocław, where intercultural events are incorporated into the larger festival of Wrocław's Day.

Wrocław: Kaleidoscope of cultures

The first 'Kaleidoscope of cultures' was held in 2008 as part of Wrocław's Day. In addition to the traditional festivities on Wrocław's Day, religious and ethnic minorities presented their culture to a wider public in the city centre. This new element of the festival was quite successful and, as a result, the municipality and the minority organisations have decided to continue their cooperation.

Migrant organisations in Vienna have been encouraged to participate in the annual district festivals. At the festivals migrants have the opportunity to present their organisation and any information about them they believe the native population should know. As an element of a larger city festival in Frankfurt (which includes open door events at museums), the AmkA organises the 'Frankfurt Stage' (*Frankfurter Bühne*) featuring diverse cultural programmes. In Valencia, the Ecuadorian Summer Celebration and the city July Fair (*Feria de Julio*) – celebrated on the same day – were combined to form a unique, intercultural, city-wide event.

It is clear that intercultural festivals take place in almost every CLIP city and that a range of cities support these events by providing political support, financial or material funding, logistical support, staff resources and/or space to hold events. The ethnic heritage and intercultural festivals are often popular events in the

cities and are regarded as a success by both city officials and migrant organisations' representatives. At the same time, it is important to note that a festival in itself does not necessarily improve daily intercultural relations. Cooperation in the preparation and organisation of the festival, however, can be a source of experiences that contribute to attitude change and possibly an improvement in intergroup relations.

Intercultural competence building

Intercultural competence can help to reduce cultural misunderstandings and improve peaceful intergroup relations. Furthermore, intercultural competence can constitute a valuable resource for the local economy. For these reasons, several CLIP cities make an effort to raise the intercultural competence of their residents. Some of these measures, considered important by several city representatives, include:

- intercultural training of administrative staff;
- projects for intercultural education;
- programmes to improve migrants' linguistic competence.

Intercultural training for city staff

Eleven CLIP cities (35% of cities) – Amsterdam, Breda, Copenhagen, Dublin, Frankfurt, Newport, Prague, Stuttgart, Turin, Valencia and Wolverhampton – offer intercultural and diversity training in the form of courses for frontline staff who have direct contact with clients, and/or senior managers with human resources responsibilities. The idea is to keep them informed about the particular needs of ethnic or religious communities, cultural and religious practices and the importance of ensuring equal opportunities for migrants and minorities.

The city of Copenhagen, for instance, requires its staff in the top two grades of the city administration to attend a one-day course on diversity management. The German cities of Frankfurt and Stuttgart offer intercultural training for their staff. Frankfurt produced a manual on intercultural orientation and guidelines for implementing intercultural competence. Stuttgart conducts workshops on intercultural communication. In Wolverhampton, equality and diversity mainstreaming is implemented: the city offers an 'equality essentials' induction course for its employees, it requires all new social care workers to take part in a course that includes equality and diversity training, and it includes diversity issues in training programmes and organises briefings on equality with senior management staff. Furthermore, the city launched a series of lunchtime events

called ‘One city, many people’ aimed at city council staff and colleagues from its partner agencies. The aim was to raise knowledge and awareness about a range of diversity issues. The city of Prague organises annual one-day seminars to raise administration staff’s awareness of minorities’ rights. Staff members establish contact with foreigners, minorities and politicians to discuss topics such as structures of organisations that work with migrants, laws dealing with the residence rights of foreign citizens and integration concepts. Attempts to improve the intercultural awareness of the police are presented below.

In addition, several CLIP cities – Amsterdam, Antwerp, Copenhagen, Dublin, Frankfurt, Malmö, Stuttgart, Vienna and Wolverhampton – improve their staff’s intercultural competence by enhancing the recruitment of employees with a migration or ethnic minority background.¹⁸

Intercultural education at schools

Apart from intercultural and diversity training for the cities’ staff, intercultural education programmes for pupils are another way of enhancing knowledge about different cultures and, thus, intergroup relations. In Newport, Kirklees and Valencia, specific projects are aimed at schools. In Newport, schools awareness-raising programmes examine different cultural and religious communities. These usually occur in relation to a specific holiday or other established celebration, such as Christmas or Black History Month. The impressive good practice project ‘Interfaith Kirklees’, initiated by the city, makes it possible for school classes to have real-life experiences of the different religions in Kirklees by going on field trips to interfaith centres.

Kirklees: Interfaith Kirklees

In the course of the ‘Interfaith Kirklees’ city project, seven religious communities – a Buddhist, a Sikh, a Hindu, two Muslim and two Christian communities – established ‘interfaith centres’ at their places of worship. At these centres children learn about particular religious practices. The project produced learning packages for schools and representatives from each of the faith communities were trained as guides.

¹⁸ For more information on intercultural competence building in CLIP cities, see the concluding report of the second CLIP module on equality and diversity in jobs and services (Spencer, 2008).

Even though some parents were reluctant to let their children participate in the visits (particularly when visiting the mosque) at the beginning, the project generally received positive feedback from both children and schools. As a result, there is an increased interest in religious education in school, as well as a greater awareness of religious communities in the wider community. The different religious communities are becoming increasingly aware of each other and are starting to create additional partnerships. Thus, interviewees considered the project to be a positive and successful effort to encourage intercultural dialogue.

Another example of intercultural education in schools is the new religious education programme in Zürich. The subject 'religion and culture' is compulsory for all pupils and includes teaching about different religions instead of religious education for a particular belief. The objective is that children with different religious backgrounds should get to know different religious groups present in the city. At primary school level, teaching focuses on Christianity.

The project *Carpeta Educativa: Todos a Una por Diversidad* in Valencia establishes spaces for interculturality in all schools in the city. Spanish and migrant NGOs cooperate to design intercultural activities for teachers, children and parents – with and without a migration background. Teachers can participate in a regular programme of seminars on interculturality, conflict mediation and the prevention of racism and xenophobia. For students, there are extra-curricular activities such as theatre and video production and specific programmes within the curriculum, such as basic courses on interculturality for primary school pupils or more advanced seminars on racism, prejudice and xenophobia for students attending secondary school. Support activities for parent associations include activities that aim to raise awareness of immigration and intercultural relations, as well as information and translation services for migrant parents in order to enhance their participation in school activities.

In some cities, for instance Frankfurt and Sundsvall, 'Abrahamic' projects take place in schools to teach pupils about Christianity, Judaism and Islam. In Frankfurt, 'Abrahamic teams', consisting of representatives from the three religious communities, visit schools and present their religion. Pupils can ask questions and thus become more familiar with the particularities and similarities of these three world religions. The city of Sundsvall, a regional theatre company, the Church of Sweden and the Islamic Cultural Centre organised a theatre project on Abraham/Ibrahim in schools, which was accompanied by a discussion with local religious representatives. Information about the play was provided for the

students in advance to encourage interaction and learning before the performance took place. Since the pupils raised a variety of important questions and initiated interesting discussions, the city as well as the religious representatives regarded the common initiative a great success that should be repeated in the future.

Improving migrants' linguistic competences

Language is a key element in intergroup relations. Competency in the language of the country of immigration is an important precondition for the integration process. The ability to speak the local language is required for social and cultural integration, and in particular for structural integration – that is, integration in the education system and the labour market. Language can be considered as a significant – perhaps even the most important – means of enhancing the integration process. Consequently, most CLIP cities invest in migrants' language training and offer language courses for them.

In addition, language courses in migrants' mother tongue are assessed as helpful for both migrants and the city. It is argued that these classes enhance migrants' self-esteem, since they can better express themselves in their mother tongue and learn to view their additional language skills as a resource. The receiving society can use the intercultural competences of the migrants to enhance its economic performance.

Classes supporting migrants' competence in the language of the immigration country are offered in most CLIP cities, meeting different needs and competences. Since language classes improve intergroup relations only in an indirect manner, the study will not elaborate further on this issue, but instead will provide some good practice examples. In several cities, for example in Athens, Frankfurt and Stuttgart, some of the language courses are offered in combination with childcare. This is particularly helpful for mothers and highly appreciated by interviewees. The programme 'Swedish for immigrants' (SFI) is an impressive good practice example to meet the need for language support that is offered in many Swedish cities, including the CLIP cities of Malmö and Sundsvall. These classes aim not only at improving people's language skills, but also aim directly at integrating migrants into the labour market. Most migrants interviewed during the Sundsvall field visit complimented the city for offering these language courses.

Sundsvall and Malmö: Swedish for immigrants

For newly arrived adults, the cities of Malmö and Sundsvall offer ‘Swedish for immigrants’ (SFI) courses. These include Swedish language classes and an introductory programme that aims to improve immigrants’ integration in the local labour market. Residents of the respective cities, who lack basic Swedish language skills, have the right to enrol in an SFI class. The class is full time and free of charge.

The central aim of the courses is to impart a ‘functional knowledge’ of Swedish to the students; the improvement of linguistic skills helps immigrants to succeed in the workforce. The core elements of the introductory programme are: work experience placements based on the needs of the local labour market; individual needs and skills; computer-aided learning; and a module dealing with occupational-specific Swedish, career choice or continued studies. The course concentrates on the participants’ access to the labour market and takes measures to find work experience placements and/or job placements. Participants lacking certified training will be supported in finding an entry-level job or prepared to re-enter the job market. As part of the preparation for re-entering the job market with a new career, participants receive a temporary job placement, a full-time internship or individual and profession-oriented job training. In addition to employment preparation, participants are encouraged to take part in associations in the city.

Cities in the Netherlands are improving Dutch language training for those who have lived in the country for many years without learning the language. Breda has organised a ‘twinning’ programme that puts learners together in pairs to team up with Dutch nationals to practise Dutch.

As discussed above, in some of the CLIP cities, the language issue is ‘doubled’ due to specific language requirements of the particular region. In the case of Luxembourg, it is reported that migrant students enrolled in Luxembourgish schools have to build up skills in German and French. Moreover, Luxembourgish is appreciated; therefore, the organisation of Luxembourgish language courses represents a strategic and crucial activity for the city. The main problem with active participation in these courses is the timetable, which sometimes overlaps with work time. To overcome this problem, an mp3 service is now available on the city administration website. In the Catalan city of L’Hospitalet, a political debate has been started on how to encourage immigrants to learn not only Spanish/Castilian but also Catalan. The L’Hospitalet Action Plan fosters this

learning process and has started a campaign to make migrant parents aware that they have free access to Catalan courses. Migrant associations' demands to organise language training in Catalan are always accepted and entirely subsidised, directly by the city or through the autonomous Catalan government.

The second category of courses, which includes classes enhancing migrants' competences in their mother tongue and improving the language skills of migrant children's parents, is less common. Such courses are often provided by migrant communities, but less frequently by cities. Good practice examples can again be found in the Scandinavian countries, where governments finance mother language support for immigrant children in Turku, Malmö and Sundsvall. The city of Bologna cooperates with migrant organisations to offer mother tongue classes for migrant children in the city's intercultural centre, *Zonarelli*.

Sundsvall: Centre for Mother Tongue Education

Since the 1980s, immigrant children in Sweden can join mother tongue language courses free of charge. In 2005, the city of Sundsvall established a Centre for Mother Tongue Education (*Modersmålscentrum*), in which 38 teachers teach 28 languages. In addition, the city and the centre collaborate in celebrating International Mother Language Day, initiated by UNESCO. The celebration in Sundsvall consists of dance, music and reading of literature.

Anti-racism and anti-discrimination work

Discrimination and racism against people with an ethnic minority background are issues that were raised in every CLIP city. Many cities have made efforts to combat the discrimination and racism experienced by some of their residents. These efforts can be categorised as a) municipal programmes to fight discrimination and racism, b) the setting up of anti-discrimination offices, and c) anti-racism and anti-discrimination projects.

Integrated programmes to fight prejudice, discrimination and racism exist in cities such as Bologna, Copenhagen, Frankfurt, Malmö, Newport, Wolverhampton and Zürich. To combat racism and to ensure a peaceful social coexistence of residents of different cultures, the city of Frankfurt published a declaration on racism and anti-Semitism on the UN's anti-racism day in 1990 and reaffirmed it in 2000. The city of Malmö issued an anti-discrimination plan and set up an anti-discrimination committee. Bologna has developed anti-discrimination and anti-racism programmes in partnership with local and international organisations

since the 1990s. Since 2006, the Employment and Integration Committee of the city of Copenhagen has focused on anti-discrimination and efforts to combat discrimination and promote equal opportunities for all 'Copenhageners' regardless of gender, age, ethnicity, national or social origin, disability, political beliefs or sexual orientation. The efforts are based on a multipronged strategy. For example, the city set up a compliance hotline and created a website for anonymous registrations of discrimination, including hate crimes. The website is considered a success: between summer 2008 and 2009, about 500 people registered on the site. In addition, the city and migrant organisations jointly launched the anti-racism campaign 'Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia - Not in our city!' in order to condemn intolerance and to shed more light on the phenomena.

Similar efforts can be seen in British cities. Such efforts are required under the Race Relations Act to work towards the elimination of racial discrimination. In light of this requirement, the city of Wolverhampton funded an anti-racism campaign prior to the 2008 local elections. The campaign was steered by a group consisting of all three leaders of political parties represented on the city council, representatives of faith groups (including the Bishop of Wolverhampton who chaired the group), trade unions, a university and other partners. The group initiated a poster campaign on buses and billboards, organised radio slots and involved the local football club, which has been a longstanding supporter of the national UK-wide 'Kick racism out of football' campaign. The posters represented people of varying ethnicity carrying a street name plate saying 'Wolverhampton: no place for racism'. According to the city, the campaign led to a decline in the right-wing extremist party votes in the local election.

To provide residents with the opportunity to report discrimination, as well as to monitor discriminatory incidents, several cities have set up anti-discrimination offices. This is the case, for example, in Amsterdam, Bologna, Breda, Frankfurt, Newport, Sundsvall, Vienna, Wolverhampton and Zürich. In Amsterdam, complaints about discrimination can be addressed to the anti-discrimination office. The office is considered important by the city and therefore actively supported through an information campaign highlighting that discrimination should be reported. Sundsvall's anti-discrimination office is based in the office of the Swedish Red Cross, whereas in Frankfurt, the AmkA is the official anti-discrimination body where people who experience discrimination can file a complaint. In Bologna, a free helpline to report discrimination was set up as part of the project 'Monitoring racist behaviour'. Furthermore, the city of Bologna

hired an Ombudsman whom residents can approach when feeling discriminated against by the local administration.

The city of Wolverhampton employs a full-time racial harassment officer who monitors and responds to racist issues such as abuse and discrimination. Furthermore, to actively encourage the reporting of racist incidents, the city council set up a multi-agency – the Wolverhampton Racial Harassment Partnership – committed to tackling racial harassment across the city. A similar mechanism exists in Newport, where cases of hate crime, racism and discrimination can be reported to the Newport Hate Crime Forum.

Newport: Newport Hate Crime Forum

Newport City Council has set up the Newport Hate Crime Forum, which aims to provide information to the city about hate crimes, support the victims of such crimes and prevent future incidents. A hate crime is defined as ‘any offence committed against a person or property that is motivated by the offender’s hatred of people because they are seen as being different’ and thus includes discrimination due to race or religion. Such crimes can be reported either by the victim, a witness or a third party. Residents are provided with information about hate crimes and how to report when they witness or fall victim to such events. The forum provides access to report forms on its website in various languages – for example, Urdu, Somali, French, Chinese and Arabic – that can be filled in and sent back online or can be downloaded and returned to the South East Wales Racial Equality Council (SEWREC) with which the forum cooperates. Reports can also be made by telephone or in person at the local police station or other victim support groups whose contact details can be found on the website.

Although it is believed that a greater effort should be put into making people aware of the forum’s existence and operation, the forum is considered to be a positive and important good practice project.

NGOs are of particular importance in the running of projects that aim to combat racism and discrimination. Several CLIP cities cooperate with or support NGOs and their projects financially. The city of Vienna, for instance, supports the NGO ZARA (*Zivilcourage und Anti-Rassismus-Arbeit*), which runs a legal office for victims of racism and discrimination, provides counselling and focuses on anti-racism awareness training and workshops for children and adults. In Prague, the NGO SLOVO 21 fights against racism and xenophobia, provides relevant information on these topics to migrants and generally helps migrants to integrate

into the city. The city of Turku cooperates with various NGOs, sports clubs, churches and political parties that are active against racism. In Turin and Vienna, networks of NGOs and other ethnic or religious organisations initiate activities to combat racism and xenophobia and are supported in their efforts by the city administration.

Using sports to bring people with different ethnic backgrounds together is another important means of tackling racism. The city of Dublin, for instance, has part-funded the 'Count us in' project. Twelve schools in Dublin participated in an inter-school sports day in an attempt to build social capital and create intercultural dialogue through the use of sport. The project is run by Sport Against Racism Ireland (SARI), which was founded in 1997 in response to an increase in racist attacks from a small but aggressive section of the population in Ireland.

The various social partners are also crucial actors in conducting projects that combat racism and discrimination. In Vienna, the organisation Colourful Democracy for All (*Bunte Demokratie für Alle*, BDFA) was established within the Chamber of Labour (*Arbeiterkammer*, AK). Its aim is to fight for the interests of immigrants in the labour market and against all kinds of discrimination. Also, the local branches of the United Services Union (*Vereinte Dienstleistungsgewerkschaft*, ver.di) in Stuttgart, the General Confederation of Italian Workers (*Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro*, Cgil) in Bologna, and the Vienna Economic Chamber (*Wirtschaftskammer Wien*) have all set up committees dealing with diversity and migrants' needs. These committees organise seminars and training sessions concerning labour market discrimination and how to combat it. The Trade Union Confederation of Workers' Commissions (*Confederación Sindical de Comisiones Obreras*, CCOO) has set up an information centre for immigrants (*Centre d'Informació per a Treballadors i Treballadores Estrangers*, CITE) in several Spanish cities, including L'Hospitalet, Terrassa and Valencia. The centres organise and participate in awareness-raising campaigns against racism. Similarly, in Dublin, Frankfurt and Turin, trade unions are active in projects and protests against xenophobia, Islamophobia and anti-Semitism.

Inclusive identity strategy

Some CLIP cities try to create a 'we' feeling among residents – regardless of whether they belong to the native population or have a migration background. These projects aim to build a common city identity that exists alongside an ethnic identity. A common city identity can create similar collective feelings among

different ethnic groups and can lead to improvements of their perceptions of one another. This is what Hewstone (2004, p. 12) refers to as a 'dual identity model' (which means more than one identity and is not by definition limited to two identities). The model is based on the concept of continuing subgroup identities, which are, however, superseded by a common, larger group identity. A necessary condition for the success of building a common city identity is that the larger group is sufficiently inclusive to express the existing differences in a complex manner. Good practice examples can be found in nine cities – Amsterdam, Antwerp, Bologna, Copenhagen, Istanbul, Kirklees, Vienna, Zeytinburnu and Zürich.

Good examples of such initiatives are the 'We Amsterdammers' campaign and, inspired by the Amsterdam idea, the 'We Copenhagensers' campaign. Both initiatives aim to strengthen migrants' sense of belonging to the city and to enhance social cohesion in general.

Copenhagen: We Copenhagensers

The VI KBH'R' campaign, as it is originally called in Danish, is a three-year project with two main goals: 1) to highlight and celebrate the city's diversity and 2) to strengthen inclusion and dialogue between citizens of the city to make more Copenhagensers feel accepted as equal citizens ('We are all a part of a unity. We are all Copenhagensers').

A resource group comprising 13 persons organises a number of publicity activities such as the International Day, a poetry competition and photo competition and provides funds for local events. To 'ensure ownership and local embeddedness', subsidies are available for events that 1) show and highlight the city's diversity; 2) are based on cross-cultural cooperation; 3) are locally anchored by including local associations other than the applicant; and 4) are open to all citizens. Cultural and religious events that already take place can also receive sponsorship, if the groups responsible re-evaluate the events in such a way that would encourage more Copenhagensers to participate. The 'We Copenhagensers' fund dispenses about €135,000 a year.

The Antwerp approach is comparable to these campaigns. In 2006, the Department of Marketing and Communication introduced the slogan 'This city is for everyone' (*t' Stad is van iedereen*), emphasising the importance of diversity for the city. The city of Zürich uses the slogan 'Living Zürich' (*Wir leben Zürich*),

which can also be found in the title of the new integration report ('Living Zürich. Together').

The city of Istanbul also launched an inclusive identity strategy. Due to the extreme diversity and the segregation of the city as well as the low sense of identification with Istanbul as a whole, the city introduced the 'Yours Istanbul' project. The project aims to create a notion of being an Istanbulite and an emotional affiliation among the metropolitan population, targeting migrants as well as long-term residents of Istanbul. It is implemented through advertisements featuring celebrities, via cultural events such as song contests or cultural contests in schools and by organising trips to historical landmarks in Istanbul for school children from districts in the city outskirts. With Istanbul being one of the European Capitals of Culture in 2010, a series of small projects contributing to the 'Yours Istanbul' project have also been prepared. In the city district of Zeytinburnu, the local administration is – apart from the 'Yours Istanbul' campaign – also active in supporting the development of a local identity strategy.

Another example of inclusive identity strategy is the 'Belonging to Dewsbury' campaign in Kirklees. Because community cohesion indicators in Dewsbury were worse than in other parts of the borough, community leaders, partner agencies and council officers launched this campaign to change perceptions, feelings, attitudes and beliefs about different communities. The idea was to promote a sense of togetherness and respect, reduce divisions between groups and create a stronger sense of belonging in the city. An integrated public relations campaign targets key messages and images celebrating diversity in the local area. A series of initiatives were introduced to ensure that the campaign reached its target audience. These involved a 'Belonging to Dewsbury Pledge', a 'Together we belong' poster campaign, school projects linked to the campaign themes and support from political parties and partner organisations, including local area committees. According to the city's website, an evaluation framework is in place, so that the campaign's impact can be assessed.

A further initiative is the 'Feeling at home' project launched in two of Vienna's districts. It is considered a success by the city, as well as by participating institutions and the CLIP research team because it is supported by migrants and natives who live in the neighbourhoods in question. Local residents, companies, schools and other institutions are motivated to carry out tasks that they think will improve the quality of life in their area and the relationships between the people who live there. The project motivates residents to identify with the neighbourhood

they live in and to be proud of their homes. The Zonarelli Intercultural Centre in Bologna is also a project fostering the local identity of the residents. It should provide young people, both Italian and foreign, with instruments to contribute to the building of a 'new local citizenship'.

Cities' communication strategies

Public communication and media reporting exert an influence on public opinion making and political agenda setting and thus have an impact on intergroup relations in a city. Some cities develop strategies on how to communicate about minorities, diversity and intergroup relations. These strategies can include the provision of information in various languages and several cities have established contact with local media or monitor media reporting regarding intergroup relations.

Several CLIP cities strive to communicate a certain city image: Budapest and Wrocław emphasise their multiethnic heritage while Copenhagen, Frankfurt, Stuttgart and Vienna highlight that they are international cities which value the diversity of their populations.

Several cities try to make diversity visible and present their diverse population and its activities in a positive way, awarding prizes to encourage good work. Frankfurt provides the 'Integration Award' to acknowledge persons and institutions carrying out programmes improving mutual respect for cultural heritages. Turku expresses its appreciation of residents' engagement in its multicultural society with two awards, the 'New citizen of Turku' and 'Multicultural actor' awards. The Athens Chamber of Commerce and Industry also plans to create a special award for immigrants.

Turku: 'New citizen of Turku' and 'Multicultural actor' awards

Turku aims to build bridges between migrants and natives and attempts to raise public awareness that the city benefits from immigration and the resulting diversity. To reach these goals it presents two awards annually. Firstly, the city presents the year's 'New citizen of Turku', which is given to an inhabitant who has received Finnish citizenship in the previous year and who has fostered the city's success. Secondly, Turku presents an award for the year's 'Multicultural actor'. In 2009, the 'New citizen of Turku' award was presented to an Iraqi entrepreneur who is active in a number of boards and committees. The current 'Multicultural actor' is a teacher who trains immigrants.

The process of choosing the award recipients is open to the public: residents can make suggestions via the Internet and city libraries. The jury, which processes the suggestions, comprises migrant representatives, journalists, city officials and NGOs. Finally, the mayor selects those who are to be given the awards based on the jury's preparatory work. The local media report extensively on the awards, which are recognised by the public.

Other cities, for example Turin, support ethnic associations in making their work visible to the wider public: the monthly newsletter *Torino plurale* offers migrant organisations the opportunity to present themselves and their activities. To increase the diffusion of this information, a summary of the newsletter is published in the multilingual information magazine *Popoli news*. In Stuttgart, information about migrant organisations' activities is published in the *Encounter of Cultures* magazine, which is co-financed by the city. In Luxembourg, the city magazine dedicates a section to the international community and focuses each time on a specific migrant community living in the city. The city of Wolverhampton issues the free quarterly newspaper *One City News*, which provides news and information about services, developments and initiatives from the private, voluntary and public sectors including the police and fire services, the city council and voluntary groups throughout Wolverhampton. The newspaper aims to increase communication between local people and the council and its partners and to draw a positive picture of the city's diverse population. The title *One City News* reflects a desire to promote one city that comprises many different communities and groups.

To add to this type of communications activity, cities such as Stuttgart, Frankfurt, Turin, Vienna and Wolverhampton publish an annual multiethnic and multifaith calendar that contains information on holidays celebrated all over the world.

Cooperation with local media, co-funding of media projects and improving journalists' (intercultural) competence are further means of enhancing intergroup relations. Practically every city provides local media with information about municipal policies and events. However, there are also programmes and initiatives undertaken to improve media reporting on diversity. The mayor of Amsterdam, for instance, is interviewed weekly by the local television station. During this interview, he routinely includes a message related to intercultural and interreligious dialogue and talks about the importance of tolerance. The city of Amsterdam conducted a larger project and contributed towards the production of the 'West Side Soap', which is a TV series on the lives of four families – a

Turkish, a Moroccan, a Surinamese and a Dutch family – who become neighbours. It covers themes such as love, discrimination, education, friendship and work. It is not only meant to fit into Staub's strategy mentioned above (see the section 'Humanising the "other" by creating informal contact') that people should know more about each other's life and culture, but also to show how interconnected people in any street in Amsterdam already are. On the one hand, it focuses on the experiences of people, while on the other hand it aims to fight prejudice.

The city of Turin followed a similar idea: Maghreb Muslim women's stories were collected in various video productions. These were funded by the municipality and shown in the cinema to city residents.

The city of Bologna signed the region-wide Agreement on Intercultural Communication. The goal of this agreement is to improve migrants' opportunities for self-representation and increase communication on their activities. This includes promoting multicultural media and offering training for journalists working within this context. In cooperation with partnership agencies, the council in Kirklees offers media training for (migrant) organisations. The city of Turin was involved in a European project called *Migra* aiming to prepare migrant journalists to work for local newspapers. None of the six participating journalists was hired by a newspaper. Nonetheless, they set up the interethnic association *Piemondo*, which realised a project analysing how local media report news on migration issues. In Newport, monitoring of local newspapers' reporting on topics regarding migration, ethnic minorities and intergroup relations is also undertaken through the SEWREC.

To promote an international and multicultural image and also to improve communication with various ethnic groups, many cities provide information in different languages. For instance, this is done by Dublin, Frankfurt, Kirklees, Newport, Stuttgart, Turin, Turku, Vienna and Wolverhampton. Translated information published on the cities' websites as well as translated information brochures are most common. Vienna is particularly active in this regard: its communication strategy 'Vienna speaks many languages' is a cornerstone of its overall diversity policy. Apart from translating the municipal website into various migrant languages, Vienna has developed a glossary of administrative words translated into other languages. The city also publishes the magazine *Welt & Stadt* offering important information for new residents and it has a multilingual online service that provides residents with information on legal issues, the

locations of German classes, women's issues, children's issues, further training, health care, emergencies, as well as daily life and leisure activities. The city of Tallinn publishes a free newspaper in both Estonian and Russian to communicate with the Russian-speaking group in the city. Athens International Radio is a further good practice example regarding the provision of information in different languages.

Athens: Athens International Radio

Athens International Radio was set up by the mayor in 2004 as a three-month project to inform and entertain visitors coming to Athens for the Olympic Games. The station was an instant hit and therefore continued broadcasting. Its purposes, however, have gradually changed: today, it caters not only for the needs of visitors, but mainly for those who live in the city permanently. It started to look at issues closely affecting the immigrant communities in Athens and strives to work together with them. Athens International Radio is considered a success: it broadcasts in 15 different languages and offers cultural, social and sports coverage as well as, in cooperation with the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), *Radio France Internationale* (RFI) and *Deutsche Welle* (DW), Greek, Balkan and European news.

Several cities introduce different approaches as part of their communication strategy. The AmkA in Frankfurt, for instance, has its own public relations section and a relatively large budget for communication work. The AmkA publishes its documents in several languages and maintains contacts with local migrant media as well as German newspapers and TV stations.

Frankfurt: Public communication of the AmkA

Frankfurt's Office for Multicultural Affairs (AmkA) considers public communication as crucial and established a specific section for public relations within its office. The AmkA's strategic approach to public relations includes offering neutral information to residents with and without a migration background. Thus, it issues publications and information in various languages. Personal contacts – particularly with members of different ethnic or religious organisations – play an important role in its public relations approach. The AmkA maintains close cooperation with the local print media and has a distribution list for foreign media sources. It issues press releases through these sources, in addition to using new media, such as newsletters and the Internet.

Intercultural mediation and public space management

As discussed in Chapter 2, neighbourhoods and other public spaces including markets, public parks, public institutions and street corners are important locations for different ethnic and religious groups to meet and interact with other groups. Because these places are enjoyed by many different groups in various ways, such interactions can be a source of conflict, which can undermine and challenge intergroup relations. This section discusses how CLIP cities attempt to manage or resolve these conflicts.

Intercultural mediation services

A useful means of managing intercultural conflicts is the establishment of mediation services. At least eight cities – Antwerp, Bologna, Frankfurt, L'Hospitalet, Stuttgart, Valencia, Vienna and Zürich – have set up such a service within the municipal administration, of which four good practice examples are presented below.

The 'Mediation Service' in L'Hospitalet, which is supported by the Barcelona Provincial Council (*Diputació de Barcelona*), consists of 12 staff members who respond to neighbourhood conflicts, public space occupation complaints, and concerns with regard to employment and public services competition. The goals of the Mediation Service, which works closely with the police and other social and economic organisations, are to find compromises, increase mutual understanding and make people aware of laws. In Stuttgart, the city administration has set up the Stuttgart Team for Intercultural Mediation, which helps to prevent and resolve (intercultural) conflicts within neighbourhoods. The team comprises a staff member of the municipal Department for Integration Policy and social workers from various welfare organisations who are trained in mediation and experienced in working with people of varied origin. Team workers offer on-site aid for the resolution of conflicts, and support the people concerned in finding a solution that is fair for both sides. Both L'Hospitalet and Stuttgart consider their mediation service to be an example of good practice. A success factor is the intercultural expertise of the employees and their connections with the migrant communities.

The mediation services in Bologna and Frankfurt have similar aims. Nonetheless, they are organised in a completely different manner: they cooperate with a pool of volunteers.

Bologna: Cultural mediation and social interpreting

To provide information and services to people with different cultures and languages and to resolve intercultural conflicts, the city of Bologna offers a centralised intercultural mediation service. Since the city does not have the capacity to do so on its own, it contracted the service to a non-profit association of mediators, the Intercultural Association of Social and Health Mediators (*Associazione Mediatrici Interculturali in ambito Sociale e Sanitario*, AMISS), with mediators stemming from more than 20 countries.

The service can be used both for responding to occasional needs and for developing complex projects, such as the ‘Parents permanent workshop’, set up in a school to arrange encounters between Italian and foreign parents, their children and the school teachers.

The city and the Local Health Agency (*Azienda Sanitaria Locale*, ASL) pay an annual sum to AMISS to guarantee a certain number of mediation hours for their own services, while other organisations such as schools and hospitals pay each time that they use the service. In any case, it costs much less than hiring mediators, which allows a high number of city organisations to offer mediation services.

Another outstanding example involving migrants as mediators can be found in Frankfurt where the AmkA has developed a mediation project for multiethnic neighbourhood conflicts. As part of this project, about 50 community members with various language and professional backgrounds were trained as voluntary mediators to resolve intercultural conflicts. They analyse the conflicts, bring the people involved together and mediate the discussions in order to resolve the conflict. The AmkA is responsible for the technical organisation, the processing of requests and the involvement of local authorities. Interviewees reported that this project has prevented and resolved conflicts and has been a relief for the police and local authorities. At the same time, it has empowered local community members involved in mediation.

In several cities, migrant organisations organise mediation services themselves, as reported, for instance, for the city of Luxembourg, in which the Network of Ethnic Organisations (*Comité de Liaison des Associations d'Etrangers*, CLAE) developed activities associated with cultural mediation and counselling; for the city of Turin, where migrant ‘mediator organisations’ offer intercultural mediation services by mediators with different ethnic backgrounds; and for the city of Istanbul, where the Tarlabası Community Centre provides counselling and

mediation services for the local (migrant) population. In Vienna, L'Hospitalet and Terrassa, trade unions also offer mediation services. In the Catalan cities, the trade union CCOO has set up the Information Centre for Migrant Workers (*Centro de Información al Trabajador Extranjero*, CITE), which provides free advice and information about Catalan language courses and legal issues – such as immigration law, procedures to acquire a residence permit or family reunification. Moreover, CITE provides intercultural mediation.

Public space management

A number of cities have implemented a range of policy initiatives that aim to resolve intercultural conflict and manage the peaceful use of public space.

Turin and Vienna have developed projects to help resolve conflicts over the use of public parks. Noise, the amount of rubbish left behind and barbecuing in areas without any suitable facilities in Turin's parks caused problems and intercultural conflicts. To attempt to satisfy all of Turin's residents, the city and migrant associations created partnerships to better manage public spaces.

Turin: Regulating the use of public parks together with local associations

To meet the needs of native and immigrant public park users, the city of Turin has developed a counselling initiative, addressed specifically towards the Peruvian community to better regulate their park use. The city:

- dedicated a specific area within the public park that is equipped for hosting parties and other gatherings;
- created an association responsible for organising park gatherings and ensuring that park rules are observed.

To resolve a similar conflict in Vienna, the city's diversity department launched the initiative 'Outdoor Grill Caretakers Speaking Native Languages' (*Muttersprachliche Grillplatzmeister*) to mediate conflicts between migrants (who use public barbecue grills in parks) and native Austrians, who often feel disturbed by these activities.

The city of Amsterdam has explored interesting projects regarding street-based youth gangs. One project, 'Connect', is a bottom-up initiative initiated by the Moroccan Saïd Bensellam, who works with young Moroccan street boys who are considered unreachable by regular youth work. Together with Mr Bensellam, the

street boys devise a plan for a more positive future perspective. They get involved in local activities that 'connect' them with society. For instance, some young people receive training from the 'Flying Brigade' – which is a team of surveillance and field workers charged with bringing more peace and quiet to the area – and support the police by negotiating to resolve escalating conflicts in a particular neighbourhood. Others participate in the 'Parking project', organising parking at big events. These activities are considered to improve the situation of young people and contribute to a safer and more positive multicultural neighbourhood. The initiative, which has broadened its activities and also involves parents, has gained nationwide recognition and won many awards.

Amsterdam: Young in Westerpark

The project 'Young in Westerpark' was based on worries expressed about youth gangs on the streets of the Amsterdam city district Westerpark. The basic idea behind the project is that identity and self-confidence of young people are the keys to success in creating a peaceful neighbourhood. The project's approach has four rules that are easy to apply and widely agreed by all parties in the district: 1) everyone is part of 'us'; 2) we care for each other; 3) we care about our surroundings; and 4) we maintain self-control. These rules are repeated everywhere, in schools, at Quran lessons in the mosque, at the football club and in public squares. In the case of any conflict, those involved meet around a table to resolve the problem, and at the same time ties are created. These 'Socratic talks' have more effect than punishing the young people involved in the conflict; they stimulate the young people to identify the reasons behind certain decisions and to find solutions by questioning.

The project, which started in 2005, is supported by 70 local organisations. It can be considered a good practice example of public space management. The project focuses on connecting people and avoiding polarisation. Therefore, problems are resolved promptly and the circumstances leading to tensions are dealt with from a very early stage, not only because tensions mostly originate among young people, but also because small conflicts should not escalate.

In Malmö, the lack of space for migrant and ethnic groups to meet and socialise has impacted on intergroup interaction in public spaces. This was the case in the library in the Rosengård district, where there was a decline in the number of women coming to the library, because migrant men would gather there to play cards and chess. To provide for the needs of both men and women, Malmö library introduced a specific area for playing chess, thus allowing men to

congregate in this room while women are free to meet or attend weekly lectures in the central areas of the library – an initiative regarded as good practice by many people interviewed during the relevant field visit.

Malmö: Chess room in the Rosengård city district library

The new layout of the Rosengård city district library located in a shopping mall is a good practice example for responding to the request of migrant organisations for meeting space. Before the rearranging of library space, many local migrant men gathered in the library's central areas to play chess or cards. This limited the space available for weekly lectures and deterred local women from coming to the library. As a result of the reorganisation, the library now has a room dedicated to chess playing, where local men meet and chat. The number of women visiting the library, meeting in the central areas and attending weekly lectures has since increased significantly.

Furthermore, the library has become very international. Books in as many as 20 different languages, over 100 newspapers from around the world and an extensive language library are currently available. The library staff, some of whom are multilingual, provide computer and Internet courses and run a weekly language café where various topics are discussed in Swedish.

In quantitative terms, eight local policy areas have been identified for improving attitudes and relations between groups in European cities. They are taken up to a different extent in the various CLIP cities:

- humanising the 'other' by creating new forms of informal contact (taken up by 30% of cities);
- cultural and intercultural events (70% of cities);
- intercultural competence building (55% of cities);
- language courses (100% of cities);
- anti-racism/anti-discrimination activities (60% of cities);
- propagating an inclusive identity strategy (30% of cities);
- communication strategies (50% of cities);
- public space management (45% of cities).

The provision of language courses is a universal policy in all cities; cultural events and anti-discrimination activities are part of the policy portfolio in 60%–70% of

cities; intercultural competence building, communication strategies and public space management are implemented in 45%–55% of cities; and the most demanding policies of humanising relations and propagating inclusive strategies and changes in identity are only taken up by about 30% of cities in the CLIP network.

Policies improving relations between police and migrant groups

Intergroup relations in ethnically mixed populations are peaceful in most CLIP cities. Nevertheless, cultural and religious diversity can also be a source of conflict. To prevent, reduce and overcome conflicts between different ethnic groups and to secure social cohesion at the local level, the police can be a key player in cities. This is the case regardless of whether the local police are part of the city administration or belong to a national police force.

Significant differences emerge in the way the police address their relations with migrant groups. While in some cities the local police force seems to act in a somewhat reactive way, in others the police are rather proactive and represent an important player in local intercultural policies. Altogether, 18 case studies reported efforts to improve relations between the police and migrant groups – Amsterdam, Antwerp, Arnsberg, Bologna, Breda, Dublin, Frankfurt, Kirklees, Malmö, Newport, Stuttgart, Sundsvall, Turin, Turku, Valencia, Vienna, Wolverhampton and Zürich.

The approaches reported on in the CLIP case studies can be divided into three categories: a) intercultural education and competence building of police officers, including the introduction of a specific integration liaison unit within the police force; b) information campaigns about the police and police-related topics for migrants, including crime and conflict prevention; and c) institutionalised dialogue and cooperation between police and migrant organisations. Some CLIP cities follow one of these approaches, but in most cases several elements are combined as part of a wider approach or strategy.

Intercultural education of police officers

Educational and other projects to increase the intercultural awareness and intercultural competence of the police constitute the first major category of approaches taken in the CLIP cities. Gaining intercultural competence is vital to reducing prejudices and establishing understanding. It helps the police to understand conflicts within a migrant community, between different migrant groups or between migrant groups and the native population and thus enhances

their ability to resolve these conflicts. Moreover, intercultural competences can improve relations as well as cooperation with migrant groups, for example when introducing prevention measures. Projects that aim to enhance the intercultural competence of police officers can be seen in several CLIP cities. It appears that this kind of measure exists in 11 cities – Antwerp, Bologna, Dublin, Frankfurt, Kirklees, Stuttgart, Turin, Valencia, Vienna, Wolverhampton and Zürich.

Since communication is an important part of intergroup relations, some CLIP cities offer migrant language courses for police officers. In Wolverhampton, for instance, a language school has organised a basic Punjabi language course for police officers. This class has been positively received by the participants and is viewed as a way of supporting community relations. Course participants have the opportunity to receive accreditation on completion of the course.

Several other cities provide intercultural education within broader projects involving the police and migrants. Vienna's project 'Fair and sensitive – Police and Africans' focuses on, among other things, the education of police officers with the aim of improving communication with immigrants in general and with Africans in particular. The initiative was founded by Vienna's Federal Department of Criminal Investigation and African migrant organisations. It features educational and awareness-raising workshops for police officers and the establishment of an advice centre in a café. Another project involving the police and migrants in Vienna – 'Advice and help relaunched' – also aims to increase mutual understanding through intercultural training. Intercultural competence building of police officers is also a vital part of Stuttgart's programme, 'Cooperation between the police and mosque associations', where the first stage of the project focused on teaching police officers about Islam. Valencia and Turin also undertake training projects for city officials and local police officers. These projects aim to provide information about immigration and create awareness among the police about immigrants' social situations and living conditions.

The project 'Police and migrants engage in dialogue' in Frankfurt is based on the assumption that tensions between the police and migrants can arise when they do not know much about each other. Thus, there are specific workshops for police officers where they can discuss problems with migrants and learn about requests from migrants. In addition, they receive instruction about migrant cultures and are confronted with negative experiences that migrants have previously had with the police.

Another method to enhance intercultural competences and work efficiently and effectively within a diverse population is to establish special police units dealing with intercultural affairs. In Antwerp, for instance, the local police set up a specific Diversity Unit, which developed initiatives relating to the police's slogan 'A heart for diversity'. In Dublin, a special police unit is responsible for the implementation of strategies and policies focusing on racial, ethnic, cultural and religious diversity.

Dublin: Ethnic Liaison Unit

Dublin's Ethnic Liaison Unit consists of three ethnic liaison officers, who were appointed to deal with racism and problems regarding multiculturalism and are well received and respected across migrant and religious communities. For the past two years, the unit has operated a police consulting clinic after Friday prayer alternating in the Clonskeagh and the South Circular Road mosques. At these clinics, police officers provide advice and respond to the concerns of Muslims in the area. Additionally, the Store Street Garda Station set up the 'North Inner City New Communities Forum', an ethnic minority forum that involves five police stations. Within this forum, issues concerning ethnic and religious minorities are discussed. The forum holds meetings every three months for representatives from the police, Dublin City Council, the business community, public representatives and other interested parties. Muslim representatives from the Clonskeagh and South Circular Road mosques also provide cultural awareness training for police officers.

The police force in Zürich has a special education and training programme in place, which aims to prevent intercultural conflicts. The teachers involved in the programme cooperate with an external mediator from the Zürich Competence Centre for Intercultural Conflicts, which is also involved in the training of other units in Switzerland. The police force is active in complaint management, as it pre-screens complaints before action is taken. One unit in particular works to prevent football-related youth conflicts. In addition, another special unit works specifically with young people. Another important aspect of Zürich's approach is community policing. As part of this approach, a police officer is assigned to specific streets in a neighbourhood. Police officers also participate in annual *iftar* dinners during the month of Ramadan.

A further way of improving the police force's intercultural competencies is through the recruitment of police officers with a migration or minority background. For

instance this was done in Dublin, where there is a significant underrepresentation of police officers with an ethnic minority background in the police service (*An Garda Síochána*), by launching an ethnic minority recruitment drive. However, this initiative was not very successful, as fewer than 10 of the 200 applicants are currently employed. Similarly, the local police in Malmö have been addressing the issue of underrepresentation of migrant police officers for some time; however, they appear to be making slow process in recruiting migrant staff. Nonetheless, these approaches have to be considered as very important. The importance and influence of having police officers with a migration background can be seen, for instance, in the city of Kirklees. As part of the Kirklees Connect project, police officers with diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds provide telephone advice about cultural awareness to other police officers.

While the abovementioned projects and activities are based on initiatives by police forces, in some CLIP cities it is migrant organisations that encourage the police to start an intercultural ‘opening-up’ process. Regarding the dialogue between the police and migrant groups, one recognisable trend is that migrant organisations and religious organisations are interested in or are already actively inviting police officers to visit their communities. This can be seen in Amsterdam, for example. In addition to its other extensive activities, the Young Muslims in Amsterdam (*Moslim Jongeren Amsterdam*, MJA) group began inviting representatives of the police to visit and attend its programmes as a result of the feeling that they had been targeted by the police. Research undertaken in Wolverhampton suggests that Sikh communities living in the city would also like to establish connections with the police, but efforts to do this have not succeeded to date. This is especially noteworthy because over 15,000 people attend Sikh temples in the city on Sundays.

Information on the police for migrants

Another approach explored in Frankfurt, Kirklees, Newport and Zürich involves information campaigns on police-related topics for migrants. In addition to providing valuable information on crime prevention and national laws, this approach aims to encourage interaction between the police and migrant groups. Thus, fears and prejudice are reduced and migrants feel less reluctant to approach the police when problems and conflicts occur.

Kirklees offers both intercultural resources for police officers (see above) and information programmes for migrant groups. The police force hosts ‘carousel’ police clinics providing information services to migrant groups. These clinics take

place in many different locations, including mosques and interfaith centres. It is worth noting that although these ‘carousel’ police clinics as well as the project Kirklees Connect sound like promising initiatives, none of the Muslim organisations that participated in the CLIP study were aware of them. In Zürich, information events on and with the police are held at mosques and the organisations’ meeting rooms.

The project ‘Police and migrants engage in dialogue’ in Frankfurt not only offers intercultural education for police officers, but also information programmes for representatives of NGOs and migrant associations on police structures. It also offers opportunities for dialogue between the police and migrant groups. Following separate workshops for police officers, and another for migrants and NGO representatives, a third workshop gathered together all participants of the two prior workshops. As part of the third workshop, participants had the opportunity to constructively discuss issues important to them and put forward requests to other participants. At the time of writing, the police in Frankfurt were working on plans for a project to specifically enhance dialogue with Muslims. This project was expected to begin in December 2009.

Newport’s strategy includes not only a dialogue forum (see below), but also cooperative police monitoring, hate crime prevention and information programmes in individual mosques. In Newport, police monitoring is done in cooperation with the imams of the mosques. The police have also established specific policies in order to deal with hate crime. In recent times, the police have set up a community cohesion team comprising five police officers with expertise in communications and community work. The police also hold regular police consultation clinics in each of the mosques. Newport’s approach is supported by all individuals and organisations interviewed during the field visit.

Institutionalised dialogue between police and migrant organisations

A third approach in policies to improve relations between police and migrant groups involves institutionalised dialogue and cooperation between the police and migrant organisations. Regular dialogue as well as cooperation between the police and migrant organisations exists in nine CLIP cities – Amsterdam, Arnsberg, Breda, Malmö, Newport, Stuttgart, Sundsvall, Turku and Vienna. In general, the initial approaches – intercultural education for police officers and information campaigns for migrants – are the basis of a constructive dialogue and are hence a substantial part of this approach.

In some cities, such a strategy also aims to increase the openness of ethnic or faith-based migrant organisations to the city administration and society as a whole, as some organisations are – for different reasons – rather isolated. The goal is to overcome this isolation and integrate the organisations into society, while also increasing the organisations’ involvement in their respective city districts.

To achieve these aims, regular meetings take place between the police and migrant organisations in some CLIP cities. Sundsvall has initiated roundtable discussion groups that bring together stakeholders in the city’s public life to discuss important community issues and neighbourhood problems. These roundtables also include migrant groups and the police. Similar initiatives are organised in Arnsberg and Stuttgart. A very positive and efficient aspect of these projects is that challenges or problems can be solved quickly, as important stakeholders are all present at these roundtable discussions. According to police officers and migrants interviewed, the roundtable discussion groups facilitate the interaction of persons who might not normally interact with one another.

Institutionalised dialogue and cooperation can also be an aspect of broader projects involving the police and migrants. The previously mentioned project ‘Advice and help relaunched’ in Vienna is based on the strategy of community policing and began in 2005. It involves cooperation between MA 17 (the city’s Department for Integration and Diversity Affairs) and Vienna’s police force, and aims to increase mutual understanding through intercultural training, personal involvement and face-to-face meetings. As part of this initiative, employees of the city administration and police officers meet regularly with representatives of community, ethnic and cultural organisations and religious leaders to discuss neighbourhood safety issues.

In Newport, a dialogue forum has also been initiated. The ‘Gwent Police BME Community Liaison meetings’ occur regularly and are attended by the police and community leaders from different city districts, ethnic heritages and religious affiliations. As a result of these meetings, community leaders and senior police officers have been able to establish trust between one another, which has allowed them to honestly express concerns about policing issues.

More ‘unconventional’ initiatives can be found in Vienna and Amsterdam. The Vienna project ‘Fair and sensitive’ mentioned above also features elements to encourage dialogue between police officers and Africans: the project organises multicultural events, including cooperative activities such as football matches

and music events. In Amsterdam, Muslim young people support the police in their effort to stop conflicts escalating through the 'Flying Brigade' initiative.

Another good practice project that combines the three approaches – intercultural education of police officers, information campaigns for migrants and an institutionalised dialogue – is the initiative 'Cooperation between the police and mosque associations' in Stuttgart. The project goals for the police are to gain intercultural competence regarding Islam and include mosque associations in communal crime prevention. The mosque associations and their members become actively integrated in their neighbourhoods, and the police and local mosque associations develop strong contacts with one another.

Stuttgart: Cooperation between the police and mosque associations

The good practice project 'Cooperation between the police and mosque associations' is part of the nationwide initiative Transfer of Intercultural Competence (*Transfer interkultureller Kompetenz, TiK*), which focuses on the intercultural opening up of city administrations, thus increasing awareness and openness. In Stuttgart, the project has the following four goals.

- 1) The police gain intercultural competence regarding Islam.
- 2) The police and local mosque associations develop strong contacts with one another.
- 3) The mosque associations are included in communal crime prevention.
- 4) The mosque associations and their members become actively integrated in their neighbourhoods.

The cooperation began in one city district, where the local police – after achieving a basic knowledge of Islam – contacted the mosque of the Turkish-Islamic Union DİTİB, visited the mosque and invited the mosque's management board to the police station. Having gained the trust of the Muslim association, the police started to organise information events. At the beginning, they dealt with harmless topics, such as traffic safety, and later they included issues such as drugs, raising children, preventing youth criminality and abuse in the home.

Other Muslim organisations have since started to take part in the project, and all police stations in Stuttgart currently have contact persons for mosque associations. In addition to establishing such connections, a handbook about the initiative was also created.

Feedback on the project has been very positive. As a result, both police and mosque associations started a joint 'intercultural opening up' process. The Muslim communities are more involved in their city districts, participate in local safety and district committees and have become more appreciated members of their districts.

By undertaking this project, which is highly appreciated by Muslim representatives, the police and the city, the police were the first official institution to approach the local mosque associations. A member of one mosque association stated:

The police achieved what no one had previously achieved: it helped us to open up to the outside and to build bridges from here to the outside. It was possible to do this in two ways: first, through the police, we were able to trust ourselves to open up. Secondly, other organisations were then open to working with us, because the police also had been.

This project can be seen as a clear example of a good practice project.

Conclusions

This chapter has presented detailed information about the nature and content of intercultural policies in CLIP cities. It first discussed the general framework of CLIP cities' intercultural policies: most CLIP cities deal with intergroup relations and intercultural policies within the framework of integration policies. Some other cities frame their policies as diversity strategies while the eastern European cities have implemented national minority policies. Secondly, the chapter explored relations between different actors at the local level and explained the key roles the mayor, the council, the administration but also a consultative body for migrants can play in intercultural policies.

Most city representatives interviewed in the course of the research emphasised the importance of local ethnic and religious migrant organisations. On the one hand, these organisations support their members by providing networks and promoting the familiarisation with the 'new' society. On the other hand, migrant organisations are useful for the city because their leaders can act as bridges between the city administration and individual members and thus facilitate the development and implementation of local policies. Thus, the chapter has thirdly explored intercultural policies towards migrant organisations, of which five important components can be identified.

- An important prerequisite for establishing effective policies towards migrant organisations is their ‘mapping’ – that is, the systematic collection of information (such as members, activities and aims), which is carried out by most, but unfortunately not by all, CLIP cities.
- Since most migrant organisations have very limited resources, in one way or another, most CLIP cities support them: 24 cities provide direct financial support (in most cases, project funding), while 17 cities provide rooms and/or rent allowances to address the challenge of lacking space.
- Empowering and establishing a sense of belonging among migrant organisations is considered to be crucial. Nine CLIP cities report using capacity-building programmes (such as training in organisation management and training and involvement of migrants as ‘multipliers’) that can be regarded as good practice initiatives. Six cities described how the establishment of umbrella organisations can empower migrant associations and two cities implement good practice projects involving community leaders in intercultural policies.
- Policies of recognition are crucial. They can include the creation of an institutionalised consultative body of migrant representatives, mutual invitations and continuous informal contacts between the city and migrant organisations. To a greater or lesser extent, this kind of policy exists in every CLIP city.
- Six cities explicitly strive to arrive at a shared vision in the city and/or between the city administration and migrant organisations. This shared vision must go beyond the respective individual interests of organisations and be an overarching goal for all.

Components of these policies aimed towards migrants exist in all cities – nonetheless, there are major differences between them. While several cities only implement single measures, others implement a plethora of programmes to establish fruitful relations with migrant organisations and to meet their needs. The latter should be an inspiring example for cities that do not yet strategically focus on enhancing relations with migrant organisations.

Prejudice and stereotypes between ethnic groups (both native and immigrant groups) can be found in all cities. Since prejudice and stereotypes can develop into mutual discrimination and threaten the social cohesion in a city, cities have to address this challenge: they should implement policies that positively influence

the mindset and related behaviour of cities' residents with and without a migration background. For this reason, this chapter fourthly explored policies and measures aimed at improving attitudes and enhancing relations between various groups. The following eight policy approaches could be identified.

- Since the EU declared 2008 as the Year of Intercultural Dialogue, measures enhancing this aim are the most obvious policy. None of the CLIP cities, however, run an activity under the explicit heading of 'intercultural dialogue', in the sense that individuals or groups meet to exchange and discuss different cultural values, views and traditions. There are, however, various initiatives that (implicitly) include intercultural dialogue activities.
- Stereotypes and prejudice between groups and a devaluation of 'other' groups escalate as a result of limited contact among and knowledge about other groups. Hence, contact may contribute to reducing these stereotypes and thus help to 'humanise' the 'other' if groups meet on an equal footing and engage in mutually rewarding activities. In most CLIP cities, many initiatives have been explored to create opportunities for groups to meet and establish contacts that can be distinguished as attempts to create informal contact between individuals of different ethnic groups and as attempts to encourage migrants' participation in majority organisations. Nine good practice examples of measures to help some groups feel empathy for others by creating informal contact could be presented in this report.
- Many cities regard intercultural events as a way of countering ethnic and racial stereotypes among the population and thus promoting social cohesion. Therefore, 22 cities initiate or support such events – usually in cooperation with both migrant and local mainstream organisations. According to their initial goals, these intercultural events can be classified as festivals celebrating ethnic heritage, intercultural events celebrating diversity and traditional local festivals that encourage the participation of migrant groups and consequently become 'intercultural'. In general, these festivals are popular and are regarded as a success by both city officials and migrant organisations' representatives, because they increase the visibility of the city's cultural diversity and encourage its residents to interact with, learn about and enjoy other cultures. However, a festival in itself does not improve daily intercultural relations, but cooperation between various groups in the preparation of the festival contributes to attitude change and possibly to an improvement in intergroup relations.

- Intercultural competence can help to reduce cultural misunderstandings and improve peaceful intergroup relations. Furthermore, it can constitute a valuable resource for the local economy. For these reasons, all CLIP cities make an effort to raise the intercultural competence of their residents. Intercultural training for cities' administrative staff and programmes for pupils and adult residents that aim to enhance knowledge about different cultures and, thus, intergroup relations, are examples of policies that could be found in 17 cities. Additionally, all CLIP cities invest in language training for both natives and migrants. For the latter group, there are courses that aim to enhance migrants' competences in the language of the country of immigration and those aiming to improve migrants' competences in their mother tongue.
- Nineteen cities have explored a variety of ways to overcome racism and discrimination: they have initiated municipal programmes and campaigns to fight discrimination and racism, set up anti-discrimination offices and run anti-racism and anti-discrimination projects. For the latter, NGOs and the social partners are of particular importance since they initiate and support a variety of activities.
- To improve attitudes and enhance relations between groups, several CLIP cities make an effort to propagate an inclusive identity strategy. The aim of these strategies is to create a 'we' feeling among residents – regardless of whether they belong to the native group or have a migration background – and thus to build a common city identity. This collective local identity should exist alongside an ethnic identity – that is, the subgroup identities will remain, but will be superseded by a collective city identity. A necessary condition for the success of this approach is that the larger group identity is sufficiently inclusive to express the existing differences in a complex manner. Good practice examples can be found in nine cities.
- Public communication and media reporting exert an influence on public opinion making and political agenda setting and thus have an impact on intergroup relations in the city. Therefore, some cities have developed strategies on how to communicate about minorities, diversity and intergroup relations: they cooperate with local media to improve journalists' intercultural competence, monitor media reporting regarding intergroup relations and make diversity visible by awarding prizes. These and other communication strategies from 16 cities could be presented in the chapter.

- Neighbourhoods and other public spaces such as public parks and street corners are important locations for meeting and interacting with others. Because these places are enjoyed by many different groups in various ways, such interactions can be a source of conflict that can seriously undermine intergroup relations. To overcome these challenges, eight cities established intercultural mediation services; other cities developed a variety of alternative attempts geared towards a better management of public space, such as projects to resolve conflicts over the use of public parks, over behaviour in the streets and the use of public buildings.

In summary, within the CLIP project, there is an impressive range of good practice initiatives to improve attitudes and relations between groups. Taken together, they meet the challenging issues listed above.

The final part of this chapter analysed policies improving relations between the police and migrant groups. The approaches undertaken can be divided into the following three categories.

- Projects to increase intercultural awareness and competence of the police constitute the first major category that could be found in 11 CLIP cities. Gaining intercultural competence is vital to reducing prejudices and establishing understanding between both groups. It also helps the police to understand conflicts within a migrant community, between different migrant groups or between migrant groups and the native population and thus enhances their ability to resolve these conflicts.
- Another category of approach includes information campaigns on police-related topics for migrants. These exist in at least four cities. In addition to providing valuable information on crime prevention and national laws, this approach aims to encourage interaction between the police and migrant groups. Thus, fears and prejudice are reduced and migrants feel less reluctant to approach the police when problems and conflicts occur.
- The third approach is institutionalised dialogue and cooperation between the police and migrant organisations, which exists in nine cities. In some cities, such a strategy aims to increase the openness of ethnic or faith-based migrant organisations to the city administration and society as a whole, as some organisations are rather isolated. The goal is to overcome this isolation and integrate the organisations in society, while also increasing the organisations' involvement in their respective city district.

To prevent, reduce and overcome conflicts between different ethnic groups and to secure social cohesion at the local level, the police can be a key player in cities – regardless of whether the local police are part of the municipal government or belong to a national police force. Consequently, attempts to improve relations between the police and migrant groups should become an important focus for all cities.

4 – Meeting religious needs and fostering interreligious dialogue

As noted earlier in this report, migration into Europe has brought ‘new’ religions to most CLIP cities. Moreover, the scale and pace of migration over recent decades has increased this trend significantly. Religious identities and needs can be the cause of tension and conflict between groups. This may be partly due to different traditions and practices among religions, but also to the heightened political anxiety associated with the rise in religious fundamentalism. This chapter outlines policies for meeting religious needs and fostering interreligious dialogue, as well as the approach of cities towards Muslim groups.

Policies for meeting religious needs

The religious needs and practices of migrant and minority groups have become an issue in intergroup relations in the large majority of CLIP cities. This is reflected in policies to meet religious needs that exist in 24 of the cities (more than 75% of the cities) – Amsterdam, Arnsberg, Athens, Bologna, Breda, Copenhagen, Dublin, Frankfurt, L’Hospitalet, Kirklees, Lisbon, Luxembourg, Malmö, Newport, Stuttgart, Sundsvall, Terrassa, Turin, Turku, Valencia, Vienna, Wolverhampton, Zagreb and Zürich. These policies mainly concern religious buildings, cemeteries, food, dress codes and Islamic instruction. Further policies relate to religious facilities in public hospitals and religious holidays; however, these will not be discussed in this section since they play only a minor role in city policies. The following sections describe the cities’ attitudes and policies in more detail. Since the Muslim community clearly represents the largest religious migrant community in Europe, most policies refer to this group.

Construction of religious buildings

Respondents in the majority of CLIP cities expressed a desire for larger places of worship and for representative religious buildings. In most cases, this need was articulated by Muslim groups. Nevertheless, Buddhists, Sikhs and Jews have also sought to develop representative temples and synagogues. Most cities seem to be aware of these needs and many of them are generally supportive. While some cities do not seem to consider the support of buildings for religious migrant communities a municipal task, others such as Frankfurt, Turin and Stuttgart actively support initiatives for the construction or maintenance of religious

buildings. In some way, 14 CLIP cities (45%) support the construction or preservation of religious buildings, either through the provision of land, counselling, information or political support. According to the case studies, the following 14 cities provide support for religious buildings: Amsterdam, Arnsberg, Athens, Bologna, Frankfurt, L'Hospitalet, Lisbon, Malmö, Stuttgart, Terrassa, Turin, Valencia, Vienna and Zürich. It is worthwhile noting that the UK authorities are not permitted to offer cash support for religious buildings, but can support the provision of community facilities that are on their land. For instance, in Wolverhampton, community facilities and childcare centres close to or linked with faith communities have received financial support in the past.

Although a number of cities do not actively support the construction of new religious buildings, they are nonetheless engaged in preventing neighbourhood conflicts surrounding this issue.

Cities deal with demands for religious buildings and attempt to enhance intergroup relations in a variety of different ways. The approaches taken in this regard include:

- providing land for religious buildings to be built on;
- counselling for religious communities;
- information campaigns and linking religious communities and neighbours;
- organising political support.

Providing land to Muslim communities to build mosques is an important means of support with regard to religious buildings. The cities of Athens and Lisbon, for instance, once followed this strategy. Other cities, such as Arnsberg, pay a proportion of the rent for the mosque, as it would for every other migrant association regardless of whether it has a religious affiliation.

Another approach in meeting migrants' – as well as prospective neighbours' – needs is the effective guidance offered to religious communities, as practised in Stuttgart. After previously experiencing a conflict related to the construction of a mosque, the city of Stuttgart developed a procedure that seeks to prevent future conflicts: even before a community buys property, it can receive guidance from the city. On the one hand, the Department for Urban Planning and Construction outlines the planning and building laws and regulations that need to be considered; on the other hand, the Department for Integration Policy discusses potential neighbourhood problems with the community.

Similarly, the city of Frankfurt offers an institutionalised form of guidance for religious communities and has appointed one AmkA staff member as the official contact person for religious communities who will respond to their questions with regard to conflicts about plans for the construction of religious buildings. Vienna also provides supervision and support for the construction of mosques.

Apart from such institutionalised forms of guidance and support, less formal kinds of information provision can also be very effective. This is evident in Zürich, where the deputy police chief visited the imam of a mosque to try and resolve traffic and parking problems that commonly arose during Friday prayer time at the mosque. This visit was much appreciated and the neighbourhood problems arising as a result of events at the mosque could be resolved.

A third way of dealing with the issue of religious buildings and conflicts associated with them includes information campaigns geared towards the local population combined with mediation efforts that bring religious community members, neighbours and protesting groups together to help reduce mutual prejudices and fears. These programmes generally aim to reduce any prejudices and fears that residents living in the neighbourhood of the mosque may have towards Islam. The city of Frankfurt, for instance, employed such a strategy during a conflict over the construction of a new mosque in the district of Hausen in the west of the city. Officials organised various meetings with residents and mosque representatives to respond to concerns and fears. Similarly, Breda launched an information campaign for residents living close to a mosque and it helped to bring the Muslim community and neighbours together and to foster peaceful relationships between the two groups. Similar activities can be seen in Vienna: mediation in conflicts about Islamic centres is an important activity of the municipal Department for Integration and Diversity. The city of Terrassa – when confronted with the need to build a Baptist Evangelical church – was able to convince residents about the religious community's right to build a new church.

Organising political and public support is another means of dealing with the problems surrounding the construction of mosques and other religious buildings – again in the district of Hausen, Frankfurt, for example, has been actively supporting the construction of the new mosque. In addition to organising meetings between the Muslim community and residents of the area in question, the city has openly contested right-wing parties that use neighbourhood conflicts to mobilise people in support of their xenophobic views. When the right-wing National Democratic Party of Germany (*Nationaldemokratische Partei*

Deutschlands, NPD) organised a protest against the Hausen project, the city took an active part in a counter-demonstration, making it clear that right-wing extremism, racism and Islamophobia are not accepted in the city and that religious freedom includes the right to have a place to worship. The Muslim community and its plans were not only supported by Frankfurt's Lord Mayor, the staff of the AmkA and other important political actors, but also by various members of established religious communities as well as representatives of the social partners and large parts of the majority population.

The city of Terrassa provides much political encouragement for its Muslim communities and their needs. The city employs a clear communication strategy, imparting to the public that mosques belong to the city.

Terrassa: Supporting the acceptance of mosques

The city of Terrassa has established a clear position in relation to the issue of religious buildings: it supports the notion that religious communities have the right to a place of worship – preferably in the areas where they live. Thus, it actively supports religious communities – mainly Muslims – in providing more places of worship and in celebrating (Islamic) holidays. In order to prevent and mediate conflicts, the city's public communication strategy plays a vital part. The municipality categorically states that mosques belong to cities and should not be isolated in the industrial outskirts, but rather, like churches, become an integral part of city neighbourhoods.

Burials and cemeteries

Despite many migrants' intention to be buried in their country of origin, an increasing number are buried in their country of immigration. Increasingly, European cities have become aware of the issue of burials and cemeteries and are attempting to meet the demands of migrants or consider what approach to take in this regard.

As lack of space is a common challenge, only a few cities (6% of the CLIP participants), such as Dublin and Vienna, have a separate Islamic cemetery. Vienna provided the site for a new Islamic cemetery in 2008. This cemetery, which is the first Islamic cemetery in Austria, was financed by the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) Fund for International Development (OFID), the State of Qatar and also by a considerable number of small donors. Other cities, such as Amsterdam, Athens and Malmö, are in the initial stages of building a separate Islamic cemetery.

In 17 cities (nearly 55%), however, a particular area of an existing cemetery is reserved for Muslims. This is the case in Arnsberg, Bologna, Breda, Budapest, Frankfurt, Kirklees, Lisbon, Luxembourg, Malmö, Newport, Stuttgart, Sundsvall, Turin, Turku, Valencia, Wolverhampton and Zürich. While in some of these cities, such solutions appear to have met the needs of Muslims, several other cities, such as Malmö, Dublin and Newport, expressed concern that the cemeteries (or the parts of the cemetery respectively) are still too small.

In most cities, the cemeteries in question are exclusively run by the city. In some cities, churches run the cemeteries. In both cases, however, a Muslim cemetery seems to have been created without conflict occurring. In Sundsvall and Turku, for instance, the Swedish Church and the Finnish Church respectively are completely responsible for running the cemetery, which includes an atheist and a Muslim section. The local Islamic organisations are very satisfied with the cemeteries and the way the churches handle them.

As discussed in a previous chapter, however, the topic of burials is not only a question of space but also of burial rites. A major issue in this case is the use of a coffin. In cities like Amsterdam and Zagreb, Islamic rites are entirely allowed and in Lisbon, it is possible to bury the deceased without a coffin. The city of Zürich, however, still requires a coffin but allows for the use of a cardboard coffin. Other cities, by contrast, require a wooden coffin when burying Muslims. This is true, for instance, in the cities of Bologna, Stuttgart and Terrassa. Nevertheless, Muslim representatives interviewed during the field visits in Bologna, for example, were generally satisfied with the way Islamic burials are handled by the city.

A second challenge originates from the fact that there are different burial rules within the Muslim community. An issue in this regard is how to respect religious rules when denominational groups within the Muslim community have different views on these rules. In Amsterdam and Zürich, the cities coordinated various representatives from different religious and ethnic Muslim communities to gather and negotiate the modes of a consensual burial rite. In Zürich, Muslims even set up the Association of Islamic Organisations in Zürich (VIOZ) to discuss the issue and, hence, set up negotiations between the Muslim communities and the city. In both cities, the representatives negotiated for several years until a compromise was accepted by all partners.

Dress codes

Religious dress codes are also an issue challenging intergroup relations in some CLIP cities. There are, however, hardly any city policies concerning religious dress codes, in which case cities follow federal and state laws. Some European countries have banned the wearing of headscarves and other conspicuous religious symbols in schools, other public institutions or in the workplace. The Netherlands, for instance, banned the *burka* (an enveloping outer garment worn by women, which covers the head and body) for teachers. Similarly, in some of the federal states (*Länder*) in Germany, it is forbidden to wear a headscarf or other conspicuous religious signs. In Antwerp, the sudden introduction of a headscarf ban in public institutions meant that women were faced with the choice between removing their scarf and losing their job. Although these kinds of bans are mainly directed at Muslim women, they also affect other religious groups. In cities such as Frankfurt, for example, Sikh men are not allowed to wear a turban when working in a public institution. In other cities, such as Zürich, Luxembourg, Vienna and all of the UK cities, there are no restrictions on what one can wear in the workplace. Despite the lack of legal restrictions, conflicts about the *hijab* (headscarf) exist in places such as Vienna. According to the Federal Agency for Labour and the Austrian Trade Union Federation (*Österreichischer Gewerkschaftsbund*, ÖGB), women wearing headscarves face discrimination in the labour market.

As mentioned in a previous chapter, religious dress codes can have an impact on women's swimming. In order to respond to the needs of women, whether religious or not, some city swimming pools have introduced 'women's swimming' hours, during which time the pool is open for women only. In some cities, such as Stuttgart, this system was introduced several years ago and is considered 'normal' practice. Stuttgart does not categorise these special hours of operation in swimming pools as an initiative focusing on Muslim groups, but as a service for women in general. A similar development can be found in Turin where one of the local swimming pools opens for women only on Sundays. By doing so, the city complied with a request from migrant organisations. The initiative was made possible as a result of cooperation between the city and various regional associations.

Such initiatives provoked or continue to provoke public discussion in other cities, however. In Sundsvall, the initiative to introduce 'women's swimming' hours resulted in public debates and resistance to this idea. Nevertheless, the initiative was successful; the city agreed to the female Muslim representative's proposal.

In Valencia, by contrast, the local Islamic Cultural Centre's request to allocate some slots at the public swimming pool for Muslim women was rejected. The Valencian sports department argued that restrictions on access to public utilities cannot be allowed on the basis of one group's particular needs. Frankfurt had previously organised women's swimming hours at public pools. Following a similar line of argument used by the city of Valencia, however, and due to the city's scarce financial resources, most of these initiatives were discontinued. Currently, only one swimming pool in Valencia on the city outskirts offers separate hours for women.

One way of avoiding separate opening hours for women's swimming while still making it possible for religious Muslim women to use a public pool even when men are present is to allow for 'burkini swimming'. The 'burkini' – a special swim suit made of sportive material that covers the whole body except for the face, hands and feet – is, for example, permitted in Amsterdam, Vienna and Zürich.

Education

As with policies regarding dress codes, the issue of Muslim schools and Islamic classes at public schools can rarely be addressed at the city level, because education is generally governed by a federal or state-level government. Most of the CLIP countries generally allow ethnic or religious groups – including Christian groups – to establish private schools. However, there are no policies for dealing with the schools, or the issues with which they are associated, at the local level. In the city of Amsterdam, for instance, there are already six Islamic primary schools and one Islamic secondary school, which attract considerable media and public attention mainly because of concerns about ideological teaching in these schools and possible consequences for migrants' integration. These schools are carefully supervised by the general school inspections. However, apart from this, no other measures have been taken. In August 2009, the funds of five Dutch schools were cut, because the comments of the school inspectorate had not led to necessary improvements in teaching and building. One of the five schools was an Islamic school in Amsterdam.

Regarding religious education in public schools, some cities support demands from Muslim communities. Stuttgart, for instance, promoted an initiative to establish Islamic classes in public schools.

Stuttgart: Islamic classes in public schools

Two elementary schools in the city of Stuttgart take part in a model project on religious teaching. The schools not only provide denominational Christian religious education to children, but also offer denominational Islamic religious education (conducted in German) to Muslim children as part of the general curriculum. Instruction is given according to an approved curriculum by state certified teachers, who belong to the respective religious groups.

The city of Stuttgart considers the project to be beneficial, campaigned for it and actively supports it. City officials are in close contact with the schools conducting the model project as well as with parents of the participating children.

Food

Another need that may require a further review of policy relates to food and dietary requirements, since some religions have specific rules on what one is allowed to eat. In particular, food served in public institutions such as schools, the workplace, hospitals and prisons can create problems for religious persons. There is, however, currently no European legal framework for dealing with these issues.

As a result, the situation across Europe is extremely diverse. In a variety of public institutions, this issue is simply ignored. Institutions that try to meet religious needs either offer the possibility to obtain food prepared in compliance with religious requirements, as done, for instance, in some British schools, or they offer foods – such as eggs or fish – that can be eaten by everyone, irrespective of religion. Newport city council catering has established an initiative to improve the quality of *halal* food available in schools. A project linking school cooks with Gwent Education Multi-Ethnic Support Service staff has been set up to provide advice to school cooks concerning the preparation and cooking of *halal* dishes in schools. Similarly, in the cities of Turin and Valencia, public schools have been meeting the different religious needs of pupils for years by offering special foods.

One specific aspect relating to the issue of food is ritual (Islamic/Jewish) slaughtering. While in some cities religious slaughtering led to public controversies, in others the debate remained a matter for experts. In Vienna, for instance, Islamic and Jewish slaughtering is legal if certain animal protection laws are strictly observed. In Zagreb, many food companies have a *halal* certificate enabling them to not only sell *halal* food in Croatia, but also export

their goods to other (Muslim) countries. In Turin, the city has a public ritual butcher for *halal* and *kosher* food.

Interreligious dialogue

Interreligious dialogue can be understood as a form of intercultural dialogue that gathers religious groups together. Forms of interreligious dialogue exist in practically every CLIP city. It is possible to differentiate between two kinds of interreligious dialogue. On the one hand, there is a basic dialogue covering faith issues such as differences and commonalities between religions. Other initiatives bring together representatives of different religious communities to discuss societal and political issues. In general, these are also considered as interreligious dialogue, but could also be seen as forms of intercultural dialogue.

The initiatives differ concerning the number of religious communities – or atheists – participating.

- Some projects include representatives of one religion with different denominations. Ecumenical approaches, for instance, include different Christian communities such as Roman Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox and Baptist representatives. Other initiatives bring together Muslims of different denominations.
- Further kinds of religious dialogue take place between two different faiths. In many cities, there are initiatives to promote Christian-Islamic dialogue. Another example is the Jewish Moroccan Network Amsterdam, which fosters relations between Judaism and Islam.
- Other interreligious activities include various religious groups – for example, the religious councils in Frankfurt and Stuttgart.

Most of these interreligious initiatives were set up in a ‘bottom-up’ process by members of religious communities. However, some were initiated by city officials who invited religious representatives to participate. The CLIP cities can be categorised into three groups according to their involvement in interfaith activities:

- city officials of five cities (16% of CLIP cities) – Amsterdam, Arnsberg, Kirklees, Stuttgart and Zürich – initiate interreligious dialogue such as roundtables involving various religions and interreligious networks or councils and participate in these initiatives;

- 11 cities (35%) do not initiate interreligious projects, since they do not consider this as a city responsibility, but a responsibility of religious communities. Nonetheless, several of these cities actively support interreligious initiatives through cooperation, communication or even funding. This holds true for Breda, Frankfurt, Lisbon, Malmö, Newport, Terrassa, Turin, Vienna, Wolverhampton, Wrocław and Zagreb.
- 12 cities (more than 39%) are not involved in interreligious projects – Athens, Bologna, Budapest, Copenhagen, Dublin, L’Hospitalet, Luxembourg, Prague, Sundsvall, Tallinn, Turku and Valencia belong to this group. Nevertheless, it should be emphasised that some of these cities, Valencia for instance, previously supported or even initiated interreligious initiatives that seem to be no longer active.

The following section presents examples of initiatives focusing on religious topics. Interreligious initiatives focusing on societal and political issues are discussed in the subsequent section.

Interreligious dialogue about faith topics

Dialogue about religion and related issues is an important means of getting to know about other religions and their belief systems. Regular institutionalised interreligious dialogue about faith topics currently exists in 17 CLIP cities (54%) – Amsterdam, Arnsberg, Budapest, Dublin, Frankfurt, Lisbon, Malmö, Newport, Kirklees, Stuttgart, Turin, Turku, Valencia, Vienna, Wolverhampton, Zagreb and Zürich. Furthermore, occasional interreligious meetings formerly took place in four other cities (13%) – Athens, Bologna, Breda and Copenhagen.

A typical example of this kind of dialogue can be found in Arnsberg. In 2000, the city initiated a project called ‘Between minaret and steeple’ to increase knowledge about and establish relations between the local Christian and Muslim communities. This project has resulted in a regular, institutionalised interreligious dialogue between members of local religious communities. The meetings take place several times a year and are organised by the religious community themselves with representation from the city. In the course of the discussions, the differences and particularly the similarities between the religions are of core interest. Celebrations and holidays, the role of women, children’s education and ‘common’ saints have been the topics of discussion. Discussing violence and terrorism is also of particular interest, with the aim of emphasising the peaceful nature of the religions and, thus, reducing mutual prejudice. The aim of this initiative is not only to increase knowledge but also to contribute towards the

development of stable relationships and friendships between followers of different faiths. Similar initiatives that bring people together to discuss religious topics can also be found in most other CLIP cities.

Another form of dialogue takes place in Stuttgart, where a roundtable of religious leaders has been set up by the lord mayor of the city: between 2003 and 2007, representatives of the Catholic Church, the Protestant Church, DITIB, the Bahá'í faith, the Bosnian Islamic community, the Israelite and the Buddhist communities came together to discuss themes such as values in different religions. The group developed a 'Manifesto for a peaceful and active cooperation of religions in Stuttgart' that emphasises the positive aspects of the plurality of cultures and religions in society. The manifesto stresses that peaceful living together in the city is a responsibility of all residents, regardless of religious belief. It calls for tolerance and respect in regard to the religious beliefs of others. In signing the proclamation, the representatives agreed to encourage mutual respect and tolerance, fight against extremism, fundamentalism and nationalism, organise meetings and dialogue between communities and strive for equal opportunities. The group believes that conflicts should be resolved in a non-violent way and that religion should not be used to legitimise violence or misused for political purposes. Such roundtable talks among religious leaders can also be found in other cities, including Wolverhampton and Frankfurt.

Abrahamic projects are another form of interreligious dialogue designed to enhance the mutual understanding and relationship between Christianity, Judaism and Islam. They exist in several forms. As mentioned previously, some Abrahamic teams, for example, in the cities of Frankfurt and Sundsvall, are engaged in intercultural education in schools. In the city of Lisbon, the Abrahamic Forum (*Fórum Abraâmico*) organises and attends meetings, workshops, conferences and events that can promote knowledge of the three faiths, underlining their positive aspects. Similarly, the Chair of the Three Religions (*Cátedra de las Tres Religiones*) of the University of Valencia offers courses, seminars and conferences on the three founding religions of the organisation and on interreligious dialogue. It was set up in 2000, following an agreement between the University of Valencia, the Father Congar Ecumenical Centre (*Centro Ecuménico Padre Congar*), the Federation of Jewish Communities in Spain (*Federación de Comunidades Israelitas de España*, FCIE) and the Union of Islamic Communities of Spain (*Union de Comunidades Islámicas de España*, UCIDE). The *Cátedra* is open to the contribution of different religious persuasions and cooperates, for instance, with the Orthodox Church of Valencia, Valencian

Muslim organisations and a Bahá'í community. Abrahamic projects also exist in the cities of Dublin, Malmö and Stuttgart.

Interreligious dialogue can also be supported on the occasion of 'Open mosque' days that are common in almost every CLIP city. More information on these initiatives is presented further below.

Festivals or other joint public activities also provide opportunities for interreligious dialogue in many CLIP cities. The intercultural weeks in Frankfurt – initiated by the churches – create a platform for discussion and offer the possibility for networking and dialogue between different groups and to overcome prejudices and stereotypes through the organisation of exhibitions, cookery classes, sporting events and podium discussions. Similarly, the Newport Interfaith Group celebrates the One World Week, which includes a sharing of food and public debates, and the Wolverhampton Inter Faith Council organises a Faith Week.

These kinds of activities include common sermons. In the city of Amsterdam, there is an interesting initiative concerning sermons. During the project 'Amsterdam with heart and soul', members of different religious communities preach for the members of a different belief: Christian reverends preach in mosques, while imams preach in churches.

Interreligious dialogue about secular topics

Another way of organising interreligious dialogue is to bring together representatives of different religious communities to initiate discussions about issues that are not, or only in an indirect way, related to religion. These initiatives, which could also be seen as intercultural dialogue, generally address issues concerning the interactions between religious groups in everyday life, as well as political, social or societal topics. Institutionalised initiatives that bring together religious representatives to discuss mainly secular topics are described in five case studies – Amsterdam, Frankfurt, Malmö, Terrassa and Wrocław.

In Amsterdam, for instance, there is a religious council that organises debates and meetings to bridge differences between various religious communities. In general, the city is represented by a staff member, the mayor or an alderman. Particularly when intergroup tensions arise, the council tries to counter prejudice and stereotypes.

The Council of Religions in Frankfurt works in similar ways and addresses current issues that are related to the peaceful cohabitation of religions in the city.

Frankfurt: Council of Religions

The Council of Religions was founded in a 'bottom-up' process in April 2009. For five years, a private initiating circle consisting of representatives of the largest religions prepared for the establishment of this autonomous council. The city of Frankfurt – and particularly the Department of Integration and its affiliated AmkA – supported the council's development, although it was never a formal member. Today, the council has 23 members from nine religious communities and continues to receive the support of the city.

The council's main goal is to foster dialogue both between the city and the various religious groups as well as among the different religious communities. It aims to overcome conflicts between religious groups in the city and thus support the peaceful coexistence of Frankfurt's diverse population and have a positive impact on integration. Therefore, the Council of Religions does not engage itself in theological questions; instead, it comments on questions regarding daily religious life. Although it is still too early to properly assess the full impact of the council's work, what it has already achieved in realising interreligious dialogue in Frankfurt secures its status as a good practice project, according to all persons (with and without a migration background) interviewed during the field visits.

In Malmö, the Swedish Church and the Islamic Centre maintain an interreligious dialogue. This initiative started in a neighbourhood context and developed into a good working relationship. Representatives of both the Islamic Centre and the Swedish Church as well as city officials meet regularly to discuss current issues affecting all parties. Furthermore, the Islamic Centre initiated cooperation and various interreligious activities with other religious organisations. These activities aim to promote integration and intergroup relations. Examples are the monthly 'free debates', which are open to everybody to discuss any topics of interest, and the project 'Girls Talk', which is open to girls from all faiths to discuss issues and concerns that they have relating to puberty.

In the city of Wrocław, the Muslim Cultural Centre initiated the Wrocław Convention for Interreligious Dialogue. Representatives of Christianity, Islam and Judaism participated and signed a declaration on mutual respect and joint activities. The convention was expected to continue in 2009. Another example of interreligious dialogue in Wrocław is the 'Quarter of the Four Religions', which includes the Roman Catholic, Lutheran and Orthodox churches as well as the

Jewish community. In addition to enhancing dialogue and relations between the religions, these initiatives also create conditions for cooperation in various social fields, particularly charity work, cultural activities and minority rights protection.

Interreligious dialogue in the city of Terrassa has been initiated by the local Bahá'í community, since interfaith dialogue constitutes a part of their religion. The Bahá'í faith organise projects such as conferences and roundtables to bring Christians, Jews and Muslims together. It is noteworthy that faith-related issues are not discussed. Human rights, children, family, citizenship and religion and integration are the topics of such discussions. The discussion process is flexible and changes according to the issues that are relevant.

Another example of good practice for improving relations between religious communities is the Jewish Moroccan Network Amsterdam, which began following a speech by the mayor in February 2006.

Amsterdam: Jewish Moroccan Network Amsterdam

The Jewish Moroccan Network attempts to enhance relations between Jewish and Muslim communities, as well as relations between these religious groups and the majority society. It was founded, first, because anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim prejudices show a lot of similarities, so it is considered necessary to fight them with one voice and, second, because of the worries that the two groups had with regard to each other. The network's specific goals include:

- 1) resisting the expression of anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, and discrimination in general;
- 2) improving the Dutch social and political climate;
- 3) resisting 'ingroup-outgroup thinking' as well as the stigmatisation of specific groups.

To reach these goals, the network connects people and helps them to come into contact, to get to know each other and to find common goals. The network also organises meetings between Muslims and Jews in schools. It offers presentations of family experiences during the Second World War by Jewish and Moroccan young people. When a crisis involving the relationship between Jews and Muslims occurs, both in the Netherlands and elsewhere, the network organises representatives of both groups to speak publicly about the issue. In February 2009, for example, the network arranged gatherings in mosques so that Jews and Muslims in Amsterdam could talk about the Gaza conflict.

Improving relations with Muslim communities

The CLIP network has decided to focus the third research module on relations and dialogue with Muslim communities for the following reasons: on the one hand, because Islam is by far the largest ‘new’ religion in European countries of immigration – in most CLIP cities, Islam has become the second largest religion after Christianity. At the same time, however, Muslims are often perceived as disconnected from ‘European life’. In many countries, there is little interaction between Muslims and non-Muslims at the neighbourhood level and in other important social arenas of non-working life. Muslims also face discrimination more often than most other groups. For example, one out of three Muslim respondents of the new EU-MIDIS, which was carried out by FRA, stated that he or she had experienced discrimination in the past 12 months (FRA, 2009b, p. 3). The Gallup World Poll shows that a major complaint across Muslim societies is that ‘the West’ denigrates Islam and Muslims and equates Islam with terrorism (Esposito and Mogahed, 2008).

It is important to recognise that there is considerable diversity within the Muslim populations living in CLIP cities by denomination, ethnicity and socioeconomic status. Although Muslims represent a significant group in most of the CLIP cities, none of the cities that participated in this research has an explicit strategic concept that is specifically geared towards Muslim communities. Three explanations have been provided for this.

First, almost all cities revealed that they do not have a specific policy strategy aimed at Muslim groups because they have a general policy approach on how to manage relations between different ethnic and religious groups and/or on how to integrate migrant groups into local society. Such a general approach includes all ethnic or religious migrant groups. As a result, an explicit approach towards Muslims is considered neither necessary nor appropriate. Some cities, like Stuttgart, believe that such a specific approach would even be inappropriate and counterproductive. In other cities, like Malmö, particular policies that only address Muslims are seen as potentially discriminatory.

Secondly, religious issues are not considered a city policy topic. The author of the Turku case study elaborates on this position: ‘When it comes to religion (in whatever form), policy documents have been silent. It is obviously not seen as a relevant policy concern.’ A similar idea was voiced in Bologna, where ‘religion has never been regarded as an object of public action’. There is no special treatment reserved for religious communities, whether they are Catholic or

Muslim. The same seems to be true in the case of Prague, Budapest and Tallinn. Some other cities, in particular Amsterdam and Breda, also emphasise the importance of the separation of religion and state.

A third reason for the lack of a specific policy approach is attributed to the number of Muslims in a city and/or the absence of challenges related to Muslims in some cities. In Luxembourg, Prague and Wrocław, for example, there are only a small number of Muslims living in the city. In Dublin, Zagreb and again Luxembourg, relations with Muslim communities are not considered sufficiently problematic to warrant a specific set of policy responses.

Despite the lack of officially adopted strategic policies aimed towards Muslim communities in all CLIP cities, in practice, however, several cities – in particular Amsterdam, Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Vienna and Turin – have a political focus on Muslims and organise various projects and initiatives to improve relations with this group. Most of the other CLIP cities also acknowledge the importance of Islam for intergroup relations and conduct individual projects that are primarily geared towards Muslim communities.

Recognising Muslim communities and establishing relationships

Relations between the city and Muslim communities are generally reported to be good by the CLIP cities. There were no reports of problematic relations or conflicts between the city administration and Muslim associations in any of the case studies. Nonetheless, it is clear that the nature of relations varies between cities. While in some cities, both city officials and migrant representatives praised the excellent relations – particularly in Arnsberg, Frankfurt, Lisbon, Wrocław and Sundsvall – Muslim representatives in other cities, for instance in Newport, Dublin and Stuttgart, would like to improve these relationships.

Most of the CLIP cities consider that regular contacts play a vital role in improving relations with Muslim communities. Thus, nearly all cities with a considerable Muslim population maintain contacts with mosque associations. In total, 24 cities (77% of CLIP cities) have regular contacts with many local Muslim organisations – Amsterdam, Antwerp, Arnsberg, Bologna, Breda, Dublin, Frankfurt, L'Hospitalet, Kirklees, Lisbon, Luxembourg, Malmö, Newport, Stuttgart, Sundsvall, Terrassa, Turin, Turku, Valencia, Vienna, Wolverhampton, Wrocław, Zagreb and Zürich. Most of these cities have institutionalised these contacts. In Athens, Budapest, Prague and Tallinn, by contrast, there are no regular contacts between the city and Muslim organisations. It is evident that the kind and extent of the 'regular contacts' differ greatly.

The most important kind of contact does not seem to be the institutionalised, formal contact, but the informal conversations, phone calls and discussions that take place in relation to issues of daily life, funding and common activities, general requests and information between Muslim organisations and both city administrative staff and politicians. In every CLIP city, this kind of contact, based on mutual respect, is considered as most important.

Additionally, invitations from Muslim communities to city officials and vice versa are considered as helpful. As already discussed in an earlier chapter, invitations to events are a symbol of mutual recognition and acceptance and can thus effectively enhance intergroup relations in a city. Therefore, several city officials invite Muslim representatives to official receptions and vice versa.

Several cities, including Arnsberg, Lisbon and Frankfurt, invite Muslim representatives to attend official political receptions. In Arnsberg, the mayor invites committed representatives of local organisations to the New Year's reception; the leaders of the Muslim associations are always invited. The same holds true for the 'spring reception' in Frankfurt.

The annual fast-breaking *iftar* dinners during the Islamic month of Ramadan are important occasions for mutual invitations. In a number of cities, for instance in Amsterdam, Arnsberg, Athens, Breda, Frankfurt, Lisbon, Stuttgart, Vienna and Zürich, Muslim communities invite city representatives to attend these dinners and the officials make an effort to accept these invitations. In the city of Zürich, there is an official reception at the town hall on the occasion of Ramadan.

Zürich: Official reception during Ramadan at the town hall

On the occasion of Ramadan, the Zürich city president invites all local imams and chairpersons of the Muslim associations to the town hall. This is regarded as a public and political statement of respect, trust and recognition. It provides the opportunity to discuss current issues emerging in the city and to strengthen existing contacts. Board members of the local 'Forum of Religions' are also invited. This practice is considered by all interview partners from the Muslim community to be very positive and effective.

Likewise, the mayor of the city of Vienna hosts *iftar* dinners at the town hall and invites both Muslim representatives as well as local politicians so they can meet each other. Besides the mayor's event, several *iftar* receptions are also hosted every year by political parties, the mayor, senior government officials and other

members of the public. The cities of Breda, Stuttgart and Copenhagen once hosted *Eid* receptions at the town hall to celebrate the end of Ramadan. In all of these cities, the feedback from minority representatives was very positive.

The lord mayor of the city of Stuttgart uses the religious month of Ramadan to improve relations with Muslim communities by sending greeting cards to local mosque associations.

Another means of enhancing relations with Muslim communities is their active involvement in public holidays and festivals as well as in municipal projects. In Lisbon, for instance, Muslims actively participate in the celebration of the Day of Portugal and of the Portuguese Communities: both Catholic and Islamic services take place in order to affirm Muslims' sense of belonging to Portuguese society. The local intercultural festival in Arnberg and a variety of other festivals are opened by multifaith prayers, including the participation of Muslims.

Supplementary to the occasional meetings already discussed, cities can organise an institutionalised, regular communication process between the city and representatives of the local Muslim population. The city of Stuttgart is attempting to establish such a communication and cooperation forum – namely a local Islam Forum.¹⁹ This forum should discuss and resolve questions of coexistence and cooperation between Muslims and non-Muslims in Stuttgart. To prepare this forum, the city invited representatives of local mosque associations, as well as of city institutions, welfare organisations, schools, media and police. An important prerequisite for establishing contacts with Muslim organisations is to know about them. Therefore, it can be useful to launch systematic programmes to gather information on Muslim migrants, as done by several cities.

Apart from contacts, support influences the relations between the cities and Muslim communities. Some cities, such as Arnberg, Bologna, Luxembourg and Vienna, offer financial support to Muslim organisations – for example, for activities or space to hold their activities.

Finally, it is worth noting that even though most cities are principally committed to establishing contact or even cooperating with Muslim organisations in general, some of these cities are not in contact or do not cooperate with all of these organisations. One, more practical, reason for this is that some cities have not yet

¹⁹ In 2006, the Federal Ministry of the Interior initiated a German Islam Conference. The Stuttgart local Islam Conference should be along the lines of the conference on the national level.

gathered sufficient knowledge about every community, as in Dublin, where the city administration is at an early stage of establishing contacts. Similarly, in Vienna, there are various small Muslim communities that the city does not know about and, thus, has no contact with.

This lack of contact could also be the result of a political assessment of the respective Muslim communities. The city of Antwerp, for instance, is not willing to have contacts with organisations that are suspected as radical Islamists. The city of Stuttgart has decided to maintain contact with every migrant organisation, but not to cooperate with Islamist organisations that are suspected of being politically extremist and acting against the constitution and are under the observation of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution. The cities of L'Hospitalet, Kirklees and Malmö try to keep contact with every Muslim community, but several conservative mosque associations occasionally refuse to have contact with the municipality.

Empowerment and (political) involvement of Muslim representatives

The empowerment and involvement of migrant organisations has already been discussed as a useful means of promoting their activities and improving intergroup relations in general. Empowerment and involvement can also be specifically organised for Muslims. Several CLIP cities, such as Amsterdam, Kirklees, Newport, Stuttgart and Turin, adopt this approach and launch programmes and initiatives that focus on Muslim communities.

The city of Turin empowers Muslim associations in their ability to use the media, to cooperate with local institutions and to present themselves to the majority population – for example, by encouraging their participation in the city's events and in training activities. Another project that aims to include Muslim communities in local structures and to offer training to their lead members takes place in Stuttgart. The city's project 'Intercultural opening up and qualification of Muslim organisations' – known for short as the Islam Project – has been positively assessed by all Muslim participants and city officials.

Stuttgart: Qualification of young Muslim leaders

To reduce the possibility of mosque associations remaining in isolation (as some are), to help foster their integration with local structures and to build contacts with German organisations, the city of Stuttgart developed the project 'Intercultural opening up and qualification of Muslim organisations' – known as the Islam Project.

The city – namely staff from the Integration Department, including a former imam – offers regular training sessions for active young members of the associations who are often responsible for the mosques' youth groups. Since April 2008, 25 young members from six mosque associations have participated in the project's weekend classes. In these classes, they learn about association leadership, project management, youth work and public relations. They also establish contact with the city's offices and local NGOs.

Imams and the chairs of associations, both credited as being responsible for the opening up of the organisations to the larger community, are included in the project. Muslim women are also involved in the project to help strengthen their roles within the associations.

Apart from the training sessions, another long-term objective is the formation of an intercultural task force that works in parallel with the changes in the Muslim communities, mediates in the case of conflicts and supports the population's acceptance of Islam.

This project is a good practice example for many reasons: it demonstrates how cities can support the opening up of mosque associations, establish efficient partnerships and enhance both the integration and the peaceful coexistence of all residents in the city.

In much the same way, the city of Amsterdam highlights the possibility of linking different Muslim organisations and establishing networks. Consequently, it brought together active young Muslims from various organisations such as the *Poldermoskee*, MJA and also from more conservative organisations to form a 'Network of Key Figures'. The members received organisational and media training. They were then encouraged to organise activities in their own groups and they could also more easily connect with similarly active groups in other parts of town. Since the members of the network had all previously been actively involved in Muslim associations, and had transferred practical skills and knowledge during the training courses, the training was successful and the network is considered as an achievement.

In Kirklees, the city council worked with mosques and *madressahs* (supplementary Islamic religious schools) to evaluate their youth work and then subsequently published guidance material with the aim of helping to improve their work. The city of Newport developed an interesting training programme for imams and Muslim youth workers and teachers.

Newport: Child protection project in *madressahs*

In the context of the Welsh government's programme 'Communities First' – which aims to improve the living conditions and prospects of people from disadvantaged communities – the city council's Social Services Department and the Black and Minority Ethnic Communities First Partnership has established a working relationship that provided training programmes and support packages about child protection for mosques and *madressahs* (Islamic religious schools).

This project raised imams' awareness about forced marriage and 'honour-based' violence and promoted 'positive parenting'. Imams are now expected to ensure that appropriate checks are carried out on staff working with children. Therefore, guidelines were produced on good working practices at *madressahs*, and specific training was made available. Furthermore, the project has helped relatively isolated mosques to establish positive relationships with the city and has encouraged some imams to participate in community life. In some cases, the project has radically transformed attitudes.

The project not only supported child protection in Islamic schools, but established and fostered positive relationships, where none had previously existed.

Some cities make an effort to connect and empower female Muslim representatives. This can be an effective means of overcoming women's isolation and actively involving more of the Muslim community in city life. The previously mentioned Stuttgart project considers these issues; the city attempts to actively involve women representatives in the project. Likewise, Turin promotes several approaches focusing on Muslim women, mainly through Italian language courses, training courses about city services and empowerment processes. Giving tools to these women to access city services and to develop relations with other women is recognised as an important strategy to empower Muslim women.

In addition to these cities, Frankfurt strives to empower Muslim women. It currently has a working group of Muslim women, who are engaged in local mosque associations to connect, qualify and empower them. In doing so, it supports a bottom-up initiative of committed Muslim women who are involved in associations' activities. The Competence Centre for Muslim Women aims to create a network that will strengthen the position of Muslim women, emphasise their abilities and support their integration into society through education (such

as intercultural training and courses conducted in the participants' mother tongue), informal meetings and counselling (for example, about school systems).

Information about and contact with Islam

To improve relations with Muslim communities, some CLIP cities strive to reach the majority population. An important mechanism in this regard is to inform residents about Islam: providing information about the Muslim culture and religion is another way of enhancing conditions for better intergroup relations. Several CLIP cities have launched projects to inform local residents about Islam – often in cooperation with local Muslim communities.

Some CLIP cities, such as Arnsberg, Malmö, Terrassa, Turin and Zürich, conduct seminars and exhibitions on Islam. The city of Malmö organises seminars for its residents at which Muslim representatives present their culture and religion in various ways. Similarly, in Terrassa, presentations are organised about Islam and Moroccan society that are addressed to the whole population. Likewise, the 'House for Peace' in Antwerp, supported by churches, Muslim organisations and the city, organised evening meetings 'about and with Muslims in Antwerp' dealing with issues such as the history of Islam and the debate about the wearing of the headscarf. The city of Turin's Intercultural Centre implemented educational projects for school pupils, such as: 'Open Door to Maghrebi Islam', which discussed Moroccan life in Italy and 'Candid Islam', which presented Muslim women's lives.

The city of Arnsberg managed two projects that aimed to close the knowledge gap between Christians and Muslims. The project 'Between minaret and steeple' was conceptualised as a series of events of interest to different target groups. It included academic lectures and speeches on Islam in general, practice-relevant training sessions on gender issues and Islam, theatre projects involving children, as well as visits to churches and mosques. The activities were a starting point for further cooperation. Similarly, the 'Quran Project' aimed to provide information on Islam.

Arnsberg: Quran Project

In order to achieve a better understanding of Islam, the city of Arnsberg, local Muslim organisations, the Central Institute 'Islam Archive Germany' and a university organised the 'Quran Project'. The project includes a travelling exhibition and an exhibit on Muslim integration in Arnsberg. The former, 'Translating the Quran – Bridges between cultures', highlights how the translation of the Quran – and

thus the perception of Islam in Europe – has changed over the centuries. The latter is more personal and emphasises the Quran's relevance to Muslims in Arnsberg. It was prepared during local workshops with Muslim residents who described their migration history and the role of the Quran in their everyday lives. Furthermore, there are various additional programmes about Islam, including training courses for teachers and various cultural events.

Another method of informing the majority population about Islam is to provide written information: the city of Vienna, for instance, has issued an information bulletin to inform the general public about the month of Ramadan.

Vienna: Ramadan information bulletin

The city of Vienna issues an information flyer that provides practical information about the duration of Ramadan, the expected increase in traffic and the shortage of parking spaces. The mosque associations distribute these bulletins in their neighbourhoods to inform the residents about this special religious month.

Apart from projects and events that are primarily developed by the cities themselves, various initiatives are launched by Muslim communities, mosque associations and Islamic centres. The most common are the 'Open mosque' days. In most CLIP cities, mosques open their doors to the wider public during specific days and, by doing so, inform their visitors about Islam and religious practices. This is the case in Arnsberg, Dublin, Frankfurt, Kirklees, Luxembourg, Malmö, Stuttgart, Sundsvall, Turin, Valencia and Vienna. In Valencia, for example, this is done during the yearly 'Cultural week' and includes various events. In Stuttgart, a mosque participates in the city's 'open door' museum nights.

Valencia: 'Open mosque' days

In Valencia, mosques open their doors to the public on particular occasions. During the 'Cultural week' in the district of Orriol, for instance, the local mosque of the Islamic Cultural Centre is open to the neighbourhood and other residents who are interested in visiting. Programmes inform non-Muslims about Islam. 'Open mosque' days are also offered by other Muslim communities in the city. In addition, many mosques are open to schools wishing to visit.

In the city of Wrocław, the Centre of Muslim Culture provides information about Islam during the 'Day of Muslim culture'.

In Amsterdam, the Ramadan festival brings Muslim and non-Muslim families together for dinner. During the four-week long intercultural dialogue festival, private and outdoor *iftar* dinners are organised, as well as public events such as music performances, lectures and debates. The festival is organised by Muslim, Christian, Jewish and non-religious organisations and is supported by the city. It aims to provide insight into the Islamic fasting season and Muslim life in general, bringing people together and encouraging the perception that the month of Ramadan is an opportunity for the common celebration of all residents.

Likewise, some mosques, in cities such as Arnsberg, Kirklees, Malmö, Newport, Stuttgart or Wrocław, regularly invite school classes to visit to present Islam to the students. In Kirklees, two mosque associations are members of the 'Interfaith Kirklees' project and present their religion and practices to school classes.

Another good practice example of an 'open' Muslim community that launches projects that aim to inform the public about Islam is the Islamic Community of Lisbon (CIL). The CIL has gone to great efforts to make Islam comprehensible to non-Muslims. It founded the Portuguese Centre of Islamic Studies and runs the Central Mosque, which is a good practice example of an 'open' mosque. At the mosque, the Quran (in Portuguese) as well as videos about Islamic history, culture and religion are available. The walls of the mosque's main prayer room are decorated with sentences from the Quran that were translated into Portuguese. The CIL organises free Arabic courses at the mosque that are mainly attended by non-Muslim students. Furthermore, it organises conferences, workshops and trips around Lisbon, showcasing the city's Islamic heritage and its effects on its architecture.

In Zürich, the local 'Forum of Religions' is very active in the areas of informing people about Islam and other religions. The forum was founded in 1997 through an initiative of the city, particularly as a result of the strong commitment of the then director of the Office for Cross-Cultural Issues. Among the most important activities of the forum are mosque and synagogue tours that allow for visiting different places of worship and getting to know them. Furthermore, the forum organises the series 'Celebrating Festivals' during which members of different religious communities present their religious holidays – and how they celebrate them – to followers of other faiths. The Forum of Religions also organises the local 'Weeks of Religions', where a variety of information events, discussions and 'open door' days provide the opportunity to become acquainted with Islam and other religions.

Information about Muslim culture and religion are also made available on the Internet: over the course of the European Year of Equal Opportunities for All in 2007, the Re-Integration Centre for Migrant Workers in Athens launched a website with information on religious practices, maps showing where mosques are located in the city, as well as information about discrimination that Muslims often face. A plethora of other cities also provide information on religious communities on their municipal websites.

Conclusions

Migration has brought 'new' religions to the CLIP cities, which, in turn, are presented with 'new' needs and challenges. This chapter has outlined policies for meeting religious needs, fostering interreligious dialogue and the approach of cities towards Muslim groups.

Policies for meeting religious needs are implemented in 24 cities – that is, in more than three quarters of all CLIP cities.

- Measures considered as relevant by many interviewed experts are policies regarding representative religious buildings. Most cities seem to be aware of migrants' needs concerning places to worship and many seem to be generally supportive of these requirements. While some cities do not seem to consider the support of buildings for religious migrant communities a municipal task, other cities actively support initiatives for the construction or maintenance of religious buildings. In some form, 14 cities support the construction or preservation of religious buildings, either through the provision of land for religious buildings to be built on, by counselling for religious communities, by organising information campaigns and linking religious communities and neighbours, as well as by mobilising political support. Several other cities that do not actively support the construction of new buildings are engaged in preventing neighbourhood conflicts surrounding this issue.
- Many migrants still arrange burial in their countries of origin. Nonetheless, this trend is changing, as an increasing number of migrants are now being buried in their countries of immigration. There are, however, central differences in burial rules between the various religions. In particular, the issue of Islamic burials has been highlighted as relevant in 22 CLIP cities. Most CLIP cities tackled the question of space for burials by reserving a special cemetery or an area of an existing cemetery for their Muslim residents.

However, in most cities, the question of burial rites is not yet resolved and will have to be approached in the near future.

- Several cities implement policies regarding food, dress codes and Islamic religious education at public schools. However, since these topics are rarely handled at the municipal level, they play a less important role for some cities.

Additionally, this chapter has presented policies enhancing interreligious dialogue that exist – in different forms – in practically every CLIP city. It is possible to differentiate between two kinds of interreligious dialogue.

- On the one hand, there is the basic interreligious dialogue covering faith issues, such as differences and commonalities between religions. Currently, a regular institutionalised interreligious dialogue about faith topics exists in 17 cities. Occasional interreligious meetings formerly took place in six other cities.
- Another way of organising interreligious dialogue is to bring together representatives of different religions to discuss issues concerning the interaction of religious groups in everyday life, as well as political, social or societal topics. These initiatives, which could also be considered as intercultural dialogue, were described in five case studies. According to their involvement in interfaith activities, the CLIP cities can be categorised into three groups. While five cities initiated interreligious dialogue initiatives and participate in these, 11 did not initiate interreligious projects, but actively support them through cooperation, communication or even funding. Eleven other cities are not involved in interreligious projects.

Although this report explores relations between all groups living in CLIP cities, there is a particular focus on Muslim communities, because Islam is the largest ‘new’ religion in these cities and because there are even more fears about and discrimination against Muslims than most other minority groups. Thus, the third section of this chapter dealt with policies designed to improve relations with Muslim communities. The study found that none of the cities in the CLIP network has formulated an explicit strategic concept that is specifically geared towards Muslim communities. In practice, however, several cities have a focus on Muslims and organise various projects and initiatives to improve relations with this group. Most of the other CLIP cities also acknowledge the importance of Islam for intergroup relations and conduct individual projects that are primarily aimed at Muslim communities. These projects can be distinguished in three categories.

- First, virtually all cities implement policies of recognition and maintain regular contacts in order to improve relations with Muslim communities. In this way, regular informal personal contact is realised. Mutual invitations to political or religious events as well as institutionalised, regular communication processes are activities that are also considered important.
- Empowerment and involvement of Muslim organisations can be a successful means of promoting their activities and improving intergroup relations in general. These kinds of programmes – which only exist in six cities – can be considered as good practice examples: they strengthen the competence of young participants, who then transfer their knowledge to their respective associations. By conducting these projects, cities also support the ‘opening up’ of mosque associations and establish efficient partnerships.
- To improve relations with Muslim communities some CLIP cities not only apply policies that target Muslims, but also strive to reach the majority population. Eighteen cities reported launching projects that inform non-Muslims about Islam – often in cooperation with local Muslim communities.

5 – Tendencies of radicalisation and de-radicalisation policies

This chapter deals with the issue of radicalisation in the cities that are members of the CLIP network. In many cities the topic of immigration has become politicised and radical ideological groups have developed around the issue. This concerns both the majority and minority populations. Xenophobic, nativist groups have formed among parts of the majority populations. Among minorities, the issue of Islamist radicalisation has strained intergroup relations.

For some cities, radicalisation was a sensitive issue to discuss. As a consequence, the case studies vary substantially in relation to the information provided on the topic.

First, it is necessary to explain what exactly is meant by the term ‘radicalisation’ in the context of this report. This chapter then provides an overview of the evidence gathered in relation to issues of radicalisation within the majority population and policies developed by cities in response to concerns about the impact of this radicalisation on the safety of individuals and for intergroup relations. It is then possible to look at processes of radicalisation, including religious-political radicalisation within the minority population and policies that are being developed at the city level (often in the context of national initiatives) to deal with the potential risks with which this is associated.

What is radicalisation?

Radicalisation in democratic societies is a process of de-legitimisation of the political system in parts of a population, ranging from distrust to outright rejection of the political and societal system, often coupled with a readiness to use undemocratic, unconstitutional means in the political process (Buijs, Demant and Hamdy, 2006; Jesse, 2004). Radicalisation is fed by political, cultural or religious ideologies and beliefs and can lead to radicalism as an attitude and radicalism as behaviour among individuals and groups. The radical belief is held as an absolute truth. Radicalism includes right-wing or left-wing political extremism, extreme political or ethnic nationalism, and – observable in most religions – religious-political extremism. In the context of the CLIP project, the analysis focuses on radicalisation processes in both the majority and the migrant or minority populations.

In terms of the majority population, the study looks at right-wing, anti-immigrant political radicalism. This is a historically known phenomenon in immigration societies that occurs particularly in times of economic crisis and has been studied as 'nativism'. Nativism in the US, for example, occurred as early as the 1830s, when a strong movement against Irish immigrants became a relevant influence in American politics. Nativism is also found in the new immigration societies of Europe. Cities are the places where nativism occurs. The outbreak of nativism is usually accompanied by a public perception that immigration has greatly increased and is getting out of control. According to Portes and Rumbaut, 'when foreign accents are few, they are ignored. However, when they grow in number and concentrate in visible spaces (as in the cities), they trigger increasing apprehension. Natives are put on the defensive, as they fear that their way of life and their control of the levers of political and economic power will be lost to the newcomers' (2006, p. 346).

Nativist groups are in recent literature often categorised as hate groups whereas their crimes are considered hate crimes. Farley (2005, p. 441) has summarised research on the conditions that explain the rise of such hate groups and what makes certain people receptive towards nativist ideologies: 'competition and perceived threat, feelings of personal insecurity, and a need to scapegoat have all been identified as factors that contribute to prejudice ... for these reasons, the highest levels of prejudice generally have been found in people who are experiencing downward economic mobility ... Thus, support for hate groups ... often is strongest when economic conditions worsen.'

Growing economic inequality in society is another condition that feeds hate against minorities and migrants (Farley, 2005). If right-wing political leadership encourages prejudice and hate, this leads to the rise of a nativist anti-immigrant movement that is often ready to use militant means outside the democratic process to reach its goals.

In regard to the migrant or minority population, cities are currently concerned about religious-political radicalisation. Religious-political radicalisation in principle can occur in any religion and population. The history of Christianity is full of such cases. The concern in present day European cities, however, is primarily about radicalisation among Muslim migrants, namely about Islamism. Islamism is a militant political ideology claiming to derive its beliefs from religion. It is not the same as religious orthodoxy, which is a form of religiosity.

Valuable recent literature can be mentioned here that contributes to understanding the phenomenon of religious–political radicalisation. Buijs, Demant and Hamdy (2006), Sageman (2004; 2008) and Waldmann (2009) can be given as examples.

Looking at some individual characteristics of Islamist extremists, it has been found that they are often young men from the second and third immigrant generation, are mostly rather well educated and frequently define themselves as ‘reborn’.

Waldmann (2009, p. 103) uses Erikson’s idea of the life cycle consisting of a series of biographical crises at certain intervals and challenges to resolve these crises as an explanation of why it is young people in the phase of developing adulthood who tend to be receptive to radical ideas. In a similar way, Buijs, Demant and Hamdy (2006) state that radicalisation processes begin with an individual on a quest and that individual circumstances can play an important part in this. The feeling of having reached a crisis point in one’s life is such a circumstance.

The quest that follows usually begins with questions such as ‘who am I?’, ‘what do I want?’, ‘what is my purpose here on earth?’, ‘is there a God?’ ... Parents are not in a position to give conclusive answers ... The young people will then hunt for someone who can provide them with answers to these questions. In the context of this quest they become involved in the process of forging new social links, which can also meet their requirements for warmth and security. What is important is the feeling of belonging somewhere, of feeling connected with a group (Buijs, Demant and Hamdy, 2006, pp. 175–176).

Young people, particularly of the second or third migrant generation, often experience marginality, a status of non or unsure social belonging. Marginality is connected with feelings of insecurity and alienation and tends to make people receptive to the attempts of radical organisations to recruit new members (Heckmann, 2004). Young people who are well integrated in the family and the religious Islamic community thus do not tend to be easily influenced by the recruitment efforts of extremist religious groups.

Regarding a political dimension of the radicalisation process among young minority people, there is often a feeling of injustice as a motivation for the new

orientations. Injustice not only as something personally experienced, but as the frustration over the ill-treatment of groups that one identifies with, such as the frustration about prejudice against Islam in western countries, the ill-treatment of the Palestinians and of Islamic states. The feeling of injustice done to others can provoke solidarity with these groups and a motivation of revenge for their suffering. A study by the European Parliament (2007, p. 16) on Islam in the EU emphasises that the perception of international conflicts as in the Middle East often motivates terrorist groups. Waldmann (2009) argues that it is the combination of the perception of a global persecution of Muslims with personal experiences of discrimination that feeds radicalisation.

Radicalisation observed in the CLIP city case studies has different dimensions. It can be both an attitude (attitudinal radicalisation) and/or behaviour (behavioural radicalisation), for instance verbal or non-verbal abuse, committing a crime, or discriminating. Radicalisation can be found in the public media, as a radical rhetoric, that need not necessarily be linked to behaviour, but often is.

Radicalisation can occur as individual attitudes and behaviour. However, it has a different quality and more influence when it is organised in groups and networks and has organisational resources for mobilisation. The kind of organisation is another important dimension in the analysis of radicalisation processes.

The relation between radicalism and terrorism should be questioned. Political or religious radicalism is not the same as terrorism. Radicalisation and radicalism is a 'necessary' step towards terrorism, but has a very different attitude towards the use of violence. Cities can and do develop policies against radicalisation and radicalism – in that sense a preventive policy against terrorism – but have to leave dealing with terrorism and its secret organisation to the police.

In the context of the CLIP case studies, it is often difficult to decide what can be considered radicalisation and what cannot. Is it radicalisation, when, as has been described in the case study on Turin, autochthonous inhabitants of a city quarter protest about the changes and – in their eyes – deterioration of the quality of life in their quarter, when significant groups of migrants have moved in, when house prices have fallen and when there is more noise, dirt and crime in the streets than before the migrants moved in? The protest can be considered radical and anti-immigrant if it mobilises ethnic, racist and anti-immigrant prejudice and discrimination. It should not be considered radical and anti-immigrant if it uses legitimate arguments and procedures in the democratic process.

In social life, but also in the social sciences, different terms quite often are used for describing the same or similar phenomena. In some case studies, like Vienna and Wolverhampton, reference is made to forms of ‘extremism’. The reality referred to, however, is the same as in other case studies that use the term radicalism or radicalisation processes. Breda is another case: the case study describes the same phenomena as other cities, but emphasises that the representative of the diversity department regards radicalisation or radicalism as too ‘heavy’ a concept to capture the reality in the town. If this is a terminological problem that can be rather easily resolved, the question of the existence or non-existence of radicalisation processes and tendencies in cities is a more difficult issue. It concerns the question of empirically measuring and knowing about radicalisation tendencies in segments of the population. Quite a few cities and the researchers of the CLIP project team are unsure about the empirical reality of these phenomena as they are reported in the case studies. This has to do with the fact that radicalisation tendencies are mostly to be found only in smaller segments of the population, and partly with the interest of radical groups to keep their structures secret. Table 3 records radicalisation forms and trends in different cities and marks those cities with a question mark where the empirical judgement on the existence of radicalisation tendencies is uncertain.

Table 3: Radicalisation tendencies in segments of city population

	In majority group	In minority group
Political radicalisation tendencies	Amsterdam, Antwerp, Breda, Copenhagen, Kirklees, Turin, Turku, Vienna, Wolverhampton, Dublin (?), Malmö (?)	Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Vienna
Religious–political radicalisation tendencies		Amsterdam, Copenhagen, Kirklees, Stuttgart, Breda (?), Dublin (?), Malmö, Vienna (?)
No radicalisation reported	Arnsberg, Athens, Bologna, Frankfurt, Lisbon, Luxembourg, L’Hospitalet, Newport, Stuttgart, Sundsvall, Tallinn, Terrassa	Arnsberg, Athens, Bologna, L’Hospitalet, Lisbon, Luxembourg, Newport, Sundsvall, Tallinn, Terrassa, Turin, Turku, Valencia, Wolverhampton
Concern over future radicalisation	Dublin, Newport, Turku, Valencia	

Notes: ? = evidence is controversial. For the rest of the cities, it was not possible to extract sufficient information from the case studies.

Source: CLIP case studies

Table 3 demonstrates that a majority of cities do not report political radicalisation tendencies, either in the majority or in the minority population. Political radicalisation tendencies related to immigration issues in the majority population are reported in nine cities; in a further two the evidence is not clear. The political radicalisation tendencies reported for the minority groups (three cases) refer to 'imported conflict' due to historical or present conflict in the country of origin – for example, the Turkish–Kurdish conflict.

Religious–political radicalisation tendencies are only reported for the minority population and in all cases the concern is about Islamist radicalisation. It is worth noting, however, that only in four cities the existence of such tendencies seems to be evident. In six other cities, the evidence available and the perception of the situation are controversial.

The history and sociology of nativism teaches that times of economic crisis very often worsen the relations between migrant and non-migrant groups in immigration societies. In four cities, there is clear concern about a deterioration of intergroup relations due to the present economic crisis.

Radicalisation in the majority population

This section first reports on the cities' descriptions of radicalisation in the majority population. The approaches and measures taken by cities towards such radicalisation will then be discussed.

Patterns of radicalisation

A group of 11 cities do not report significant radicalisation processes in the population against immigrant groups. There are prejudiced individuals, as might be expected, isolated incidents of discrimination or even violence, but there is no or very little organisation of anti-immigrant feelings and no significant support for such tendencies in the majority population. This is reported for Arnsberg, Athens, Bologna, Frankfurt, L'Hospitalet, Lisbon, Luxembourg, Newport, Stuttgart, Sundsvall, Terrassa and Valencia.

Where radicalisation was found, the following patterns were identified:

- attitudinal radicalisation;
- voting for anti-immigrant parties;
- multi-layered radicalisation processes among parts of city populations;
- cities as a staging ground for radical groups from outside.

Attitudinal radicalisation

Attitudinal radicalisation relates to attitudes in parts of the majority population within a city. In the absence of recent representative surveys, evidence of attitudinal radicalisation of parts of the population comes primarily from interviewed experts in the cities. Thus, this phenomenon cannot be quantified on the basis of the CLIP case studies, but still expresses that radicalisation in the perception of cities is a rather widespread phenomenon. Attitudinal radicalisation implies that the attitudes have not yet translated into anti-immigrant action, or rather that there are only isolated incidents of verbal or physical abuse. Attitudinal radicalisation additionally is characterised by the absence of systematic organisation of anti-immigrant feelings. Attitudinal radicalisation has been reported in the case of Dublin. In Dublin, but also in Valencia, considerable concern was expressed that the effects of the present economic crisis might radicalise larger segments of the population, and that attitudes might turn into actions.

Voting for anti-immigrant parties

Radical, openly anti-immigrant parties have gained certain influence in elections in the CLIP cities of Amsterdam, Antwerp, Kirklees and Vienna. In Wolverhampton, support for the British National Party (BNP) has significantly increased in some quarters of the city. Turku reports initial success for a nationalist anti-immigrant party. When radical parties use the democratic institutions to gain influence and power, it does not make them less radical. The adverse influence of election success of right-wing, anti-immigrant and often anti-Muslim parties on intergroup relations consists of making intercultural and interreligious dialogue more difficult – but also more necessary – and probably reinforces segregation and radical trends in the minority groups. The Amsterdam case study notes that the electoral success of right-wing parties with open anti-Muslim statements like PVV will necessitate a lot of extra effort to convince the Muslims of the good intentions of the Dutch (PVV got 13% of the vote in the 2009 European elections and became the second largest party in Amsterdam).

Anti-immigrant parties have gained strength within the Austrian Parliament and the Viennese City Council since the early 1990s. The Vienna case study emphasises that this ‘has not left much room for the development of anti-immigrant and anti-minority groups outside of the parliamentary arena’. The effect of this parliamentary institutionalisation of anti-immigrant radicalism on intergroup relations seems to be ambivalent: on the one side, the parliamentary institutionalisation provides legitimacy and lots of publicity for an undemocratic

movement; on the other hand, one could argue that a large and more radical, openly neo-Nazi movement might have an even more detrimental effect on intergroup relations and intercultural and interreligious dialogue. The Austrian Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Counterterrorism reports that right-wing extremist positions only find weak support among the public and that they would have only rather limited success in the recruitment of active supporters.

Multi-layered radicalisation processes

Respondents from the city of Kirklees have expressed concern over forms of a multi-layered radicalisation among parts of its majority population. This pattern is characterised by negative attitudes, by organisation, voting for a radical, anti-immigrant party and discriminatory behaviour among parts of the population against minorities. The council considers integration to be severely undermined. Kirklees has set up a comprehensive system to deal with these problems.

Cities as a staging ground for radical groups from outside

The city of Arnsberg does not report significant radicalisation, but that there have been attempts by outside radical neo-Nazi groups to use the city as a staging ground for their anti-immigrant activities. This is also happening very frequently in other cities in Germany, often in those cities that have some kind of historic and symbolic meaning in the eyes of the radical groups.

In Bologna as well, the city has been used as a stage for the anti-immigrant actions of the Northern League, despite the city's fight against racism and ethnic discrimination. The Breda case study reports that anti-immigrant groups from surrounding villages come together in the city.

Policies and measures against radicalisation tendencies within the majority

Some cities, like Arnsberg, Sundsvall or Valencia, for which no significant radicalisation is reported, have no explicit policy against radicalisation. Others have explicit policies, some of which are presented as examples in the following paragraphs.

Support for civil society groups

In most cities, there are a number of civil society groups that fight radicalisation and anti-immigrant movements within the majority population. They range from single local activities responding to ethnocentric or racist incidents, to sustained,

long-term efforts of large-scale organisations such as welfare associations or foundations to change attitudes. Civil society initiatives generally operate on their own resources, but could be additionally supported by the municipality. The city of Vienna, for example, supports such organisations to fight racism and anti-immigrant sentiment. Kirklees is another example. In the case of Kirklees, the anti-radical forces include interfaith forums, the national organisation Stop Hate UK, the main political parties (Labour, Conservatives and Liberals) and trade unions.

Cultural counter-mobilisation

Another kind of measure against radicalisation in which the municipality and civil society can cooperate is 'cultural counter-mobilisation'. Cultural counter-mobilisation signifies a form of protest against radicalisation processes that uses cultural and artistic forms. An attempt is made to organise and mobilise culturally against the inhumane and pessimistic message of radical groups by celebrating a lively international festival that appeals to larger segments of the majority population.

Arnsberg: 'Open to the world festival'

The city of Arnsberg had been chosen by neo-Nazis from Hamburg to serve as a staging ground for a big demonstration in 2001. In response to that, the city and representatives from 200 associations got together and organised an attractive cultural festival against nationalism, extremism and violence with music, theatre, information stands and exhibitions. In view of these activities, the neo-Nazis abandoned their plans.

Reporting systems for discrimination

This is a pattern that refers to extensive reporting systems for hate crimes and discrimination against the minority population. It is usually the police that is the institution to address when reporting crimes but some cities provide for additional and/or alternative institutions. The municipality of Kirklees has followed recommendations from the MacPherson Report,²⁰ as stated in the Kirklees case study:

²⁰ The report by Sir William MacPherson in 1999 followed an inquiry into the Metropolitan Police's investigation of the murder of a black teenager, Stephen Lawrence. Nobody has been convicted of his murder. The report contained allegations of incompetence and racism on the part of the police.

As such, Kirklees was the first local authority in West Yorkshire, alongside Leeds, to launch the Third Party Reporting Centre Scheme in 2002. The reporting centres are venues other than police stations where people can report hate crimes, in an anonymous way and without having to be in contact with the police. Kirklees also has its own online reporting website as well as the national one, both of which allow users to report hate incidents directly from home. ... In addition, a third way of reporting hate crimes was launched as a Home Office Pilot in July 2006. This line offers a chance to speak to an operator. Reports can be made on the line and future action will be followed up by the police force where the incident occurred ... A fourth and final option to report hate crimes is by going to a police station. The police service in Kirklees has seen an improvement in the resources and skills put into dealing with hate crimes. Specific officers are now in place to deal with any hate crime or other incident that is reported at the station.

Social control measures

Changing anti-immigrant attitudes, ethnic or racist prejudice in a population is a difficult task and takes time. Cities, however, can increase forms of social control measures against radicalisation processes directly and in a short time perspective. One does not wait until attitudes have changed, but increases control and sanctions against unwanted behaviour.

Kirklees has developed a special measure to protect people from discrimination and harassment by radicalised groups when looking for housing.

Kirklees: Safe tenant initiative

The safe tenant initiative gives migrants and minorities more protection when viewing a property and for the first weeks after moving into a new home. Under the scheme, tenants will receive an agreed number of home visits by housing staff and the police, if necessary, during the first weeks of their tenancy. This is to check that everything is working out well and to take details of any incidents of harassment that may have occurred. It is believed that having housing officers and police in the area can have a positive effect in deterring people who might otherwise have played a part in harassment.

In Newport, the police play a significant role in monitoring the activities of xenophobic, Islamophobic and anti-Semitic groups. As reported in the case study:

The police have also played a role in maintaining good relations by providing additional uniformed officers to patrol areas around mosques at times of tension, for example following incidents at the Newport mosques ... and the London terrorist events in 2005 ... According to the city, the police monitoring in Newport is carried out with the cooperation of the imams at each of the mosques. In addition, the police have established specific policies to deal with incidents of hate crime ... and have recently established a community cohesion team.

Radicalisation in the minority population

This section first reports on the description by the cities in relation to radicalisation tendencies within the migrant and minority population. It then describes policy approaches against these tendencies.

It must be noted that cities and researchers often remark that it is quite difficult to gain insight into minority radicalisation processes and to formulate clear-cut statements in regard to these processes (see Table 3). This study has cautiously tried to identify certain patterns of minority radicalisation in the case study reports and these will be further explored here.

Some cities do not report radicalisation among their minority population. Arnsberg, Athens, Bologna, Lisbon, Luxembourg, Newport, Sundsvall, Turin, Turku, Valencia and Wolverhampton belong to this group.

Patterns of radicalisation

Regarding radicalisation tendencies within the minority population, several radicalisation patterns can be identified.

Attitudinal religious radicalisation

Attitudinal radicalisation is a pattern in which radical attitudes in some parts of the minority population can be observed or inferred from documents such as leaflets, newspapers and speeches. Attitudinal radicalisation refers to processes in which radical attitudes are not yet connected with radical behaviour, and in which the attitudinal radicalisation has not yet taken the form of radical organisation. Attitudinal religious radicalisation is reported for small groups of Muslims in Dublin and Vienna.

Radical mosque

Islam is not a homogeneous religion; on the contrary it is very heterogeneous and internally differentiated and divided. The pattern of 'radical mosque' refers to one or several mosques where radical imams have groups of followers in varying numbers. In comparison to attitudinal radicalisation, 'radical mosque' means that a form of organisation exists, however loose that may be.

It is not easy to judge whether a mosque can be regarded as radical or Islamist. It is often the internal security services who do the classification. For cities, it is not easy to challenge the classifications of mosques by the internal security services, since they do not have similar information at their disposal.

Radicalisation as a security threat

For Amsterdam, Copenhagen, Kirklees and Stuttgart, the city studies report cases of religious-political radicalisation processes within the migrant or minority population. For Breda, Dublin, Malmö and Vienna, the CLIP researchers came across conflicting, inconclusive information on such tendencies. Where religious radicalisation is reported, it is also understood as a security threat. The city of Kirklees is a case in point. According to the case study, the city can be regarded as a high risk area for potential radicalisation in the name of Islam: 'There is threat of both political and religious radicalisation that could potentially be a mixture of attitudinal and organised, formal and informal. This was demonstrated by the participation of some members of the Muslim community in Kirklees in the London bombings in 2005.' The characteristics of potential members or supporters of such radicalised groups in the city are not known locally, yet potential groups do demonstrate their influence in the media or take other action.

Ethnic conflict import

Finally, some cities – such as Frankfurt, Stuttgart and Vienna – report political radicalisation and intergroup conflict within the migrant population in regard to political conflict in the country of origin. It is different from religious radicalisation. The political conflict originates from conflict in the country of origin – for example, between Turks and Kurds in the case of Turkey – and has been 'imported' via migration into the immigration country.

Policies and measures against radicalisation tendencies in the minority

It can justly be argued that any measure and effort in the field of general integration policies (indirectly) is also a preventive measure against

radicalisation. The following sections present cases of intercultural policies that are related to preventing or controlling radicalisation processes in the migrant and minority population. First, preventive measures by minority groups are discussed, then preventive measures by majority groups are explored, and followed by an examination of the 'Amsterdam approach' – a research-based, multi-level preventive and anti-radicalisation strategy developed in Amsterdam.

Preventive measures of Muslim groups

Many Muslims are well aware of the potential damage done to their religion and group by radical rhetoric and action. They have started initiatives that should prevent radicalisation.

Imams could be agents of radicalisation within the Muslim population. It is essential, therefore, to avoid hiring radical imams. The careful choice and education of imams by mosque associations can therefore be an important measure to prevent radicalisation. A better alternative to train imams is to have chairs of theology for Islam at European universities, like in the Netherlands.

Terrassa: Careful choice and education of imams

The Terrassa Mosque *Association Cultural Musulmana de Terrassa* does not like travelling imams and investigates carefully the background of a new imam before they hire him. Their umbrella organisation has founded an imam school in Madrid, where 20 young men are presently studying. The Terrassa mosque prefers to take imams from that school to be sure that they get the right kind of imam.

Preventive measures against radicalisation include the control of travelling imams who offer to preach in a mosque. An example is the *Al Fath* mosque in L'Hospitalet. When the usual imam was on the *hajj* (the annual Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca), a travelling imam turned up and offered his services. The board members of the mosque interviewed him and found that he held extremist views. They decided not to accept his offer.

The attractiveness of radical religious groups for young people often consists of providing social relations and a sense of belonging to a group. Thus, offering alternatives such as youth clubs for isolated young people could be a preventive measure against recruiting attempts by radical Islamist groups. In Dublin, groups have been set up among the migrant and minority populations that attempt to mobilise against radicalisation: one organisation within the Muslim population works to establish a young Muslims club, away from the mosque to try and

encourage them to integrate and communicate with other young people from other parts of Dublin society. The stated aims of this project are to try to prevent younger people becoming isolated and potentially radicalised.

A remarkable initiative has been taken by young Muslims in Amsterdam. Faced by the difference between their needs and the existing more traditional structures in the mosques often run by elderly first-generation immigrants, they established an 'open' mosque for young people, the *Poldermoskee* (Polder mosque). The name of the mosque represents its philosophy, as it refers to the *poldermodel*, the Dutch traditional mode of discourse between groups in order to reach consensus.

Amsterdam: *Poldermoskee*

Young Muslims founded the liberal 'polder mosque', the philosophy of which is based on five pillars:

- 1) The language of lectures and sermons is Dutch, only smaller rituals consist of Arab verses.
- 2) The mosque is an interethnic institution, including imams of different ethnic backgrounds who also follow different branches of Islam.
- 3) Young people are the primary target audience of the mosque's programmes.
- 4) The mosque is kindly disposed towards women; there are no dressing rules and women can pray in the same hall behind men.
- 5) The mosque is a bridge between Muslims and non-Muslims. It invites all people from its neighbourhood, cooperates with the city district authorities and organises informational events, guided tours and discussions – even on topics that are perceived as taboo subjects, such as honour killings, homosexuality or domestic violence.

The *Poldermoskee* tries to bring different views of Islam together; hence, intense discussions take place. Generally, it has a liberal image, but there are also more conservative members. Amsterdam's local authorities highly appreciate the mosque. The mosque is struggling financially, but has not asked for funding from the city.

The *Poldermoskee* is not only appreciated by its members, but, according to the case study, also 'very much appreciated by the authorities on all levels and is considered by many exactly what both Dutch people and Muslims were waiting for'.

Preventive measures of majority groups

Trust building is not any special policy or measure towards minorities. Instead, it is a general approach that is relevant in all kinds of social relations. Still, in majority–minority relations, trust building and trust are extremely important for preventing or managing intergroup conflict.

One pattern of trust building was found – in different degrees – in all of the case studies: the mayor and the leadership of the council make an effort to get to know the representatives of all or the most relevant migrant and minority associations on personal terms and to build a continuing relationship. The mayor and other city leaders invite the representatives to official events, visit the associations, and accept invitations for celebrations, jubilees and religious holidays of the different ethnic and religious associations.

The approach can be illustrated by the case study on Vienna:

The general perception and attitude of the city towards radicalism among immigrant and minority groups focuses on upholding sustainable relations with all immigrant organisations and fostering ... continuous dialogue. As explained by the head of the Magistrate Division on Integration and Diversity ... a main strategy of the city is to invest in a good relationship and continuous dialogue with all immigrant communities and to build networks between the administration, immigrant associations and other civil society organisations on district levels.

Vienna: Sustained intercultural dialogue

The city of Vienna understands that intercultural dialogue needs to be applied in all policy areas and that this is helpful in preventing radicalisation. The city's main strategy in this regard is to invest in a strong relationship and continuous dialogue with all immigrant communities by building networks between the administration, immigrant associations and other civil society organisations at the district level. The city believes that sustained dialogue is the main method to reach its general political goals, which include providing for equal treatment, equality of opportunity and participation in all areas of society. In addition to participating in dialogue, the city funds a variety of projects involving both religious and immigrant organisations, and the Department for Integration and Diversity's staff regularly speaks to these organisations on integration issues. Through these activities, the city supports the acceptance of diversity and the social advancement of immigrants, and thus in turn prevents radicalisation.

Intergroup relations theory strongly supports a trust building strategy (ASDC, 1999 and 2002):

- conflicts can be prevented or reduced, when members of groups have the opportunity to get to know one another as individuals. There is less of a tendency then to perceive another group and its members as monolithic and homogeneous. This is a way of breaking up stereotypes, which can be rather easily achieved at the local level;
- group relations improve when groups identify each other's assets (culture, language, history) and use and exchange them as part of the intergroup process;
- 'sufficient time must be provided for groups to overcome their initial feelings of anger and prejudice towards one another and develop trust. Relationships must be ongoing in order to effect long-term change' (ASDC, 1999, p. 4).

If conflict and tensions develop between majority and minority groups, trustful relations between leaders can be a basis for jointly trying to find a way out of the crisis.

Training future leaders of Islamic communities is another approach. Some cities have started projects aimed at reaching promising young adults from different mosques. Young men, of the second generation and rather well educated, have shown interest in radical messages. An attempt is made to offer them alternatives and to encourage them to resist radicalisation. The Stuttgart project 'Qualification of young Muslim leaders' and similar projects that have already been described can serve as examples of this approach.

In the section on policies against radicalisation in the majority population, the study has already described a system of reporting discrimination. The focus is on the perpetrator. The discrimination reporting system should deter possible perpetrators from the majority group and enable the sanctioning of those who have engaged in discrimination. Discrimination reporting systems, however, can also play a role in preventing radicalisation in the minority population. In the complicated process of the religious-political radicalisation of young Muslims, feelings of discrimination seem to play an important role. Giving victims of discrimination an opportunity to report discrimination cases to the authorities and enabling them to do justice to the victims can strengthen the belief in the justness and legitimacy of the social and political order of the immigration country. In this sense, reporting systems for discrimination also serve as a

preventive measure against radicalisation processes in the minority population. This reasoning is part of the comprehensive Amsterdam approach against radicalisation that will be described below.

The study has described the role of the police in managing intergroup relations in an earlier chapter. Projects like ‘Cooperation between the police and mosque associations’ in Stuttgart or creating an ‘ethnic liaison unit’ in Dublin have been discussed as intercultural policies. Here, it is important to emphasise that such policies and projects by the police should also be seen in the context of preventing radicalisation processes.

Amsterdam approach: a holistic, multi-level preventive anti-radicalisation strategy

The Amsterdam approach, developed after the murder of Theo Van Gogh, is not just a single measure to prevent and fight Muslim radicalisation, but a comprehensive approach, which is directed towards both minority and majority groups. It is significantly based on research by the IMES Institute at the University of Amsterdam.

According to the case study, dealing with the hardcore radicalised *jihadi* groups is primarily the responsibility of the police. The city is concerned about those in the process of radicalisation. The city recognises that prevention must be carried out at three different levels and has described this in the CRS for the city:

- ‘General prevention: tackle the breeding ground of grievances that may lead young Muslims to be convinced by a *jihadi* worldview, including the grievance of Islamophobia and discrimination that seems to be growing among the majority population’;
- ‘Specific prevention: recognise that young Muslims are at risk of encountering the *jihadi* ideology. The city seeks to strengthen the resilience in the Muslim communities’;
- ‘Recognise that some individuals are on this path of radicalisation and are beyond basic prevention, but are not dangerous enough for the police to be interested. The city tries to assist youth professionals in dealing with radicalising youth through positive interventions (mentoring, coaching, standard assistance, and ideological challenge). In some cases, the police are informed, but only take charge when there are indications of relevant preparatory action.’

Amsterdam: Comprehensive anti-radicalisation strategy

After the murder of Theo van Gogh, the city of Amsterdam developed a comprehensive strategy against radicalisation in both the majority and minority population, with an emphasis on Islamism. It is aimed at the process of radicalisation. Dealing with hardcore radicals like *jihadi* groups is left to the police.

The programme has a general prevention strategy, which consists of fighting the legitimate grievances of young Muslims, like their frustrations about discrimination. In specific programmes, the city tries to strengthen the resilience of Muslim communities against *jihadi* ideology. On an individual level, the city supports intervention programmes like mentoring, coaching, social assistance and ideological challenge that are aimed at young people in danger of being radicalised.

As an aspect of general prevention, the city has built a system of fighting discrimination against Muslims through the Anti-Discrimination Office Amsterdam.

Specific prevention programmes are still in the development stages, as this is a very difficult area. As stated in the case study:

Another aspect to diminish the breeding ground for radicalisation is to support parents with children who are in search of their religious and cultural identity. It has been noticed that support for parents is needed, though the parents do not easily come with questions to Dutch institutions, because they think that they do not know anything about Islam ... Training of teachers is also an important element of the approach. Teachers should be able to recognise which boys and girls are getting lost in their search for a positive identity.

Another important idea is to make existing non-radical Muslim organisations stronger and to support young Muslims. Muslim associations play an important role in reducing the reasons leading to radicalisation and in increasing the resilience and empowerment of young people. They can make their members aware of the different views on Islam, provide them with information on what is orthodox and what is moderate and organise discussion on this. Among other actions, a network of high-potential young Muslims has been created that receives training and takes part in ideological and religious discussions that are supposed to make people aware of the different views on Islam, on what

orthodoxy is and how they can learn to be critical towards sources of information.

An 'Information Household Radicalisation' has been introduced as a programme working towards anti-radicalisation. Persons who think that individuals or groups are in the process of radicalising can report this. The Information Household analyses the case, gives advice and tries to find the right individuals to handle the situation. Professionals from schools, youth groups, police and city districts can phone the Information Household for a report or advice.

If a case of radicalisation has been confirmed, the procedure is to ask for the cooperation of people who surround the group or individual. This includes the cooperation of imams, school teachers, youth workers, parents and family members. Anybody who could assist is essential. Parents are informed about what the views of their son or daughter could imply. To understand a particular case, any potential underlying social problems relating to the home, income or physical and mental health of the person are addressed. If possible, the person is provoked into discussions with a religious expert, whose views are not too far removed from his or her own view. There have been eight to 10 cases of such intervention per year.

The Amsterdam case study has described only few of the 16 projects in the *Amsterdam tegen Radicalisering* programme. The approach can be considered completely new and innovative, but also still under development. Thus, a comprehensive evaluation is not possible at the present time.

Cesari (2009, p. 1 and Eurofound, 2009, p. 17) has criticised many anti-radicalisation measures towards Muslims as securitisation: 'the measures intended to prevent radicalisation actually engender discontent and prompt a transformation of religious conservatism to fundamentalism. This is the process of securitisation.' The Amsterdam approach intends to carefully avoid this danger.

Conclusions

Migration and integration have become politicised in many European cities. Radical anti-immigrant groups have formed on the side of the majority population, radical religious-political groups among immigrants. A majority of CLIP cities, however, do not report relevant radicalisation processes of either kind.

As to the anti-immigrant movements, the measures that are reported by cities to stop them are mostly reactive against concrete actions and events. Anti-radicalisation policies targeting religious-political radicalisation are more complex, individual and group centred, and are analytically grounded. They aim at both prevention of radicalisation and de-radicalisation of persons in the process of radicalisation. The Amsterdam programme can serve as a model and is already influencing the planning and policies of other cities, like Copenhagen. British cities are currently developing their own programmes within the framework of the national 'Prevent' programme.

Despite the importance of such special integration policies, it seems justified to say that good general integration policies are the best policies against radicalisation since they can hinder the breeding ground for radicalisation to develop.

6 – Conclusions and recommendations

Recommendations for cities

Define remit of intercultural policies

Engage in joint consultation with all stakeholders

CLIP recommends that cities organise a joint consultation of the responsible departments and political bodies of the city – such as the city mayor, the city council and its relevant committees – together with all relevant local stakeholders, including natives and the migrant population, to discuss their understanding of culture, intercultural relations and the scope of local intercultural policies for migrants. Involving experienced consultants or experts in the consultation process could be beneficial.

Need for better and clearer understanding of issues at stake

Findings from the research indicate that cities should try to reach agreement on an operational and practical definition of culture and intercultural relations between all parties. In this regard, it is suggested that culture be defined as socially located forms and processes that generate specific categories, norms, values, practices, rituals, symbols, worldviews, ideas, discourses and ideologies both on the part of migrants and the native population. Cities should avoid defining cultural differences and identities only by proxy using ethnicity, religion, country of birth, nationality or language as indicators. In this context, the importance of religious beliefs and affiliations for existing cultural differences should be discussed.

Have regard for taxonomy of intercultural policies

Intercultural policies represent a wide-ranging policy arena, which is often rather unstructured. City councils should remain aware that intercultural policy should go beyond the organisation of music, folkloristic and culinary exchanges of experience between ethnic, religious and cultural groups. It may be useful to adopt the following headings from the CLIP research for the discussion and organisation of local intercultural policies: a) policies geared towards ethnic organisations; b) policies aimed at improving attitudes and relations between groups and individuals; c) policies that seek to improve relationships between the police and migrant groups; d) policies that aim to meet religious needs; e) policies aimed at supporting interreligious dialogue; and f) de-radicalisation policies.

Provide leadership

Given the strategic importance of intercultural policies for a successful local integration policy, it is suggested that a visible, high-profile political leadership is adopted by the lord mayor of the city, the city council and the heads of the relevant ethnic, cultural and religious groups, and representatives of key organisations of the majority society – such as the social partners, churches and sports associations.

Consider role of intercultural policies in integration policy

Think strategically about the role of intercultural policies

Cities should reflect on the role and importance of intercultural policies within the strategic context of a local integration and social inclusion policy for migrants. In this context, it will be necessary to consider how important intercultural relations are for the overall social cohesion of the city and of certain neighbourhoods, against a background of increasing cultural, ethnic and religious diversity. Thus, each city should examine the various strategic elements of its intercultural policy.

In this regard, it will be necessary for city councils to answer the following questions.

- Does the political discourse on diversity support a) its acceptance or b) its denial? Check how local intercultural policies deal with existing cultural diversity.
- Do local politics choose an approach a) to mainly cope with existing diversity (defensive, reactive), b) to use and design cultural diversity (active, preventive) or c) to ‘wait and see’ what happens in the future (inactive)? Check the development of intercultural policies over time.
- Is there a) a consistency over a longer period of time shared by the major political forces in the local council, or b) are there frequent changes of policy direction, for example after each local election? Check the time frame of the city’s intercultural policies.
- Finally, check the city’s governance approach to intercultural policies. Is it a narrow or a broad and inclusive approach involving all relevant stakeholders?

Relate intercultural policies to overall integration strategy

Cities should assess how intercultural policies relate to local policies in order to improve the structural integration of migrants in employment and education, as

well as access to social services and housing. It will be important to consider whether all stakeholders agree that there is room for an intercultural policy alongside more structural integration policies. City councils will have to ask if intercultural policy is seen mainly as a ‘soft’ policy arena, which is of ‘secondary’ importance in comparison with the ‘hard’ integration activities related to structural integration. Discussion should also take place on the need for and challenges to the incorporation of intercultural policies in all important facets of integration and social cohesion policy. In this regard, it will be necessary for cities to define the extent of specific intercultural policy interventions and activities.

Determine the necessary resources

Discuss resourcing of intercultural policies

Cities need to determine the extent of resources (budgetary and human) necessary for a successful and sustainable local intercultural policy, especially at a time when the budgets of local authorities all over Europe are extremely stretched. One part of the discussion should look at how the resourcing of intercultural policies is related to the resourcing of structural integration policy. Another element of the discussion may focus on which component of intercultural policies is allocated most or least resources and for what reason.

Decide on a separate or integrated budget for intercultural policies

Setting a budget for intercultural policies should involve questioning whether there is a case for integrating the resourcing for intercultural policies into a wider social cohesion and social development budget. Cities should discuss how to mobilise the necessary resources in conjunction with other funding organisations – for example, through public–private partnerships or the participation of private foundations. City councils will also need to question whether there is a case to ask migrants and their organisations for benefits in kind.

Adopt effective policies towards ethnic organisations

Assess various components of intercultural policies

Local intercultural policies towards ethnic organisations may include the following components: mapping and recognition; funding; provision of space for meetings; empowerment; and developing a shared vision. Empirical evidence suggests that activities related to the latter two components create a serious policy challenge for many local authorities. Despite the fact that most cities do not practise all of those components in conjunction, it is recommended that cities consider all components as part of a good practice intercultural policy.

Implement effective mapping as a necessary starting point

Any local intercultural policy should be based on a systematic mapping of intercultural conditions, an analysis of motives and objectives of the relevant organisations, observed intercultural relations (including relevant issues, level of satisfaction and involvement in local policymaking) and existing cultural, ethnic, religious and intercultural organisations in the city (data on membership and activities and their possible influence on the community). As part of such a mapping exercise, cities should explore relevant cultural differences between migrants and the native population and their importance for local integration conditions and policies. Accordingly, cities should try to bridge existing knowledge gaps in the mapping exercise. Cost efficiency and effectiveness can be enhanced if city officials are supported by social scientists of local universities or research centres – for example, students finishing their bachelor, masters or doctoral thesis. A regular update should be provided at least every three to four years.

Accept recognition as a basic component

Recognition, funding and provision of space for meetings are considered the ‘bread and butter activities’ of many local authorities as part of their intercultural policies. Thus, official recognition of migrant organisations and their heritage is one of the most crucial issues affecting intergroup relations in many European cities. Policies of recognition may include establishing an institutionalised consultative body of migrant representatives to advise the city council and its committees in all matters of local politics relevant for the integration of migrants. These include employment, education and health; respect for ethnic, cultural and religious customs, symbols and holidays; providing a place in the city’s life; mutual invitations to municipal, religious or cultural events; and continuous informal contacts between the city and migrant organisations.

Providing the necessary support

Most migrant organisations have very limited financial resources and an insufficiently large space to run their activities. Thus, cities can support migrant organisations either through direct financial support (project funding and/or institutional funding), which can be organised via a public–private partnership, or by providing space for activities and/or rent allowances. Some cities promote the collective use of buildings, as this can encourage day-to-day cooperation and increased intercultural relations between different ethnic and religious groups. In deciding on the provision of funding and space for meetings, the city may consider the following: how much overall direct and indirect funding should be

provided to migrant organisations; what kind of activities should receive funding (for example, promoting cross-cultural cooperation and living in a diverse city); and, what kind of projects should be excluded (for instance, activities connected with commercial, religious, ideological or political interests).

Empowering migrant organisations

Empowering and connecting migrant organisations is another important component of local intercultural policies. CLIP identified four different kinds of activities that potentially contribute to the empowerment and sense of belonging of migrant organisations: a) organising capacity-building programmes such as training in association management, funding and leadership; b) involving migrants as ‘multipliers’ in the implementation of specific programmes geared towards their ethnic and religious communities; c) establishing ethnic, religious or migrant umbrella organisations to strengthen cooperation between member associations, enable the members to create synergies and increase the associations’ influence within the city; and d) involving community leaders from different migrant groups in intercultural policies by connecting them with leaders in the majority population in networks and local forums. The various support activities of local authorities to empower migrant organisations should be matched by proactive behaviour of migrant organisations themselves to enhance their effectiveness (including their own finance) and efficiency (for example, better internal organisation).

Importance of shared vision and inclusive identity

More social cohesion against the background of increasing cultural, ethnic and religious diversity is supported by local policies that promote a shared vision on the future of the city. Conflicts can arise when various groups in the city strive for different goals, in particular if they strive for goals that can be attained by one group only at the expense of another. Examples are divergent interests about material goods (such as funding resources), but also about values, beliefs, norms and lifestyles. To avoid or resolve conflicts between various groups, cities may strive for a shared vision or an overarching goal that can be reached only through a common effort. Social cohesion can be such an overarching goal, if it has successfully been promoted as a shared vision by the city and ethnic associations. To reach this goal, cities should develop strategies and measures that aim to ensure that everyone has a sense of belonging in the city.

Within this context, cities may consider propagating an inclusive identity strategy with the aim of creating a ‘we’ feeling among local residents – regardless of

nationality – and, thus, to build a common city identity. This collective local identity (for example, ‘We Amsterdammers’, ‘Yours Istanbul’ or ‘Belonging to Dewsbury’) is meant to exist in parallel with ethnic identities (for example, being a Muslim or of Turkish origin), but it is superseded by a collective local identity. A necessary condition for the success of those activities is that the wider group identity is sufficiently inclusive to express the existing differences in a complex manner.

Improve relations between migrant and majority population

Consider multifaceted nature of policy field

Another major component of local intercultural policy deals with efforts to improve attitudes and relations between migrants and the native population. This is a multifaceted policy field that includes many components of intercultural policies that complement and support each other. The CLIP research identifies the following check list for local authorities: a) establish institutionalised intercultural dialogue; b) create informal contacts; c) promote intercultural events and intercultural competence building; d) support anti-racism and anti-discrimination activities; e) develop an inclusive identity strategy; f) build a communication strategy; and g) promote intercultural mediation and space management.

Consider usefulness of various forms of intercultural dialogue

Cities could consider institutionalising intercultural dialogue between the representatives of cultural, ethnic and religious minorities and elected representatives of the majority society. This should be an open and respectful exchange of views between individuals and groups with different ethnic, cultural, religious, linguistic and heritage backgrounds on the basis of mutual understanding and respect. Furthermore, intercultural dialogue can take place within existing consultative bodies for migrants and migrant organisations. In organising these consultative bodies, local authorities can choose different formats: group representation versus individual representation of migrants, committees that include only foreigners versus mixed committees of foreigners and natives, or committees with either elected or appointed members. Finally, intercultural dialogue within city councils can be enhanced by encouraging and supporting the election of members of minority communities to the council board. The provision of voting rights for migrants with long-term residence should also be considered.

Establish more informal contact

A successful intercultural policy involves creating informal contact between members of various groups, reducing stereotypes and prejudice between groups, as well as increasing contact among and knowledge about other groups. Hence, establishing contacts can contribute under specific circumstances to reducing these stereotypes, helping groups to feel empathy for other groups and accepting them as human beings of equal value. This is particularly the case if groups meet on equal terms and engage in mutually rewarding activities. Cities should therefore establish initiatives to create opportunities for different groups to meet and build relationships – for example, through informal cookery demonstrations, library projects or joint sporting activities among individuals of different ethnic groups, as well as efforts to systematically encourage migrants' participation in local majority organisations such as social partner organisations, neighbourhood and tenant committees, NGOs, sports clubs or scout groups.

Experience cultural diversity through art and cultural activities

Cultural activities remain a key component of successful intercultural policies. Experiencing diversity through art and other cultural activities can help people to discard ethnic and racial stereotypes. Cities should therefore support a wide variety of such events and activities, including intercultural festivals. Supporting these activities may increase the visibility of the city's cultural diversity and encourage the city's entire population to interact with, learn about and enjoy other cultures. According to their initial goals, these intercultural events can be classified as ethnic and religious heritage celebrations (such as the Chinese New Year, the Feast for Buddha, the Turkish children's festival '23 Nisan' or the end of Ramadan), as intercultural celebrations of diversity and internationality, or as traditional local festivals that encourage the participation of migrant groups and consequently become intercultural.

Improve intercultural competences

Intercultural competence can help to reduce cultural misunderstandings and improve peaceful intergroup relations, while also constituting a valuable resource for the local economy. For these reasons, European cities should make an effort to raise the intercultural competence of their residents. These measures encompass: a) intercultural training to inform administrative staff and police officers about migrant communities' particular needs and cultural and religious practices, and to raise awareness of minority rights and the importance of ensuring equal opportunities for everyone; b) projects for intercultural education

at schools and youth clubs; and c) programmes to improve migrants' linguistic competence in both their mother tongue and the host country's language.

Initiate anti-discrimination activities

To overcome racism and discrimination and in line with EU-wide anti-discrimination legislation, cities should make efforts to combat discrimination and racism experienced by some of their residents. Such efforts can include: a) establishing municipal programmes and campaigns to fight discrimination and racism; b) setting up anti-discrimination offices; and c) running anti-racism and anti-discrimination projects, often in cooperation with NGOs and social partners. The existence of an anti-discrimination office and its activities should be promoted among the minority communities, as many people do not know that it exists or have no trust in it.

Develop professional media strategy for intergroup relations

Public communication and media reporting exert an influence on public opinion making and political agenda setting. Therefore, it is recommended that cities develop strategies on how to report on minorities, diversity and intergroup relations in a systematic, continuous and professional way. These strategies may include providing municipal information in various languages, cooperating with local media, co-funding of media projects and improving journalists' intercultural competences, as well as making diversity visible and presenting the diverse population and its activities in a positive way – for example, by giving awards to new inhabitants who foster the city's success.

Create system of managing public parks and spaces

Neighbourhoods and other public spaces such as parks and street corners are important locations for meeting and interacting with others. Because these places are enjoyed by many different groups in various ways, such interactions can be a source of conflict that can seriously undermine intergroup relations. To overcome this risk, it is recommended to establish intercultural mediation services – either based on a pool of volunteers with a migration background or on experienced municipal staff – that can respond to neighbourhood conflicts and complaints regarding the use of public spaces. Cities should also establish policy initiatives that focus on managing the peaceful use of public spaces, such as projects to resolve conflicts over behaviour in the streets and the use of public parks and buildings.

Improving relations between police and migrant groups

Enhance intercultural education and multicultural recruitment

The police force is a key player in managing urban intergroup relations. It is recommended that intercultural education should be an established part of the education and training of police officers. Workshops involving police officers and representatives of migrant organisations have proven to be an effective way of improving mutual understanding. In addition, the police service should step up the recruitment of officers with a migration background.

Set up a liaison unit and prevent hate crime

Another positive step would be to set up an integration liaison unit within the police force, which would be trained in dealing with intercultural conflicts and migration-related issues. Hate crime prevention strategies are recommended to improve relations between the police and migrant groups.

Support cooperation within the neighbourhood

It is advisable for the police and migrant group representatives to hold discussions on neighbourhood safety issues as a means of building mutual trust. Mosque associations and other local migrant groups are important partners in such actions.

Take into account different religious needs in local policies

Undertake mapping of religious organisations in the city

Cultural diversity in many European cities is influenced by both increasing ethnic diversity and religious diversity. This goes hand-in-hand with the challenge of facing various forms of discrimination on religious grounds in many local authorities in Europe's cities. CLIP results show that several cities have, either for legal or practical reasons, little or no data on the religious composition of their population. Therefore, cities have to reflect on how to devise policies that consider the religious needs of an increasing religiously diverse population without having basic socioeconomic data.

In a process similar to the mapping of ethnic organisations, a team of city staff or social scientists may compile a record of the different religious organisations active in the city. The information collected should include an explanation of the religious affiliation, data on membership and activities and their possible influence on the community. Regular updates of this information should also be considered.

Inform local public about migrants' religions and their diversity

It is recommended that cities contribute to informing the local public about the religions of new residents. It is important to emphasise the diversity among religious communities and in particular among Muslims. Regarding relations with Muslim communities, cities should actively support the provision of 'Open mosque' events.

Keep regular contact with religious organisations of migrants

The city mayor, the city council and integration officers should not only maintain regular contact with religious organisations of the majority population but also of minority groups. Contact should be both formal and informal and include regular meetings as well as common projects.

Respect for religious needs of migrant groups

Since some migrant religions have specific burial rites, it is recommended that cities respect these and adapt their burial rules accordingly within the remit of the 'law of the land'. Given the different beliefs of some migrant groups, it is recommended that the food served in public institutions should include food that meets the requirements of migrant religions. It is also suggested that religious festivals and holidays of migrant religions should play a role in public life.

Support wishes of religious communities for religious buildings

Cities are encouraged to support Muslim communities in their plan or desire to build a mosque. In this regard, city councils should support the principle that religious freedom includes the right to have an 'adequate' place of worship. For instance, cities could organise an information campaign and mediation structures in neighbourhoods where mosques are to be built. In response, Muslim communities should be open and transparent from the initial planning stage and application process for a new mosque. In terms of the design, location, size (symbolising a representative religious building) and practical effects and impacts (traffic, noise or change of neighbourhood structures) of a new mosque, a balance has to be found between the legitimate interests of the native and Muslim populations. At the same time, cities should emphasise that racism and Islamophobia will not be tolerated.

Initiate and support interreligious dialogue

In religiously diverse populations, cities should either initiate or support interreligious dialogue dealing with faith and/or secular topics. Forms of interreligious dialogue may include roundtables involving religious leaders and/or

community members, 'Abrahamic' projects and exchanges between preachers, imams and rabbis. Tense international relations between Israel and Islamic states in the Middle East continuously threaten to affect relations between Jewish and Muslim groups at the local level. Therefore, it is recommended that cities establish local Jewish-Muslim networks to manage tensions and improve their relations. Effective interreligious dialogue could also be supported by educating and training imams within the receiving countries. Such activities could highlight the specific socioeconomic and sociocultural conditions of the receiving society and their importance for good intercultural relations and a fruitful interreligious dialogue.

Develop effective de-radicalisation policies

Prevent anti-immigrant radicalisation tendencies in majority population

Preventive action against radicalisation in the majority population includes tackling the reasons for radicalisation at its source: unemployment, poverty and deprivation combined with downward mobility, lack of opportunity, lack of any positive vision for the future and the spread of anti-human ideologies. Problematic issues in intergroup relations should be discussed openly and responsibly and not be hidden under a cover of 'political correctness'.

Use measures of social control against anti-immigrant groups

Changing right-wing and racist attitudes is a difficult task and takes time. To tackle this challenge, cities should use social control measures against such tendencies and actions, involving public pressure, the judiciary and the police. Anti-discrimination offices, where victims can report discrimination, allow for the prosecution of perpetrators. Additionally, cities should implement de-radicalisation programmes for individuals – for example, opt-out programmes.

Prevent political-religious radicalisation among young Muslims

City councils, along with national governments, are advised to undertake efforts to establish trustful relationships with Muslim communities, including groups that they consider to be contentious. Cities should encourage and recognise the efforts of Muslim communities to prevent or deter radicalisation tendencies. Furthermore, cities can take action to alleviate the legitimate frustrations of young Muslims regarding discrimination and lack of opportunities, to strengthen the resilience of Muslim communities against *jihadi* ideology and to introduce individual intervention programmes for de-radicalising young people such as mentoring, coaching, social assistance and ideological challenge. However, cities

should also remain aware of the possible radicalisation of other religious groups – for example, Sikhs or Hindus – and take appropriate measures.

Recommendations for European policymakers

Highlight intercultural policies in guidelines for EU integration policy

In its 2005 common agenda for the integration of third-country nationals in the EU, the Commission highlights that the frequent interaction between migrants and citizens of the receiving society is seen as a fundamental mechanism for integration (European Commission, 2005). The 7th principle of the common agenda explicitly mentions ‘shared forums, intercultural dialogue, education about immigrants and immigrant cultures’. The 8th principle confirms that ‘the practice of diverse cultures and religions is guaranteed under the [European] Charter of Fundamental Rights and must be safeguarded’.

Based on those strong political commitments, the strategic guidelines recommended for the EU level are to ‘strengthen the integration dimension in the social inclusion and social protection policies’ and to ‘facilitate intercultural and interreligious dialogue’. Some of the recommended actions were taken up by cities during the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue in 2008. Following the various activities within the EU in recent years, it is evident that there is still a need for more exchange and dialogue between the Member States and between governments and other stakeholders on the understanding of intercultural relations and related intercultural policies. Therefore, the recommendation is to reinforce the importance of intercultural policies in future strategic policy documents of the EU, to highlight the relationship between intercultural policies and structural integration policies and to underline the need to mainstream intercultural policies systematically in all relevant EU-level integration policies and programmes.

Following the suggestion of the strategic guidelines, the Commission may consider organising an annual EU-level dialogue on intercultural relations and policy. Such a dialogue could take place within the remit of the European Integration Forum, which is jointly organised by the Commission and the European Economic and Social Committee (EESC).

Establish strategic leadership in the Commission on intercultural policies

Currently, three separate Directorate-Generals of the European Commission – notably the DGs responsible for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities (DG EMPL), Education and Culture (DG EAC), and Justice, Freedom and Security (DG JLS) – deal with different aspects of intercultural relations and intercultural policies within the context of the integration strategies for migrants, social cohesion of European cities, European cultural and youth policy and evolving national intercultural dialogue. In addition, the Bureau of Economic and Social Advisers (BEPA) of Commission President José Manuel Barroso has a strong interest in maintaining contact with representatives of various religious communities in Europe. Based on such a variety of responsibilities, approaches and programmes, CLIP recommends establishing some strategic leadership in the Commission in order to combine the various strands more closely. This kind of approach would take into account the increasing importance of intercultural relations in European cities and Member States. The coordination effort could be provided, for example, at the level of the President of the Commission.

Continue cooperation between Council of Europe and European Commission

Intercultural relations and intercultural policies comprise a traditional policy field of the Council of Europe. The council's important role has been demonstrated by the recent publication of the White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue (Council of Europe, 2008). As regards the local level, the Council of Europe has initiated a joint intercultural cities project with the European Commission. It is suggested that it should continue this cooperation with a follow-up programme to support learning and exchange of experience between European cities within the framework of a European-wide programme.

Monitor implementation of anti-discrimination legislation and discrimination

By monitoring manifestations of discrimination, racism and xenophobia, FRA and the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) of the Council of Europe should improve their effectiveness. Both institutions should not only monitor implementation at national level but should develop regional and local monitoring instruments.

Provide more EU funding for intercultural policies

The European Commission funds various programmes for improving the integration of migrants – for example, the European Fund for the Integration of Third-country Nationals, the EU’s employment and social solidarity financial instrument PROGRESS and social cohesion programmes. The main focus of these programmes is to support the structural integration of migrants, with less emphasis on improving intercultural relations. It would be advisable to mainstream the improvement of intercultural relations systematically with the guidelines for implementing these programmes.

In addition, European institutions should financially support projects that enhance intergroup relations at a local level, particularly projects improving intercultural competence, enhancing intercultural and interreligious dialogue and establishing sustainable networks between different ethnic, cultural and religious groups.

Finally, the EU may consider introducing a research programme within the remit of DG Research that specifically focuses on intergroup and intercultural relations. Research topics such as cooperation and conflict between groups, mutual stereotypes among ethnic, national and religious groups, group boundaries, attitudes and attitude change, as well as majority and minority radicalisation could be included in such a programme.

Support good practice exchange between cities

European institutions should create opportunities for an exchange of experiences regarding intercultural policies among cities and regional authorities. This exchange may be supported by comparative research. It should also result in a series of good practice recommendations.

Improve cooperation with private foundations

Several important private foundations in Europe – Soros, Bertelsmann Stiftung, King Baudouin Foundation (*Fondation Roi Baudouin*), Robert Bosch Stiftung, Network of European Foundations (NEF) – carry out significant activities in the field of intercultural policies. Good cooperation should be established with these foundations in order to coordinate operational activities – for example, to avoid double funding – and to join forces in various dialogue activities.

Reinforce de-radicalisation strategy

CLIP research has identified promising key components of policies of de-radicalisation and anti-radicalisation. These should be further evaluated, since

they could be a key ingredient in a successful preventive anti-terrorism policy in the EU. Thus, it is recommended that the offices of the anti-terrorism coordinator of the Council of Ministers consider the importance and effectiveness of innovative local programmes for a holistic, multi-level and preventive de-radicalisation strategy.

Recommendations for national governments

Support inclusive national dialogue on intercultural relations and policy

CLIP advises all national governments to organise a consultation of government representatives, members of national parliament and its committees, together with all relevant local stakeholders representing the various ethnic, cultural and religious minority groups, on the subject of intercultural relations and the scope of local intercultural policies for migrants. Representatives of local and regional authorities and of other relevant organisations in society like churches, NGOs and social partners could also be included. This process should take place as an institutionalised and inclusive national dialogue over several years. It should be supported by experienced researchers and consultants and should draw on experiences of intercultural dialogue in other countries.

Establish interreligious dialogue at national level

As an integrated part of intercultural dialogue, or as a separate activity, national governments are encouraged to support interreligious dialogue at national level. In many Member States, it would be worthwhile for governments to maintain continuous dialogue with representatives of Muslim communities on religious and general integration issues. In addition, national legislation should set conditions for the institutionalisation of the new religious communities.

Integrate intercultural policies into national integration plan

Many Member States have developed and politically agreed national integration plans, which define a medium strategy for the successful integration of migrants into the receiving society. It is recommended that Member States include intercultural policies systematically in their national plans and consider incorporating the improvement of intercultural relations into all main components of national integration policy.

Implement European anti-discrimination legislation

Experience of intercultural relations in European cities reveals systematic discrimination against religious, ethnic and cultural migrant minorities. As some

Member States have so far failed to fully implement existing European anti-discrimination legislation, governments are advised to put particular emphasis on the speedy and systematic introduction of this legislation. Governments should pay particular attention to monitoring the implementation of this legislation at the local level. Moreover, another practical suggestion would be that cities with a high level of immigration should be supported by national governments in setting up local anti-discrimination offices and informing migrants of their existence. National legislation should set basic standards for the operation of such offices.

Support migrant umbrella organisations

Experience shows that the existence of migrant umbrella organisations strengthens cooperation between member associations and establishes networks, supports the members in developing competences and increases the associations' influence on integration policy towards all relevant players in the receiving country. Therefore, it is recommended that Member States promote and support the establishment of umbrella organisations for migrant associations and maintain regular contact with these organisations.

Foster political participation of migrants

Member States are advised to foster the political and civic participation of migrant groups by easing migrants' naturalisation, encouraging active and passive voting rights of people with a migration background and increasing migrants' awareness of their political rights. They may also consider an awareness campaign with the aim of increasing the membership of migrants in established parties of the receiving society.

Improve relations between police and migrants

The police force is a key player in the management of intergroup relations. In countries in which the national authorities mainly have responsibility for the police, it is recommended that intercultural education should be incorporated as part of the education and training of police officers. Workshops involving police officers and representatives of migrant organisations should be organised, since they have proven to be effective for improving mutual understanding. An integration liaison unit trained in dealing with migration-related issues may be set up within the police force. In addition, to enhance relations, the police should increase the recruitment of officers with a migration background.

Combat anti-immigrant radicalisation tendencies in majority population

Several EU Member States are confronted with the political radicalisation of certain groups in the majority society. National economic, social and integration policy should introduce preventive measures against the radicalisation of certain groups in the majority society by combating the issues leading to ethnic, racial and cultural radicalisation. These activities may be based on a broad alliance of all democratic forces, which participate actively in the national dialogue on intercultural policy.

Introduce measures to prevent political–religious radicalisation

In cooperation with local and regional authorities, national governments should undertake efforts to establish trustful relationships with ethnic, religious and cultural communities, which have a higher propensity for radicalisation – for example, Muslim communities with a high proportion of young and unemployed people. National governments should encourage and recognise the efforts of Muslim communities to prevent or deter radicalisation tendencies among them. Furthermore, governments should alleviate the legitimate grievances of young Muslims and introduce individual intervention programmes for de-radicalising young people such as mentoring, coaching, social assistance and ideological challenge.

Increase research funding

Despite increasing knowledge about the impact of intercultural relations on the effective integration of migrants, there is a further need for the support of evidence-based policies by solid empirical research in the Member States.

Foster exchange of good practice between cities and governments

To improve coordination between actors involved in intercultural policies at the national and local levels, national governments should create opportunities and funding for an exchange of experiences regarding intercultural policies among cities and set up an effective coordination process between the local and national levels.

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Annex 1: Overview of important issues and policies

Table A1: Important issues raised in the case studies

City	Recognition	Funding	Space	Religious buildings	Burials	Dress codes	Religious education	Food	Discrimination	Media	Language	Public space	Imported conflicts	National minorities	Gender
Amsterdam			X	X	X		X		X	X	X		X		
Antwerp	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
Arnsberg	X		X	X	X				X	X	X				X
Athens		X	X	X	X				X	X	X	X			
Bologna	X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X				
Breda			X	(X)	X	X	X		X		X	X			X
Budapest	X	X	X	X	X		X		X	X	X				
Copenhagen			X	X			X		X	X					
Dublin	X	X	X		X	X			X	X	X				
Frankfurt			X	X	X	X			X	X	X		X		X
L'Hospitalet			X	X				X	X		X	X	X		
Istanbul			X		X				X		X				
Kirklees	X	X				X	X		X	X	X	X	X		
Lisbon	X		X		X		X	X	X						
Luxembourg		X	X	X	X				X		X				
Malmö	X		X		X				X	X	X		X		X
Newport	X	X	X		X		X		X	X	X				
Prague	X								X	X	X				
Stuttgart	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X		X		X
Sundsvall		X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X				X

City	Recognition	Funding	Space	Religious buildings	Burials	Dress codes	Religious education	Food	Discrimination	Media	Language	Public space	Imported conflicts	National minorities	Gender
Tallinn	X								X		X			X	
Terrassa		X	X	X	X		X		X	X	X	X	X		
Turin	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X			
Turku		X	X		X				X						
Valencia			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
Vienna		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
Wolverhampton	X	X			X		X		X	X	X	X			
Wrocław	X								X	X					
Zagreb		X	X		X	X			X	X				X	
Zeytinburnu											X				
Zürich	X	X	X	X	X		X		X	X	X				

Table A2: Policies towards ethnic organisations and to improve relations between groups

City	Recognition	Funding	Space	Empowering	Shared vision	Humanising the other	Intercultural events	Intercultural competences	Language courses	Anti-racism/discrimination	Inclusive identity	Communication strategy	Mediation and space
Amsterdam	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Antwerp	X	X		X			X	X	X		X		X
Arnsberg	X	X	X			X	X		X				
Athens	X					X			X			X	
Bologna	X	X	X			X	X		X	X		X	X
Breda	X	X		X				X	X	X			
Budapest	X								X			X	
Copenhagen	X	X					X	X	X	X	X	X	
Dublin	X	X	X	X		X		X	X	X		X	
Frankfurt	X	X		X			X	X	X	X		X	X
L'Hospitalet	X		X		X		X		X	X			X
Istanbul	X		X						?		X		X
Kirklees	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Lisbon	X	X		X			X		X				
Luxembourg	X	X			X		X		X				X
Malmö	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X			X
Newport	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X		X	
Prague	X	X					X	X	X	X			
Stuttgart	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X		X	X

City	Recognition	Funding	Space	Empowering	Shared vision	Humanising the other	Inter-cultural events	Inter-cultural competences	Language courses	Anti-racism/discrimination	Inclusive identity	Communication strategy	Mediation and space
Sundsvall	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X			
Tallinn	X			X	X				X			X	
Terrassa	X	X	X		X				X	X			X
Turin	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X		X	X
Turku	X	X	X	X					X	X		X	
Valencia	X	X		X			X	X	X	X			X
Vienna	X	X		X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Wolverhampton	X	X		X			X	X	X	X		X	
Wroclaw	X			X			X		X			X	
Zagreb	X	X	X				X		X				
Zeytinburnu	X		X						?		X		
Zürich	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X		X

Table A3: Policies towards religious groups and to prevent radicalisation

City	Relations police	Religious buildings	Burials	Dress codes	Religious education	Food	Inter-religious dialogue	Recognising Muslims	Empowering Muslims	Information about Islam	Radicalisation majority	Radicalisation minority
Amsterdam	X	X		X	X		X	X	X		X	X
Antwerp	X			X				X		X		
Arnsberg	X	X	X				X	X		X	X	
Athens		X					(X)			X		
Bologna	X	X	X				(X)	X			X	
Breda	X		X				(X)	X			X	
Budapest			X				X					
Copenhagen							(X)				X	
Dublin	X		X				X	X		X	X	X
Frankfurt	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	
L'Hospitalet		X						X			X	X
Kirklees	X		X				X	X	X	X	X	X
Lisbon		X	X				X	X		X		
Luxembourg			X	X				X		X		
Malmö	X	X	X				X	X		X	X	
Newport	X		X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Prague											X	
Stuttgart	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X
Sundsvall	X		X	X				X		X	X	X

City	Relations police	Religious buildings	Burials	Dress codes	Religious education	Food	Inter-religious dialogue	Recognising Muslims	Empowering Muslims	Information about Islam	Radicalisation majority	Radicalisation minority
Tallinn							X	X		X	X	X
Terrassa		X					X	X		X	X	
Turin	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	
Turku	X		X				X	X			X	
Valencia	X	X	X			X	X	X		X		
Vienna	X	X	X	X		X	X	X		X	X	X
Wolverhampton	X		X				X	X			X	X
Wroclaw							X	X		X		
Zagreb						X	X	X				
Zürich	X	X	X	X			X	X		X	X	

Annex 2: CLIP European Research Group

The following institutes and researchers from the CLIP European Research Group contributed to this report.

Institute	University	Researchers
Centre for Migration Policy Research (CMPR)	University of Swansea (United Kingdom)	Heaven Crawley Tina Crimes
European Forum for Migration Studies (efms)	University of Bamberg (Germany)	Wolfgang Bosswick Friedrich Heckmann Doris Lüken-Klaßen Franziska Pohl
Forum of International and European Research on Immigration (FIERI)	University of Turin (Italy)	Tiziana Caponio Irene Ponzo Roberta Ricucci Giovanna Zincone
Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES)	University of Amsterdam (the Netherlands)	Anja van Heelsum Rinus Penninx
Institute for Urban and Regional Research (ISR)	Austrian Academy of Sciences, University of Vienna (Austria)	Heinz Fassmann Peter Görgl Josef Kohlbacher Bernhard Perchinig Mihály Szabó
Institute of International Studies (IIS)	University of Wrocław (Poland)	Patrycja Matusz Protasiewicz

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The team is particularly grateful to the representatives of the cities, who contributed significantly to the preparation of the city reports and workshop discussions. The authors have made every effort to ensure that the evidence in these reports is reflected in this overview report.



The Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe grew out of the conviction that democratic Europe is built every day in our communities, our villages, towns, cities and regions – at the level closest to the citizen. This is the first line of defence of their rights, the level where public services can be delivered most efficiently and where our action yields the most tangible results.

A pan-European political assembly of 636 local and regional elected representatives (with a total of 318 votes), the Congress has a truly pan-European dimension as the voice of more than 200,000 territorial communities in 47 European countries. It has a Chamber of Local Authorities (mayors and municipal councillors) and a Chamber of Regions (regional governors and councillors).

The spectacular advance of local and regional democracy on our continent, championed by the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities since 1957, is a landmark of European democratic development and one of the main achievements of the Council of Europe. In 1985, the European Charter of Local Self-Government became the first international treaty for local democracy, which is the foundation of any democratic system. Today, the Charter remains the main reference for territorial self-government, and observance of its principles constitutes a solid basis for further development of European democracy.

The Congress' main objectives are to create communities that are citizen-centred, sustainable, cohesive, modern and knowledge-driven, as well as to achieve territorial cohesion across our continent. A platform for pan-European cooperation, a forum for pooling experiences of European communities and a factory of ideas, the Congress advances human rights by helping communities and their authorities to create the foundation for the respect of human rights and to build inclusive and intercultural communities. In building this new environment, the Congress seeks to foster equal access to social rights – to health care, housing, education, employment – as well as integration of migrants, protection of minorities and other vulnerable groups, intercultural dialogue and

increased participation of citizens in democratic processes and decision-making at local and regional level.

The Congress is a strong advocate for including the local and regional dimension in national policymaking and involving territorial authorities as equal partners in responding to the challenges facing our societies. To this end, the Congress was a co-founder of the Cities for Local Integration Policy (CLIP) Network in 2006 to ensure that, when seeking to improve the situation of migrants in Europe's cities and their effective and sustainable participation and integration, lessons learnt on the ground by local authorities could be shared, benchmarked and fed into policymaking at regional, national and European level.

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European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions

Intercultural policies in European cities

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European cities have become increasingly diverse in ethnic and religious terms. This changing nature of society creates opportunities for cultural innovativeness and international competitiveness. However, given the growing diversity in the local population, influencing and managing intergroup relations and developing intercultural policies have become major challenges for cities. Intercultural policies aim to influence relations between groups with different behaviours in order to achieve greater social cohesion in the local community. By looking at the major needs in intergroup relations, the responses taken to meet these needs, and cities' efforts to improve attitudes and relations between majority and minority groups, this report aims to support the exchange of experience and learning between cities. Published jointly with the Council of Europe, the report presents successful practices and strategies from 31 cities participating in the third module of the European Network of Cities for Local Integration Policies for Migrants (CLIP).