



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

## **Urban Policies on Diversity in Leipzig, Germany**

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**Contents**

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

**2. Overview of the political system and governance structure in each city**..... 2

    2.1. *Institutional maps of the case study cities*.....2

    2.2 *Key shifts in national approaches to policy for migration, citizenship and diversity* .....4

**3. Critical analysis of policy strategies and assessment of resource allocations**..... 7

    3.1 *Dominant governmental discourses on urban policy and diversity*.....7

    3.2 *Non-governmental views on diversity policy*.....22

    4. *Conclusion*.....27

**References**..... 29

Appendix A: Classification of Policies (examples) ..... 37

Appendix B. Material of the document analysis ..... 38

## 1. Introduction

The city of Leipzig represents the extremes of urban development in eastern Germany: The peaceful revolution in 1989 was started by social movements in Leipzig; these also marked the dissatisfaction of its inhabitants with the urban development policies under state socialism in Germany, particularly the neglect of old built-up areas in the inner parts of the city. German reunification was then followed by a remarkable population decline and, taking yet another sharp turn, in the post-transformation period after 2000, reurbanization and population re-growth became the dominating trends, which is still true today (Rink et al. 2012, Haase et al., 2012).

The post-socialist transformation began with a massive wave of outmigration: At the end of 1989 and in 1990 alone, approx. 30,000 inhabitants of Leipzig moved to Western Germany. By 1999, this economically or job driven outmigration had caused a loss of roughly 60,000 persons. The sudden German unification resulted in rapid deindustrialization between 1990 and 1993, which amounted to the loss of over 80% of industrial jobs in Leipzig. This caused a high level of unemployment (10% by 1992 and 20% by 2002) and led to new patterns of social inequality. At the same time, the birth rate fell (in line with most of post-socialist Europe) to a historically low level (0.77 in eastern Germany, one of the lowest values ever measured world-wide; Kohler et al. 2002).

In the second half of the 1990s, whilst outmigration to western Germany continued at a lower level, a wave of suburbanization occurred. Close to 20,000 households moved to the new suburban settlements within only a few years. The overlap of outmigration to western Germany, suburbanization, and demographic change resulted in intensified urban shrinkage. Between 1989 and 1998, Leipzig lost about 100,000 inhabitants (approx. 20%). The average age of Leipzig's population increased drastically. In the 2000s, however, the city saw a net influx, especially of young people. The migration gains rose over the last 12 years and reached the level of ca. 10,000 net in-migrants in 2011 and again in 2012. Thus, the city is now reurbanizing and rejuvenating. Also, the post-socialist period brought an influx of people with (various) migration backgrounds. In terms of relative and absolute numbers of migrants, Leipzig ranks second today, after Berlin, among eastern German cities. Whereas Leipzig has the highest poverty rates among German cities, it has also built up a reputation of providing spaces and niches for the so-called creative classes and a high quality of life and housing at comparably low prices.

This report analyzes the political system and governance structure with respect to urban diversity in Leipzig and provides a critical analysis of policies dealing with various dimensions of diversity. It builds on the analysis of key documents and municipal statistics, interviews with key stakeholders and decision-makers, as well as workshop discussions with a selection of these stakeholders.

In its conclusions, the report argues, among others, that there is no single diversity policy in Leipzig and that many policies dealing with increasing diversity in the city have emerged only within the last years or are currently developing. It argues, further, that an increasing recognition of multiplicity (as a fact) but not a specific politics of recognition of multiple voices of various population groups (as a consequence of it) can be observed. Maintaining the demographic balance (between different age groups) and the stabilization of the economic and labour market sectors are overarching goals of policies; all other issues, among them dealing with ethnic, cultural, social etc. diversity, are subsumed to these goals. A discrepancy can be observed between branding Leipzig as a cosmopolitan and tolerant city, by the official policy and city marketing, and real world life that is characterized by conflicts e.g. about a new mosque or accommodation for asylum seekers.

## 2. Overview of the political system and governance structure in each city

### 2.1. Institutional maps of the case study cities

#### *Governance structures for urban policy in Leipzig*

Figure 1 shows the institutional map of urban diversity in Leipzig. In Germany, municipalities have the right to local autonomy and self-government within the national and regional legal frameworks. The two main bodies of local government are the city council, elected by the residents, and the city administration, appointed and steered by the city council. The mayor, again directly elected by the residents, is the head of both city council and municipal administration. Financially, they both receive payments directly from the national government bodies or indirectly through the federal states (Länder).

The division of responsibilities, as well as the structure of departments and city council commissions, varies from city to city. A distinctive feature in the organization of the municipality of the city of Leipzig is that it has two departments that deal with urban planning and restructuring: one that works explicitly on general urban (strategic) planning, and one that focuses more on housing and renewal. The department for urban planning is responsible for strategic planning on the city level. The department for urban regeneration and housing is concerned with (re-)development within the districts of the city. Since the early 2000s, urban planning has followed the principle of integrated, comprehensive planning, meaning that all departments of the administration adjust their goals, investments and strategies with respect to different spaces in the city. The core instrument for this integration is the urban master plan of 2009 (SEKo), a comprehensive plan that integrates administrative strategies and policy goals across sectoral responsibilities (further details in chapter 3). The department for urban planning is the leading department for developing this document, which includes the organization of public participation: providing information and arranging discussions with civic groups and inhabitants. This results in a dominance of spatial planning actors in both the administration and in local policy discourse.

The city of Leipzig has been a prominent example of urban shrinkage nationally and internationally, which led to some specific outcomes in the current governance structures. Because of the population decline, deindustrialisation and suburbanization, the city suffered from overburdened local budgets (Rink et al., 2012). Austerity measures, municipal debt burdens and tight budgets are all a permanent framework for government practices as well as a topic of local debate (see the last section of 3.1 on resource allocation). This condition favoured the formation of cooperative governance structures (grant coalitions, Bernt 2009). Leipzig has an established group of intermediary actors: actors such as neighbourhood managements or local planning offices, who are commissioned by the municipality but act outside the hierarchies of local administration. Networks have been established, comprising the administration and the respective departments – the two departments mentioned above often occupying a leading/steering position; the group of intermediary actors, such as commissioned district managers, planning offices, architects or associations, as well as local housing companies and cooperatives and civic society groups, e.g. the voluntary urban forum, districts initiatives or political groups. These networks offer extensive capacities for community- and project-related work, but they are dependent on the further attraction of funding. The past years have brought some cuts here. Urban governance in Leipzig thus is struggling between comprehensive planning and incremental practices. Long-term municipal goals documented in the comprehensive plans (SEKo) and local needs are continuously crisscrossed and balanced with the funds and programmes available from federal government bodies, from the EU or from foundations. As a result, long-term local strategies are hard to follow, resources are of limited duration, and an

ongoing adjustment of goals between fund givers and local strategies occurs, which comes at the expense of networks and human resources.

Organizations that represent migrant and ethnic groups emerged with the in-migration-streams in the last two decades. They are rather small and are organised along ethnic lines. By now, they are involved in projects and activities, but they are not yet established players in the local political arena.

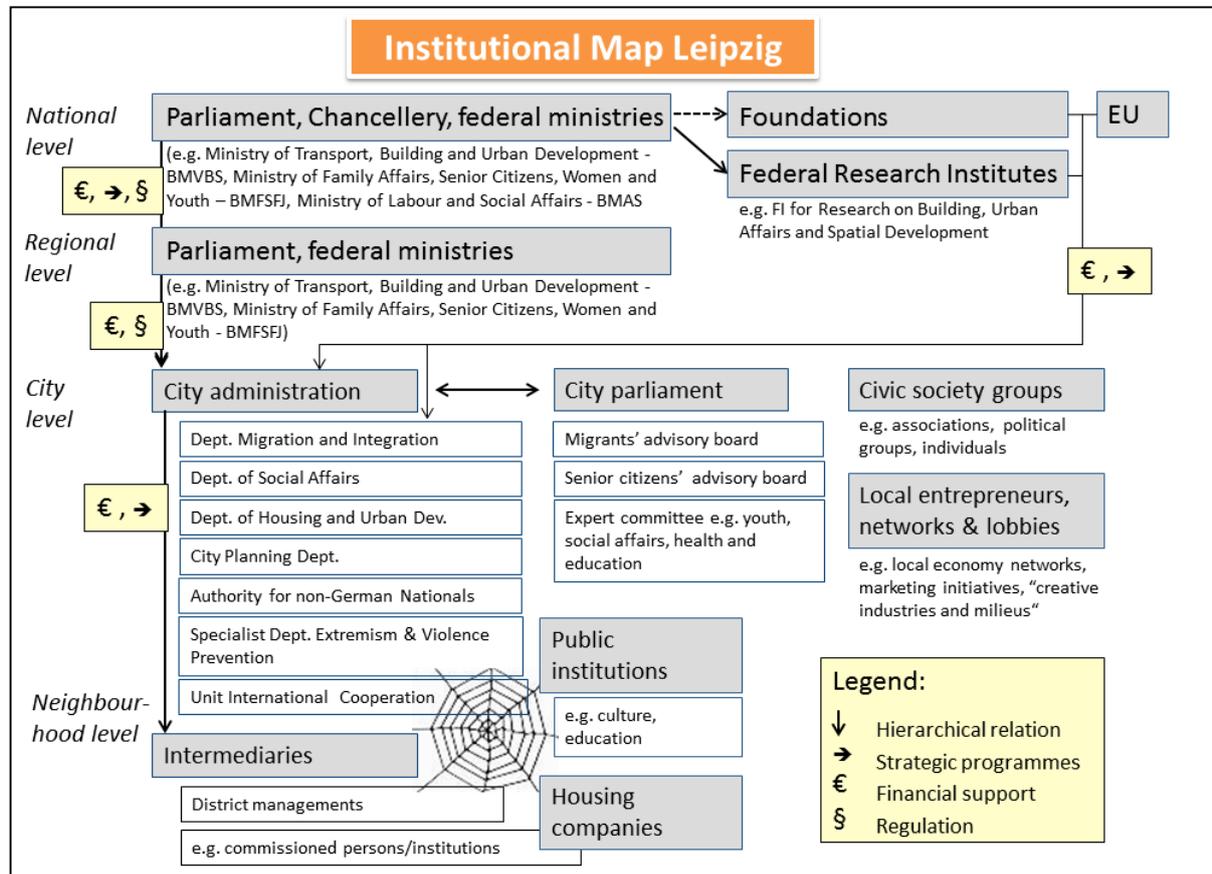


Figure 1: Institutional map Leipzig; source: authors' work

Regarding the current situation and possible shifts due to the credit crunch of 2008 and the current European state debt crisis, Germany has been considerably less affected by the multiple ruptures that hit other European countries (and their cities) during recent years. After a short downturn of the economy, it recovered quickly and grew even further. Unemployment rates declined and the index of production rose back to the pre-2008 levels. Certainly, some indirect effects occurred: The main impact on cities and their neighbourhoods are rising real estate and housing prices, because Germany is considered to be a safe place for investment and thus, especially in the larger cities, housing prices have risen steadily (Jannsen and Scheide, 2010). This process can also be observed in Leipzig.

With respect to national policies for neighbourhood development, shifts towards more neoliberal policies did occur, but mostly because of changes in government priorities after the conservative parties succeeded the Social Democrats and the Green party in 2005. This is most evident in the sharp cuts made in the programme *Soziale Stadt* (the social city), which had been used to support local communities in distressed neighbourhoods with training programmes, for community events, and for investment in public spaces (Franke and Thomas, 2011). Nevertheless, compared to European countries like Greece, Spain, Italy or Ireland, these cuts in neighbourhood support

are (still) rather mild; they are, however, a larger problem in cities like Leipzig that are, as mentioned above, very dependent on external funding.

## 2.2 Key shifts in national approaches to policies for migration, citizenship and diversity

In the following, we summarize the key shifts in national and regional policies for several dimensions of diversity. We decided to document the dimensions separately because they are, in fact, separate policies and because an introduction to all dimensions is necessary to provide a good background for understanding the local policies of the city of Leipzig.

### *National policies*

#### *Ethnic diversity and migration*

Post-war period	Western Germany had pursued a guest-worker policy in the 1950s to 70s, with the aim of meeting the needs of the growing German industrial sector. Its success was followed by a period of attempts to limit immigration and to encourage return-migration in the 1970s and 1980s (Ennigkeit, 2008; Wehler, 2008). The GDR, too, attracted guest workers from other state socialist countries including Vietnam, Angola, Mozambique and Cuba. In contrast to their equivalents in the FRG, guest workers in the GDR lived and worked in relative isolation contact to the German population was limited and work permits were time limited (Zwengel, 2011). Therefore, most guest workers left the country after 1989, although some of the Vietnamese guest workers remained; their status was legalized in the early 1990s (Weiss, 2010).
1990s	The 1990s were dominated again by policies to limit immigration (Weidenfeld and Korte, 1999). Two new groups entered the picture: (1) the so-called late repatriates (Spätaussiedler) who came from Russia, Romania and Poland and had German citizenship. They are treated as Germans by origin and thus do not officially count as immigrants. Therefore, a specific policy of integration was not pursued, even though this group was spatially concentrated for a long time and showed a limited ability to speak German. Life-styles and habits of this group often led to local tensions (Geißler, 2011: p.59-61). (2) The arrival of refugees led to a public and political debate about whether or not the right to asylum should be limited; <i>“the boat is full”</i> became a prominent phrase.
1993	In 1993, asylum laws were indeed limited, fostering the deportation of asylum-seekers to their home countries. This called civil society groups to the table who protested against the practice of deportation. In this period, Germany became, in fact, an immigration country without having a legal basis for this, or accepting it as a reality. Political conflicts arose, violent attacks cumulated, not least in eastern Germany. Right-wing, openly extremist and fascist groups entered the political arena, together with civic society movements against these tendencies.
2000s	With the success of the Social Democrats and the Green party in the elections of 1998, a change in migration policies, towards more integration-centred approaches, occurred: <i>“Germany needs migrants.”</i> (BMI, 2001: p.11) The new government first accepted that Germany is an immigration destination. One political symbol of this policy shift is the Green Card initiative. A factor contributing to the emergence of this policy shift is the emerging debate on demographic change. The Green Card initiative aimed at reducing the shortage of skilled labour caused by an aging and declining German population (Bade and Münz, 2004). Clearly, highly qualified immigrants are the main target group; other immigrants are less welcome, a distinction prevalent until today. New institutions, strategies and policies followed: In 2005, a new immigration law was passed, fostering integration through training and language courses.
2005	Also in 2005, the commissioner for non-German migrants (Ausländerbeauftragter) was relocated institutionally directly next to the chancellery. In 2007, a national integration plan (NIP) 2007 was launched (renewed in 2012 as the NAP, the national action plan to implement the NIP). On the basis of this plan, all government levels – federal government, the states, municipalities, as well as representatives of the civil society and migrants, agreed on guidelines for integration politics.
2007	In 2007, a national integration plan (NIP) 2007 was launched (renewed in 2012 as the NAP, the national action plan to implement the NIP). On the basis of this plan, all government levels – federal government, the states, municipalities, as well as representatives of the civil society and migrants, agreed on guidelines for integration politics.
2008	In 2008, a new programme was implemented to strengthen Germany in the international competition for highly qualified professionals <i>“... in the context of demographic change, globalization and the economic structural change towards knowledge- and research-intensive industries</i>

	<i>and services</i> ” (BMI, 2008). During this period, both integrationist and assimilationist ideas were present in the national discourse, so that Aumüller (2009: p.213) concludes, “ <i>The debates of the past decades have led to a situation where ‘assimilation’ and ‘integration’ are no longer analytic categories [...] but ideological terms, used to put politics on stage symbolically</i> ” (translation by authors).
late 2000s	During the last government period under Chancellor Merkel, a clear reorientation towards assimilationist approaches occurred in the debate, and this policy focus was symbolized in the metaphor of the dominant German culture (Leitkultur) or the phrase “ <i>Multikulti is dead</i> ”. This perspective argues that foreigners are to actively integrate themselves into German society by accepting German norms and values and by learning the German language. Frequent debates evolved between positions arguing for freedom of religion and positions warning about the dangers of emerging parallel societies (Heitmeyer, 1996, 1997) and the failures of integration policies for people with migration backgrounds (Aumüller, 2009).
2010s 2012 2013 2014	Recently, policies have shifted again, but with relatively little public attention. To attract skilled labour to the German job market, diversity management was implemented, e.g. enterprises initiated and signed a Diversity Charter (2007), the Blue Card regulation was implemented (2012) and, in 2013, the first Diversity Day was arranged. The ambiguity of more and less welcome immigrants continues. It is reflected in a recent debate on rising numbers of refugees as well as so-called <i>poverty immigration</i> (of Roma) from Romania and Bulgaria to Germany after the end of admission restrictions and provision of full freedom of movement within the EU. The debate was forced by conservative parties and has found a broad echo within the mass media. Since most of the immigrants go to large cities, the German association of cities (Städtetag) already called on the federal government, the states, as well as the EU, for support of the municipalities in February 2013. (Deutscher Städtetag, 2013) In 2014, the federal government established a taskforce of state secretaries to deal with the problem. At the local level, nevertheless, national support and funding was provided for tolerance and democracy initiatives. Especially for the fight against racist attitudes among young people, federal initiatives for tolerance and diversity, as well as against discrimination, are funded by the ministry of youth, seniors, women and family (Toleranz fördern – Kompetenz stärken, 2011; Vielfalt tut gut. Jugend für Vielfalt, Toleranz und Demokratie, 2007-2010; Kompetent für Demokratie – Beratungsnetzwerke gegen Rechtsradikalismus, 2007-2010).

### *Demographic diversity*

2000s	Around the year 2000, a political debate about the challenges of demographic change for the German society emerged. One of the drivers of this has been the growing mismatch of expenditures for pensions and employees’ pension contributions. Increasing attention to declining birth rates and their impact on the age structure of the German population, as well as the prognosis of overall population decline in Germany, brought this issue into the policy arena. This resulted in a shift in family policies, with new instruments to encourage child raising that provided more financial support for (employed) parents. Also, fathers were encouraged to spend at least 2 months at home with children younger than three years. Childcare facilities were expanded and a new law was introduced to guarantee childcare for all children, even those below the age of three (BMFSFJ, 2006; Boll and Reich, 2012). A national demography strategy was adopted in 2013 with a focus on an ageing society (BMI, 2013: p.2). Municipalities conduct so- called <i>Demography-Checks</i> : similar to the idea of mainstreaming, they test any new policy or investment or strategy to see whether it is appropriate for an aging society. Funding and programmes were provided for municipalities, such as the <i>ageing districts</i> planning competition.
2013	

### *Socio-economic diversity*

1990s	The basic goal of social policy in the <b>1990s</b> , the years after reunification, was to establish equal rights and living conditions (gleichwertige Lebensverhältnisse) in both parts of the country. In 1993, a solidarity pact was launched between the federal government and the states to provide a financial base for the realisation of the reunification goals, that is, to provide subsidies for a number of policies and strategies labelled Aufbau Ost (Reconstruction East), comprising policy fields that covered economic development, urban development, and neighbourhood
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<b>2000s</b>	<p>revitalisation (Wagner, 2001). Demographic change has triggered an ongoing debate on pension system reforms since the 1990s, which has turned into a question of inter-generational justice (Bundesregierung, 2002, 2012). The 2000s saw a major reform in the welfare system: the so-called HARTZ IV laws within the Agenda 2010, implemented in 2005. The reform basically unified unemployment payments at a low level (ALG II) and created options to increase legal, low-paid work (Hüther and Scharnagel, 2005; Hegelich et al., 2011). On the one hand, the reform has been criticized heavily for producing social hardships; on the other hand, economic lobby groups criticised that it did not provide enough liberation of the job market. The HARTZ IV laws also introduced limits to subsidising households' housing costs and living space; these limits favour the concentration of welfare-dependent households in areas with low housing costs and smaller flats.</p> <p>Also, two main national programmes for urban development were introduced: the Soziale Stadt programme for community development and the Stadtumbau Ost/West programme (urban restructuring East/West) with a focus on shrinking cities, the reduction of housing vacancies, and the redevelopment of areas affected by population loss (Bogumil et al., 2008; BMVBS, 2012). In 2012, the financial base of the Soziale Stadt programme was reduced sharply and limited to physical improvement measures for neighbourhoods. In 2014, with a new minister for urban development, a re-strengthening of the programme was announced.</p>
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### *Lifestyle diversity*

<b>1970s-1990s</b>	<p>In the aftermath of the social and political movements of 1968 in Germany, a general shift towards more openness for and tolerance of less traditional lifestyles occurred. The related topics include the debate on new household types, on the acceptance of unmarried partnerships and parenthood, of homosexual partnerships, but also of housing-related issues such as co-housing of different generations and other experimental housing and community projects. Germany is experiencing an ongoing debate about the family model, the role of mothers and the rights of unmarried fathers. In 2001, a law for the establishment of the civil union for homosexual couples was adopted. It refers to many parts of civil life, e.g. taxation, adoption of children, old-age insurance and subsistence; it legalized homosexual partnerships for the first time (Brunns and Kemper, 2005). One main unresolved issue in the political debate since then has been the right of homosexual partnerships to adopt children. The classic family model of a married, heterosexual couple with children born and raised within this partnership has lost both normative and legal ground in favour of more non-traditional forms of family, including patchwork families, the rights of unmarried couples or the rights of fathers in divorced partnerships (Schüffner, 2007; Gerlach, 2010).</p>
<b>2000s</b>	

### *Regional policies (federal state of Saxony)*

In Germany, the regional level is an important policy level due to the federal organisation of government. The German Länder have their own government structures, finances and selective competences, e.g. they have the exclusive power of decision on the regional education system.

In Saxony, there has been a government with Christian Democrats as the ruling party since 1990. Policies towards ethnic immigration, refugees and integration are in line with conservative values. In 2012, Saxony adopted a concept for immigration and integration (ZIK). From 2009-2012, the federal state financed a project supporting the economic and labour market integration of migrants (MigraSAX). In general, the immigration and migrant policies in eastern Germany have been dwarfed by policies focusing on the demographic development and the attraction of highly skilled migrants. The massive population loss after 1990, as well as the ageing of the remaining population, represent a great challenge for policymaking and are the focus of many initiatives and measures, e.g. a demography check that has to forego any larger investment in municipalities in order to ensure the long(er)-term sustainability of this investment. In eastern Germany, including Saxony, right-wing nationalism and neo-Nazi movements have played a role, since 1990. The right-wing extremist party NPD has been part of the Saxonian Parliament since 2004.

### 3. Critical analysis of policy strategies and assessment of resource allocations

#### 3.1 Dominant governmental discourses on urban policy and diversity

##### *Material and methods*

The analysis is based on five interviews and a document analysis (37 documents, ranging from city administration reports and political documents, to information materials, such as homepages or information brochures). The focus was to understand the diversity of the government actors, with the municipal administration being the central and strongest actor here.

In order to investigate understandings and policies of/supporting diversity, we conducted an interpretative, qualitative analysis of documents and interview minutes. Information was coded according to categories derived from the WP4 research questions. Coded material was compared, contrasted and interpreted. The time focus was on the development in the last two decades (for Leipzig: with the beginning of the post-socialist transition), with particular attention to the years 2009-2013.

##### *Introductory notes on Leipzig's urban policy specifics*

In contrast to Western European examples, explicit diversity policies do not exist in Leipzig, even though diversity (Vielfalt) is about to become a positively connotated vogue term. The term diversity in Leipzig's policy discourse is, therefore, an attempt to frame the experienced diversification of the city in a positive way, in line with its branding as a cosmopolitan city. However, as on the national level, a discrepancy exists between such positive framing and the struggle between racist, exclusionary forces in the society and those calling for inclusion and tolerance; see Figure 4.

Empirically, in the last two decades, Leipzig has, indeed, experienced a rapid diversification of its urban society in ethnic, demographic, socio-economic and lifestyle terms. The post-socialist transition impacted not only on the political system and local institutions, but also on the urban society and its socio-demographic and ethnic structures. Therefore, firstly, *diversity policies have developed in a speedy and incremental way*, simultaneously struggling

- a) with recognition of this evolving heterogeneity,
- b) with tackling and redressing the negative aspects or challenges that come with it, e.g. developing anti-discrimination policies or mitigating demographic decline
- c) with recognition of the potentials of various social groups, e.g. migrants as sources for mitigating ageing, or seniors to support the inclusion of underprivileged children
- c) to come to grips with the spatially uneven distribution of different social groups and balanced general or area-based approaches.

Secondly, an *overlap of different dimensions of diversity in policies* is characteristic for Leipzig, namely, demographic (age structure, household types), social (income, polarization), lifestyle and migration (both in-migration and immigration). For instance, immigration from abroad, for example, is encouraged, since it helps to balance demographic ageing (a major issue in Leipzig in the 2000s), but it also represents a challenge for the city's social welfare system that has to meet the needs of a comparably large share of poor people, since Leipzig is one of the poorest large cities in Germany. Nevertheless, the various dimensions of diversity are also addressed separately and in a different way. With respect to migrants, to demographic and underprivileged social groups, policies are target-group specific providing support and assistance for individuals and households. Lifestyle diversity and diversification is mentioned and used mainly when referring to

the area of culture and the role of the “creative class”, i.e. much less in a specifically target-group based and more in an instrumental way.<sup>1</sup>

Thirdly, a specific for Leipzig’s urban policy-making is the *emphasis on developing integrated strategies on a spatial basis*. Since around 2000, the city of Leipzig uses an explicit Integrated City Development Concept, which serves as an informal master plan for the city, (STEP as of 2000 – StadtEntwicklungsPlan – and the revised version, from 2009, SEKo – StadtEntwicklungs-Konzept). Here, the attempt is to bring sectoral planning concepts together (housing, education, transport, environment, etc.) to develop spatially explicit planning goals in a sector-wise integrated fashion and, thus, to avoid contradictions or inefficient attempts in planning<sup>2</sup>. This is then broken down into sub-concepts for priority districts, where various administrative sectoral policies come together. The leading department in the development and communication of these integrated plans is the urban planning department. Therefore, urban planning in Leipzig comes with an emphasis on spatially explicit strategies and a strong emphasis on integration of (formerly) sectoral policy goals: ‘The integrated urban development concept (SEKo) formulates a cross-sector urban development strategy for the city of Leipzig on the base of the current socio-economic framework conditions. It links sectoral planning strategies and specifies content-related and spatially-related policy goals and priorities ...’ (SEKo, 2009: p.6). Although the spatial focus of policies is very present throughout the whole document, it is hard to say whether this makes really a difference for policy shaping and realization, e.g. when compared to other cities. The elaboration of SEKo was financed by 200,000€ from the federal programme Urban Restructuring East (Stadtumbau Ost) and 2 FTE in 2007-2008. From 2009 onwards, 1 FTE was set up for the realization and update of the programme; 15-30,000€ per year can be spent plus third party funding that was won by the city for tasks fitting into SEKo’s framework (Workshop, 9 January 2014).

Diversity and social cohesion are an issue in this master document (SEKo) without explicit mention of these two terms; it mentions issues such as family- and pensioner-friendliness, care for children and adolescents; integration and care for migrants are also incorporated. Its guiding objectives refer to a) demographic and b) socio-economic stability of the city; migrants’ policies form a partial task under the topic of integration and lifestyle issues are assigned to the issues of culture and creative industries. The spatial focus of policy adoption is very apparent throughout the whole document; almost all issues are related to different spaces within the city – be it larger areas or smaller (districts or neighbourhoods). In the sub-concept for Leipzig’s inner east, the term *inclusive social space* appears, which explicitly focuses on the inclusion of different social realities (i.e. of different social, ethnic, lifestyle groups) (STEK Leo, 2013: p.65).

Incremental, project based policies, enacted by networks of administrative, intermediary and civic society actors bound to certain districts are therefore characteristic. Both for target-group based and area-based approaches, monitoring routines are established (Monitoringbericht Wohnen, Sozialreport) which analyse and reflect statistical data. These monitoring systems are a source for the above mentioned recognition of increasing social, demographic and ethnic diversity in

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<sup>1</sup> e.g. see documents: Lebenslagenreport, 2009; Leipzig wächst nachhaltig, 2012; RIS, 22.11.2012/2; RIS, 15.12.210; STEK LeO, 2013; RIS, 20.02.2013; Stadt Leipzig 2014

<sup>2</sup> Such integrated planning tools are quite common in German cities today, especially in cities that made use of the urban restructuring programmes Stadtumbau Ost and Stadtumbau West, which provided subsidies for the demolition of largely vacant housing after population decline and for the upgrading and restructuring of the remaining urban structure explicitly fostering inner city development (see Bernd, Haus 2010).

Leipzig<sup>3</sup>. Apart from area-based or target-group based concepts, general guidelines and strategic documents exist which operate at a more general, universal base. Some of these strategies refer to diversity and integration, e.g. the Municipal overall strategy for democracy and diversity (RIS, 15.12.2010) which stems out of the background of anti-discrimination and anti-racism which was elaborated within the framework of the above mentioned federal initiative ‘Diversity is good’ (BMFSFJ 2007).

Concerning *resource allocation for diversity policies*, Leipzig’s financial situation is tightly stretched. In general, East German cities suffering from population decline and deindustrialisation have to cope with large burdens from welfare payments (in large part, a duty of cities in Germany) and receive less tax revenues from the local economy than many western German counterparts. Thus, they rely heavily on external funding provided by national programmes or – especially in urban and neighbourhood development projects – on EU funding. This has to do with the multiplicity of sources providing funding for personnel, for infrastructure and project support. The city usually needs to contribute a share in order to attract external funds. For national funds, the sum of project support is shared among the federal state, the state of Saxony and the municipality. Usually, every level contributes one- third of the sum. For instance, the municipal strategy for democracy and diversity (Kommunale Gesamtstrategie für Demokratie und Vielfalt), which stems from the background of anti-discrimination and anti-racism and which was elaborated within the framework of the above mentioned federal initiative Diversity, is good (2010). This strategy forms the framework for some fields of activities and precise measures and provides a certain budget<sup>4</sup> per year to realise them. To calculate something like an overall budget for diversity-related policies is „close to impossible”,<sup>5</sup> as stakeholders confirm. Concerning other, non-financial resources, Leipzig has an established body of human and (semi-)institutional capacities. Intermediary actors, supported by the local administration, have accumulated knowledge about the localities, governance mechanisms, state programmes, and fund-raising. Networks exist with established lines of cooperation, knowledge of development trajectories of neighbourhoods and the city, in general, as well as commonly developed strategies in place. These capacities operate incrementally, on time-limited financial resources and are at permanent risk of crumbling away with diminishing financial resources. What is more, much work in diversity-related activities is contributed by volunteers, individuals or civic associations, bringing in countless human resources and working hours.

In the following, we describe, therefore, diversity policies by highlighting various dimensions and target groups: the ethnic or migration dimension, the demographic dimension, the socio-economic dimension and the lifestyle dimension.

### *Ethnic diversity and migration*

The *extent of ethnic mix in Leipzig* has seen some decisive shifts over recent years, and so have understandings of ethnic diversity and policy approaches to deal with ethnic diversity and with different migrant groups. Before 1989, a relatively low number of foreign workers from selected countries, e.g. Vietnam or Mozambique, lived, highly segregated, in workers’ or students’ dormitories. Immediately after the political turnaround of 1989/90, the proportion of foreigners even fell to half. Political circumstances forced them to leave the country (see Rink and Philipps, 2009). Subsequently, the proportion rose steadily until 2002 and then remained stable. The ethnic

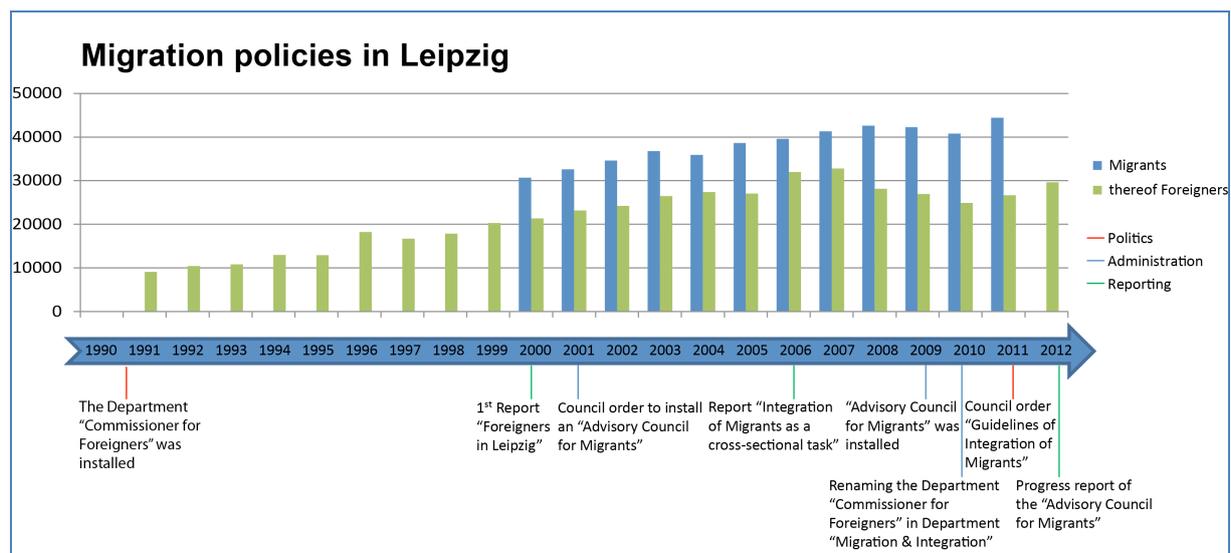
<sup>3</sup> e.g. documents using essentially statistical material: Altenhilfeplan, 2012; Konzept Migranten, 2012; Migranten in Leipzig, 2012; Stadt Leipzig 2012/2; Bildungsreport, 2012; Integration, 2006; Lebenslagenreport, 2009; Sozialreport, 2009; Wirtschaftsförderung, 2011; Bentele, 2011

<sup>4</sup> national participation 80-100.000€ and municipal participation 35.000€ (RIS 15.12.2010)

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

composition is rather scattered; there is no dominant group. The official statistics count the number of foreigners; only since 2010 has a second indicator been introduced: Germans with a migration background<sup>6</sup>, when the percentage was 6.4%. This share is relatively high for an eastern German city, but low compared to western German cities. Distinct migrant quarters only started to develop from the 1990s onwards, mainly in the inner east of the city (see below); currently, the share of migrants in some western districts is also growing.

The *development of urban policies towards migrants* can be observed by a timeline that shows the increase of institutional capacities, as it grows along with the share of migrants in the city. Parallel to the increase in numbers of migrants and the establishment of migrants' areas in Leipzig's inner east from the late 1990s onwards, the institutionalization of relevant departments within the city administration was fostered (see Figure 2). The former department of the Commissioner for foreigners' issues was, for example, renamed to the Department of Migration and Integration and the consultancy services offered by the department were enlarged to support integration of the various groups (of migrants or people with migration background; see section 3.2). In addition, a migrants' advisory board was established to support the city council with respect to migrants' issues and to give voice to migrants as a growing group of inhabitants in Leipzig. However, as a paper on the integration of foreigners from 2012 states, the expectations concerning the political representation should not be too high, because migrants represent a heterogeneous group with many opposing visions and views (Konzept Migranten, 2012).



**Figure 2: Migrants in Leipzig: population development, differentiation according to nationalities and policy milestones; source: authors' work.**

Simultaneously, *established structures from western Germany were implemented*. When implemented in Leipzig, the intercultural weeks, as an annual event, had already been part of western German policy for the cultural and religious coexistence in society for decades. They were first celebrated in 1975, initialised by the ecumenical Christian movement. This event aims at bringing local initiatives and actors on migration and culture together, with a supposed positive effect on society's tolerance (IKW, 2014). Leipzig included this festivity into its policy, referring to its role

<sup>6</sup> For the years 2000- 2010, numbers for the city as a whole have been estimated from the administration's data. Foreigners are part of the group *Germans with a migration background*, which also includes second-generation migrants or late repatriates from Russia, Romania or Poland.

as follows: ‘*The intercultural weeks are an important part of Leipzig’s festival calendar and do confirm the claim of Leipzig to be a cosmopolitan and tolerant city, a place of diversity*’ (Stadt Leipzig, 2014: p.1).

Both the perception of Leipzig’s migrant population by the municipality and the related policies are characterized by an *increased recognition of the heterogeneity of migrants* in Leipzig (for details see Figure 3). Firstly, the description of migrants has diversified over time. Early administrative documents define migrants by their legal status (e.g. refugees, a major concern in the 1990s).

Starting in 2000, the *local administrative statistics provide knowledge about* the composition of the groups of *migrants*. The knowledge created by these statistics steers attention and definitions (Integration, 2006; *Migranten in Leipzig*, 2012). Thus, the heterogeneity of foreigners was firstly perceived with respect to their country of origin. Recent documents from the administration, local politics or city marketing (brochures and website presentations) refer to age group diversification and the problem of ageing among migrants, the comparatively high unemployment rate amongst migrants, as well as the specific situation of migrant families with dependent children (Handreichung, 2010; Integration, 2006; Sozialreport 2009). From this information, specific target groups among the migrant community in Leipzig were identified. For instance, supporting material for teachers and nursery workers was developed to support integration of migrant children into nurseries and schools and to provide teachers with assistance in handling sudden increases in the share of migrant children in their classes and groups, a situation that has been reported for certain districts (Handreichung, 2010). These documents even state an increased awareness of the differences between migrant children. They describe typical differences in family cohesion, religious traditions and responsibilities, as they are shared within migrant families. Apart from this example, however, the recognition of diversity among migrants is rarely backed by precise measures. The recognition of heterogeneity, which clearly represents progress compared to the 1990s, thus remains at a rhetoric level; policies addressing this heterogeneity are only just starting to develop. Statistical *monitoring becomes a basic strategy for recognition policies*. In other words: policies recognise the multiplicity of the groups, but only rarely their multiple voices. Another aspect of this picture, however, is that hardly any statements by migrants themselves and intermediary/non-governmental actors are integrated into the development of official municipal documents.

Meanwhile, the municipality has developed a clear *vision on the role of migrants for the city*; migrants are presented within the documents as an important part of Leipzig’s city population. The message is that migrants are welcome in Leipzig, that it is crucial to support their integration and – apart from the specific needs of migrants – to also recognise their potentials for the city’s development. This is mirrored, not least, by the establishment of a chapter on integration within the framework ‘*ensuring social stability*’ (SEKo, 2009: p.71) within the SEKo (2009). This chapter includes the following issues: how to best use the existing social infrastructure for supporting integration, model approaches for the integration of youth/adolescents, overlaps of services for migrants, seniors and handicapped people, the creation of spaces of encounter within public

#### Heterogeneity of migrants in numbers (2011):

- 8.6% of the population has a migration background (44,400, out of which 18,000 have German citizenship, 26,400 are foreigners),
- Migrants have many countries of origin (163 countries), largest groups from Russia, Ukraine, Vietnam;
- Migrants are younger compared to the overall city average age of the population (32 to 44 years)
- Share of males is higher among migrants
- Migrants concentrate in some districts with shares of up to 30%;
- 10% students; 17% employed with social insurance (low value!)
- 8.2% of all enterprises led by migrants;
- Unemployment rate 24% (double of total); 30% welfare (18% of total).

**Figure 3: Heterogeneity of migrants in numbers (2011); source: *Migranten in Leipzig*, 2012: p.4**

space, as well as the instrument of neighbourhood management to foster empowerment and participation (SEKo, 2009: p.72-73)<sup>7</sup>.

This vision is interlinked with the idea of *counteracting other challenges by fostering migrants in-migration*; in particular, a link is made between ethnic and demographic diversity policies in Leipzig. Here, the contribution of migrants towards mitigating demographic decline and ageing is already highlighted in documents from the late 2000s. Migrants are seen as a group that, for the city, provides potential to adapt to the '*demographic reality and the globalisation of economy*' (Integration, 2006: p.9). Migrants contribute to the rejuvenation of an ageing urban society because most migrants are younger people and young families with children. Thus, in a formerly shrinking city, they contribute to stabilisation of population numbers and age structures. On a neighbourhood level, migrants are perceived to consolidate districts in danger of (demographic) deprivation: In the report on socio-economic status of Leipzig's population, the neighbourhoods with a high proportion of migrants (e.g. Neustadt-Neuschönefeld, Volkmarshausen in Leipzig's inner east), are called '*migrant and trendy neighbourhoods*' ('Migrantenszeneviertel', Lebenslagenreport, 2009: p.200). It is also argued that migrants seem to have a positive effect on the local labour market: A document from 2006 on integration of migrants as a comprehensive task states, referring to data from the municipality's trade office (Gewerbeamt), that the '*figures demonstrate the above-average economic activity of the foreigners living here, which deserves greater attention in the future*' (Integration, 2006: p.33).

A key goal for most of the policies is the *integration of migrants into the local society/community*. Integration is defined as '*equitable participation in societal life with equal chances and access to goods and services*' (STEK LeO, 2013: p.65); it is expressed as a pivotal concern of the urban society of Leipzig and does not only focus on specific groups (STEK LeO, 2013). Both integration and interculturalist practices (which means, in fact, more integration/inclusion than multicultural and cross-cultural) are used as concepts and approaches to *support social cohesion between the local population and migrants*. Declarations remain at a general level: '*The intercultural opening represents a strategic approach within the framework of an integrationist concept that focuses on organizational, personal and quality development processes.*' (Konzept Migranten, 2012: p.74). It is striking that precise measures or activities are not mentioned in these documents. In descriptions/characterizations of Leipzig's population in general, terms are used that imply aspects of diversity, such as living together, cosmopolitanism, welcome culture, sensitivity towards diverse cultures, the city as an intercultural landscape, equality of chances, as well as cultural mainstreaming.<sup>8</sup> Integration is used, rather, in the policy documents as a rhetoric phrase. Descriptions of what integration really means, in terms of actions or measures, are missing. To emphasise this: At an informal workshop in 2014, Leipzig's Commissioner for foreigners stated that "*... with respect to the integration concept, I could call it also diversity concept, concept for cosmopolitanism, concept of anti-racism ... it wouldn't make a difference*" (Workshop, 9 January 2014). Furthermore, municipal documents assume Leipzig's population to be cosmopolitan, without providing explicit evidence for this statement.

Thus, policies on ethnic diversity are predominantly *top-down approaches*. They *provide resources* to arrive more easily in Leipzig, to find one's way through administrative necessities and procedures and thus to *enhance the capabilities* of migrants to conduct a decent life, to improve their *economic performance*, and to get along independently. From the late 2000s onwards, documents discuss how to help arriving foreigners and how to handle – and finance – this as a voluntary municipal task.

<sup>7</sup> The perception of societal potentials of migrants can be underlined by a quote of the Commissioner for migrants: '*Migrants do have qualifications. They have cultural capital, experiences etc., also for the branch of economy...*' (Respondent M, 03. September 2013).

<sup>8</sup> Sources: SEKo 2009, Konzept Migranten 2012, Leipzig wächst nachhaltig 2012 et al.

The topics addressed centre around advice, guidance, and consulting services for individuals (Health guide, 2007). Priorities in working with migrants also focus on language and language acquisition as well as on the integration of children and young people into the German education system (Integration, 2006; Handreichung, 2010; Tätigkeitsbericht, 2012; Stadt Leipzig, 2013).

In recent documents, the term of an *inclusive social space* appears as a new way to foster the integration of migrants (STEK LeO, 2013). The idea of the *inclusive social space* integrates the idea of supporting underprivileged people in their place of living, providing spaces of encounter to engage groups in neighbourhood development and to foster social cohesion at the same time. In this way, civil society engagement is made available for municipal welfare production. The emerging overlaps with socio-economic diversity are discussed below. Not least, due to the strong influences of the two urban planning departments, governmental ethnic diversity policies – as well as policies on other dimensions of diversity – have a *spatially explicit focus*. Whereas, in former years, only vague hints in the direction of segregation tendencies among migrants appeared, the local administration, in recent years, (starting with documents such as SEKo, 2009) operates increasingly with the urban spatial reference. This was also confirmed by the interviewees from the urban planning department (Workshop, 9 January 2014). It is emphasized, in the sub-concepts on specific areas (e.g. STEK LeO, 2013), that plural lifestyles are present and that migrants make a significant contribution to diversity. In various documents, there is a focus on ‘*social diversity in the district*’ (SEKo, 2009: p.65) but the word socially is, however, not further defined. A still vague vision emerges with the formulation of districts becoming an *inclusive social space*, as mentioned above. Surely, the presence of migrants is meant here, among others, too, but it is not made explicit by the formulation. Further, the integration of immigrants in the local labour market is increasingly used as an indicator of their integration into the majority society.

There is, without question, a greater recognition of ethnic diversity; but despite this, there are still many *contradictions between visions in the documents and daily reality and practices* (see also next section). The contradiction can be best described as a self-image of a cosmopolitan, tolerant city, with a population experienced in hospitality, due to its history as a centre of trade fairs and commerce that is upheld and highlighted (Leipzig wächst nachhaltig, 2012). This is present in official documents from recent years and also in the interviews conducted with governance actors; ‘*Leipzig has got a long tradition with diversity ... through the trade-fair and the university, Leipzig was always a little bit more diverse than other cities in the GDR*’ (Respondent M, 03. September 2013). The very same documents, however, also refer to problems such as racism, hostility towards strangers and difficulties in communication between immigrants and the majority society. These problems are not denied but they are not made as prominent as the character of Leipzig as a cosmopolitan and welcoming city. Figure 4 illuminates the contradictions between the normative statements and guidelines in strategic planning and visioning and factual, also racist, conflicts in the daily life of migrants in Leipzig by contrasting normative statements with an example of such conflicts. Another recent example: In the cosmopolitan city of Leipzig, debates on the housing situation of asylum seekers in several districts of the city emerged recently, accompanied by protests by the local population, exploited by neo-Nazi groups for their political purposes. In a NIMBY fashion, they try to avoid new, decentralized homes for refugees by claiming that this would be a danger for local residents, especially for their children. Initiatives supporting decentralised homes for asylum seekers and a pro-welcome culture for refugees in general claim that urban politics does not respond adequately to the protests and somehow ignores their dimensions and the consequences (more on this issue in chapter 3.2).

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<sup>9</sup> Interview with the Commissioner for migration and integration, 3 September 2013

Normative approach	Present conflict
<p><b>Municipal overall strategy - Leipzig. Place of diversity 2011-2013</b></p> <p><i>Key objective 1:</i> citizens of Leipzig show a high acceptance for the diversity of all life forms and do participate at the intercultural life</p> <p><i>Key objective 2:</i> Actors of civic society, Institutions and agencies are competent in the intermediation of democratic values and in acting against right-wing extremist ideologies and violence.</p> <p><i>Activities:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Support of democratic diversity and support of activity-oriented networks</li> <li>- Support of intercultural competence and transport of cosmopolitanism</li> <li>- Pushing back right-wing extremist ideologies and activities</li> </ul> <p>(RIS, 15.12.2012: p.9-12)</p>	<p><b>2013: Plans for a mosque by the Ahmadiyya Muslim Jamaat provokes public protests</b></p> <p><i>October</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Municipality informs about the building project and appreciates it as a symbol of cosmopolitanism.</li> <li>- Contra-mobilization emerges, flyers are spread</li> <li>- Two attempts to launch citizens' initiative failed, protest continues and intensifies mainly through Facebook</li> <li>- Online petitions against the mosque (<i>No mosque in Leipzig!</i>) initiated; arguments are e.g. mosque does not fit into Leipzig's occidental culture, fear of "Muslim ghettoization"</li> <li>- First pro initiatives, e.g. online petitions (<i>Leipzig says Yes!</i>)</li> </ul> <p><i>November:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Rally of a right-wing party leads to nationwide attention</li> <li>- Municipality organises information evening to deescalate the tensions.</li> <li>- Massive populist protest escalates in an attack on the building site with five impaled pig's heads to desecrate it.</li> <li>- Positioning and statements of politicians of different parties and political levels;</li> </ul> <p><i>December:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Protest distracted in December due to upcoming protests against a new accommodation for asylum seekers.</li> </ul>

**Figure 4: Normative diversity-framework and present conflict; source: authors' work**

*Migrant diversity is clearly ambiguously interpreted:* On the one hand, it creates localised advantages in international competition. Migration is mentioned as a location advantage – but, on the other hand, the challenges that come with an increased share of migrants are pronounced: *‘Even though cultural diversity of the inhabitants without any doubt represents a development potential of contemporary large cities, the living together of people of different origin, culture and religion can also lead to problems and conflicts.’* (Konzept Migranten, 2012: p.66). It is, on the one hand, claimed that the citizens of Leipzig participate in this diversity and that they are cosmopolitan and recognise the advantages of a multicultural urban society. On the other hand, in contrast to these claims, the documents report on the fact that migrants tend to live in those areas where a mostly poor population lives and thus segregated from the majority of the more affluent local/German population. As a result, conflicts are arising in these areas that are grounded in the vast heterogeneity of lifestyles and the shared problematic socio-economic situation (STEK Leo, 2013). This challenge is referred to within the documents as a merely locational disadvantage for all inhabitants. Reality, however, shows that specific programmes for the integration of migrants were set up to meet specific problems e.g. of women or young people with migration background (financed by the federal initiative XENOS, 2011).

Part of these *ambivalent perceptions of diversity* in the local discourse is a latent differentiation between desired and undesired diversity. Here, the local situation mirrors the national debate. Cultural diversity and the plurality of lifestyles are viewed as an advantage where economic interests and image aspects are in the foreground. Problems related to migration (referring e.g. to unemployment, the situation of children and families, problems resulting from language barriers and different cultural habits/traditions) are rarely addressed in more detail but they are referred to; solutions to potential challenges of integration are usually included into district level strategies and deal with improvement of social cohesion, community life and participation.

Given the overall ongoing austerity condition of the city of Leipzig, *the city still allocates more resources than most other cities in eastern Germany in policies related to ethnic diversity*. For instance, most large East German cities established a commissioner responsible for migration and integration in their administration, but the city of Leipzig even opened a separate unit for this. This increases the institutional importance, but also the costs for the city. In addition, a specialist department on Extremism and violence prevention is located in the social department of the city; the resources here come from a federal programme. The integration into the administrative structures underlines the importance that this is given. A third example: Asylum seekers in Germany do not have access to subsidised language courses, but the city of Leipzig provided asylum seekers with 200 h of German language instruction free of charge and paid for by the city – again a unique feature in East German cities. Leipzig also pays interpreters (Sprach- und Integrationsmittler) to assist immigrants in with institutional procedures; in other cities, such interpreters work on a voluntary basis. Given the cuts in the city budget over the last years, activities also had to be cut. Concerning his budget, the Commissioner for migration and integration is pessimistic: *„the financial cuts no longer allow many activities today; the unit has a basic budget which pays the “intercultural weeks” – and that is it”<sup>10</sup>*.

### *Demographic diversity*

The main goal of demographic diversity policies can be described as twofold: a) the *mitigation of negative aspects of demographic change*, such as population decline and ageing, and b) *policies of necessary adaptation*, especially with respect to ageing. Leipzig experienced a massive outmigration in the 1990s and early 2000s; within only 10 years, the city lost 20 % of its inhabitants. It is only recently that Leipzig has seen considerable young in-migration and rejuvenation. Previously, the city's population was rapidly ageing (Kabisch et al., 2008). In 2004, the proportion of people older than 65 years was more than one fifth of the entire population. Despite recently increasing young in-migration, the official population forecast assumes that ageing will stay the long-term overarching trend; old people, therefore, will be supported by improved health care and rising numbers of old people, through the ageing of the baby boomer generations after the Second World War (Altenhilfeplan, 2012).

In order to tackle the challenges of demographic change, municipal policies have been focusing much more on making the city more family-friendly, encouraging families with children to stay in the city, e.g. by creating support facilities for children, young people and families. Policies directed towards family-friendliness are a focus of the strategic master plan SEKo from 2009. These policies include both obligatory tasks for municipalities, such as the care for children and youth, as well as support for families and other (voluntary) tasks such as the support for non-governmental initiatives dealing with these target groups. An award for family-friendliness has been issued since 2009 (Leipzig.de, 15.05.2009). Families are supported by an information and contact address handbook (Handbuch, 2013), and newcomer families are invited to welcome meetings (Stadt Leipzig, 2012/3). All these policies aim at rejuvenating the city and protecting it from further ageing. Resources for educational support measures increased within the last years – e.g. from 41 to 42 million € per year from 2012 to 2013. Resources for youth support added up, for example, in 2011 to 9 million € (40% of the resources were spent for obligatory tasks, 40% for spaces of encounter, 20% for other projects) (Stadt Leipzig, 2011).

Policies dealing with demographic diversity are based on different documents of sectoral planning (Fachplanungen) that deal with either demographic or socio-demographic groups or

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<sup>10</sup> Interview with respondent M on 3 September 2013.

situations/circumstances in life; the most important are the Lebenslagenreport and Sozialreport (2009, dealing with social issues of different age groups), Bildungsreport (2012; dealing with educational issues of different age groups) and Altenhilfeplan (2012; dealing with senior citizens' issues). The documents are based on municipal data and give information and interpretations. They are the foundation for a) the update of policy guidelines and b) the shaping of measures and instruments as well as the according financial resources.

Even though families are still the key target group when it comes to rejuvenation policies, an *increased recognition of the diversity of household types* is noticeable in the policy documents. It is recognised that traditional family and household structures have been becoming more diverse within the last years and that non-traditional household structures, such as flat shares, patchwork families, LATs<sup>11</sup> etc., have become more common throughout the city's population (Lebenslagenreport, 2009; Sozialreport, 2009). The classic image of the family, consisting of married parents and children, has increasingly eroded. Cohabitation households are replacing the former dominant family structures. Family becomes a '*child-community*' (Bildungsreport, 2012: p.64) that also includes cohabitantes with children, single parents and gay/lesbian families. What is striking, however, when analysing the SEKo according to family-friendliness, is that there is no distinction between different types of families (e.g. ordinary, patchwork, families with homosexual parents etc.); also, the specific situation of single parents is not mentioned. On the action level, the family remains a key target group of urban policy in terms of funding, development of support schemes and formulating priorities.

Because ageing and necessary adaptation measures were already a prominent topic in national discourse in the 1990s, policies with respect to a *specific and needs-oriented dealing with seniors* have developed stepwise throughout the 1990s and 2000s. In 1991, the senior citizens' advisory board was founded; in 1993, 2003 and 2012, a bundle of measures to support older people (Altenhilfeplan) was adopted. In 2012, for the first time, guiding principles for seniors were elaborated that went beyond a listing of measures (Seniorenbeirat Leipzig, 2012). From 2012 onwards, the municipality gives financial support to revise and improve the work with and support for seniors (RIS, 22.11.2012).

With the years, the definition of the group of seniors has also undergone a differentiation, as the *heterogeneity of seniors, of their needs and potentials became more recognised*; target-group specific policies have been developed. Previously, old age and ageing was defined by the classic age of retirement from work, the age of 65. The first distinctions concerned more or less affluent pensioner households and the differentiation between age groups ('*younger old*', '*older old*', '*advanced senior citizens*') (Altenhilfeplan, 2012: p.37). This differentiation was then extended into a functional distinction, a distinction in activity and dependence of seniors, which was integrated into the guiding principles (Leitbild) for seniors. The so-called third age is characterised as the extension of the post-occupational stage of life, with extensive activities and potentials for society at large (voluntary work is very much highlighted). After this, the fourth age is detected as the last stage of life, in which people become highly dependent on services. In conclusion: '*Leipzig's policy for seniors respects all stages of age – from the productive age up to safety and protection needs in case of illness and care dependence.*' (Altenhilfeplan, 2012: p.10).

Again here, the work has been focused on different districts and neighbourhoods, and decentral networks are encouraged: *target-group specific work comes with spatial orientation*. Resources available for the open care for old people were reduced from 2008-2012 from 750,000€ to 650,000€ per year (RIS 22.11.2012). In 2013, the approach towards care for older people was reframed: ten

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<sup>11</sup> LAT: Living apart together

senior offices were founded in different parts of the city; each of these offices disposes at a personnel budget of 60,000€ per year and may spend 1,000€ per year on so-called micro projects. These offices offer consulting services and leisure activities for seniors and should create cohesion and networks among older people. This initiative is in line with the concept of open care for seniors that has been adopted in Leipzig since 2012, focussing on care and offers beyond “*coffee and cake*”<sup>12</sup>. Representatives of the social department of the municipality stated that “... *we know that needs are changing and that e.g. seniors represent a more and more differentiated group*”<sup>13</sup>. Part of this increased recognition of seniors’ heterogeneity, *of seniors and their potentials to contribute to social cohesion* has increasingly come into the focus of policies. Policies should consider more carefully the benefits that arise from the engagement and voluntary work by seniors, as Leipzig’s mayor stated in the introduction to the 2012 support measure plan for older people:

*We, as seniors, can actively support our city and its inhabitants. We can contribute to shaping its future. We can dedicate time and attention to our grandchildren, help to make little children in kindergartens become friends of books and reading as readers, we can coach young people in sports associations in fair play and the power of endurance. We can also support our children in our role as grandparents, we can have an open ear for the homeless in soup kitchens, we can help our own parents through care and we can financially support our city’s culture by collecting money with the help of friends’ associations. Our city needs our life experience as seniors.* (Altenhilfeplan, 2012: p.3)

The performance of seniors in supporting social services is particularly highlighted. The municipality seems to focus on the voluntary potentials of active pensioners, to provide educational support for children and to *foster social cohesion* and the *municipal welfare provision*. The strategy created for the reorganisation of open care for seniors fits into the former policies. As the quote above shows, the goal is to integrate their (differentiated) potentials into the urban welfare provision. The new approach to open care for seniors somehow materialises this goal/normative. Existing potentials should be used and improved, the social integration and a long, independent life is to be fostered (Altenhilfeplan, 2012; Seniorenbeirat Leipzig, 2012; RIS, 22.11.2012; RIS, 21.03.2012).

*Policies to enhance the capabilities of various demographic groups* are an important part of the existing policy landscape. Whereas young age groups are supported in enhancing their life chances in terms of education and economic performance, services for seniors aim at enabling them to live independently as long as possible, e.g. by giving priority to mobile services instead of stationary services. Support for children, young people, and seniors belong to the municipality’s obligations. Policies aim at maintaining the high level of day care provision and needy families are provided with educational assistance as well as support for young adults to reach a reasonable level of education. The main long-term interest of such support activities (also representing a municipal obligation) is to enable the affected persons to live *‘independently of municipal support service’* (Sozialreport, 2009: p.40). This applies to both children and young people as well as to families. The policies, in other words, aim at a reduction of disadvantages among the target groups. Documents dealing with ageing discuss which changes in the provision of social services, support measures for long-term self-determination and liveability of old people are required in the light of demographic change. It is assumed that the number of those needing assistance in the growing population of older residents will increase, due to the overall ageing of the city’s population within the last decades. The basis for this statement is, again, the collection and analysis of statistical data: recognition by statistical monitoring (Sozialreport, 2009).

<sup>12</sup> Interview with YSHS on 4 September 2013.

<sup>13</sup> See note 6.

The main *normative frameworks behind demographic diversity policies* are a) *to maintain a balanced demographic structure*, b) *a stable or growing population*, and c) *good coexistence of different age groups and generations* (SEKo, 2009). To achieve this, a discussion on multi-generational housing and living was initiated recently, through projects financed by the federal government in 2012-13 (project: Leipzig – think forward, Leipzig weiter denken).

Related to this, in recent documents, demographic change and the coexistence of different demographic groups are dealt with by using a new, holistic approach: The image of the *inclusive social space* (STEK LeO, 2013: p.65), which has been mentioned in the description of policies on ethnic diversity, describes, as its main target, the provision of preventive support services to counteract potential socio-structural problems. The aim is to produce *equal opportunities* for each group. As representatives of Leipzig's social department stated, the seniors' offices represent one example of this new approach.<sup>14</sup>

There are some *contradictions between the normative frameworks and the shaping of precise policies*, as well as between policy documents and reality. In documents dealing with the situation of families, it is stated that family structures and types have undergone a diversification. In the policies listed, however, only families are dealt with and references to a diversity of family types do not appear. Just like the policies for ethnic diversity, the multiplicity of groups is well recognised by now, but the recognition of multiple voices and the development of the respective policies is less pronounced. Even though the diversification of household structures and the rise of non-traditional households are recognised, young families with children remain the core target group for demographic stabilisation policies, both on the city and the district level. Families are normatively referred to in two respects: a) those who need care and support and should be enabled to live, in the long run without it, (Sozialreport, 2009) and b) those who are seen as (demographically and socially) stabilizing factors for their district or neighbourhood and should be encouraged to stay there through specific family-friendly measures such as support of owner-occupied housing in the inner city or the construction of town houses in single family format (Leipzig wächst nachhaltig, 2012). The policy documents do not consider problems such as the increasing instability and erosion of relationships, growing numbers of single households and single parents. On the contrary, to justify municipal approaches (and maybe also to avoid these problematic issues), policies focus on normative paradigms such as families, multi-generational housing, and seniors.

#### *Socio-economic inequalities and diversity*

Socio-economic inequalities intersect with the ethnic or demographic dimension of diversity, therefore we also analyse policies addressing socio-economic inequalities. In socio-economic terms, policies aim, in fact, at reducing diversity, especially by helping those with the least economic resources. The situation in the city is precarious as compared to most other German cities. After the political transition, Leipzig experienced a massive loss of jobs in industry (about 80,000 jobs) and rapidly increasing levels of unemployment, which has been one of the city's largest problems since then (Rink et al., 2012). Even today, Leipzig belongs to those large cities in Germany with the highest proportions of poor people or people at risk of falling into poverty: According to recent statistics, in 2012, 30 % of Leipzig's population faced this risk, 11 % above the national level in Germany (Baumann and Seils, 2014). Every third child lives below the poverty threshold.

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<sup>14</sup> Interview with YSHS on 4 September 2013.

Given these dramatic numbers, *poverty is a rather neglected issue* in Leipzig's official documents. Compared to the emphasis given to ethnic and, even more, to demographic issues, specific strategic guidelines or leitmotifs to combat poverty are lacking. The analyzed documents treat poverty rather indirectly and even avoid the term poverty. For instance, a report from 2009 focuses on poverty-relevant topics without naming it explicitly: It is entitled "report on life circumstances" instead of "poverty report" (see Lebenslagenreport, 2009). Demand for action is seen in this report mainly in the '*... improvement of framework conditions that contribute to avoid increasing poverty and to counteract existing poverty, in order to widen the municipality's (financial/budget – the authors) capacity to act*' (ibid., p. V). The Lebenslagenreport (2009), mainly a statistical monitoring tool, acknowledges different levels of integration into and exclusion from the labour market.

Whereas explicit local policies to combat poverty do not exist, policies to combat unemployment are in place and – in a way – serve as a tool for poverty reduction. The main strategy to combat unemployment is *an economic growth agenda with an emphasis on competitiveness* that is to stimulate the economy, large investments, and, thus, the prosperity of the job market. Although the level of unemployment has decreased during the last years (e.g. from 44,627 persons in 2003 to 28,085 persons in 2012 (statistic.leipzig.de, 2014), unemployment remains an issue. This is one of the central objective categories of the SEKo (2009). This includes a) improvement of the attractiveness of Leipzig as a location for investment (among the five key clusters of economic development<sup>15</sup>, creative industries are also an issue that we will encounter later within the framework of lifestyle diversity) and b) decreasing unemployment and supporting people to (re-)integrate into the labour market. To realise these key goals, Leipzig's municipality uses a variety of strategies to support the different target groups, e.g. special programmes for young people (Joblinge Leipzig) in collaboration with the municipality together with private initiatives and the state of Saxony (RIS, 14.12.2011). Other policies focus on the integration of the long-term unemployed into the public sector; this initiative is based on collaboration with the Saxonian government (RIS, 29.02.2012). Moreover, the city applies for money from a federal programme, funded by the federal job office, with the purpose of reintegrating the long-term unemployed into the labour market (l-iz.de, 2013).

Social welfare distribution, as an obligatory municipal task, is regulated mainly by national law (ALG II/Hartz IV). The municipality is obliged to secure the housing of dependent citizens – the federal state provides the living costs. To underline this: it is not per se the task of the municipality to take care of poor people in general, but the "*task area of the department for social issues is: seniors, disabled, asylum seekers and so-called transfer recipients (Transfergeldempfänger)*".<sup>16</sup> The interviewees from the social department underlined that poverty is a crucial issue and new challenge are expected, e.g. "*...dimensions of disadvantage will change in such a way that there will be much more old age poverty in the future*".<sup>17</sup>

On the city level, specific poverty-related policies are rarely to be found. Nevertheless, some smaller-scale policies to support underprivileged people in access to infrastructure have been implemented. The Leipzig-passport (Leipzig-Pass) allows unemployed people receiving welfare benefits to participate in public and cultural offers through reduced admission charges (e.g. public baths, public transport and cultural events). In addition there are special offers for school students to enable them to use public leisure facilities and thus to participate in social activities

<sup>15</sup> Since 2000, Leipzig particularly supports some clusters of economic development: logistics and services; automotive and supplier industries, media and creative industries, health and bio-technology, energy and environmental industries; see Wirtschaftsförderung 2011.

<sup>16</sup> Interview with YSHS on 4 September 2013.

<sup>17</sup> Interview with YSHS on 4 September 2013.

during school holidays, following the same principle of reduced admission charges (Stadt Leipzig, 2013/2). This can be simultaneously interpreted as a *social cohesion strategy* and also as a strategy to *enhance individuals' life chances and quality of life*.

#### *Education*

A second policy field for combating socio-economic disadvantages are *education-related policies*, which simultaneously aim at improving the life chances, and *fostering social mobility and the economic performance of inhabitants*, with children and young people as the main target group. These policies build on the understanding that children and young people are a heterogeneous group. According to the policies, each child and young person should be supported with respect to his/her specific situation and *capabilities* (Integration, 2006). The policies aim at supporting *equal chances* for all children/young people (Lebenslagenreport, 2009). It is acknowledged that children of migrant families need additional support (STEK LeO, 2013). Generally, in Germany, the support for the education of children and young people is an obligatory task for municipalities. With respect to adult migrants, this means: while the education of their children is obligatorily supported, their integration is it not (Sozialreport, 2009). Additionally, educational support for adults (including migrants and seniors) has been part of the municipal policies since 2011.

In 2012, educational guidelines (bildungspolitische Leitlinien) were adopted. In this document, a general definition of education is formulated that should serve as the orientation framework for Leipzig's educational landscape (RIS, 20.06.2012). This framework defines norms for the various supporting measures and offers in schools, in the non-governmentally organized work with children and young people, as well as in the educational work with adults. The analysed policy documents show an instrumental understanding of education, as a means of social mobility:

*'Education refers always to a societal relationship that is empowers everybody to discover and to develop his/her abilities, imagination and relatedness to norms in contact with others. Education reacts to social requirements and enables the individual to act in a self-determined way and on the basis of personal goals and norms with respect to complex requirements. Therefore, education always refers to the individual and the others, the empowered person and the enlightened society.'* (Bildungspolitische Leitlinien, 2012: p. recital clause)

Here, we see a contradiction: One the one hand, there is a strong normative impetus for education to act as a key to empower all adults, children and youth, as well as seniors. On the other hand, documents state that: *'... the persistent adherence to the illusion of an ethnically homogeneous society leads to a lack of concepts dealing with heterogeneity and diversity in education, ...'* (Handreichung, 2010: p.4).

This understanding of the role of educational support is thus *a means of social mobility and of inclusion*. It is characterized by its high normativity and formalisation. Education also forms an integral part of the 2009 master plan (SEKo). Here, education is seen as a fundamental contribution to improvements of the international importance of the city and to its competitiveness; education per se is thought to be an important location advantage. The background of this is an overlap with the demographic dimension: The adequate provision of skilled labour is endangered by demographic decline which affects the competitiveness of the city, an issue that very much resembles the national discourse. The impact of education on social cohesion and mobility are, in contrast to the educational guidelines, not directly addressed here.

The mentioned *normative framework is again in contrast to reality*. The lack of financial resources hinders the realisation of the policy goals. In the policy documents (both the educational guidelines and the SEKo), there are no precise guidelines or frameworks for the realisation of identified/listed normative frameworks. During our stakeholder workshop, the respondent of the

social department commented that: “*many of the measures are just rhetoric; if I want to realise something, I have to see what it really costs*”<sup>18</sup> and that funding in Leipzig is generally scarce.

#### *Local economy and job creation*

There are several programmes to support deprived population groups and deprived areas with respect to entrepreneurial activities and jobs. Within the Social city programme that was established in 2001 (funding from the federal government and different EU funding schemes such as EFRE and ESF), local economy represents one of the sectors of engagement; the programme’s activities focus on two deprived areas of Leipzig – Leipzig’s inner east and Leipzig-Grünau, the two areas that will also be in the focus of *Divercities* later on. In Leipzig’s inner east, e.g. a local coordinator for economic issues was established, in order to provide consulting and networking with respect to support activities for local entrepreneurs and job-seeking persons.

Within the framework of BIWAQ (Social city – education, economy and labour within the neighbourhood), an ESF, federal and municipal government funded programme, so-called points of support for the local economy, in German *Arbeitsläden*, were founded as an innovative instrument to strengthen the local economy and find jobs for people in socially deprived areas, with a focus on job creation in SME for local residents. Projects funded with this scheme should cost at least 200,000€ (BVBS, 2013). Supported by the XENOS and MigraSAX programmes, economic and labour market support was provided for migrants and migrant entrepreneurs, in order to counteract discrimination on the labour market and to foster qualification of deprived, young and poorly educated migrants, among them also former prisoners, for the labour market and professional success. Even the idea of an international district in Leipzig’s east (IQ-QUADRAT) was developed; this project became part of the 2008 federal integration plan.

A general problem of all these listed measures is that they do not provide long-term funding but finish, instead, with the third party funding, typically after 2-3 years. Thus, their influence on really improving the economic performance and social situation of e.g. the unemployed or entrepreneurs with a migration background remains comparably restricted.

#### *Lifestyle diversity*

Dealing with different lifestyle dimensions is a new topic in Leipzig’s policy documents. Generally, a *diversification of lifestyles* in Leipzig can be observed over the last two decades. At the focus here are mostly young people and small enterprises that are related to the creative industries sector. The role of the creative industries sector (or the so-called pioneers) is seen as valuable for the city as a whole and for those districts where most of the respective enterprises are settled, also in terms of economic performance and upgrading (Integriertes Handlungskonzept, 2003: p.9). Based on the results of the Central Europe project *Creative Cities*, in which Leipzig participated (2010-2013), a contact office for the creative industries was established in Leipzig. The cluster Media Economy of the local economic strategy was enlarged by the dimension of creative industries, with the aim of benefitting from this new form of locally based economy (RIS, 15.12.2010/2).

The formal *recognition of subculture economies and enterprises* in Leipzig took place in 2012, as a result of a debate on the maintenance of the characteristic landscape of clubs in the city. The city council acknowledged the diversity and socio-cultural richness of Leipzig’s club culture. It is said to be an important part of the city and shapes diverse urban lifestyles, creates social cohesion, and social as well as economic innovation (RIS, 22.11.2012/2). The relevant municipal documents invoke a *direct relationship between lifestyle diversification and positively assessed cultural diversity*. Creative industries

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<sup>18</sup> Information stems from Divercities Policy Platform workshop, 9 January 2014.

are especially supported in Leipzig's inner east, one of the most problematic areas of the city (STEK LeO, 2013). Concerning *new conflicts* related to creative industries and diversification of lifestyles, there is a lack of information in the analysed documents.

Seen historically, Leipzig demonstrates a large *variety of religious groups and traditions* (including e.g. French Huguenots and the Jewish community, but also many others). Due to recent immigration, an *impressive enlargement* of the number and diversity of religious communities has occurred (Integration, 2006). In the late 2000s, the city financed a project that gathered information on all religious communities (in total, 163 were identified, Interkulturelles Forum e.V. (2009)). The issue of religious variety and life are gaining importance in Leipzig, mainly with respect to the construction of new places of prayer and services as e.g. a new mosque for Leipzig's Ahmadiyya community (see box above), or the controversy around the construction of a Catholic church and centre in the city centre, opposite to the Town hall. In other words: In contrast to all postulates and rhetoric that Leipzig is a cosmopolitan and tolerant city, there are constant problems between the majority and specific religious groups.

The increasing importance of *LGBT* (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transsexual people) has led to the political obligation to consider these groups within welfare systems. In Leipzig's municipality, the office for gender equality is responsible for this. Its tasks include the administration of these issues and support, as well as lobbying against discrimination due to gender or sexual orientation. In a group discussion on LGBT, within the framework of the electoral campaign of an independent candidate for mayor in 2012, an ambivalent picture emerged: On the one hand, attacks against LGBT in daily life were reported. On the other hand, support was reduced at police stations because it was not requested. Leipzig's (social) consulting services are well connected to each other but there is only one actor in the LGBT area. Cultural offers for older gay people or transgender people do not exist. The discussion came to the result that sexual minorities were amalgamated with the majority, but specific offers for them did not develop. This is reflected by the poor support of LGBT by general consulting services. LGBT groups suffer from homophobic opinions and pigeon-holing by society.

### 3.2 Non-governmental views on diversity policy

This section is based on secondary analyses of documents, five interviews carried out with non-governmental actors in Leipzig and several previous publications on the role and work of neighbourhood-based or neighbourhood-oriented associations and initiatives.

#### *Types of non-governmental actors*

There are different types of non-purely-municipal/governmental actors in Leipzig (e.g. intermediary actors, professional actors, bottom-up actors etc.). In particular, the type and role of so-called *intermediary actors* who play an important role in urban policymaking has to be explained in more detail. Intermediary actors are associations, consulting offices or organisations that are commissioned by the municipality to provide a specific service (e.g. in deprived areas, for specific target groups) and are financed for this by the city, mainly through funding programmes or other sources of soft/third-party money. In this role, intermediary actors represent, through their commissioned task, the intent and policy orientations of the municipalities; they are, however, through their close work with the target groups or in the target areas (e.g. the neighbourhood management or local coordination bodies for business support/consulting/job creation measures), perceived as something/someone different than the municipality or administration. Another form of intermediary actors are those bodies that were municipally established and work (primarily) as consulting bodies for the city council but include citizens and were established

because of citizens' will (e.g. Leipzig's migrants' advisory board). In Leipzig, many intermediary actors are included in policymaking, as well as in the area of diversity-related policies. Furthermore, Leipzig has a *broad variety of non-governmental actors* who deal with diversity issues, no matter which dimension of diversity (i.e. ethnic, demographic, socio-economic or lifestyle) we look at. Non-governmental actors are of different size and origin, are devoted to different target groups and work at different spatial levels, from the city as a whole to specific neighbourhoods or even streets, blocks and buildings and come from different political background. They also differ in the level of formalization and the structure and mode of how they work. Their variety ranges from large organizations, such as Caritas (a highly institutionalised nation-wide welfare organisation run by the Catholic Church, with local branches) or the IHK (International Chamber of Commerce) through to informal initiatives without any juridical status and fixed budget, such as the initiative Menschen Würdig (this name could be translated as initiative on human dignity) that works for the improvement of the situation of asylum seekers in Leipzig. These different conditions determine much of how the actors work and (are able to) produce an impact.

#### *Relationship to municipal actors*

Non-governmental actors differ with respect to their *mode of cooperation as well as their proximity to or distance from the municipality*. This impacts on their assessment but also precisely on their knowledge of municipal policies and their integration into decision-making processes, as well as their strategic participation. Some actors, such as Caritas (see above) cooperate very closely with municipal bodies and feel well integrated and informed. Other interviewees had a more ambivalent or more critical view of the city's information and communication policies. Their knowledge about municipal planning, decision-making, financial capacities, and procedures differs considerably: While some of them are very familiar with issues such as applications for soft money, others have only little knowledge in this regard. The *views of non-governmental actors about municipal policies* are, consequently, also variegated and, in many respects, ambivalent.

Generally, non-governmental actors acknowledge the good will of the municipality in providing information and including people into discussion and planning processes. One of our interview partners commented that "*...with problems I can go to them, they are helping me to find a solution*" (NG-LeO, 22 January 2014). Non-governmental actors assessed many networking activities that were established or initiated by the municipality positively, e.g. the Forum Leipziger Osten (Leipzig's inner east), an information and exchange platform for inhabitants and stakeholders in Leipzig's inner east. "*The today down-sized Forum Leipziger Osten was a good thing because the municipality and policy-makers were there; I could give voice there, negative as well as positive!*" (NG-LeO, 22 January 2014). The networking between a local branch of the Caritas and the municipality was also positively assessed: "*... to the coordination of planning of the youth welfare office, we have a close contact to them, we have a good communication and do networking*" (NG-FCG, 24 January 2014). The same applies for the neighbourhood council in Grünau, where municipal representatives are present. One interviewee (who is member of this council) describes it as proper source of information, communication and participation opportunities.

Some of the interviewees stress that the municipality makes efforts to develop a more differentiated understanding of diversity and multiplicity in the city: "*The departments of the municipality endeavour very much to work together with the migrants' advisory board*" (NG-MAB, 21 January 2014). Interviewees further confirmed financial and personnel support of their work by the municipality: "*(the formerly existing assistance position) did much of the bureau work for which we had no time – desk work etc.; it was financed by the municipal budget – we would not have been able to finance something like that.*" (NG-LeO, 22 January 2014). Some interviewees also expressed their understanding for the

challenges the municipalities are confronted with; “*We know that the municipality is overburdened with work at the moment, in view of the high number of arriving refugees*” (NG-MAC, 21 January 2014).

Finally, non-governmental actors also express criticism and define their role in addressing problematic issues such as the accommodation of asylum seekers and the racism that exists among Leipzig’s inhabitants. For example, in the context of a discussion on the refugee problem, representatives of the initiative for human dignity stated that:

*“In the first place, we are not striving for cooperation, more important is transparency and action. The city is responsible for what is happening ... there is a lack of direct positioning against racism.”* (NG-HD, 28 January 2014)

Other voices highlight the responsibility of the citizens: Integration should be fostered first and foremost with the help of the people and not (as it is perceived by the interviewees) by the municipality or administration. This reflects a *critical view of non-governmental actors about the top-down and paternalistic handling of diversity issues by the municipality*, in contrast to its official guidelines and branding (cosmopolitan and open city). The following statement shows this criticism quite clearly:

*“The city, this is the people and not the administration. The guiding principles for integration should be elaborated together with the persons concerned. The goals of integration are oriented towards the hosting society; there are no low-threshold offers that consider the cultural identities that do not conform with the norms of the local society. There are many taboos and confines. ... Much knowledge from experts is in the discussions but just a very small number of citizens. We need better strategies of communication, to bring bottom-up and top-down together.”* (NG-E, 2 September 2013)

Generally, there is a *perceived discrepancy between the official rhetoric of Leipzig as a cosmopolitan city as a label of city marketing and a lack of tolerance or even open discrimination in everyday life*. There is also criticism of some non-governmental actors with respect to policies of avoidance by the city when it comes to problematic or conflict-sensitive topics (e.g. giving voice to migrants, poverty, socio-economic polarisation, asylum seekers). A representative of the migrants’ advisory board resumes: *“... it took us 15 years of fighting for the migrants’ advisory board ... there was no political will for such a board, we had to do a lot of persuading.”* (NG-MAB, 21 January 2014).

#### *Understandings and perceptions of diversity*

The understanding of diversity by non-governmental actors is closely linked to their field of work, activities and/or target groups. The term diversity is, consequently, perceived differently and in a multitude of ways by different actors. Most often, the growing ethnic diversity is highlighted:

*“Migrants arrived in all domains of our society. Although there are people who still cling to nostalgic and past-oriented visions, the urban development moves forward, with or without them.”* (NG-MAB, 21 January 2014).

The irreversibility is also pointed out by the Caritas: *“We become more and more colourful, and that will not change anymore”* (NG-FCG, 24 January 2014). A representative of a district economy network stated:

*“The diversity of Leipzig’s inner east starts with the population, further there is a diversity of commercial offers/shops. In the Rabet (green field in the city district), the Iranians and Kurds are very active. In the summer time, they organise a sports festival ... and the association of international women is also very active.”* (NG-LeO, 22 January 2014).

With the growing ethnic diversity, both positive and negative aspects are linked, as an intermediary actor formulates: *“Diversity has got multiple dimensions ... it is exhausting ... it is something that is coming from the outside that we need to deal with. It is not an advantage per se.”* (NG-E, 2 September 2013). On the one hand, some interviewees stated that the coexistence between Germans and migrants works well in daily life (the representative of a civic association of retailers states that *“by and large, all is working well between migrants and Germans ... young migrants are polite ... we don’t fear, we don’t have problems”* NG-LeO, 22 January 2014). On the other hand, other interviewees spoke about ambivalences: The representative of Leipzig’s migrants’ advisory board said:

*„...in Leipzig, the majority says: For God’s sake, I am not xenophobic! But many are lacking any knowledge with respect to how to live together with migrants ... there are, of course, reasonable people but also those who have still blinders...”* (NG-MAB, 21 January 2014).

Other interviewees talked about a latent or even open racism among the German population and institutional racism in the German asylum law in that has to be adopted by the municipality. One interviewee underlined the good cooperation with the local police, mainly in order to counteract drug dealing in Leipzig’s inner east; he also emphasized that drug dealing involves both German and migrants. Apart from the co-existence between Germans and migrants, the interviewees also emphasized that *„Migrants also have problems with each other, caused by different origins, religions and cultures“*(NG-FCG, 24 January 2014).

Some interviewees also emphasized that Leipzig is not a very diverse city, in the sense that it lacks non-white groups and LGBT, and stated that there is a lack of tolerance towards others and a lack of acceptance of diversity among the local population:

*“Honestly speaking, I do not see much diversity in Leipzig. It is a white-dominated urban society, except for Leipzig’s inner east. Also, the diversity of gender is not considered; in this regard, I perceive rather rejection (by the majority) .... Cosmopolitanism and tolerance is more a myth in the construction of the identity, in the city of the peaceful revolution. ... I can see this more in the contexts of art, cultural diversity or different forms of housing. ... Leipzig is white, heteronormative and still one of the poorest cities in Germany, with a strong polarisation (between rich and poor). There are, for example, extreme contrasts between districts such as Schleußig and Volkmarisdorf<sup>19</sup> but this is rather a negative diversity.”* (NG-HD, 28 January 2014)

#### *Work of non-governmental actors: fighting discrimination and deprivation*

The work of non-governmental actors concentrates on countering deprivation and discrimination with respect to the target groups of migrants, asylum seekers, deprived families and young people etc. Most of the activities are related to a) giving neglected/deprived groups (and their needs) a voice (or, to put it differently: supporting the *recognition of the wants and needs of their target groups*), b) *providing consulting services*, c) *empowering people* to develop their capabilities, to become integrated into the (first) labour market and d) *supporting social cohesion and tolerance* between different groups or minorities and the local population. Their activities concentrate, in fact, much on improving social cohesion between population groups of different ages, origin, etc.

*“The Caritas (i.e. the institution) ensures the participation of disabled persons, is helping to find a solution for their problems and to develop perspectives for life; we are a ‘catalyst for*

<sup>19</sup> This statement refers to two districts of Leipzig: Schleußig, a wealthy district, compared to Volkmarisdorf, a poor district with many migrants and social welfare recipients.

*social cohesion'. We do something for positive integration and for social cooperation."* (NG-FCG, 24 January 2014)

A special focus is on facilitating social mobility through educational and social capital building measures (*"to develop the abilities and competences of persons, as well as their ability to have social relationships"* *ibid.*), and on developing economic performance through the integration of deprived people into the (first) labour market.

A problem for non-governmental actors is the *distance to their target groups*, which appears in very different forms: The initiative for human dignity has problems getting asylum seekers involved in their protest. This relates partly to lack of knowledge and language barriers and partly to the fear of asylum seekers that they will have less chance to obtain an acceptance as a refugee in Germany if they engage in such protest activities. The initiative resumes:

*"What was very difficult was the integration of those who are affected, the asylum seekers. Cooperation failed here. It is also difficult to get feedback from them on our work. They are often asking: Why do you do this as persons who are not affected yourselves?"* (NG-HD, 28 January 2014).

The Caritas has difficulties in reaching the parents of those children who come to their activities: *"Work with parents is generally complicated. Parents appear at festivities but do not want to engage themselves."* (NG-FCG, 24 January 2014). The migrants' advisory board does not really reach many of those migrants in Leipzig who are not asylum seekers because topics or issues the board has to deal with are determined by the city: *"We should announce more in public what migrant entrepreneurs are doing ... or how remedial classes for migrant children are working."* (NG-MAB, 21 January 2014).

#### *Resources of non-governmental actors*

Due to their diverse forms of organization and modes of work, non-governmental actors have at very different resources, in terms of both personnel/time and money, at their disposal. Some of them receive constant funding by the municipality or their organisation, other work on project-based, time-limited funds, the work of others is based on voluntary (unpaid) work only. All interviewees emphasised the problem of the lack of long-term funding. They need to invest much time and energy into fund-raising, at the expense of their actual work. Cuts in funding (by the municipality but also by other sponsors) are perceived by non-governmental actors as breakdown or disappearance of infrastructures/supportive structures (*"up to the present, there was co-financing by the municipality for this project but today there is no money anymore"*, NG-LeO, 22 January 2014; *"...this project on families and the neighbourhood, normally, the municipality should pay this, but it does not do it"*, NG-FCG, 24 January 2014; *"the municipality closes down youth clubs, I cannot accept that ... spaces where young people can meet have to be maintained. A lack of money should not be the reason to close down essential things, and youth clubs are essential"* NG-MAB, 21 January 2014). Another problem involves the changed practice of ex-ante or ex-post financing of external actors by the municipality (*"Formerly, the association received financial support in advance ... today they pay ex-post ... where should we take 2000-3000 Euro from in advance? This is very complicated."* NG-MAB, 21 January 2014). One interviewee also reflected upon the consequences of such an incremental policy. He asks whether the costs of this are, in the long run higher, than if there would be continuous or long-term funding. He states:

*"What is lacking is the sustainability of support structures. The problem consists of the fact that costs are high at the beginning and results won't be visible short term."* (NG-E, 2 September 2013).

The interviews made it clear that non-governmental activities and actors often depend on the engagement and work of single persons or small groups of persons; in this respect, they are also

vulnerable and fragile with respect to the endurance and long-term character of their work (“*We are completely dependent on voluntary work; there is only some money for externals who help us*”, NG-HD, 28 January 2014; “*most of the board’s members are doing a job, so, much of the work is done by the chairman*”, NG-MAB, 21 January 2014). Sometimes, cooperation is hindered or even made impossible due to inter-personal conflicts. Many of the actors depend on the engagement and efforts of individual persons in the municipality (“*Bebling (i.e. the local coordinator for economic performance) was a good thing, several retail shops ... benefitted from this ... they were supported with small amounts, 500-1,000 Euro but this helped ... unfortunately, this support was also cut.*” NG-LeO, 22 January 2014). It was also emphasized that non-governmental actors still do not use the potential of cooperation with each other as they should (“*it would have been good if the migrant associations of Leipzig’s east would have used the invitation to contact the migrants’ board in order to speak about their problems*”, NG-MAB, 21 January 2014).

*In conclusion*, we can state that non-governmental actors dealing with diversity issues in Leipzig have a distinctive, often a selective view of diversity and diversity policy. Two issues are mostly in focus: ethnic diversity and the situation of disadvantaged groups. Diversity represents a comparatively new issue, also for the sphere of non-governmental actors; most initiatives are not older than 20 years, many of them are even much younger. In the work of these actors, the main goals are, in fact, to strengthen *social cohesion*, to *empower and support* people, to foster *social mobility* and – related to the last goal – to create better chances for the *economic performance* of individuals. Moreover, their work can be understood as lobbying for multiple voices, especially for those who are less or poorly heard. This has a twofold effect: On the one hand, they contribute to a better *recognition* of diversity and, on the other hand, they point to the lack of policies for recognition by the municipality. Furthermore, non-governmental activities react to the need to create more *spaces of encounter* for multiple (deprived) groups. Many activities provide small spaces, accessible to many different groups, and bring together different age groups or organise event-like spaces. They invest their own financial and non-material resources, mobilise resources for diversity-related work, or call for the *redistribution of* resources for the benefit of disadvantaged and discriminated groups.

#### 4. Conclusion

Diversity in Leipzig is a term that has only just recently emerged in the local discourse, rather than in an established field of policies. It is used vaguely; different actors currently test it for its usefulness in policy-making and simultaneously express a positive general connotation of the term and doubts about its added value. Diversity policies as such do not exist. Therefore, in this report, we use the term diversity policies as an umbrella term to describe policies addressing various aspects of diversity in different dimensions of diversity.

Empirically, the city is experiencing rapid diversification, especially though the influx of migrants and the currently high rate of young in-migration from the region and other parts of Germany, as well as internal diversification of demographic structures and lifestyles. Therefore, both in documents and interviews, the recognition of the increasing heterogeneity of the urban society is apparent. Target groups are described in ever more differentiated ways, recognising the heterogeneity of migrants, the heterogeneity of old people, the heterogeneity of household types and lifestyle groups. The main means to grasp the heterogeneity are the analysis of local statistics, the monitoring and reporting about specific dimension of policies. Based on such reports, general guidelines are formulated, laying out aims and goals of policies. Therefore, the multiplicity of the urban population is recognised, but the differing situation of specific groups is less well understood; the multiple voices of the heterogeneous urban society are neither well understood

nor transferred into policy. Top-down approaches are dominant. Thus, in Leipzig, we see recognition in policy making rather than explicit policies of recognition.

Nested in the German welfare system, redistribution policies in Leipzig exist in a twofold manner. Firstly, the city has to fulfil its obligatory tasks in providing the utmost poor with resources to manage their living. The city administration, especially through its social department, provides assistance and support for a number of disadvantaged groups, namely seniors, the disabled, asylum seekers and welfare-dependent households. These policies are genuinely people-based. Secondly, the city adopts some voluntary redistribution policies. These come both as people-based and as area-based redistribution policies. Here, networks of administrative, intermediary and non-governmental actors cooperate. The described recognition of heterogeneity also leads to voluntary redistribution policies such as the provision of free language courses for asylum seekers, financed by the city. Interviewees agree that, compared to other eastern German cities, Leipzig provides more voluntary resources for redistribution than other (eastern German) cities. Nevertheless, resources are still scarce, after years of austerity measures. Networks depend on funding but funding sources are precarious. This leads to an incremental mode of implementing social – and many other – policies. Institutional resources are in place, and finance is a continuous risk, especially for area-based policies, which aim at directing resources to less privileged areas.

The continuous condition of austerity is one of several reasons for numerous discrepancies between the normative frames and goals of policies, especially those formulated in strategic documents, and the actual measures and attention given to different issues. The normative framing within policy documents highlights three aspects: a) cosmopolitan atmosphere, tradition of openness towards strangers; b) inclusive city, enabling all residents to make the best of their life chances, supporting the disadvantaged and c) a demographically balanced city, family and child-friendly as well as inclusive for seniors, with families still being seen as a stabilising nucleus for the demographic structure and for social cohesion in general.

Spaces of encounter are part of the policies but not a very prominent one. Often they are temporary, festivity oriented, like the annual intercultural weeks, or they are created for specific groups only, e.g. for seniors with the area-based seniors' offices. Partly, these are a means to mobilise potentials of people to support one another, especially when considering the background of austerity and lack of finance, e.g. when seniors are encouraged to voluntarily work for the community.

A main policy approach – maybe the dominant idea of diversity-related policies in Leipzig – is the attempt to *enhance the capabilities of individuals or households to make the best of their life chances*, e.g. through educational programmes, language courses or the creation of spaces of encounter which all aim at empowering underprivileged or isolated social groups to develop their skills, to integrate themselves into the wider society, to make use of or to create supporting networks etc. This approach aims, foremost, at fostering social mobility and the economic performance of individuals and households. Policies of enhancing capabilities overlap with *policies of fostering social inclusion* which – aside from social mobility and economic performance – also aim at increased social cohesion, e.g. support provided by social institutions like the Caritas, which support distressed, isolated families by providing child-assistance through voluntary seniors, by training and assisting parents to find a job and by providing small spaces of encounter for children from different ethnic background, e.g. sports activities. These policies tend to combine target-group-based and area-based policies, with an explicit spatial focus. However, the main focuses of social cohesion policies are common education and learning. At the same time, “... *the conception, equipment and methodical knowledge of kindergartens are, as a rule, still oriented to the needs of German children*” (Konzept Migranten, 2012: p.10).

Generally, policymaking and strategic planning in Leipzig is characterized by a *rather top-down approach*; participation is emphasized as being important and guiding documents, such as the SEKo masterplan from 2009, were established in a participatory way – but participation means, in many cases, a selective process where experts and stakeholders play the main role and normal inhabitants a much smaller one. Information about heterogeneous population groups is taken in many ways from the municipal statistics. To put it differently: While multiplicity (as a fact) is increasingly recognized by Leipzig's policy-making, multiple voices (of people representing this multiplicity) are still poorly heard and listened to. One could also call this 'policies from a distance' – not regarding its good intentions but with respect to the inclusion of the multiple voices of inhabitants into its creation/making.

*Problematic or precarious issues*, such as the high poverty rates or conflicts, are sometimes *avoided by policies or postponed*, whereas less conflict-laden topics are dealt with more openly and much emphasis is given to image-construction and branding of the city. The lack of capacities might be one reason for this. We showed, above, an example, when contrasting the official pro-diversity claim of the city marketing and the current conflict about the construction of a mosque. There is a discrepancy between official claims or normative settings and reality. Social and inter-ethnic challenges are, for example, often avoided by emphasising demographic or multi-generation issues. Demography is supposed to be neutral and not as controversial as e.g. the debate on social polarisation or intercultural conflicts. Within the framework of a strategic project for Leipzig's future (Leipzig – think forward, 2012-2013), the Commissioner for integration and migration originally planned a contribution to *Leipzig as a DiverCity*, but this intention ended up in a project on multi-generation housing. The same happened to potential discussions of social polarization in Leipzig or between the city's districts. This becomes obvious in the following quotation from the documentation of the project homepage:

*“For some years now, there are increasing trends of polarisation in Leipzig: Due to demographic developments, there are urban districts with a constantly higher and constantly lower mean age. Also, the social development shows an increasing differentiation between poorer and more affluent population groups. For these reasons, the social dimension of sustainability – the social cohesion among Leipzig's residents – is a core issue of the project Leipzig – think forward. At the focus is the message 'Leipzig is a city for all generations' and related questions are: How can child-friendliness, family-friendliness and senior-friendliness be harmonised? How can facilities for senior-friendly and multi-generational housing be supported within Leipzig's urban districts?”*

Finally, it has to be emphasized that Leipzig has seen fundamental changes with respect to its local urban society within recent decades: The impacts of urban restructuring in the aftermath of the post-socialist transition, as well as the massive shrinkage in the 1990s, are still obvious and influence the ways policy-making is being done. Social differences are a permanent issue, mirrored in the fact that Leipzig (after deindustrialization in the 1990s) is one of Germany's poorest large cities. Most of the policies described in this report stem from the 2000s and much of what could represent a more explicit diversity policy is just emerging or developing. In view of this situation, it is obvious that stabilisation, in terms of demography/population and local economy, are the main policy goals at the municipal level and recognizing and/or using the potentials of diversity and heterogeneity (might) represent ways to reach or materialise stabilisation.

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## Appendix

### A: Classification of policies (examples)

Category of policies	Examples of Policies	Targeted objective(s)
<b>Policies for equity/(re) distribution of resources</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Most of the policies for equity and redistribution are starting <b>from national and federal Level</b> (Hartz IV)</li> <li>➤ Holiday-passports - supporting pupils with respect to free entrance to cultural offers and free public transport, fostering equal chances and cohesion <b>Target-group based</b></li> <li>➤ Leipzig-passport - supporting unemployed people with respect to reduced admission fee to several offers; e.g. public bath, public transport <b>Target-group based</b></li> <li>➤ Programme XENOS – Integration and diversity, financed by federal money and serves for economic and labour market support of Leipzig’s migrants and migrant entrepreneurs <b>Target-group based</b></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Socio-economic opportunities and social mobility (primarily)</li> <li>➤ Economic performance (primarily)</li> <li>➤ Social cohesion (as a consequence)</li> </ul>
<b>Policies for diversity/ recognition of multiple voices</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Education policy guidelines 2012 - decision for inclusive and instrumental understanding of education, as perspective for the development of the educational landscape in Leipzig <b>Universal/comprehensive</b></li> <li>➤ Leipzig. Place of Diversity. Municipal overall strategy for democracy and diversity 2010 – initiated and funded at the federal level, the policy fosters anti-racist development and activities of the civic society, inter alia award of exemplary initiatives and projects <b>Universal/comprehensive</b></li> <li>➤ 3rd care plan for old people Leipzig 2012 – guidelines on aging in self-determination and dignity, focus on voluntary potentials of the old and report on existing services in the area of working with older people <b>People-based</b></li> <li>➤ Overall concept of the integration of migrants in Leipzig 2012 – recognition of migrants as positive actors on demographic change and as entrepreneur, concentration on integration, but no specific statements on practical issues <b>People-based</b></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Social cohesion (primarily)</li> <li>➤ Socio-economic opportunities and social mobility (primarily)</li> <li>➤ Economic performance (as a consequence)</li> </ul>
<b>Policies to create spaces of encounter and spaces of democratic deliberation between groups</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Integrated City Development Concept (SEKo) 2009 – Set of cross-cutting issues (development of the labour market and demographic situation) and core goals for the urban development of Leipzig. Integration of social issues in the frame of Leipzig as a growing European city of international interest. Working with an explicit spatial focus, prerequisite for the acquisition of external funding. <b>Universal/comprehensive</b></li> <li>➤ Integrated Concept of district development Leipzig inner east (STEK LeO) 2013 – socio-spatial focus on one district, defining location qualities and disadvantages, strengthen the importance of local networks and designing a future vision of a possible development, prerequisite for the acquisition of external funding <b>Area-based</b></li> <li>➤ Support for innovative projects for older people in context of the realization of the support program to adjust the “open work”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Social cohesion (primarily)</li> <li>➤ Socio-economic opportunities and social mobility</li> <li>➤ Economic performance (as a consequence)</li> </ul>

	<p>for older people 2012 – program to reorganise the work with seniors. Establishment of ten offices in each borough of the city, combining leisure time and advisory services, as well as networking and small project funding</p> <p><b>Target-group based with an area-based approach</b></p> <p>► Intercultural weeks; format origins from the federal level and was celebrated since 1975. This festival tries once a year to foster social cohesion and exchange between religious groups, migrants, the majority population and other plural lifestyles.</p> <p><b>Universal/comprehensive</b></p>	
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