



*Governing Urban Diversity:  
Creating Social Cohesion, Social Mobility and Economic Performance in Today's Hyper-diversified Cities*

## **Governance arrangements and initiatives in Zurich, Switzerland**

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**Contents**

**1 Introduction.....4**

**2 Governance arrangements .....5**

    2.1 *Arrangements targeting social cohesion ..... 5*

    2.2 *Arrangements targeting social mobility ..... 12*

    2.3 *Arrangements targeting economic performance ..... 21*

**3 Synthesis and analysis of the results.....25**

**4 Conclusions .....29**

**5 References .....30**

*Legal documents and policy programmes ..... 30*

*Reviewed documents and sources of the selected governance arrangements ..... 30*

*Bibliography ..... 30*

**6 Appendix .....32**

*List of the interviewed persons ..... 32*

*List of the participants of the round-table talk ..... 32*

## 1 Introduction

The DIVERCITIES project focuses on the effects of hyper-diversity – the diversification of the population in socio-economic, social and ethnic terms, but also with respect to lifestyles, attitudes and activities – on city life (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013). Specifically, the project aims at documenting and critically analysing policies and governance arrangements that deal with urban diversity in a positive way. The already completed assessment of urban policies on diversity in the city of Zurich highlighted three important findings (Plüss and Schenkel, 2014). First, the focus of the governmental discourse on diversity in Switzerland lies on immigration and thereby on cultural and ethnic aspects – labelled as integration policy, while socio-economic and socio-demographic diversity are of less importance. Second, the use and perception of diversity differ between state levels: in contrast to the national and the cantonal policy, the city of Zurich frequently uses the term ‘diversity’, and it does so in a more open, comprehensive and positive manner. Third, integration of immigrants is often narrowly framed as integration into the labour market. The economic rationale behind this approach does not necessarily contribute to a better social integration of immigrants.

The aim of the present report is to identify and investigate governance arrangements dealing with urban diversity and thereby promoting the positive aspects of a diverse society. The focus is on smaller, bottom-up arrangements and initiatives – sometimes organised by a small group of inhabitants within a neighbourhood, sometimes embedded in the political system – that pursue at least one of the three overarching objectives investigated by the DIVERCITIES project: strengthening social cohesion, enhancing social mobility and boosting economic performance.

Governance is often defined as a shift towards a more horizontal style of decision-making, towards closer cooperation between state and civic actors in policy networks and informal arrangements (Benz, 2004; Kooiman, 1993; Pierre, 2000; Rhodes, 1997; Stoker, 1998). This concept does not have a well-defined outline, but is generally considered ‘*arrangements in which public as well as private actors aim at solving societal problems or create societal opportunities*’ (Kooiman, 2000: 139). So, governance refers to interactions between the public and private sectors, to collaborations in order to achieve common goals. Thereby, the traditional demarcations between state and civil society are becoming blurred. According to Pierre (2011: 5), governance ‘*looks at the interplay between state and society and the extent to which collective projects can be achieved through a joint public and private mobilisation of resources.*’ In the DIVERCITIES project, we operate with a comprehensive definition of governance, including variable forms of steering, such as hierarchical interventions by the state, collaborations between public and business actors or informal cooperation in neighbourhood organisations.

While describing and analysing the selected governance arrangements, we aim at providing answers to the following three main research questions:

- How is diversity conceptualised within the governance arrangements?
- Which are the main factors influencing success or failure of the governance arrangements?
- Can we identify new ideas for innovative policies and governance concepts?

The case selection process drew on different criteria. The main rationale behind the sampling procedure was to provide a wide variety of initiatives and arrangements that focus on dealing with urban diversity in a positive way and pursuing the goals of strengthening social cohesion, social mobility and economic performance in the case study area. To some extent, the selected arrangements should also be typical and representative of the country and the city, and they should provide some innovative potential in creating societal opportunities. The arrangements all

have an impact within the selected case study area – the two bordering districts 4 and 9 of the city of Zurich – but their sphere of action is not necessarily congruent with the selected perimeter. Districts 4 and 9 constitute an interesting case study area since they provide a very diverse and dynamic environment with a comparably high percentage of foreign nationals.

The research method is based on a qualitative approach and involves documentary analysis, semi-structured interviews with representatives of the selected arrangements and a round-table talk validating the results of the case studies (a list of the interviewees and of the participants of the round-table talk are provided in the appendix). The fieldwork was carried out from February until April 2014.

The report is divided into four main chapters. Following this brief introduction, the second chapter provides a systematic description of the selected governance arrangements – structured according to the main objective of the individual arrangements. The third chapter presents a synthesis and a critical analysis of the case study results – answering the three main research questions. Finally, the conclusions are set out in the fourth chapter.

## 2 Governance arrangements

### 2.1 Arrangements targeting social cohesion

#### Intergalactic Choir

##### *Strategy, focus and organisation*

The Intergalactic Choir is a weekly meeting point and provides a friendly environment in order to bring people of totally different cultural backgrounds together. Its *target audience* are immigrants – especially asylum seekers and migrants without a residence permit – and Swiss people. The initiative's *primary aim* is to slightly foster the social cohesion within the city of Zurich. The Intergalactic Choir is a purely private, bottom-up initiative and functions independently from public funds. Four students who were already involved with teaching voluntary German classes for asylum seekers and refugees founded the choir in January 2012. The motivation of these young women was not only altruistic: *“We just had the desire to sing together and at the same time we were all involved with refugee matters, so it somehow happened quite coincidentally.”* The concept of integration is thereby of no importance and the interviewees, the two founders Lisa Gerig and Flavia Rüegg, do not see themselves as do-gooders. *“We just enjoy when these different people make music together and we can be a part of it.”*

The choir rehearses every Sunday evening with a professional choirmaster and the participation is free and open for everyone. At the moment, 15 to 25 persons do regularly sing in the Intergalactic Choir. In the beginning, the founders advertised the choir in their classes on the one hand, and among friends and family on the other hand. In the meanwhile, advertising activities are not necessary anymore. Occasionally, the intergalactic singers are also involved in other activities: the choir sometimes gives concerts at neighbourhood festivities or in churches and organises joint excursions.

The *organisation* of the choir profits a lot from voluntary engagement. Besides the four founders, the choirmaster is also working almost exclusively on a non-paid basis. He only receives the little money the choir gains from donations or obtains from philanthropic foundations. And the family of a friend of one of the founders provides the room for rehearsal rent-free. The duties of the four organisers comprehend – besides the participation in the choir – to keep the mailing list up-

to-date, to organise a small buffet after each rehearsal with some snacks, tea, coffee and wine, and to keep the room clean.

#### *Perception and use of the concept of diversity*

The Intergalactic Choir explicitly addresses cultural and ethnic aspects of diversity and thereby clearly focuses on the positive aspects of a diverse society. According to the interviewees, the two founders Lisa Gerig and Flavia Rüegg: “*Cultural diversity is a necessity and the mutual exchange between immigrants and Swiss people is extremely important.*” And the music helps to overcome eventual boundaries between different cultures and languages. With respect to the hyper-diverse composition of the population in the city of Zurich, the initiative does not focus on a specific population group or a certain neighbourhood, but puts a common activity at the forefront. Through their project, the four students gained a new perspective on the world and on the city – and it relativised their own worries and problems. To constantly accompany people living in unsafe conditions broadened their horizons and often left them emotionally agitated. On the other hand, the fact that everyone is moved by similar issues and themes brought people closer together.

#### *Main factors influencing success or failure*

The Intergalactic Choir is mainly based on two *key factors influencing its success*. On the one hand, the strong voluntary engagement and the enthusiasm of the organisers and the choirmaster are crucial for the persistence of the project. On the other hand, the availability of personal networks is necessary in order to quickly adapt to new situations and emerging obstacles. Since the success of a choir project is closely linked to the talent and the joy of the choirmaster, it is at the same time the *greatest challenge* for the four founders to guarantee certain stability regarding the musical direction. In the beginning of the project, the grandfather of one of the organisers took over this function – he was also an important driving force behind the initiation of the Intergalactic Choir. However, due to the voluntary character of this position and his own poor financial situation, he left the choir several months later. But thanks to the individual networks of the four organisers, they quickly found a replacement: a friend with great musical talent temporarily assumed the musical direction. So, the search for a choirmaster on the basis of a long-term commitment is not yet over. A further important factor is also the enthusiasm of the participants who are actively contributing to the diverse repertoire of the choir by bringing along their own songs. People are participating in the choir because they enjoy singing together, but also because it is kind of a social event where one can meet other people in a peaceful and cheerful environment.

#### *Conclusion*

The Intergalactic Choir is not driven by the idea of integration, but it draws on a pluralist approach and emphasises the importance of creating spaces of encounter where people of different cultural backgrounds get to know each other and learn from each other. The initiative’s *innovative potential* is rooted in the provision of such a multicultural environment, where people enter into a dialogue on an equal footing. Through the joint singing and the relaxed atmosphere afterwards when having a piece of cake and a glass of wine together, barriers of language, culture and even shyness may be broken down. The Intergalactic Choir thus constitutes a small, but fruitful and innovative project in fostering social cohesion. This achievement has also been acknowledged by the canton of Zurich: when the cantonal integration office awarded their ‘prize for innovation in integration’ in 2012, the Intergalactic Choir has been awarded an honourable mention (Department of Justice and Home Affairs, 2012).

Regarding the further development of the choir, the founders are quite optimistic. Since they are four people, possible absences or temporary stays abroad may be balanced. And as the organisa-

tion is strongly based on voluntary work and donations, there is no pressure regarding the search for funding. Furthermore, the organisers do not see a need to enlarge the number of participants. A significant future challenge, however, is the search for a committed, enthusiastic choirmaster.

## MAXIM Theatre

### *Strategy, focus and organisation*

The MAXIM Theatre was founded in 2006 as a *space for communication between residents and immigrants*, between actors and amateur actors, and between spectators and performers. The theatre brings together about 150 persons from more than 30 nations, who jointly act and play music on several evenings per week. This initiative offers low-threshold access to the dramatic arts for people who seldom go to the theatre. Therefore, it is located in district 4, where a high percentage of residents are underprivileged and not very familiar with the dramatic arts (MAXIM Theatre, 2013). According to the executive director and co-founder Claudia Flütsch: *“The main goal is to create something new by the means of art – to achieve a kind of trans-culturality.”* Another important *objective* is the fostering of a stronger social cohesion of society – the theatre is designed to have positive social and societal effects. Participants and spectators shall overcome barriers of culture, language and education, and the social development of the individual and the society shall be promoted. The *target audience* includes people from every nation and culture. The theatre is thereby specifically looking for certain population groups, since there are structural and individual obstacles that keep several persons and groups from gaining easy access to the dramatic arts. The inspiration for this initiative came from England, where this kind of social, multicultural theatre has existed for quite some time now.

The MAXIM Theatre provides five different *activities* or services. First, the core project consists of two or three constant drama groups that rehearse and perform a play once or twice a year. Second, there is an action group developing scenes and directly approaching people – not in the theatre, but in the streets. As a third supply, the theatre provides a protected environment for groups and supports them for readings, presentations or performances. Fourth, the institution organises German language courses with focus on the dramatic arts (‘learning German by acting’), since several actors were afraid to be on a stage without sufficient knowledge of the German language. And as a fifth activity, the theatre acts as a platform where people can work on their art projects, meet potential participants, exchange ideas and get support in terms of production and dramaturgy.

The MAXIM Theatre is *organised* as a support association with two permanent employees: the executive director Claudia Flütsch and a co-worker who are both employed on a part-time basis. The support association manages the engagement of the stage directors, of the German teachers and the technicians. Thereby, the institution benefits strongly from a lot of voluntary work. Nevertheless, the financing of the project is not guaranteed on a sustainable basis. For the foundation of the initiative in 2006, the association received an initial grant by the Social Services Department of the City of Zurich and a private foundation. In 2011, the MAXIM Theatre obtained another substantial financial contribution by the Federal Commission for Migration. Besides these sporadic grants, the Social Services Department of the City of Zurich makes a rather small annual contribution of CHF 13,000 (approx. € 10,700) for the community work. Furthermore, the Unit for the Promotion of Integration and the Office for Culture of the City of Zurich occasionally support specific smaller projects. And the German language courses are partly financed by the city and partly by the participants. However, the executive director Claudia Flütsch is not satisfied with the current funding situation: *“Since it is apparently not possible to associate the MAXIM Theatre to a specific unit of the city administration – be it culture, socio-culture or integration – we could not find a coherent funding solution with the city so far.”*

*Perception and use of the concept of diversity*

According to the executive director, diversity is particularly the focal point in the creative work. The theatre pursues the objective that the actors bring their own manner of expression to the stage. However, it is not about presenting the different cultures or performing specific folk dances, but creating a trans-cultural experience.

Regarding the actors and the spectators, the initiative addresses various forms of diversity: it unites Swiss and foreign residents, younger and older persons, as well as underprivileged and well-off people. The executive director Claudia Flütsch emphasises:

*“The collaboration with people from all over the world constitutes an incredible enrichment and helps reduce prejudices and barriers. It is for instance an essential part of the concept of the MAXIM Theatre that the audience sheds fears and prejudices and develops a greater understanding of foreign cultures.”*

A relatively new phenomenon regarding the actors is the quite high participation rate of German and Swiss people. This development is partly due to the so-called ‘new immigration’ of highly qualified European immigrants – mainly from Germany, which was triggered by the ‘Agreement on the Free Movement of Persons’ between the European Union and Switzerland in 2002 (Plüss and Schenkel, 2014).

*Main factors influencing success or failure*

The MAXIM Theatre is generally a very successful project: it reaches diverse population groups and achieved to inspire people who did never find access to the dramatic arts so far. The success achieved is affirmed by regular and positive media coverage. Thereby, the *main factor* behind the success is the high commitment and voluntary engagement of everyone working at the theatre. Certainly, the initial grants and the different financial contributions by the public administration were crucial for the viability of the initiative as well. Compared to smaller, self-sustained projects, the public funds clearly add to the impact, scale and success of the initiative.

During the years, the project was also confronted with certain *challenges* it could not master so far. One enduring issue is the locality of the theatre: the association was not able to find an appropriate, permanent location for the MAXIM Theatre. The project is organised in different temporary locations that do not represent a satisfying solution. Another challenge for the initiative is the volatile and rather small financial contribution by the city administration. Although several officials perceive the initiative as valuable and worth supporting, a lasting and consistent funding by a single unit of the administration fails because of the missing and apparently impracticable attribution to a specific administrative unit. For instance, the artistic quality of the plays does not meet the expectations of the Theatre Commission in order to receive financial support by the Office for Culture of the city of Zurich. Likewise, the project as a whole does not completely fit the conditions and criteria for public subsidies in the area of integration policy or socio-culture and community work.

*Conclusion*

The MAXIM Theatre is a low-threshold initiative and *innovative* in giving underprivileged people access to the dramatic arts and fostering the social cohesion in the city by bringing together persons from different cultures and age groups. Over the years, it developed into a comparatively large project – it now has a high presence and provides numerous services and activities. It may be regarded as an evident success story with good prospects for the future, although some uncer-

tainties remain – such as the constant search for an appropriate location and the fluctuating financial situation.

## Neighbourly Help District 9

### *Strategy, focus and organisation*

Neighbourly help organisations are to be found in various forms in different districts of the city of Zurich – this initiative therefore constitutes a typical example of a local governance arrangement dealing with diversity. The Neighbourly Help District 9 is dedicated to *helping people in need of support for everyday tasks* – by bringing neighbours together. While living in smaller villages or communities facilitates mutual help and assistance, life in larger cities may isolate individuals and families and therefore necessitates a certain form of organisation. Effective neighbourly help *aims* at creating a charitable network in the quarter and strengthening social cohesion among the inhabitants. The *target audience* of the Neighbourly Help District 9 are isolated people in need of assistance or company – such as elderly people without family, families with little children or newly arrived individuals. Public visibility of these services is ensured by word of mouth and through the distribution of information material in libraries, community centres, the registration office and in street campaigns during local markets. Furthermore, the Neighbourly Help District 9 is often recommended to interested persons by the Swiss home care organisation and by maternity services. The Neighbourly Help District 9 was established in 1987 as a pilot project of the department of psychosocial medicine of the university of Zurich – with additional financial support by the city administration – and is now by far the largest of the fourteen neighbourly help organisations in the city of Zurich.

Support *activities* and services comprise keeping somebody's company, taking a walk, going shopping for someone, looking after children, accompanying a person to the doctor, helping with household tasks or in the garden, home-sitting during the holiday season or assisting someone in writing applications. The clients and the volunteers do apply for such services on their own accord and are then assigned to each other. A regular commitment amounts to approximately two hours per week. In 2013, around 170 volunteers were active and supporting around 170 clients by working 8,730 hours in total (Neighbourly Help District 9, 2013a).

The Neighbourly Help District 9 is *organised* as a private non-profit association. The bodies of the association comprise the general assembly, the executive board and the audit commission (Neighbourly Help District 9, 2013b). The heart of the organisation consists of two coordinators working in the office in district 9 – coordinating the assignments and matching clients and volunteers. The coordinators have a permanent appointment of together 65%, what is a high percentage compared to the other neighbourly help organisations in Zurich. In 2013, the organisation in district 9 had 685 members (Neighbourly Help District 9, 2013a). Thereby, the clients and volunteers become members automatically and volunteers are exempt from the membership fee. The annual member fee for an individual person amounts to CHF 30 (approx. € 25). The fourteen neighbourly help organisations in the city of Zurich have a common umbrella organisation – a support association that provides, inter alia, promotional items for the district offices and further training for the volunteers.

The total revenues in 2013 of the Neighbourly Help District 9 account for CHF 86,082 (approx. € 70,700) (Neighbourly Help District 9, 2013a). The financial resources stem on the one hand from membership fees and donations amounting to 46% of the total return. The city administration and the church usually contributed the other half of the yearly revenue. Until three years ago, the Neighbourly Help District 9 received yearly public funds of CHF 10,000 (approx. € 8,200) by means of a performance agreement with the city administration. However, in 2011, the organisa-

tion was given a generous pecuniary legacy by a private person what caused city administration and churches to suspend their contribution. Presumably, this large donation will secure the existence of the Neighbourly Help District 9 for a further eight years – after that period the organisation will apply again for public funds.

#### *Perception and use of the concept of diversity*

Within the organisation, diversity is neither explicitly addressed, nor do the coordinators specifically seek a diverse audience. Nevertheless, the Neighbourly Help District 9 clearly strengthens social cohesion in the quarter – particularly the cohesion between younger and elderly people. With around 70% of the clients being older than 75 years, the focus is mainly on socio-demographic diversity. However, another important group of clients are families – mainly with migration background – who are looking for childcare or some private lessons (around 20% of all clients). Since these families often do not have any relatives in Switzerland or in Zurich, they are in search of a part-time ‘granny’ in the neighbourhood. Many volunteers are retired women – able and willing to ‘adopt’ new grandchildren. Within this group, the concept of diversity thus includes socio-demographic and cultural aspects. Furthermore, the group of volunteers also comprises several recently immigrated persons: the coordinators noticed a comparably high number of well-educated Germans who wish to make a contribution to the quality of life in the neighbourhood and to foster their own integration at the same time.

#### *Main factors influencing success or failure*

In the early stages of the Neighbourly Help District 9, the organisation was borne by the strong voluntary engagement of the coordinators and the financial support by the city administration and the churches. And since the beginning, there is obviously a sufficiently high demand to sustain the institution and to legitimate its activities towards the donors. The *main success factors* thus include the commitment of the coordinators, the constant inflow of public and private funds, and the high demand in the neighbourhood. However, the Neighbourly Help District 9 is always additionally dependent on private donations and on an ample number of members. Since a high percentage of the clients already reached an advanced age, the list of members constantly changes. However, during the years, the coordinators never witnessed substantial financial or organisational difficulties and the financial situation has always been quite stable. Today, the two coordinators have a regular salary and the organisation has visibly professionalised its work. With the receipt of the extensive pecuniary legacy in 2011, the organisation additionally gained a certain financial independence for the coming years. The only *problems* mentioned, concern few neighbourly help activities that did not work out as planned and may have generated some negative publicity.

#### *Conclusion*

The *innovative strength* of the concept of neighbourly help mainly lies in its simplicity. There is already a large potential of voluntary engagement present in the neighbourhood – it just needs a certain organisation to activate this potential and to assign clients and volunteers to each other. The coordinators thereby overcome the invisible societal barriers existing in many city districts. In this manner, many people may be brought out of their isolation and their loneliness with only little investment.

The coordinators of the Neighbourly Help District 9 are therefore optimistic about the future development of the initiative. There is no reason to doubt the persistence of a continuously high demand. Furthermore, it is regarded as very probable that the city administration again will grant

financial support as soon as the resources from the legacy are consumed, since such a financial engagement provides an outstanding cost-value-ratio for the city.

### Urban agriculture in the ‘Brauergarten’

#### *Strategy, focus and organisation*

Urban agriculture receives more and more attention today: cities all around the world are exploring the possibility of reconnecting food production and urban life (see AESOP, 2010). In cities like Portland (Oregon) or Seattle, the growing of food on vacant plots of urban land is already an integral part of the urban development strategy. Zurich as well has already witnessed this trend: in several neighbourhoods, there are various initiatives of hobby and professional gardeners. In district 4, in the Langstrasse quarter, an urban organic community garden, the ‘Brauergarten’, evolved in 2012. On a total area of 192 square metres, around fifty different sorts of fruits, vegetables and herbs are cultivated. However, the original idea was to implement a subscription service for fresh herbs – as a rather commercial project. This idea did not work out and, as a result of a missing concept, the garden evolved very dynamically. The ‘Brauergarten’ now is an association with a very open structure, the members jointly cultivate all patches and everyone gardens where necessary. Fostering social cohesion in the neighbourhood does not thereby constitute a *crucial objective* of the initiative – the main focus is always on the gardening. But this orientation of course contributes to social cohesion since it encourages a joint activity of very different people without tensions.

Among the *target audience* are all people who enjoy gardening regardless of age, gender, nationality or ethnic origin. The members of the association are thus very mixed – several come from the wider circle of friends of the founder and president of the ‘Brauergarten’, Nikolaus Güttinger, others are residents of the neighbourhood or come from further afar in the city. Although the location of the garden was determined incidentally, a certain link with the neighbourhood developed over time. The neighbours visit the garden as club members and gardeners, as customers buying fruits and herbs, or as guests of a special event in the garden. Periodically, the association organises exhibitions, concerts and garden parties, where the harvested products are jointly processed and cooked.

The ‘Brauergarten’ is *organised* as a loose association and members pay an annual fee of only CHF 10 (approx. € 8). The property is owned by the city of Zurich and leased out to the association for a token sum. The lease agreement may thereby be terminated giving six months’ notice. Therefore, the patches are mobile and can be easily moved to another location. The revenues of the garden parties and events finance the additional purchase of water, potting compost and gardening tools.

#### *Perception and use of the concept of diversity*

Fostering social cohesion in the neighbourhood and promoting diversity regarding the list of the club members are only secondary goals of the ‘Brauergarten’. The initiative does not explicitly address diversity – the focus is mainly on the gardening. Anyhow, the president of the association, Nikolaus Güttinger, perceives the current mix of club members as a positive effect and he would welcome a stronger presence of the ‘Brauergarten’ in the neighbourhood. He is, however, not willing to advertise more intensively. Accordingly, the president and the club members do not have a distinct idea with respect to the form or type of diversity that the initiative could address.

Since the initiative does not target a certain group of people or a specific spatial area but mainly focuses on a joint activity, it provides a link to the concept of hyper-diversity that relates to the

diversification of the population not only in socio-economic, social and ethnic terms, but also with respect to lifestyles, attitudes and activities (see Tasan-Kok et al., 2013).

#### *Main factors influencing success or failure*

The *main driving factor* behind the initiative is the president of the association, Nikolaus Güttinger, who is very committed and involved in developing the association. And of course, the generous lease contract with the city of Zurich also contributes to the flourishing of the garden. Furthermore, the creation of a quiet garden in the lively and buzzing quarter of the Langstrasse obviously fills a gap: several residents are very interested in participating in the project.

However, maintaining the garden is not always easy and poses different *challenges*. The search for a parcel of land and for an affordable water connection was already very difficult in the beginning. Current problems often arise with regard to the comparably rough neighbourhood: unwanted nighttime visitors sometimes leave their marks in the garden. Furthermore, many residents remain sceptical towards the new neighbours and do not want to join the association. They are already preoccupied with other matters or language barriers hinder them in participating in the project.

Nikolaus Güttinger has learned an important lesson while establishing his association: retrospectively, he would involve significantly more partners and stakeholders in the process of planning and implementing the initiative. He would seek the dialogue with the local residents and with interested parties in order to create a more sustainable and durable structure.

#### *Conclusion*

The ‘*Brauergarten*’ is a small garden in the middle of the city, where everyone is welcome to jointly cultivate fruits, vegetables and herbs. This initiative evolved rather unplanned and dynamically and therefore has now very diverse members. It provides a *space of encounter* and an opportunity for the communication between residents – like a sociotope. Although the founder did not actively pursue the goal of enhancing the social cohesion in the neighbourhood, a certain link with the quarter evolved and was additionally fueled by the organisation of a variety of events in the garden.

The future prospects of the project are not clear: the president of the association, Nikolaus Güttinger, will resign his position at the end of 2014 since he will get promoted in his main occupation. Therefore, he is currently looking for a successor – the possible dissolution of the association would be highly regrettable in his opinion.

## **2.2 Arrangements targeting social mobility**

### **Fit4Work**

#### *Strategy, focus and organisation*

Fit4Work is the core programme of an association named ‘platform networking for jobs’ that focuses on the *integration of well-educated migrants into the labour market*. The *target audience* are persons with an academic background – migrants coming from third countries outside the EU and Swiss remigrants. The vast majority of these people immigrated to Switzerland due to a relationship or a marriage with a Swiss partner. They are most likely to struggle when seeking employment since they are from non-EU countries, have no Swiss qualifications or recognised certificates and cannot make use of helpful relations in the labour market. Furthermore, for well-educated persons

these barriers are presumably even graver than for people with lower education levels. The platform networking for jobs tries to overcome these obstacles – the *objective* is, in the first place, to enhance the social mobility of their clients and, in the second place, to make this unused potential available to the Swiss economy. Thereby, networking is a key word: two experienced mentors from the local business world accompany every employment seeker and grant their mentees access to their business networks and their numerous connections.

The programme Fit4Work includes different *instruments* and measures such as an analysis of the current situation, an assessment of individual skills and strengths, coaching and individual trainings, the assessment of educational certificates, but at the heart of the programme is the mentoring approach. Therefore, the platform is in constant, close contact with local companies and recruits voluntary mentors from different hierarchical levels. The volunteers are usually working in larger firms since these employers often have specific diversity policies and therefore facilitate such a voluntary engagement. As Roxana Paz, executive director of the association, emphasises: *“The formula of the programme are tailor-made solutions.”*

Around ten years ago, Roxana Paz developed the concept of the programme Fit4Work and found with the relief organisation of the Roman Catholic Church in Switzerland ‘Caritas’ a partner and sponsor of the project. After two years, Caritas ended the partnership since the focus on well-educated people did supposedly not match with their main goal of helping people experiencing poverty. Subsequently, Roxana Paz started her own business and founded the association platform networking for jobs. During the years, the organisation did continuously grow and thereby profited from the fact that there are only few programmes targeting exactly this audience. Today, the platform has clients from all over the German-speaking part of Switzerland.

The platform networking for jobs is *organised* as a non-profit association with four permanent employees and around 300 voluntary mentors, among whom half actually play an active part. The yearly budget of the association amounts to CHF 470,000 (approx. € 386,000) (Platform networking for jobs, 2014). Thereby, around one third of the revenues stem directly from the clients, who pay CHF 2,000 (approx. € 1,600) for the participation in the programme as well as 5% of the annual salary of the new employment as a one-off payment. There is the additional possibility that the participation fee is paid by the social assistance office if the client does not dispose of the necessary financial means. CHF 110,000 (approx. € 90,000) are contributed each year by the public administration – on the one hand by the Social Services Department of the City of Zurich and on the other hand by the administration of the Canton of Zurich – and the remainder of the financial resources stem from membership fees and private donations.

#### *Perception and use of the concept of diversity*

As the concepts of networking and mentoring reveal: the platform networking for jobs is a place where diverse people meet. According to Roxana Paz, executive director of the association:

*“Within our organisation, we embrace diversity. It is a reality in the Western world and should be reflected in the companies and in society. We do not want to define the term ‘diversity’, but our objective is to build bridges between the different cultures.”*

Obviously, cultural diversity plays a crucial role within the presented programme Fit4Work and the organisation also aims at sensitising the mentors and the employees of the collaborating companies to the advantages of a diverse staff. Clearly, the platform networking for jobs promotes the positive aspects of cultural diversity and seeks to make positive use of the unused po-

tential of their immigrated clients. Several of the provided workshops focus on various features of cultural diversity and on bridging the different cultures and ethnic backgrounds, as well.

#### *Main factors influencing success or failure*

Since its foundation, the association did continuously grow and currently is a well-functioning non-profit employment agency. Its success rate is impressive: 67% of the clients found an employment within six to twelve months. The duration of this process often depends on the degree: persons with a degree in economics are apparently placed more quickly than people with a formation at an arts faculty. In total, the platform thus places around 25 persons per year. Meanwhile, the association is rather well known by word of mouth among its target audience.

The *main factors influencing this success* are the active engagement of the organisation and especially of the executive director, the close ties with the local business world and the large number of voluntary mentors who enable these tailor-made solutions. The platform itself needs a lot of networking activities to establish and maintain the personal contacts with the relevant companies in Zurich and the potential mentors. According to Roxana Paz: “*The relatively small size of the association is a clear advantage here, since adjustments may be made much more quickly.*” Of course, the financial support of the Social Services Department of the City of Zurich also contributes to the financial stability of the organisation.

Nevertheless, the organisation faces constant *obstacles*: the financial situation of the platform networking for jobs is always quite strained and all employees need to dedicate around 20% of their time to fundraising. Furthermore, the association complains about the support policy of the public administration in the field of integration: since their clients on average have a too good command of the German language, the public integration offices are not willing to make a financial contribution to the project. The executive director argues: “*Valuable integration programmes that show such an exceptional cost-benefit ratio should receive more recognition and support from the public administration – even if they target well-educated migrants.*”

#### *Conclusion*

Fit4Work is a successful programme in integrating well-educated migrants and remigrants from third countries into the Swiss labour market. It is *innovative* in the sense that it puts its main focus on the networking and mentoring approach. The close cooperation with larger companies in the Zurich business world and the use of the various connections and networks of its employees ensure a relatively quick placement of a high quota of office seekers. According to the executive director, the future ambitions of the platform comprise a further growth, an increase in the number of clients and an enlargement of the provided programmes.

### **Laureus Street Soccer**

#### *Strategy, focus and organisation*

In Switzerland, the access to sports clubs and other hobby clubs is often hampered for foreign children and teenagers due to structural and individual reasons. This situation is unfortunate since club structures usually enhance integration and social cohesion (Infoklick.ch, 2013). Taking this as a starting point, Laureus Street Soccer established an *open, intercultural street soccer league for children and adolescents* between ten and 21 years – it is a low-threshold project and free of charge. The *target audience* are thus underprivileged children and adolescents – mostly young migrants. The children themselves determine the composition of the teams, the effort for trainings and the rules of the game. Laureus Street Soccer thereby pursues different *objectives* (see Infoklick.ch, 2013).

First, these adolescents should be empowered to be an active part of a team, to participate in decisions, to assume responsibility and – as a consequence – to experience self-efficacy and to develop social skills. Second, within the teams, foreign and Swiss children play together what fosters mutual understanding and helps integrating young migrants. Third, doing sports promotes health and channels the energy of the youth in a positive way.

The underlying idea of the project originated in Munich, Germany, in 1997 under the name ‘*Bunt kickt gut*’ (may be translated as ‘Mixed Teams Kick Better’). The initiator of the project in Munich, Rüdiger Heid, used football as a tool to increase the communication and the understanding between adolescents in refugee centres. Subsequently, a league of different centres evolved – and the successful project has now been transferred to other German cities. In 2005, the association Infoklick.ch imported the idea into Switzerland and started a pilot phase in the city of Berne. However, the programme was not applied to refugee work, but established as a free street league for every child and adolescent. Infoklick.ch is a private association dedicated to a strong and self-reliant development of children and adolescents – independent from their origin, their education and their means. The organisation is convinced that it often only needs a little support – a room, some specific expertise, a power outlet, a contact or some start-up capital – for children and adolescents to put their own ideas into practice (Infoklick.ch, 2014). Infoklick.ch thus provides this needed support.

The street soccer league attracted a lot of interest from the local youth and, subsequently, the concept was continuously expanded to several regions of Switzerland. Due to the spatial distribution of the population and especially of immigrant families, the programme thereby is more successful in urban areas. The *organisation* of the street soccer league is regionalised: Infoklick.ch represents the umbrella organisation and provides support in developing new regional leagues and connects the regional organisations on the national level. Thereby, it employs eight persons for the project: two people share the national management and six persons are in charge for the regional agencies, which implement the programme in these areas. However, the responsibility lies with the regional actors – often public institutions for youth work or non-profit associations. These regional partners must be self-supporting and are responsible for the fundraising, the finances and the organisation of the regional leagues.

In 2007, the international sports foundation Laureus started to make a financial contribution towards the street soccer league. Laureus is dedicated to promote the personal development of children and adolescents through sports and thereby focuses on the support of underprivileged young people (Laureus Foundation Switzerland, 2014). The concept of a free intercultural football league thus fits their agenda very well. In 2013, Laureus limited its financial contributions to only four social sports projects in Switzerland – the street soccer league subsequently became a flagship project of the foundation and receives now enough funds to entirely finance the national umbrella function of the initiative. As a consequence, the name of the project was changed to Laureus Street Soccer.

In Zurich, the initiative first started on an independent basis. Pascal Pauli, current national head of Laureus Street Soccer, together with two colleagues had the idea to make the public space in the city of Zurich more accessible to young people. In the public discourse, adolescents were often portrayed as troublemakers disfiguring the public space. The three young men thus wanted to change this image and make young people use the city parks and places in a positive way. They therefore founded the association ‘*Raumfang*’ in 2007 to implement a street soccer league in Zurich. While developing the project, they came across the similar initiative of Infoklick.ch and consequently joined the national network. Their financial resources stem from public sources such as the sports promotion of the canton of Zurich.

*Perception and use of the concept of diversity*

Pascal Pauli emphasises that diversity is crucial for Laureus Street Soccer: “*It is all about different cultural backgrounds – children of all nationalities and ethnicities come together to play.*” As an important objective of the initiative, Laureus Street Soccer should enhance mutual understanding between Swiss and foreign adolescents and help to develop a strong team spirit. However, according to Pascal Pauli, racism is sometimes an issue in tournaments where some teams insult others. Therefore, Laureus Street Soccer highlights fair play rules and awards points for exemplary behaviour.

In the beginning, Infoklick.ch also implemented a guideline regarding diversity in gender: every team needed at least one girl. However, this policy could not be sustained for long. On the one hand, numerous teams could not find interested girls – on the other hand, several young women felt more comfortable to play in girls-only teams. Currently, across all teams, there are around 15% girls playing both in mixed and in girls-only teams.

*Main factors influencing success or failure*

Laureus Street Soccer definitely constitutes a very successful project in fostering integration, social mobility and social cohesion through sports. According to Pascal Pauli, the form of sport is thereby replaceable – it just requires a popular game to transmit the values and the objectives of the initiative. There are several *factors that contributed to this success*. Of course, the strong commitment of Infoklick.ch and the numerous local associations paved the way for a sustainable development of the project. Regarding the fast expansion of the street soccer league, the engagement of the public institutions for youth work in different cities and communes was pivotal. It was a very promising strategy to spread the idea of a free multicultural street soccer league by involving these communal institutions and benefitting from public funds. Furthermore, the extensive financial contribution of the Laureus Foundation Switzerland was very welcome and enabled a substantial professional and personal development of the umbrella organisation.

Since the initiation of the project, the organisers were never confronted with serious *problems*. In Zurich, the financial situation was often rather strained and the labour turnover rate quite high, but the initiative was never jeopardised. However, the initial concept of establishing an open framework that leaves room for a lot of self-initiative did not work out as planned. In the beginning, the initiators in Switzerland assumed that the teams would act more proactively and autonomously – just like the experience from Munich showed. But the participating children and adolescents were very much occupied with school or work and therefore not ready to show extensive commitment. So, the local youth was always very interested in joining the street soccer league, but the organisers had to provide more structure and guidance than originally expected.

*Conclusion*

Laureus Street Soccer brought a new concept to Switzerland: it established an open, intercultural football league for children and adolescents that is free of charge. Its *innovative potential* lies in enabling young migrants easy access to sports and club structures, to empowering underprivileged children to assume responsibility and develop their social skills and thereby helping to improve their social mobility.

According to Pascal Pauli, there are still some growth opportunities for Laureus Street Soccer and a lot of children who could benefit from participating. Thereby, he perceives growth not as an end in itself, but he believes in the concept of the project and considers it a good cause. Therefore, he is very optimistic about the future development of the initiative.

## Parents Learn German in School (ELDIS)

### *Strategy, focus and organisation*

'Parents Learn German in School' (ELDIS – *Eltern lernen Deutsch in der Schule*) is a German language course *targeting* parents of preschool and school children living in the city of Zurich. Besides the German language lessons, ELDIS equips the parents with basic knowledge about the educational system in Zurich and puts general parenting questions up for discussion (City of Zurich, 2014). Thereby, the share of the German language instructions amounts to more or less 75% of the total duration of the course, which comprises four hours per week and lasts one year. The *main goal* of this project is to enhance the social mobility of migrant children by drawing on the assumption that the best early intervention for these children is to teach their parents German. Another channel for early intervention is the provision of childcare for preschool children during the lessons. While their parents are learning German, the children are brought closer to the German language as well by playing together. Since the courses take place in the neighbourhood, in the different schoolhouses of the districts, ELDIS also makes a contribution towards strengthening the social cohesion in these neighbourhoods. According to the interviewees: *"Parents who are in the same situation get to know each other, they realise that they are not alone, and they keep in touch beyond the course."* The participants come from a wide range of countries and there is a great variety regarding educational levels. A prerequisite for participating is at least a minimum of knowledge of the German language. The lessons usually take place during schooltime, but there is also a course on Saturday morning and in the evening.

ELDIS is a public initiative borne by the Department of School and Sport of the city of Zurich and the school boards in the districts. The *organisational structure* is thus based on two pillars: on the one hand, the public professional school Viventa belonging to the Department of School and Sport provides the pedagogical direction and recruits the teachers; on the other hand, there are two coordinators employed at the district school boards who assume the planning, the organisation and the supervision of the courses. These two women are the heart of the initiative and the driving force behind its continuous development. They were already responsible for the predecessor project – a similar initiative, but addressed only to women, initiated by the Office for Gender Equality of the city of Zurich in 1992. That project has been replaced by ELDIS in 2008, now addressing mothers and fathers. This time, it was initiated by the district school boards – having already close ties with the two coordinators – based on the new law on public schools<sup>1</sup> that emphasises the active participation of the parents. An expert panel elaborated the concept of ELDIS and of the predecessor project with a substantial contribution by the coordinators. ELDIS is highly subsidised by the city administration: the fee for a yearly course amounts to CHF 450 (approx. € 370) and the fee for childcare is CHF 200 (approx. € 165). However, people experiencing financial difficulties may apply for a reduction or cancellation of these fees.

### *Perception and use of the concept of diversity*

The initiative 'Parents Learn German in School' (ELDIS) is in line with the integration policy of the city of Zurich: *'Immigrants should have equal access to societal resources and they should be empowered and supported to participate in everyday social life'* (City of Zurich, 2009: 8). The preoccupation with diversity issues within the ELDIS programme thus mainly refers to cultural differences and to immigration issues. The two coordinators describe their perception of cultural diversity as twofold. On the one hand, they see diversity as enrichment where both immigrants and Swiss people can learn from each other. The interviewees thereby emphasise the important role of the promoted culture

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<sup>1</sup> Act on Public Schools of the Canton of Zurich (Volksschulgesetz, VSG) of February 7, 2005.

of positive welcome of the city of Zurich. On the other hand, they demand a clear individual contribution of the immigrants towards their own integration.

Regarding the promotion of integration, the coordinators criticise the extensive provision of translation services by the city administration:

*“Of course, it is laudable that recently immigrated parents may apply for translators for every parent-teacher conference. However, these unlimited and free services create an adverse incentive: it implements a certain dependence structure and keeps people from learning the German language. We have seen examples where growing self-initiative has been quickly undermined by these services. Preferably, German language courses should be compulsory for every newly arriving immigrant – including top executives and their partners.”*

#### *Main factors influencing success or failure*

The two coordinators call the ELDIS project generally a success, but they mention a certain *difficulty* with the outreach. The demand is rather high with 14 parallel courses and a total of approximately 140 participants; nevertheless, the people most in need of language lessons and further support are very hard to reach. Approaching these often isolated people remains a challenge within the ELDIS project. A further problem, according to the coordinators, relates to the fact that the city administration is not willing to offer follow-up courses. Reportedly, for people with a lower educational level, the relationship between teacher and pupil is essential for lasting learning success. After the one-year ELDIS course, they are thus rather unlikely to actively look for another follow-up course. In order to carry on learning and not to waste the work already accomplished, the two coordinators created a new supply: in cooperation with the public professional school Viventa and the Office for the Prevention of Drug Dependence of the city of Zurich, a ‘parent café’ has been established as a kind of follow-up solution where the German language is practised under the guidance of an ELDIS teacher and inputs regarding educational matters and addictive behaviour are discussed. Currently, this supply is a single course and comprises two hours per week during one year. The third hurdle is an organisational problem that is often present in the city of Zurich: to find free class rooms always poses a challenge.

Besides the mentioned difficulties, the ELDIS project works out very well and the concept has already been copied in several other municipalities in the canton of Zurich. There are several *important factors that contribute to this success*. First, the two coordinators show a high level of motivation and commitment – they ensure the continuity and the constant development of the initiative. Second, the close connection to the district school boards and the subsequent division of the organisational structure is crucial: the direct link to the schools sends a strong message to the teachers, who are, subsequently, strongly involved in approaching potentially interested persons among the parents. Third, the project disposes of very good financial resources and these public funds have never been jeopardised. Fourth, the courses take place in the direct neighbourhood of the participants and in a familiar environment, what constitutes a reasonable effort and reduces the threshold for participating in a language course.

#### *Conclusion*

ELDIS is a well-performing public governance arrangement aiming at strengthening the social mobility of migrant children by teaching their parents, which seems to make good sense. Combining a language course with teaching basic knowledge on the educational system in Zurich and discussing educational issues, further empowers these parents and helps them in coping with the challenges of everyday life. Its *innovative strength* lies in the connection of a language course with elements of a broader social integration concept. The location of these courses in the district

schoolhouses reinforces the social cohesion in the neighbourhood and facilitates communication as well beyond the lessons.

The budget of the ELDIS project has been approved by the city council until the year 2017 and there is currently no reason why the council should withhold its approval for the following years. Therefore, the two coordinators are optimistic about the future development of the initiative and they still remain committed to carry further the advancement of the project.

## Quality in Multicultural Schools (QUIMS)

### *Strategy, focus and organisation*

‘Quality in Multicultural Schools’ (QUIMS) is a public programme carried out by the canton of Zurich *targeting* schools with a certain percentage of foreign-language pupils. Its *main aims* include the advancement of the language abilities, the school success and the social mobility of these children. Furthermore, the educational level in the classes concerned shall be generally raised what would benefit all pupils.

The main responsibility for education in Switzerland rests with the cantons and municipalities. Individual schools have far-reaching autonomy, so that individual school developments are possible. This was one of the preconditions, why QUIMS was initiated. According to one of the initiators, Talila Oliel:

*“In 1992, we were just a handful of visionary teachers at some schools of the city of Zurich, who were convinced that the quality of these multicultural schools can be improved significantly by putting emphasis on special measures aiming to increase the integrative potential of schools and on amending the existing curricula. At the same time, there was a debate in politics and media about violence at schools. However, in reality, we were not confronted at all with violence in our multicultural schools. Our main goal was the well-being and the educational achievements of all children.”*

Hence, QUIMS started as an experimental pilot programme in two schools in our research area in the city of Zurich. Beside activities to promote literacy for all pupils and to support integrative and differentiated learning support, it was also about building a culture of appreciation and equity by introducing rules and rituals as well as increasing the reputation of schools with a majority of children of migrant background.

In 1996, the canton officially announced the school improvement project QUIMS that would lead to the gradual development of an area-wide model of quality assurance in multi-ethnic schools as well as send a powerful political message against social segregation and for a common public primary school. From 1999 to 2006, 21 schools took part in the project on a voluntary basis. These schools applied new methods to support their pupils: they reinforced reading, individualised learning and parents’ active involvement. Since the start as a pilot project in a few Zurich schools in 1996, the programme is now available in 100 schools in the Canton of Zurich, where it has been scaled up into law since 2006. It became part of the cantonal legislative framework and is no more voluntary, but mandatory for all public schools who have more than 40% pupils with immigrant background.<sup>2</sup> However, according to Talila Oliel, responsible for the QUIMS programme in the primary school Hardau, experts from the early days seem quite unhappy with the change from voluntary to mandatory rule:

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<sup>2</sup> Act on Public Schools of the Canton of Zurich (Volksschulgesetz, VSG) of February 7, 2005.

*“QUIMS has profited a lot from the voluntary engagement of schools and teachers. By becoming mandatory, this strong involvement of highly motivated persons is in danger, because several schools and teachers are now forced to take part in the programme. It’s no longer their choice. On the one hand, the Cantonal Office of Elementary Education received a clear mandate to support the schools through consultancy, networking, training, documentation and financial resources. On the other hand, the schools are committed to the obligatory fields of action for language, attainment and integration support. There is less room for manoeuvre to find the best solution for each school.”*

However, according to Markus Truniger, project director of the QUIMS programme at the Office of Elementary Education of the canton of Zurich, other experts and the management of the programme also see the advantage of this mandatory rule:

*“We now have the possibility to involve schools who would not have participated on a voluntary basis. The fact that all schools concerned are involved in the quality development and benefit from professional and financial support is a contribution towards equal opportunities. Even with a compulsory participation, the scope of action of the individual schools – and usually also their engagement – remain big.”*

Before the QUIMS measures are actually started at a school, the (county) Schools Commission, as the municipal schools control authority, appoints a QUIMS officer proposed by the respective school conference and school management team. This person, be it a teacher or the school principal, must take part in a special advanced training course carried out by the Zurich University of Teacher Education. The QUIMS officer is tasked with preparing and coordinating the QUIMS activities for the entire teaching staff. Further support is offered in terms of recruitment and placement of partners for QUIMS measures such as in-service trainings for the teachers and intercultural facilitators employed by the Canton. They also help parents to become familiar with the realities of school, and to take on the joint responsibility for the educational success of the children. Other than that, all QUIMS measures are carried out within the existing structures at the school. The level of engagement and the quality development seem to differentiate among the QUIMS schools. Networking meetings support the knowledge transfer between the schools.

On average QUIMS schools have a budget of CHF 40,000 (approx. € 33,000) per year to implement QUIMS actions – with a minimum of CHF 20,000 (approx. € 16,500) and a maximum of CHF 90,000 (approx. € 73,700). The yearly budget depends on the percentage of children with immigrant background and on the number of classes. In total, the canton of Zurich invests around CHF 4.3 million (approx. € 3.5 million) per year in QUIMS, according to Markus Truniger, project director of the QUIMS programme. Concerning this matter, Talila Oliel states:

*“The budget is small, but money is not what it’s all about. The success of QUIMS was – and still is – dependent on the individual and professional engagement of the teachers, the QUIMS officers and the principals. To recruit motivated teachers and QUIMS officers will be the main future challenge.”*

#### *Perception and use of the concept of diversity*

The implementation of QUIMS is intended to start a development process that should not only support children of migrant origin, but also generally promote individual learning through inclusive school practices, targeting all children. In contrast to other top-down programmes for a better integration of migrants, QUIMS does not focus on individual and structural deficits, but un-

derstands diversity as a fact and normality. It is assumed that diversity is a chance rather than an obstacle to improve the quality in multicultural schools. However, QUIMS experts criticise that legal requirements only take nationality and language into account, but not the social position in general. They argue: “*QUIMS should not only take language and writing into account, but social skills, mutual learning capacities, societal values, and conflict solving mechanisms.*” It is a core value of diverse societies that all children receive the best possible education, so that they have equal chances in higher education and employment.

#### *Main factors influencing success or failure*

Regarding the impact of the QUIMS programme, a report on the implementation of the guidelines on education and integration lists the current measures and demonstrates that the German language skills and access to vocational training of young persons from migrant families have slightly improved (see Roos and Marti, 2011; Maag et al., 2012). And still: they are lagging behind considerably – at least according to the interpretation of some political parties and the media. Some others, QUIMS experts included, were dissatisfied with the evaluation methods: “*How is it possible to measure school performance and individual career success, if you do not have long-term data at disposal?*” As a consequence, responsible cantonal authorities decided to continue, but to change some parts of the programme (Department of Education, 2012): from 2014 on for the following four years, QUIMS schools have to focus on writing in primary and secondary school, and on language and cooperation with the parents in pre-school. At least 30% of the QUIMS budget has to be used for these two new objectives. Talila Oliel points to the fact that the persons responsible for the QUIMS programme feel restricted in their freedom of action: “*It does not makes sense to support writing as long as there remain deficits in speaking the language.*”

#### *Conclusion*

Apart from the extension of all-day care and the introduction of integration classes for children with special educational needs, the QUIMS programme was adopted as part of the legislative framework. Thus, within ten years, QUIMS developed from a voluntary school trial to a statutory support programme for multicultural schools. At first the programme was strongly supported by the cantonal parliament. Later, criticism increased, due to the results of the evaluation report. According to QUIMS experts, the programme should focus on the processes of teaching and learning, rather than on performance data.

Regarding further developments of QUIMS, the interviewees are quite optimistic. Despite political pressure, cantonal authorities are willing to strengthen the activities, although the times of pioneers and experiments are over. For schools, parents and children, QUIMS is an added value for all of them. Thereby, some schools have lost the status of QUIMS (e.g. schools in the city of Zurich), others have reached it (e.g. schools in suburban municipalities). At the moment, it is important to have an open political debate about the need and the benefits of QUIMS in order to preserve political legitimacy and to prevent budget cuts to the programme.

## **2.3 Arrangements targeting economic performance**

### **Base Camp**

#### *Strategy, focus and organisation*

The Base Camp is a container settlement that *provides space for small-scale factories and companies of the creative industries*. It was established in 2009 as a low-threshold structure in order to counteract the continuing renewal projects relating to industrial areas and industrial real estate, which led to a

gradual disappearance of small-scale enterprises and firms. The Base Camp constitutes an interim use of land and pursues the *objectives* of offering a basis for such small companies, strengthening the creative and artistic diversity in the city of Zurich and fostering economic innovation and performance.

The initiative is a spin-off of the research project ‘zone\*imaginaire’ – a project jointly conducted by different public research institutes, private organisations and several Swiss cities that investigated how the interim use of wasteland may create new possibilities for economic, cultural and social activities (see Angst et al., 2010). The idea behind the Base Camp was to invent a very simple, mobile structure that is suitable for such an interim use and meets the needs of possible users. So, the architecture firm involved – NRS-Team GmbH – built simple, stackable containers of 25 square meters each, which are lockable and provide heating and access to electricity and internet. NRS-Team GmbH approached the private investor Swiss Life – that was also involved in the research project and possesses an adequate parcel of land in an industrial area in Zurich – and in October 2009 a first container settlement was realised. In the summer of 2012, a new building project was undertaken in that area and the Base Camp moved to district 9 on a property owned by the city of Zurich and leased out to the initiative until 2027.

The settlement consists of 135 containers put together to four studio buildings and currently hosts around 200 persons. The tenants are representatives of the dramatic and visual arts, of photography, fashion, literature, architecture, sculpture and of visual communication. The monthly rent for a single container amounts to CHF 535 (approx. € 440). The Base Camp is *organised* as a cooperation of NRS-Team GmbH, the facility management Fischer AG and the investor Swiss Life (a large life assurance company).

#### *Perception and use of the concept of diversity*

The concept of diversity is evident in the realisation of the Base Camp: by creating a niche for small-scale factories and companies, the initiators want to promote creative and artistic diversity in the city of Zurich. According to the main originator of the initiative at NRS-Team GmbH, Marc Angst:

*“Due to the rising spatial density, structural niches are disappearing. But it is very important to create new niches, since this is where urban diversity develops. We want to give room to creativity, to provide open and undefined spaces to let productivity and innovation arise. The interim use of industrial areas offers several possibilities to preserve urban diversity and to support creative entrepreneurship.”*

The tenants are a mixed group of people of different age, origin and sex. The composition of this group regarding their professional field has, however, slightly changed when relocating to district 9. Since the monthly rent thereby increased by around one third, some tenants creating lower added value have left the Base Camp. For instance, sculptors or illustrators who need a lot of space, but have little added value, could not afford to pay the rent anymore. Professionals like designers or photographers who were not so dependent on space, are not represented more strongly.

The community life in the Base Camp is also of importance to the founders. To create a regular exchange between the tenants, there is an informal gathering every month in the on-site restaurant, an ‘open day’ and a winter party.

*Main factors influencing success or failure*

The Base Camp is a very successful initiative and the demand for renting a container is continuously high. The main *success factor* behind the initiative is the strong commitment of the architecture firm that had the original idea and proactively pursued the project. Within the context of the initial research project, they managed to find individuals – representatives of the involved investor company – who were similarly enthusiastic about the project. Under different circumstances, this large life assurance company would have never taken the risk of supporting such an initiative. So, the realisation of the project was entirely dependent on the commitment and the beliefs of individuals. The main initiator, Marc Angst, is glad to have a private rather than a public investor, since – in his opinion – the organisation of the Base Camp is more efficient and less regulated.

A significant *obstacle* in implementing the initiative consisted in finding a suitable property in the city. When the Base Camp had to leave the initial site, a long process began of searching for an appropriate location. For the initiative to make the sense, the property needed to be centrally located, large enough and affordable. Finally, the organisers could conclude a lease agreement with the city of Zurich. Although, in the legislative focal points, the city claims to strengthen the creative industries (City Council of Zurich, 2010), its actual support of this initiative was not very great, according to Marc Angst. However, the city leased out the land to a reasonable price.

*Conclusion*

The Base Camp is an *innovative*, new structure that provides a niche for the creative industries by offering low-threshold access and low rents. This mobile container settlement constitutes a success story with very good prospects for the future operation. The idea that open and undefined spaces and wasteland trigger creativity and innovation is of crucial importance in today's dense and defined cities. Such places make an important contribution to the urban diversity and the productive and creative entrepreneurship in a city.

**Complino Time Exchange Factory***Strategy, focus and organisation*

The Complino Time Exchange Factory features different dimensions: it is a project on labour market integration, a new economic model and a gathering place for the neighbourhood at the same time. Situated in district 4, it provides a cafeteria and a free internet café to attract different people living in the neighbourhood. Via the electronic time exchange system, these people may exchange goods or services for time. They can offer or buy items such as for instance a salsa lesson, gardening work, clothes or a second-hand coffee machine – the currency thereby is always time. Participating people may directly trade at exchange meetings or via the internet where everyone has an individual 'time account'. The *target audience* of Complino are people who have more time than money. There are numerous persons with large resources they cannot use in the given economic structures. Therefore, this initiative *aims* at creating opportunities for these people and at strengthening their entrepreneurship by implementing a time exchange system. In order to establish a sufficiently broad clientele, Complino is also targeted at the general population in the neighbourhood.

The concept of time exchange is not new: time-based currency exchange systems date back to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century and are on the rise again since the 1980s. The concept highlights the importance of social networks and the reciprocity of helping. There is a corresponding international computer software named 'Cyclos' that manages the individual time accounts and the payments. The Complino Time Exchange Factory also uses this software.

Founded in 2010, Complino is *organised* as an association with a president, an executive board, an executive director and several volunteers running the cafeteria, the internet café and assisting the different clients. The yearly budget of the association amounts to CHF 43,000 (approx. € 35,400) (Complino Time Exchange Factory, 2013). Thereby, around 75% of the revenues are public funds and stem from the Social Services Department of the City of Zurich. Further revenues are private donations or earnings of the cafeteria. Only the executive director works part-time in a salaried position.

However, the concept of the Complino Time Exchange Factory did not work out as planned – the demand for participating in the time exchange system was not very active and not satisfactory. The cafeteria and the internet café did not perform badly, but the location never achieved to become an important gathering place for the neighbourhood and the main goal of the initiative – the exchange of time, goods and services – was never satisfactorily reached. Therefore, the city administration stopped the financial support after three years and the initiative was shelved at the end of 2013.

#### *Perception and use of the concept of diversity*

Complino mainly addressed socio-economic diversity – an important aim of the initiative was to bring people from different social classes together. However, this objective was never really achieved: the initiative attracted mostly persons who live at the margin of society in difficult economic circumstances. Actually, Complino did not succeed in accessing other target groups and to establish the intended diverse mix of clients.

In general, the concept of diversity was very present in the operational approach of Complino. Ruedi Winkler, president of the association, frames it as follows:

*“The vitality and the sustainability of a society and an economy become apparent in their diversity. Diversity is the elixir of life of a society and a diverse society serves as the precondition for the functioning, the dynamics and the innovative power of the economy.”*

The Complino time exchange factory was intended as an alternative economic model to enhance individual entrepreneurship and competitiveness by taking into account the diversity of society and the diversity of the individual resources available.

#### *Main factors influencing success or failure*

The Complino Time Exchange Factory was not a successful initiative and had to close down only three years after its foundation. Unfortunately, the demand did not evolve substantially during these years. The two *main factors that caused this failure* were the underestimation of the time factor and the inability of the executive director to attract more and diverse clients. When crafting the concept of the initiative, the president of the association presented a pilot project of three years to the city administration. Retrospectively, this period was definitely too short to allow the project to function satisfactorily. It probably needs more time to build a sufficiently large community of members and participants interested in this time exchange concept. The executive director, on the other hand, did not contribute a lot to acquire new customers. He felt more comfortable with technical and administrative tasks than with approaching people, networking or advertising the project to the public.

The *factors of success* that kept the initiative alive during these three years were the high commitment of the president and the volunteers and, of course, the financial support by the city administration. The initiative was firmly built on voluntary work – these persons were generally very

committed and enthusiastic about the goals of the arrangement. On average, seven to ten volunteers were usually working in the Complino Time Exchange Factory. The public subsidies averaged to at least 75% of the revenues and were therefore indispensable for the initiative.

### Conclusion

Although the Complino Time Exchange Factory did not succeed in establishing a sustainable initiative, it had different *innovative elements* and an interesting concept. It introduced an alternative model to use the diverse resources different persons have and to strengthen the individual entrepreneurship of these underprivileged people. Combining that model with a cafeteria and a free internet café constitutes a good incentive for other people to spend some time there and join the project as well. Having learnt from the past mistakes, the president of the association, Ruedi Winkler, is already thinking about possible follow-up initiatives.

## 3 Synthesis and analysis of the results

### Synthesis of the investigated governance arrangements

The present report investigated ten governance arrangements situated in a context of urban diversity and thereby promoting the positive aspects of a diverse society. These arrangements pursue at least one of the three overarching objectives investigated by the DIVERCITIES project: strengthening social cohesion, enhancing social mobility and boosting economic performance. Table 1 presents an overview on the analysed governance arrangements and illustrates their contribution towards the three overarching objectives.

Table 1: Contribution of the governance arrangements towards the three main objectives

Governance arrangements	Social cohesion	Social mobility	Economic performance
Intergalactic Choir	***		
MAXIM Theatre	***	*	
Neighbourly Help District 9	***		
Urban Agriculture in the 'Brauergarten'	***		
Fit4Work		***	**
Laureus Street Soccer	**	***	
Parents Learn German in School (ELDIS)	*	***	
Quality in Multicultural Schools (QUIMS)		***	
Base Camp	*		***
Complino Time Exchange Factory	*	**	***

\* = low contribution; \*\* = medium contribution; \*\*\* = high contribution

There are four governance arrangements focussing mainly on the goal of *strengthening the social cohesion* within the population of the city of Zurich. The Intergalactic Choir and the MAXIM Theatre both provide spaces of encounter where people of different cultural backgrounds get to know each other and learn from each other by carrying out a joint activity. Both initiatives thus focus mainly on ethnical and cultural aspects of diversity and emphasise the notion of pluralism and interculturalism, where people enter into a dialogue on an equal footing. The Neighbourly

Help District 9 and the ‘*Brauergarten*’, on the other hand, are rather place-based governance arrangements that address a certain neighbourhood and aim at strengthening the interaction and communication between the residents. While the Neighbourly Help focuses on socio-demographic diversity by creating a charitable network in the quarter and supporting isolated people in need of assistance or company, the ‘*Brauergarten*’ initiative does not target a specific form of diversity, but is addressed to all people who enjoy gardening together.

Another four governance arrangements mainly pursue the objective of *strengthening the social mobility* of the inhabitants of the city of Zurich and are thereby primarily focussed on immigrants. Fit4Work integrates well-educated migrants and remigrants from third countries into the Swiss labour market by drawing on the mentoring and networking approach and by establishing close cooperation with larger companies in the Zurich business world. The initiatives Laureus Street Soccer, Parents Learn German in School (ELDIS) and Quality in Multicultural Schools (QUIMS) are addressed at migrant children and adolescents and try to empower them in various areas. Laureus Street Soccer established an open, intercultural football league in order to give young migrants easy access to sports and club structures and to help underprivileged children to assume responsibility and develop their social skills. ELDIS is a public governance arrangement aiming at strengthening the social mobility of migrant children by teaching their parents. It combines a language course with teaching basic knowledge on the educational system and helps these parents in coping with the challenges of everyday life. QUIMS is a public programme as well, carried out by the canton of Zurich and targeting schools with a certain percentage of foreign-language pupils. QUIMS aims at enhancing the language abilities, the school success and the social mobility of these children by providing the schools concerned with additional resources for the promotion of literacy for all pupils and for the implementation of integrative and differentiated learning support.

Furthermore, there are two governance arrangements aiming at *boosting the economic performance* of entrepreneurs in the city of Zurich. The Base Camp is a mobile container settlement that provides a niche for the creative industries by offering low-threshold access and low rents. Establishing a basis for small-scale enterprises and firms, who are gradually disappearing in the city of Zurich, enhances the creative and artistic diversity in the city and fosters economic innovation and performance. The Complino Time Exchange Factory – although not a successful initiative – addressed socio-economic diversity and introduced an alternative economic model to use the diverse resources different persons have and to strengthen the individual entrepreneurship of underprivileged people.

### Conceptualisation of diversity

The already completed assessment of urban policies on diversity in the city of Zurich (see Plüss and Schenkel, 2014) showed that the focus thereby lies on immigration and on cultural and ethnic aspects of diversity. Similarly to the governmental discourse, the analysed governance arrangements and initiatives in the present report also *primarily target the ethno-cultural dimension of diversity*. However, while public policies nearly exclusively operate with the concept of integration, bottom-up arrangements rather use terms such as ‘inclusion’ or ‘interculturalism’. The vast majority of the analysed arrangements focus on creating spaces of encounter, on learning from each other, on helping each other and on carrying out a joint activity – on interactions on equal terms. Sometimes, the concept of integration is even deliberately avoided since it is perceived as a one-sided and patronising approach to the initiators of the initiatives. The representatives of the initiatives also criticise the often narrow governmental concept of integration that is mainly focussed on economic aspects and on the integration of immigrants into the labour market. They argue that a broader perspective on the process of integration is needed and that a purely economic

rationale is not helpful in fostering social cohesion. Governance arrangements, however, that are closely associated with the public administration generally share the emphasis on the concept of integration.

Among the analysed initiatives, there are also some cases addressing *other forms of diversity* such as socio-economic status or age. The Neighbourly Help District 9, for instance, focuses particularly on socio-demographic aspects of diversity and tries to improve the social cohesion between younger and elderly people in the neighbourhood. The Complino Time Exchange Factory mainly addressed socio-economic diversity – an important aim of the initiative was to bring people from different social classes together.

The term of *hyper-diversity* – the diversification of the population in socio-economic, social and ethnic terms, but also with respect to lifestyles, attitudes and activities (see Tasan-Kok et al., 2013) – is not explicitly on the agenda of the investigated initiatives, but there are new bottom-up approaches showing a certain connection with the concept of hyper-diversity. Several governance arrangements do not focus on a specific population group or a certain neighbourhood, but put a common activity at the forefront. Establishing spaces of interaction and bringing together people with a common interest or lifestyle seems very promising and effective since these people participate only out of personal interest and not because they belong to a certain population group or live in a specific neighbourhood. Examples among the analysed governance arrangements are the joint singing in the Intergalactic Choir, the introduction into the dramatic arts in the MAXIM Theatre or the common gardening in the ‘*Braunergarten*’. Other governance arrangements address the hyper-diverse composition of the population in the city of Zurich by taking into account the individual living conditions of the inhabitants and do therefore provide tailor-made solutions to the participants. These arrangements are oriented towards the individual needs and attitudes of their target audience. Examples might be the programme Fit4Work that offers an assessment of personal strengths and an individual coaching and mentoring approach or the empowerment of children and adolescents through specific sports such as the project of Laureus Street Soccer.

### **Localisation of the main factors influencing success or failure**

The present assessment of local governance arrangements and initiatives revealed crucial factors influencing the success or failure of these initiatives. Among the *most important factors of success* are the high commitment and the strong voluntary engagement of the persons working in the initiatives, the provision of public resources, the orientation of the initiatives towards the actual needs of the population, the organisational flexibility of the arrangements and the availability of good networks. A key factor at the individual level is *the commitment and the engagement* of the initiators and the staff of the analysed governance arrangements: without their dedication to the goals of the initiatives and their willingness to work on a mostly voluntary basis, all these projects could have never been realised. Thereby, the amount of voluntary work did reportedly not change over the past years, but the manner and the motivation behind this commitment did change: volunteers are increasingly looking for shorter and nonbinding commitments and they primarily search for a benefit for themselves – they want to do something meaningful with their time. Of very high importance for the functioning of the analysed arrangements are also the *provided public resources*. Most initiatives depend on public subsidies and they often benefit from public structures and institutions as well, such as public institutions for youth work or for community work. A further factor of success is the clear *orientation towards the actual needs* of the target audience. The examined initiatives have generally good access to the local population; they see the current problems and needs and they often assume a forerunner role regarding tailor-made support. Frequently, they also act as bridge builders between different groups or between the population and the city administration. Small NGOs and private initiatives have a high *organisational flexibility* and can

therefore quickly adapt to a changing environment, what constitutes another often mentioned factor of success. Finally, the *availability of good networks* and numerous personal relations facilitates the daily work, the fundraising and the handling of difficult situations. Thereby, networks involving other local initiatives or representatives of the public administration are both important for the exchange of know-how and the continuing functioning of these local arrangements.

The investigated governance arrangements also share several problems and hurdles. Among the *most important obstacles* are difficulties with public subsidies, the need for a global and systematic policy regarding diversity issues, the location of the initiatives and the often missing appropriate appreciation. Many governance arrangements experience problems with the *financial contributions* by the public administration since these initiatives may not be assigned to a specific administrative unit. Local governance arrangements are often situated at the interface of subjects such as integration, community work, culture, youth or sports – a lasting and consistent funding by a single unit of the administration subsequently fails. Therefore, the division of the public administration sometimes hampers a reasonable use of funds. Seen from a broader perspective: it seems that a *global, systematic and long-term concept* regarding actors, measures and subsidies in the field of urban diversity is still missing in the city and canton of Zurich. A further problem for some initiatives is their *locality and location*. In most cases, the analysed governance arrangements are dependent on being clearly visible and easily reachable by their target audience – therefore, they need a central location. However, finding such a location is difficult and the rents are generally high. Finally, a few of the interviewed persons mentioned that they miss an appropriate *appreciation* by the public authorities. The administration and the general public clearly benefit from the strong voluntary engagement of the initiatives and the often excellent cost-benefit-ratio. Some representatives of the initiatives therefore demand that the public administration takes them more seriously and does not treat them just like applicants.

### **Identification of new ideas for innovative policies and governance concepts**

The *innovative strength* of the analysed governance arrangements has several facets, but they all relate to the bottom-up and horizontal structure of the arrangements, to their close and direct connections with the neighbourhood and the targeted groups as well as to their comprehensive and integrated approaches. In almost all initiatives, the importance of *providing low-threshold access* – both the physical access and the possibility that all participants meet on an equal footing – is clearly visible. The interviewed representatives of the initiatives for instance emphasise that the focus on interculturalism, on offering simple spaces of mutual interaction and encounter, is key to the strength and stability of their arrangements. Following the same basic idea, programmes and projects are often created in a bottom-up manner by involving the community and proactively *using the present potential* within the target groups. Working with key persons recruited in the neighbourhood and the target groups for instance enhances the credibility and the effectiveness of the governance arrangements. The evidence generally shows that there is an impressive potential of voluntary engagement present in the neighbourhoods of the city of Zurich – it just needs to be activated and organised. Another innovative feature is the implementation of *comprehensive and integrated concepts* targeting the participating persons as a whole. The analysed initiatives often provide tailor-made solutions and case-specific approaches that take into account the participants' individual living situation. They for instance leave room to the people to organise themselves according to their needs and requirements or offer additional assistance such as German language courses or childcare.

## 4 Conclusions

The aim of the present report was to identify and investigate governance arrangements that deal with urban diversity and promote the positive aspects of a diverse society while focussing on strengthening social cohesion, enhancing social mobility and/or boosting economic performance. As shown in section 3, the analysed governance arrangements have a quite different understanding of diversity than the public authorities, they apply a different approach towards dealing with a diverse audience and they thereby exhibit many innovative features. Certainly, their small and flexible organisation, the proximity to the neighbourhood and the target groups as well as the high commitment of the volunteers may give these arrangements some exceptional manoeuvring room and extraordinary credibility that the public administration is not able to copy. However, there are certain areas, approaches and instruments where *policy-makers can definitely learn from the analysed governance arrangements*.

Instead of the one-sided concept of ‘integration’ that is utilised by the public authorities in Switzerland, the investigated governance arrangements often use terms such as ‘interculturalism’ and ‘inclusion’. The representatives of the initiatives argue that immigrants should be met on an equal footing and that emphasis should be placed on spaces of encounter and interaction. Key officers in the public administration could foster greater self-reflection in this regard. However, in their perception of diversity, the initiatives are closer to the diversity concept of the city authorities that is more pluralist and positive than at the cantonal and federal level (see Plüss and Schenkel, 2014). The pursued objective of the city administration of ‘*promoting a culture of positive welcome*’ (City of Zurich, 2009: 8) is certainly an important step in this respect – the *development of a ‘welcome culture’ and of approaching immigrants on equal terms* could be expanded at all state levels.

The investigated governance arrangements often implement *comprehensive, integrated and participative approaches* – they target the participating persons as a whole by providing tailor-made solutions and case-specific instruments. However, due to their comprehensive concepts, these initiatives may not be clearly assigned to a certain administrative unit regarding public subsidies. They are located at the interface of – for instance – integration policy, community work, socio-culture, culture and sports, what hinders an effective public steering of private initiatives and an appropriate and consistent public funding. The public authorities may support the comprehensive and integrated concepts of these bottom-up initiatives by establishing closer coordination between the administrative units concerned.

In order to cope with current societal challenges and to effectively govern diversity, the public authorities may consider *implementing a kind of co-ordination centre* that is charged with approaching societal diversity comprehensively and with serving as an intermediary between the relevant administrative units. This co-ordination centre should facilitate the cooperation within the public administration and should apply a broad concept of social integration that aims at strengthening social cohesion across all social classes and ethnic groups. Such interconnectedness within the public administration is necessary to appropriately react to the population’s needs and requirements and to effectively and reasonably support promising private initiatives dealing with urban diversity.

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## 6 Appendix

### List of the interviewed persons

- Lisa Gerig, Founder 'Intergalactic Choir'
- Flavia Rüegg, Founder 'Intergalactic Choir'
- Ruedi Winkler, Association President 'Complino Time Exchange Factory'
- Bea Barth Stähli, Coordinator 'Parents Learn German in School (ELDIS)'
- Purificacion Alonso, Coordinator 'Parents Learn German in School (ELDIS)'
- Roxana Paz, Executive Director 'Platform Networking for Jobs'
- Monika Dohner, Coordinator 'Neighbourly Help District 9'
- Pascal Pauli, National Head 'Laureus Street Soccer'
- Markus Truniger, Head Unit of Intercultural Pedagogics, Office of Elementary Education, Canton of Zurich, Project Director 'Quality in Multicultural Schools (QUIMS)'
- Talila Oliel, Person responsible for the QUIMS Programme, Primary School Hardau
- Marc Angst, NRS-Team GmbH, 'Base Camp'
- Nikolaus Güttinger, Association President 'Brauergarten'
- Claudia Flutsch, Executive Director and Co-Founder 'MAXIM Theatre'

### List of the participants of the round-table talk

*Date: June 16, 2014*

*Place: synergo GmbH, Zurich*

- Bea Barth Stähli, Coordinator 'Parents Learn German in School (ELDIS)'
- Purificacion Alonso, Coordinator 'Parents Learn German in School (ELDIS)'
- Roxana Paz, Executive Director 'Platform Networking for Jobs'
- Silvana Lindt, Project Manager 'Platform Networking for Jobs'
- Monika Dohner, Coordinator 'Neighbourly Help District 9'
- Viji Kanakasingam, 'Laureus Street Soccer'
- Claudia Flutsch, Executive Director and Co-Founder 'MAXIM Theatre'