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Intergroup Relations in the City: Social Scientific Foundations of Intercultural Dialogue?

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Introduction

Immigration into many European countries since World War II has made urban populations increasingly heterogeneous in cultural, ethnic and religious terms. Cities from countries with historically established national minorities have been multiethnic for longer periods. The topic of this module of CLIP has to do with phenomena of urban life that are related to the multi-national, multi-ethnic and multi-religious structures of urban populations which challenge the ability of municipalities to establish or keep peaceful relations among the different segments of the population.

Native groups complain that "their" park on Sundays is being occupied by large numbers of foreign migrants who bring their families for picnic parties; political parties try to win people with a migration background as members; a citizens' initiative wants to hinder the construction of a representative mosque in its neighborhood; Kurdish and Turkish youth gangs battle in a migrant quarter; fouls and injuries in inter-ethnic football matches are more frequent and more severe than in matches where teams are not representing ethnic or national groups; the city council votes on a motion allowing for Islamic burials on the municipal cemetery and installing a special women's day in the local swimming pool; the local newspaper is accused of reproducing prejudice and stereotypes against Roma; families move out of a quarter, because they believe that the increasing number of migrant pupils hinders the educational attainment of their children; the city's legal director meets with representatives of ethnic organizations once a month in an informal way.

This list of phenomena could easily be much prolonged. They all have to do with the integration of new or somewhat different populations into urban life. Social cohesion, security, the attractiveness of urban life, even economic opportunities in the urban context much depend on a successful management of phenomena like those just briefly described.

We suggest to **conceptualize these phenomena as cases of intergroup relations.** This conceptualization stands for an abstraction working with the assumption that there are similarities in the relations between quite different "groups". This understanding has been established in the field of intergroup relations research in social psychology and sociology. The approach focuses on interactions and relations and stresses that general explanations and practical recommendations can be made for the relations between different groups.

Presently, relations between different ethnic and religious groups, immigrants and natives predominantly are discussed in terms of **"intercultural dialogue"** and/or "interreligious dialogue**".** We will briefly explore the relations between the concepts of intergroup relations and intercultural dialogue in the first chapter.

The **purpose of this paper** is to lay the conceptual foundations for developing the Common Reporting Scheme for the third module in the CLIP research program in which issues and

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actors of local integration policies for intergroup relations have to be identified and analyzed. The paper will spell out major kinds of relations that are possible between groups and continue with a discussion of groups that are relevant in an urban environment as collective actors. A systematization of issues and policies that are relevant for the integration of migrant groups or national minorities will follow. The participating cities in CLIP have expressed an interest in exchanging experiences on issues and policies in relation to Muslim groups. The paper will identify some of the issues that are relevant in these relations. The concluding chapters will make an attempt to explain the development of different kinds of intergroup relation and discuss policies and measures for an improvement on the basis of intergroup relations theory.

1 Intergroup relations and intercultural dialogue

"…intergroup relations refer to states of friendship or hostility, cooperation or competition, dominance or subordination, alliance or enmity, peace or war between two or more groups and their members" (Sherif and Sherif 1969, 222). "Intergroup behavior refers to the actions of individuals belonging to one group when they interact, collectively or individually, with another group or its members in terms of their group membership…" (ibidem, 223). Intergroup relations is about ways in which "people in groups perceive, think about, feel about, and act towards people in other groups. The sort of groups we have in mind can be small groups such as work teams or divisions in an organization, larger interactive groups such as sports teams... or very large categories such as ethnic groups, racial groups, national groups, and religions" (Hogg and Abrams 2001,1).

As is already evident from the preceding quote the term "group" basically has two different meanings in the social sciences: on the one hand it stands for stable structures of interaction among persons, for positions and roles and a concept of membership; on the other hand "group" is understood as a social category that does not necessarily imply relations among the persons that are included in the category. National, ethnic or religious "groups" in a city would be cases of such categories.

In "intergroup relations" we have to do with both meanings: for example, relations between a migrant association and a local branch of a political party or between a religious community and a department of the city administration. These are **relations between real groups**. When, however, a mayor in a city, for example, wants to improve relations between natives and immigrants, between Christians and Moslems, between natives and a national minority present in the city, he is referring to categories and images of "groups", often to **relations of stereotypes** that exist in the **communication of the urban public**. Intergroup relations in this sense means relations between categories and what and how one

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communicates about these. The images and stereotypes of the categories typically hide the socio-structural and cultural heterogeneity that exists in these "groups".

Whereas "intergroup relations" is an analytical social scientific concept **"intercultural dialogue" is a normative frame** that spells out certain principles for establishing peaceful relations between different cultural and religious groups. As to the research questions of intergroup relations studies it is evident that this research is also motivated by interests in peaceful relations between groups and individuals, It aims, however, at generalizations that are empirically based.

Looking at the present European discourse the Council of Europe has published a "White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue – Living together as Equals" in 2007 and the EU has declared 2008 "The Year of Intercultural Dialogue"[1] and has organized a series of events for that. The Draft report "Intercultural and Interreligious Dialogue: an Opportunity for Local Democracy" by the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities (2007) is another prominent document in this public discourse.

According to the White Paper intercultural dialogue is understood as an open and respectful exchange of views between individuals and groups with different ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic backgrounds and heritage. It requires the freedom and ability to express oneself as well as the willingness and capacity to listen to the views of others. The White Paper tries to clarify definitive issues, discusses and recommends policy approaches, shows consequences of non-dialogue, and is primarily a statement on the value and normative basis of intercultural dialogue. It also emphasizes that interreligious dialogue is part of intercultural dialogue and the importance of learning and teaching intercultural competence. The "Congress Paper" focuses on the local level and is somewhat more "operational" than the White Paper. It identifies issues on the local level key actors and gives good practice examples.

Our approach of intergroup relations is somewhat complementary to the concepts in the sense that it is much more "operational" instead of normative and tries to identify on a social-scientific and empirical basis the conditions that determine the development of different kinds of relations between groups. The identification of conditions, under which relations between groups take on different qualities, makes it possible to arrive at

[1] The EU Commission engaged the Gallup Organization to conduct a representative survey on aspects of intercultural relations and dialogue. Major results of the survey: Almost three quarters of EU citizens believe that people with different background enrich the cultural life of their country; day-to-day interaction among people belonging to different cultures is a reality in Eurorpe; the dominant sentiment is that intercultural dialogue is beneficial, but carrying on the cultural traditions is equally important; people have different understandings of intercultural dialogue. This latter result may partly explain the rather positive and optimistic picture that the survey renders. Another word of caution: attitudes that are mirrored in a survey cannot be equated with behaviour.

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recommendations for the improvement of relations between groups **that are based on research**. This is what qualifies the intergroup relations approach as an appropriate conceptual foundation for the third CLIP module.

2 Intergroup relations between real groups and as images in public communication

In a formal way we may discern quite different kinds of relationships between real groups:

- Coexistence
- cooperation
- support
- competition
- conflict vs. conflict reduction
- union: formation of a new group
- alliance
- domination
- enmity.

Coexistence represents a situation of groups existing in the same environment, but having no or only marginal and indirect relations to one another. **Union** could be called the very opposite of coexistence, since it denotes a relationship in which two or more groups give up their autonomous existence and merge into a new group.

Cooperation as the common endeavor for goals involves the bundling of resources and a division of labor. Cooperation may happen for shared goals, mutual sympathy and common or similar interest structures. Cooperation, however, could also happen despite different or even antagonistic goals, when interest structures complement one another. Antagonistic cooperation is a case in point. In **support** a group that controls more resources than another group gives part of its resources to a weaker group. **Competition** as a relation between groups is the striving for a relative advantage over another group that is pursuing the same or similar goals. **Conflict** arises from divergent interests and can be characterized as a relation, where each group strives for the realization of its goals and interests, and the advantage of one group is at the cost of the other group.

Domination is a relation between groups where one group is forced to serve the interests of another group at the cost of its own interests. The dominated group, for instance an ethnic

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minority, may resist to change this situation. As **alliance** we define a constellation between groups of joining efforts and resources for a shared goal, without – like in cooperation – practicing a division of labor. The opposite would be to try to do damage to the interests of another group, **enmity**.

The preceding section deals with relations between real groups in the sense of systems of interactions between people. There is, however, another reality in the urban context that has to do with **images and stereotypes** that exist for and **between collectivities** or categories of people and that are continuously communicated in the urban public: stereotypes for single categories like "the Italians", "the natives", "the Moslems", "the Greeks", "the Roma", "the Russians", images of relations between Turks and Russians, natives and Roma or between Christians and Moslems. Stereotypes and images in public communication are important, because they influence daily interaction in the city's life and the relations between the real groups. Many people in the urban area do not have direct and regular relations to people of a migration background or to ethnic minorities, but carry images and stereotypes of what these groups would be like in their minds. The stereotypes **create predispositions** for trust and distrust, for readiness to interact, to like, to hate, to fear or to be indifferent.

Newspapers, radio and television stations, communication in organizations or via cultural events are examples of media in which this communication takes place in the urban public. The stereotypes and images presented are not merely reflecting the local public, but mirror the patterns that exist on a national and partly international level.

The "social climate" in a city, conflict or cohesion is much influenced by the public discourse on the images and stereotypes about different groups in the city.

3 The "groups" in intergroup relations

In this section we will concretely identify different kinds of groups and collective actors that are related to one another and whose relations we want to study. In the context of our project on the integration of migrants and national minorities two kinds of groups find particular interest: ethnic and religious groups. We will first discuss some central aspects that are constitutive for ethnic groups, then come to religious groups, followed by collective actors on the side of the receiving society.

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3.1 Migrant groups

3.1.1 Ethnic groups

Ethnic groups are formed on the basis of a common ethnicity. What is ethnicity? Ethnicity is a social construct constituting group identities and group boundaries. It works with a genealogical metaphor by "arguing" that a group is constituted by a common descent. Sociologically speaking the group is constituted by the **belief** in a common descent (Max Weber 1972). The belief and the construct are supported by the fact that ethnic groups tend to practise endogamy or at least tend to marry within the group. The genealogical metaphor is quite powerful and in certain situations can evoke feelings similar to a primary group, one of the reasons why one could speak of an ethnic group as an "**imagined community**" (Anderson 1983), as an imagined Gemeinschaft.

All in all **ethnicity can be characterised** by[2]:

- Belief in a common descent
- Collective identity, defined borders (we and they)
- Common historical and present experiences, construction of a common history
- (elements of) a common culture
- Feelings of solidarity with co-ethnics
- Belief in a common future (that the group will continue to exist in the future).

In this sense ethnicity is on the one hand a social category, on the other an imagined community upon which real group formation can be based in the immigration situation. Many migrant organizations on the urban stage are formed on the basis of a common ethnicity and ethnic organizations are among the most important players in a city's political and social life. Since many concepts of nation are also based on the idea of a common ethnicity ethnic group formation and national group formation in many cases are identical.

3.1.2 Religious groups

Besides ethnic groups, religious groups or organizations are among the most relevant for immigrant or minority group integration into the urban world. Quite often religious and ethnic group-formation go together. Charles Hirschman (2004) has written convincingly on

[2] Cf. Heckmann (1992, 30-39)

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the role of religious organization in the integration process in the United States. We believe that large parts of his theory can also explain present experiences in Europe.

He starts by saying that little support can be found for the general secularization 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" (ibidem, 1207). Religious organizations also play an important role in the creation of community and as a source of social and economic assistance.

Religion can also be of help against the traumatic effects of leaving one's home country. "Immigrants, 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" (ibidem, 1207/1208).

The combination of culturally attuned spiritual comfort and material assistance heightens the attractions of religious organizations for immigrants. Hirschman concludes: "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" (ibidem, 1208)[3].

Another aspect of the American experience that Hirschman mentions seems to be relevant for the present European discourse on integration: In their study on Yankee City Warner and Srole (1945) found that there was a general sequence of steps in the institutionalization of local religious traditions 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. Many European cities presently experience this third phase and try to manage it.

3.1.3 Inter-ethnic migrant organizations

A common migration status can be the basis for representing migrants' interests in urban integration affairs. Such inter-ethnic organizations may stem from the initiative of migrants, but may also be stimulated and institutionalized by the municipality to represent migrants in the city's political system, like the German Ausländerbeiräte.

[3] My emphasis

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3.1.4 Political parties

Political parties mostly originate in the emigration country and form local branches in the immigration context. Very often they are primarily involved in the political battles of their home countries, but after some time may also take part in the policies of the new country on a municipal level.

3.2 National minorities

Some of the CLIP cities do not yet have much immigration, but have national minorities within their populations that originate from the multi-ethnic structure of their country's population, not from migration. This structure is mostly the result of drawing borders when nation states formed and people different from the majority population were included in the state territory. National minorities are often in a state of inequality and disadvantage or are even dominated by the majority society.

3.3 Collective actors in the majority society

The management of inter-ethnic and inter-religious relations has become a major task of a city's administration and leadership. The **mayor** and **leading administrators** are important actors in intergroup relations in cities that have experienced recent immigration or have numerically significant national minorities. They strongly influence the relations between the "real groups" in the city's political and social life, but also the communication on the images and stereotypes of migrants and minorities in the local public.

The **police** have an important role, because security and feelings of security are important aspects of urban life for natives and migrants. **Other relevant collective actors** that influence inter-group relations in a "positive" or "negative" way may be just enumerated:

- political parties
- churches and synagogues
- labour unions
- welfare organisations
- foundations
- local media
- anti-immigrant movements.

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Among the political parties very different tendencies may be present. There may be right-wing or directly anti-immigrant parties whose influence will have to be analyzed in the CLIP project. If openness of the receiving society is one of the very basic conditions for successful integration such parties and/or movements represent segments of the society who are not willing to accept immigrants as fellow citizens. Anti-immigrant parties and movements have been observed in all major immigration countries. In this sense they are an (unwanted) "normality" of immigration processes. Their strength co-varies with societal and urban crisis situations.

The local media are particularly important for aspects of intergroup relations that have to do with the reproduction and possibly change of images and stereotypes regarding the different ethnic and religious groups in the urban public.

3.4 Majority-minority groups

There are organizations on the local level that work for integration and are made up of individuals and/or organizations of both native and immigrant origin. An organization called "Frauen in der einen Welt" (Women of one world) could be given as an example in Germany. We have to find out whether such organizations exist in which CLIP cities and whether they exert any influence.

4 Issues of local intergroup relations and intergroup policies

In this section we shall identify major issues of intergroup relations and policies that are relevant for the integration of migrants and national minorities in the urban world. We leave out economic issues including the labour market, housing and issues of diversity policy that were the topic of module II of the CLIP Project.

Socialization and education

Relevant topics in this area are aspects of pre-school education, educational support for migrant and minority children, the segregation-desegregation of schools, youth gangs and deviant behaviour. As to **pre-school education** the participation (participation rates, duration) of migrant and minority children is a central issue; some ethnic or religious groups want separate institutions, which the municipality may or may not support. Language learning, particularly the role of the national language vs. the family language of migrants is another important issue. Programs of compensatory education (parent-child education) have a particular relevance for migrant and minority families.

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Research has clearly demonstrated the disadvantage of **segregated schools** for educational attainment of migrant and minority children (Heckmann 2008). Desegregation of such schools is a major challenge for municipalities and migrant organisations. Where socialization and education fail **youth gangs and deviant behaviour** will develop and threaten security in parts of the city.

Ethnic minority cultures

Recent immigrants and national minorities have cultural preferences and adhere to cultural practises that are often not shared by the majority population. Migrants and national minorities, however, generally want "their" **cultures to be represented and recognized** in the general urban public and cultural life. Ethnic music, film, literature, theatre, dance and ethnic cultural festivals, holidays, the learning of ethnic languages and the presence of ethnic symbols in public are cultural consequences of immigration and of the presence of national minorities that municipalities can recognize and support. In the United States **"ethnic heritage"** practises and traditions have developed in most cities.

Religion and religious practises

Progressing integration of migrant groups is reflected in changing localities for the common practise of religion: from private homes, to provisional buildings to representative, newly erected churches, mosques or synagogues. Many European cities are presently confronted with the desire of Moslem associations to **erect representative mosques** and thus be present and recognized in the urban public space, and with resistance from groups of the native population that want to hinder this. The building of new **Jewish synagogues**, regarded by many as a sign that in the end Nazi terror has not prevailed, often still meets resistance or protest from anti-Semitic groups. **Burying practises** by migrant religions and established rules on municipal cemeteries may also be an issue of conflict.

Security

Actions of **anti-immigrant groups** in a city may threaten the security or feelings of security of the migrant population. Such actions may consist of verbal threats, but can go so far as **physical violence, arson and murder**. Some European cities have also seen acts of terrorism against its populations by migrant or migrant origin people who claim to be religiously and/or politically motivated **(Islamist terrorism; nationalist terrorism)**. It is a major task of urban police and municipal authorities to protect the entire population from such criminal acts.

Imported ethnic and political conflict

The headscarf issue is not only related to attitudes of the receiving societies to this practise, but is also an issue of **political conflict among immigrants** imported from Turkey, from

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where the domestic fight on this issue is transported into European immigration countries. **Ethnic conflicts** originating in an emigration country will also be imported by immigration and be continued on the urban space: Serbs vs. Croats, Albanians vs. Serbs, Turks vs. Kurds, Armenians vs. Turks are examples of such imported ethnic conflict that are continued on the territory of the immigration country and may sometimes take on violent forms.

Leisure and sports

Public parks often are a favourite place for migrant families to hold weekend picnics and grill. On sunny days they come in large numbers and natives complain about the **"occupation of their park"** by foreigners.

Municipalities often support **sports activities** of their citizens. One issue is the support for ethnic sports organizations (facilities, sports fields, money) vs. the support of general sports organizations which migrants are asked to join. Sports is often also a method of social work with migrant youth in danger of deviant behaviour.

Communication on collective images in the urban public

When introducing the concept of intergroup relations in section 1 of this paper we referred to **images, stereotypes** and relations between these as a major aspect of intergroup relations in the city. Images, stereotypes, prejudices about ethnic and religious groups exist in all inhabitants' minds and have an influence on their behaviour. Feelings of sympathy, antipathy or even hate are major dimensions of relations between different groups in the city. They are mostly historically founded and stem from a national context, are continuously reproduced, sometimes changed. Peaceful relations between different groups of the urban population much depend on whether and how these collective images and stereotypes are communicated in the urban public.

Local media (radio, newspapers, TV) and kinds of communication in public gatherings of political parties, of organization of civil society or of the city administration play a central role for the reproduction and mobilization of ethnic, national and religious stereotypes, or for the fight against these to reduce such prejudices. The role of political, administrative and civil society leaders is crucial in these processes. Through various methods they can provide opportunities for personal face-to-face experience and information on cultural diversity, can promote the awareness of cultural differences and communalities between various groups and promote tolerance and trust between different groups (Krieger 2008).

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5 CLIP cities' interest of exchanging experience on policies toward Muslim groups

Relations to and between religious groups are an important part of intergroup relations on the local level. Immigration has brought quite a few "new" religions to Europe and cities are in the process of trying to accommodate their needs and demands. Among the "new" religions Islam is by far the largest and most important in most European countries of immigration. This is behind the CLIP cities' interest in exchanging experiences with policies toward Muslim groups. Additionally, Muslims are perceived as particularly disconnected from "European life". Research shows rather low rates of interpersonal and intergroup interaction with Muslims, higher rates of discrimination and more prejudice against Muslims (Islamophobia) compared to other immigrant groups (cf. www.eumc.at/eumc/material/pub/muslim/EUMC-highlights-DE.pdf).

The discourse with and policies towards Muslim groups on the local level relate to the following issues:

- Erection of representative mosques
- Legitimacy of representation of Muslim groups
- Dress codes
- Gender roles
- Cemetery/burial rules
- Religious slaughtering
- Halal food
- Freedom of artistic expression.

The issue of building representative Mosques is discussed in section 6. The legitimacy of the representation of Muslim groups stems from the private character of Islam as a religion that does not understand itself as a hierarchical formal organization and is mostly "organized" in European immigration countries as a large number of registered associations who can only speak for themselves. Dress codes can be a matter of conflict in public institutions, like for teachers in schools or for municipal employees. The issue of gender roles sometimes comes up in schools around questions of physical education.

At death, most migrants are still buried in their places of origin. But this is slowly changing and the following issues around burying have to be resolved: burying in coffins or in plain cloths, the time to pass before burial (Islam prescribes a quick burial after death), being buried close to people of other faiths and the question of the outer appearance of the burial

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site (careful gardening of the burial site is not known is Islam)[4]. Ritualistic Islamic slaughtering is in conflict with laws for animal protection in some European countries. The so called caricature conflict and the case around the murder of van Gogh in Amsterdam have demonstrated serious conflicts around the freedom of artistic expression.

European cities are finding differing and similar modes of dealing with these issues and the CLIP project presents an opportunity of exchanging experiences on these policies to learn from one another to avoid conflict and strengthen the cohesion of their entire population.

In the following chapters we will come back to the patterns of intergroup relations identified in section 1.1. We shall try to explain the development of such different types of intergroup relations on the **basis of intergroup relations research** and with reference to the issues described in chapter 4.

6 Conflict, conflict reduction and conflict anticipation in urban integration processes

We start the discussion by briefly describing the general concept of conflict between (real) groups, will then present an example of group conflict and try to explain it. We continue by analyzing patterns of conflict continuation and conflict expansion vs. possibilities and strategies of conflict reduction and conflict solution.

When members of two groups come into contact with one another and strive for goals that each urgently desires, but which can be attained by one group only at the expense of the other competitive activity changes over time into hostility between the groups and their members (Sherif and Sherif 1969, 239). The **divergence of interests** constitutes a conflict (Esser 2000, 39). There are divergent interests not only about material goods, but also about values, beliefs, norms and lifestyles.

When competitive activity between groups changes into conflict, unfavourable attitudes and stereotypes of the "other" group come into use and place the "out-group" at a definitive social distance to the "in-group". This is accompanied by an increase in solidarity within the group and an overestimation of its positive characteristics (Sherif and Sherif, ibidem).

A case of groups in conflict: the erection of a new mosque

For many immigrants religion becomes more important in the immigration situation than in the home country (cf. section 3.1.2). In quite a few European cities Islamic associations want to erect new, large and representative mosques. Very often native and Christian

[4] cf. Hanselmann (008)

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citizens' groups and organisations in the respective areas are strictly opposing this and try to hinder it. This is a case of clearly divergent interests. What are these?

The Islamic group wants to erect the new mosque as a visible and representative building equal to the Christian churches. The Islamic group sees the permission to build a mosque as a sign of recognition of its religion that could help improving their present status. The significance of the new building thus goes beyond its pure religious use.

The native group(s) fighting the erection of the mosque define their interests as preserving the particular character of their quarter and neighbourhood, its atmosphere as a particular urban milieu that would be changed by a large mosque and its permanent visitors. They also point to problems of traffic and noise when large groups of people come to services in the mosque. Many fear that due to the new building and possibly new Moslem people moving into the neighbourhood they gradually become strangers in their own environment. The mosque is seen as a threat to their lifestyle.

These are clearly diverging interests between the two groups. Each group can reach its goals only at the expense of the other, if they keep the definition of their interests unchanged. Continuous conflict with increasing hostility will be the case. The groups will try to mobilize increasing resources. If both groups can successfully do this conflict and hostility will last for a long time and become more intense.

Conflict solutions and conflict reduction

One possible solution of divergent interest conflict is that one group wins over the other due to the supreme resources and powers that it could mobilize. One class of interests supersedes the other class of interests. Hostility between the groups will remain with one group being seriously frustrated.

Another possible path of development is conflict **reduction and gradual cooperation**. "The basis of cooperation can be defined as the interests of actors for a resource that can be attained only through a common effort" (Esser 1999, 146). For this resource or goal to be achieved there needs to be a **change in the definition of both groups' interests** in the above example of mosque building. The change could come about by internal processes in the groups, influence from outside, or most likely from a combination of the two processes. Mediation could be one way of bringing about the change. It may not be possible to change the definition of both groups' interests. Conflict reduction will not be possible in that case.

Both groups, however, may find that **peace in the city** and in the neighbourhood is a higher good, is a super-ordinate goal than the previously defined interests. This good, peace in the neighbourhood and the city, can only be achieved by cooperation of the two groups, it is unattainable by one group alone. Intergroup relations theory explains: "When conflicting groups come into contact under conditions embodying goals that are compelling for the

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groups involved, but cannot be achieved by a single group through its own efforts and resources, the group will tend to cooperate toward this super-ordinate goal. Our definition of super-ordinate goal emphasizes that it is unattainable by one group singly" (Sherif and Sherif 1969, 255). A series of acts of cooperation will have a cumulative effect of reducing hostility between the groups. A single episode of cooperation will not have this effect.

Additionally it has to be emphasized that a superordinate goal is not some kind of semantic formula compromise which each sides interprets differently. A superordinate goal must be a "genuine" goal and in line with the interests of the groups.

In the 1960s the Civil Rights Movement in the United States attacked the ruling Apartheid system in the "Deep South". There were violent clashes, but also negotiations. Jones and Long (1965) observed the negotiations between representatives of both sides with their divergent interests in many cities and tried to find out what kept the negotiations and the search for solutions going. Despite different goals, convictions and motivations for taking part in the negotiations one overriding principle emerged on both sides that could clearly be reached only through cooperation: **the good of the community** (ibidem, 60).

Further studies of real-life and pre-existing groups suggest that the introduction of superordinate goals does not always reduce conflict. Certain conditions must exist to facilitate the use of superordinate goals (ASDC 1999, 2):

- Groups must have distinct and clear roles when collaborating; the roles should reflect each group's particular strengths (Deschamps and Brown 1983, in ASDC 1999, 2).
- Groups and their representatives need to be brought together as equals in terms of power, respect, and importance (Hewstone and Brown 1986, in ASDC 1999, 3)[5]. Established groups have established power, grassroots groups have "grassroots power".
- Conflicts can be reduced when members of groups have the opportunity to get to know one another as individuals. "By getting to know someone on the individual level, there is less tendency to perceive another group as monolithic and homogenous…" (ASDC 1999, 4). This is a way of breaking up stereotypes. Personalized interaction and self-disclosure can promote trust and friendliness among members of groups.
- "Sufficient time must be provided for a group to overcome their initial feelings of anger and prejudice towards one another and develop trust. Relationships must be

[5] Much more evidence is given in ASDC (1999, 3)

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ongoing in order to effect long term change" (ibidem). Lots of research evidence supports this (cf. ibidem).

- Institutional support is necessary to promote intergroup relations. It could come from local government, funders, the media, federal government agencies or intermediary organizations (ibidem, 7).

Conflict anticipation

Conflict can cause large material and/or non-material damage. Many conflicts get more intense the longer they last. Conflict anticipation could be one method of actually preventing conflicts from breaking out. Conflict anticipation in a city necessitates a continuous communication with collective actors in the city and the observation and analysis of their interests, motives, goals and activities.

In a Southern German city the legal director of the city regularly meets with representatives of 30 Islamic groups once a month in an informal way to learn about and discuss mutually relevant issues. Action thus can be taken and measures can be initiated before open conflicts break out.

7 Cooperation between groups

In chapter 6 we have desribed a development in which a conflict and divergent interests can lead to conflict reduction. There are other cases where cooperation happens from the very beginning of intergroup relations. The **conditions** that have been **identified** as helping conflict reduction also **pertain to cooperation**. Conflict reduction, as a matter of fact, is a process in which conflict is slowly overcome by increasing cooperation. Cooperation is based on a shared goal that neither group can achieve without participation of the other.

7.1 Cases of cooperation in municipal integration of migrants

Cases of cooperation between migrant groups and native groups often occur in the area of **education and socialization**. The "Frühstart Project" in several towns in Hesse, which has the aim of qualifying preschool teachers and migrant parents for language training and general development of pre-school children with a migration background rests on the cooperation between the German Hertie Stiiftung and the Turkish Gesundheitsstiftung.

In the city of Nürnberg, the "Türkische Gemeinde", a federation of Turkish organisations, wants to improve educational achievement of Turkish children in schools. Parents want upward mobility for their children. The department for education and the political leadership of the city on the other side, envisage the development of the future citizenry and

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workforce in the city, the avoidance of social problems and social cohesion and for these reasons want to improve the education of migrant children. Neither the Turkish federation and parents' organization nor the city's school department alone can make progress towards this goal. The goal can only be reached through cooperation between schools and parents.

Another important field of cooperation could be the **area of security**. It is difficult to imagine that security against Islamist religious fundamentalism and possibly terrorism can be reached without cooperation from Islamic organisations and individuals who would report on such possible actions or their preparation that they would observe. Security in the city as a common goal of a large majority of Islamic organisations and municipal and police authorities can only be achieved by cooperation of both "groups". It cannot be achieved by the efforts of only one side.

The concept of security can also be conceived in a broader way than just described. The municipality of Amsterdam and IMES have developed a broad and very complex program called "Amsterdam against radicalisation" which is aimed at preventing both right-wing and Islamist radicalization (Municipality of Amsterdam 2007). The following activity is between a department of the municipality and a Muslim Youth organisation. The goal of the activity is described as follows: "Empowerment of Muslim youth and strengthening their social capital by supporting the Muslim Youth Amsterdam (MJA). The MJA organizes meetings for and by Muslims youth in order to improve the image forming around Islam and Muslims. The MJA mobilizes Muslim youth who they wish to bring into contact with the social organizations in their network, such as Ymere, the Amsterdam Amstelland police force and the ROC (Regional Vocational Colleges) Amsterdam. … Investment is made in leadership from Muslim youth and in the creation of role models through the MJA" (Municipality of Amstedam 2007, 52).

7.2 Principles of cooperation in intergroup relations

The five principles identified in section 6 in the context of conflict reduction do apply to cooperation as well, thus shall not be repeated here. We add four more principles that again are based on intergroup relations research[6].

- The "right" kind of people must be involved in the planning and implementation process (ASDC 2002, 2).
- Groups must identify each other's assets (culture, language, history, relations) and use and exchange them as part of the intergroup process (ASDC 1999, 5).

[6] ASDC (1999 and 2002) give detailed references

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- Successfully completed action strengthens the relation between the groups. The more positive the experience, the greater the bond (ibidem, 6).
- "To be effective, intergroup strategies need to operate at multiple levels including the individual, relational, and institutional levels" (ibidem, 7).

The last point is kind of an overarching principle and is a reminder that it is not sufficient to build on just one or a few principles.

8 CLIP and additional types of intergroup relations

In our typology of intergroup relations in section 2 we discerned additional types of intergroup relations besides conflict and cooperation. They are: coexistence, enmity, alliance, competition, domination, support and union. We assume that these relations are relevant for local integration policies and thus for CLIP.

We definded **coexistence** as a situation of groups existing in the same environment, but having no or only marginal and indirect relations to one another. Integration would mean that formerly unrelated groups are related to and drawn into the urban social and political life. CLIP has to ask whether such migrant groups exist and if so, what is being done to integrate them.

Enmity is a relation between groups in which each group believes that the other – by different means – is working against its own basic interests. Many cases of intergroup enmity threaten the cohesion and possibly the security of local communities. Relevant cases of enmity in the urban context could be between democratic groups and anti-immigrant groups or between democratic groups and religious or nationalistic radicals or even terrorists. CLIP has to enquire whether such constellations exist in our cities and what effect they might have.

Enmity has to be discerned from **competition**. Competition is a relation between groups in which groups are pursuing the same or similar goals and are striving to win a relative advantage over the other(s). Competition is a normal and vitalizing aspect of urban life. For CLIP it could be relevant to learn about competitors within migrant groups for influence and leadership, like leadership or influence among Muslim associations, or between political parties that are oriented toward the homeland vs. parties that are active in integration policies in the immigration context.

Alliance is a relation between groups in which they pool resources to be stronger in the pursuit of a common goal. Alliances could exist between migrant groups, between native groups and between native and migrant groups. CLIP could be interested in the existence at the local level of alliances against racism, xenophobia, Islamophobia or Antisemitism, or

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against migrant political or religious radicalism. There could, of course, also be alliances against integration and immigrants.

Whereas alliance usually is between rather equal groups in terms of resources **support** is a relation where a stronger group gives part of its resources to a weaker group. For CLIP it will be interesting, for example, to learn whether the municipality would support certain migrant groups to strengthen local integration processes, and if so, which groups this would be.

If two or more groups cooperate for a longer time and successfully so they might decide to found a new group by joining the pre-existing ones into a **union.** For CLIP it might be interesting to learn whether such processes have occurred and why between what groups with what effect.

Domination means that due to its superiority in terms of controlled resources one group hinders another group in the pursuit of its interests. This aspect will be particularly important for those cities and countries which have national minorities.

9 Intergroup relations and communication in the local public

On February, 3, 2008 nine people of Turkish migration background died in a fire in Ludwigshafen. Before anything was known about the causes of the fire the Turkish press in Germany and in Turkey accused "the Germans" of arson. The Nazis burnt the Jews, contemporary Germans burn "the Turks". A new Solingen was quickly declared. Fire-brigades and police who were on the spot only minutes after the detection of the fire and who saved many lives were accused of having come late on purpose and of having not done enough[7].

Tensions, however, quickly spread from the local to the national context, and from there to many local publics. The Turkish Prime Minister rushed to the scene and further politicized the incident. Hate, fear, distrust, feelings of revenge and of discrimination are some of the emotional components of relations between "Turks" and "Germans". They have an influence on many local publics, intergroup relations and social cohesion.

The incident is a symptom for the problematic state of relations between "Turks" and "Germans". It has to be stated, however, that this is **a media reality**, a stereotype, which cannot be equated with the complex picture of relations between local real groups of Turks

[7] Documents prove that such accusations were unfounded.

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and Germans. Still, the stereotype, has some influence on these as well, forming attitudes, identities and motivations for individual and collective action.

What are stereotypes? They are categorical descriptions of asserted attributes of a group, simplified, based on overgeneralizations and resistant against information refuting the content of the stereotype. Stereotypes of ethnic and religious groups, of national minorities, of the dominant group and of the relations between them are of interest for the CLIP project.

Intergroup relations as communication on the level of such mutual images is an important element of a city's social climate, cohesion and overall attractiveness as a city. It is highly relevant, therefore, whether municipal authorities, the mayor, local media and large organizations have any **communication strategy** with regard to existing stereotypes. Codes of reporting, information campaigns, contact programs, persuasive communication, cultural events and policies of recognition (ethnic heritage of migrants and minorities) could be items of such communication strategies to reduce or control the (sometimes devastating) influence of such stereotypes. CLIP should look into this aspect of communication in the local public.

10 Conclusion

Intercultural, interethnic and interreligious dialogue needs normative foundations, but also a social-scientific base about the conditions, under which it could work. The conceptualization of intercultural, interethnic and interreligious dialogue as intergroup relations is a useful approach for approaching this goal. This paper has tried to make use of the approach, identified issues and policies of intergroup relations on the local level and formulated some conditions for intergroup relations to be influenced.

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