



**AMICALL**

**Research reports**



## **Final country research report – Germany**

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## 1. Introduction

In summer 2010, Germany witnessed a lively debate on immigration and integration, especially of Muslim migrants, caused by the publication of Thilo Sarrazin's controversial and polemic book "Germany resigns" (Deutschland schafft sich ab). Subsequent political debates on whether "multiculturalism is dead"<sup>1</sup>, "utterly failed"<sup>2</sup>, or whether "Islam is part of Germany"<sup>3</sup> showed that there are existing contradictory perceptions regarding future immigration and integration policies. Furthermore, several comparative polls reveal that Germans are worried about immigration and integration and that there has been an increase in xenophobic, especially islamophobic, attitudes in recent years (Decker et al. 2010, Pollack 2010, Transatlantic Trends 2010, University of Bielefeld/IKG 2010 and Zick et al. 2011). However, the openness of a receiving society towards people with a migration background is an important condition for successful integration processes. The integration of migrants and their descendants happens through social contacts and relationships with the native population, such as intercultural friendships, memberships of associations or inter-ethnic marriages. Attitudes of the majority population towards the migrant population are decisive for the frequency, extensiveness and sustainability of relationships and therefore determine the success of integration. Therefore, the local level plays an important role, because integration takes place there. *Local and regional authority (LRAs)* – e.g. municipalities, cities, administrative districts or the federal *Länder* – can enhance positive attitudes of the resident<sup>4</sup> population towards migrants and promote the process of integration through its integration policy. Communication with the resident population is therefore one of the most important tools to objectify migration and integration debates, to reduce tensions and to create a social climate of tolerance. However, so far little knowledge exists about the role LRAs play in the shaping of public attitudes towards migrants and which communicative activities they are involved in.

The project *Attitudes to Migrants, Communication and Local Leadership (AMICALL)*<sup>5</sup> takes up the above mentioned lack of knowledge, building on two dynamically related components: First, the research component explores and reviews LRAs' communication activities in relation to migration and integration with the help of six case study countries (Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Italy, Netherlands and Spain). The main research questions are: (1) Which roles do

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<sup>1</sup> Stated by Bavarian Prime Minister Horst Seehofer in fall 2010.

<sup>2</sup> Stated by German Chancellor Angela Merkel in fall 2010.

<sup>3</sup> Stated by German President Christian Wulff and at the same time supported by Angela Merkel.

<sup>4</sup> In this report, the term 'resident population' refers to the native population as well as the population with a migration background.

<sup>5</sup> AMICALL runs over a course of eighteen month and is funded by the AMICALL (Attitudes to Migrants, Communication and Local Leadership) by the European Union's Fund for the Integration of Third Country Nationals.

LRAs play regarding integration of migrants, and especially regarding the information of attitudes towards migrants by communication? (2) What activities, and especially communication activities, are carried out by LRAs to address attitudes? (3) How do LRAs plan and implement such activities? (4) What is the outcome of the activities and how can it be assessed? (5) What factors influence the implementation and outcome of the activities? Qualitative interviews are the main method applied to examine the research questions. Besides the research, AMICALL includes an action component. Its idea is to provide a platform for LRAs across Europe to participate in knowledge exchange, to share practices, to reflect on strategies and to develop better practices and policy recommendations. Technical workshops and national policy roundtables in each of the research countries are the two events offering the opportunity for exchange and networking.

This report integrates the outcome of the different AMICALL activities undertaken in Germany. The research results presented in the *Country research report Germany* are enriched with and refined by the outcome of the German technical workshop and national policy roundtable. As one out of six final country reports, it builds a base for the development of transnational findings.

The content is structured as follows: The following section contains some methodological notes on the implementation of the AMICALL project in Germany. Moreover, it briefly outlines the underlying basic concept of attitudes and attitude changes. Presentation of research results starts with chapter 3. It deals with the LRAs' role regarding attitudes towards migrants, the range and type of communication activities LRAs are involved and discusses objectives and intended target groups of such activities. Chapter 4 focuses on the leadership and planning processes of communication activities considering aspects such as the source of communication, communication approaches and styles or involved actors. Chapter five refers to the outcomes of communication activities and to difficulties of measuring their impact on attitudes. Factors influencing the effect and the implementation of LRAs' communication activities are subject to chapter 6. Chapter seven presents two in-depth case studies: the cities of Münster and Weinheim. Chapter eight aims at respond to the question of what can be learned from the projects outcome and concludes on possible further steps.

### **3. Methodology and basic concept of 'attitudes'**

Implementing the AMICALL project in Germany, the European Forum for Migration Studies (EFMS) involved a variety of LRAs according to the criteria 'levels of governance' (e.g. municipalities, administrative districts (Landkreise), cities, federal Länder), 'types of migration profiles' (in terms of size, kind and history of migrant settlement), 'size' (from municipalities and small towns to large cities) and 'advancement of integration policies' (high or low level of development). Finally, 17 semi-structured expert interviews were carried out with representatives of 15

LRAs. Besides this, the German research team undertook literature reviews, document analyses (integration concepts), desk research and media analyses (newspaper articles on communication activities) to realize the research in Germany.

**Table 1: Local and regional authorities covered in the expert interviews**

<b>Municipalities</b>	<b>administrative districts</b>	<b>small/ medium sized cities</b>	<b>large cities</b>
Belm	Hersfeld-Rotenburg	Mühlheim am Main Neu-Isenburg Weinheim Schwäbisch Gmünd Bamberg Marburg	Paderborn Magdeburg Münster Wuppertal Bochum Essen München

Source: compiled by efms

On completion of field research, the technical workshop took place on October 25, 2011 in Offenbach/ Main. A total of 17 participants (including the research team from the efms) discussed the research findings at the event. The results of the workshop were considered in the Country research report Germany published in November 2011, which built the base for the national policy roundtable on February 6, 2012 in Berlin. Including the efms research team, 20 participants attended the second AMCIALL event.

As a core concept of the AMICALL project, attitudes refer to “an individual’s disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably to an object, person, institution, or event, or to any other discriminable aspect of the individual’s world. [...] The characteristic attribute of attitude is its evaluative (pro-con, positive-negative) dimension” (Ajzen 1989). They can be interpreted as tendencies to behave in a certain manner or as a preliminary stage to behaviour which might turn into action but could be omitted (Heckmann 1992 and efms 2011). There are three components of attitudes which respond differently to various influencing factors or measures: affective, cognitive and conative (behavioural) components (Rosenberg and Hovland 1960)<sup>6</sup>. Affect-based attitudes (feelings and emotions) that an individual associates with an attitude object, are usually stronger than cognitive or behavioural based attitudes because they are often connected with an individual’s value system and thus with self-conception and personality.

<sup>6</sup> The affective component refers to positive and/or negative feelings and emotions that an individual associates with an attitude object. The term cognition describes beliefs about positive and/or negative attributes of an attitude object. The conative component refers to behavioural inclinations, intentions, commitments and actions with respect to the attitude object. These three attitude components can also correlate with each other.

### **3. LRA activity**

An essential part of the project's research proposal was to identify LRAs' activities aimed at shaping attitudes of the resident population towards migrants as well as LRA communication strategies with the same objective. However, as field work results made evident, the two categories can hardly be distinguished in practice: According to the consulted LRAs' representatives, the shaping of attitudes towards migrants is an implicit goal of all integration activities. Moreover, the scope of the term "communication" was considered in a broad sense in the research approach. Therefore, referring to the Austrian communication scientist Paul Watzlawick (1969) who declared that no communication is impossible since all behaviour is communicative, any LRA activity in the field of migration and integration which is visible to the public sphere can be interpreted as communication towards the resident population. Consequently, in this broader sense the identified LRAs' activities can entirely be considered communication activities.

#### **3.1 Role of LRAs in relation to attitudes towards migrants**

The shaping of resident population's attitudes towards migrants and their integration rarely appears to be an explicit and strategic field of LRAs' integration activities in Germany. Although the majority of the consulted LRAs consider the informing of attitudes important, they are often discouraged by the complexity of dealing with this task. One LRAs' representative argued that since politicians had insisted for a long time that Germany was not a country of immigration, the resident population has been less likely to accept the reality of immigration. Thus, influencing attitudes is a task with little chance of quick success. It was also mentioned that working in the field of integration where most actors have very positive attitudes towards migrants results in underestimating the challenge of shaping attitudes of the general population.

Some LRAs' representatives emphasised that designating attitude change as an explicit objective of their activities could be problematic as people might take offence if they feel they are being judged by their attitudes. Consequently,, the willingness to participate in integration activities could be reduced and attitudes strengthened.

Nevertheless, the majority of LRAs stated that informing attitudes is a cross-cutting task and an implicit goal (besides others) for every integration measure. Often LRAs try to achieve attitude changes through small projects directed at specific target groups.

Several LRAs also emphasized that it would be a great advantage to initiate an internal process of intercultural opening within the LRAs' administrations and governmental institutions (see e.g. in depth-case study Münster). To set a good example appears to be a critical aspect of maximising the impact of activities on public attitudes. Another approach which LRAs pointed out to reduce negative attitudes towards migrants and to create openness for their integration policies, is to develop and establish a "welcoming culture" (Willkommenskultur) within the local

society. Therefore, communication towards the population and a determined communication strategy is necessary.

### 3.2 LRAs communication activities

It was found that LRAs in Germany are increasingly aware of the opportunities which communication activities towards the resident population provide in order to encourage openness and to promote integration. Apart from a few exceptions, communication as a strategic field of LRA action has been little developed and rarely institutionalised. LRAs named three reasons for disregarding communication as a specific field of integration policy: (1) Due to a relatively “young” integration policy in Germany, the awareness of the potential of communication for integration is only now beginning to increase (2) Lack of time and resources (3) Lack of knowledge and experience on how to elaborate this field of action. However, a high variety of numerous singular activities as well as some ‘timid’ approaches were revealed during the study. Communication activities can be systemised in different types of communication, such as “communication through media” and so called “face-to-face-communication”. In the following section, the developed categories and their respective communication activities are presented, including examples of promising practices. Subsequently, the objectives and target groups will be summarized and reviewed.

### 3.3 Typology of communication activities

As stated above, a high variety and amount of singular communication activities and timid strategic approaches were revealed. According to the consulted LRAs, each of their communication activities pursues the objective of influencing the attitudes of the resident population, but usually only as part of several objectives. The identified communication activities can broadly be differentiated into “**communication through media**” and “**face-to-face communication**”. A more detailed analysis of the first type uncovers three sub-categories of communication through media: public relation work, media relation work and self-publishing. Within the type of face-to-face communication another three sub-categories were identified: public processes and events, mediation processes and cooperation with media professionals and migrant organisations (see figure 2).

**Table 2: Typology of communication activities**

Communication through media	Face-to-face communication
<p><b>Public and press relations</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ to fulfil the ‘obligation to inform the public’</li> <li>▪ to make announcements</li> </ul>	<p><b>Public processes/ events</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ to establish intercultural contacts &amp; create possibilities for encounters</li> <li>▪ to enable political participation</li> <li>▪ to educate and raise public awareness</li> <li>▪ to strengthen a common local identity</li> </ul>



<p><b>Media relations</b> (e.g. campaigns, internet, radio, TV)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ to educate and raise public awareness</li> </ul>	<p><b>Cooperation with media professionals and migrant organisations</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ to increase awareness of balanced reporting</li> <li>▪ to enable migrant organisations to communicate towards the resident population</li> </ul>
<p><b>LRAs self-publishing</b></p>	<p><b>Mediation processes</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ to resolve conflicts and deal with crises</li> <li>▪ legitimate political activities and measures</li> </ul>

Source: compiled by efms

As will be discussed in more detail below, the above mentioned communication activities cannot always be clearly attributed to one communication type or sub-category, because LRAs often implement and combine activities of different communication categories. Besides, the definition of types is always a reduction of reality. However, the presented typology is meant to help LRAs in structuring the high varying number of existing communication activities, exploring this field of activity more strategically and reflecting on which activities are adequate for what (objective) and for whom (target groups) with regard to influencing attitudes towards migrants.

Since the AMICALL project is not a quantitative research project, it was not possible to carry out a comprehensive documentation of existing LRAs' communication activities in Germany. This report assumes that activities which are presented and described as results of the underlying field research in selected LRAs, also exist in other German LRAs which are not mentioned here. Thus, the communication activities described in the next chapters can be interpreted as exemplary for many activities in various other German LRAs.

### **Communication through media**

LRAs often use different types of media to inform the public and raise awareness of the issues of migration and integration. This type of communication mainly refers to the cognitive component of attitudes.

The most basic means all LRAs in the study are involved in are classic **press relation activities** such as press releases and articles in local newspapers and magazines which inform the public about migration and integration. They also use information sheets as well as flyers and posters to announce events and activities. This kind of communication is not continuous, but rather dependent on events. Although only a few LRAs seem to consider communication a continuous task, it was noted during the technical workshop discussion that communication on migration and integration should take place in a constant manner; especially in case of misunderstandings or communication problems.

Moreover, many LRAs use **media relation work** such as internet services, radio and TV reports, exhibitions or poster campaigns to educate and raise public awareness of the issues of migration and integration. Internet services are frequently used to provide information on migration and integration. Furthermore, some LRAs have developed internet platforms to inform the pub-

lic, especially migrant populations, about local integration policies. For instance, the city of Wuppertal and the city of Bochum are running internet portals, which provide information about services, language courses, integration activities, migrant associations and organisations or public institutions. Simultaneously, migrant organisations have the opportunity to advertise their activities and actors who work in local integration and act as multipliers in the public sphere. It also helps them to establish networks<sup>7</sup>. Besides, the simple provision of general information, the establishing and maintaining of internet services dealing with migration and integration can be understood as a form of communication. It reflects the relevance LRAs attach to the integration of migrants and, thus, may influence the attitudes of local residents. In the field of media relation work, some LRAs also try to inform the public and raise public awareness of migration and integration issues through media reports by local radio and television. This was mentioned by LRAs in the municipality of Belm, the cities of Bochum and Wuppertal and the administrative district of Hersfeld-Rotenburg.

Moreover, in Hersfeld-Rotenburg, a *hip-hop-film-shooting workshop* was organised to draw attention to the living situation of asylum seekers in the administrative district. Through media-pedagogical guidance, asylum seekers wrote a song and shot their own film. This film was published online on the social media platform YouTube, presented to the Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs and was shown at several places in the administrative district to reach a broad and diverse audience.

Communication campaigns (via posters, exhibitions or internet services etc.) which focus on specific issues of migration and integration are also used by LRAs to inform the attitudes of the public. This can be exemplified by the campaign "*be Berlininternational*" within the capital city's "*be Berlin*" campaign. The campaign aims at highlighting the city's diversity and giving a platform to (migrant) residents who are engaged in local integration work. The platform also has an appreciative element as projects which help to shape the city's culture are acknowledged. Since spring 2011, two large posters showing around 140 (migrant) residents of Berlin are presented at the national opera house, a very central location in the city. Moreover, short video-clips and information about the individual residents and background information are available on the campaign's website. Further means used by LRAs in order to shape attitudes towards migrants through media communication are exhibitions. For example in the city of Schwäbisch Gmünd, the touring exhibition "*Between coming, going...and then remaining – Immigrant workers in Germany 1955-1973*" (*Zwischen kommen, gehen... und doch bleiben – Gastarbeiter in Deutschland 1955-1973*) was presented, a project initiated by SWR International<sup>8</sup>. With the aim of

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<sup>7</sup> see [www.integration-in-wuppertal.de](http://www.integration-in-wuppertal.de) and [www.integrationsportal.bochum.de](http://www.integrationsportal.bochum.de)

<sup>8</sup> SWR International is a multicultural team of editors, reporters and anchor people at SWR Public Radio & TV in Stuttgart, Germany. SWR International works on intercultural issues, migration, refuge, asylum and international living, mobility, integration and cross-cultural communication. In addition, SWR International covers EU-related topics and covers activities of the United Nations.

providing a historical understanding of guest worker recruitment and reducing prejudices and cultural misunderstandings, the touring exhibition has been presented in many German cities. A second example for documenting immigration history is the exhibition “*We are also Wuppertal*” (Auch wir sind Wuppertal). Based on different biographies of migrant families, the exhibition raised awareness of the diversity of migrants and aimed at increasing tolerance for the migrant population.

One example of many other promising practices in the field of media relation work is the project “*Bundesmigrantinnen*” (Federal Migrants) initiated by ‘migrantas’, a group of female artists with a migration background. The project attempts to create positive attitudes towards migrants and tries to raise public awareness of migrants’ lived realities by creating pictograms (see box 1). Thus, besides the cognitive component of attitudes this project also refers to the affective component.

#### **Box 1: Bundesmigrantinnen (Federal Migrants)**

##### **“Bundesmigrantinnen– Bilder der Migration im öffentlichen Raum” (Federal Migrants - Images of Migration in the Public Sphere)<sup>9</sup>**

The initiative for the campaign was taken by ‘migrantas’ a group of female artists with a migration background. ‘Migrantas’ deals with issues of migration, identity and intercultural dialogue and combines tools of visual arts, graphic design and social sciences. Within the projects, various pictograms for a public poster campaign were designed. A selection of the pictograms was displayed in participating cities, either in the form of posters at bus stops or advertising columns, digital animations in subway-screens or free-cards in bars and cafés, flyers or shopping bags. All “migrantas”-projects ended with an exhibition to which all participants of the workshops, the public and press media were invited. The project wants to make migration and integration more visible in the public sphere in order to inform the population’s attitudes towards migrants. Thus “Bundesmigrantinnen” wants to promote understanding of and interest in the living situation of migrants in the (local) receiving society in order to sensitise the public and to initiate dialogues between the migrant and resident population.

The projects were supported and promoted by the cities that hosted the projects, the Federal Foreign Office, cultural foundations and sponsorships of companies and local migrant organisations.

A third sub-category which could be identified in the field of communication through media is **communication through self-publishing**, such as information brochures, magazines, books or data reports. These publications can either be used to communicate with the whole resident population in LRAs' areas or with specific target groups, especially the migrant population. For example, the city of Essen publishes a *health guide* (Essen.International – Gesundheitswegweiser für Migrantinnen und Migranten) to inform migrants about language and cul-

<sup>9</sup> Bundesmigrantinnen (federal migrants) – Images of migration in public space is a series of socio-cultural projects carried out by “Kollektiv migrantas” in several cities in all federal Länder in Germany. Kollektiv migrantas is based in Berlin and maintained by Marula Di Como, Florencia Young, and Irma Leinauer ([www.migrantas.org](http://www.migrantas.org)).

tural competencies of the local health institutions and to provide information on the health system. The city of Mühlheim/Main also publishes a special *guide for new residents* (Integrationsleitfaden für Zugewanderte) containing information about all areas of life such as housing, work, education and health as well as a list of contact persons and addresses.

An example of a promising practice by an LRA in the field of communication through self-publishing is the district newspaper “*Us in Belm*” (Wir in Belm) in the municipality of Belm which is directed at the whole resident population. This newspaper aims to improve the image and perception of a disadvantaged municipality district, called Belm-Powe (see box 2).

#### **Box 2: District newspaper „Us in Belm“**

##### **„Us in Belm“ – City District Newspaper/ Magazine from the redevelopment area Belm-Powe (Stadtteilzeitung aus den Sanierungsgebieten „Wir in Belm“)**

In 2002, the district newspaper was created to promote the image of the district Belm-Powe (a former NATO-settlement). Because of the high amount of migrants and bad structural conditions, the district struggled with social and spatial stigmatization. Thus, the newspaper aims at improving the district’s image by changing the public attitude and reducing stigmatization and prejudices. Through reports and images about different socially inclusive measures and residents of the district, but also with successful examples of integration, the district newspaper wants to show that positive integration is possible.

The district newspaper is published by the municipality of Belm in cooperation with the neighbourhood management of the district Belm-Powe and is financially supported by the federal Government of Lower Saxony and the programme *Socially integrative City*. It is free of charge in the whole municipality area and is published every three months.

The effect of the district newspaper is difficult to measure. However, a household survey conducted by the University of Osnabrück shows that the district newspaper is widely known and mainly considered a positive activity.

As mentioned above, LRAs frequently do not only use one kind of communication to inform public attitudes towards migrants and their integration, but often combine several types and means of communication. Moreover, research shows that definitive statements about the effects or impacts of media on attitudes and attitude change cannot be made (see Gidley 2011). It may be assumed that attitudes connected with an individual’s value system, in other words attitudes that are connected with one’s self-conception and personality can hardly be influenced by communication through media. On the other side, less identity-related attitudes and opinions about specific issues can be shaped by communication through media. However, the effect of this communication form mainly depends on what kinds of media people use and to what extent. The effect also depends on how media communication is processed and interpreted within interpersonal relationships and networks, like family, friends, colleagues, groups of regulars. Thus many effects of communication do not have direct impacts, but indirect effects through the reception and interpretation of the communicated contents within groups.

Because of the limited impact of communication through media, face-to-face communication is now considered a viable possibility for direct personalised contact when trying to shape attitudes towards migrants and their integration. However, workshop participants repeatedly stressed the importance of combining both media and face-to-face communication. The AMI-CALL field research showed that face-to-face communication plays an important role at the local level. This will be elaborated in more detail in the following section.

### **Face-to-face communication**

Similarly to the amount of different activities of communication through media, a variety of activities within the type of face-to-face communication was identified.

The term **public processes and events** describes the first and most important sub-category of face-to-face communication which includes activities that aim to establish intercultural contacts and create possibilities for encounters. They also attempt to enable political participation, to educate and raise public awareness and to strengthen a common local identity.

*Communication activities establishing intercultural contacts and creating possibilities for encounters* are organized to bring groups of different people together who usually do not have contact in every day life. Such communication activities mostly refer to the cognitive component of attitudes by 'humanizing' the other. Events like intercultural festivals, cooking, sport and cultural events, e.g. theatre or music performances, create the opportunity to change, often stereotypically characterized, perceptions of the other through personal contact and direct interpersonal experience (see efms 2011). But intercultural contacts also address the affective component of attitudes by bringing people together. Thus, this increases the chance to influence attitudes towards migrants in a positive way. Important for the success of communication activities establishing intercultural contacts and creating opportunities for encounters are that activities are cooperative and enjoyable, that encounters are multiple rather than singular, and that they build on common interests (see ibd.). Otherwise, as was pointed out by participants of the national policy roundtable, contacts might affect attitudes rather negatively.

Almost all of the consulted LRAs organize intercultural festivals every year which often last for several days or even weeks. Within these festivals, various cultural events, exhibitions, music performances and forums for dialogue take place. Moreover, many different international culinary specialities are offered. By creating opportunities to get to know different cultures, intercultural festivals reduce prejudices and raise mutual respect and tolerance for the other. However, according to some LRAs' representatives, these festivals should become more inclusive for the native population, so they can actively participate in the event rather than being a passive audience.

One important means to bring together people from different origins seems to be intercultural cooking. In several LRAs, joint cooking is a so called "door opener" to other cultures, because food connects people. When cooking or eating together, people have conversations about eat-

ing habits, recipes, ingredients and thus get to know each other better. For example in Mühlheim/Main, an *international breakfast for women* (Internationales Frauenfrühstück) takes place once a month. The LRA Magdeburg organises an *international cooking studio* (Internationales Kochstudio) every three weeks. Although this activity recently finished, the LRA is planning to renew it this year.

A promising example within the framework of AMICALL is the *International Marburg Soup Festival* (Internationales Marburger Suppenfest). Since 2005, the city of Marburg organises a soup festival in the city districts with high numbers of migrant populations (see box 3).

### **Box 3: International Marburg Soup Festival**

#### **International Marburg Soup Festival (Internationales Marburger Suppenfest)**

The project was initiated to create the opportunity of getting to know each other and meeting people of different origins through cooking. A core element of the festival are the written 'soup portraits'. These portraits contain information about the region or country where the soup comes from, memories the cook associates with the soup, the recipe and the name of the cook. Visitors of the soup festival receive a brochure containing the recipes and soup portraits. Therefore, an intercultural exchange is facilitated in which prejudices are abolished and mutual respect and tolerance are improved. The festival wants residents to move closer together, to better identify with their place of residence and district and to get a positive perception of their city.

The project is organized by a network cooperation between the city of Marburg and several local civil society associations and citizens' groups. The project is financially supported by the project *Culture & Cultures* (Kultur & Kulturen') within the nationwide program *Socially Integrative City*.

In the meantime, visitor numbers have increased up to 600 and residents from all over the city come to visit the festival. Furthermore, local media reports on the soup festival are very positive and the initiators of the project were honoured with the Socially Integrative City Award 2010 (Preis Soziale Stadt) in a nationwide competition.

Besides joint cooking and the organisation of intercultural festivals, inviting people over to private homes can be considered as a third possibility to establish intercultural contacts. In 2010, the project *Get together* (ZusammenSetzen – Projekt zur Begegnung der Religionen und Kulturen) was initiated as a joint project between the city of Wuppertal, the United Evangelical Mission, several mosque associations and representatives of other religions. The initial concept was to initiate encounters between families and persons from different religions and cultural backgrounds by getting together and thus providing an opportunity to get to know other ways of life and religious persuasions. The aim of the project is to talk with each other instead of talking about each other. People can reflect on their own perspectives and prejudices and can discover what they have in common with others and develop shared visions on peaceful coexistence in Wuppertal. The project has experienced great responses and the meetings are now combined with activities like trips on the nostalgic coach ("Kaiserwagen") of the Wuppertal ca-

ble railway. The project *Living Library* (Lebendige Bibliothek) is a further communication activity promoting intercultural contacts in the city of Wuppertal. Members of the public borrow a person rather than a book for forty-five minutes to find out more about their particular experiences. The 'persons-on-loan' come from diverse backgrounds. Several topics like social affairs, education, migration, religion, physical disability or ageing are contents of the *Living library*. This project aims at reducing prejudices, creating tolerance and mutual understanding.

In order to shape attitudes towards migrants, LRAs also implement and promote communication activities *enabling political participation*. These activities aim at activating the resident population to participate in local political discourses regarding migration and integration issues and to show social political commitment. Many of the consulted LRAs organize citizens' forums, local round tables or integration conferences at regular intervals where the resident population can get information about developments in the local integration work (integration measures, projects etc.) and integration policy processes. In some cases, residents can express desires and address problems regarding migration and integration in their city or district. Several LRAs involve actors from all areas dealing professionally with integration at the local level (administration, institutions, welfare organisations, migrant organisations, associations etc.) and citizens of the local population to create a participatory decision-making process in developing integration guidelines (e.g. city of Münster) or local integration concepts (e.g. city of Schwäbisch Gmünd). Further opportunities which enable political participation are the organisation of public events like the *Mile of Democracy* (Meile der Demokratie) in the city of Magdeburg. Once a year, this event is organized by the '*Bündnis gegen rechts*', an alliance of civil organisations and initiatives, trade unions, political parties and individual citizens supported by the city of Magdeburg against right-wing extremist aggression.

Further activities within the face-to-face communication sub-category of public processes and events refer to activities that mainly aim at *informing the public and raising awareness*. The consulted LRAs often use this kind of communication to deal with religious issues, but also with other topics in the field of migration and integration. These activities are mostly initiated by the cities' institutions which are responsible for integration, migrant associations and other local actors communicating the topic. For example in the city of Paderborn, a series of so-called *inter-religious city tours* (interreligiöse Stadtrundfahrten) is organised. As part of this activity, various churches and houses of worship open their doors for visitors, introduce their religion and conduct debates on religious issues. This activity aims at informing the resident population about the different religious beliefs, promoting mutual understanding and reducing stereotypes and prejudices. The annual fast-breaking *iftar* dinners during the Islamic month of *Ramadan* presents another possibility to provide information and to raise public awareness. For example, the mayor of the city of Wuppertal invites representatives of local muslim associations as well as muslim and non-muslim residents to celebrate the end of Ramadan with the fast-breaking *iftar* dinner. And in the city of Marburg, representatives of different religious communities es-

tablished a *religious roundtable*. In addition to internal discussion groups, several public activities like panel discussions are organized in cooperation with the city of Marburg.

An example for a promising LRA practice in face-to-face communication activities which aim at providing information to the public and raising awareness is the series of talks *Living Diversity – Talks about living together in the city of Neu-Isenburg* (Vielfalt leben – Isenburger Gespräche über das Miteinander in der Stadt). These talks deal with several topics of migration and integration (see box 4). Additionally, this activity tends to promote dialogue and contacts between the different population groups in Neu-Isenburg.

#### **Box 4: Living Diversity – Isenburg talks about living together in the city**

##### **Living Diversity – Isenburg talks about living together in the city („Vielfalt leben“ – Isenburger Gespräche über das Miteinander in der Stadt)**

The project was initiated in 2010 by the department for Integration and Diversity of the city of Neu-Isenburg as a reaction to the public debate about the controversial and polemic book “Germany resigns” (Deutschland schafft sich ab) by Thilo Sarrazin. The series of talks aimed at improving understanding for diversity, reducing prejudices through promotion of mutual understanding, and at exchanging and discovering similarities. The city’s Integration Commissioner initiated and moderated the events. Citizens with a migration background and representatives of local institutions and organisations were invited to take part in the dialogues and discussions and to share their experience and expertise in the field of migration and integration. Residents could get involved as audience members and discussion participants.

With an average number of participants of about 60 persons with and without a migration background, the public discussions attracted a relatively broad section of the public. The participants stated that, besides the gathering of information, it was valuable getting to know different aspects and opinions. Moreover, positive responses to the project by the general resident population, is evident in feedbacks to media reports, e.g. in form of letters to editors of local newspapers.

Activities which tend to *strengthen a common local identity* amongst the residential population present another way of communicating within the first communication sub-category. This kind of activity mainly refers to the affective component of attitudes. It is assumed that art and culture have high capabilities to create positive feelings towards hitherto disliked groups of residents (see Heckmann 1992 and efms 2011).

An example of promising practice regarding communication activities strengthening a common local identity is the project *Women of Münster – Cosmopolitan and Westfalian* (Münsters Frauen Weltgewand(t) und Westfälisch) which was initiated by the city of Münster in cooperation with a local school of design and a textile factory (see box 5). This communication activity combines art and (traditional) cultural elements in quite an innovative way.



### Box 5: Women of Münster – Cosmopolitan and Westfalian

#### Women of Münster – Cosmopolitan and Westfalian (Münsters Frauen Weltgewand(t) und Westfälisch)

The Münster project aimed to combine the traditional Westfalian fabrics produced in Münster with modern elements and traditional garments from different cultures to create new outfits. This project aimed to visualize the cultural diversity of the city in all its facets and to promote an intercultural dialogue between the city's residents and intercultural opening within society. The design students created the outfits in cooperation with migrant models who were from the region or country of origin of the garment. The presentation of the outfits took place in form of a fashion show. Pictures of the models and their outfits were taken and printed on cards. After the fashion show, a travelling exhibition showing the outfits and pictures was displayed in shop windows. A brochure was also published which contained all the pictures of the outfits and information on their origin.

The project was initiated by the Department of Migration and Intercultural Affairs in cooperation with the *School for fashion designers* (Schule für Modemacher). The fabrics were produced by the *Westfalian fabrics AG*.

According to the cooperation partners, the project received very good feedback from the public and reached a lot of people.

A second sub-category within the field of face-to-face communication is **cooperation with media professionals and migrant organisations**. Several LRAs consider communication about migration and integration a continuous task and therefore try to encourage constant media reporting on these issues. Therefore, cooperation between LRAs and media professionals is deemed essential to sensitise media professionals, raise their awareness about balanced reporting and the public use of images and pictures. Especially the latter often reinforce stereotypes. According to several LRAs, headings of newspaper articles may also convey negative messages even if not intended. Participants of the technical workshop further highlighted the necessity of considering how differing and partly unintended messages of media reporting can be determined and limited to avoid counteracting effects on attitudes.

Another deficit mentioned during the national policy roundtable is the low share of journalists and media professionals with a migration background in the German media landscape. Their special ability of contributing to attitude changes through cultural sensitive media production is seen to be limited. Improving the representation of migrants in the media may be subject to LRA cooperation activities with the media.

According to several LRAs' representatives, it is also important to enable migrant organisations and associations to communicate towards the resident population. Due to lacking German language skills, some organisations are not yet capable to write press releases in the quality accepted by the local and regional media. For this reason, several LRAs' representatives support and consult migrant organisations and associations in their public relation work and serve as a

bridge to the local media. Activities in this field aim at enabling migrant organisations to inform the public about their activities and internal processes. This way of communication may also have an influence on attitudes towards migrants.

**Mediation processes** can be described as the third sub-category of LRA face-to-face communication and may function in two directions. Firstly, the intention of mediation activities is to resolve conflicts, e.g. tensions in coexistence or constructions of religious buildings, and deal with crises. In some LRAs, e.g. in the city of Essen, specially trained intercultural mediators are appointed to solve neighbourhood conflicts and other disputes. However, it was noted in the workshop that communication at eye-level as well as confidence-building measures would need to be at the heart of mediation processes. If the frequent real problem, the discrimination of ethnic minorities, is not addressed, mediation processes can fail to solve the conflict. A detailed description of conflict-related communication activities and approaches can be found in the in-depth case study of the city of Weinheim (see chapter 7).

Additionally, mediation processes can be used to legitimate political activities and measures. This is evident in the city of Münster. Efforts are made to reach unanimous political decisions within the LRA, the Integration Advisory Council, other local political committees and civil society. This way of communication may lead to greater support of decisions and developments regarding migration and integration by the whole resident population of Münster (for detail see also chapter 7). Accordingly, it was emphasized in the policy roundtable discussion that mediation not only presents a useful strategy to react on conflicts but can also help to prevent them.

As can be seen, a wide range of activities and communication takes place in various places. According to some LRAs, the locations in which communication happens and their suitability to reach activities' objectives are of utmost importance.

### **3.4 Objectives of communication activities and target groups**

The definition of the activities' objectives and target groups are essential for selecting adequate communication activities. LRAs implement a wide range of communication activities in order to raise public awareness of migration and integration and to ensure an objective discussion of these issues. Furthermore, communication activities in this field of action aim at reducing fears and prejudices and promoting mutual understanding, respect and tolerance. All LRAs stated that communication activities which have the intention of shaping public attitudes provide opportunities to establish intercultural contacts and initiate dialogue processes. Moreover, such communication activities aim at fostering a positive image of migrants as part of society, encouraging a common local identity and facilitating peaceful co-existence between different groups of migrants and natives.

Although LRAs basically aim at reaching the whole residential population with their communication activities, they usually focus on specific target groups, e.g. families, youngsters, parents, children, landlords, or employers because each of these target groups require specific means

and styles of communication (especially in terms of language use). Considering the specific backgrounds and livelihoods of target group members was pointed out in workshop discussions to be a starting point of planning communication activities. In general, it appears to be difficult for LRAs to reach intended target groups whose attitudes they would most like to change. According to the majority of the LRAs' representatives which were consulted, a lack of interest, negative attitudes and selective use of media lead to low participation of the (native) resident population in activities and scarce use of existing offers.

Other important target groups of LRAs' communication activities are LRAs' administrations themselves as well as other authorities and institutions that manage integration, e.g. Job Centres, foreigner's offices or special migration services of welfare organisations. According to several LRAs' representatives, an internal process of communication (with heads of administration and political actors) and attitude changes are necessary first before communication with the public is possible. Thus some LRAs, e.g. Munich and Mühlheim/Main, initiated an intensive internal process of intercultural opening to set a good example for the resident population.

#### **4. Leadership and planning process**

This chapter focuses on the different elements regarding the leadership and planning processes of communication activities, namely the sources of communication, communication approaches and styles, actors involved in the planning and delivery of communication activities as well as knowledge exchange and the use of expert knowledge.

##### **Source of policy or practice**

The previous chapter dealt with target groups of communication activities. However, it is important to consider the source of communication, since the effect of communication depends on the reliability, prestige and attractiveness of the information source. Mayors, members of the city administration, city councillors or community representatives can be seen as communicators with certain degree of reliance and prestige. During the national policy roundtable, several LRA representatives also said that making integration a top-level issue of LRA administration, e.g. at the mayor's level, has a communicative character in itself. Members of civil society (e.g. representatives of social and economic life, athletes and artists) can also convey the image of being reliable.

LRA communication about migration and integration appears to be carried out through different channels and a lot of actors are involved in communication processes: LRAs' administration departments, local politicians, specialists, migrant organisations and organisations of the majority population. The main communicators with the public are integration commissioners of various departments responsible for integration. If mayors ascribe high relevance to the issue of migration and integration, they are also more likely to communicate these issues publicly or to

promote certain events. According to the LRAs which were investigated, all actors in their LRA who are involved in the topic of integration, such as administration and local politics, communicate consistently about migration and integration. They also agreed that a broad consensus on integration shared by key actors is essential for successful communication in the field of migration and integration.

With regard to the emergence of crises or conflicts, such as right-wing motivated crime, xenophobic or racist statements, LRAs often respond to such incidents in order to objectify backgrounds and to balance biased debates. Several LRAs attempt to thwart crises or conflicts with political means. Other LRAs try to resolve conflicts through personal contact in order to avoid expansion or intensification of crises in the public. In case of problematic media reporting, some LRAs persecute a strategy of non-reacting. According to these LRAs, publishing counter-statements may lead to an artificial maintenance of certain issues in the media. Experience has shown that after a while a topic usually disappears by itself.

### **Communication approach and communication style**

It was found that the self-determined profile of an LRA seems to be of significant importance for the communication with its resident population. The LRA's self-perception, e.g. Münster – the city of the Peace of Westphalia, Marburg – a place of diversity, or Magdeburg – an open-minded city, provides the background against which any communication in the LRA takes place.

Additionally, two communication approaches could be identified. The majority of the consulted LRAs adopt a positive potential-based approach emphasizing the potential of migration and the opportunities its necessity presents. Several other LRAs communicate a more holistic approach which emphasizes the profits of migration, but also mention challenges associated with migration and its increasing diversity. With respect to the rather balanced communication approach, it was agreed during the national policy roundtable that it has more credibility than the potential-based approaches. However, by addressing problems of migration and integration it can also cause and reinforce negative attitudes towards migrants. Policy roundtable participants, therefore, concluded that the value and potential of migration and cultural diversity should be more emphasized towards the public than the deficits.

LRAs usually do not use one specific style or manner of communication regarding migration and integration. Depending on the topic, the reason for communication or the manner of communication can either be rather objective or emotionally charged. For example, the communication style within the LRA administration is mainly rational. Positive examples of migrant integration tend to be presented in a way that raises emotions. Roundtable participants stressed the importance of communication's emotional component when trying to change attitudes towards migrants. Strategies and means should thus be developed with regard to people's emotions, e.g. through art, music, lyrics and handcraft. Altogether, LRAs try to convey their communicated messages as objectively and balanced as possible. As a crucial aspect of communication the

used language was mentioned during workshop discussion. Accordingly, language needs to be easily understandable and acceptable for everyone, since a complicated style of language discriminates less skilled persons in the access to information.

### **Implementation**

According to the LRAs, it is essential for communication activities to analyse the local context and issues it is connected with. It was also mentioned that it is of importance to anticipate possible reactions by the resident population in order to prevent or counter problems that may hinder the implementation of communication activities. Thus, a pro-active communication strategy seems to be essential for the promotion of positive attitudes. However, according to the outcome of the policy roundtable discussion anticipating potential disruptive factors is possible only to a certain degree. LRAs often would get surprised by events and messages on national level and such situations require reactive communication.

### **Involved actors**

Just as communication about migration and integration is carried out through different channels within the LRAs, various actors are involved in the planning and implementation of communication activities. Depending on the type of activity, the local administration (with its specific departments), the mayor, local politicians, the foreigners' advisory council or integration advisory council, welfare and migrant organisations, religious communities, schools or members of the resident population may be involved. LRAs with very limited financial and human resources attempt to mobilize as much resources as possible from outside the LRAs' administrations.

Therefore, the initiation of communication activities comes both from inside the LRAs (integration commissioner, coordinator for integration work, department for integration etc.) and from the outside. According to the consulted LRAs' representatives, new ideas and impulses from civil society are always appreciated and supported. Who takes the initiative for a communication activity also depends on the social sphere the activity is implemented in.

### **Knowledge exchange**

Although there exists a regular knowledge exchange and expanding networking between many LRAs with regard to integration and developments in integration work, the issue of attitude-related communication towards the resident population has scarcely been discussed yet. Only a few LRAs, e.g. the city of Essen, are planning to deal with communication and public relations work regarding migration and integration via inter-local networking.

### **Expert knowledge and evaluation**

The leadership and planning processes of communication activities also include external advice from communication experts and the evaluation of such activities. It was found that LRAs rarely

use advice from external communication experts regarding the contents of communication activities. According to several LRAs' representatives, there is no need for this kind of advice because they have the appropriate expertise in this field. LRAs rather use expert knowledge when it comes to the technical implementation of communication activities, e.g. the creation and layout of posters, flyers, brochures or magazines for which they hire professional graphic and media designers and photographers. According to the LRAs using this kind of expert knowledge, it saves time and effort as well as resources.

Problems with the evaluation of communication activities that aim at influencing attitudes towards migrants will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

## 5. Outcomes

With regard to the outcomes of communication activities which aim to influence attitudes towards migrants, none of the consulted LRAs undertook evaluations of activities and their outcomes. The majority of the LRAs' representatives stated that they have problems with measuring the effect of such activities. They also said that influencing public attitudes is a process which requires time. It is difficult for LRAs to define clear indicators which **measure the effect** of communication activities. Often LRAs can assess the effect of activities only through indicators based on experience, such as:

- Letters to editors, positive feedback from the public for communication activities
- responses within the LRA population
- local media reporting
- atmosphere at events
- personal contacts
- quantity, quality and continuity of participation in public processes (e.g. development of an integration concept) and activities
- developments in LRA institutions (intercultural openness)

Furthermore, in order to evaluate the effect of communication activities, data for various time periods (e.g. before the implementation of an activity and afterwards) is needed.

However, some LRAs mentioned that, even if they had indicators to measure the effect of communication activities on attitudes towards migrants, it would be difficult to determine **why attitudes change**. Various factors, not only communication activities, might influence and lead to attitude changes. Therefore, groups of reference are necessary.

Another issue related to the assessment of communication impact was brought to attention during the workshop: The political imperative of proving success and the difficulty of measuring

outcome involves the risk of reducing migrants to economic aspects. In that connection, the approach of “Social Return on Investment” was introduced as an adequate approach for assessing the social value projects and activities add to the society.

Some activities of the LRAs which were investigated were awarded prizes for their work in the field of integration – e.g. the Marburg Soup Festival within the nationwide programme “Social City” (Soziale Stadt) – which can cautiously be interpreted as a form of external evaluation. The municipality of Belm attempted to evaluate their activity by through a household survey in 2008 which collected data on attitude change within the resident population towards a

A further problem concerning the outcomes of LRAs' communication activities which aim at influencing attitudes refers to the **complex nature of attitudes** (see chapter 2.3 Definition and conceptualization of attitudes). As indicated earlier, attitudes are composed of affective, cognitive and conative (behavioural) components. Affect-based attitudes, referring to feelings and emotions an individual associates with an attitude object, are usually stronger and more difficult to change than cognitive or behavioural-based attitudes because they are often connected with an individual's value system and self-conception/personality. When trying to change attitudes, the source and strength of attitudes has to be taken into account. People with strongly prejudiced attitudes, e.g. xenophobia and racism, are often less receptive to measures (here communication activities) aiming at changing attitudes, whilst people who accept such measures have less prejudiced attitudes (see efms 2011). This also refers to the problem of accessibility of target groups and the mismatch between supply of and demand for communication activities which has been elaborated in chapter 3.2.2.

## 6. Factors influencing outcomes

When analysing communication activities with the intention of influencing attitudes it is also important to have a closer look at the context they are embedded in. Contextual factors at the local, regional or national level influence the outcomes of communication activities. However, the influence of contextual factors is apparent in all spheres of activity in the field of integration. With the help of expert interviews two types of influencing factors could be identified in the German case: firstly, factors influencing the effect of communication activities and secondly, factors influencing the implementation of communication activities.

### 6.1 Factors influencing the effect of communication activities

**National debates and discussions** on immigrant integration are an important factor influencing the effect of communication activities with the intention of changing attitudes. For example, Thilo Sarrazin's book “Germany resigns” set in motion a heated debate on immigration and integration of immigrants, especially of Muslims. This national discourse also had an impact on debates at the local level, partly counteracting communication activities aiming at improving

attitudes towards migrants. However, policy roundtable participants said that LRAs have possibilities to deal with national communication, which overlaps and affects negatively the local debates.

According to most LRAs' representatives, the **local media** play a conflicting role in forming attitudes towards migrants. While the majority of LRAs consider the cooperation with local media positive, some LRAs criticize local media for being too negative and polemic in their reporting on migrants and integration. Workshop participants emphasized the crucial role of local media in mediation processes, which can further heat up conflicts within the resident population. However, the effect of the media on shaping attitudes towards migrants is difficult to assess and cannot be clearly defined. It can be assumed that the reading public uses local and regional media reporting as a basis to form opinions. The question that could not be answered by LRAs is whether certain attitudes exist despite or because of the media. Several LRAs stated that sensitising media professionals for issues of migration and integration is an important precondition for successful cooperation and exchange between media and LRAs. In some cities, local media independently report on migration and integration and ask LRAs' representatives (e.g. integration commissioners) for expert opinions in order to objectively report on the subject. However, most local media reporting on migration and integration is triggered by certain events.

In the technical workshop and the policy roundtable the relevance of being aware of and implement **common communication structures and strategies** throughout local administrations was particularly stressed. As has been stated above, successful information of attitudes towards migrants, inter alia, depends of the consistency of messaging in a LRA.

Furthermore, **socio-spatial factors** can influence the effect of communication activities in relation to migration and integration. According to several LRAs' representatives, unemployment, different levels of education and the extent of negative attitudes towards migrants in different districts and neighbourhoods affect the success or failure of communication activities which have the intention of influencing public attitudes. The same communication activities in different LRAs' areas may have different outcomes.

Another influencing factor is the **mismatch between offers of and demand for communication activities** in the field of migration and integration. According to the statements of some LRAs' representatives, although suitable activities and initiatives exist, it is very difficult to reach the whole population of an LRA area. Specific target groups avoid such activities and some parts of the local population are just not interested in migration and integration issues.

## **6.2 Factors influencing the implementation of communication activities**

Two important factors influencing the implementation of communication activities are the **political and administrative organisation of integration within the LRA structures** as well as the **characteristics of local politics**. According to the LRAs' representatives interviewed for AMI-CALL, it is beneficial for the implementation of LRAs' communication activities when integration



is of high priority and has strong support from the heads of local government (e.g. mayors). A broad consensus on integration shared by all local parties is also of advantage for the implementation of communication activities at the local level. Several LRAs' representatives stated that political anxieties hinder the implementation of specific public communication activities on sensitive issues like mosque constructions.

Other influencing factors are **financial and personnel resources**. According to several LRAs' representatives, lacking financial support and adequate personnel limit the opportunities to be proactive or to promote communication activities which deal with migration and integration. Especially when local or regional household budgets are scarce, LRAs have to focus on selected policy issues. Topics considered less relevant are put aside. It should be noted that integration at the local level in Germany is voluntary which means expenditures in this area are also voluntary and therefore strongly scrutinised and examined. However, some LRAs define integration as obligatory and support this field of activity politically and financially as much as possible.

Furthermore, in the German context **different levels of government** and **varying legal structures in the federal *Länder*** lead to different conditions and possibilities for activities in the field of integration.

## 7. In-depth case studies

### 7.1 Communication strategy as an action field of local integration policy: The case of Münster

The city of Münster is located in the German federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia and has a total population of about 285,000 persons. About 21% (about 60,000 persons) have a migration background of which ethnic German immigrants present the largest group.

Integration policy in Münster is coordinated and implemented by the *Coordinating Department for Migration and Intercultural Affairs* (Koordinierungsstelle für Migration und Interkulturelle Angelegenheiten) which is located in the *Department of Social Affairs, Integration, Health, Environmental and Consumer Protection*. Since its establishment in 1999, the Coordinating Department works at the interface between the local *Council of Integration*, the *Foreigner's Council* and committees of the city. The strategic *guiding concept on migration* (Migrationsleitbild) adopted in 2004 forms the base of the current integration policy in Münster (Koordinierungsstelle Migration und Interkulturelle Angelegenheiten 2008).

Attitudes towards migrants constitute an explicit aspect of Münster's strategic integration policy: As defined in the *guiding concept on migration*, successful integration, inter alia, requires openness, respect for and recognition of different ways of life, the acceptance of migrants by the receiving society as well as decisive action against discrimination and racism. Integration policy in Münster is lead by various general principles regarding urban society. They comprise an overarching framework of ten specific areas of action (Koordinierungsstelle Migration und

Interkulturelle Angelegenheiten 2008). Accordingly, Münster's integration activities should contribute, inter alia, to

- Münster as an open-minded city
- An everyday life shaped by diversity
- Maintenance of social peace
- An urban society shaped by tolerance and respect

Communication is one instrument to shape attitudes. Therefore, the city of Münster pursues a communication strategy, which includes, but is not limited to, the action field of press relations and public relations. Moreover, the intercultural opening of the city's administration and mediation processes forms a relevant part of the comprehensive and multifaceted communication strategy.

**Press relations and public relations** are the core element of Münster's communication strategy in the area of migration and integration. Activities implemented within this field are lead by the key objective *„...to appropriately portray the realities of people with a migration background in public debates and in the media within the framework of our opportunities. Therefore, especially examples of successful integration shall be communicated to avert stigmatisations“* (Koordinierungsstelle Migration und Interkulturelle Angelegenheiten 2008 (own translation)).

Communication activities in the area of press relations and relations can be distinguished in the following areas:

**Media and press relations** with regional and local newspapers, radio stations and TV are continuously maintained to accomplish the obligation of municipalities to inform the public, for instance, on legislative developments at federal state or national level. Secondly, in terms of acknowledging the media's role in shaping norms and values of society and, thus, opinions, Münster cooperates with media professionals in order to achieve media reporting that transfers the city's "philosophy on integration" towards the public. Instead of deficits, potentials and competences of migrants are emphasized (see box 6).

#### **Box 6: Examples of press relation and media relation work**

**Article series: "How migrants live and work in Münster" (So leben und arbeiten Zuwanderer in Münster)**

Initiated by the press department of the newspaper Westphalia News (Westfälische Nachrichten) and the Coordinating Department for Migration and Intercultural Affairs, a series of newspaper articles were published in 2009. The series presented persons with a migration background who are contributing to the development of the city of Münster in different ways, e.g. by creating jobs or businesses.

**Article series and subsequent activities: "Cooking without frontiers" (Kochen ohne Grenzen)**

The newspaper *Westphalia News* (Westfälische Nachrichten), in cooperation with the Coordinating Department for Migration and Intercultural Affairs and a journalist, created an article series in which migrants present recipes from their country of origin. In 2012, the series will be published as a recipe book accompanied by cooking events at which the migrants involved in the article series will cook the recipes together with interested persons from Münster's resident population.

Furthermore, the objectives pursued by the action field press relations and public relations are accomplished by communication activities which constitute so-called **public processes**. Public processes are initiated to address special issues in the area of migration and integration, for instance, the participative development of the *guiding concept on migration* or of guidelines for admissions of specific migrant groups. Thus, Münster's population is invited to participate in activities which encourage political participation, information and education as well as a strong common local identity. Public processes, as a continuous principle, were introduced by Münster's successful refugee admission concept (see box 7).

#### **Box 7: Münster's refugee admission concept**

The refugee admission concept of the city of Münster was developed within a participative process including various local institutions such as political parties, the city's administration, integration commission, welfare organisations, associations and seniors representatives chaired by the Coordinating Department for Migration and Intercultural Affairs. It intends to improve the image of newly arriving people, in order to promote their integration and ensure social peace in the city. It mainly consists of urban planning and a public relation component as well as a set of integration measures.

Instead of accommodating the refugees in poorly maintained houses, every accommodation centre is newly built and located in a well-off housing area. The concept states that the external appearance of the buildings has to be adjusted to its environment. Moreover, each centre does not host more than a total of 50 persons divided in housing units of maximum 8 persons, which includes their own kitchen and sanitary facilities.

Through public processes, the resident population is involved in the admission process of the refugees. For instance, the neighbors of future accommodations are invited to participate in its planning process which often gives residents the opportunity to do voluntary work. Public events organized in districts are organised to inform the residents about individual fates of refugees and to respond to questions which are partly motivated by fears. According to the head of the Coordinating Department, it is crucial to initiate these exchanges face-to-face and not only through classical media. The public is also invited to the topping-out and opening ceremonies. Furthermore, the construction of refugee accommodations is accompanied by public relation work conducted by various actors, e.g. the city of Münster, local media and associations.

Another relevant component of the concept are the networks of volunteering work within the city districts, which support the caring for and integration of the refugees. Volunteers visit the accommodations and support the refugees in their everyday life.

**Intercultural opening of the city's administration** presents a second pillar of Münster's communication strategy aimed at shaping attitudes towards migrants. To contribute to an open local society, it is important to show and communicate that diversity is positive for society as a whole. This also has to be reflected in the administrative bodies of local, regional, federal and national authorities. Therefore, changes in Münster's administration are communicated towards the public.

Furthermore, the communication strategy rests on a third pillar: **mediation processes** which aim to achieve unanimous decisions by the city council, integration council and district administrations. This communication channel is located in discussion forums, politics and political, economic or social committees and enables information flows to the resident population, ensuring its participation. Because of this strategy, developments in the area of migration and integration are better understood and accepted by Münster's population.

## 7.2 Conflict-related communication: The case of Weinheim

The city of Weinheim is located in the German federal state of Baden-Württemberg and has about 43,000 inhabitants (as of March 2011). About 5,400 persons (12.5 %) are of a foreign nationality<sup>10</sup> originating from over 100 countries. The main countries of origin are Turkey (about 2000 persons), Spain (about 600 persons), Italy (about 400 persons) as well as areas of former Yugoslavia (about 460 persons) (Ausländerabteilung Weinheim online 2011).

Integration policy in Weinheim is structured in a rather fragmented and decentralised way. Integration activities are implemented by various actors of city administration and its partners, such as the *Bureau of Education* ('Bildungsbüro Weinheim'). The *Freudenberg Foundation*, created by residents, also significantly shapes local integration work by supporting numerous pilot projects. Due to the decentralized organisation of integration policy in Weinheim, attitudes are not an explicit or formalised area of action. However, achieving openness and tolerance towards migrants is a basic objective involved in each integration activity, according to the press spokesman of the City Weinheim. The actors in Weinheim consistently communicate on migration and integration since they pursue the same objectives in the field of integration: Creating openness and tolerance towards migrants as well as eliminating prejudices.

As stated above, Turkish nationals present the largest group of foreigners. In 1976, the Turkish-Islamic Association was founded in Weinheim and in 2002 the Association celebrated the inauguration of the *Türkiyem Mevlana Mosque*, which was built without a minaret due to protests by local residents (taz online 2011). In October 2007, the association was authorised to build a minaret, but only for the sake of its symbolic character and not for traditional usage such as the *call of the muezzin* (Europe News online 2010). Not long ago, a so-called **minaret conflict** arose from the constructions of stairs in the minaret.

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<sup>10</sup> Official statistics only reflect number and share of "foreigners" in the population of Weinheim. Data on the population with migration background is not available.

The type of communication which was used in the minaret conflict is an additional, event-driven kind of communication specifically addressing openness and tolerance of the inhabitants towards the Muslim population. A strategy aiming at solving the conflict was developed and implemented step by step by the former foreigner's commissioner of the city of Mannheim. At the request of the mayor of Weinheim and with the support of the Freudenberg Foundation, he mediated the conflict as an external expert. During the mediation process, it became evident that in addition to the building law aspect, a fundamental lack of trust was at the root of the conflict. Thus, in a second step, the communication strategy was adjusted to address the distrust of the Turkish-Islamic Association. The conflict-related communication strategy of Weinheim consists of two main successive elements:

### **(1) Mediation process**

Firstly, the parties of the conflict entered a dialogue as members of the newly established **minaret commission**. The objectives were to re-establish the trust between the people living around the mosque and the Muslims of the association and to resolve misunderstandings underlying the conflict, to strengthen mutual respect and tolerance and to improve integration (Minarett-Kommission 2010). Chaired by the mediator, representatives of the Turkish-Islamic Association, the construction authorities, each political group and an external consultant, an evangelical deacon, analyzed the conflict by setting the background for the unauthorised construction of the stairs. Furthermore, the minaret commission assessed the willingness of the parties to resolve the conflict (exclusion of populist interests in maintaining the conflict) and the options for solving the conflict. The building law component of the conflict was effectively addressed by the identification of mistakes in the approval and implementation of the planning process and its admission by the construction authorities, the architect and the mosque association. It was determined that the stairs were an integral part of the pre-fabricated minaret which completed the building law assessment. Moreover, the minaret commission determined the purpose of the minaret and ensured that it cannot be used in the future.

As outcome of the minaret commission, the mayor agreed on the proposal to hold an **information event**, in order to inform the public about the results of the minaret commission. The mosque association, the representative of the building authorities in charge of approving the building process for the minaret, city councillors from CDU, FDP, SPD, Grüne, neighbours and other people from the resident population participated in the event. The event was conceptualized as a forum for everyone: Critics as well as advocates were able to express their opinions. According to the mediator, the public acknowledgement of mistakes made by the representative of the building authorities and the announcement of working on a solution was an important step towards the mitigation of the emotionally charged conflict.

The mediation process was constantly accompanied by **communication through local media**, informing the public about the minaret commission's activities and outcomes. Prior to the final

event, the mediator had several exchanges with the editor-in-charge on the topic of fears and prejudices in order to stimulate reflections on balanced reporting in terms of headings, publishing comments and the role of the mosque in society. As a central aspect of communication through media, the mediator emphasized the “how” of communication: It is crucial that the wording of texts and speeches can easily be followed by all parts of the society.

## **(2) Dialogue Process**

In order to reduce distrust towards the Muslim population represented by the mosque association and to strengthen mutual understanding between the Muslim and non-Muslim population in Weinheim, the minaret commission decided to initiate a dialogue process. It is partly funded by the integration ministry of Baden-Württemberg and was directed at three main target groups: (1) the critics of the mosque association, (2) Turkish citizens who are often inhibited to contact outside their own population group, (3) and at the general resident population. The dialogue consists of four areas of action:

- 1) Inter-religious dialogue of the participants on similarities, differences, problems, points of conflict and potential approaches to resolving conflicts within meetings.
- 2) Involvement of external experts to address specific issues and questions from an objective and professional point of view.
- 3) Communication of activities and events of the dialogue process towards the public.
- 4) Support and qualification of the mosque association in the area of public relation work.

Since its start in June 2011, until today, 20 persons are regularly participating in the dialogue. The support and qualification of the mosque association’s public relation work is a special accompanying public relation task of the city administration of Weinheim. In order to reduce distrust and prejudice in the resident population, great relevance is attributed to the role of the association in providing public information about the occurrences and processes in the mosque. According to the underlying communication approach devised by the press spokesman, the communication of the mosque should occur on two levels: (1) Creating and showing an open attitude towards the non-Muslim population, which can be conveyed by multipliers. (2) Proactive communication of the mosque association includes the redesigning of the mosque’s website, press releases on every activity and events such, other press reporting such as examples of successful integration, provision of information brochures in the German language. Currently, due to a lack of German language skills, the association is not capable yet to write press releases in the quality accepted by the local and regional media. For this reason, the press spokesman of Weinheim, currently supports and consults their public relation work and helps to create activities which open up the mosque association towards the public.

## 8. Learning and conclusion

The apparent lack of a strategic overarching approach towards shaping attitudes towards migrants by communication, but also the large amount of rather singular communication activities carried out in German LRAs, lead to the conclusion that there is a necessity and a potential for developing a **basic model of a comprehensive communication strategy**. Field research outcomes in Germany cover a large variety of aspects of LRAs' communications. Systematically summarized, this could be translated into aspects of a communication strategy. The so called *Laswell formula* – a basic model of mass communication proposed by the US-American political and communication scientist Harold Dwight Laswell (1948) – allows to develop a first approach of a LRA communication strategy in the area of migration and integration: *Who says what in which channel to whom with what effect?* Accordingly, strategic communication should include reflection on (1) the communicator transmitting a message (2) the message/content of a communication (3) the medium used for transmitting the message (4) the target groups receiving the message (5) the effect of a communication. With respect to the findings on LRA communication, the formula has to be extended and complemented: Additionally to the medium of communication, component 3 also includes types of communication activities as well as frequency and style of communication. In this context, therefore, it will be labeled with the “how” of communication. (6) The spatial location as the “where” of communication presents a sixth component. Consequently, the extended formula appropriate to found a LRA communication strategy may be put a bit awkward as *who communicates how, what to whom, where and with what effect?*

### Who communicates ...

Strategic communication should involve a review and a plan on who is communicating and should communicate on migration and integration to the resident population. As has been shown, which persons, positions or bodies are communicating in LRAs in Germany depend on administrative structures and the priority ascribed to the integration of migrants by LRAs political leaders. Moreover, the relevance which is given to communication for successful integration is of importance. With respect to communication aiming at informing public attitudes towards migrants, the **consistency of communication** throughout the LRA regarding its messages and the **reliability and prestige of the communicators** should be considered. Especially in case of crises or conflicts, it is potentially of great importance who is communicating to achieve intended effects.

### ... how ...

The “how of communication” refers to a definite approach guiding the communication and the choice of appropriate means through which objectives defined in the approach may be achieved. Fundamentally, the scope of a communication strategy needs to be reflected and de-

fined in order to frame its content. As has been shown by the three in-depth case studies, communication strategies can concern the LRA as a whole (see in-depth case study Münster), but may also be limited to specific spatial areas (see in-depth case study Belm) or specific people (see in-depth case study Weinheim).

A **communication approach** should build on a **self-determined profile**, from which **general leading principles** regarding the local society can be derived as an overarching framework for integration and, thus, communication activities. In order to direct communication activities at the informing of attitudes, it is recommendable to define leading principles accordingly, e.g. local society shaped by tolerance and diversity. Similarly, more **precise objectives** linked to attitudes towards migrants should be integrated into the approach in order to concretely guide communication activities. The objectives may reflect the intended **frequency of communication**, e.g. continuous or event-driven, and the **underlying philosophy** such as the potential-based approach often pursued in Germany which emphasizes the potential of migrants as well as the opportunities related to migration and its necessity.

Conceptualizing a communication activity, **anticipatory considerations** about possible reactions by the resident population may be beneficial in preventing or countering problems with its implementation.

Another crucial component of the “how of communication” is the means of communication. It should be determined which **types of communication activities** are appropriate to achieve certain communication objectives: In a woodcutting manner, communication through media tends to be especially suitable to raise public awareness of and inform on the issues of migration and integration and, thus, objectify public opinion. In order to reduce stereotypes and prejudices, face-to-face communication, e.g. events to establish inter-cultural exchange and contact between different population groups, should be implemented. As comprehensive communication strategy, as a general rule, would apply both basic types of communication activities (see section 3.2.1).

Moreover, the **style of communication** has to be considered: Should the messages be transmitted emotionally or rationally? In Germany, the communication of positive examples of integration tends to be presented in an emotion-oriented way. Instead, background information on migration and integration are based on rational data and arguments, since LRA often aim at objectifying and balancing public debates and opinions. The wording of communication is another aspect of communication style. The linguistic style should be selected in a way that the intended target group is able to understand the messages. This often implies simple wording.

... **what ...**

Content and messages of communication derive from the “how of communication”: the self-determined profile, the leading principles, the more precise communication as well as the underlying philosophy. For instance, applying a potential-based approach, beneficiaries of migra-



tion and examples of successful integration should be subjects of communication. Furthermore, objective and balancing information on the topic of migration and integration can be a message of integration.

### **... to whom ...**

German LRAs are basically aiming at reaching the entire local resident population, but the **definition of sub-target groups** such as families, children or employers appears to be necessary in order to choose the appropriate means and style of communication. Thus, the direction and the intended target groups have to be reviewed. In general, **multipliers** should be involved in communication activities, in order to reach as many people as possible.

Depending on the individual definition of target groups, **opportunities of reaching** them have to be assessed. A decisive problem is the accessibility to residents with an adverse or critical attitude or opinion. Due to a lack of interest, negative attitudes and/or selective use of media, their participation in and perception of communication activities tend to be excluded from communication effects. Opportunities of reaching such target groups may be explored by further and more focused research.

As a special target group, LRAs' administrations were identified: Some LRAs consider it as inevitable to set a good example with the **intercultural opening of LRAs' administrations**. Accordingly, the claim to improve openness of the resident society towards migrants only achieves credibility if authorities are also changing. Thus, a comprehensive communication strategy, therefore, should not only focus on the public, but should also include the intercultural opening of the LRAs' administrations.

### **... where ...**

Strategic communication on migration and integration may also include the reflection of the spatial component of communication. Depending on the target groups, it has to be considered if it is reasonable to **communicate in a certain place** within the LRA area: is the place suitable in terms of accessibility to the intended target groups and transmission of specific messages. Thus, a communication strategy directed to the improvement of the image, for instance, of residents of a specific district, has to be carried out within and beyond the district borders.

### **... with what effect?**

Generally, it has to be taken into account that the possibilities of achieving a change in attitudes appear to differ according to the **source of attitudes**: Affect-based attitudes are more difficult to influence than cognitive-based or behavioural-based attitudes. In order to change affect-based attitudes, communication activities shall address feelings and emotions of the target group; cognitive-based attitudes may be informed by rational and convincing arguments and behavioural-based attitudes by behavioural measures.

With respect to the intended outcome of communication activities, it is sensible to be aware of possible **influencing factors**. German LRAs stated that **national debates and discussions** can counteract communication activities' effect on attitudes if they, for instance, appear to confirm existing stereotypes and prejudices. Accompanied by balancing communication by LRAs or by the media, national debates can achieve positive impacts in raising public awareness and dealing with the issue of migration and integration. **Local media** can promote or hinder the intended outcome of communication activities, which may depend on the willingness of media professionals to cooperate with LRA integration units as well as on the messages the media communicates independently towards the public. **Socio-spatial factors** such as the local economic situation or levels of education in the population have an influence on the forming of attitudes towards migrants and, therefore, also have an intermediary effect on communication activities outcome.

Since the changing of attitudes is a multi-factorial process which hardly can be reduced to the influence of communication activities, German LRAs tend to assess the outcome of their communication activities on the basis of experience rather than objective and measurable indicators. Due to the **difficulty of measuring outcomes** of communication activities on attitudes, LRAs often refrain from evaluations of their communication activities. None of the consulted German LRAs have evaluated their communication activities yet. As **experience based indicators** they indicated responses from the public on communication activities (e.g. letters to the editor, local media reporting or feedback through personal contacts) as well as the atmosphere at events, the quantity, quality and continuity of participation in public processes (e.g. development of an integration concept) may be used for assessing communication activities' success.

Complementary to the strategic approach of communication directed at changing the public's attitudes towards migrants, the field research outcome gives relevant insights into the **implementation of communication activities**. As a first introductory step, general **local conditions** in which a communication activity will be embedded in, e.g. local politics, demographic structure or existing integration and communication measures, should be considered. **Factors influencing implementation** relevant to German LRAs are the **political and administrative establishment of integration work** within an LRA and the **characteristics of local politics**. Depending on the priority ascribed to the integration of migrants within an LRA, the implementation of communication activities can be promoted or impeded. For instance, if integration is considered a matter of the LRAs' leaders, short paths of decision-making raises the capacity of action in this field. Moreover, consensus within the local politics and administration regarding migration and integration appears to be conducive for the implementation of communication activities. Another widely relevant factor which was mentioned by German LRAs are **financial and personnel resources** which can be invested in communication activities.

Building on the insights achieved by the AMICALL field research in Germany as well as against the background of the AMICALL project intending to support LRAs in approaching and imple-

menting communication activities, the following **suggestions for further exploration** are proposed: (1) Since, as a general rule, persons who show the least openness towards migrants, are the most challenging to reach by communication activities, **possibilities for reaching hardly accessible target groups** should be examined more closely. Thereby, LRAs may be able to raise the effects of their communication activities. (2) Furthermore, incomplete assessments and evaluations of communication activities' outcomes present another potential field of further exploration. A desirable result of such effort would be an **evaluation approach** allowing LRAs to review and adjust their communication activities. (3) As was demonstrated with the two in-depth case studies which presented examples of a comprehensive local and a conflict-related communication strategy, further **refinement concepts of LRAs' communication strategies** may include specifications deriving from special matters or circumstances.

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## Appendices

### Appendix 1: Expert interview guidelines

#### 1. General Context

Subject	Questions and notes of specification
Area of responsibility	Please give a short description of your position and your role within the LRA.
Integration policy	Please outline briefly the integration policy of the LRA. <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• political and institutional establishment</li><li>• main fields of activity</li></ul>

#### 2. Attitudes

Subject	Questions and notes of specification
	<i>We are interested in activities aiming at the resident population's attitudes towards migrants and their integration. The term resident population includes both the native population and residents with a migration background.</i>
resident population	How would you describe the situation of coexistence of your city's inhabitants? Have there been any issues?
LRA's role shaping attitudes	To what extent are openness and public attitudes explicit subjects in the field of the LRA's integration activity?
Activities	What is the range of activities the LRA is involved in which have the intention of influencing attitudes?

#### 3. Communication activities

Subject	Questions and notes of specification
	<i>In particular, we are interested in communication activities aiming at shaping attitudes of the resident population towards migrants and their integration.</i>
Communication about migration and integration/. Institutional establishment	Does the LRA communicate on migration and integration with the resident population? Who is communicating? Is communication on migration and integration institutionally established within the LRA? If so, please elaborate where it is anchored? When does communication take place?
Communication activities	What communication activities the LRA is engaged in? And what activities are explicitly aiming at influencing attitudes towards migrants and integration issues?

Communication strategy	Are the LRA's communication activities based on a certain concept or strategy?
Objectives	What are the objectives of the activities?
Communication approach	What are the activities' underlying guiding principles or adopted communication approaches (e.g. individualistic/collectivist approach, multi-cultural approach, citizenship approach)?
Contents/ key messages	What are the key messages? Is there consistency in the messages that are communicated across the different parts of the LRA?
Communication means and methods	How are the key messages conveyed? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• style (rational vs. emotional) / linguistic style</li> <li>• media channels and means</li> </ul> How does the LRA communicate in crisis?
Target groups	Who are the intended target groups?
Effect/ Impact	Do any indicators exist which are appropriate for measuring the activities' impacts on the attitudes of the resident population? When is a communication activity considered successful?

#### 4. Context of the communication activities

Subject	Questions and notes of specification
	<i>In this section we would like to focus on general conditions being important for the implementation of communication activities and to identify factors that could determine the effect such activities.</i>
Initiative/ cause	What led to the action being taken? Was there an issue or a crisis? Was the local media involved? If so, please explain to what extent.
Role of local media	How do local media report on migration and integration issues? How does the LRA react in cases of negative media reporting?
Actors involved/ civil society's involvement	Were civil society (e.g. citizens, migrants, organisations) and other actors involved in the planning and implementation of the communication activities? If so, please elaborate to what extent.
Initiators	Who initiated and promoted the communication activities (did the initiative come from inside or outside the LRA)? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• LRA staff members or other actors and institutions (e.g. citizens' initiatives, migrant organisations)?</li> </ul> Have there been any problems with regard to the implementation of the communication activities (e.g. political, financial or personnel issues)?

Influencing factors	<p>From your point of view, which factors can hinder or promote the implementation of communication activities?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• national context</li> <li>• political factors (e.g. reconciliation of political interests)</li> <li>• local media</li> </ul>
Professionalism	<p>Were any experts engaged in the planning and delivery of the communication (e.g. professional communication experts, PR professionals, mediators etc.)? If so, please elaborate who was involved and to what extent.</p>
Outcome	<p>Have outcomes of communication activities been evaluated by the LRA or subject of an external evaluation? If so, please elaborate what the main results were.</p>
Knowledge exchange	<p>Has there been any exchange of information and experiences on the topic of communication activities and public attitudes with other LRAs in Germany or internationally? If so, please elaborate what lessons could be drawn from it.</p>

## 5. Conclusion

Residual question	<p>Would you like to add anything?</p> <p>What are your wishes regarding the field of communication activities and shaping public attitudes in the future?</p>
	<p><i>We are at the end of our interview. Thank you very much for taking the time to answer our questions.</i></p>