



LUND UNIVERSITY
Faculty of Social Sciences

Graduate School

Course SIMV07

Master of Science in Global Studies

Term: Autumn 2018

Major: Social Work

Supervisor: Max Koch

The Pro-Plurality Movement in Germany

*How Migrant Organisations and New German Organisations Claim
the Vision of an Inclusive Post-Migrant Society*

Author: Fabian Münch

Abstract

Every third child in Germany has a migration background, which makes social negotiations on the participation of migrants and their descendants in this diverse society increasingly relevant. Therefore, the study examines how Migrant Organisations (MOs) and Post-Migrant Organisations (PMO) engage in contentious politics in the context of this increasing plurality.

To do that, the already established social movement theory according to Tilly and Tarrow is linked to the emerging field of post-migrant societies according to Naika Foroutan, who applies the post-migrant frame as a theoretical and conceptual lens. The umbrella organisation Turkish Community in Germany, which initiated the first national conference of MOs and the post-migrant movement New German Organisations (NDO), which holds the biggest annual networking event for persons of color in Germany is the object of this empirical study. Utilising the theoretical framework, the study attempts to illuminate the underlying dynamics of how MOs and NDO build a social movement base, build alliances and engage in collective claim-making between 2016 and 2018.

The main results of the thesis are that MOs and NDO in Germany form an alliance along the cleavage of plurality, which enhances the socio-political positioning of MOs and NDO. The pro-plurality movement has the potential to incorporate big parts of the civil society into the alliance and is positioned as a countermovement to anti-immigrant right-wing mobilisations in Germany. Their socio-political vision is argued through constitutive rights in a plural democracy promoting anti-discrimination, inclusivity, and social cohesion, rather than identity politics.

Keywords: Plurality, Post-migrant Society, Participation, Social Movements, New Germans, NDO, TGD, Migration, Tilly, Tarrow, Post-migrant Frame, Inclusion

Word count: 21,747

Acknowledgment

I want to thank the interviewees Karim El-Helaifi, Cihan Sinanoglu, Susanna Steinbach, Gün Tank, Soraya Mocket, Deniz Nergiz and Sibel Schick for their patient and insightful elaborations, for their time and effort.

I also want to thank my family members in the north and in the south, who supported me during the research, for the meals and breaks, the ears and smart questions. Special thanks go also to my supervisor Max Koch, who supported me through the prolonged working process!

And Nini, დიდი მადლობა ჩემო სიყვარულო, for the patience, for the persistence, for the love and for the structure!

“Human dignity is inviolable and that must be reflected in every political action, but it is not. And that is why whenever we make claims, these claims are not for a minority in this country, but we make them for all”

- Cihan Sinanoglu, Public Relations, TGD¹-

¹ C. Sinanoglu, TGD, personal communication, April 17, 2018

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT.....	2
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. RESEARCH PROBLEM.....	1
1.2. BACKGROUND	3
1.3. PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH	5
1.4. RESEARCH QUESTION.....	6
1.5. OUTLINE OF THE THESIS	7
2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH	8
2.1. POST-MIGRANT SOCIETIES.....	9
2.2. CONTEXTUAL RESEARCH	10
2.3. POSITIONING OF THIS RESEARCH	12
3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	13
3.1. SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY	13
3.2. POST-MIGRANT FRAME.....	14
3.3. SOCIAL MOVEMENT ANALYSIS OF A POST-MIGRANT SOCIETY.....	15
3.4. THEORETICAL CONCEPTS	16
3.4.1. <i>Underlying dynamics of social movement base and alliance building.....</i>	<i>17</i>
3.4.2. <i>Underlying dynamics of Collective Claim-making.....</i>	<i>18</i>
4. METHODOLOGY	20
4.1. OPERATIONALISATION OF THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	20
4.2. RESEARCH DESIGN.....	22
4.3. SAMPLING AND DATA COLLECTION	24
4.4. CHOICE OF MATERIALS.....	26
4.5. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS	27
4.6. LIMITATIONS	28
5. ANALYSIS	29
5.1. SOCIO-POLITICAL POSITIONING OF MOs AND NDO	30
5.1.1. <i>Social Movement Base.....</i>	<i>31</i>
5.1.2. <i>Alliance building</i>	<i>38</i>
5.1.3. <i>Socio-political positioning: Discussion</i>	<i>52</i>
5.2. COLLECTIVE CLAIM-MAKING OF THE PRO-PLURALITY ALLIANCE	54
5.2.1. <i>Collective claim-making between 2016 and 2018</i>	<i>55</i>
5.2.2. <i>Intended outcomes of collective claim-making</i>	<i>62</i>
5.3. CONCLUSION OF THE ANALYSIS.....	65
6. DISCUSSION	69
BIBLIOGRAPHY	73
APPENDIX – MECHANISMS AND PROCESSES ACCORDING TO TILLY AND TARROW (2007).....	79

Abbreviations

DaMigra	:	Umbrella Organisation of Migrant Women Organisations [Dachverband der Migrantinnenorganisationen]
LGBTQ	:	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer
MO	:	Migrant Organisation
NDO	:	New German Organisations [Neue Deutsche Organisationen]
PMO	:	Post-Migrant Organisation
TGD	:	Turkish Community in Germany [Türkische Gemeinschaft in Deutschland]

1. Introduction

The study engages with the organisation and political claim-making of migrants and their descendants in Germany, a society that is lastingly and irreversibly impacted by migration. Therefore, Germany is a “post-migrant society” according to Naika Foroutan² or a “country of immigration” as chancellor Angela Merkel states (FAZ, 2015).

This research studies how Migrant Organisations (MOs) and Post-Migrant Organisations (PMO) engage in contentious politics in Germany. This is done by linking social movement theory, which provides the toolset to analyse the underlying dynamics of contentious politics with critical migration research, which provides first explanations of how processes of representation and claim-making of minorities change in post-migrant societies. Analysing the case of MOs and PMOs in Germany this research empirically contextualises the analysis of post-migrant societies done through the post-migrant frame by Naika Foroutan (2016b). This theory suggests that a solidarity-based alliance, potentially in form of a social movement, is formed in the German post-migrant society.

1.1. Research Problem

Migration is a phenomenon relevant to human history that is accelerated by and mutually drives globalisation. It has led to new ways of living together in societies, to new identity constructions for individuals, groups, and nations. The result is a pluralisation of languages, cultures, religions, ethnicities, and ways of experiencing life in the society. Whether these experiences are shaped by justice or injustice and discrimination depends strongly on the individual’s belonging to

² Naika Foroutan is head of the "German Centre for Integration and Migration Research" (DeZIM), secretary of the five-member board of the German Council for Migration and director of the "Berlin Institute for Empirical Integration and Migration research" (BIM)

groups that are privileged or marginalised. A long-term effect of migration is that these unidimensional ways of belonging are transcended towards hybrid identity formations. They occur in the experience of migrants when they identify with their home country along with their receiving country and in the experience of their descendants when they are influenced by their origin and their country of birth simultaneously. Migrants are often perceived as signifiers of the unknown, the “other” and consequently the label ‘migrant’ is not given as a description of people’s history of geographical relocation but is racialised. For example, is the label attributed to a German person of color or a German Muslim as a form of discrimination and exclusion.

This tension is the theoretical and conceptual entry point for this thesis, where migrants resist discrimination and persons with an experience of racism who are born in Germany reject the label migrant and identify as “New Germans”. This demographic becomes more and more relevant, since every third child in Germany lives in an immigrant family (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2016). In the case of Germany, PMOs are represented through the New German Organisations (NDO [Neue Deutsche Organisation]), who self-identify as a post-migrant movement. The research problem is accordingly to understand how MOs and NDO engage in contentious claim-making to promote their political aims in the context of this growing plurality in post-migrant Germany. Subsequent problems are to understand how MOs and NDO reach a socio-political positioning from where they can make contentious claims. How do they make claims individually and collectively to promote their political aims and what are these political aims? Therefore, the research aim is: *To understand the underlying dynamics of the contentious politics of MOs and NDO in Germany.* This specifically entails to understand how MOs and NDO develop to support their socio-political positioning and how they engage in contentious claim-making to promote their political aims.

1.2. Background

Through the labour migration in the 1950s around one million workers arrived in Germany over a period of fifteen years. Initially, the interests of migrants were supported by social welfare organisations and in the 1970s they began to self-organise. Still, until the late 1980s, the political and public discourse was shaped by the assumption that labour migration was a temporary phenomenon, labeling migrants as the external other (Adam & Mazukatow, 2017, p. 1204). However, when it became clear that temporary migrant workers would stay, raise kids and start businesses and therefore have a socio-political impact, the “legal, societal or cultural status of migrants became matters of political contestation” (Adam & Mazukatow, 2017, p. 1205).

In 2000 the nationality law abolished a policy that only allowed those with German parents to become German citizens. This marked a political shift that led further to the “Süssmuth commission”, which for the first time publicly stated that Germany was a country of immigration (Foroutan, 2016b). At this time questions regarding the willingness of migrants to integrate and to learn the language were brought up, fearing that migrants would form parallel societies. In these political debates, migrants were often excluded from the national identity and were confronted with discrimination. After initially receiving little attention in the political landscape, MOs were gradually acknowledged, financed and considered as political actors, especially as experts in the field of integration. This is visible in the MOs involvement in the annual national integration summit, established and organised by the government since 2006.

‘I would say that they [MOs] have made the population more visible and therefore available to contact persons from all levels of decision making. Be it politics, be it

the administration, they have advanced that migrants are not the group anymore that is being cared for, which you talk about, but talk to' (Nergiz)³.

Nonetheless MOs are still underrepresented in the public discourse and cannot look back on 100 years of organisational history as traditional welfare associations in Germany can. Consequently, these young organisations have access to less sustainable funding structures, accumulated resources and heavily rely on volunteer work (NDO, 2017, p. 3). Therefore, to establish the capabilities for full democratic representation the question of initial funding for MOs stayed a central issue.

Since 2000 and specifically in 2015 MO's expertise in the field of migration was further acknowledged due to their fundamental contributions to manage the societal consequences accompanied with the refugee migration in 2015 and 2016 into Germany. In 2016, prior to the national integration summit, 50 MOs formulated an extensive and unique discussion paper claiming equal participation and offering specified objectives to reach this claim (DaMigra, 2016). For example, anti-discrimination measures, a democratic representation of persons with migration background and the intercultural opening of organisations, meaning to promote equal services by public organisations to citizens independent of their origin were demanded. This paper provided the starting point of interest for this study.

A contributor to the paper was the Turkish Community in Germany (TGD [Türkische Gemeinde in Deutschland]), which was founded in 1995 in the socio-political context of rising nationalism and racist attacks that lead to anti-discrimination being a core issue of the TGD's agenda. In Germany after the reunification of the country in 1990, refugee accommodations were set on fire and persons of Turkish origin and their homes were attacked. As a resistance against the racist threat, but also to promote participation and equality in the German society, the representation of persons of Turkish origin, as the biggest minority in Germany was formed. Besides being one of the oldest and biggest umbrella

³ D. Nergiz, personal communication, April 5, 2018

organisations with 267-member organisations today, the TGD initiated the first national conference of migrant organisations, as the first platform bringing together MOs in Germany in 2017. Therefore, the TGD is analysed in this research as the most relevant actor to draw conclusions on the contentious politics of traditional migrant organisations in Germany. The NDO which also participated in preparing the paper is chosen as the second actor to be analysed, being the only network and representation of post-migrant organisations in Germany. The NDO was founded to fill the gap of representation for Germans experiencing racism, who mobilized against the threat of right-wing narratives in the public discourse around 2010. *New Germans* are persons of color, mostly members of the second generation and above in immigrant families, who reject the label ‘migrant’.

The “post-migrant” term is relatively new, emerging after 2010 in the theatre scene in Berlin and it is now predominantly used in Germany as a “new, explorative perspective of socio-political analysis and actor analysis” (Foroutan, 2016b, p. 230). The prefix “post” describes not that the process of migration has ended, but refers to the effects of migration on the society after it happened and throughout the generations (Foroutan, 2016b, p. 231; Foroutan, 2015, p. 2). The post-migrant frame emphasises migration as a relevant influence on individuals, families, social and political structures, as a barrier for gaining access to an identity or as being a dividing issue in the public discourse. Simultaneously it criticises the distinctive category ‘migrant’ as a deficit orientated concept. In breaking with this categorisation, the term outlines a socio-political transformation process towards equal participation and equal rights for all members of a post-migrant society, including the new Germans.

1.3. Purpose of the Research

This thesis contributes to the emerging scientific debate on the post-migrant frame and specifically to the understanding of how migrants mobilise and make claims in societies that are lastingly and irreversibly impacted by migration. The research is

motivated by a general lack of research on MOs and PMOs as actors of socio-political change. I construct my theoretical framework by applying Tilly's and Tarrow's social movement theory (2007) to the analysis of post-migrant societies (Foroutan, 2016b) to achieve this aim: *To understand the underlying dynamics of the contentious politics of MOs and NDO in Germany*. Coherently with Tilly's and Tarrow's distinction between the social movement base and the social movement campaign, MOs and NDO are conceptualised and analysed; Firstly, their development of a social movement base regarding how their socio-political positioning is achieved and how they engage in alliance building along shared aims is analysed. Secondly, it is analysed how MOs and NDO engage in collective claim-making. In order to accomplish this, I attempt to answer the following research question and sub-questions.

1.4. Research Question

How do migrant organisations and new German organisations engage in contentious politics to promote their vision for the German society?

Sub-questions

- *How do migrant organisations and new German organisation develop a social movement base and build alliances to enhance their socio-political positioning?*
- *How do migrant organisations and new German organisations engage in collective claim-making to produce outcomes towards their political aims?*

An initial assumption regarding these questions provided by the analysis of post-migrant societies (Foroutan, 2016b) is that *migrants and their descendants form political alliances based on shared aims and solidarity with anti-discriminatory struggles*.

1.5. Outline of the thesis

The research begins by outlining previous research in the field and positioning this study in the critical migration research, describing how the study builds on the elaborations on post-migrant societies by Naika Foroutan and empirical contextualises them. Then research gaps and research trends on a national and European level are identified. In the theoretical framework section, the social movement theory according to Tilly and Tarrow (2007) is introduced together with the post-migrant frame (Foroutan, 2015). It is argued that the social movements theory enables an analysis of the underlying dynamics of the development of social movement bases, alliance building, and collective claim-making. While the post-migrant frame enables to decipher the anti-immigration and integration narratives and to comprehend the socio-political aims of MOs and PMOs. The methodology part further explains the formulation of the research question, the operationalisation of the research sub-questions into underlying concepts, the research design including the method choices and the sampling of the organisations and interviewees, as well as the data collection strategy. In the choice of materials, the five documents used to analyse the collective claim-making of MOs and NDO are introduced. Lastly ethical considerations and limitations of the study are reflected upon.

The analysis is structured in three parts, beginning with analysing the socio-political positioning of MOs and NDO, divided into development of the social movement base, alliance building, and the discussion. The second part, on collective claim-making of the alliance analyses collective claim-making between 2016 and 2018 and the intended outcomes of these acts of claim-making. The third part of the analysis concludes in answering the research question based on the result of the first two parts.

In the discussion, I reflect the findings and their implications, considering limitations and strengths of the research design and the coherence of the framework. Finally, potential future research in the area is pointed out.

2. Previous Research

Previous research on migration and migrant organisations fall in the categories of traditional and critical migration research. Studies in traditional migration research focus mainly on migrants through “ethnographic studies about life strategies of a respective mobile group or ethnic community research” (Adam & Mazukatow, 2017, p. 1209). This places the migrant in the centre of traditional migrant research, while epistemologically highlighting the individual’s obligation to integrate and often viewing migration as problematic and temporary. Through engaging in the established narratives on integration the research treats migration as separate from society and consequently migrants and their descendants as the cultural “other”. This angle suggests the assumption of a homogenous, in the case of Germany white, Christian receiving society (Römhild, 2017).

In contrast to these tendencies the critical migration research formed analytical perspectives viewing migration as an influence on the society, effecting everybody and therefore demanding to go beyond studying migrants to comprehend the socio-political dynamics that are shaped by migration. One of these new analytical perspective leads to the conceptualisation of Germany as a post-migrant society (Foroutan, 2015). Here social science research no longer tackles migration as the object of investigations, but “as a perspective on changing societal realities” (Adam & Mazukatow, 2017, p. 1209). Naika Foroutan’s analysis states that post-migrant alliances form among migrants and minorities in societies that are shaped by immigration. These would engage in social negotiations on the question of equal participation and attitudes towards plurality (Foroutan, 2016b). In this study the post-migrant frame is applied as a central analytical perspective (Foroutan, 2017b).

2.1. Post-migrant societies

A post-migrant society has politically acknowledged being strongly influenced by migration and is further characterised by five transformational processes: *Acceptance, stronger social negotiation processes, growing ambivalences, forming of alliances, and antagonistic positioning* (Foroutan, 2015, pp. 2, 3). Firstly, the academia, the public, and the government *accept* that a “social change towards a heterogenous underlying structure” (Ibid.) has occurred and that immigration, as well as emigration, has affected the country irreversibly. Further, in a post-migrant society “structures, institutions and political cultures are adapted” (Ibid.) to this dynamic which leads to more inclusive policies and to resistances against this societal change. Through the acknowledgment of being a country of immigration, minorities gain the political legitimacy to claim their democratic rights and occupy discursive power. Secondly, *social negotiations* occur regarding participation, rights, social and political positioning in society leading to changes in immigration policies, access to citizenship, acceptance of international education certificates, etc. (Foroutan, 2016b, p. 240). Thirdly, these socio-political transformations cause *ambivalences* regarding the society’s attitude towards plurality. On the one side, there is the cognitive support towards the plurality of the country and equal rights based on democratic values. On the other side, the emotional realisation that people of color or those with a foreign name are able to claim their equal participation often results in ambiguity and fear of losing privileges and the national identity. Simultaneously, in the political discourse the term ‘migrant’ is often used as a cipher not describing people who moved geographically but describing them as the foreign “other”. “While those subjects who are marked as migrants negotiate their rights, positions and belongings, simultaneously more and more people interact with them personally, politically or in everyday life” (Foroutan, 2016b, p. 243). As a result, plurality gradually becomes an experienced socio-political reality. This facilitates the fourth feature of post-migrant societies; the *formation of post-migrant alliances* that define themselves not through their origin but through their attitude towards the society. According to Foroutan, politically these alliances are formed

through solidarity in the struggle against racism and discrimination (Foroutan, 2016b, p. 243). The alliances are aligned in their claims for anti-discrimination, which are benefitting migrants, those who are perceived as migrants and minorities in general. Here Foroutan argues that the more their rights are “claimed and received, the stronger resistances are growing or the more they become visible” (Foroutan, 2016b, p. 245). This is the fifth dynamic, described as *antagonistic formations* against these alliances and further polarisation which is caused by the omnipresence of migration as a topic of public debates that forces most members of the society to position themselves.

Since the post-migrant frame shifts the focus away from migrants as subjects of attention towards the societal responsibilities, it contains the “promise of a radical utopia of equality, going beyond the migrant category” (Foroutan, 2016b, p. 232). Moreover, this paradigm shift effects the conceptualisation of integration which through the post-migrant lens becomes “the measurable participation of all people in the key areas of social life, namely child raising, education, training, the job market, the legal system and social matters, including political participation” (Foroutan, 2015, p. 3). To sum up, acceptance, equal chances and participation in a pluralistic society form a vision for the inclusive post-migrant society (Foroutan, 2016b, p. 235).

2.2. Contextual Research

Research by Yildiz, Erol and Marc Hill (2014) is in line with the elaborations on the post-migrant frame and describe the shift towards critical migration research with a focus on the lived realities and unique influences of migration in the immigration society. Terkessidis’s (2012) study deals with the problem that institutions and organisations do not provide services equally to all citizens depending on their origin, arguing that intercultural opening needs to be promoted in order to facilitate participation. Additionally, Tariq Modood (2013) outlines the plurality of west-European societies, and how to overcome the dividing effects of

the identity markers ethnicity, religion, culture, and nationality. Hunger and Candan (2014) demonstrate that the research on migrant organisations in Germany has long focused on questioning whether their work is beneficial for the integration of immigrants or whether they facilitate the formation of parallel societies. Only since the beginning of the 2000s have they been perceived as political actors and representatives.

Still, few studies look at the MOs in Germany as actors that are active beyond the field of integration, for example by shaping social policy. An exception is the article by Klein (2017) which looks at the funding structure and activities of migrant organisations as well as the post-migrant movement “new German organisations”. Eggert and Giugni (2015) outline that studies rarely bring together social movements and migration and if they do, they mainly focus on migrants as those being subject to mobilisation rather than political actors. Further they argue that the “increasing size and diversity of the immigrant population in Western Europe” (Eggert & Giugni, 2015) resulted in claims on immigration politics and led in Europe to a cleavage shift along cultural debates. In addition, a backlash against asylum seekers leading to right wing mobilisations throughout Europe scholarly interest in the field throughout recent years (Ibid.). Koenig and De Guchteneire (2017) confirm that this ideological conflict surrounding cultural diversity challenges the idea of the homogeneous nation-state, and traditional integration policies at the national and international level. While, Römhild (2017, pp. 4, 5) argues that pluralistic policies, as anti-discrimination legislations gradually gain legitimacy, induced by a growing plurality and progressive developments in transnational human rights law. Regarding MOs specifically Castles (2011) argues that migrant associations who have been previously limited to specific origin groups have along an international trend established umbrella organisations, linking diverse groups in their claims for improved rights. He observed that authorities in immigration-country have increasingly recognised the legitimacy of migrant associations and cooperated with them (Castles, 2011, p. 252). The research positioning is informed by the research gaps described here and aims to consider contemporary research trends.

2.3. Positioning of this research

On the one hand, an extensive research gap was outlined regarding empirical studies that connect social movement research and migration research, especially applied on MOs and PMOs which engage in contentious politics. On the other hand, the research trend of a growing interest in the field trying to explain how cultural cleavages on the issue of immigration and plurality become relevant in Europe as a cause of political mobilisation connects well to Naika Foroutans theoretical elaborations. Consequently, it is interesting and urgent to empirically study (post-) migrant organisations through a social movement perspective which according to Foroutan engage in claim-making and form alliances along this same cleavage of plurality. Further, a described increase of legitimacy given to the formation and recognition of umbrella organisations of MOs and their claims suggest an explorative study on the underlying processes of how these MOs and PMOs organise, cooperate and make claims in these overarching organisations.

Therefore, this research is positioned in this body of research analysing how the umbrella organisation TGD, which initiated the first national conference of migrant organisations and the NDO, which is the only representation of 120 PMOs in Germany engage in contentious politics.

3. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework is constructed by applying social movement theory according to Tilly and Tarrow (2007), complemented by elaborations on network approaches by Diani and Mische (2015), and social movement coalitions by McCammon and Moon (2015) to the analysis of post-migrant societies (Foroutan, 2016b). The result is an analytical and conceptual framework which is applied to study MO's and PMO's engagement in contentious politics in the case of Germany.

3.1. Social Movement Theory

Social movements as defined by Tilly and Tarrow are characterised by firstly the social movement campaign, which is “a sustained campaign of claim-making, using repeated performances that advertise the claim” (2007, p. 8), and secondly social movements are “based on organisations, networks, traditions and solidarities that sustain the activities” (Ibid.), called the social movement base (Tilly & Tarrow, 2007, p. 114). The social movement base indicates the potential for a social movement to occur, while the social movement campaign describes the movement in action (Tilly & Tarrow, 2007, p. 115). In this study, the social movement base is the right concept to analyse the socio-political positioning of MOs and PMOs which subsequently contributes to the ability of sustained claim-making. Therefore, social-movement base constitutes features which help to analyse what is described with socio-political positioning of MOs and PMOs in the research aims. Alliances as outlined in the analysis of post-migrant societies provide a second key component of the socio-political positioning. In order to incorporate concepts and to thoroughly analyse the alliance building, the theoretical framework utilises elaborations on network approaches (Diani & Mische, 2015) and social movement coalitions (McCammon & Moon, 2015). The concept social movement campaign specifically describes contention “by means of concerted public displays of

worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitment, using such means as public meetings, demonstrations, petitions, and press releases” (Tilly & Tarrow, 2007, p. 114) and further facilitates to analyse the contentious claim-making as outlined in the research aims. Tilly and Tarrow (2007) provide mechanisms and processes to analytically evaluate the socio-political positioning of social movements through describing the development of a social movement base. And by using the network approach (Diani & Mische, 2015) and coalition formation (McCammon & Moon, 2015) of social movements the framework enables to comprehensively investigate the underlying dynamics of alliances building, described as a key process in post-migrant societies.

3.2. Post-migrant frame

The post-migrant frame as an analytical and normative lens enables to decipher the anti-immigration and integration narratives and to comprehend the socio-political aims of MOs and PMOs which are crucial to understand contentious claim-making. When analytically applied, “post” enables to look behind the debate on migration and at the redistributive struggles and structural conflicts related to hybrid identity formations and cultural changes. In this research the analytical perspective supports investigating how MOs and PMOs negotiate socio-political injustices that are obscured by the public discourse on migration. Normatively applied, the frame helps to comprehend “how guiding principles for an integrative society, that go beyond the established dividing lines between migrants and non-migrants could look like” (Foroutan, 2017a). On this level the post-migrant lens is a viable tool to analyse MO’s and PMO’s socio-political aims and contributions to the public debate on the issues of their contention from a marginalised perspective. The socio-political analysis of post-migrant societies through the post-migrant frame also provides a conceptual starting point for this research. The explanations on the fourth feature of post-migrant-societies suggests that migrants and their descendant form political alliances based on shared aims and solidarity with anti-discriminatory

struggles and that these alliances engage in claim-making collectively (Foroutan, 2016b).

This provides a frame of interpretation to analyse, firstly the socio-political positioning of MOs and PMOs with a focus on the social movement base and alliance building and secondly their contentious claims with a focus on collective claim-making. ~~As a result, the study aims to understand how MO and PMO develop to enhance their socio-political positioning to engage in contentious politics and how they make collective claims to achieve their political aims.~~

Since the elaborations on post-migrant societies do not provide an empirically grounded theory to describe the underlying dynamics on how the social movement base and political alliances are formed or how collective claim-making is achieved, incorporating social movement theory into the theoretical framework is fundamental.

3.3. Social movement analysis of a post-migrant society

Combined social movement theory as outlined and the post-migrant frame enable to analyse the underlying dynamics that contribute to MO's and PMO's socio-political positioning as operationalised above in the first research sub-question:

Firstly, the development of their social movement base through mechanisms and processes and secondly, the underlying dynamics of alliance building through processes (Tilly & Tarrow, 2007, pp. 216, 217), movement ties (Diani & Mische, 2015) and coalition formations (McCammon & Moon, 2015) are analysed. Regarding the second research sub-question Tilly's and Tarrow's social movement theory enables to analyse MO's and PMO's collective claim-making through mechanisms and processes as the form of social movement campaigning. The post-migrant frame complements this social movement theory since it represents a tool to critically analyse the public debates on immigration and integration.

3.4. Theoretical concepts⁴

General Concepts: *contention, opportunity structure, threats*

1. **Socio-political positioning** = Social Movement Base + Alliance Building

1.1 Social Movement Base

Mechanisms: *attribution of similarity, boundary formation, boundary activation/deactivation, boundary shift, brokerage, diffusion, certification*

Processes: *actor constitution, mobilisation, identity shift, framing*

1.2 Alliance Building

Processes: *coalition formation, coordinated action, alliance building*

Movement ties: *direct relationships, co-membership in organisations, co-presence at events, shared projects and practises*

Coalition of movements: *cause affirmation, co-development of commitments*

2. **Collective claim-making:**

Processes: *new coordination, self-representation, collective actions, disillusionment, social appropriation*

To analyse the dynamics of contentious politics defining various sub-concept are essential. Initially contention, the act of making claims in the interest of others is a process people engage in when responding to threats they perceive to their interests, their identities, or their values. However, threats and opportunities re-occur, and most people engaging in contentious politics combine a response to threats with seizing opportunities (Tilly & Tarrow, 2007, pp. 58, 216). A political opportunity structure describes a dynamic in institutions or regimes that enables a political action of groups. Further, Tilly and Tarrow provide two clusters of universal concepts to describe the underlying dynamics of contentious politics which are at the core of this theoretical framework. Mechanisms “are events that produce the same immediate effects over a wide range of circumstances” and produce processes

⁴ A list of all mechanisms and processes applied in this research can be found in the Appendix A

which are “combinations and sequences of mechanisms that produce some specified outcome” (Tilly & Tarrow, 2007, p. 203).

3.4.1. Underlying dynamics of social movement base and alliance building

To analyse the social-movement base these mechanisms are applicable; attribution of similarity, which means identifying “another political actor as falling within the same category as your own” (Tilly & Tarrow, 2007, p. 215). Boundary formation is the “creation of an us-them distinction between two political actors” (Ibid.), while boundary activation/deactivation means an increase or decrease in this distinction. A boundary shift signifies that individuals or their identities change along this distinction. Brokerage is the establishment of “new connections between previously unconnected or weakly connected sites” (Ibid.). Diffusion is the spreading of contentious practises, frames and issues, sometimes resources between political sites. Certification occurs when an actor of authority shows recognition or supports “the existence and claims of a political actor” (Ibid.). Besides mechanisms these processes are relevant to describe the development of a social movement base; Actor constitution occurs when groups emerge or transform that make or receive claims. Mobilisation is when these actors’ resources increase to make claims. An identity shift is the process that leads to emerging collective answers to identity questions and framing means “adopting and broadcasting a shared definition of an issue or performance” (Ibid., p. 219).

To analyse alliance building beyond using the above-mentioned mechanisms the following processes are relevant. Coalition formation is the establishment of “new, visible, and direct coordination of claims between two or more previously distinct actors” (Ibid.). Coordinated action describes a mutual commitment to make claims on the same issue are relevant. Another applicable concept by Diani and Mische is movement ties as an indicator to describe the solidarity between movements as a precondition for alliance building. Movement ties between different actors are described by direct relationships, and co-membership in organisations, as well as,

co-presence at events and shared projects and practises (Diani & Mische, 2015). Movement ties are facilitated by proximity in the political agenda and the ideological affinity of movements which describes having similar frames or identities (Ibid., p. 12). Another relational feature between movements is asymmetrical organisational structures which can facilitate power hierarchies or lead to functional differentiation, meaning that movements complement each other through providing for example militancy through extensive organisational structures in exchange for ideas, frames or other resources (Ibid.). To actively shape ties between movements that are different from one another in structure, ideology and agenda movement ties can be strengthened by articulating the relationship and communicating differences and similarities in identities and grievances (Ibid., pp. 13, 14). A coalition of movements facilitates the sharing of resources and coordinating plans (McCammon & Moon, 2015, p. 2). Coalitions are identified by cause affirmation, meaning to recognize other's grievances and co-development of commitments, where one joins another groups' struggle leading to a strong solidarity among movements. Above explained concepts provide an analytical angle to describe the underlying dynamics of forming social movement bases and alliance building among political actors as a beneficial precondition for collective-claim-making. Concept relevant to analyse the underlying dynamics of collective claim-making will be introduced bellow.

3.4.2. Underlying dynamics of Collective Claim-making

Processes to analyse collective claim-making are new coordination, which is a coordination that is established through both brokerage and diffusion. This can lead to increased self-representation, as “an actor's or coalition's public display of worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitment” (Tilly & Tarrow, 2007, p. 219). Collective actions are those efforts which are coordinated on the base of common interests of programs. Claims can also aim to create disillusionment, decreasing the determination of groups or political actors to continue following certain beliefs.

Social appropriation is the process of transforming or incorporating “previously existing non-political groups and networks into political actors” (Ibid.). Looking at the production of outcomes through social movement campaigns Tilly and Tarrow offer an open definition of outcomes as “changes in conditions at or across the side that are plausible to the contention under study including transformations of political actors or relations among them” (Ibid., p. 203).

4. Methodology

In the methodology section the operationalisation of the research questions into research sub-questions is outlined, the research design is presented, as well as the sampling and data collection strategy. After outlining the choice of materials used in the second part of the analysis the ethical considerations are reflected on together with potential limitations for the research.

4.1. Operationalisation of the research questions

Under the consideration of the previous research and the theoretical framework the research aims are operationalised: to understand how MOs and PMOs develop to reach a socio-political positioning and how they engage in contentious claim-making to promote their political aims. Since the network “New German Organisations” is the only representation of PMOs in Germany, NDO is used in the research question: *“How do migrant organisations and new German organisations engage in contentious politics to promote their vision for the German society?”* This research question was further operationalised in two sub-research questions.

The first research sub-question focuses on the requirements that contribute to the MO’s and PMO’s ability to engage in contention. This ability as conceptualised in the theoretical framework is defined as their socio-political positioning. It is constructed by the requirement of developing a social movement base in accordance with Tilly’s and Tarrow’s social movement theory and by alliance-building processes as hypothesised in the analysis of post-migrant societies. This leads to the research sub-question: *“How do migrant organisations and new German organisation develop a social movement base and build alliances to enhance their socio-political positioning?”* To answer the first research sub-questions the development of the social movement base was operationalised further with the indicators founding process, organisational development, networks and activities.

Alliance building of MOs and NDO was operationalised by the indicators networking position, political aims and active efforts for coalition and alliance building. This operationalisation of the sub-questions into indicators supported forming the interview guide, provided a structure for the empirical analysis as well as key concepts for later coding (Della Porta, 2014, p. 110).

The second research sub-question focuses on the contentious claim-making of MOs and PMOs building on the construction of the social movement base and already formed alliances. The research sub-question prioritizes collective claim-making over claim-making of individual organisations to test the initial assumption that the alliance of MOs and PMOs makes claims along shared aims, possibly forming a social movement. *“How do migrant organisations and new German organisations engage in collective claim-making to produce outcomes towards their political aims?”* The concept ‘outcomes’ as defined by Tilly and Tarrow (2007, p. 203) is used in the formulation of the question. It describes the implication that a contention has, not only regarding the object of a claim but also how the social movement itself changes by this contention or how the debate itself is transformed. To answer this sub-question the intended outcomes of the collective claims are analysed through processes, which as “combinations and sequences of mechanisms that produce some specified outcome” describe the dynamic a political claim aims to produce. Intended outcomes were operationalised regarding three different levels of outcomes, a policy level, the political discourse and changes in the socio-political positioning of the social movement. For example, if the NDO aims to promote acceptance in the society for plural groups to be part of the national narrative, they can firstly claim on a policy level to include diverse history perspectives in school curriculums. This would produce disillusionment for children, who might not have known that in the 1960s migrant workers came to Germany and how they have shaped the country. Secondly, on the level of the political discourse, the NDO could claim that the term “homeland” used by politicians should describe a “home” of a diverse constituency aiming to produce a reframing. Thirdly on the level of socio-political positioning of movements, the NDO can participate in the national

integration summit aiming to achieve certification for the fact that they are the part of a plural civil society.

Throughout the analysis, the post-migrant frame is applied to analyse the statements regarding the political debate and to contextualise positions and actions of the MOs and PMOs. Further, the post-migrant frame facilitates to continuously relate back to the analysis of post-migrant societies, which was a conceptual starting point for the study.

4.2. Research Design

The research used qualitative research methods, specifically seven semi-structured in-depth interviews as its main source of data collection in its attempt to answer the research question. The strength of qualitative interviews is to analyse the perspectives of individuals and to “attribute meaning to the external world and to their own participation in it” (Della Porta, 2014), as well as, to understand how identities were constructed. Therefore, this method was chosen to facilitate the understanding of the changing identity constructions of the organisations, the frames, and narratives they apply. Further, the individual accounts of reasons for mobilisations around individually and collectively perceived inequalities and the intended influence of the claim-making were explored. The interviews were semi-structured to maintain the ability to react to interesting elaborations with follow-up questions. Especially, since scarce data was available in this field, the interviews needed to provide a necessary explorative function with potentially unexpected outcomes (Bryman, 2014, pp. 12, 472; Della Porta, 2014, p. 130). Since positions of groups, organisations and movements were researched in addition to individual perspectives, it was necessary to acquire structural, historic and in-depth knowledge and understanding. Therefore, the in-depth interviews were conducted with experts in the field. The in-depth interview method is a common way to gain empirical knowledge on current social movements, especially due to the “relative scarcity of systematic collections” (Della Porta, 2014, p. 228) of data in social movement

research. As a result, interviewees “who are uniquely able to be informative because they are experts” (Bryman, 2014, p. 12) were needed, ideally in higher leadership or public relations positions. To achieve this goal, the sampling of the interviewees was purposive (Bryman, 2014, p. 419).

The interview guide was designed along a research problem which was modifying during and after the interviews were conducted. It was structured according to methodological guidelines beginning with simple questions, using simple language, asking for descriptive answers and gradually deepening them in the middle of the interview (Bryman, 2014, p. 473). The interview guide was structured to cover each of the following sections through three to four questions: personal introduction, activities of the organisation in the field, networking efforts, promotion of political participation of persons with an experience of racism, promotion of equal chance in the society for persons with an experience of racism, perceived strengths and biggest achievements of the organisation (Bryman, 2014, p. 473).

All the interviews were recorded, transcribed, translated, coded and then analysed. For the analysis of the interviews the data was thematically coded (Saldaña, 2015, p. 9), while the operationalisation of the research sub-questions outlined above was cooperative and effective for the coding process, as it is predicted by Della Porta in the literature on social research methodology (2014, p. 111). The codes (Bryman, 2014, pp. 575, 576) were organised into themes and the themes (Bryman, 2014, p. 580) into the categories that make up the headlines of the analysis. The coding was done through the qualitative data analysis software NVivo which made it easy to search through big amounts of data and code the material along forming categories (Saldaña, 2015, p. 9). For example, a statement regarding the political agenda would be grouped by the code ‘proximity in the political agenda’, as part of the theme ‘movement ties’, which belongs to the category of ‘alliance building’, as pictured on *Table 2* below. As an overarching methodological aim, the research intended to apply triangulation, meaning to use diverse theoretical perspectives, sources, and methodologies (Bryman, 2014, p. 392). Results of the interviews were contextualised by quantitative data and the study drew on secondary data from

sources recommended by the interviewees. Mainly policy papers, websites, network meeting papers, conference papers and project reports.

4.3. Sampling and Data Collection

The seven in-depth interviews were conducted with experts active as leaders or representatives of MOs and PMOs. An explorative interview was conducted with the expert Dr. Deniz Nergiz⁵ as an independent researcher, which provided a preliminary insight into the field of migrant organisations, the development of political claims and first successes in reaching higher participation in Germany. The choice of the organisations was purposeful and based on evaluating and comparing policy briefs, the organisations' websites, documentations of network event and project papers. Accordingly, the diverse aims, activities and narratives of the actors were assessed. The choice was narrowed down on organisations that engage in political claim-making and collaborations with other actors in the field. The discussion paper formulated in preparation of the integration summit 2016 (DaMigra, 2016) provided an overview of potential organisations as it was an unprecedented collective claim-making effort by 50 migrant organisations. From these 50 organisations the focus was put on umbrella organisations or networks of organisations. The NDO was chosen, as being the only network in Germany representing post-migrant organisations and self-identifying as a social movement. The TGD was selected, as being one of the oldest and structurally strongest umbrella MOs since in 2017 it organised the first conference of MOs in Germany. Therefore, the TGD was assessed to represent the most relevant actor having an insight into the nationwide alliance building among migrant organisations. The TGD further is given a mandate by the government to empower other MOs and network building among them, which underlines the validity of this choice. The

⁵ Dr. Deniz Nergiz, executive director of the migrant umbrella organisation "Federal Immigration and Integration Council" (Bundeszuwanderungs und Integrationsrat) is interviewed here as an independent researcher, not as a representative of the organisation.

“Umbrella Organisation of Migrant Women Organisations” (DaMigra [Dachverband der Migrantinnenorganisationen]) was chosen as it is the only umbrella organisation for woman and migrant organisations incorporating an intersectional approach to discrimination.

From above-mentioned organisations experts in leading positions were contacted via email for a possible interview. In one occasion the snow-balling method of sampling (Bryman, 2014, p. 424) was used after one expert suggested and connected me to an additional interviewee from another organisation. Two interviews per organisation were conducted with experts of the TGD, of DaMigra and the NDO. One personal interview was conducted with the managing director of the TGD, Susanna Steinbach at the headquarters of the organisation, who is at the same time a member of the steering committee of the NDO. A skype-interview was conducted with the public relations officer of the TGD, Cihan Sinanoglu. The managing director of the NDO, Gün Tank was interviewed via telephone and a personal interview was conducted with the second representative of the NDO, Karim El-Helaifi. A telephone interview was conducted with the project leader of the MUT-Project Dr. Soraya Mocket and via skype with the public relations officer Sibel Schick. All interviews took between 60 and 90 minutes.

In analysing the acquired data through the field work, it became clear that the elaborations of the experts from DaMigra⁶ contributed to the understanding of the diversity of functions and fields of action in which MOs and umbrella MOs are active in. However, late in the process due to limited space to present the analysis, the focus was put on the in-depth analysis and comparison of the TGD and NDO. The interviews with experts from DaMigra provided less data on the cooperation

⁶ Additionally, the conducted analysis of DaMigra outlined that the umbrella organisation engages in strong cooperation with government bodies. This applies to the family ministry supporting the initiation of the organisation and DaMigras consulting role for government actors on policies affecting female migrants and refugees. Also, the analysis has shown that DaMigra depends to a high degree on volunteer work and project funding. DaMigra as an umbrella organisation is much closer involved in carrying out the project and works heavily on an individual level, due to their focus on empowerment. The background and details of this results are considered relevant to draw a more conclusive picture of the socio-political role of MO in Germany, but to include the whole spectrum of organisations a much comprehensive study needs to be conducted.

among DaMigra and other MOs, as well as with NDO than the other data points did. Nonetheless, the elaborations of the experts are incorporated in research and provided profound knowledge and understanding of the field. Moreover, DaMigra participated in the first two national conferences of MOs which were initiated and organised by TGD, which is one of the oldest traditional MOs representing the biggest minority in Germany. The NDO as a network and movement is the only representative of PMOs and organiser of the biggest annual event that brings together persons of color in Germany. These facts informed the prioritization of presenting the analysis of the TGD and NDO, as the most relevant actors who can allow conclusions on the contentious politics of MOs and PMOs in Germany due to their role of unifying two different groups of organisations. All interviews were held in German and therefore all quotes by interviewees presented in the thesis were translated from German.

I had the privilege to interview experts in leadership and representative positions of organisations, that together represent over 350 MOs and PMOs in Germany. Therefore, I was exposed to very extensive and informed elaborations, which covered a wide range of substantial dynamics of the TGD's and NDO's contention. These included issues that were not initially covered by the interview questions, but the semi-structured design allowed me to ask follow-up questions in reaction to these elaborations.

4.4. Choice of materials

Additional documents were recommended by the interviewees, which were included in the elaborations on socio-political aims and claim-making. The aim was to strengthen the results presented in the first section of the analysis and make the claims more tangible. Further, the intend was to give an impression of the process and framing of claim-making over a time period. The documents are openly available providing a possible starting point for further research.

In the second part of the analysis on collective claim-making efforts among MOs and PMOs these five documents are analysed. The documents were from the time period since the first detailed collective claim-making effort in 2016 until June 2018. These are the only claims voiced by an alliance between MOs and PMOs in Germany known to the author. They were chosen to contextualise and strengthen elaborations of the interviewees and provide a stronger validity and reproducibility of the results. An aim was to give future research a possible access point through these publicly available data sets on MOs and PMOs contentious politics in Germany.

<i>Event</i>	<i>Claimant</i>	<i>Form</i>	<i>Date</i>
National Integration Summit	MO + NDO	Discussion paper (DaMigra, 2016)	11. 2016
Online-publication	NDO	Policy paper (NDO, 2017)	09. 2017
1st national conference of MO	MO + NDO	Documentation (TGD, 2017)	11. 2017
National congress of the NDO	NDO + TGD	Opening speech (NDO, 2018c)	03. 2018
National Integration Summit	MO + NDO	Statement (NDO, 2018a)	05. 2018

4.5. Ethical Considerations

Before beginning the interviews, I introduced myself to the interviewees, transparently explained the purpose of the research and that the interview would approximately last for one hour while the interviewees could stop the interview at any point. No conditions of dependency were identified. The Interviewees gave their consent to the recording, transcription, use and personalisation of the data and were assured that only personal information relevant to the research would be included in the text, while the recordings would be stored securely. After the completion of the research all interviewees received a version of the thesis and the possibility to object any quotes or other representations used. Especially in the context of right-wing protests of August 2018 in Chemnitz which lead to group hate

crimes against persons of color, the safety of the representatives and leaders present in this study was respected and considered. One of the interviewees argued that since no sensitive data beyond the information already given by the experts in their role as public representatives of their organisations was presented, no objection to using their names was necessary.

4.6. Limitations

On the one hand, the qualitative in-depth interviews facilitated to take the perspective of experts involved in current (post-)migrant social organisations and see the socio-political structures in Germany from a marginalised point of view through the representative organisations (Bryman, 2014, p. 393). On the other hand, a potential limitation of the study was that studying these groups by mainly taking their perspective on their socio-political role in society the research does not reflect the perspective of other actors, like the government, other civil society groups or the media. Limitation in resources such as time, money and length of the paper did not support to include further perspectives (Bryman, 2014, p. 399).

Due to the limited scope of this explorative thesis, the two most relevant actors representing MOs and PMOs are studied. Although, the incorporation of a greater number of organisations and perspectives could have provided more extensive account of the diverse actors in the field. For example, I was not able to expand the research and include MOs that stand in opposition to the progressive and pro-democratic actors, like the ones studied here or organisations that might not promote alliance building. Therefore, the study was focused on the contentious politics of MOs and PMOs that represent the biggest migrant groups and persons of color in Germany and which are most active in making public claims. With more space, time and financial means the research could expand to include a bigger number of organisations, resulting a in broader scope of perspectives and higher degree of generalisability.

5. Analysis

In the following, the data from the empirical research of this study is summarized, discussed and analysed through the theoretical framework described above. The analysis is divided into three parts, corresponding to the first research sub-question, second research sub-question and the main research question.

The first part on socio-political positioning of Migrant Organisations (MOs) and New German Organisations (NDO) aims to answer the first research sub-question: *“How do migrant organisations and new German organisation develop a social movement base and build alliances to enhance their socio-political positioning?”* To do this I analyse the underlying dynamics of these developments by identifying the mechanisms and processes defined by Tilly and Tarrow (2007), applying the concept of movement ties by Diani and Mische (2015) and the social movement coalitions by McCamon and Moon (2015). On a discursive level, the grievances and the socio-political visions of the TGD and NDO are analysed through the post-migrant frame (Foroutan, 2017; 2016; 2015) to describe the compatibility of their aims and to identify dynamics and qualities in their alliance building.

The second part on collective claim-making of the pro-plurality alliance aims to answer the second research sub-question: *“How do migrant organisations and new German organisations engage in collective claim-making to produce outcomes towards their political aims?”* This part analyses five collective claim-making efforts in respective documents between the national integration summit in November 2016 (DaMigra, 2016) and the integration summit in June 2018 (NDO, 2018a) to provide an overview of all major claims made by the pro-plurality alliance. In the first sub-section I identify mechanisms and processes in the claims presented. The second sub-section compares these claims by categorising them regarding their intended outcome on policy building, the political discourse and the socio-political positioning of MOs and NDO.

The concluding third part contextualises and merges the main results of the first two parts of the analysis by outlining how the TGD and NDO develop a social movement base and build alliances among MOs and NDO; How these developments influence their socio-political positioning and how MOs and NDO consequently engage in collective claim-making promoting their vision for the German post-migrant society. Subsequently, I answer the main research question: *“How do migrant organisations and new German organisations engage in contentious politics to promote their vision for the German society?”*

5.1. Socio-political positioning of MOs and NDO

The first section outlines how the TGD and NDO as the major representatives of MOs and PMOs in Germany develop a social movement base as an influence on their socio-political positioning. In comparing the social movement bases of this traditional, mono-ethnic and established umbrella MOs with the relatively young, supra-ethnic network of organisations initiated by new Germans, this section highlights the intergenerational effects of migration. In the second section the alliance building of the TGD and NDO is analysed. Building on the elaborations of the development of a social movement base, this section illuminates how alliance building between the NDO, TGD and further with all MOs influences their socio-political positioning. The section focuses on the networking position of the two actors in the field, their socio-political aims and their efforts for coalition and alliance building. The discussion section summarizes the main underlying dynamics of the TGD’s and NDO’s development of the social movement base and the alliance building between MOs and PMOs. Here I answer the first research sub-question by arguing how these developments influence the socio-political positioning of MOs and NDO for collective claim-making.

5.1.1. Social Movement Base

“The migrant organizations have evolved and changed their roles and self-understandings in the time. In the beginning with more issues related to regions of origins were in focus. This focus has increasingly moved to Germany to the new homeland and environment diversifying in result their fields of interest. Those are not only education and the labor market, but also politics and political participation.” (Nergiz)⁷.

During the sub-sections first the TGD’s than the NDO’s founding process, their target groups, their internal coordination with member organisations, platforms of knowledge exchange and main activities are described. The main observations in this section is that opportunity structures and threats shape the initiation processes of these actors and create group specific grievances. These grievances further define a special focus in their activities, an aspired organisational structure and specific forms of contention.

Turkish Community in Germany (TGD)

The Turkish Community in Germany was founded in 1995 in the socio-political context of rising nationalism and racist attacks that lead to anti-discrimination being a core issue of the TGD’s agenda. In Germany after the reunification of the country, refugee accommodations were set on fire and persons of Turkish origin and their homes were attacked. This constituted a threat (Tilly & Tarrow, 2007, p. 58), which according to social movement theory is the root-cause of most mobilizations. Both interviewees state, that as a resistance against the racist threat, but also to promote participation and equality in the German society, the representation of persons of Turkish origin was formed through the initiation of the TGD. Cihan Sinanoglu the officer of the press and public relation of the TGD elaborates that anti-racism as a

⁷ D. Nergiz, personal communication, April 5, 2018

protection against nationalistic violence was therefore a fundamental purpose and mandate of the TGD, which is still relevant today.

'The National Socialist Underground (NSU) was investigated, refugee shelters are burning again, the Alternative for Germany (AFD) sits in the parliament, Mr. Poggenburg talks of "camel drivers and scum". So, the mission of the TGD has not changed, it has actually become much more urgent.' (Sinanoglu⁸).

The TGD's own organisational positioning is closely linked to the organisational development of other MOs in the field through their efforts in structural empowerment of MOs. Both interviewees elaborate their aim is to promote a plural democratic representation through participation. Even though the TGD has maintained its role as a representative for the interests of persons of Turkish origins, their target group has also been expanded from generation to generation. In that sense the TGD's and their member organisation's activities today focus on their constituencies through a socio-political agenda for social cohesion and an inclusive German society with a core value of equal participation (TGD, 2018a). Consequently, the TGD positions itself as a member of the democracy and human rights movement in Germany (Ibid.). A pioneer role that the TGD takes on to achieve that, is to be a responsible body in forwarding funding and initiating projects in close interaction with ministerial units. As Cihan Sinanoglu points out, the TGD receives structural funding from the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth in order to empower other migrant organisations. They accomplish this empowerment by *'supporting, coaching and counselling migrant organisation in building up their organisational structure regarding questions of political strategy development'* (Steinbach⁹), political representation and the acquisition of additional funding.

Further, the TGD supports a wide range of diverse cultural and education projects, for example in the form of mentoring projects, in cooperation with LGBTQ-refugees or in anti-racism consultations for victims of racism. The cooperation with

⁸ C. Sinanoglu, TGD, personal communication, April 17, 2018

⁹ S. Steinbach, TGD, personal communication, April 4, 2018

the 267 mostly mono-ethnic member organisations is coordinated through the regional associations which are active in the different federal states (Bundesländer). Susanna Steinbach points out, that besides the project related activities, the TGD also engages in public relations through interaction with the ministries and lobbying, mostly in and around Berlin. In practise, only 5 % of capacities are used to address Turkish-German relations, while mainly focusing on policies and developments that affect residents of Germany directly. Regardless of these diverse socio-political activities aimed at social change in the German society, the external perception of the organisation does not reflect these efforts according to Cihan Sinanoglu.

The external perceptions of the Turkish community and of Muslims in German society do not align with the new identity constructions of young people inside the TGD, which have led to an organisational repositioning. Even though the target group of the TGD has long been opened to people not of Turkish origin, stereotypes towards Turkish people are active in the German society, influencing the public perception of the TGD.

'Many prejudices have certainly grown historically and are constantly undergoing change. I believe September 11 was the point in time, when Turks became Muslims. So, we are also influenced by the discourse around Islam' (Sinanoglu¹⁰).

The organisation receives reoccurring requests for statements on political developments in Turkey, which *'equate Turkish politics with people of Turkish origin living here in Germany'* (Sinanoglu¹¹). This equation was argued to represent an exclusion from the public debates in Germany, ignoring the effects of the immigration of Turkish workers in the 1960s on the identity construction of the following generations. This case in which people of Turkish origin are excluded from the German identity is coherent with research results on the perceptions and identity constructions of Germans manifesting an exclusion of Muslims. In a study by the Berlin Institute for Empirical Integration and Migration research 37.6% of

¹⁰ C. Sinanoglu, TGD, personal communication, April 17, 2018

¹¹ C. Sinanoglu, TGD, personal communication, April 17, 2018

8.270 participants described ‘being Muslim’ as a mutually exclusive category to ‘being German’, which constitutes that they “are excluded from a national narrative in Germany” (Foroutan, et al., 2014). Contrary to the external perceptions, the TGD’s mono-ethnic identity has been transformed by members from the second, third and fourth generations, who construct new identities, which differ fundamentally from those of Turkish migrant workers in the 60s, as Susanna Steinbach describes. To be able to address these diversifying constituencies and related changes inside the organisation and the society, the TGD is adapting their mission statement and is socio-politically repositioning themselves amongst new actors in the field. One of these new actors is the network of the NDO.

New German Organisations (NDO)

The network of the New German Organisations was founded to fill the gap of representation for Germans with an experience of racism, who mobilized against the threat of right-wing narratives in the public discourse around 2010. New Germans are persons of color, mostly members of the second generation and above in immigrant families, who reject the label migrants. This new generation predominantly has no migration experiences themselves, they grow up speaking German and their point of reference for equal participation in society is not their parents, but their peer groups.

‘The second generation says: It’s no question at all. I’m a bit German. I’m a bit Turkish, I’m both and I’m here! German is my first language, I want to be here and I need an organization that represents these interests’ (Steinbach¹²).

To create a ‘*political home*’ (Steinbach¹³) supplementary to traditional MOs, the NDO was formed in 2015, holding the first national congress (Bundeskongress), where 80 organisations attended. El-Helaifi describes that most of these young organisations and initiatives started forming around the time of the “Sarrazin-

¹² S. Steinbach, TGD, personal communication, April 4, 2018

¹³ S. Steinbach, TGD, personal communication, April 4, 2018

debate” in 2010 in Germany. Thilo Sarrazin misrepresented empirical realities concerning the structural integration of the Muslim population drawing from false or manipulated data, which was discursively challenged by the “New German Media Professionals”. The narratives by Sarrazin aimed to enforce stereotypes and to exclude Muslims, migrants and their descendants from the German national identity and social welfare. These narratives constituted a threat (Tilly & Tarrow, 2007, p. 58), that challenged the identities, values and interests of the new Germans giving a strong incentive for their mobilisation (Ibid., p. 215).

The constitution of the NDO as a new actor did not occur only around this threat, but also around opportunity structures, as most social movements do (Ibid., p. 58). Accordingly, it was stated by all interviewed steering members of the NDO that the ‘*NDO was not initiated merely as a counter movement to the Sarrazin-debate*’ (Steinbach¹⁴) or to the emerging right-wing parties such as “Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the West” (PEGIDA) and more recently the “Alternative for Germany” (AFD). So, the political shift to the right gave a strong incentive for the new Germans and the newly established organisations to find a socio-political representation and to form the NDO. However, they also formed on the bases of the increasing formation of organisations since 2010, the diversification of the German demographics (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2016) and the need for experts in the field of integration due to the refugee migration in 2015/2016 as an opportunity structure (Tilly & Tarrow, 2007, p. 215; p. 58).

The interviewees explain that the quick mobilisation of the growing demographics of new Germans was facilitated by the consequently growing representation gap, their educational compatibility with the political system, and through an open organisational structure. The network was founded by seven organisations, including the TGD. According to the interviewees, the main objective of forming a legal association was the eligibility to apply for funding, rather than to mobilise members to join the formal association. ‘*A dynamic organisational structure should*

¹⁴ S. Steinbach, TGD, personal communication, April 4, 2018

be preserved' (Steinbach¹⁵), which according to Diani and Mische reflects an effort of "activists' commitment to principles of participatory politics" (Diani & Mische, 2015, p. 12). The horizontal power structures and a low threshold for membership facilitates the growth and flexibility of the network. NDO have been funded by the Mercator foundation since 2016 and the main networking moment and knowledge exchange takes place during the annual conference, which grew quickly and included over 120 organisations in 2018. Another reason for this rapid mobilisation given by all interviewees of the NDO and the TGD was that the NDO filled a representation gap of a growing group in the society. In 2015, people with a migration background living in Germany accounted for a record high with 17.1 million people (21%), of which 9.3 million held a German citizenship (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2016). Another repeatedly mentioned explanation was that the majority of NDO members are young '*have studied, are fluent in German and are socialised*' (Steinbach¹⁶) in Germany. Therefore, they are equipped with knowledge about the political system, have new social media skills and are often connected to journalism and migrant activism. These factors contribute to the socio-political positioning of this activist network and make the NDO a relevant discourse and project partner for ministries.

The competencies of the NDO to participate in the political debates, to claim equality from the perspective of being predominantly German citizens and to organise in a flexible network differ from the organisational qualities of the TGD, which influences potential collaborations among them. The experts of the TGD and the NDO pointed out that NDO builds on the political lobbying efforts and '*important work of migrant organisations in the last decades*' (El-Helaifi¹⁷), while in their competences, their representational angle of claim-making and in their organisational structures they complement each other. Firstly, the NDOs have an advantage to participate in and shape the political negotiations through their described socialisation and competences. Secondly, their political representation of

¹⁵ S. Steinbach, TGD, personal communication, April 4, 2018

¹⁶ S. Steinbach, TGD, personal communication, April 4, 2018

¹⁷ K. El-Helaifi, NDO, personal communication, April 4, 2018

new Germans who are externally attributed as migrants creates a distinct possibility of claim-making. Making the experiences of new Germans visible, the NDO simultaneously highlights realities of structural and institutional racism when being born and socialised in Germany, holding the citizenship and speaking the language does not preclude experiences of discrimination. Thirdly, in contrast to the TGD or other established MOs, the NDO cannot and does not aim to provide extensive communal structures but to preserve an activist network structure. Cooperation between social movements with asymmetrical organisational structures according to Diani and Mische often result in “functional differentiation” (2015, p. 12). This means that the movement organised by a loose organisational structure, as the NDO, may provide intellectual resources, frames and know-how, while a more established actor as the TGD could provide structural resources. This potential is further discussed in the section on alliance building.

The organisational positioning of the NDO as a new actor is since their initiation interrelated with the organisational development of MOs, as the TGD and oriented towards mutual collaboration with them. The interviewees of the NDO and of the TGD describe that defining the relations and cooperation between the two actors is still in process, which according to Tilly and Tarrow is an identity shift or boundary activation consequent to the process of the constitution of a new actor in the political field (2007, p. 83). At the same time the TGD as a member of the steering group of the NDO takes the role of a broker between MOs and NDO, establishing “new connection between previously unconnected” sites (Tilly & Tarrow, 2007, p. 217). Both parties independently highlight that despite differences in the self-representation, NDO and TGD *‘are not competing, but it is so that [they] complement each other’* (Sinanoglu¹⁸). Further, Susanna Steinbach, representative of the TGD in the steering committee of the NDO, elaborated that it is important to consider and balance the needs of migrants and of new Germans in their individual

¹⁸ C. Sinanoglu, TGD, personal communication, April 17, 2018

agendas. Additionally, NDO addresses next to racism also ‘*anti-Muslim racism, anti-Semitism, sexism, homophobia*’ (El-Helaifi¹⁹) in their contention.

5.1.2. Alliance building

Firstly, the TGD as a broker and a role model for other MOs is analysed and secondly the NDO, as the facilitator of an alliance along the cleavage of plurality is analysed leading over to the discussion of the socio-political positioning of MOs and NDO.

The TGD, a broker and a role model for other migrant organisations

The networking position of the TGD is characterised by a strong network of regional structures, a close cooperation on extensive projects with ministerial actors and their focus on network building between and empowerment of MOs. On the base of 23 years of experience, the TGD was described to be ‘*an engine for all migrant organisations and also to be a role model*’ (Steinbach²⁰) in the field of human rights protection and democracy building. This is underlined firstly by their provision of regional structures in close relation with their respective member associations on the federal states (Bundesland) level, which are closely engaged in the execution of various local projects. Secondly, the TGD cooperates closely with ministerial partners locally and nationally, operating on high scale projects and reaching over 100.000 people every year (NDO, 2017). And thirdly, the TGD has the mandate to be a nation-wide responsible body for the development and execution of empowerment strategies for other MOs, with the aim of promoting their “equal participation in shaping a diversity-oriented, democratic society in cooperation with established actors” (TGD, 2018b). To fulfil this role the TGD receives structural funding through the project “live democracy” of the Federal

¹⁹ K. El-Helaifi, NDO, personal communication, April 4, 2018

²⁰ S. Steinbach, TGD, personal communication, April 4, 2018

Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth, which simultaneously aims to further professionalise the TGD. The TGD is also a partner in the large-scale and extensively funded education project “mein Land” (Ibid.). The collaboration with and the mandate by the government for these activities constitute a strong certification (Tilly & Tarrow, 2007, p. 216) of the TGD’s expertise and socio-political position.

The TGD plays a key role in initiating the unique platform of the national conference of MOs aiming at coalition formation and collective claim-making. Besides promoting participation and individual capacity building of MOs, the TGD also aims to build a close network among all MOs and NDO to improve their political resources and networking capacities, along with government actors. This is evident in the initiation of the first conference of German migrant organisations in November 2017. According to Susanna Steinbach, the conference is financed until 2019 through “live democracy” and was initiated after other actors in the field supported the idea. NDO also participated in that event, which is an indicator for close movement ties (Diani & Mische, 2015, p. 6). The conference complements the yearly integration summit, held since 2006 (Bundesregierung, 2018a), where the ministries or the politicians set the agenda and invite MOs into the dialogue. According to Susanna Steinbach from the TGD, the initial aim of the conference was to create an annual platform that can be institutionalised as an instrument for MOs. Here they can set their own agendas to increasingly provide a platform from where the shared claims can be brought into the political debate. She elaborates that the conference itself can function as a platform to invite government or ministerial representatives for a dialogue on these agreed issues. State actors will also be able to address most of the key actors in the field as a ‘*collective ear*’ (Steinbach²¹), for policy building and the acquisition of relevant project partners. While finding ‘*a collective voice*’ (Steinbach²²) is a challenging task, since the different organisations may not want to disperse their individual agendas and key aims.

²¹ S. Steinbach, TGD, personal communication, April 4, 2018

²² S. Steinbach, TGD, personal communication, April 4, 2018

Nevertheless, common socio-political aims were identified, which was actively supported by the TGD's open facilitation and resulted in collective claim-making and stronger movement ties among the organisations. To organise migrant and new German organisations around a common socio-political agenda '*the TGD tried to promote a very participatory process*' (Steinbach²³) during the first conference of MOs. As a result, shared specific aims as to build anti-discrimination policies, promote intercultural opening through a council for diversity, emphasise participation, political education and the reflexivity of Germany as a country of immigration were identified (TGD, 2017, p. 9). These shared aims were the base for collective claims voiced through the report of the conference (Ibid. p. 3), which highlights how the institutionalisation of the conference promotes the coalition formation and collective action (Tilly & Tarrow, 2007, p. 216) among MOs and PMOs. Accordingly, through the network approach of analysing the relational ties between social movements, the above described proximity in agenda constitutes a strong condition for movement ties (McCammon & Moon, 2015, p. 4; Diani & Mische, 2015, p. 12). The ideological affinity between actors, described by Diani and Mische as "frames and identities" (2015, p. 12) is another condition for cooperation among movements.

In this respect, the ideological affinity and proximity in agenda between MOs and NDO is facilitated by framing socio-political aims from a marginalised perspective and therefore using an anti-discriminatory framing, which is coherent with the post-migrant frame. The TGD for example, as a political actor does not position itself in the field of integration and avoids discursively emphasizing integration as a narrative to view and understand society, as Cihan Sinanoglu points out. He explains that 'integration' is negatively associated in the public's perception with a deficit orientation and unwillingness to integrate. He elaborates the use of the term is a '*form of exercising power, through the imperative*' (Sinanoglu²⁴) to integrate and as an obligation that applies only to certain groups of society, namely migrants.

²³ S. Steinbach, TGD, personal communication, April 4, 2018

²⁴ C. Sinanoglu, TGD, personal communication, April 17, 2018

Indeed, the contemporary public debate and policy changes in Germany promote an agenda of “demand from and support of” (Bundesregierung, 2018b) migrants and refugees to integrate. This constitutes an ontological hierarchy in the mainstream integration narrative, which creates subjects who are obliged to adapt and perform, while measure to change structural racism and other forms of discrimination are not prioritized. This ignorance towards the responsibilities of people without a migration background in the process of integration (Foroutan, 2017b, p. 134) and the essentialisation of integration as an issue limited to culture, ethnicity, religion and nationality (Foroutan, 2015, p. 4) is also criticised in the post-migrant analysis. In line with that, the interviewees representing TGD highlight the organisation’s positioning against this discriminatory framing. While it is not always avoidable to engage in that narrative, ~~they argue that~~ in the contemporary discussions ‘*integration should stand for anti-discrimination, if at all*’ (Sinanoglu²⁵).

Because the anti-discriminatory framing for contentious goals used by the TGD and by other MOs originates from a collective opposition to the exclusionary narrative of integration, the consequent socio-political vision is not confined to specific identity groups but is inclusive. Consequently, as an alternative to integration, the TGD emphasizes the concept of participation since it allows to see ‘*the society from the perspective of institutionalised racism*’ (Sinanoglu²⁶) and highlights marginalised realities. In this they claim a whole-society approach to policy building that challenges structures of discrimination in society. Consequently, the aim of anti-discrimination and participation is pursued for all members of society, which means coherently with the post-migrant frame, that “adaptive efforts are also expected of those who do not have a migration background” (Foroutan, 2015, p. 6). Further, this paradigm shift from mere integration policy to social policy, promotes equality regarding all forms of discrimination. It acknowledges not only cultural, ethnic, religious and national identity markers, as an integration concept focused on

²⁵ C. Sinanoglu, TGD, personal communication, April 17, 2018

²⁶ C. Sinanoglu, TGD, personal communication, April 17, 2018

migrants, but additionally incorporates gender, sexual orientation, ability and class (ISDN, 2018). This underlines the vision *'that it becomes a normality, that diversity is seen as an enrichment and not as a deficit'* (Moket²⁷). As Foroutan argues under the condition of accepting the plural realities in German society, integration can function as a “metanarrative that gives meaning and purpose to heterogeneity” (Foroutan, 2015, pp. 4, 5), when objectives are not organized around identity politics, but around the holistic socio-political vision of participation and equal chances in society. Accordingly, while integration as a terminology was rejected by the TGD, because *'in the public discourse it is difficult to somehow reframe the meaning of this term'* (Sinanoglu²⁸), the TGD's anti-discriminatory framing of socio-political aims is still consistent with Foroutan's metanarrative of integration.

Additionally, the network building efforts of the TGD are in line with the metanarrative of integration since the TGD actively engages in coalition formation with MOs and NDO, as well as collective claim-making beyond mere identity politics. For example, the TGD's efforts against the discrimination of LGBTQ refugees (TGD, 2018) show a recognition of grievances towards other groups which is described as cause affirmation and co-development of commitments (McCammon & Moon, 2015, p. 5). Joining the struggle of other groups heighten the potential for coalition building (Ibid.), which consequently facilitates the pooling resources in the form of diffusion (Ibid., p. 2; Tilly & Tarrow, 2007, p. 215). This solidarity strengthens the socio-political positioning of the TGD. The interviewees of the TGD and the NDO stated that the organisations are complementing each other since they *'want the same, just the external representation is a different one'* (Sinanoglu²⁹). This means that through their complementing representation the NDO and TGD can mobilise a bigger constituency, while being aligned through common aims. These shared aims are the reason that *'the TGD is from the beginning part of the steering committee'* (El-

²⁷ S. Moket, DaMigra, personal communication, March 29, 2018

²⁸ C. Sinanoglu, TGD, personal communication, April 17, 2018

²⁹ C. Sinanoglu, TGD, personal communication, April 17, 2018

Helaifi³⁰), while this positioning of the TGD as a broker simultaneously facilitated a movement change inside the TGD, as described by Karim El-Helaifi and Cihan Sinanoglu. Being a broker the TGD's potential to "help divergent groups negotiate differences" (McCammon & Moon, 2015, p. 5) manifests itself; Firstly, in their efforts to establish the national conference of MOs at which the NDO participated. Secondly, by dedicating workshop space to address the differences, similarities and relations between MOs and NDO at the conference, the TGD promotes coalition building, because according to Diani and Mische (2015, pp. 13, 14) articulating these movement ties constitutes active relation-building. The following section analyses the intentional alliance-building efforts of the NDO.

The NDO, facilitator of an alliance along the cleavage of plurality

The NDO as a post-migrant social movement unifies diverse organisations in a network through the common vision of participation and equal chances in the German society constituting a pro-plurality alliance. In trying to understand how the NDOs networking efforts influence their socio-political positioning, it is relevant to highlight that their organisational development is closely interrelated with their networking efforts. The movement as shown above is organised in a flexible network structure incorporating MOs as the TGD. Coherently, the CEO of the NDO Gün Tank highlights that the NDO has a broad network base, consisting of MOs as well as NDO, who are active in diverse fields. Ideologically, they are positioned on the political spectrum from left to right but aligned through the common vision of '*a society in which awareness of racism and discrimination prevails*' (Tank³¹) and '*in which equal opportunities and equal participation are promoted*' (El-Helaifi³²). This mobilisation beyond traditional cleavages as ethnic identities or positioning in the political spectrum is coherent with Foroutans elaborations on how alliances are formed around the new cleavage of plurality in

³⁰ K. El-Helaifi, NDO, personal communication, April 4, 2018

³¹ G. Tank, NDO, personal communication, April 25, 2018

³² K. El-Helaifi, NDO, personal communication, April 4, 2018

post-migrant societies (Foroutan, 2017, p. 123). As a strength Gün Tank highlights the consequent ability of the network to bring together organisations with diverse identity formations and ideologies under a common socio-political vision.

The member organisations contribute to this vision in various sectors of society, making diverse claims for distinct social realities, and simultaneously benefiting from solidarity and representation on the national level through the NDO. For example, Karim El-Helaifi elaborates that the New German Media Professionals' aim "furthering diversity in the media" (Neue Deutsche Medienmacher, 2018) and the "Schülerpaten" (student advocates) aim to promote civic participation and equal chances in schools for students with a migration background (Schülerpaten, 2018) through bringing together volunteer tutors with pupils, that have with a migration background. "DeutschPlus" advises organisations on diversity management, creates networks and aims to contribute to the narrative of Germany as a country of immigration (Deutsch-Plus, 2018). Connecting diverse actors like these, the NDO facilitates diffusion in the form of knowledge transfer between them, while the awareness of other similar actors in the region additionally contributes to internal solidarity with the potential of collective action (Tilly & Tarrow, 2007, pp. 30, 31). Specifically, the annual national congress is used to establish collaborations between individual organisations and '*formulate collective-claims, which [they] can than support through the NDO on the national level*' (El-Helaifi³³).

"The national congress of new German organisations is now the biggest networking event of persons of color and of those who are marked as migrants in Germany" - Ferda Ataman, first representative of the NDO (NDO, 2018c).

The congress addresses structural conditions relevant to the work of all member organisations, facilitates solidarity and knowledge exchange among members and promotes collaboration beyond group specific grievances. Susanna Steinbach elaborates that at the national congress in 2018, the commonly relevant issues of

³³ K. El-Helaifi, NDO, personal communication, April 4, 2018

promoting viable equality data to make structural discrimination visible and just financial support structure for NDO and MOs were discussed. Regarding future coordination among members it was outlined by Susanna Steinbach that no regional hubs of the organisation would be established, but that the approximately 1000 nationwide contacts of the NDO would be made accessible to support collaboration with ministerial partners and other member organisations in the region. In this, the congress promotes a sense of unity among the members, addresses shared structural challenges and facilitates collaboration and collective action. Karim El-Helaifi further highlights a quality of the congress was that not only racism but all forms of discrimination are addressed and that grievances of MOs are equally considered, which is visible in the NDOs participation in the national conference of MOs.

This alliance between NDO and MOs, united by the vision of pro-plurality is opposed by a growing anti-plurality mobilisation through the AFD forming across traditional cleavages. *'The intensive cooperation between organisations identifying as NDO and MOs is very important, because just together you can win the battle'* (Tank³⁴), which as an intentionally graphic formulation highlights the socio-political conflict between two polarised alliances forming in the post-migrant German society, in coherence with Foroutan's analysis (2016b, p. 249). On the one side, stands the described pro-plurality alliance of MOs and NDO envisioning equal participation and chances in society and on the other side, the AFD mobilising voters through anti-immigration narratives accompanied by a general political shift to the right. This shift as Gün Tank describes is visible to different degrees in the politics and narratives of other parties and in the political debates in general, showing that this mobilisation occurs across traditional cleavages.

The anti-plurality mobilisation is driven through the cipher of anti-immigration narratives that excludes and marks new Germans and Muslims as migrants. Karim El-Helaifi highlights that through the mainstreaming of essentialist and nationalist

³⁴ G. Tank, NDO, personal communication, April 25 ,2018

narratives new Germans are *'excluded from the discourse, which currently happens to Muslims a lot, when the word Muslim is used synonymously with migrant'* (El-Helaifi³⁵), while around 45% of all Muslims in Germany have a German citizenship (Stichs, 2016, p. 30). Here it shows that the anti-immigration narratives used in the AFD's *'politics of fear'* (Tank³⁶) represent a cipher that is used to construct a national identity by parts of the white German population, rejecting plurality.

'It is a matter of whether we want to be diverse or whether we do not want to be and that is a battle, a battle of cultures' (Sinanoglu³⁷).

As part of this battle for a culture of pro-plurality the NDOs claim to belong to the majority society is a key contention of the NDO which simultaneously means demanding the acceptance of plurality as Germany's empirical reality.

The acceptance of plurality as a characteristic of the post-migrant German society and consequently the equal recognition of rights, experiences and perspectives of persons of color constitute the first important aim of the NDO. All interviewees from NDO argue that the exclusion of persons with an experience of racism from the national narrative creates a democracy gap and a racist hierarchy of rights and interests. Karim El-Helaifi elaborates, that in the public debates and media representations this exclusion was visible when the "majority society" is mainly associated with "white" Germans and when narratives shaped by the AFD and PEGIDA *'about the fears and worries of white racist people'* (El-Helaifi³⁸) dominate political negotiations. These narratives often build on empirically unsupported "concerns of islamisation, infiltration and the death of a people" (Foroutan, 2016a, p. 103; Foroutan, 2016b, p. 241) and facilitate mobilisation for anti-Muslim marches and attacks on refugee accommodations, highlighting institutionalised racism in two ways. Firstly, contemporary demands in the political discourse to take these fears seriously legitimise these "nationalistic and

³⁵ K. El-Helaifi, NDO, personal communication, April 4, 2018

³⁶ G. Tank, NDO, personal communication, April 25, 2018

³⁷ C. Sinanoglu, TGD, personal communication, April 17, 2018

³⁸ K. El-Helaifi, NDO, personal communication, April 4, 2018

misanthropic ideologies” (Foroutan, 2016a, p. 103). Secondly, if the fears and voices of groups affected by these narratives and racist attacks are silenced their experience of racism is neglected, constituting a “secondary racism” (Mecheril & van der Haagen-Wulff, 2016, p. 132). Discursively, the NDO aims to make these forms of racism visible, by promoting the representation of marginalised perspectives and by creating political pressure to change structural discrimination.

Equal participation especially in the political system is necessary and constitutes a second key aim of the NDO’s contention to achieve a socio-political position from where they can claim inclusive policies and interculturally open services of institutions. Foroutan coherently states that “equitable economic, legal and political participation of all citizens in society’s central assets” (Foroutan, 2015, p. 4) and consequently, the democratic representation of a diverse constituency in all sectors of society is an important aim in the battle for the attitude towards plurality in the German society. In 2018, the “homeland ministry” was established as part of the Federal Ministry of the Interior, aiming to promote social cohesion, shortly after a public statement by the minister Horst Seehofer, who questioned whether Islam belongs to Germany (Tagesschau, 2018). The leaders of the homeland ministry are unexceptionally white men between the age of 45 and 60, which leaves the question regarding a democratic representation of the heterogenous constituency unanswered. This fact was criticized by all interviewees of the TGD and NDO as a symbolic statement against the reflexivity of Germany as a plural society.

To promote the representation in the public discourse diversifying media outlets could bring in the perspectives of and sensitivity towards persons who experience discrimination according to Karim El-Helaifi. This aim also applies to the representation of persons with migration background in state institutions, committees, leadership positions in organisations, in political parties and in the parliament, as Susanna Steinbach elaborates. In 2015, 21% of people living in Germany had a migration background (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2016) while only 10% were employed in public services, 2% as journalists and 4% as city council members (Foroutan, 2015, p. 2). The NDO demands that *‘the institutions have to*

reflect the plurality and diverse perspectives in the society' (El-Helaiifi³⁹), also in the higher levels of leadership. Consequently, the representation and acknowledgement of the plural realities of a post-migrant society by leaders and political representatives could promote just policy building, while diversified and interculturally sensitised institutions could better provide equal, needs-based services for diverse recipients.

Regarding the political participation of MOs and NDOs, all interviews pointed out that the work of MOs and NDO in the field is highly dependent on the often-limited access to funding. The NDO promotes a funding structure which would cover basic running costs for MOs and NDO to operate beyond short project funding cycles and which would be proportionate to the government's demands on their contributions and expertise in the field of integration and discrimination (NDO, 2017). Hence, on the base of promoting an acceptance of Germany as a plural post-migrant society and equal participation, which is interpedently linked to the access to resources and services, the aim of equal chances in society describes a third aim of the NDO.

The interviewees state that the NDO support anti-discrimination measures to provide equal chances in the society to counter all forms of discrimination and demand holistic equality data, which coherently reflects diverse forms of discrimination. Karim El-Helaiifi elaborates, that the NDO aims to create *'independent reporting structures for discrimination, not only for racism, but for all forms of discrimination'* (El-Helaiifi⁴⁰) in the education system. *'A school system, which is inclusive means it does not need to be specifically for migrants or persons with a migration background, but it just has to be good'* (Steinbach⁴¹). This highlights the angle of the NDO to use anti-discrimination measures to build just socio-political structures rather than promoting to better the position of certain identity groups. As a precondition for countering discriminatory structures *'first*

³⁹ K. El-Helaiifi, NDO, personal communication, April 4, 2018

⁴⁰ K. El-Helaiifi, NDO, personal communication, April 4, 2018

⁴¹ S. Steinbach, TGD, personal communication, April 4, 2018

you need to be aware of the discrimination that occurs’ (El-Helaifi⁴²). As a result, the NDO aims to make discrimination and underlying structures visible.

‘As a representative organisation we claim that the social feature migration background essentially does not reflect racism experience’ (Tank⁴³). For example, persons of color living in Germany for many generations are not visible in the statistics as having a migration background but still experience racism. Further Gün Tank explains the feature is not coherent with the indicator of ‘origin language’ used in the school system, which presents a data problem for research and policy. Consequently, to promote equality data that clearly and consistently depicts all forms of structural discrimination is an essential issue for the NDO, which was discussed at the national congress in March 2018. This suggests that the NDO is not only concerned with structures of racism but aims to promote a holistic socio-political agenda of anti-discrimination acknowledging grievances of other marginalised groups. An intersectional socio-political agenda of MOs and PMOs means for example *‘that the participation of women who have a flight or migration background does not require a special focus, but that it would become a normality’* (Moket⁴⁴).

The NDOs prioritisation of collaboration over identity politics and socio-politics over integration policy is coherent with the TGDs aims, which results in the mutual acknowledgment of needs and strong movement ties (Diani & Mische, 2015, pp. 13, 14). As Karim El-Helaifi elaborates, the NDO *‘want a socio-politics for all’* (El-Helaifi⁴⁵) in contrast to the contemporary narratives shaped by the paternalistic concept of integration policy.

‘It is not practical that five German white men discuss on the family reunification policy and nobody who is affected by this is sitting at the table. If people who are

⁴² K. El-Helaifi, NDO, personal communication, April 4, 2018

⁴³ G. Tank, NDO, personal communication, April 25, 2018

⁴⁴ S. Moket, DaMigra, personal communication, March 29, 2018

⁴⁵ K. El-Helaifi, NDO, personal communication, April 4, 2018

affected are not sitting at the table, it is questionable whether the discussion is sensible and what its aim is' (El-Helaifi⁴⁶).

Different member organisations of the NDO address unique forms of discrimination on the base of their own experiences and perspectives, which as a form of democratic self-representation is essential for the NDOs contention as Karim El-Helaifi points out. Building up on this inclusive approach of contention, Susanna Steinbach explains that *'the diversity of Germany as a country of immigration consists of the realities of both' MOs and NDO, 'who have sometimes diverging needs'*(Steinbach⁴⁷). The ability to mutually respect and support these varied needs of MOs and NDO is possible because *'the TGD is part of the NDO and the conference of migrant organisation creates that balance, because the NDO participates'* (Steinbach⁴⁸). These relational characteristics constitute very strong movement ties between those organisations through direct relationship, shared projects and practices, co-membership in organizations as well as co-presence at events (Diani & Mische, 2015, p. 6)

Besides promoting these strong ties and having shared aims with the TGD and other MOs, throughout the analysis it is highlighted that the new German's angle of contention is unique, distinguishing the NDO from other political actors. *'In our vision we often claim the same, but the perspective from which we claim is a different one'* (El-Helaifi⁴⁹). The data supports the argument that the distinct perspective of Germans with an experience of racism reveals the quality of structural discrimination behind the cipher of anti-immigration narratives in Germany. When neither being born and socialised in Germany, nor holding the German citizenship guarantee equal rights and opportunities in a liberal democracy, it highlights that the dividing question is not whether to accept or reject immigration. It is the question of whether to be able to accept that fellow citizens

⁴⁶ K. El-Helaifi, NDO, personal communication, April 4, 2018

⁴⁷ S. Steinbach, TGD, personal communication, April 4, 2018

⁴⁸ S. Steinbach, TGD, personal communication, April 4, 2018

⁴⁹ K. El-Helaifi, NDO, personal communication, April 4, 2018

are phenotypically or in any other way diverse and still have equal rights to participate in the society without being discriminated. The interviewees argue that when one considers that it is unconstitutional and undemocratic if the fear of plurality takes the form of racism the concept “integration” in a plural democracy should not only apply to people marked as migrants, but also to people who do not comply with the democratic values and the constitution of a plural German democracy. In this integration becomes a metanarrative for a socio-political vision for the post-migrant German society. This outlines that the hybrid identity formations and post-migrant framing of new Germans is a valuable analytic tool and an effective activist position for making pro-plurality claims.

Another unique feature of the NDO, that became clear through the analysis is that they are not positioned parallel to MOs in the field and other groups, for example *‘inside the TGD the NDO is represented, not as an organisation, but as a form of movement’* (Sinanoglu⁵⁰). Karim El-Helaifi describes this phenomenon in the NDO’s vision for an equal and plural society, that: *‘Everybody who wants to participate with these values and with this mindset is in my eyes a new German’* (El-Helaifi⁵¹). Cihan Sinanoglu argues a requirement to develop a new socio-political vision is solidarity and partnership:

‘That means that the TGD and all migrant organisations need to connect in the near future with unions, charitable associations with churches with parties but also with other social actors. It needs a consolidation’ (Sinanoglu⁵²).

Accordingly, I argue that the alliance between MOs and NDO as a pro-plurality movement has the potential to mobilise people throughout the society across traditional cleavages and beyond the boundaries of MOs and PMOs.

⁵⁰ C. Sinanoglu, TGD, personal communication, April 17, 2018

⁵¹ K. El-Helaifi, NDO, personal communication, April 4, 2018

⁵² C. Sinanoglu, TGD, personal communication, April 17, 2018

5.1.3. Socio-political positioning: Discussion

To sum up, underlying mechanisms and processes identified in the development of the social movement base of the TGD highlighted that their initial mobilisation against the threat of racist attacks lead to a strong focus on anti-discrimination in their agenda. Besides diverse activities, having a broad target group and being an established actor in the field, the TGD still experiences exclusion from the national narrative. Their organisational development is linked to other MOs through their mandate for structural empowerment and to the NDO through their co-membership in their steering committee. The new Germans as an emerging actor in the field and as a new identity formation inside the TGD influences the TGDs development of a social movement base. The NDO mobilised against the threat of right-wing narratives in the public discourse that excluded new Germans from the national identity. This specific discrimination facilitated the emergence of a post-migrant angle of contention and consequently promoted a socio-political agenda that supports plurality. The network took the opportunity of a growing demographic, which was previously not represented and benefits from being predominantly socialised in Germany. This enables the new Germans to participate actively in the political discourse. Simultaneously, they struggle proportionally less from discrimination on the base of language or citizenship in comparison to migrants. These characteristics of the NDO and their internal coordination through a flexible network structure are complementary to the TGD's internal organisational development, which is relevant to understand the dynamics of their collaboration and the qualities of the formed alliance (Diani & Mische, 2015, p. 12)

The analysis of their alliance building outlined that the TGD provides resources through well-established regional structures and by representing one of the biggest minority groups in Germany. The TGD's 23 years of experience working in the field and establishing collaborations with and receiving certification from the government highlights how the NDO as a relatively young network builds upon the efforts of MOs like the TGD. At the same time, the NDO contributes to the alliance through their specific angle of contention and consequent framing, as well as

through their competences enabling them to position claims in the political debates. Both actors actively contribute to the network building among each other and with the other MOs. The TGD engages in an inclusive process of alliance building through the initiation of the first national conference of MOs. The NDO in comparison can include diverse organisations due to their flexible network structure, acknowledging grievances and integrating claims of other actors. Here the TGD and the NDO both display an effort to build strong movement ties among MOs and NDO by communicating their relationship and by promoting both group's grievances as equally important. They mutually participate in the national conference of MOs and the national congress of the NDO. Besides these platforms for reciprocal diffusion of frames (McCammon & Moon, 2015, p. 7), ideas and resources NDO, TGD, and other migrant organisations are aligned through a common socio-political vision. This vision coherently with the post-migrant frame emphasises acceptance of plurality, equal chances in society and equal participation. By forming this pro-plurality alliance MOs and NDO unify against the common threat of the AfD and the mainstreaming of anti-immigration narratives. This is coherent with Foroutan's description of antagonistic alliances engaging in a redistributive struggle in post-migrant societies. Specifically, the NDOs perspective of claim-making facilitates to deconstruct these anti-immigration narratives as a cipher for anti-plurality and therefore promotes a discursive shift; From an essentialist conceptualisation of integration as an obligation for migrants towards a narrative of a common socio-political vision for post-migrant Germany.

In that new Germans as a movement, but also as an emerging hybrid identity construction throughout the society, bare the potential to mobilise people who share this socio-political vision, with or without an experience of racism. Interrelating the results of the first part of the analysis prepares an answer to the first research sub-question:

“How do migrant organisations and new German organisation develop a social movement base and build alliances to enhance their socio-political positioning?”

The MOs and NDO develop a social movement base around threats and opportunities, while group specific grievances define the frames and competencies of their contentious politics. The NDO's and MO's development of a social movement base are interrelated, building upon the past efforts and achievements of MOs. MOs and NDO actively form alliances by promoting socio-political aims beyond these initial grievances, supported by intentional network building efforts and co-membership in organisations, participation in shared events and inclusive processes of communicating identity constructions, needs and mutual relations. Their alliance facilitates a stronger representation of their unity, commitment and numbers of persons who experience discrimination in Germany and a closer cooperation among them, as well as the diffusion of resources, ideas and frames. The formulations of aims through the post-migrant perspective specifically facilitates the forming of a pro-diversity alliance by breaking with traditional cleavages and by promoting a socio-political anti-discrimination agenda.

In contrast to exclusionary integration policies the pro-plurality alliance promotes equal participation and equal chances in the plural post-migrant society. This alliance strengthens the socio-political positioning of the TGD as an umbrella organisation and the NDO as a network, but also their individual member organisations and all MOs, engaging in alliance building with them. How this socio-political positioning is utilised by the MOs and NDO for collective claim-making is analysed in the second part of this analysis.

5.2. Collective claim-making of the pro-plurality alliance

This second part of the analysis examines how MOs and NDO collectively promote their socio-political agenda as part of the redistributive struggle along the cleavage of plurality as described in the post-migrant theory.

To do that, in the first section the five claim-making efforts by MOs and NDO are described and analysed. The discussion paper of MOs for the national integration summit in 2016 (DaMigra, 2016) was the first detailed collective claim-making effort by the pro-plurality alliance. Further, the policy paper by the NDO on alternative funding structures for MOs and NDO (NDO, 2017), the documentation of the first conference of migrant organisation (TGD, 2017), the opening speech of the national congress of NDO in 2018 (NDO, 2018c) and the statement of MOs at the national integration summit 2018 are analysed. In the second section, the collective claims formulated in the documents are analysed to describe their intended outcomes. To achieve that, mechanisms and processes are identified which describe the intended outcome of the collective claims. They are grouped according to three different levels of outcomes: the policy level, the level of political discourse and the socio-political positioning of MOs and NDO. Consequently, the second research sub-question is answered.

The main results are that MOs and NDO make coherent and coordinated claims for anti-discriminatory policies and stand in the public communications against the exclusive narratives of anti-immigration, cultural essentialism and a growing number of hate crimes in Germany. Using the post-migrant frame and arguing through constitutive rights, the pro-plurality alliance promotes anti-discrimination and participation as cornerstones of democracy building and social cohesion. In this their claims promote not a “minority privilege”, but a democratic socio-political vision of an inclusive post-migrant society which has the potential to mobilise all those who agree with this vision.

5.2.1. Collective claim-making between 2016 and 2018

“For the first time have MOs worked together on such a wide spectrum of aims and measures to enable the participation through the intercultural opening of

organisations and institutions and highlighted their own contributions” (DaMigra, 2016, p. 21).

Discussion paper for the national integrations summit 2016

In November 2016, over 50 MOs and NDO jointly formulated the “discussion paper of migrant*organisations on participation in the immigration country” (DaMigra, 2016). This unique collaboration highlights that the newly established self-reflexivity of Germany as a country of immigration can be interpreted in two ways. It can result in a joint democratic process or lead to struggles between those living in Germany for centuries and those who arrived later. The later could threaten the social cohesion in the society which is coherent with Foroutan’s elaborations on redistributive struggles between antagonistic alliances for plurality, who polarise the society (Foroutan, 2016b). Subsequently, four key claims are voiced.

Firstly, it is claimed that plurality and participation should become a fundamental national attitude through implementing the aims of “participation, equal chances and integration of all people” (DaMigra, 2016, p. 11) into the constitution. On a policy level, this would be implemented by promoting intercultural opening as a leadership objective in institutions, as well as by regulating intercultural opening through the ‘national participation and integration law’. Secondly, MO’s participation in the process of intercultural opening is claimed by receiving support for their professionalisation and by establishing sustainable funding structures. In that a national council on intercultural opening would be formed and MOs could become responsible bodies for the intercultural development of organisations and measures of anti-discrimination. Thirdly, people with a migration background should participate in decision making of organisations and institutions. To promote this claim, it is suggested to establish target quotas for their representation in leadership positions, develop specific leadership programs and actively campaign for diverse employment processes (Ibid., p. 14). Fourthly, equal access to services

for all citizens should be provided independent of their origin by involving the national anti-discrimination unit in the legislative process. As a measure on the federal state level, coherent standards of measuring intercultural opening and increased research on structural disadvantages in Germany are suggested (Ibid., p. 17).

The paper intends to create an impulse for a long-term dialogue on “participation in the immigration society” (DaMigra, 2016, p. 21). Further, it should function as a blueprint for discussions on potential implementations with federal governments, parties or ministries. Susanna Steinbach elaborated that the paper provides an overview of the main claims and measures that can be referred to and even if not all the claims are fully operationalised, ‘*it is a door opener and it has found its way into various discussions*’ (Steinbach⁵³).

Policy brief: “Rethink the funding structures for migrant self-organisations”

Structural support is primarily aimed at ensuring that the organisation can set itself up structurally and make up for omissions in the past, represent itself better to the public and acquire projects, that provide a financial source after the initial structural support (Nergiz⁵⁴).

The policy brief on participation and alternative funding structures by the NDO (NDO, 2017) criticises that demands are made on MO’s and NDO’s support and expertise, while their organisational development is not supported with adequate funding. This policy brief goes in line with the interviewees’ elaborations on funding and provides specific details on the second claim of the discussion paper of the integration summit 2016 (DaMigra, 2016). In the policy brief, it is highlighted that MOs and NDO contribute significantly to the participation of large

⁵³ S. Steinbach, TGD, personal communication, April 4, 2018

⁵⁴ D. Nergiz, personal communication, April 5, 2018

groups of the society. Especially due to the increase of 8.5% of the population with a migration background within a year reaching 18.6 % in 2015, a socio-political strategy to manage the consequent societal changes is needed (NDO, 2017). Additionally, it was highlighted that MOs are already mediators between the migrant community and the administration, media, science and NGO's. They promote job market integration, intercultural opening, participation, health and care. Also, their role receives increasing certification (Tilly & Tarrow, 2007, p. 215) by the government (NDO, 2017), leading to their participation in regional committees. Although MOs and NDO take a key role in migration and human rights governance, they heavily rely on project funding and changing volunteer staff which is not sustainable for the development of organisational structures and professionalisation.

To provide a sustainable representation of this growing civil society group, a new funding structure would facilitate to close the democracy gap and increase MO's and NDO's positive influence on inclusion. Consequently, in the policy paper the NDO claims that structural funding for MOs should fully cover the manager and most of the organisations' running costs for four years. This would provide the opportunity for the organisations to build up their own funding structure, covering the *'minimum to be able to work successfully'* (Tank⁵⁵) while the specific funding plan outlined in the paper were exemplary suggestions.

1st national conference of migrant organisations in 2017

The first national conference of migrant organisations in November 2017 (TGD, 2017) was a key moment of alliance building as described in the first part of the analysis. Moreover, it was used as a platform by the pro-plurality alliance to formulate collective claims. These claims are coherent with the claims in the discussion paper in 2016 (DaMigra, 2016).

⁵⁵ G. Tank, NDO, personal communication, April 25 ,2018

Firstly, 60 MOs formulated that a legislative foundation for the equal participation of persons descending from immigrant families should be created. Also, a participation law should be established, complementing the immigration law that is currently limited to newly arrived immigrants (TGD, 2017, p. 3). Secondly, to acknowledge and utilise the perspective of MOs, the funding structure should be expanded as outlined above and MOs should generally be included in all relevant decision-making processes. Thus, a national council with experts to positively shape the immigration society is suggested. Thirdly, it is claimed that the representation deficit in public services and administration should be resolved; for example, by introducing target quotas. And fourthly, anti-discrimination policies should be improved to create tangible examples for protection measures of constitutive rights for the public (Ibid.).

Further, it is elaborated that the national conference of MOs provides a meeting point to critically reflect the progress of these claims and discuss contentious actions to reach them. Therefore, the national conference of MOs becomes a site of planning coordinated or collective actions around the shared aims and claims described above.

Opening speech at the national congress of the NDO in 2018

The national congress of the NDO in March 2018 was the “biggest network meeting of people of color and of those who are marked as migrants in Germany” (NDO, 2018c). As an important platform for the NDO and for the pro-plurality alliance, the opening speech of the co-founder of the NDO, Ferda Ataman helps to contextualise the collective claim-making on a discursive level and outlines contemporary threats for the NDO, MOs and the society. In the speech “Why it is time that we get loud” (NDO, 2018c), Ferda Ataman points out that inclusive policies and practises are regressing and the presumably secured common ground for the discourse is lost again. The coalition contract of the governing parties is criticised for not containing any acknowledgement of Germany’s history of

immigration. She elaborates that in the policy framing a “dramatic shift” (Ibid.) is visible which prioritises demanding integration from migrants over supporting migrants in the integration process.

Further she describes “we, the multicultural German society of the 21st century is afraid” (Ibid.), when *völkisch*⁵⁶ demonstrators hold anti-Muslim signs. Accordingly, the “we” stands not only for those who are marked as migrants, but all who disagree with the populist statements. Then, Ferda Ataman invites every individual and group to perceive and support the NDO as an “advocacy group for a society of plurality” (Ibid.) to form a counter movement to the AFD. This underlines the NDO’s intend to mobilise all pro-plurality groups of the society coherent with Foroutans predicted polarisation along the cleavage of plurality. The potential of this social appropriation by incorporating previously non-political groups (Tilly & Tarrow, 2007, p. 215) into the pro-plurality alliance becomes evident when looking at the mobilisation of the civil society in support of the refugee migration in 2015 and 2016. 15.000 initiatives were involved or newly founded working on the consequent societal challenges. In “May 2016 even 8,7% of over 14-year olds were involved in these initiatives” (Schiffauer, Eilert, & Rudloff, 2017, p. 13). If donations are also taken into consideration, the mobilised civil society accounts for over six million people. A common intention for their participation was to stand against groups that were hostile to refugees (Ibid., p.16), which supports Ferda Ataman’s claim that not only those marked as migrants are afraid and stand against rights wing groups and have the “political desire to live in or to create a cosmopolitan and pluralistic society” (Ibid.).

The speech closes with highlighting the importance not to put all efforts in reacting and engaging in the right-wing narratives but to actively focus on the contentious issues of the NDO to shape an alternative socio-political vision; Inclusion and participation, equal chances in the education system and anti-discrimination, and forming of alliances.

⁵⁶ (a person or ideology) populist or nationalist, and typically racist (Oxforddictionaries, 2018)

MOs and NDO at the national integration summit 2018

MOs and NDO participated on 13th of June 2018 in the national integration summit, where Ferda Ataman, the first representative of the NDO was sitting next to the chancellor Angela Merkel and the integration commissioner Annette Widmann-Mauz at the press conference. Horst Seehofer, head of the Federal *Ministry of the Interior* was not present at the summit since he disagreed with an article written by Ferda Ataman, where she criticised the ministers' exclusive conceptualisation of the term "homeland" in his political agenda. At the press conference she represented the NDO and MOs with a brief introductory speech (NDO, 2018b).

Ataman started with the claim that the plurality of the German society is as a fact not politically debatable, which could be stated in the constitution. Further she criticised that migration in the public communications is portrayed as a phenomenon only relevant to those, who newly arrived. This would deny that the society was and is affected by migration, considering that every third child in Germany lives in a family influenced by immigration (Ibid.). The distinction of white Germans and migrants is here no longer viable and, in the public statements, the "exclusive we" is used talking about "our country, our values and our culture" (Ibid.). In reaction to the increasing racist attacks facilitated by the discursive shift in Germany, she advocates for a framing of homeland that reflects the plurality of the citizens not the homeland of the völkisch populists. Here, it becomes visible how the narratives in the public debates influence symbolic politics, policy, lived realities and that the struggle of pro- and anti-plurality groups manifest itself on a discursive level in conflicting framing of national belonging.

In the collective "statement of the migrant*organisations to the 10th national integration summit" (NDO, 2018a), around 50 MOs and NDO highlight their role as the collective memory of migration. They remind of the diversity among them regarding their organisational forms and their activities which go beyond the field of integration covering most socio-political field. In the document the five collective claims are supported by an argumentation through constitutional rights.

To strengthen social cohesion and democracy building “equal participation of persons with a history of migration in the social, political, economic and cultural life” (NDO, 2018a) is necessary. On the base of this vision, MOs and NDO state that they stand against all forms of group-based misanthropy and stand in solidarity with all who are affected by discrimination. Similarly, on a discursive level, they stand against the dominant occupation of anti-plurality voices in the debate. “Plurality needs to be shaped and defended” (Ibid.) which highlights that their alliance and struggle for pro-plurality is the base for their collective claim-making.

Firstly, they claim that the participation of MOs and NDO should be strengthened on the national, federal and communal level through structural funding. Secondly, by implementing a monitoring tool for the progress of participation, the integration summit should provide a platform to discuss objectives regarding participation and human rights education. Political education measures should be applied accordingly. Thirdly, a renewal of the anti-discrimination law and an additional development of effective anti-discrimination policies should be promoted, based on the understanding that anti-discrimination is not a “minority privilege, but a centrepiece of emancipated and democratic societies”. Fourthly, the alliance claims for an intercultural opening of the administration and governmental institutions through a participation law and a participation council formed by experts, who would be incorporated at the lower house of parliament (Bundestag). And fifthly, human rights and fundamental rights of refugees should be protected by granting the family reunification to close family members for subsidiary protected refugees. Also, through a decentralised placement of refugees in apartments instead of community accommodation, refugees should be protected from human rights violations due to organisational and housing deficiencies.

5.2.2. Intended outcomes of collective claim-making

The collective claim-making of the pro-plurality alliance is coherent in the content and framing of the claims and at all shared events between 2016 and 2018. This

highlights that through the coalition building and the diffusion of ideas, coordinated and collective actions (Tilly & Tarrow, 2007) occur.

The alliance firstly uses claim-making on a policy level by starting with the very first detailed self-representation of their worthiness, unity, numbers and commitment (Tilly & Tarrow, 2007, p. 219) through the discussion paper in 2016 providing various suggested measures. These measures are coherently claimed through the observed period. A legislative foundation for participation is claimed, which would constitute a certification of the fact that minorities are part of the plural society. The improvement of the funding structure for MOs and NDO to participate in the process of governing intercultural opening is another core claim. Further democratic representation in institutions and organisations on all levels and improved anti-discrimination laws and measures are claimed. Intended outcomes of these claims are certification through recognizing structural discrimination, mobilisation (Tilly & Tarrow, 2007, p. 215) through increased resources and re-framing the narrative of plurality as an enrichment for society.

Secondly, on a discursive level the framing of these coherent claims describes that the MOs and NDO promote a socio-political vision which acknowledges all grievances caused by discrimination (McCammon & Moon, 2015, p. 5). In this, anti-discrimination is not a minority privilege, but a cornerstone of democracy and social cohesion (NDO, 2018a). Against the framing of an exclusive homeland and “exclusive we” (NDO, 2018b), the alliance aims to disillusion (Tilly & Tarrow, 2007, p. 219) those who reject the plural reality of the German society.

Thirdly, regarding their socio-political positioning, the alliance aims to mobilise around their socio-political vision. Especially in the 2018 speech at the congress of the NDO an attribution of similarity is described between the NDO and those parts of the populations, who share the attitude of pro-plurality against populist misanthropy (NDO, 2018c). Here, the NDO aims to ‘socially appropriate’ (Tilly & Tarrow, 2007, p. 216) previously non-political groups and individuals into the alliance by offering to represent them as “an advocacy group for a society of plurality” (NDO, 2018c). This is coherent with the analysis of post-migrant

societies that predicts a polarisation throughout the society along the cleavage of plurality (Foroutan, 2016b).

Reflecting on the civil society's support of refugees arriving between 2015 and 2016, confirms that a group of over six million people in the population can be mobilised against the anti-immigrant populists like the AFD. *'We see migration including the refugee migration as a challenge to make the society in itself more just. She will be better for all if we reduce discrimination, not just for a minority'* (Sinanoglu⁵⁷). Therefore, I argue the refugee migration into Europe and Germany portrays a socio-political challenge, but also is an opportunity structure for MOs, NDO and the German civil society in general.

First outcomes, but not effects of the claim-making are visible as described by Ferda Ataman (NDO, 2016). A dramatic shift in the narratives of the political discourse and on a policy level show that the progress towards equal participation is to some degree regressing. This is evident in the coalition contract of the governing parties, while rising numbers of racist attacks affect all persons of color and those perceived as migrants.

Contrary to these developments, the policy claims described above show a consistent contention of MOs and NDO towards societal change decisively standing for equality and democratic representation. Considering that the NDO participated discursively as a key player in the 2018 integration summit and has mobilised a quickly expanding network, highlights their strengthened socio-political positioning. Simultaneously, they represent a growing demographic and mobilise a growing number of organisations and individuals, leading to the national congress of the NDO becoming the biggest networking event of persons of color and those marked as migrants in Germany.

"How do migrant organisations and new German organisations engage in collective claim-making to produce outcomes towards their political aims?" MOs and NDO make coherent and coordinated collective claims for inclusive policies

⁵⁷ C. Sinanoglu, TGD, personal communication, April 17, 2018

and stand in the discourse against the exclusive narratives of anti-immigration, cultural essentialism and the growing number of hate crimes. This sequence of claims qualifies as a social movement campaign, a “sustained challenge to power holders in the name of a population living under the jurisdiction of those power holders” (Tilly & Tarrow, 2007, p. 114). That supports the conclusion that the pro-plurality alliance constitutes a social movement, which was posed as an initial

Collective claim-making efforts underline the antagonistic polarisation of pro- and anti-plurality alliances in Germany, which is visible in a discursive framing dispute and policy struggles. In these negotiations, the pro-plurality alliance forms their claims in coherence with the post-migrant frame and argues through constitutive rights. NDO and MOs promote anti-discrimination and participation as cornerstones of democracy building and social cohesion. Further, the socio-political positioning of the pro-plurality alliance between the first collective claim-making in 2016 and the integration summit in 2018 was strengthened. The national conference of MOs provides a relevant platform for the internal communication on political aims and on coordinated contentious action.

I argue that since the pro-plurality alliance promotes not a “minority privilege”, but a democratic socio-political vision of an inclusive post-migrant society, it has the potential to mobilise all members of the German society agreeing with this vision. The mobilisation of large groups of the civil society in support of refugees back up this argument, while emerging anti-immigrant narratives, actions and regressing policies support Foroutan’s elaborations on polarisations along the cleavage of plurality in post-migrant societies.

5.3. Conclusion of the analysis

The diverse MOs and NDOs form against distinct threats and experiences of discrimination leading to group specific grievances. An intergenerational impact of migration is the emergence of hybrid identity formations which facilitate the new

German's post-migrant angle of contention and consequently a socio-political agenda that transforms traditional mobilisation processes. MOs and NDO form socio-political aims that acknowledge other groups' grievances, rather than practising identity politics. Next to threats, the organisations seize opportunity structures for their mobilisation, which define their specific competence and areas of expertise. On the base of these two preconditions MOs and NDO benefit from their organisation in umbrella organisations and networks in the form of diffusion of resources, ideas and frames (Tilly & Tarrow, 2007, p. 215) complementing each other through specific skills, experiences and asymmetrical organisational structures.

Through cause affirmation and co-development of commitments MOs and NDO gain heightened solidarity and strong movement ties (McCammon & Moon, 2015, p. 5). These improvements in return facilitate the alliance's increased self-representation of the unity, commitment, and numbers of all persons who experience discrimination in Germany. Additionally, the NDO and TGD share events, organisational membership and actively shape their interorganisational network building. They gradually diffuse aims and frames that constitute a common socio-political vision for the post-migrant society. In this, they promote acceptance of Germany as the plural society that she is and promote equal economic, social, cultural and political participation, as well as equal chances for all in a discrimination sensitive society. This agenda is coherent with the socio-political vision proposed by Foroutan, applying the post-migrant frame (Foroutan, 2015). On the base of building this pro-plurality alliance, MOs and NDO significantly strengthen their socio-political positioning as a precondition for collective claim-making.

Antagonistic polarisations occur in the collective claim-making efforts by the of pro- and anti-plurality alliances in Germany which is visible in discursive framing and policy struggles. In this, the pro-plurality alliance uses the post-migrant frame and argues through constitutive rights by promoting anti-discrimination and participation as cornerstones of democracy building and social cohesion. MOs and

NDO make coherent and coordinated claims for inclusive policies relevant to all groups of society and stand in the discourse against the exclusive narratives of anti-immigration, cultural essentialism and the growing number of hate crimes. Their claims promote a framing that aims to replace the exclusive integration narrative with an inclusive socio-political vision. MOs and NDO state that plurality is an undebatable feature of the German society and break with the consequently unfeasible distinction between migrants and white Germans. Moreover, they promote not a “minority privilege”, but a democratic socio-political vision of an inclusive post-migrant society. Through arguing along democratic values, the alliance aims to deactivate boundaries between white Germans and persons of color or those marked as migrants, simultaneously attributing ideological similarities along the cleavage of plurality.

How do migrant organisations and new German organisations engage in contentious politics to promote their vision for the German society?

MOs and NDO influence their socio-political positioning by joining the struggles of other minorities, aligning against all forms of discrimination and sharing their skills, ideas and resources in their actively shaped networks. By establishing networking capabilities through platforms and cooperation, MOs and NDO strengthen their socio-political positioning. They promote solidarity in claim-making and alliance building along socio-political aims that are coherent with the post-migrant frame and with engaging in collective claim-making. Collective claim-making efforts of the pro-plurality alliance are coherent and qualify as a social movement campaign, supporting the argument that the researched MOs and NDO have sustained a social movement of pro-plurality. They do not make their claims for a minority, but as a transformative socio-political vision that MOs and NDO have based on an argumentation through democratic rights and social cohesion. These constitutional qualities enable them to address all German citizens, not only persons of color, migrants or those marked as migrants. Further, offering to become a national advocacy group for a society of plurality in an antagonistic position to the AFD, the NDO has the potential to position itself as a

countermovement. The pro-plurality alliance aims to incorporate the pro-plural civil society, which considering the extensive mobilisations of six million supporters for refugees during 2015 and 2016 is a feasible perspective for the social movement.

The initial assumption based on the analysis of the post-migrant societies was that MOs and NDO form alliances along the cleavage of plurality and in solidarity with anti-discriminatory struggles and that these alliances engage in collective claim-making as one social movement. Both parts of the assumption were confirmed, adding that the alliance promotes an inclusive post-migrant society which accepts plurality, equal participation and values equal chances in society.

6. Discussion

The discussion of the research results and their implications should be seen in the context of the limitations of this research, which are outlined in the methodology section. Especially due to the limited size of the research project and the nature of this thesis being explorative due to the extensive research demand in this area a limited number of organisations were analysed. Therefore, the results are not generalisable on the contentious politics of all MOs and PMOs in Germany, if they are not yet participants of the national conference of MOs and on other societies until further research is conducted. Nonetheless, the activities of many organisations are touched upon in this research, since the TGD and NDO represent together over 390 organisations and are major actors in the networking efforts in this field.

The process to understand how MOs and NDO engage in contentious politics to promote their aims in the context of a growing plurality in the German post-migrant society was a motivating and challenging progress. It was surprising to discover that MOs and NDO collaborate on various networking events and that in their alliance-building efforts they prioritise shared aims over their different identities and grievances.

Another unexpected result of the research is that the pro-plurality alliance between MOs and NDO does not only qualify as a social movement, but that this social movement has the incentive and potential to mobilise large groups of the German society. It is too early to say whether the movement will include other organisations and groups beyond MOs and NDO. This research showed that the alliance has a very strong social movement base in the form of networks and umbrella organisations between MOs and PMOs that increase the socio-political positioning of the organisations, both individually and collectively. Consequently, future social movement campaigns are possible and plausible.

I want to outline how the implications of these results could influence the theoretical conceptualisation of social movements. Tilly and Tarrow define the effects of globalisation leading to new forms of social movement mobilisation. Such as, a trend towards an emerging global civil society which produces the transnationalisation of social movements (Tilly & Tarrow, 2009, S. 23). I argue that the intergenerational impact of global migration and the consequent hybridisation of individual and collective identities lead away from narrow identity formations around group specific grievances. This conclusion implies that social movements and generally contentious politics in post-migrant societies shift towards an agenda-based mobilisation. Further research in other societies, that qualify as post-migrant societies could test this hypothesis.

The researched events of claim-making on five occasions were all recent and contemporary which made it interesting to follow these developments. For example, the minister of the interior Horst Seehofer was absent from the national integration summit, due to a comment in an article by the representative of the NDO, Ferda Ataman, who criticised the framing of homeland as a culturally essentialising narrative. This development highlights that the claims on plurality also influence the administration, since Angela Merkel took a firm stance in inviting Ferda Ataman to the press conference despite Horst Seehofer's objections. This dynamic supports the elaborations of Foroutan on the polarisation occurring throughout post-migrant societies along the cleavage of plurality (Foroutan, 2016b).

Other recent events further strengthen the argument that a mobilisation of all members of the German society by the pro-plurality movement is feasible. Migrants and new Germans started the online campaign *#metwo* which relates to the *#metoo* movement. Its initiation provides a platform for persons with hybrid, so *two*, identity constructions to voice their experiences of discrimination. The initiative *#unteilbar* (indivisible) brought together over 240.000 demonstrators on October 13th, 2018 in Berlin (Unteilbar, 2018). The initiative mobilised for the cause "solidarity instead of exclusion – for an open and free society" and organised in

reaction to the xenophobic right-wing marches in Chemnitz at the end of August 2018. The NDO, TGD and DaMigra were initial supporters of the initiative (Unteilbar, 2018).

Analysing the underlying dynamics of the socio-political development and claim-making of MOs and NDO by using concepts of social movement theory and the post-migrant frame as a lens to comprehend their socio-political vision has proven to be a fruitful approach. This combination helped to identify the role of the new cleavage of plurality in the formation of antagonistic alliances forming and conflicting each other politically. I think that the connection between the post-migrant frame and Tilly's and Tarrow's social movement theory as an analytical perspective provides a tool for future comparative studies on pro-plurality alliances of social movements in the European context. These would complement the research on anti-immigrant right-wing mobilisations.

MOs and specifically NDO showed a growing engagement in social media activities. Therefore, it seems relevant to include social media as a space of contentious politics in further research in this field, since platforms such as Facebook and Twitter make global campaigns like #metwo and #metoo much more possible, rapid and effective. Further research on other post-migrant mobilisations globally and in other European countries would provide a contextualisation of the case of Germany. Especially since the NDO collaborated with international actors on anti-discrimination during the national congress in 2018, it would be interesting to research international cooperation and guidance among MOs and PMOs.

Bibliography

- Adam, J., & Mazukatow, A. (2017). Trans-/Locally Situated: Informal Educational Processes and the Emergence of a New Urban Civil Society in „Post-Migrant“ Berlin. In *Second International Handbook Of Urban Education* (p. 1199). doi:10.1007/978-3-319-40317-5_63.
- Bernstein, M., & Taylor, V. (2013). Identity Politics. In *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*. doi:10.1002/9780470674871.wbespm104.
- Bryman, A. (2014). *Social research methods*. Oxford university press.
- Bundesregierung. (2018a). *Beauftragte für Integration [Comissioner for Integration]*. Retrieved from <https://www.bundesregierung.de/Webs/Breg/DE/Bundesregierung/BeauftragtefuerIntegration/beauftragte-fuer-integration.html>
- Bundesregierung. (2018b). *Flüchtlings- und Asylpolitik [Refugees and Asylum Policy]*. Retrieved from <https://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/Lexikon/FAQ-Fluechtlings-Asylpolitik/6-bilanz/03-Foerdern-fordern.html>
- Castles, S. (2011). Bringing human rights into the migration and development debate. *Global policy, Volume 2, Issue 3*, 248-258.
- chang#. (2015). Network Approaches and Social Movements. In *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements*. Oxford University Press.
- DaMigra. (2016). *Impulspapier der migrant*innenorganisationen zur teilhabe in der einwanderungsgesellschaft [Discussion paper on the participation in the immigration society]*. Retrieved from http://www.damigra.de/wp-content/uploads/Impulspapier_Teilhabe-in-der-Einwanderungsgesellschaft.pdf
- Della Porta, D. (2014). *Methodological practices in social movement research*. OUP Oxford.
- Deutsch-Plus. (2018). *Wer wir sind [Who we are]*. Retrieved from <https://www.deutsch-plus.de/wer-wir-sind/>
- Diani, M., & Mische, A. (2015). Network Approaches and Social Movements. In *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements*. Oxford University Press.

- Eggert, N., & Giugni, M. (2015). Migration and Social Movements. In *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved May 17, 2018, from <http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199678402.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199678402-e-16>
- Estévez, A. (2012). *Human rights, migration, and social conflict: towards a decolonized global justice*. Springer.
- FAZ. (2015, June 1). *Angela Merkel sieht Deutschland als Einwanderungsland [Angela Merkel views Germany as a country of immigration]*. Retrieved from FAZ: <http://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/ausland/europa/angela-merkel-sieht-deutschland-als-einwanderungsland-13623846.html>
- Foroutan. (2015). *Unity in Diversity: Integration in a Post-Migrant Society. Focus Migration*. Bonn: bpb. Policy brief.
- Foroutan. (2016a). Nationale Bedürfnisse und soziale Ängste. In M. d. Varela, & P. Mecheril, *Die Dämonisierung der Anderen: Rassismuskritik der Gegenwart*. Bielefeld.
- Foroutan. (2016b). Postmigrantische Gesellschaften. In H. Brinkmann, & M. Sauer, *Einwanderungsgesellschaft Deutschland [Post-migrant societies. In H. Brinkmann, & M. Sauer, German Immigration Society]*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.
- Foroutan. (2017a). *Audio: Integration neu denken - Die postmigrantische Perspektive in der Integrationsforschung [Audio: rethink integration- the post-migrant perspective in integration research]*. Von <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WegZW2JRksk> abgerufen
- Foroutan. (2017b). Ambivalent Germany. How to deal with migration, Muslims and democracy. In A. Jünemann, N. Scherer, & N. Fromm, *Fortress Europe?: Challenges and Failures of Migration and Asylum Policies*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.
- Foroutan, N., Canan, C., Arnold, S., Schwarze, B., Beigang, S., & Kalkum, D. (2014). *Deutschland postmigrantisch: Gesellschaft, Religion und Identität*. Berlin: Berliner Institut für Empirische Integrations- und Migrationsforschung [Germany Postmigrant: Society, religion and identity. Berlin: Berlin Institute for Empirical integration and migration research.].
- Hunger, U., & Candan, M. (2014). Politisches Engagement von Migranten in Vereinen und Verbänden: Migrantenorganisationen als politische Akteure. *Forschungsjournal Soziale Bewegungen [Political involvement of migrants*

in clubs and associations: migrant organisations as political actors. Research journal of social movements], Volume 27, Issue 4, 137-141.

- ISDN. (2018). *What is Diversity?* Retrieved from <https://www.isdnetwork.org/what-is-diversity.html>
- Klein, A. (2017). Einleitung zum Pulsschlag des Themenschwerpunkts: Förderpolitische Voraussetzungen von Integration . *Forschungsjournal Soziale Bewegungen* 30(3) [Introduction to the pulse of the main topic: Support policy as prerequisites for integration. *Research journal of social movements*], 95-98.
- Koenig, M., & De Guchteneire, P. (2017). Political governance of cultural diversity. In *Democracy and human rights in multicultural societies*. Routledge.
- McCammon, H., & Moon, M. (2015). Social Movement Coalitions. In *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements*. Oxford University Press.
- Mecheril, P., & van der Haagen-Wulff, M. (2016). Bedroht, angstvoll, wütend. Affektlogik der Migrationsgesellschaft]. In M. del Mar Castro Varela, & P. Mecheril, *Die Dämonisierung der Anderen. Rassismuskritik der Gegenwart [Threatened, fearful, angry. Logik of affectionism in the immigrant society; in: The demonisation of the "other". Criticism of racism in the present]*. Bielefeld.
- Modood, T. (2013). Post-immigration ‘difference’and integration: The case of Muslims in Western Europe. *New Paradigms in Public Policy*.
- NDO. (2016). *Deutschland – weiter gedacht 2. Bundeskongress der Neuen Deutschen Organisationen [Germany – Continued thinking 2nd Federal Congress of the new German organizations]*. Retrieved from https://neuedeutsche.org/fileadmin/user_upload/PDFs/Bericht_Bundess
- NDO. (2017). *Partizipation Gestalten: Umdenken bei der Förderpolitik für Migrant*innenselbstorganisationen und Neue Deutsche Organisationen [Shaping participation: Rethinking the support policy for migrant self-organisations and new German organisations]*. Policy Brief. Retrieved from https://neuedeutsche.org/fileadmin/user_upload/NDO_POLICY_PAPER_Foerderpolitik2017.pdf
- NDO. (2018a). *Gemeinsam Demokratie stärken, gemeinsam Werte leben – Stellungnahme der Migrant*innenorganisationen zum 10. Nationalen Integrationsgipfel am 13. Juni 2018 [Strengthening democracy together, living together values –Statement of the migrant organizations to*. Retrieved

- from
https://neuedeutsche.org/fileadmin/user_upload/PDFs/Integrationsgipfel_2018__Stellungnahme_der_MOs__12.06_.pdf
- NDO. (2018b). *Integrationsgipfel, Input bei Pressekonferenz [Integration Summit, Input at press conference]*. Retrieved from <https://neuedeutsche.org/de/denkfabrik/reden-vortraege/>
- NDO. (2018c). *Warum es Zeit ist, dass wir laut werden [Why it's time we get louder]*. National congress of the New German Organizations.
- Nesbitt-Larking, P., & Kinnvall, C. (2012). The discursive frames of political psychology. *Political Psychology*, 45-59.
- Neue Deutsche Medienmacher. (2018). *Organisational Profile. Information in English*. Retrieved from <https://www.neuemedienmacher.de/information-in-english/>
- Oxforddictionaries. (2018, November 11). *völkisch | Definition of völkisch in English by Oxford Dictionaries*. Retrieved from Oxford Dictionaries | English: <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/volkisch>
- Römhild, R. (2017). Beyond the bounds of the ethnic: for postmigrant cultural and social research. *Journal Of Aesthetics & Culture, Volume 9, Issue 2*, 69-75.
- Saldaña, J. (2015). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. Sage.
- Schiffauer, W., Eilert, A., & Rudloff, M. (2017). *So schaffen wir das- eine Zivilgesellschaft im Aufbruch: 90 wegweisende Projekte mit Geflüchteten [That's how we manage it - A civil society in the awakening: 90 groundbreaking projects with refugees]*. transcript Verlag.
- Schülerpaten. (2018). *Über uns: Die Idee [Overview: the idea]*. Retrieved from http://www.schuelerpaten-deutschland.de/Ueber_Uns/Die_Idee.php
- Statistisches Bundesamt. (2016). *Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund auf Rekordniveau [German Federal Statistical Office. Population with a migrant background at record level]*. Press Release No. 327 16 September.
- Stichs, A. (2016). *Wie viele Muslime leben in Deutschland? Eine Hochrechnung über die Anzahl der Muslime in Deutschland zum Stand 31. Dezember 2015 [How many Muslims live in Germany? An extrapolation of the number of Muslims in Germany to the state of 31 December 2015]*. Nürnberg [Nuremberg]: Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge [Federal Office for Migration and refugees]. Retrieved from

http://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Publikationen/WorkingPapers/wp71-zahl-muslime-deutschland.pdf?__blob=publicationFile

- Tagesschau. (2018, March 16). *Inland: Seehofer und Islam [Inland: Seehofer and Islam]*. Retrieved from <https://www.tagesschau.de/inland/seehofer-islam-101.html>
- Terkessidis, M. (2012). *Interkultur*. Berlin: Suhrkamp Verlag.
- TGD. (2017, November 9). *Bundeskonferenz der Migrantenorganisationen [First National Conference of Migrant Organisations]*. Retrieved from <https://www.tgd.de/2017/11/09/20-21-november-2017-in-berlin/>
- TGD. (2018, May 16). *Angekommen - in Sicherheit? Fachtag zur Umsetzung des besonderen Schutzbedarfs von LSBTTIQ Geflüchteten in Stuttgart [Arrived - in safety? Symposium for the implementation of the special protection of LSBTTIQ refugees in Stuttgart]*. Retrieved from <https://www.tgd.de/2017/05/16/angekommen-in-sicherheit-fachtag-zur-umsetzung-des-besonderen-schutzbedarfs-von-lsbttiq-gefluechteten-in-stuttgart/>
- TGD. (2018a). *Mission statement of the TGD*. Retrieved from <https://www.tgd.de/ueber-uns/>
- TGD. (2018b). *Projects: Structural support towards a central national provider for empowerment strategies with migrant organisations*. Retrieved from <https://www.tgd.de/projekte/tragerforderung/>
- Tilly, C., & Tarrow, S. (2007). *Contentious politics*. Boulder: Paradigm.
- Tilly, C., & Tarrow, S. (2009). Contentious Politics and Social Movements. In *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved from Retrieved 27 Nov. 2018, from <http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/97801995>
- UN. (2018). *Global compact for safe, orderly and regular migration draft*. Retrieved from https://refugeesmigrants.un.org/sites/default/files/180326_draft_rev1_final.pdf
- Unteilbar. (2018, October 13). *Unteilbar, Supporters of the Initiative*. Retrieved from #Unteilbar: Solidarität statt Ausgrenzung- Für eine offene und freie Gesellschaft [„solidarity instead of exclusion- for an open and free society”]: <https://www.unteilbar.org/wir/erstunterzeichnende/>

Yildiz, E., & Hill, M. (2014). *Nach der Migration: postmigrantische Perspektiven jenseits der Parallelgesellschaft [After Migration: Post-migrant perspectives beyond the parallel society]*. transcript Verlag.

Appendix – Mechanisms and Processes according to Tilly and Tarrow (2007)

Mechanisms

Attribution of similarity: identification of another political actor as falling within the same category as your own.

Boundary formation: creation of an us-them distinction between two political actors.

Boundary activation/deactivation: increase (decrease) in the salience of the us-them distinction separating two political actors.

Boundary shift: change in the persons or identities on one side or the other of an existing boundary.

Brokerage: production of a new connection between previously unconnected or weakly connected sites.

Certification: an external authority's signal of its readiness to recognize and support the existence and claims of a political actor.

Processes

Actor constitution: emergence of a new or transformed political actor – a recognizable set of people who carry on collective action, making and/or receiving contentious claims.

Coalition formation: creation of new, visible, and direct coordination of claims between two or more previously distinct actors.

Collective action: all coordinating efforts on behalf of shared interests or programs.

Coordinated action: two or more actors' mutual signaling and parallel making of claims on the same object.

Disillusionment: decline in the commitment of individuals or political actors to previously sustaining beliefs.

Framing: adopting and broadcasting a shared definition of an issue or performance.

Identity shift: emergence of new collective answers to the questions "Who are you?" "Who are we?" and "Who are they?"

Mobilisation: increase in the resources available to a political actor for collective making of claims.

New coordination: coordination produced by the combination of brokerage and diffusion.

Self-representation: an actor's or coalition's public display of worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitment.

Social appropriation: conversion or incorporation of previously existing nonpolitical groups and networks into political actors.