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1. Abstract

The study of values in Europe, observable through the prism of welfare, consists of an examination of the values of various groups in the domain of welfare, e.g. in the expression and provision of ‘basic’ individual and group needs. The different values and practices of the majority and the minorities are a source of tension in the German society. German policy tries to direct the interaction between majority and minorities towards more cohesion and solidarity. At the same time it becomes more obvious that minority groups influence and challenge majority values. In the case of Schweinfurt, a medium-sized town with Roman Catholic and Protestant churches, as well as, with several minorities, we examine the majority and minority presence in the welfare sector and their social attitudes and practices. Focusing on values within the local society, the aim of the research is to gain insight into the value orientations and structures which lead to conflict and/or cohesion between and within groups. The case study focuses on three local minorities: the Protestant Free Churches, Muslims and ethnic Germans from the former USSR. Illustrating the different perspectives and views on welfare provision as well as conducting in-depth interview research both help enlighten the concept of human identity as a ‘core value’.

2. Presentation of the town

2.1 Introduction

One of the two German case studies in the WAVE project is conducted in Schweinfurt, a medium-sized town in lower Franconia (North-Bavaria). As an old industrial town it is a political and commercial centre for the Eastern part of this region. Schweinfurt has traditionally been Protestant, but in the context of a Roman Catholic Bavaria. The religious traditions, social structure and traditional economic structure have undergone crucial changes. In recent years, the town has seen fundamental demographical changes and has become multireligious and multicultural. Today, unemployment, changes in the economic situation and the consequences of migration are the major challenges of the town. The town has an established social welfare sector. In Schweinfurt the main welfare actors are the town, the Churches and the welfare organisations. Both of the majority Churches play an active role in the public welfare of Schweinfurt. To illustrate the local situation in Schweinfurt the case study research follows two questions:
1. Which values can be seen in examples of cohesion and/or conflict in the domain of welfare?
2. How are these values related to religion, majority-minority relations and/or gender, as well as, linked to a ‘core value’?

2.2 Presentation of the majority and the minority presence

Schweinfurt has 53,646 (as of 31.12.2006) inhabitants and 6,459 (as of 31.12.2006) foreigners. There are 7,286 ethnic Germans from the former USSR and approximate 2,500 immigrants from a Turkish background living in the town. Schweinfurt also accommodates a US military base with 11,000 – 12,000 soldiers and their family members.

According to the town clerk of integration counselling there are about 6,000 foreigners from 142 countries in Schweinfurt. Statistical data on ethnic (and national) minorities from 104 countries often include only small numbers. There are some large ethnic minority groups, the most important being from Turkey. There are also immigrants from Italy, Greece and Poland in Schweinfurt, as well as, refugees, ethnic Germans from the former USSR and American citizens.

Table 1: Ethnic groups with the highest percentage in Schweinfurt (Source: Town Schweinfurt statistics [31.12.2004])

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries of origin</th>
<th>Proportional percentage of foreigners (6,000 = 100%) among the population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrants:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>38,48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>11,18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>3,65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>2,75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refugees:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Serbia/Montenegro 7,12%
Macedonia 2,37%
Iraq 2,37%
Afghanistan 1,69%
Vietnam 1,63%
Bosnia/Herzegovina 1,45%

Ethnic Germans from the former USSR:
Russia (Russische Föderation) 4,89%
Kazakhstan 3,06%
Ukraine 1,97%

American citizens:
USA 3,12%


As a comparison, in December 31, 2004 the foreign population in Germany according to the German Federal Office of Migration and Refugees was as follows:

Table 2: German foreign population by nationality (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge 2004, 75).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries of origin</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>1,764,318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>548,194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia/Serbia and Montenegro</td>
<td>507,328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>315,989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>292,109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croatia</td>
<td>229,172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other States</td>
<td>3,060,005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All:</td>
<td>6,717,115</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another group to consider are immigrants with German passports from Eastern Europe, mainly from the former USSR. Since the end of the Cold War thousands of people of German origin have come to Germany. They have German passports and, therefore, are not included in the statistics on citizens with a foreign passport (cf. Biendarra/Leis 2008, 26f.).

The first waves of immigration towards Schweinfurt started in 1957 in accordance with the national migrant movements to Germany. Foreign workers were recruited for the expanding German industry until the closing down of factories in the 1990s which entailed problems, e.g. unemployment, social poverty and xenophobia. Work-related
immigration lasted until 23 November 1973 (when Germany stopped its recruitment of foreign workers). The number of immigrants increased in the years after 1973, when family members of immigrants moved to Germany, as part of family reunification, while the immigrant’s relatives came later on.

According to the German understanding of citizenship, the Germans who lived for centuries and generations in Eastern Germany are legally Germans who can choose to migrate to Germany at any time. This was regulated by West German laws after the Second World War which tried to provide for the German minority communities behind the Iron Curtain. In the former USSR in particular these communities were discriminated as a consequence of the war. In Germany the ‘Russian’ emigration factored relatively little into public discussion, until the breakdown of the USSR in 1989. After 1988 and the collapse of the Soviet Union a high number of ethnic Germans from the former USSR arrived in Germany.

Different denominational, religious, ethnic (and a few national) minorities can be found in Schweinfurt: not having their own parish in Schweinfurt, a few Old Catholic Christians live in Schweinfurt. Two of the Christian minority groups presented in the town are the Orthodox Christian Churches: the Greek Orthodox Christian Church based in one of the Roman-Catholic parishes in Schweinfurt, St. Anton and the Russian Orthodox Christian Church, whose new parish officially opened in November 2007. Furthermore there are six Protestant Free Churches (Freikirchen) in Schweinfurt: the Evangelisch-Freikirchliche Gemeinde (EFG) or Brüdergemeinschaft; the Evangelisch-Methodistische Gemeinde (EMK) or 'Methodists' with a more liberal orientation; the Christliches Glaubenszentrum, coming from the Biblische Gemeinde Schweinfurt e.V.', both charismatic Churches emerging from the Protestant Auferstehungskirche; the Christliche Gemeinde am Obertor or Freie Gemeinde, an evangelical Church; and the Freikirchliche Gemeinde Christen in Aktion' (CIA), also an evangelical Church with mostly American members. Some of them can be characterised as charismatic and evangelical movements, but there is no Pentecostal presence in the town.
Regarding other religious minorities in Schweinfurt, the Muslim minorities are the most important. There are four main mosque communities in Schweinfurt. Three of them have their own mosque in Schweinfurt. The umbrella association Milli Görüş (‘The National Vision’) [IGMG] is represented in the city through the mosque Fatih Cami. The most important German-Turkish cultural society in Germany, the Verband der Islamischen Kulturzentren (‘Association of Islamic Cultural Centers’) [VIKZ] affiliated with Sunni Islam, is nowadays called Islamischer Bildungs- und Integrationsverein (‘Islamic Education and Integration Association’) to indicate its education and integration orientation in Schweinfurt. A Turkish DITIB mosque called Merkez-Cami is also present in the city. The Turkish State has an influence on the DITIB mosques. The DITIB organisation is the largest national Turkish Muslim organisation in Schweinfurt (approx. 450-500 members, approximately 20 % of the Turkish population in Schweinfurt) and in Germany (approximately 80-90 % of the Turkish population in Germany). The progressive Alevits community has its own cultural association called Alevetisches Kulturzentrum e.V. (‘Alevits Cultural Centre’) [cf. Project report 'gerne daheim in Schweinfurt', 2007].

There is also a Jewish minority in Schweinfurt. Finally, a small Buddhist minority group can also be found in the town. Other religious communities include a Jehovah’s Witnesses’ assembly, a Seven days Adventists’ parish, as well as, other small new religious movements represented in Schweinfurt.

2.3. Presentation of the local welfare system

Role of local government

Town welfare support, services and projects

The welfare sector of Schweinfurt can be characterised by the local German social organisation structure. The town’s websites provide overviews of different local and social town hall departments, as well as, links to different social support groups,

The town hall has different departments, some of which are responsible for social matters and integration tasks. A range of town hall departments, e.g. the departments for social affairs, government office for youth welfare, as well as, the adult education centre and the local agenda, offer various welfare support services. In addition a social project called *gerne daheim in Schweinfurt* ('Happy at Home in Schweinfurt') is financed by the town (cf. Project report 'gerne daheim in Schweinfurt', 2007).

With regard to minorities the State offers special social provisions and support services to immigrants, emigrants, asylum seekers and refugees who have to apply in the town where they live. Among these groups there is a lack of language competence for them to be able to identify these services and unemployment is still an unresolved problem (cf. Biendarra/Leis-Peters 2008, 8). In addition to the above mentioned welfare support services of the State a social project called 'gerne daheim in Schweinfurt' is run by the town and attends to matters of integration, especially mutual solidarity and tolerance. It finances a range of integration services, for example, education and language courses, youth and social support, as well as, a counselling service for integration, where a Turkish woman is employed. The social project is a forum for common intercultural learning and integration. As a department of the town hall the adult education centre gives also emphasis on interreligious dialogue, integration matters and women’s’ support. Furthermore the local agenda in Schweinfurt is run by an urban head office staffed by volunteers. It is also responsible for other groups concerning their common future (see above). In the working groups the goals of sustainable development are connected to ecology, economics and social topics, e.g. intercultural and interreligious dialogue. The 'social service of Catholic women' (*Sozialdienst katholischer Frauen*) and the Protestant *Evangelischer Frauenbund* are also involved in the support of minorities, e.g. ethnic Germans from the former USSR.

**Role of Majority Church**
Church-related welfare

The Roman Catholic Church (44.14 % as of 31.12.2006) and the Protestant Church (29.23% as of 31.12.2006) are the main churches in Schweinfurt; they both offer diverse social services through welfare organisations and local parishes. There are nine Roman Catholic and eight Protestant parishes in the town with various social interests and involvements. Up to 26.63 % (as of 31.12.2006) of the German population in Schweinfurt do not belong to the Roman Catholic or Protestant Churches.

Church-related and independent welfare agents

There are five welfare organisations in Schweinfurt that are independent or run by the Church. The local welfare organisations are all connected to their national umbrella organisations and work together in a local working group called *Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Freien Wohlfahrtsverbände*.

There are five welfare organisations in Schweinfurt: the *Arbeiterwohlfahrt* (AWO) affiliated with social democrats, the *Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband* (DPW), the *Bayerisches Rotes Kreuz* (BRK) ('Red Cross') and the *Caritasverband* (CV) affiliated to the Roman Catholic Church and the *Diakonisches Werk* (DW) affiliated to the Protestant Churches.

Role of minority associations/networks

Denominational, religious and ethnic minority alternative networks

Approximately 100 cultural associations and choir groups can be found in the town. With regard to denominational minority networks in Schweinfurt there is no information available on the welfare activities of the Greek Orthodox and Russian Orthodox Christians. The Protestant Free Churches do not offer social services to everyone, but support their own members or have special institutions, e.g. the *Evangelisch-
Methodistische Gemeinde (EMK). An association called Levi e.V. located at Gut Kaltenhof in the area of Schweinfurt is a local social support institution of the Protestant and Free Churches (two houses for alcoholics and people with mental health problems). There is no visible social engagement of the new charismatic and evangelical movement in the town.

With regard to other religious minorities the mosque communities and other intercultural associations in the town have social networks and/or are involved in social areas; however no official information can be found. There is a broad range of social activities offered by the mosques for groups and individuals. For example, the Islamischer Bildungs- und Integrationsverein e.V. concentrates on the creation of a school and education centre in Schweinfurt. Furthermore there are the Eltern-Union parents engaged in children’s’ support, the Turkish social service association run by Graue Wölfe (‘grey wolves’) and the Horizont Bildungszentrum e.V (Horizont education centre) giving emphasis on language support and the Türkisch-Deutscher Kulturverein e.V. (Turkish-German cultural association) linked to the DITIB mosque and offering social and cultural activities. In addition the Albanisch-Deutscher Kulturverein Illira (Albanian-German cultural association Illira) and the Bati-Trakya e.V. of Greek Muslims is present in the town, but not involved in social matters. A literature club, Zaman, is newly established in Schweinfurt (cf. Project report 'gerne daheim in Schweinfurt', 2007).

The Jews living in Schweinfurt are mainly involved in spiritual practices and in welfare issues at the synagogue in Würzburg where the regional office of the Jewish welfare organisation, Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Jüdischen Gemeinde is located. The structure and tasks offering social support to Jews are similar to the German welfare organisations.

The small Buddhist minority group in Schweinfurt only meets for spiritual practices and is not engaged in welfare issues (cf. http://www.buddhismus-schweinfurt.de).

There is no observable social involvement of the new religious movements in Schweinfurt.
In addition to the public welfare services and the welfare services of the traditional welfare organisations, the ethnic Germans from the former USSR have their own cultural and social association, Russische Landsmannschaft, as well as, a self-organised project called Freundschaft ('Friendship') emphasising integration.

3. Context and timeframe

Regarding the national social context during the fieldwork, we have to note the violence as well as the rioting and small-scale terrorist acts that took place in Germany, especially by Muslim minorities. For example, in September 2007 the German security authorities arrested three terrorist suspects in the Sauerland region. They were accused of planning to carry out several bomb attacks (cf. http://www.bmi.bund.de/clin_012/nn_662928/Internet/Content/Nachrichten/Pressemitteilungen/2008/05/Verfassungsschutzbericht.html). In recent years, international Islamist terrorism has been perceived as a major threat to Germany’s internal security (cf. Brettfeld, Wetzels 2007).

The debate of Turkey’s entrance into the European Union is still ongoing, which has an impact on the relationship between the German population and the Turkish minority in the country.

Furthermore, the access and quality of education are publicly discussed in Germany. In comparison with other European countries, as the PISA studies have shown, the German results show that there are connections between educational levels, social class and migration background (cf. Hopmann 2007).

With regard to the health sector, in January 2007 the German State introduced new welfare legislation and in March 2007 the health reform that had been prepared over the last few years finally came into effect. Because of the German economic situation, social and health services have been reduced and new regulation structures for different social
sectors in order to improve efficiency have been introduced.

In the summer of 2007 two events influenced the political and social climate in Germany: The Muslim umbrella associations did not wish to participate in the national integration meeting in Berlin, criticising recent German migration policies. During the G8 Summit in Heiligendamm there was a great deal of disagreement on issues such as globalisation and poverty, the large gaps between north and south or between west and east, as well as the climate problems around the world.

These events and developments have affected the overall social, political and economic climate both in Germany and in the local town. Questions of religious and social integration of the Muslim population in Germany as well as the necessity of a long-term process of acceptance and communication between the German State and representatives of the Muslim population in Germany have been discussed more openly and frequently.

4. Methods and sources

4.1 Research focus and questions

Based on the assumption that the intangible concept of ‘values’ is understood best through the ways in which they are expressed and developed in practice, the case study research focuses according to the principles of the theoretical sampling (cf. Lamnek 1988/1995, 22) on the interaction of individuals as ideal types of minority associations/groups and their diverse value systems in different areas of welfare.

The case study is mainly based on individual informal conversations and on individual interviews structured by questions, namely focus and in-depth interviews that examine a range of both majority and minority ‘inside’ views of interviewees and ‘outside’ perspectives in the public area. The material presentation (section 5) and analysis (section 6) address two research questions:
1. Which values can be seen in examples of cohesion and/or conflict in the domain of welfare?
2. How are these values related to religion, majority-minority relations and/or gender, as well as, linked to a ‘core value’?

4.2 Methods and materials

The case study aims to bring light to the relationships between different factors in order to detect and examine typical situations and to get insight on the case as a whole. A qualitative case study follows three steps: first, the theoretical sampling, the choice of ideal types/figures and ways of action; second, the data collection, the triangulation of different qualitative methods to examine individual persons and social groups/parts using communicative techniques regarding real situations; and third, the material analysis, the development and formulation of theoretical concepts by describing ideal types and categories (cf. Lamnek 1988/1995, 4ff.).

In order to collect information from a diverse range of individuals, groups and settings in Schweinfurt a variety of methods were used in the case study. The research material was collected using document analysis, direct observation, informal conversations, and focus and in-depth interviews during the fieldwork (September 2006 – June 2007). In this way the risks that conclusions may reflect only the systematic biases or limitations of a specific method are reduced. This allows a better assessment of the validity and generality of the explanations which are to be developed.

The detailed methods for collecting and analysing the material are as follows:

1. Document analysis (documents, statistics, newsletters, etc.) to examine world views, attitudes and practices (especially religious, minority and gender related) of institutions, individuals, groups, and networks with regard to welfare and social support.
2. Direct observation, through visits in the municipality, the welfare institutions, the parishes and mosques, visits of events and services organised by them, visits of meetings
with individuals and groups.

3. Focus interviews with representatives of the municipality, the Churches and the welfare organisations, as well as, with leaders of minority social networks. During the interviews we asked respondents their specific experiences, perspectives and critical comments with special regard to majority or minority groups and their interactions.

4. In-depth interviews with official representatives of particular associations asking them for information on public, independent and church related welfare services, e.g. offered by the welfare organisations and by the parishes. Interviews with representatives of minority social networks are about the minority groups under study, their views and values, including their interactions with the majority welfare sector.

5. Qualitative network analysis, an approach of social sciences, referring to the social theory of James Samuel Coleman (1988; 1990), in order to examine the relationships and interactions between the social actors under study.

6. Qualitative content analysis in order to summarise the interviews and to categorise their main themes (cf. Mayring 1988; 1997; 2000; Biendarra 2005).

7. Intersectional theory approach to show if/how majority and/or minority cohesion and/or conflict oriented attitudes, practices and values are related to religion, majority-minority relation and/or gender, which are interactive factors and sometimes reinforcing each other (cf. Mc Call 2005).

4.3 Research sample

To examine the structure of the local welfare system and the majority churches’ social engagement with special regard to migrant and minority provision and services in Schweinfurt, we have focused on official representatives from the municipality, the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches and the local welfare organisations (focus interviews).

We interviewed individuals engaged in the welfare sector from the following (religious) minority associations and groups:
4. The Evangelisch-Methodistische Gemeinde (EMK), a Protestant Free Church.
5. Levi e.V., an association of the Protestant Church and the different connected to Protestant Free Churches.
6. Three of the four main Muslim groups present in Schweinfurt: DITIB, Milli Görüs and the Alevitischer Kulturverein e.V.
7. Russische Landsmannschaft e.V., the association of ethnic Germans from the former USSR.

The EMK and Levi e.V. have been selected because of their social engagement in the town, e.g. one of the two associations’ social support house is called 'Kaltenhof'.

We interviewed Muslim women representatives, volunteers and other individuals from three of the four main Muslim associations – DITIB, Milli Görüs and Alevitischer Kulturverein e.V.

Ethnic Germans from the former USSR have been examined mainly for two reasons: their migrant status and the fact that many of them came to Schweinfurt relatively recently and they are one of the large minority communities in the town.

In addition, it is interesting to study how the larger minority communities of Muslim immigrants and Germans from the former USSR actually use the existing welfare and counselling services for migrants.

4.4 Conversations and focus/in-depth interviews

The following table provides an overview of the conversation, focus and in-depth interview participants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Representative/volunteer individuals</th>
<th>Other individuals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Representative of the town social project (M)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare Organisations</td>
<td>- Representative (M) and volunteer (M) of the 'Agenda 21'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Representative of the DPW (F)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Mobile social workers (DW) (M8/1, M8/2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majority Christian Churches</td>
<td>- Roman Catholic dean (M1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Retired Protestant pastor (M)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denominational Minority Churches</td>
<td>- Pastor of the EMK (M3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Protestant Free Churches)</td>
<td>- Representative of Levi e.V. (M6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- EMK parish member (F19)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- 3 Kaltenhof clients (M20, M21, F22)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>- Representative (M11/2) executive committee member (M11/1) of DITIB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Executive committee member of the Fatih Cami mosque (M)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- German-Turkish association</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Deutsch-türischer Unternehmerverein e.V. (DTU) (M15)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Member of the Turkish Advisory Council on Foreigners (M9)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Muslim representative woman for integration (F5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Muslim volunteer woman from the executive committee of the intercultural women association (Interkulturelles Begegnungszentrum für Frauen / IBF) (no interview) (F)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Muslim volunteer woman from the executive committee of the Alevits’ association (Alevitischer Kulturverein e.V.) (F)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Germans from the former USSR</td>
<td>- Association president (M10/1) and social advisor (M10/2) of the Russische Landsman-schaft e.V.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Association president (F) of the Russische Landsmannschaft e.V. (no interview)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Volunteer woman from a self-organised project (F2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 ethnic German women from the former USSR (F)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The social actors in Schweinfurt have been mapped with the help of qualitative network analysis. The main themes of the interviews are summarised and categorised in the content analysis. Intersectionality is used to show how factors interact and sometimes reinforce each other.
5. Findings

The interviews in the case of Schweinfurt are summarised in the qualitative content analysis which is mainly focused on manifest content, namely, what the interviewees consciously and explicitly say. Further a classification of the data following certain empirical, as well as, theoretical points permit a structured description of the collected material offering representative interview examples and excerpts.

With regard to the research questions (section 4) the interviews deal with cohesion and/or conflict related to different minority interviewees’ values in five welfare areas: family, education, health, social care and employment. According to the analysis social mechanisms and communication factors are not directed to cohesion, nor to conflict, but to something in between. The different orientations of belief and action are presented in interview examples, which are connected to five welfare areas, and illustrated by concrete interview excerpts.

The material analysis (section 6) examines values which influence cohesion and/or conflict (between majority and minority and/or within minorities) in the interview examples, and asks if/how they are intersectionally related to religion, majority-minority relations and gender, as well as, linked to a ‘core value’.

Social cohesion is understood in two ways: reducing social inequalities and social exclusion, as well as, strengthening social relations (cf. Berger-Schmitt 2000, 4). Accordingly, social conflict refers to social inequalities, exclusion and misunderstandings in social relations.

5.1 Communication, mutual understanding and social cohesion

This chapter is mostly about the lack of communication, mutual understanding and social cohesion regarding and focusing the social care area, e. g. social provision and involvement, social support and services.
In a first interview example a Turkish member of the town Advisory Council on Foreigners (M9) emphasises cultural/religious diversity and the development of Muslim self-esteem in family, as well as, in society. Regarding conflict and tension between the majority population and his minority group he refers to misunderstandings in the communication and interaction between town representatives and migrant clients because of their different cultural backgrounds:

“Mostly there are misunderstandings, for example, let us take the Turkish society here, they may have been misunderstood because of the cultural diversity by local bureaucrats and then we go in to help to try to correct this with our German friends” (M9).

By ‘our German friends’ the interviewee refers to the German majority bureaucracy and its representatives in the town hall. He gives the following example to illustrate what he means:

“For instance, someone has to pass on some information, usually in written form, and he thought it is customary with Turkish people to call rather than to write like we do in Germany with signature and such. And someone calls someone else and asks for him to take some notes and this person writes something down that is incorrect and when this writing is being taken to the Government office then it can happen that the text is being misunderstood again. So it is simply the way of misunderstanding that can threaten a person to be thrown out of the country” (M9).

With regard to the mentioned communication problems the interviewee refers to the tasks of the Advisory Council on Foreigners – helping reduce social inequalities and social exclusion, as well as, strengthening social relations – and its importance for the development of social cohesion in the town:

“And why is there an office that helps foreigners? We are a bridge between migrants, who live in Schweinfurt and the various city offices. We try to solve the problems that
perhaps the city cannot solve and we try in a humane way to search for individual solutions” (M9).

In the interviewee’s eyes the town project called ‘gerne daheim in Schweinfurt’ has had no success, having adopted only a short-term point of view and not being really connected to the migrants:

“There is only vague information to explain where German-Russians and Turks can get together, but this is not enough. It is not a long term project, but sporadic and then nothing again. I feel this is not the right way. I observe that the process of integration does not work in this way, not like we imagine it anyhow and perhaps this is so with the city people. They are doing what they can on their side but for the moment it is not the right solution and a good way has not been found yet. And it is not enough to have support for a project” (M9).

In his eyes the town hall department has to take into account everyone’s culture regarding social equality and social inclusion. He emphasised support for developing the migrants’ self-esteem by taking into consideration and accepting their attitudes, practices and values:

“How these problems can be solved over time: the city offices have to become more sensitive with regard to each person’s culture. That is one thing and the other being that we called a feeling of self-esteem. How can this be done? I do not know, but it has something to do with education, with being able to accomplish something, maybe playing theatre. With other activities the self worth of children has to be raised, for the next generation. With other generations another approach may have to be found, perhaps by interaction between the local offices and the families. Thus, children can identify themselves with the city and this feeling of self worth has to come from the children. When there are problems with garbage collection, with the climate of political debates, where they are able to vote, they should not refrain from doing so. Also education is very important. The more education one has received the more a person is self assured, the
more one would venture to say one’s opinion, even in places where there are 100-150 people present. This is again connected with confidence in one’s abilities and self-esteem” (M9).

He underlines that a change of value orientation in the direction of cohesion will take time: for the first and second generation of Turkish migrants it is impossible, for the third difficult, but for the fourth there is a chance. The situation of this fourth generation is different because they are born and have grown up in Germany. For example, one interviewee (F14) points out that she feels at home in the country.

Describing several examples of cohesion and conflict in the interview he mentions self-esteem and confidence in society as two dimensions of values. Two solutions for supporting cohesion and cooperation from a migrants’ perspective may be:

8. the sensitisation of the town hall departments to the migrants’ different cultural backgrounds
9. the development of the migrants’ self-esteem through education and professional development, as well as, their integration in the German society

Emphasis is also placed on cultural, especially religious freedom as a source of cohesion in the society: “What I think is important also in a religious sense, is to each his own in faith” (M9).

Religion is a main dimension of cultural life, especially for the Muslim community. Because of religious freedom a coexistence of different religions is possible. In the religious area of Schweinfurt problems and tensions are often consequences of different understandings and prejudices. The role of religion in social cohesion is mentioned in the interview research. Both majority and minority groups are involved in social provision. But because of their different religious and cultural identity they do not have the same attitudes and experiences, which are often seen as a source of conflict and tension. The following interview example allows us to gain insight into the problematic points and indicates practices leading to cohesion.
Religion influences the whole of Muslim life and defines value orientations (‘professed values’ as well as ‘values in action’). Two representatives of the Muslim DITIB mosque give answers on the mosque’s (social) attitudes and practices.

One interviewee (M11/1) mentions the associations’ work as important for the Turkish Muslim community. With regard to his role in the DITIB mosque the other representative (M11/2) underlines his responsibility for the Turkish people in Schweinfurt. There are often visitors in the mosque and he is interested in a dialogue with the town, the Christian Churches and other town organisations. The interviewee mentions that there are few contacts between different mosques in the town. The described social services of the mosque include prayers, religious education, especially for children, and cultural activities. For children the mosque has a sports organisation and offers Koran lessons to them so they can learn Arabic prayers. The representative describes the mosque’s tasks as putting emphasis on religious education, as well as, on the development of solidarity, cohesion and respect:

“The first and foremost goal of this mosque is to be of service to Moslems. They can offer their prayers here. They can sit down and read. Young people can watch TV, and talk with each other which many find very helpful. On weekends children can come and we teach them about our religion. Besides we have events for school students, where they can come and visit our mosque. We give them an overview of our religion. Thus, we have common dialogues and contacts. Another important service is this, that when any major disaster strikes anywhere in the world we collect money and material gifts from people, no matter if the disaster has taken place in a Moslem country or in a Christian one. In the name of the State we send them this kind of aid and help. And outside of the mosque we conduct cultural activities, we visit the elderly and sick and all this belongs to our service and tasks. The more one gets to know each other the more respect is being generated” (M11/2).

The same representative says that Muslim women are creating their own Muslim
organisation. The mosque women cooperate with the town’s intercultural association, *Interkulturelles Begegnungszentrum für Frauen* (IBF). With regard to values, freedom, friendship, love, openness and dialogue are key words for him. In terms of financial support he mentions that the mosques only try to help in cases where the German State is unable to do so. He points out the good working relationship with representatives and institutions in the town, but also the prejudices of the Germans and the generalisations of the public media:

“In order to have more success, in order to meet one another with more charity and friendship, the more preconceived ideas have to be done away with. And this as far as the State is concerned, but also the general population. It makes me sad when I see in the media that Moslems and the Koran are being judged when a Moslem has done something wrong. This is a great mistake on the part of the media. And people with whom we want to have a dialogue also are being influenced by such stories. The doors are being shut. The media are the fourth most powerful might on earth. I wish this power would be enlisted for the power of charity and friendship” (M11/2).

It took us several attempts to obtain the presented interview with the Muslim representative. There were different *understandings* of what a *social network* is. On the Muslim side of the term ‘social’ means to meet each other and to spend time together as it was illustrated in the interview example. In a German perspective the concept of “social” is more structured, institutional and defined in official terms. With regard to the term ‘network’ the interviewee first thought of terrorism networks. In his eyes the mosque is not a social network, but a place to come and pray together. The described misunderstanding illustrates that understandings of cultural and religious identity, as well as, attitudes and practices are influenced by different value orientations. Communication factors are additional sources of conflict and tension. They also reflect the importance of cohesion and cooperation within the society.

In the examples mentioned above there is emphasis on communication, mutual understanding and social cohesion because of different cultural and religious
backgrounds. Several conflicts in social life are mentioned because of different understandings of social action and interaction between the majority and minority, as well as, within minorities themselves. Therefore, various social support services are needed to develop social cohesion through “the power of charity and friendship” (see M11/2).

5.2 Different definitions of family and women’s’ roles

Majority and minority interviewees mention the importance of the family in everyday life, also for generating values among the examined minority groups. The ideals of family and community can come into conflict with routines and tasks in German society.

The family orientation and structure of the Protestant minority Churches is illustrated by the example of a middle-aged woman from the Evangelisch-Methodistische Kirche (EMK) [F19] more involved in pastoral matters than in social support. She states that the parish is the place for her in-depth experiences with God and intensive personal contacts with parish members and other people. Spending time to meet people and to listen to them is important for her and encourages cohesion inside and outside her parish. The interviewee refers to the familiar character of the parish as a religious and social network. Further the pastor of the EMK in Schweinfurt (M3) emphasises gender equality: in this ‘Free Christian Church’, as well as, in his parish, women and men are viewed with the same dignity and rights as full-time and lay persons.

Regarding the Muslim culture and religion the family is the place of education, being the task of the woman. In the view of a representative of the Turkish minority community the importance of opening family life in order to develop the self-esteem and sense of responsibility among minorities is increasingly important:

“We now speak of the Turkish community. There the family is something special. It might be so in every community, but here it is even more true. This means the woman is untouchable and if there are any crises in the relationship they are not being shared with
outsiders. But the role of the woman is not so low as it might seem to outsiders. For example, we were there by 10 in the morning together with two teachers and a friend. We were together for an hour and wanted to do something together. So the teacher took his handy and called his wife and got the word that two hours would be alright. So I told the teacher, look here, Turkish men are not only Pachas and Machos. He has to ask his wife if he can stay out for two more hours. This example explains somehow what I mean. The role of the woman in the home is great” (M9).

This representative points out the importance of the family and women in generating basic as well as cohesion oriented values in the Muslim community and underlines a different view on gender equality to reduce conflict and tension:

“The role of the woman in the family is important. There is equality and the opinion of the wife is asked for. Only to the outsiders there is a playful trick because it is important to them. A Turk may say that he will not accept orders from his wife, that he is the one who holds the reins in his hand. The woman knows this is not true, but everyone knows that within their four walls things go differently from can be seen from the outside” (M9).

Furthermore, an interviewed Muslim woman (F14) mentions that in both majority and minority perspectives welfare is related to quality of life, but that there are also different views and values becoming more visible, with also many gaps in the social care area. A Muslim German woman, born in Schweinfurt and having Turkish immigrant parents, studies engineering. She is married and has two young children. She works for a school pupils’ homework service to earn money. She characterises her family, lifestyle and education as German. She puts emphasis on her Muslim faith for everyday life. In her eyes the family is responsible for the religious education of her children. With regard to welfare and social support by the German State she only uses support for living (Wohngeld: financial support from the German State for living costs depending on income) and education (Bafög: financial support from the German State for German students depending on several factors, e.g. parents income). She is not involved in any social volunteering. She describes her way of children’s education, based more on
feelings and love, than on rules and strength. She also feels responsible for the further education of her children preferring the Montessori system. She wants her children to speak German and Turkish mentioning this as an important qualification. Therefore, she is sad that most of the Muslim pupils are generally seen as weak in German schools. She and her husband both pray and give money to the poor to fulfil their religious responsibility. In the interview she regrets that many Germans have prejudices towards the Muslim faith and life, especially after the 11th September 2001 attacks: Muslims are often seen as dangerous and fanatic by the majority. She mentions cooperation, as well as, conflict between the majority population, e.g. the town representatives, the churches, and the different national and religious minority groups. She describes several activities and initiatives in the social care area, e.g. the interreligious dialogue movement and intercultural events. She also gives some examples of discrimination and provocation, e.g. with regard to wearing a veil and having her own way of dressing as a Muslim woman being a symbol of her human identity:

“Yes, this is what is hurting. I feel here like home, I just feel this way. I love this country. Therefore, I tell you as any German would do, I love Germany. No question. And I could not live anywhere else. But then people question why I wear a headscarf. They say I want to bring Islam to Germany. No, I want this country the way it is. There are mistakes being made in politics. But where are there no mistakes being made? There are mistakes in the system, but where are they not to be found? But generally speaking I love this country” (F14).

She describes herself as well integrated but believes that integration is not enough: in her opinion a new consciousness of cultural difference and living together is needed:

“As far as Turkish people are concerned we feel differently from Europeans. When the glass is half full we say so. We always see the positive in things. Germans say, the glass is half empty. It is the same glass and the same amount. But it is viewed from another angle. That really is so. It is the German mentality” (F14).
To show that one biography is not like another one more individual life plan example of a Turkish Muslim woman (F5) employed by the town and being responsible for integration support, especially with regard to Turkish and Muslim immigrants, is to add:

In the interview she emphasizes that she does not wear a headscarf to show her progressive perspective. Employed by and responsible for the integration project of the town she offers comments of her experience with regard to migrant work and explains the institutional background of her employment: working for a lawyer at first she was involved in migrant support as a volunteer. She then became the manager of the 'Ausländerbeirat' in the town hall before being hired to coordinate the town’s integration project. She describes her main personal and official interests with the word “support” and offers some examples of her involvement: children’s’ education projects, journeys with migrants, especially Muslim women, and integration language courses. She says that recognition, understanding and emotional commitment are very important for her work, which she calls “social work in practice”. In her view “welfare” means “good life” and has different dimensions: financial support, administrative and personal counselling, education possibilities etc. With regard to her integration work she underscores the importance of cooperation between the representatives of the town, individuals in social and other welfare areas, institutions or organisations. In her eyes these relationships support the cohesion in the town. She emphasises conflicts between and within the Muslim communities, especially with regard to women. Furthermore, she mentions the Muslim men’s problematic focus and interpretation of “honour”.

In comparison the first life plan example offers more insight into Muslim private life, while the second illustrates many institutional aspects of a Muslim woman’s employment.

The Roman-Catholic dean (M1) who is the priest of a local parish, where the Germans from the former USSR are the majority, has the impression that the family is also important for this minority group according to its cultural tradition and lifestyle in Germany. The family also encourages cohesion from generation to generation.
In conclusion, there are differences in the definition of family and women’s’ roles according to different minority perspectives, individual life experiences and cultural traditions. Prejudices in attitudes influence practices and can cause conflicts. Furthermore, the family and a woman’s role are defined in different ways between the majority and the minorities, but in both cases they are seen as an important factor for social cohesion.

5.3 Education and language support, but for whom?

The opportunity of education is mentioned both by the majority and the selected minorities. The importance of language and equal access to education is emphasised regarding social cohesion. Town officials, welfare organisations, as well as, minority associations try to encourage public education institutions to develop integration and language training programmes. Many language courses and other education opportunities are offered in Schweinfurt, but there is little demand from minority groups. According to the interview research, they do not see the need for these and they do not have the motivation to learn German. On the minority side the Muslim main education institutions are the mosque and in this type of welfare area the family is important for both the Muslim community and the Germans from the former USSR as mentioned above.

The ethnic Germans from the former USSR put emphasis on language competence as a basis for self confidence and quality of life in Germany, as well as, for integration, which are mentioned by the interviewees as main value reference points. In a project called 'Friendship' (Freundschaft) one woman from this minority group (F2) works with other Germans from the former USSR and majority Germans, as well as, with the town hall and other networks in the part of the town where herself and many other Germans from the former USSR live (Deutschhof); it is an example of social cooperation in the town. She speaks of the importance of integration through different social support services, e. g. education opportunities:

“Yes, we in the ‘Friendship’ project are still active. Many measures are still valid. We
are active in various ways. We have a language course which is running over one year already and we are a good group of people there. We have found very good teachers for the German language for little remuneration, it runs by itself. Only recently we started a very original language course with an action program, be it walking tours, excursions, simple German conversation at the table. This was our idea, it came also from Mr. .... He is the leader of our project here in Schweinfurt. I find it simply super. The men among the refugees also need support, because many are at home, without work and without adequate knowledge of the German language they cannot advance in any way. So we thought we would make a roundtable discussion at the elementary school where we would also correct homework. We now have two groups with emphasis on German as a support and we have four teachers. This can also be a task and furthermore we have organised two concerts here at the ‘Deutschhof’” (F2).

But she mentions the problem that often there is no motivation from the Germans from the former USSR to use these services and to become independent:

“All our efforts we have divided in five sections in Schweinfurt. First, language courses and then also some in events, Lutheran or Catholic events.... And I must admit the motivation on the side of the participants it not overwhelming. There are arguments with which I cannot agree at all” (F2).

For example, they ask why they have to learn the German language if they have no chance to find work in the country. Furthermore, it is not necessary to speak German because there are many Germans from the former USSR living in Schweinfurt who speak Russian.

She described herself as an idealistic person feeling responsible for society and everyone’s “positive feeling”:

“Yes, I tell you frankly this is idealism, something that one simply has. Social responsibility is what I say. That is where everyone carries his own part, even if perhaps
not everyone can attend. Many do not have all good feelings, I feel. The positive feelings here in Schweinfurt help to bring out other feelings as well. When we are being asked why do these people come to Germany, we cannot explain this to all, that we have to accept. But there are also many people who can understand the plight of others and they can change their opinion. I still hope” (F2).

In her eyes welfare means, not only public social support, but also giving human beings a feeling of a better life, which is possible through other means:

“This word [welfare] means to me welfare in social support. However, to me this means to help bring to people a positive feeling that things can get better. All these organisations are trying to convey these positive feelings” (F2).

Interviews with other representatives of the Germans from the former USSR also refer to the mentioned gap between social provision and minority demand. The association 'Friendship' (Freundschaft) aims to support social cohesion and cooperation in the town, but problematic points appear, e.g. language support is offered, but there are very few takers. In addition, a gap between supply and demand is also evident with regard to other educational matters. Furthermore, there is the question of social responsibility that is understood in different ways.

With regard to the education sector an interview with the two mobile social workers (M8/1, M8/2) based at 'Haus Marienthal', a social support house of the Protestant 'Diakonie', describes their involvement in youth work. They work in two parts of the town: one with a high number of Russian emigrants called 'Deutschhof' and one with German and Turkish populations, called 'Gartenstadt'. Before one of the mobile social workers began to work, the young people often came together at several town places in high numbers. These meetings often caused conflicts between the minorities groups and the majority population. During the first months of the mobile social workers’ employment they needed time to become familiar with the Russian, Muslim and German youth present in the different town parts. The mobile social workers mention that most of
their clients are male, but sometimes they succeed in supporting young Russian women to have some “free space” at home and to do what they want. With regard to Muslim young women they point out that they are not present in the streets. Most of them have to stay at home so offering personal or social support is not possible.

In the eyes of mobile social workers the Russian and Muslim families are the initial social networks and educational references; for the Muslims there are also the mosques and for the Russians their cultural associations. The mobile social workers emphasise the protection of their different young clients’ interests, especially with regard to administrative matters. The underlying values of their work are “solidarity, respect, cohesion and openness”. The mobile social workers pointed out that it is very important to go to the (young) people they work for. In conclusion they emphasise their added role in school education.

5.4 Individual and alternative health care

Regarding the health care sector the interviews indicate that there is a gap between the ideal picture and the real situation. On the one hand, emphasis is placed on belonging, on the other hand, the lack of health care possibilities is mentioned.

In the area of health, the support of the Haus Kaltenhof, one of two social support houses of the Protestant social association ‘Levi e.V.’, is an example of a minority support initiative, which is related to factors such as, e.g. faith, community and work. The house is an initiative of different ‘Free Christian Churches’ supported by the Protestant Church and the independent welfare organisation Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband (DPW).

An interviewed representative from the Haus Kaltenhof (M6) mentions the everyday life of both the mentally ill clients and the employees and volunteers working there together and looking after the clients’ individual development. He points out that they exist and live from donations and money they earn from their own work, which has also a therapeutic dimension. He mentions religion as a basic and observable value expressed in
the association’s aims and practice, e.g. everyday prayers or employment only for Christians:

“The religious aspect is more of a background. We have informative meetings, we have a brochure with information where it says that this is a Christian institution. We have devotions, table prayers, etc. and it is understood that we talk about God here and when one goes along with that it is ok. Even if a man entertains Buddhist thoughts, that is his choice, but he has agreed to go along” (M6).

“It is important on the side of co-workers that they are practicing Christians”. (M6).

In the representative’s eyes religion is fundamental for the social work because it helps people to focus on their value as human beings: “Our clients come mostly from psychiatric clinics where people have experienced a crisis and had to go into a clinic. And the social workers first ask the question of how did a person get there and why?” (M6).

Furthermore, he mentions everyday conflicts between clients, employers and volunteers, but he also puts emphasis on contacts with the Protestant parishes. The religious dimension of health care is also mentioned in three interviews with clients of the support house and it is connected to their real life situations. Two of the three clients of the Haus Kaltenhof tell their individual life stories, as well as, their different ways of coming to this Protestant social support institution:

One client (F22) is a single woman born in 1957. She says that she found God in her illness. Her religious conversion has completely changed her life. In her eyes God has led her to this religious house and has given her the strength to become healthy. In the future she will go to France where her family lives.

Another client (M21), a single man of fifty-four years, was a construction worker before he became psychologically ill. The Haus Kaltenhof gave him new faith and opened life
perspectives. Living together in the *Haus Kaltenhof*, he will no longer live alone, not knowing how to make things work:

“It is good that one is among people and has a firm daily structure. And as we have said it is not a lonely situation like the one in which I have lived before. And for all practical purposes I cannot be alone” (F21).

A third client of the *Haus Kaltenhof* (M20), a farmer born in 1953, has a family of two adult children. He repeats the short sentence “it will not become better”. These words show his physical condition and his broken family social situation. In the interview he does not see a way to become healthy again after a year staying at *Haus Kaltenhof*. But he also mentions that religion still matters to him and his life.

In the interviews the clients mention faith, community and work as factors of health and values in their life. With regard to the religious and individual support and value orientation of the *Haus Kaltenhof* they give positive feedback. But they also mention some inner tension in daily life. As one client mentions the majority can learn from this health practice run by a minority community.

“Yes, I feel there should be more institutions like this and better funded by the State. I mean there are many people who are lonesome as the situation is, there is depression and many do not know where to turn to. Now we can say that there are not enough facilities of this kind and they need better support. It is my opinion that there should be better funding and more support given by the State. This is my opinion. I am here now one year. I have not been to a clinic since I am here, whereas before I went to clinics more often. And if there were more facilities more people could be helped. And in doing so the State would not have to help so much. Hospital and clinic stays are very expensive” (M21).

The interview excerpts emphasise the need for individual support in the health sector. The presented institution is an example of alternative health care based on the cooperation between different Protestant denominational minority groups. Regarding
access to health care there are “the questions on how did a person get there and why” (see M6) and on “facilities of this kind [of alternative health care]” (see M21). The recent conflicts on health care quality and costs in the German society, as well as, on the value of alternative institutions and cooperation are evident here. This institution is filling a gap among socially vulnerable people, which the official/public German health care system does not cover: generally, when checked out from the clinic, people with mental diseases are expected to keep going, living on their own (with some help by the counselling services). But of course they do not always manage to do so. In this respect this institution - which is the initiative of a minority group - fills the gap.

5.5 Employment as a basis for identity and integration

The president of an a German-Turkish association and a social advisor of the Russische Landsmannschaft both emphasise the importance of employment because work is a basic factor of identity related to individual life and social community. With regard to quality of life the financial aspect of employment is also mentioned, as well as, the high number of unemployed migrants in Germany.

In 2006 there were 2,843 unemployed persons (2,110 German inhabitants, 733 foreigners) (cf. http://www.schweinfurt.de). The German State supported unemployed migrants for example by arranging language and education courses, as well as, social and financial support (cf. Project report 'gerne daheim in Schweinfurt', 2007).

With regard to employment and work there are differences in the minorities’ life stories and value orientations.

The president of the German-Turkish association Deutsch-türkischer Unternehmerverein e.V (‘German-Turkish Company Association’) [M15] mentions that he feels financially and socially responsible in the German society. Regarding integration he emphasises respect, solidarity and tolerance between different cultural and religious attitudes, practices and values and mentions openness as a basis for cooperation and cohesion.
Furthermore, he sees a relation between one’s own acts and the reactions of others. He is against the use of force and looks for a “middle way”. With regard to welfare he wants a “good life for all”.

The president (M10/1) and the social advisor of the Russische Landsmannschaft (M10/2) were asked for both their personal view of themselves as Germans from the former USSR in Germany and their involvement as volunteers in their cultural association. The social advisor, a former teacher in Kyrgyzstan who came to Germany in 1993, distinguished between two groups of Germans from the former USSR: “academics” and “workers”. The “academics” are not really able to integrate well because they do not find any employment in their field. He pointed out what is indirectly mentioned in other interviews. The “workers” are mostly satisfied today because they have been employed for a long time, thus, having a higher quality of life than in their countries of origin. The first generation of Germans from the former USSR had a higher education and motivation to integrate and learn German when they came to Germany, than the second generation for whom the German social situation has changed in the last years in ways that they do not agree with. This impression is evident in several interviews. The interviewees put emphasis on the cultural and social support of the Russische Landsmannschaft which aims to provide a “feeling at home as the Germans from the former USSR in Germany”. For ethnic Germans from the former USSR the question of “identity” causes a lot of inner conflicts. In the interview this is seen as a reason for tension in the public sphere. The association offers mainly help in dealing with the social bureaucracy of the German welfare structure and the cultural opportunities of traditional ‘Russian’ life.

The association president we interviewed was born in 1950 and came to Germany in 1975; he emphasises work, diligence and order as ‘Russian’ values. Furthermore, he mentions traditional gender rules in the interview, e.g. the separate traditional work roles of women and men, but also puts emphasis on individual attitudes and practices, for example his wife has a job.
With regard to German welfare the German woman from the former USSR (F2) working in the ‘Friendship’ project thinks that it is a mistake for the German State to give money to people who do not work: in her eyes this is a source of encouraging laziness among the Germans, as well as, foreign populations. In summary, she emphasises civil norms and values, as well as, individual freedom of religion because of living in Germany.

In summary, the interviews show the importance of employment for both financial security and quality of life. The interviewees point out that a job is not only needed to earn money, but also to provide satisfaction with life. Employment is seen as the basis of social integration, inclusion and equality.

5.6 The local situation in flux: an ongoing integration process

Cohesion and conflict based on different definitions of welfare and social practices on both the majority and minority side, as well as, within minorities themselves, are evident in the in-depth interview research.

In the presented interview examples many factors are important, e.g. time, especially with regard to integration and status, language competence, space for individual development and cultural life, as well as, money for financial achievement and quality of life.

Regarding the local situation overall it is important to note:

With regard to the public welfare support and services, as well as, the social project of the town, the welfare organisations and other socially engaged associations contribute to an ongoing integration process in Schweinfurt, but the majority perspective and values are leading factors. For example, many public language and education activities are offered, but there is very little demand on the minority side. Furthermore, according to some interviews there are misunderstandings regarding bureaucracy or communication.

The Roman Catholic parishes want to become increasingly a one 'town church'
(Stadtkirche) of nine parishes, thus, changing their pastoral structures, defining new and important tasks and developing their religious and social involvement with regard to different demands of individuals and groups. A similar development of networking can be seen in the Protestant Churches in town. In these networking processes the local parishes focus on neighbourhoods and support towards social cohesion.

The Muslim mosque communities in Schweinfurt started to recognise the importance of cooperation and dialogue. In addition, intercultural meetings and festivals between the majority population and ethnic Germans from the former USSR aim to support the social cohesion in the town. The minority associations of Muslims, as well as, of Germans from the former USSR have an integrating function, especially in terms of social and cultural life and regarding the role of other religions, the integration of Germans from the former USSR in the Catholic and Protestant parishes or the example of the role of the Free churches when it comes to mentally ill people are noteworthy.

The local welfare system is sufficient to cover the majority population’s needs, but with regard to minorities there are still insufficiencies. As mentioned above different religious and cultural attitudes, practices and value orientations (e.g. regarding leadership positions or gender roles) as well as, communication problems are barriers. Furthermore, there is often no interest and motivation on the side of the minorities to use the available social support and services (cf. Project report 'gerne daheim in Schweinfurt', 2007).

6. Analysis: emergent values

In the previous section the ‘inside’ views of representatives, volunteers and other individuals have emerged through informal conversation and interview examples in five welfare areas, adding ‘outside’ perspectives. They show a range of attitudes, practices and values related to different aspects: cohesion and conflict, religious, majority-minority relations, religion and gender dimensions, as well as, ‘core value’ connections.

In this case study report it is not possible to provide an overview of all the interview
findings and a complete value analysis. Therefore, the presented examples that we have selected are the main basis for the following analysis with the help of other interview excerpts illustrating the following analysis results.

The value analysis follows the two research questions (from section 4.1):

1. Which values can be seen in examples of cohesion and/or conflict in the domain of welfare?
2. How are these values related to religion, majority-minority relations and/or gender, as well as, linked to a ‘core value’?

Values “are seen as conceptions of the desirable which are not directly observable, but are evident in moral discourse and relevant to the formulation of attitudes. For heuristic purposes, these conceptions are to understand as hypothetical constructs which constrain attitudes. The claim for the empirical relevance of values is to demonstrate by evidence of patterning among attitudes. These meaningful patterns can be called value orientations” (Van Deth/Scarborough 1995, 46).

6.1 Welfare areas and values

The values and views of the examined majority and minority interviewees shown above, emerged in different areas of welfare and appeared as values in and of themselves: family, education, health, social care and employment. In the analysis, emphasis is placed on emergent values appearing in the presented interview material.

*Communication, mutual understanding and social cohesion*

The lack of communication, mutual understanding and social cohesion is a main theme that is repeatedly referred to in the interviews. Both majority and minority groups are involved in social provision, but they have different attitudes and practices. This is seen as a problematic point and a source of conflicts, e. g. with regard to German bureaucracy
and different cultural ways of communication.

Public social support services are characterised as structured and limited, while on the minority side, supply and demand are dependent on family, community relations and networks. According to both the majority and minority perspectives welfare is related to quality of life, but welfare definitions differ among the interviews, for example, different views among Germans from the former USSR regarding language courses (see F2, M11/2, M10/2). There are also differences in views and values (see M11/2, F14) as well as problems in the social care area, e.g. with regard to education and work (see F14, M10/2).

*Family and gender equality are valued*

Majority and minority interviewees refer to the family orientation of the minority groups. The denominational Protestant minority churches’ family and cohesion orientation is pointed out by the female member of the EMK, thus underlining the importance of intensive personal contacts in her parish (see F19).

With regard to the Muslim culture and religion the family is a place of education, which is the task of women. The interviewed Turkish member of the Advisory Council of Foreigners emphasises the role of Muslim women in supporting the cohesion of their own minority group, but also the differences of ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ views as a source of conflict. Furthermore, the importance of education in developing self-esteem and social responsibility among minorities is mentioned as a support mechanism for social equality and social inclusion (see M9). This male perspective is complemented by two female views (see F5, F14). For example, an interviewed Muslim woman (see F14), on the one hand mentions the positive development of the integration of women in the town, but on the other hand she presents personal experiences of provocation and discrimination because of differences in gender definitions and practices.

For the Germans from the former USSR, family and women are important to the
'Russian' cultural identity and tradition, as well as, for everyday life in Germany, particularly for strengthening social relations in their own minority group (see M10/1, M10/2).

The value of education and language competence

Both the majority and minority interviewees emphasise the necessity of education. Language and equal access to education are important for social cohesion (see M9). The majority tries to develop integration and language competence through public education institutions as mentioned in interviews in which ‘outside’ perspectives appear. Many language courses are offered in Schweinfurt, but there is little demand, as indicated by an ethnic German woman from the former USSR, who is involved in the self-organised project 'Friendship', which she sees as a problematic point (see F2).

Regarding value patterns on the minority side, the family (see M9) and the mosque community, are the main Muslim education institutions, as pointed out by the representative of the DITIB mosque (see M11/2). There are several attempts by Muslim organisations and groups to develop their own schools, especially with regard to the religious education of Muslim children. In Schweinfurt the Islamischer Bildungs und Integrationsverein is still trying to open its own Qu’ran school. The interviews do not relate directly to the public schools in Germany (see M8/1, M8/2).

The Germans from the former USSR regardless of their generation have put emphasis on language competence as a basis for self confidence, quality of life and integration in Germany. Not only language, but also responsibility are valued as part of the development of the individual and his/her social identity and well-being (see F2, M9; M10/1).

Health and humanity as basic values

The health care offered by the Haus Kaltenhof, one of the two social support houses of
the Protestant social association Levi e.V., is an example of a minority effort related to more observable values, e.g. faith (see M6, F22), community (see M21) and work (see M6). The interviewees do not only refer to “conceptions of the desirable which are not directly observable” but also “meaningful patterns (which) can be called value orientations” (Van Deth/Scarbrough 1995, 46) describing values seen in practice.

This minority health practice is an example for the majority: the German health sector is very structured with high standards, many institutions and high costs. Alternative health care support services to migrants are mainly dependent on volunteering and networking: both are value motivated, especially by love and humanity. In the interview examples concepts of values depend on identity and value orientations appear in ‘professed values’ as well as in ‘values in action’ (see M6). In order to build a future with less inequality and exclusion and more social interaction, it is necessary to motivate and transmit to the State the fact that volunteers and networks have to work together in the health care area(see M21).

The value of employment in identity and integration

To reduce social inequality and social exclusion the president of a German-Turkish association and the social advisor of the Russische Landsmannschaft noted the importance of employment (see M15, M10/2). With regard to quality of life, the financial aspect, as well as, the high number of unemployed people in Germany are important factors. Work is mentioned as a basic component of identity related to personal and social life; the president of the Russische Landsmannschaft emphasises ‘Russian’ values strengthening social relations, especially within their own minority group (see M10/1). The interviews shed light on the different relations between (un-)employment and identity, as well as, on the consequences for self-esteem and social cohesion. For example, the “academics”, among ethnic Germans from the former USSR, are not able to integrate themselves because they cannot find any employment in their field (see M10/2). Employment is especially valued by the Germans from the former USSR.
Summary

After illustrating the five welfare areas through the interview examples the following points can be made:

- Communication, mutual understanding and social provision correlate with different religious/cultural motivations and orientations, which are also viewed as a source of cohesion as well as of conflict.
- There are different religious/cultural definitions of the family and women’s’ roles and different male and female perspectives on gender.
- There are many education and language support opportunities in Schweinfurt, but the question is for whom? There is an apparent gap between supply and demand.
- In Germany health care support is structured and limited, but the interviewees emphasise that the German State is no longer able to offer individual and alternative health care. Thus, alternative health care possibilities are necessary.
- Employment is a basis for integration and integration is also necessary for employment, both relating to definitions and questions of identity.
- Both cohesion and conflict are based on different definitions of welfare and social practices both on the majority and minority side, as well as, within minorities themselves.

6.2 Classification of values: values related to religion, minorities or gender

Regarding the interviews overall several examples of conflict and/or cooperation were provided above, e.g. examples of conflict and/or cohesion between and/or within majority and minority groups. While the religious dimension plays a role in a number of interviews, emphasis is mainly placed on majority-minority relations. The gender dimension plays a role only in some examples.

Values related to religion:
In all of the interviews love emerges as the main religiously motivated and oriented value among the majority representatives and Churches. The Protestant Churches and the Roman Catholic Church are critical voices in the society with regard to social matters.

The interviewees of the selected minority groups mostly mentioned freedom, humanity and hospitality as their values related to religion, faith and worship. The charismatic and evangelical potential of religion is conflict oriented and mentioned with regard to the Protestant Free Churches. Individuality, humanity, solidarity, community and hospitality are described as their basic values.

Muslim and ‘Russian’ values show similar orientations: the Muslim interviewees emphasise love, friendship and freedom (of religion), while the interviewed Germans from the former USSR mention freedom (of worship), humanity, quality of life and hospitality.

In the interviews religious values support cohesion. If not, then the above mentioned values are mostly ‘professed values’ (see M9.6, M6.2) and not ‘values in action’ (see M6.1).

Values related to majority-minority relations:

On the majority side emphasis is placed on quality of life, solidarity, security, integration, openness, respect, cohesion and equality.

Close to the majority Churches are interviewees from the Protestant Free Churches who mention the importance of a “lived attention and allowance to the socially vulnerable” (M3).

On the minority side, Muslim interviewees point out the importance of community, openness, dialogue, understanding, (civil) norms and values, family, (self) esteem/confidence, humanity and identity. Some Muslim interviewees wish for more
(social) responsibility, support and education, characterised as “social work in practice” (F5). They also would like a new consciousness of cultural and religious diversity in living together. “Good life” (M10/2) requires financial security and support, administrative and personal counselling and education opportunities (for example, comprehensive language courses).

The ‘Russian’ interviewees emphasise quality of life, solidarity, community, hospitality, success, work, diligence, order, and integration through different (social) support services, (social) involvement, participation, familiarity and education.

Most of the mentioned values refer to majority-minority relations: belonging to a group is essential for one’s individual and social identity (see M10/2).

Values related to gender:

An interviewee from the Protestant Free Churches emphasises the importance of equal human dignity and rights to men and women.

In some interviews with Muslims there are differing views on (gender) equality and different views on cultural and religious education (see M9). Emphasis is placed on women’s’ support, women’s’ association membership and the opportunities of various experiences for women (see F5).

Among the majority interviews there is a lack of reference to gender related values; also ‘Russian’ interviewees do not often refer to gender (see M10/1).

Intersections between the three domains:

The values of different social actors and their relations to religion, majority-minority relations and gender have been described above. The interview material shows that value orientations and motivations in attitudes and practice are interdependent. The following
intersections can be found:

On the majority side, values are mainly related to majority-minority relations (town representatives/volunteers and welfare organisations) and to religion (majority Churches). The gender dimension is only prevalent in some attitudes and with regard to practices. In Germany gender equality is valued in society: men and women have equal rights. But in some interviews there are views acknowledging that there may not be equality between men and women in practice.

For the Protestant Free Churches values are mainly religiously motivated and more related to majority-minority relations than to gender patterns. We have to note that they are in a minority position with regard to the majority Christian Churches in Germany. With regard to gender the interviews reveal that men and women have the same dignity and rights but are in different positions.

Muslim values are mainly related to religion intersecting with majority-minority relations and gender. In the interviews Islam is viewed as a religion that influences the whole life of a Muslim. The Koran influences everyday life through religiously motivated individual and social norms, e.g. how men and women have to behave within the family and society or how Muslims should interact with others.

Most values of the Germans from the former USSR are linked to majority-minority relations, but few intersections with religion and gender can be found in attitudes and social practices. They are German citizens, but in the eyes of the majority population they are still recognised as Germans from the former USSR.

6.3 Analysis and conclusions

Summarising the results, most social values refer to majority-minority relations. This finding indicates that values are based and influenced by the majority and/or minority culture. Therefore, the values of the German majority population and of Germans from
the former USSR are driven first by majority-minority relations, with religious and gender factors being secondary. But among Muslim and Protestant Free Church representatives values are primarily religiously motivated. These results reveal that values are based on the individual and collective definition of human identity (cultural and/or religious) and connected to real situations and practices.

With regard to the first research question, the interviewed individuals from the selected minority groups show similar belonging and support in the social area as the majority population. But their support services run according to different religious, cultural and gender orientations influenced by their own values. The interviewees mention inner cohesion and tension between the majority and minorities, as well as, solidarity and conflict between different individuals and groups.

With regard to the second research question it has been shown in an intersectional perspective that conflict and cohesion are motivated and influenced by religion, majority-minority relations and gender.

In conclusion the interviews show different value motivations and orientations linked to the concept of human identity, thus forming the 'core value' of the research. ‘Identity’ is a basis of values or perspectives to which an individual most strongly relates. The factor
of community plays an important role in the consideration of individual and collective values within the majority population and in the relations between the majority population and minority groups: What value do individuals attach to their identity as members of a community? How important are collective values to personal identity?
7. References


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**Internet resources**


[http://www.qualitative-research.net/fqs-texte/2-00/2-00mayring-e.htm](http://www.qualitative-research.net/fqs-texte/2-00/2-00mayring-e.htm) (Accessed 01-31-2007)

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