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Social Justice and ethnic diverse population : contribution of local policies in Leipzig, Germany

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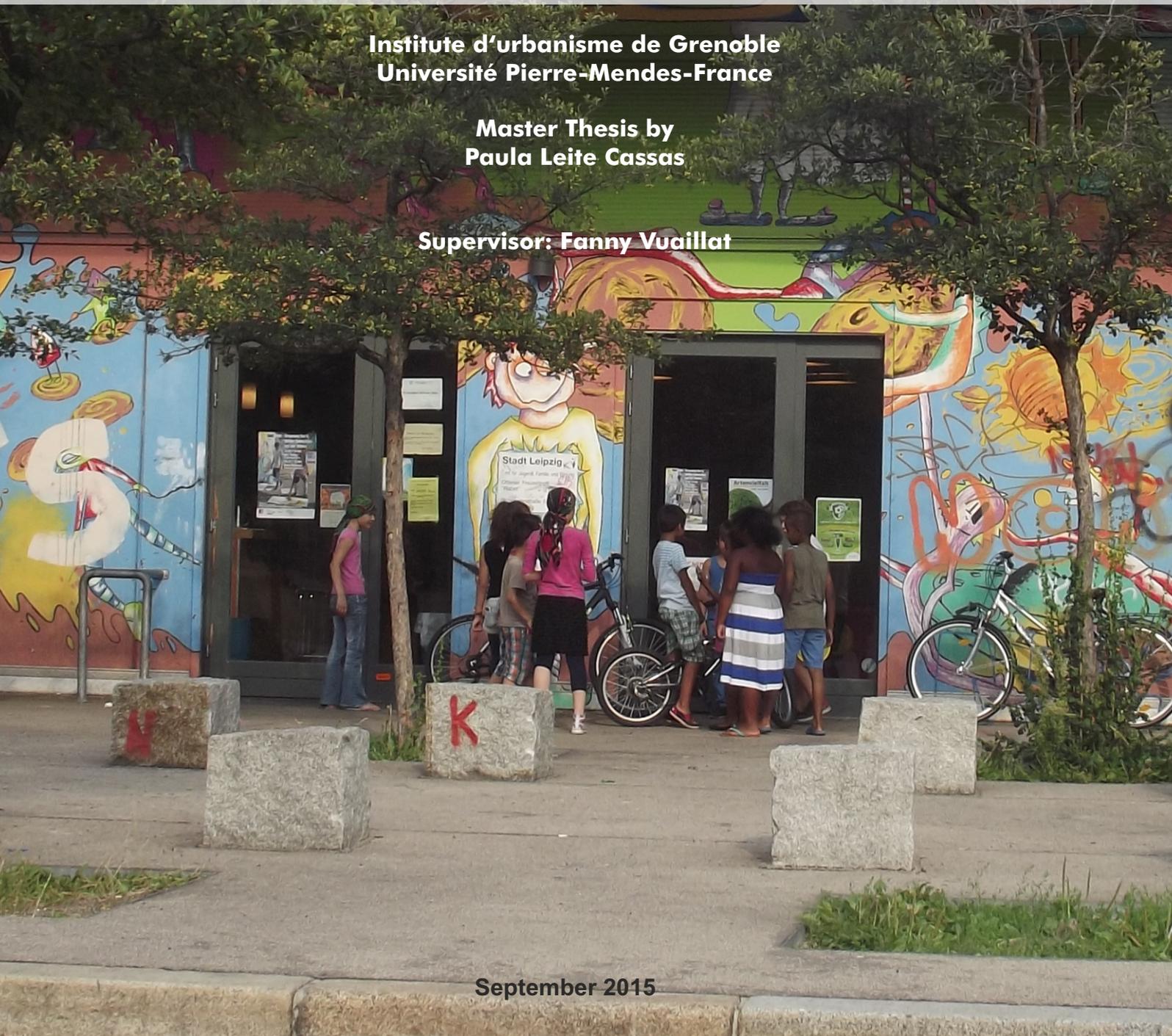
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Social Justice and ethnic diverse population: contribution of local policies in Leipzig, Germany

Institute d'urbanisme de Grenoble
Université Pierre-Mendes-France

Master Thesis by
Paula Leite Cassas

Supervisor: Fanny Vuailat



September 2015

Social Justice and ethnic diverse population: contribution of local policies in Leipzig, Germany

Institute d'Urbanisme de Grenoble

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Abstract

Cities and countries are increasingly becoming more ethnic diverse. In the European context there have been several waves of immigration since the end of the Second World War. From guest-workers invited to work at the economic development of Europe in the 1960's and on until new fluxes of immigration nowadays, national policies have also been transforming accordingly. Policies went from being assimilationist to multiculturalist and now they are again in transformation.

However, despite most laws concerning immigration and integration being national, cities and neighborhoods are the places in which newcomers influence the most. Moreover, immigrants are a diverse group and will settle under different socioeconomic conditions. While some immigrants are able to achieve more easily the same standards of the host society, others are more likely to live in deprivation. Thus, claims for greater social justice are raised.

Following the Young's (1990) concept of social justice, in this thesis I propose to analyze whether local and national policies concerning immigration and integration are able to promote social justice for the ethnic diverse population. In order to answer this question, the case of neighborhoods of Neustadt-Neuschönefeld and Volkmarisdorf in Leipzig were chosen. This area concentrates high proportions of immigrant population and at the same time it is one the most deprived areas in Leipzig. Thus, most immigrants that are located in this area are living in more vulnerable situations.

Three local policies were analyzed to better understand how the municipality approaches such situation. The four documents are: "Overall concept for immigrant integration", the "Integrated Development Concept for Leipzig", the "Integrated Development Concept for the district of Leipzig-East" and finally the "Municipal overall strategy for democracy and diversity". Moreover, to understand how those policies are put into practice, investments done in this area were also brought up.

Three main conclusions were drawn in this respect. The first concerns the importance of the local context that shapes relations between locals and immigrants and that can limit the response of the municipality when tackling such subject. The second result concerned a possible mismatch between the reality and the policies, given that most policies were developed in a top-down approach and the few indicators in which the policies were built. Lastly, it concerns the incompatibility of assimilationist policies and social justice.

Key-words: Integration policies, social justice, social cohesion, immigration, Leipzig, Germany

Résumé

Les villes et les pays sont de plus en plus multiethniques. L'Europe a connu un certain nombre de changements sociétaux depuis l'immigration : des travailleurs de l'après Seconde Guerre Mondiale jusqu'aux flux d'immigration actuels. Aussi, l'augmentation de l'immigration a eu un impact direct sur les politiques nationales des pays d'accueil. Cependant, bien que de la majorité des lois relatives à l'immigration et à l'intégration soient pensées à une échelle nationale, les migrants influent directement sur l'environnement urbain, où conflits entre population locale et étrangers peuvent être directement ressentis. Ainsi, les ressortissants de nationalités diverses s'installent dans les villes de façon différente selon leurs ressources économiques et leur accointances personnelles. Tandis que certains migrants peuvent plus facilement atteindre un niveau socio-économique similaire à celui de la population locale, d'autres se retrouvent dans des situations plus précaires, nécessitant ainsi une plus forte prise en charge, selon le principe de justice sociale.

Suite à la définition de la justice sociale élaborée par Young (1990), cette thèse se propose d'examiner si les politiques nationales et locales relatives à l'immigration et à l'intégration peuvent promouvoir la justice sociale à une population ethniquement diversifiée. Pour répondre à cette question, nous utiliserons le cas des quartiers Neustadt-Neuschönefeld et Volkmarshausen à Leipzig. Ces zones concentrent une grande partie de la population immigrée, la plus socialement vulnérable de Leipzig. Nous avons donc analysé un certain nombre de politiques publiques pour comprendre le traitement que font les municipalités de cette question. En outre, nous avons listé les investissements dans la région afin de mieux comprendre de quelle manière les plans et les politiques publiques sont mis en pratique.

Une des premières conclusions qui se dégage concerne l'influence du contexte local sur les relations entre les migrants et les natifs, qui peuvent avoir un impact restrictif direct sur les actions de la municipalité. Une deuxième conclusion se rapporte au décalage entre la réalité du terrain et les politiques développées. Alors que plusieurs indicateurs sociaux manquent déjà dans l'architecture des politiques, leur processus d'élaboration n'a eu que peu recours à la participation de la

population immigrée pour laquelle, pourtant, ces politiques sont destinées. Enfin, nous verrons que notre dernière conclusion se réfère directement à l'incompatibilité entre justice sociale et politiques d'assimilation.

Mots-clés: politiques d'intégration, justice sociale, cohésion sociale, immigration, Leipzig, Allemagne

Table of contents

Abstract/ Résumé	i
List of tables	v
List of figures	vi
Introduction	1
Methodology	3
Part 1 – Theoretical foundation	7
1 Ethnic diversity	8
2 Integration policies	10
2.1 Immigration in the European context	10
2.2 Multicultural policies	12
2.3 Beyond multicultural policies	15
3 Aspects of social cohesion	17
3.1 Contact theory	21
4 Inequality, segregation and ethnic diversity	22
5 Social Justice	26
Part 2 – Case study	37
1 Integration policies in Germany	35
1.1 Ethnic diversity and integration in West Germany	35
1.2 Ethnic diversity and integration in East Germany	36
1.3 Ethnic diversity and integration after the German reunification	37
1.3.1 The current integration policy	39
2 Presenting Leipzig	43
2.1 Immigrants in Leipzig	46
2.2 Case study area: Neustadt-Neuschönefeld and Volkmarsdorf	58
3 Policies in Leipzig	64
3.1 Overall concept for the integration of immigrants in Leipzig	64
3.2 SeKo and Stek-Leo	69
3.3 Overall strategy for democracy and diversity	74
4 Investments done in Leipzig	74
4.1 Social City	75
4.2 EFRE	78
4.3 Municipalities initiatives	81
5 Discussion	82
5.1 Social Justice in the policies	83
5.2 Policies' limitations	85
5.3 Policies' contradictions	86
5.4 Different perspectives of integration	88
5.5 Hypothesis	90
Part 3 - Conclusions	94
Bibliography	99
Annex 1 – Questionnaire for immigrants and Germans	103
Annex 2 – List of interviewees	108

List of tables

Table 1	Domains of social cohesion	19
Table 2	Neighborhoods with the highest proportions of foreigners in Leipzig, 2013	48

List of figures

Figure 1	Leipzig's location within Germany	4
Figure 2	Distribution of foreigners per district in Leipzig, 2013	49
Figure 3	Percentages of foreigners contributing to the social security system per neighborhood, 2011	50
Figure 4	Unemployment rate among foreigners by neighborhood, 2011	52
Figure 5	Percentage of answers regarding the statement "The foreigner living in Leipzig contributes to the cultural enrichment of our city"	54
Figure 6	Percentage of answers regarding the statement "Due to the many foreigners in Leipzig one feels increasingly as a stranger in his/her own city"	54
Figure 7	Percentage of answers regarding the statement "Foreigners take away work places from Germans"	55
Figure 8	Percentage of answers regarding the statement "Foreigners should adapt their lifestyle to the German lifestyle"	55
Figure 9	Percentage of answers regarding the statement "Foreigners do the work that Germans are not willing to do"	56
Figure 10	Percentage of answers regarding the statement "One should prohibit foreigners of pursuing any political activity"	56
Figure 11	Boundaries of the districts of Neustadt-Neuschönefeld and Volkmarsdorf	58
Figure 12	Sub-division of the case study area	59
Figure 13	Area file – Neustädter-Market/ Eisenbahnstraße	60
Figure 14	Area file - Rabat	60
Figure 15	Area file – Volkmarsdorf North	61
Figure 16	Area file – Volkmarsdorf South	61
Figure 17	Area file - Kreuzstraßenviertel	62
Figure 18	Area file - Büllowviertel	62
Figure 19	Wurzner Straße Viertel North	63
Figure 20	Wurzner Straße Viertel South	63
Figure 21	Overlapping of the areas defined as Leipzig-East by the Stek-Leo plan and the official boundaries of the districts of Neustadt-Neuschönefeld and Volkmarsdorf	73
Figure 22	Investments areas per program	75
Figure 23	"Cycle of deprivation"	91

Introduction

Cities are increasingly becoming more diverse and this aspect is drawing the attention of academics, urban planners and policy makers (Fainstein, 2005). In the past decades several studies and researches have been trying to understand the effects of increasing ethnic diversity in neighborhoods, cities, regions and nations.

Increasing ethnic diversity in a certain place is usually connected to processes of immigration. Europe has had several waves of migration since the end of the Second World War. From guest-workers to current immigration waves, policies have been drastically changing throughout this period until present days (Lesinska, 2014).

For the last years political discourses have changed from embracing multiculturalism to asserting its end (Colomb, 2015) and proposing new sets of policies that aim at increasing social cohesion and claim for a more defined national identity (Gozdecka et al., 2014). Multiculturalism was mainly implemented in Europe aiming at preserving the rights of immigrants not to identify with the national identity of the host country, and thus be able to maintain their own culture (Cheong et al., 2007). However, the terrorist attacks in New York and in Europe triggered a backlash against multiculturalism and critics started to emerge. There were mainly four critics associated with multiculturalism: (1) it stimulated immigrants to live 'parallel lives' not really integrating into the mainstream society, thus reducing social cohesion; (2) many cultures were considered to threaten women's rights; (3) according to right-wing extremist, multiculturalism was responsible for undermining local culture; and lastly (4) it was not able to deal with socio-economic inequalities (Colomb, 2015).

Most recently, policies across Europe have been changing again. The first policy to be changed and that started a trend among European countries, was the Netherlands' immigration policy (Lesinska, 2014). New policies in Europe present several demands for an immigrant to be eligible to citizenship that includes knowledge on the local language and culture (Lesinska, 2014). This new policies are yet undergoing strong debates and while some academics defend it to be a retreat from multiculturalism to assimilationist policies (Gozdecka et al., 2014; Lesinska, 2014), others claim they are able to combine both claims for strong national identity while simultaneously preserving cultural diversity at the local level (Vertovec, 2010).

Moreover, most policies, local and national, nowadays claim for increasing 'social cohesion'. However, there are many definitions and meanings that may be

attributed to this term, making its use in policies often fuzzy. 'Social cohesion' could in one hand claim for integration into the mainstream society and thus demand common values and civic culture, social order and control, solidarity and reduction in inequality, social capital and place attachment (Forrest and Kearns, 2001). Hence, those elements together could be understood as a claim for homogenization of the society. Or on the other hand it could be connected to 'bridging' and 'bonding' ties, responsible for either fragmenting or uniting a certain population (Granovetter, 1973), or even be related to the contact, conflict and constrict theories (Schmid et al., 2014).

Even though most laws and policies related to immigration are concentrated on the national level, cities and neighborhoods are the scale where most of the tensions and consequences of receiving such population can be perceived (Amin and Thrift, 2002; Syrett and Sepulveda, 2012). Moreover, it is important to understand that despite what policies might present, immigrants add their life styles, attitudes and activities to a certain place, influencing directly and transforming the socio-economic environment of the place in which they settle (Amin and Thrift, 2002).

Moreover, several studies identify that immigrants do not arrive in the host country in the same conditions (Kandylis et al., 2012; Obucina, 2014; Andersson, 1998). While some nationalities/ethnicities are able to stablish themselves in better conditions, there are several immigrants that cannot and thus are more likely to live in deprived situations. Those that arrive in a new country and that do not have many assets will usually find difficulties in accessing adequate housing and employment, for example (Van Ham and Clark, 2009). Therefore immigrants' impacts are not homogenous within cities and neighborhoods (Kandylis et al., 2012).

In some cases, in order to obtain the needed social support, those migrant groups will turn to their own ethnic group to establish stronger ties and develop their social networks. At the same that this social network offers immigrants support, it could also contribute to limiting their possibilities of achieving higher levels of social mobility (Pinkster, 2014). In face of this scenario it becomes important to ensure social justice for those deprived immigrant groups.

The debate around social justice is extensive and could be related to many ideas. For this thesis I will apply the theory developed by Iris Marion Young (1990), the politics of the difference. In her theory, she does not define what social justice means, but she points forms of oppression that should be ended in order to achieve social justice. Those forms of oppression are: exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism and violence.

Another important observation made by Young (1990) is that those forms of oppression are not 'universal'. This means to say that different social groups will experience different forms of oppression. Following this line of thought, immigrants in lower socioeconomic conditions will experience different forms of oppression than their native counterparts.

Greater social justice could be achieved through different forms. However it is necessary to highlight the importance that policies, national and local ones, could have in enabling better results when promoting social justice. Studies point that the way in which policies and investments are done within one city or neighborhood could lead to different outcomes (Andersson, 1998; Ireland, 2008). Thus, policies that approach segregation of deprived immigrants within a neighborhood as a structural issue have better outcomes than policies that approach this matter as ethno-cultural issue. Thus, the focus on target groups associated with strong spatial measures could emphasize disparities and prompt further discrimination and prejudices (Ireland, 2008).

Therefore the main research question to be answer by this thesis is:

“Are policies concerning immigration and integration able to promote social justice for ethnic diverse population?”

Methodology

In order to answer the main research question I will use the case study of Neustadt-Neuschönefeld and Volkmarshdorf area in Leipzig, which is an area that concentrates migrants in deprived conditions and analyze how the municipality has been acting in order to promote social justice for this group. In order to better tackle the research question I propose to divide the main question in three sub-questions, those being:

- (1) How national and local contexts can shape the discussion concerning ethnic diversity at the local level?
- (2) How are policies at the local level designed?
- (3) Do investments reflect those policies?

Leipzig is a city situated in East Germany as showed in figure 1, in which present a very different historical context than West Germany. This area historically has lower levels of migrants and foreigners when comparing average percentage of German cities. Thus East Germany is an area that faces different difficulties when dealing with migrants. Recent news over the rallies against immigrants that took place in Eastern Germany as well as arsenal attacks against asylum seekers accommodations can illustrate this difficulty in accepting immigrants¹.

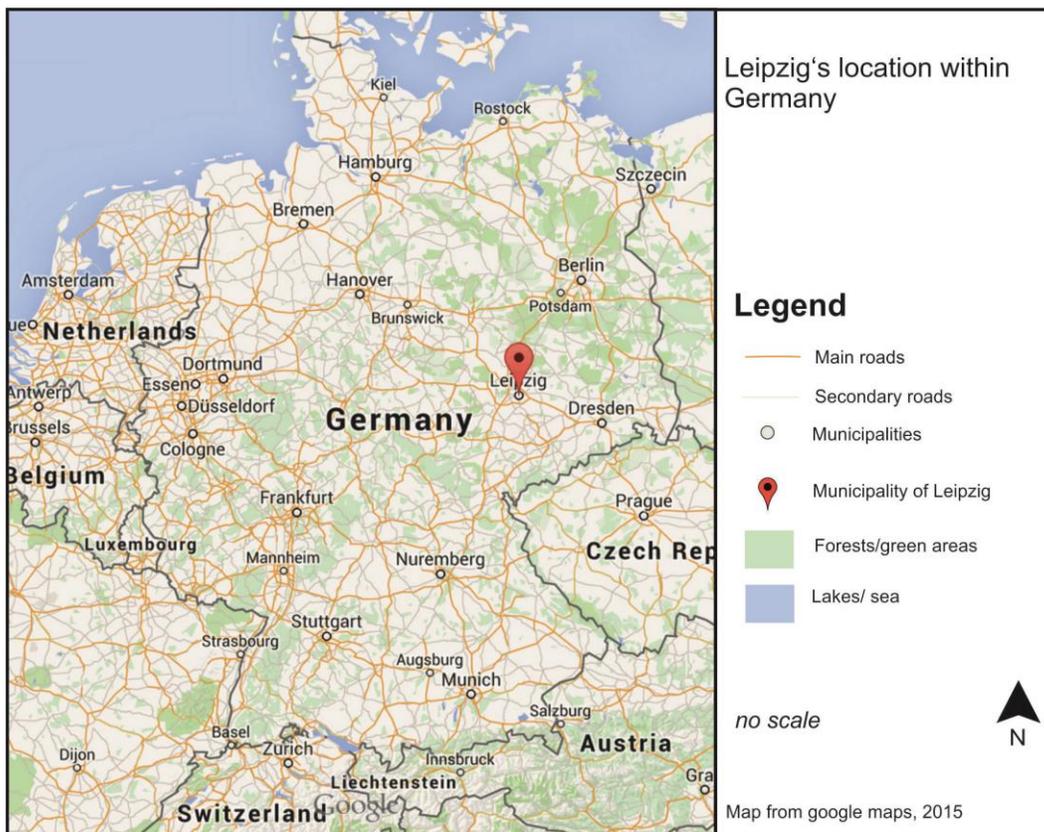


Figure 1: Leipzig's location within Germany. Map from google maps, 2015

With such a delicate context it is important to understand how the municipality in Leipzig is positioning itself concerning immigrants. Thus the thesis

¹ Recent news shows the growing numbers of xenophobic attacks in East Germany. For example, the German international broadcaster Deutsche Welle (DW) shows several news on this topic, one of them being this article: "Where racism and xenophobia are manifested in Germany", published on 18/08/2015, online at: <http://dw.com/p/1GHJT> . Another news, for example is "Attacks against Germany's refugee homes on the rise", published on 23/07/2015, online at: <http://dw.com/p/1G3xc>

proposes to analyze national and most importantly local policies related to ethnic diversity, integration and the guidelines for the development of the city. Those policies are: "Overall concept for immigrant integration", the "Integrated Development Concept for Leipzig", the "Integrated Development Concept for the district of Leipzig-East" and finally the "Municipal overall strategy for democracy and diversity". Moreover, to understand how those policies are put into practice, investments done in this area were also brought up. Thus, investments done with funds from the programs 'Social City' and EFRD were also analyzed.

However, it is important to note that despite the relevance of the topic, policies concerning asylum seekers were not studied. Asylum seekers have a different path when arriving in the host country and that shapes their integration differently from other immigrants. Thus, asylum seekers are not part of this thesis.

The thesis also counts with an extensive literature review concerning the most important topics, policies concerning immigration, social cohesion, inequality, segregation and social justice.

Finally, in order to confirm some attitudes and perceptions towards immigrants and the case study area four interviews were conducted. Two interviewees are foreigners living in Leipzig and the other two are Germans. All four interviewees know the area and are familiar with the city. These interviews were not thought to be representative of the population of Leipzig, but it was meant to only have an idea of how people perceive matters of integration, immigration and the case study area.

It is important to state here that my background as a foreigner myself might perhaps have inhibited some of the reactions of the interviewees, especially when interviewing the German nationals. Another limitation concerns the population that I could reach to interview. I have interviewed young people, in their 20-30s and the two foreigners have the same nationality as me.

The thesis is divided into three main parts: the theoretical framework, the case study and conclusions. The first chapter of the theoretical framework explains the different concepts on ethnic diversity. For the second chapter I explain policies concerning immigration and giving an especial focus on multiculturalism, its backlash and concerning the new phase of policies that are currently emerging in Europe. The third chapter regards the several ideas around social cohesion, which is claimed in new policies and development plans. The fourth chapter explains the ways in which the immigrant population suffers with inequalities and segregation.

And lastly, I make some remarks on social justice and define what should be understood by social justice in this thesis.

The second part relates to the study of the area and policies. The first chapter concerns an introduction of the national context describing the history of immigration in Germany and the current German Integration Plan. The second chapter deals with the case study area, in which I present the context of the city of Leipzig, try to understand who the immigrants in Leipzig are and I present the case study area in more details. The third chapter addresses the policies in Leipzig, in which I will present and analyze three local policies. The fourth chapter focusses the investments done in the case study area in the last years. Finally, in the fifth chapter I present a discussion involving all topics approached in this part. The last and final part of the thesis concerns the conclusions.

Part I – Theoretical Framework

I. Around the diversity debate

Diversity is one of the terms that are currently being highly debated. This is a term that is being referenced in several plans and policies at several governmental levels, from the local level to transnational policies. For example, Kraus (2011) points out the popularity of such term in 'trans-European' policies, even being the official motto of the EU, "United in diversity".

Nevertheless it is important to first understand that diversity has different meanings for different professionals concerning each field of academic debate. Fainstein (2005) mentions that diversity for urban designers is connected to the idea of mixing building types, while for planners it may refer either to mixing social economic classes, racial-ethnicity heterogeneity and/or zoning and uses; for sociologists the idea of diversity is usually more connected to race and ethnicity. Kraus (2011) also mentions that the term diversity is increasingly becoming more important to the economy and business with the growing attention given to the idea of 'managing diversity'. As result, we can see that the theme 'diversity' can be investigated through several approaches that vary from the physical environment, to activities and to the society. In that sense a diverse area may comprise in diverse building types, uses, tenure form and socio-demographic characteristics such as age, gender, household type, ethnicity, religion and so on.

As mentioned before the term 'diversity' has mainly being used to refer to race and ethnic diversity in the social sciences. Nevertheless, social scientists are starting to amplify this discussion and acknowledge that diversity may refer to other forms than just the different types of ethnicity/race. In order to respond to this misconception there are several other terms that were created to improve the understanding of what diversity might really represent. In the sequence I will explain three ideas around diversity: 'complex-diversity', 'super-diversity' and 'hyper-diversity'.

The concept of 'complex diversity' is largely based on the idea of cultural diversity. Kraus (2011) states that complex diversity deals with cultural identities and their political significance. In order to better understand what this means it is necessary to explain three concepts: majorities', old minorities' and new minorities' identities. The majority identity is referred here as the one from "standard citizen" and "their" nation. Kraus explains that the difference between the majority and the two forms of minority is that the first concentrates power and therefore it is the dominant group. The old minorities are explained by Kraus (2011:11) as "*groups who have an autochthonous origin*", that being for example indigenous groups or

national minorities such as the Catalans in Spain. Finally new minorities relate to new immigrant groups and their descendants. All these three groups search for some sort of recognition (Taylor, 1992 in Kraus, 2011), and therefore have different impacts in politics. Policies regarding 'integration' and 'assimilation' are therefore models used by Nation-states, which concerns the process of nation-building. In this scenario the idea of complex diversity questions what those identities really mean for a Nation-state and challenges the idea of how all those layers influence feelings of belonging. As a concrete example Kraus (2011:12) questions "*Is the typical London citizen still somewhat whitish, wearing a bowler hat and drinking tea? Or is she rather a person with a mixed background, say South Asian/ European, who watched Bollywood movies and definitely prefers a good curry to Yorkshire pudding?*" This idea is very important because questions what national identity really is and accepts that all those layers influence and change the culture of a country. The idea of complex diversity expresses how fluid cultural identities can be.

'Super-diversity' is term introduced by Vertovec (2007) and it also comes in response to diversity mainly referring to ethnic diversity in the social sciences. For him 'super-diversity' has additional factors that need to be added to ethnicity such as immigration status and its implications, different levels of labor market experiences, gender and age profiles, patterns of spatial distribution and the reactions of residents and service providers. He points out that the further study of 'super-diversity' could include important contributions in certain areas like the analyzes of new patterns of inequality and prejudice, new patterns of segregation, new experiences of space and contact, new forms of cosmopolitanism and creolisation, new 'bridgeheads' of migration, secondary migration patterns, transnationalism and integration, methodological innovation and, finally, research-policy nexus. According to Vertovec (2007), this idea of 'super-diversity' presents several new challenges for policy-makers that should now consider all those elements when dealing with better solutions and truly attending the needs of the migrant population.

Another concept of diversity that tries to broaden the debate is the term 'hyper-diversity'. It was created by a group of scholars for further investigating diversity in European cities. According to those researchers hyper-diversity "*refers to an intense diversification of the population, not only in socio-economic, social and ethnic terms, but also with respect to lifestyles, attitudes and activities*" (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013:12). There is an effort in recognizing that it is not just identities that are becoming more fluid, like in the 'complex diversity' idea, but also life-styles, behaviors, activities and life-cycles. In that sense it also tries to incorporate results of

growing inequalities to diversity, which creates discrepancy in status for example. This term also tries to comprise the area in which those activities happen, including the relationship between a diverse population and their spaces for action. The report points to three main dimensions of a “hyper-diverse” city:

“(1): it has a multilayered character and goes beyond ethnicity and socio-economic differences (making the concepts of multiculturalism or assimilation problematic); (2) it tackles the complexity of mutual interactions between the dimensions of diversity (such as intersectionality); (3) it relates to the action space of people (where they work, live and have diverse activities), not just the residential space.” (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013:13)

Moreover the term diversity often is associated with other important terms such as integration, assimilation, multiculturalism, citizenship, social cohesion and so on. However it is important to notice that despite all these attempts to expand the idea of diversity much of the current debate still focuses on ethnic and race diversity. For this thesis I will focus on purely ethnic diversity, referring to the ethnic diversification that comes with immigration to a certain country. Thus, terms such as foreigners, immigrants and migrants will be interchangeably used, all referring to the same idea. Nevertheless, given time constrains I will not be able to relate the terms above explained in my research. However, it is important to understand that the term diversity can and does relate to much more than simply how I will make use of this term.

2. Integration policies

In this chapter I expose briefly the context of recent immigration towards Europe and later on I will explain the concepts that surround migration policies and that are highly debated nowadays.

2.1 Immigration in the European context

After the World War II several countries in Europe had to recruit migrant workers to cope with the economic development that took place and from that moment on there were several cyclic waves of mass immigration (Lesinska, 2014). Some countries recruited people from their old colonies, like France and England for example, while other countries recruited people from the poor periphery of Europe, like Germany that recruited workers mostly from Turkey and Italy for example

(Vasta, 2010). Those workers came first as 'guest-workers' and the initial idea was that after some years working in the host country, those workers would go back to their home countries. That assumption led governments to adopt a policy in which immigrants should not assimilate the local culture, but preserve their own culture and only receive advice on how to behave at their host countries (Bozgag, 2014).

After the 1970's many governments noticed that despite some guest workers have returned home, many others in fact did not and neither intend to do so. Moreover many of them would require family reunification and bring their loved ones to live by them in the "host" country (Vasta, 2010). After this moment 'assimilation policies' took place all over Europe and some countries simply tolerated ethno-cultural diversity (Lesinska, 2014). However, the New Left, which fought for more equality in rights and participation for several social groups, also set the ground for a higher acceptance of ethnic diversity and laid the foundation for multicultural policies (Vasta, 2010).

England was the place in which multiculturalism gained greater importance when it comes to the European context. According to Vertovec (2007) the overall goal of multiculturalism within the European context was to promote a large respect and tolerance for collective identities. The main idea was to support communities associations and their cultural activities, incorporating cultural diversity in the workplace and in public services such as education and health care, in order to integrate different cultural values, languages and social practices into the mainstream values (Vertovec, 2007; Cheong et al., 2007). However, there were several critics to multiculturalism that started by the 1990's and showed a fear of the corruption of Western democratic values, posed a threat to national identities and social cohesion (Cheong et al., 2007). There was a conclusion that the vast majority of immigrants were not integrating, which was largely their own fault (Vasta, 2010).

After the terrorists' attacks that happened on the beginning of the years 2000, several countries changed their immigration policies and immigrants increasingly raised concerns, especially if they had different religions, culture or skin color (Lesinska, 2014). In this new context of terrorism and national safety concerns, nowadays immigration is associated with ideas of terrorism, crime, unemployment and religious fundamentalism (Cheong et al., 2007). There is to a greater extent the idea of immigrants that are deserving and therefore a "good immigrant", and the undeserving ones, the "bad immigrant" and thus the threat (Cheong et al., 2007). That resulted in a change of the political discourse and multicultural policies were declared as failure by several important politicians in Europe such as Angela Merkel, David Cameron and Nicolas Sarkozy (Lesińska, 2014; Cheong et al.,

2007). This juncture leads to the spread of anti-immigrant sentiments all over Europe leading to talks about integration and national sovereignty, directly affecting ideas of social cohesion and destabilizing the social capital building process (Lesińska, 2014; Cheong et al., 2007).

Given the importance of the processes within multicultural policies, I will explain its critics and the new policies that are arising better in the sequence.

2.2 Multicultural policies

As mentioned before the general idea of multiculturalism is connected to the idea of the minorities' cultural preservation; however Colombo (2015) mentions multiculturalism is not a fixed idea and can have several possible meanings and interpretations, leading people in different situations and contexts to understanding 'multiculturalism' in different ways. In his article, "Multiculturalisms: an overview of multicultural debates in western societies", he points out three important aspects concerning multiculturalism: first the different meanings, second the discussions and debates around it and finally he presents the different reasons and understandings around multiculturalism backlash.

When it comes to meanings, the first relation made by the author relates multiculturalism with demands for recognition by native and sub-state national groups. In this case he refers to 'old minorities', as mentioned before. In this case, multicultural policies were connected to acknowledging these minorities that have often been marginalized, exploited and discriminated and ensure them rights through policies that guarantee some forms of territorial autonomy, self-determination rights, representation in the government and official language status.

A second way to use the term, relates to gender and race issues and is connected to discriminated groups within a society. Within this understanding, the imposition of the model of 'white male' led the idea that others that do not fit this profile are inadequate to fit certain power positions or are cannot achieve certain opportunities as easily as the 'white male', such as higher education for example. Therefore, multiculturalism policies will ensure that all citizens will have access to all opportunities in same way.

The debate concerning multiculturalism also presents differences between countries and regions. For example, in North America the debate involves mainly native people and cultural minorities, while in Europe multiculturalism involves the mix of ethnicities at the urban environment that came with waves of migration and

the politics that resulted from this reality. In the European context, Colombo (2015) claims that cultural differentiation comes from the different immigrants' fluxes and thus multicultural policies will attempt to overcome previous assimilationist policies, recognizing that immigrants and their future generations have the right of being part of the society without fully identifying with the majority group and dominant culture. As part of multicultural policies in this context we can mention actions like support and preservation of cultural activities, possibility of bilingual or mother-tongue education and dual citizenship.

However different all those three claims might be, Colombo (2015) suggests that there are some questions in which are commonly raised, although given distinct attention. Those questions involve matters such as democratic inclusion without subordinating inclusion to assimilation into the majority group; overcoming relations of domination, violence and exploitation by the dominant group by presenting their rules and ideas as 'universal' and 'natural'; enhancing participation in decisive debates in order to achieve a fairer and more equal society; assuring recognition of and respect for different cultures, in a way to combat stereotypes and prejudices that negatively portrait minority groups and that provide an image of having less important identities; not suffering discrimination or exclusion due to different beliefs or sexual identifications or preferences and/or plural identities; and such as providing relevance to collective identities and culture in opposition to securing only assuring individual rights.

Colombo (2015) continues mentioning three distinct ways in which multiculturalism can be understood related this time not with societal issues, but with theoretical approaches. The three mentioned by him are: "multiculturalism as a normative issue", "multiculturalism as an (anti) ideology" and "multiculturalism as a feature of current global societies".

When it comes to normative issues, Colombo (2015) refers that multiculturalist policies were directly connected to justice concerns and therefore sought increasing group's rights and recognizing cultural differences. Hence, this approach challenges liberal philosophy that believes in universal individual rights and emphasizes sameness and unity. Colombo (2015) gives great emphasis on the conflict between cultural diversity and liberal democracy. Opposing the recognition of different cultures and values, liberal democracies demand "*common cultural basis and a strong feeling of civic engagement in order to function*" (Colombo, 2015:5). Therefore the criticism of multiculturalism producing fragmented societies and 'parallel lives' contrast with the liberal ideal of loyalty to a nation-state, high individual freedom and strong politics of redistribution (Colombo, 2015).

In reference to multiculturalism as an (anti) ideology Colombo discuss the contribution of the debate in contesting 'universalism' arguing that universal values hide processes of domination and exploitation by the 'white male', criticizing also patriarchal societies and Eurocentrism. This debate does not revolve necessarily around the need of recognition of the difference, but it directs at the deconstruction of social and political processes that affirm white male hegemony and reveals the foundation for such domination. Thus, in this case multiculturalism will disclose racism and processes in which automatically defines structures of entitlement of rights, power and privileges, also addressing relations of power and exploitation.

The third and final theoretical approach cited by Colombo is multiculturalism as a feature of the current global societies. This approach does not focus how cultural diversity is produced or reproduced, but worries only with the question on how to politically manage such diversity. According to this approach multiculturalism represents the effort of accommodating new cultural, legal and political changes that come with cultural difference, in order to achieve a new social order. Another point defended by this approach concerns the fluidity of culture. It is far from being a static and defined value and when considering it as a fixed value, it becomes deterministic and can take agency away from its alleged members creating new forms of discrimination only apparently addressed by the "recognition of difference". In this approach multiculturalism focuses on both state policies and local relationships.

As mentioned before, several events influenced on the proclamation of the "death" of multiculturalism, starting at the 9/11 terrorist attacks in New York. This debate raised four major critics to multiculturalism and generated a backlash against it. The first critic mentioned by Colombo (2015) comes from the conservative right-wing which blames the support for minorities for diminishing local culture. For them, minority groups are expected to assimilate the majority's group values and rules in order to be deserving of recognition and respect. This position fosters new forms of discrimination, in which the most common is 'Islamophobia'.

Another critic comes from the feminist movement, in which possible contradictions between some cultures and women's rights can be observed. Most migrant groups being more patriarchal than their western host societies, women's freedom and rights become endangered. Some point to the idea that if culture was not playing a role in the lives of women of minority groups, their lives could be much better and higher levels of gender equality could be achieved. On the other hand, some also point out, that this could represent "*the risk of imposing the view of white dominant women as 'universal'*" (Colombo, 2015:11).

The third critic presented by Colombo (2015) mentions that multiculturalism cannot properly deal with socio-economic inequality. Those policies over stress culture and forget about other possible sources of discrimination that can be connected to lack of formal education, employment, criminality and housing conditions for example. In this case, integration measures require social cohesion and policies against discrimination and poverty. The last critic mentioned by the author is connected to the weakening of social cohesion. This topic will be discussed in the next chapter.

2.3 Beyond multicultural policies

Some authors identify this phase after 'multiculturalism' as a 'post-multiculturalism' era. However, this is a contested term, because for many academics it is not clear whether this next phase is a continuation of multiculturalism or a retreat from it (Gozdecka et al., 2014), as it will be shown in this section. The first author to be presented, Lesińska does not recognize the term 'post-multiculturalism' and she mentions a retreat of past policies to assimilationism, while the second group of authors to be presented, Gozdecka et al, acknowledges the term despite maintaining a similar position regarding its effects as Lesińska. Lastly Vertovec provides a complete different position and has a more positive perception of the transformations happening in Europe.

As it was mentioned, Lesińska (2014) argues that this backlash against multiculturalism is providing room for measures that she believes are assimilationist. She highlights that despite the most important leaders of Europe stating the "death of multiculturalism", most European countries did not genuinely apply this ideology into their policies. Moreover, she points to nations like Spain, France and Germany that have always, more or less, supported assimilationist measures towards their migration policies. When discussing new assimilationist policies Lesińska (2014) examines language learning, skills upgrade, finding employment, connecting to the local community and adopting core values, norms and lifestyle from host country as conditions for having citizenship granted.

According to her, these new policies, in general, seek a more rigorous "*control of immigration, tighter regulation of the selection and entry processes, and – importantly – towards more integrative-assimilative settlement policies*" (Lesińska, 2014:43). For coming to this conclusion she analyzes which countries adopted the following policies and when this happened. The policies are: compulsory language learning as a requirement for admission to the country under family reunification

scheme, obligatory integration courses for newcomers, individual integration contract, language and/or integration course and test compulsory for long-term residence permit and citizenship test and/or language test as prerequisite/s for nationality acquisition.

Gozdecka and other authors (2014) writes the second article considered for this part. They also analyze the changes occurring in laws and policies and as Lesińska conclude that there is a reaffirmation of monoculturalism that can be perceived in five trends:

“(1) an excessive focus on gender inequality within traditional minority cultures; (2) the shift from ethnicity and culture towards religion (in particular Islam); (3) the increasing emphasis on social cohesion and security; (4) the emergence of new forms of racism; (5) the relativization of international and transnational human rights laws” (Gozdecka et al., 2014:52-3).

As pointed by the authors some of these trends present some paradoxes and conflicts between each other especially when analyzed by the perspective of a neoliberal government. According to them one of the paradoxes presented happens between the social cohesion and the citizenship argument, which generate an idea of “good citizen” and all those who fall out of this standard are considered as a threat. As a consequence this could restrict freedom of foreigner-born population, like an example given by this article in England. There those that do not follow a “conducive to the public good” type of behavior could have their citizenship revoked, while others that have significant financial means could easily obtain British citizenship. In this case it is noticeable both the commodification of citizenship and the moralization of freedom. Therefore *“post-multiculturalism attempts to relieve the “threats” posed by those falling outside the narrow category of a ‘good’ citizen by a paradoxical control of the movements of population in forms perceived as ‘non-discriminatory’ administration of security” (Bozdecka et al, 2014:59).*

On the one hand, it is noticeable that those two articles presented are in agreement that the new policies adopted by European governments point to a desire of homogenization. On the other hand some other scholars claim that ‘post-multiculturalism’ can have a more positive influence. Vertovec (2010) believes that these new conditions offer the means to combine *“strong national identity with the official recognition of cultural diversity” (Gozdecka et al., 2014, p. 52).* In an opposing perception of Lesińska (2014) and Gozdecka et al (2014), the same measures studied especially in her article, are perceived by Vertovec (2010) as a possible conciliation from having a strong national identity and at the same time enabling the recognition of cultural diversity.

According to Vertovec (2010) all those measures introduced by the governments cannot be considered as assimilationist, given that they enable a greater sense of belonging of the migrant within his/her host country without restricting recognition of cultural differences. In his perspectives some measures adopted as language learning can even have a positive impact on the migrant's life, enabling him/her to achieve better employment for example. Therefore, some actions could increase immigrant's socioeconomic mobility. On the other hand, Vertovec (2010) questions how citizenship courses and tests on history of the host country could not only promote this idea of the national identity but also foster migrant's mobility.

Vertovec (2010:91) points that while all those measures are addressed to achieve higher levels of cohesion and national identity, new policies still are backed up on the *"acceptance of the significance and value of diversity, which is voiced and institutionally embedded"*. Therefore, the new challenge of post-multiculturalism is to find models who are able to combine the left and right agendas by merging demands of diversity celebration, social capital promotion and socioeconomic inequalities reduction with demands to promote national identity, diminish competing values, limit new immigration processes that could lead to divided societies. For achieving such result, it is identified as necessary the creation of *"structures and programs that are broad enough to permit strong group identities to endure within a legal framework upholding the rights and obligations of citizenship"* (Vertovec, 2010:91).

3. Aspects of social cohesion

First, it is important to understand what is meant by the term 'social cohesion'. Here, I will present two authors that define it, but it is important to know that this term has no specific definition and could be related to bridging social ties, informal networks, social capital and solidarity. Social cohesion also has a scale factor that could be approached by supra-national levels, national levels or even very local ones such as the neighborhood. As for Vasta (2010:507), who uses an approach more connect to term solidarity and ideas of ethnicity, *"social cohesion generally is concerned with social order and ensuring that immigrants and ethnic minorities integrate into the dominant receiving culture"*. The idea of social cohesion, for her is also connected to *"expectation that people should feel identity with a national community, even if it is hierarchical and exploitative of certain groups"*

(Vasta, 2010). In this case Vasta's perception of social cohesion relates to a national scale and points out the current necessity of Nations to back on one "homogenous" national identity, which does not provide room for other identities. Her definition also implies that it is the responsibility of immigrants to adapt to their "host country culture" and has quite a negative connotation to it.

For Cheong et al (2007:28) "*social cohesion is used generally to refer to common values and purpose in a society, including a sense of belonging, and solidarity for people from diverse backgrounds*". Here Cheong et al have a more positive understanding of social cohesion and differently from Vasta, they do not associate this idea purely with ethnicity, but they do mention "different backgrounds" what is more generic and covers a larger amount of groups than simply ethnic/racial diverse population. On another discussion, Forrest and Kearns (2001) connect the idea of social cohesion to inequalities and problems faced by people in poor neighborhoods.

Moreover the idea of building a cohesive society could also be linked only with the ideas of weak ties and 'bonding' and 'bridging' ties. According to Granovetter (1973) people's social networks are divided in two kinds of ties, strong ties (which are related to friendships) and weak ties (which are related to acquaintances). The idea is that weak ties are essential in building a cohesive community and bridging the different strong networks. If a community for example is composed essentially of segregated strong ties, then the personal networks would form fragmented societies. On the other hand, if the networks of strong ties present several other weak ties among each other, then it will result in a cohesive community.

In order to summarize all those ideas of social cohesion, Forrest and Kearns (2001) elaborated a table which comprises all dimensions that social cohesion relate to, and factors that are usually seen as indispensable for achieving cohesive communities. Thus, according to their ideas and by implication one could argue that a certain community that does not present those characteristics is not cohesive. It goes as follows:

Domain	Description
Common values and a civic culture	Common aims and objectives; common moral principles and codes of behavior; support for political institutions and participation in politics
Social order and social control	Absence of general conflict and threats to the existing order; absence of incivility; effective informal social control; tolerance; respect for difference; intergroup co-operation
Social solidarity and reductions in wealth disparities	Harmonious economic and social development and common standards; redistribution of public finances and of opportunities; equal access to services and welfare benefits; ready acknowledgment of social obligations and willingness to assist others;
Social networks and social capital	High degree of social interaction within communities and families; civic engagement and associational activity; easy resolution of collective action problems
Place attachment and identity	Strong attachment to place; intertwining of personal and place identity

Table 1: Domains of social cohesion, Forrest and Kearns, 2001: 2129

By this table and all the definitions presented we can perceive that social cohesion has quite an extensive and elastic meaning. Also the numbers of features that are included in their definition are extensive and therefore almost unachievable in real world situations. Some of those domains might very easily be in conflict with others, for example, it might be difficult to achieve common aims, objectives and codes of behavior and still preserve and respect differences. Even though this table could present interesting “guidelines” into achieving such a cohesive society, this balance seems very unreal.

One of the currently most influential theories on social cohesion is the one developed by Putnam (2007). He conducted research in the United States of America to better understand how ethnic diversity influences social cohesion at the neighborhood level. According to Putnam (2007) immigration and ethnic diversity can only present positive impacts on culture, economics, fiscal and development in the long run. In the short term ethnic diversity at the neighborhood level has the effect of retreating all races, diminishing contact in between different groups and

within its own group and in this manner reducing social solidarity, social capital and as consequence social cohesion.

However, when comparing his results with Forrest and Kearns (2001) table shown before we can easily understand why ethnic diversity can be considered a threat to social cohesion. Different cultures that come to live at one same place will very rarely share the same values with the host community, having most likely different codes of behavior and values for example. Those differences in value might produce not one common identity, but a mix of them in which individuals might not relate to. We can perceive that those domains and Putman's research drive the idea of social cohesion to a homogeneous society.

Moreover the idea of social cohesion implies that different people adapt to each other, and then become homogenous (Vasta, 2010). Nevertheless this idea is often rhetoric, and the responsibility of adapting often lies with the minorities. In those cases minorities can be the ones to blame for lack of social cohesion. Power relations are often not accounted when talking about social cohesion even though those greatly influence human relations (Vasta, 2010).

In that sense Vasta's idea of social cohesion becomes extremely important. It becomes very difficult to talk about ethnic diversity and social cohesion without the idea that migrants need to completely assimilate the host country's culture and values. Immigrants and ethnic minorities are expected to adopt the national identities of their host countries, and yet somehow also preserve their own identities, thus developing multiple identities. In such a scenario in which it is important to have a national identity and social cohesion, the different becomes a threat and societies might become exclusionary (Vasta, 2010).

Despite all those issues mentioned before, social cohesion is still seen as key value for well-functioning societies. It is desired and it is present in several policies, discourse and debate. However, some authors argue that 'social cohesion' is an idea in crisis given new technologies. The fluidity of new technologies allows people to develop strong virtual social networks, changing the rules for interaction and social integration. Moreover spatial proximity and bounds are questioned as being the main source for kinship and solidarity (Forrest and Kearns, 2001). Forrest and Kearns (2001:2127) point to extra factors for this crisis, such as: *"the breakdown of Keynesian capitalism, an end to the progressive recruitment of households to the traditional middle class and the lifestyles and living standards associated with such status, growing inequality and social fragmentation and a perceived decline of shared moral values"*.

3.1 Contact theory

There are three main approaches concerning social cohesion and the possibilities of building bridging ties. Each one is related to different expected outcomes. The three theories are: the 'conflict theory', which understands that the exposure of the majority to ethnic minorities will foster a competitive threat to the majority group and will result in growing prejudice; the 'constrict theory', which states that the contact with ethnic minorities will not only foster prejudice, but also hunker down trust within in and out groups; and finally there is the 'contact theory', which adopts a more optimistic view and states that the contact between different groups helps reducing prejudice, increasing tolerance and indirectly reduces threat (Schmid et al., 2014).

According to the literature it is argued that the contact from the majority with a minority could potentially reduce prejudice and therefore increase social justice for those minorities groups. The idea is that contact could promote perceiving minorities not as the "others" and in a stereotyped way and therefore as threats, but as members of that community. Allport developed this theory in 1954, and pointed out that more structured contact could present quite positive results (Peters and de Haan, 2011). Therefore Peters and de Haan (2011:171-2) argue that "*conditions such as equal status, collective goals and the potential to get to know each other and to exchange information seem to be more important than the frequency of these contacts*".

In their article, Peters and de Haan (2011) explore the role of public spaces in proportioning good experiences of inter-ethnic contact, in a way that it promotes awareness and acceptance of a multi-cultural environment. This very interesting research took place in the Netherlands and it analyzed one neighborhood that was characterized as ethnically diverse and that has gone through several transformations in the past 30 or 40 years. The neighborhood of Lombok is located west of the city of Utrecht and by the 1980's it was a deteriorated area with lots of conflicts between the local Dutch population and the migrants that had come as guest workers in the previous years. As pointed out by the authors, the neighborhood was subject to several interventions thought out this period, and they analyzed interaction in three different areas from the neighborhood.

Kanaalstraat, a busy commercial street, proved to be an inclusive area where most interactions happened and it was considered by the population the place for informal encounters with locals. The playground area showed to be not as diverse as Kanaalstraat, in which Dutch children were accompanied by their parents or

grandparents, while non-Dutch children come alone. Parents reported great interaction among themselves and diversity was not necessarily included in such in their daily lives. The urban park was considered the most unattractive space of all and thus not visited so much by the general population. Moreover, some sub-groups were more likely to use it resulting in an association of the park with mainly non-native Dutch mothers with children and with youth groups. (Peter and de Haan, 2011).

Peters and de Haan (2011) found that overall the contact experience provided by Lombok was a positive multicultural experience in which ethnic diversity was easily seen in the streets, parks and squares. However, those contacts did not evolve to more durable inter-ethnic relationships. For stronger ties people still preferred to relate to others from the same ethnic background and the same social class. They also mention that the quality of the public space deeply influences the experience. Kanaalstraat was fulfilling the role of an inclusive and attractive place, which provided pleasant experiences to most people. Most importantly, this contact did help people not to stereotype the other, but to see things in more real perspective. Therefore the quality in which a public space is planned could deeply influence the quality of inter-ethnic contacts and help reduce prejudice and stereotypization (Peters & de Haan, 2011).

4. Inequality, segregation and ethnic diversity

Amin and Thrift (2002) argue that most of the conflicts between migrants and natives can be perceived in cities and neighborhoods. They also mention the importance of the urban environment in framing daily experiences of race, ethnicity and cultural difference. Each situation becomes unique given levels of integration, sense of belonging and life experience. Migrants that come from different regions of the world will also most likely integrate in different forms and will also shape how conflicts happen in the city.

In a different study Kandylis et al. (2012) mention how migrants from different regions have different social structures and therefore present very different spatial distribution within the city of Athens. The authors present that immigrants from different nationalities arrive in their host country in contrasting situations and while some will be able to settle and integrate in better conditions, others will have the tendency to fill in certain specific working paths, which can be related to

particular professions (usually servile work), and hence, live in more precarious situations.

According to the literature, those immigrants that come in more precarious forms often find themselves in a poverty situation. Poverty is thus, more common among migrants than among natives (Obućina, 2014). Obućina (2014) analyzed poverty patterns among immigrants and natives in Sweden and confirmed, for the Swedish case, that immigrants are in a more vulnerable condition as their native counterparts in the same socioeconomic situation. He noted, as Kandylis and the other authors (2012) that poverty affected different nationalities and ethnicities in different ways. Migrants that did not come from the EU-15 or the Nordic countries were more likely to be living in poverty. Another factor that influenced poverty levels concerned the amount of time living in Sweden; those who had recently arrived were the ones more likely to be found living in poverty. On the other hand, immigrants that were living for a longer period of time in Sweden could more easily avoid it. Moreover, Obućina (2014) also mentions that immigrants stay longer in poverty and are also more likely to fall back into poverty than natives, indicating that migrants have highest probability of falling into chronic poverty.

The low socioeconomic conditions associated with high concentration of migrants in certain neighborhoods could have negative effects for both the image of this neighborhood in the city and also to the population living in this neighborhood. High proportions of migrants in an certain area might suggest that social problems might be concentrating, given partially the high probability of migrants to be unemployed and be in poverty and partially because some ethnic minority groups often have limited amount of choices in the housing market and they end up in affordable but problematic neighborhoods (Bolt and Van Kempen, 2003 in Van Ham and Clark, 2009). The perception that these neighborhoods are transforming in a negative way could lead those who are in better socioeconomic conditions to leave the area. Since most of these people are white natives, this phenomenon is also called as the 'white fly'. However, it is important to note this phenomenon is usually connected to the lowering of the socioeconomic status of the neighborhood and not purely with to the fact of increasing ethnic diversity (van Ham & Clark, 2009).

In another study, Pinkster's study (2014) shows how social networks and the isolation of certain migrant groups can affect their changes of social mobility. She conducted her study in one of the most deprived neighborhoods of the Netherlands, located at The Hague, called Transvaal-Noord. Firstly she analyzed how migrants in this area would access jobs. It turns out that most migrants use informal contacts to

find work; usually they seek for help among neighbors that share the same ethno-cultural, religious, geographical and social class backgrounds. This mainly happens given the lack of knowledge of the Dutch language and the lack of experience in the Dutch labor market and it brings some consequences. It is important to observe that the support from those networks go beyond just finding employment. They also support themselves in the personal arena, concerning all work related-issues, while dealing with public institutions and also with financial issues.

The first consequence noticed by Pinkster (2014) is that this network has the tendency to restrict the number of economic sectors and kinds of jobs available for these communities, constraining opportunities in less prestigious socioeconomic activities and with limited access to job information. This isolation within their 'own groups' results in not developing language skills nor other work skills that could lead them to more independency and better job opportunities. Therefore, despite finding work within their networks those have a limited scope and only furthers the dependency within their 'own groups' indicating a pattern of social isolation.

Another issue concerns the differences within cultures of work. These networks could also dictate how one should behave. As an example, Pinkster (2014) cites the case of Surinamese-Hindustani single mothers that are expected not to work in order to raise their children and fulfill their roles as "good mothers". As a consequence many of them prefer to live receiving government support. Therefore she concludes that *"the qualitative interviews illustrate various ways in which shared norms, values and social practices among friends and relatives in the area can limit their employment prospects in the long run"* (Pinkster, 2014:2053).

On the other hand this network is also the one that promotes security for those individuals in a neighborhood that has high levels of criminality when in comparison with Dutch standards (Pinkster, 2014). Belonging to one of those groups provide safety in this context, as also a sense of belonging and support.

Hence, there are two different approaches that try to understand why ethnic segregation occurs (Andersson, 1998). The first approach concerns cultural factors and states that immigrants from the same origin want to be together, so they can have intra-group support and relate to people with more similar cultures. The second approach concerns structural segregation that claim that migrants segregate based on their socio-economic status and not necessarily related to cultural factors (Andersson, 1998). However Andersson (1998) points that in many situations aspects from both approaches need to complement each other in order to fully explain segregation and isolation, being very difficult to fully understand these cases only through one of these lenses.

Andersson (1998) also indicates that external factors might also contribute to migrant groups' isolation and segregation. He describes that living in such areas might not be connected to a free choice. As was also mentioned before, often times the housing market might discriminate against those groups, given the more negative overall opinion about immigrants. On the other hand, migrant families might also avoid certain areas with the majority of natives in order not to expose themselves or their loved ones to the possible stress of living in an area in which they clearly are the minority (Andersson, 1998).

Nevertheless these two approaches mentioned lead policy makers and planners to tackle ethnic segregation either as a structural issue or as an ethno cultural problem. Ireland (2008) studied policy response to ethnic segregation in six cities situated in three different European countries: Germany, the Netherlands and in Belgium. The first conclusion is that cities, which had low concerns with ethnic segregation, had the tendency of understanding ethnic segregation as a deprivation issue and therefore policies concerned with reducing poverty and diminishing other forms of socioeconomic marginalization (Ireland, 2008). As an example provided by the author, as a consequence, in the German cases, housing policies were not connected (or loosely connected) to ethnic issues.

On the other hand, Ireland (2008) also perceived that *“when political-cultural dimensions of integration and spatial conceptions of ethnic segregation prevailed – as in Rotterdam, Ghent and Nuremberg – conflict along ethnic lines and the threat or reality of anti-immigrant political mobilization developed. Deprivation then replaced or joined the spatial dimension among top official concerns and the structural aspects of integration grew in importance”* (Ireland, 2008:1353). Therefore, Ireland stresses that conflicts and the perception of integration as a problem were mostly noticeable when cities have chosen policies that valued political-cultural integration and that typically recognized ethnic group's identities. Contrarily, policies that aimed structural integration (such as general policies fighting poverty, unemployment, educational inequalities and housing deficits) resulted in fewer conflicts and ethnic tensions.

5. Social Justice

Justice and social justice are ideas that have a long history and in which much has been talked about. For this thesis I will mention some of the relevant theories. Given the extension of what has been published and the number of relevant authors, which date from the time of Plato and Aristotle, going through Hegel, Hobbes, Adam Smith, Karl Marx, John Stuart Mill and, more recently, with John Rawls, Benhabib, Sen, Young, Harvey, Soja, Fainstein and Lefebvre among many others, it is impossible to fully cover the debate. Therefore, I will only provide a short introduction to the theme and then focus on some relevant authors that took part in the debate more recently.

It is important to state here that, as also mentioned by Harvey (1973:98), *“there is no one generally accepted principle of social justice to which we can appeal”*. Harvey points that the first ideas about social justice were discussed in ancient Greece and evolved from Aristotle’s idea of Ethics. According to him, Aristotle’s idea unfolded in two main forms of debate: the social contract idea and the utilitarianism idea, grounding the main discourses we have today of social justice. Moreover, Fainstein and Soja identify the social justice debate are also connected to concepts of democracy, citizenship and fundamental human rights.

According to Fainstein (2010:38), ideas of utilitarianism are the ones in which *“equity means benefiting the majority”*. According to her understanding, utilitarianism is the ideology in which the ends are more important than the means, thus measuring success by its general outcome. Within such an idea it is acceptable that a minority suffers injustice if it is perceived that the majority will benefit from it. On the other hand, the idea of the social contract and natural rights perceive that there is *“no greater good for a greater number can justify the violation of certain inalienable rights”* (Harvey, 1992:594). The concept of *“human rights”* thus derives from the idea of social contract.

Recently, Rawls has deeply influenced the discussion about Justice with his famous for the book ‘The theory of Justice’ published in 1971. His theory develops for the most part from the social contract debate (Fainstein, 2010), and his theory is more known as the ‘distributive justice theory’. This theory will focus on the socially fair distribution of goods among individuals of a society in order to achieve an outcome that leads to a greater equality among its members (Young, 1990). Thus, his perspective of justice is resumed in the question of a fair distribution focusing on resulting in a fair outcome.

Soja (2010:76) observes that Rawls' idea of justice is not dependable on place or time. Thus, his theory is thought to be 'universal' and to certain extent it is considered almost like a 'natural law'. This means to say that it should be applicable anywhere and at any moment of a place's history. On the other hand, Young (1990:15) defines the distributive justice as "*to the morally proper distribution of benefits and burdens among society's members*", in which she remembers it is usually most connected to the idea of inequality of wealth and income and leaves behind other moral questions.

Since the publication of Rawls's book, his theory has been contested by several other people that raised different questions and generated other theories for social justice. For Young (1990), Rawls's distributive theory is much too focused on the distribution of material goods and can hardly be applied to intangible values as self-respect, power, rights and opportunities for example. Another of her critics concerns that Rawls is not concerned with production processes that are also generating injustice. Soja (2010:77) points out that the distributional justice also neglects geographical aspects of justice, considering that justice is spatially manifested and a result of "*social structure stratification*". In the same line of thought as Young, Soja (2010) mentions that the forces that are responsible for creating such inequalities in the first place are not questioned.

In response to Rawls's 'theory of distribution' Young (1990) offers a different perspective to the matter of justice. Young defends that justice is more than purely an outcome, but it involves democratic decision making and procedures, also being dependable on social and political processes. In her own words:

"Justice should refer not only to distribution, but also to the institutional conditions necessary for the development and exercise of individual capacities and collective communication and cooperation." (Young, 1990:39)

From this point she presents the idea of injustice, pointing out what could be improved in order to achieve social justice. She defines social injustice as forms of oppression and domination that certain social groups suffer. Her theory introduces five faces of oppression: exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism and violence. Young (1990) argues that those forms of oppression come through unquestioned norms, habits and symbols, and therefore new laws should not be the proper answer into dealing with this matter. She argues that oppression is a structural problem reproduced by economic, political and cultural institutions.

Young (1990) deeply connects her theory to the idea of social groups. Even though she argues that individuals should have the freedom to pursue their lives as they intend it is unavoidable that we end up being stereotyped, and as consequence belonging to certain social groups. Nevertheless, she argues that the idea of social justice is not about melting those differences away, but to promote that every institution treats every group with respect and without reproducing any forms of oppression, conserving in this way the differences and diversity within our societies. She will also argue that different social groups will suffer different forms of oppression. This means to say that while one group might suffer cultural imperialism and powerlessness, other groups might suffer with more than those two forms, being possible that a certain groups suffer all forms of oppression, for example.

The first face of oppression explained by her is 'exploitation'. This idea is closely linked to the Marxist idea of division of labor. According to Young this concept can be best explained as a process in which the transfer of labor's results produced by one group ends up benefiting another group. As an example, she provides the idea of menial labor (servants' labor that are the usually qualified as unskilled, servile, low-paying work and lacking autonomy) that is usually attributed to certain races in the US. As a consequence, this racism can be translated as exploitation. She argues this kind of exploitation is not solved by distributional justice, but it *"requires reorganization of institutions and practices of decision-making, alteration of the division of labor, and similar measures of institutional, structural and cultural change"* (Young, 1990:53).

The second form of oppression mentioned by Young is 'marginalization'. For her, *"marginals are the people that the system of labor cannot or will not use"* (Young, 1990:53). She notes that there are a growing number of people that are considered as an underclass and are consistently forced to live a marginal life. These groups of people are constantly neglected from social participation and subjected to severe material deprivation.

'Powerlessness' is the third form of oppression mentioned by Young. It is understood as the *"lack of authority, status, and sense of self that professionals tend to have"* (Young, 1990:57). Powerlessness is associated with other forms of injustice such as restriction into developing one's capacity, no decision making power and disrespectful treatment due to status one has.

'Cultural Imperialism' is considered by Young as one of the most common forms of oppression and it *"involves the universalization of a dominant's group experience and culture, and its establishment as the norm"* (Young, 1990:59). This

form of oppression results in the idea of the “other”, in which those other groups are perceived as abnormal and/or inferior.

The last form of oppression mentioned by her is violence. Young (1990) argues that certain groups have to live with the fear of random, unprovoked attacks on their persons or properties, with the only intention of humiliating, damaging or destroying that person. The difference from violence as a form of oppression and violence as an individual moral wrong is its existence as a social practice. This means that certain persons will suffer violence only because of being perceived as belonging to a certain group. As an example xenophobic attacks belong in this form of oppression. What is also important to understand is that many times this form of violence is also institutionalized to the point that it can be encouraged, tolerated or even enabled.

In 1973 Harvey presents his thoughts about social justice connecting it to social processes and spatial forms. In his book “Social Justice and the City”, Harvey (1973) approaches theoretical background and concrete examples of city of Baltimore in order to explain what he calls ‘territorial justice’. He starts with the assumption that *“principles of social justice had some relevance for the application of spatial and geographical principles to urban and regional planning”* (Harvey, 1973:9). Throughout this book he makes an effort into connecting social justice, spaces and social processes, which means to say that (in)justice is not merely an outcome, but also involves processes which produce and reproduce them. He identifies that cities are based on the idea of industrial capitalism, and therefore based on the exploitation of many in benefit of few. His concerns in bringing social justice to the city reflects his desire of seeing the revolution of a more “humanizing urbanism” and as consequence cities that are developed for human beings and not capital. Despite the very interesting and important ideas in this book, Harvey does not reach a new theory, but only starts preparing ground for new ones.

Following the same line of thought of Harvey, Soja (2010) develops the idea of “Spatial Justice”. In this idea, he points to the importance of the geography in producing and reproducing (in)justice. In his book “Seeking spatial justice”, Soja starts by focusing on the spatiality of human lives, understood as a ‘complex social product’ in which social processes and spatiality are mutually influencing each other. Thus, geography can have negative or positive influences in our lives and it can make us more aware and conscious that *“the geographies we live can intensify and sustain our exploitation as workers, support oppressive forms of cultural and political domination based on race, gender, and nationality, and aggravate all forms of discrimination and injustice”* (Soja, 2010:19).

Therefore Soja (2010:20) presents three main points when further developing his theory of 'spatial justice': (1) *"justice and injustice are infused into multiscalar geographies in which we live, from the intimacies of the household to the uneven development of the global economy"*; (2) *"the socialized geographies of (in)justice significantly affect our lives, creating lasting structures of unevenly distributed advantage and disadvantage"*; and (3) *"these geographies and their effects can be changed through forms of social and political action"*.

Soja (2010) attributes the importance of the debate seeking for justice to the growing inequalities within the society. He mentions that the new economy and globalization processes are responsible for amplifying socio-economic differences within the society, such as between rich and poor, men and women and between ethnic and racial groups, for example. As a result of cities growing inequalities, several movements seeking for justice are arising. With the majority of the population living in urban environments, there is a greater pressure into all of one city's inhabitants to gain access to resources and advantages, achieving more equitable places. Soja (2010) also points to the fact globalization is changing demands for justice, going from focused on the local level or on the nation-state to becoming increasingly of global interest. In this manner, environmental and human rights issues became global problems, in which not only the population of one certain country is involved but from also from different parts of the world. In this way he supports his idea that justice is now spread not only into smaller scales, such as the individual or the city level for example, but also to the global scale which was not considered before by social justice theories.

Within all these scales, Soja (2010) presents cases of geographies of injustice. Territories and spaces develop in uneven ways, being that intentional or not. However, Soja remarks that such inequalities are also within social processes, and thus reaching evenly developed spaces is an impossible task. In some cases this difference within regions will not have great consequences, *"but in other cases it can have deeply oppressive and exploitative effects, especially when maintained over long time periods and rooted in persistent divisions in society such as those based on race, class and gender"* (Soja, 2010:73). Examples given are the banlieus in Paris, the Apartheid regime in South Africa, Palestine occupation, segregation due to ghettoization, the security-obsessed urbanism, matters of public and private space and places resulting as the lack of interest of the market.

In contrasting way, but also connected to the urban environment, Fainstein (2010) offers her perspective on what she calls the 'Just city'. Her theory is not connected to the spatial environment as Soja's theory, but it is based on how urban

planning and policies use the three main components of what she believe leads to a just city: democracy, diversity and equity. Those three qualities are sometimes complementing each other and at times in conflict, as explained by her. Another important fact that should be noted is that Fainstein develops her theory of the 'just city' targeting only Western cities leaving out all other cities that are not in West-Europe or United States of America.

Concerning democracy, Fainstein's (2010) main idea is that decision making processes should be more open, not only to those who have power but to those who are also excluded from it. In her opinion more generalized citizen participation is an optimal way into gathering available information and knowledge for policy makers. However, she believes that increasing citizen participation is not necessarily translated into more equity, having even possible negative consequences such as corruption and parochialism. Increasing democratic processes are not transformative in their own, *"but it does, like the old-fashioned political machine, provide a training ground for developing leadership skills and a path of upward political mobility"* (Fainstein, 2010:67).

The second component for achieving a just city mentioned by her is diversity. Fainstein (2010) mentions that the use of such a term can be quite problematic, given that people will understand diversity in different ways, either connected to the physical environment or to social characteristics for example. However, policy makers and sociologists often understand 'diversity' by its social characteristics. Fainstein (2010) points to the fact that within an urban context, 'diversity' is often used accompanied to other terms such as 'tolerance' and 'openness' usually trying to aggregate a positive image to the city and referring to the acceptance of others and their inclusion on the city. However what she means by 'diversity' in her theory is not only connected to the social sphere and being acceptant of other, but it is also connected to the built environment such as diverse typologies or of tenure. By diversity, Fainstein (2010) has in mind not only bringing justice to diverse individuals and social groups, as intended by Young for example, but also assure that the built environment is diverse enough to provide options to all those differences within a society. Not only that but she points out that diversity should be desired, as in Jane Jacob's and Florida's theory.

Finally, Fainstein (2010) includes 'equity' as one of her main components for achieving the just city. By 'equity' Fainstein (2010:36) *"refers to a distribution of both material and nonmaterial benefits derived from public policy that does not favor those who are already better off at the beginning"*. Planners will face several questions involving equity especially with housing policies and urban regeneration,

those being the areas in which all those three components will most likely surface and be in tension. She also mentions that equity issues should be given priority over democratic and diverse ones. However, she also admits the possibility that in certain cases another of these values in priority could lead to more just outcomes, hence being ideal making considerations case by case.

Finally Fainstein (2010) presents very practical and straightforward criteria to formulate and evaluate public policies through the 'just city' theory's lenses. Those criteria are organized within the three main qualities presented before and aim at promoting each one of them. It is important to note that her theory is directed at cities and therefore criteria for evaluation and increasing justice are aimed at the local level. However, because those local policies are not completely autonomous, Fainstein (2010) recognizes that there could be certain limitations imposed by other government spheres, such as regional and national.

For promoting equity, Fainstein (2010) suggests criteria that are mostly connected to housing and urban regeneration programs. She draws seven criteria summarized as following: (1) *"all new housing developments should provide units for households with income below the median, either on-site or elsewhere, with a goal of providing a decent home and suitable living environment for everyone"*; (2) *"housing units developed to be affordable should remain in perpetuity in the affordable housing pool or be subject to one-to-one replacement"*; (3) *"households or business should not be involuntarily relocated for the purpose of obtaining economic development or community balance except in exceptional circumstances"*; (4) *"economic development programs should give priority to the interests of employees and, where feasible, small business"*; (5) *"megaprojects should be subject to heightened scrutiny, be required to provide direct benefits to low-income people in the form of employment provisions, public amenities, and a living wage, and, if public subsidies is involved, should include public participation in the profits"*; (6) *"fares for intracity transit (but not commuter rail) should be kept very low"*; and (7) *"planners should take an active role in deliberative settings in pressing for egalitarian solutions and blocking ones that disproportionately benefit the already well-off"* (Fainstein, 2010:172-3).

The suggested criteria for promoting diversity are: (1) *"households should not be required to move for the purpose of obtaining diversity, but neither should new communities be built that further segregation"*; (2) *"zoning should not be used for discriminatory ends but rather should foster inclusion"*; (3) *"boundaries between districts should be porous"*; (4) *"ample public space should be widely accessible and varied"*; (5) *"to the extent practical and desired by affected populations, land uses*

should be mixed”; and (6) “public authorities should assist groups who have historically suffered from discrimination in achieving access to opportunity in housing, education, and employment”. (Fainstein, 2010:174)

For promoting democracy Fainstein (2010:175) draws three criteria: (1) *“groups that are not able to participate directly in decision-making processes should be represented by advocates”; (2) “plans should be developed in consultation with the target population if the area is already developed”; and (3) “in planning for as yet uninhabited or sparsely occupied areas, there should be broad consultation that includes representatives of groups currently living outside the affected areas”.*

For the development of this thesis I have chosen one of those theories to be used as lenses into analyzing social justice for ethnic diverse groups in the study area in Leipzig. The idea to be applied comes from Young. Through her idea of the forms of oppression, she is able to provide the perfect lenses into how to analyze the policies proposed. While Soja’s and Fainstein’s ideas are also interesting, and could also be applied in this context, Young’s theory seems to be more adequate when addressing a certain specific population within an area.

One important objection to her theory concerning this research regards to the idea of social groups. The idea that one person fits, or is stereotyped, only in one social group may not be completely so. While belonging to the same broad social group namely “immigrants”, two people from those groups might have completely different qualities and be oppressed in different ways. For example the level of education or the place where that immigrant comes from should make a difference in the kind of oppressions suffered. It is unlikely that a highly-educated immigrant from the Western world will suffer the same forms of oppression as an uneducated African immigrant. So it is important to understand that even though same forms of oppression could be more generalized within certain ethnic group, other forms of oppression might be more exclusive to one ethnicity or due to other characteristics, as level of education, gender or socioeconomic class for example.

Part 2 – Case study

I. Integration policies in Germany

National policies largely influence integration trajectories of immigrants and might or might not contribute to improving social justice for this group. As mentioned before, the focus of policies in ethno-cultural aspects or in structural integration will most likely influence the overall outcome in immigrants' integration and acceptance in the host society. This can be valid not only for local but also to national policies (Mouritsen, 2012:89). Moreover, those national policies can largely influence and shape how local policies will develop. Not only that but national policies legislate in several instances in which local policies cannot. Therefore in order to have a general understanding of the policies in Leipzig it is necessary to understand the national trajectory on this matter. In order to understand the context better this part describes immigration fluxes and integration policies in both West and East Germany, after the German Unification and finally today's policies.

I.1 Ethnic diversity and integration in West Germany

When analyzing citizenship acquisition in Germany, Mouritsen (2012) identifies two different phases in the German history that shows great transformations. Initially the German state was formed around the ideas of state, people (giving importance mainly to culture and language) and the sense of belonging, which came from the terms 'Staatsbürgerschaft', 'Staatsangehörigkeit' and 'Volksangehörigkeit' (Mouritsen, 2012). This suggested that there were common denominators that brought Germans together and unite them as one. For citizenship policies the idea of *jus sanguinis* was strongly implemented assuring that all Germans would have citizenship rights, including those whose were parted from their nation, especially as result of the wars. This included the intention to bring West-Germans and East-Germans together, despite the political and physical separation (Mouritsen, 2012). As pointed by the author "West-Germany was born as an 'incomplete nation-state'" (Mouritsen, 2012:90) with the responsibility of uniting the two Germanys.

West-Germany repatriated several of ethnic Germans, which still had ties with and family living in the land, that been the greater aim of the West-German government. According to Panagiotidis (2015:123), the main motivation for returning was to "live as Germans among Germans". In this case, since the

population that migrated was considered as Germans, the situation did not demand integration measures.

As a consequence of this rationing, migrants that came to work during the Western German 'economic miracle' had the status of guest-workers, which were not entitled to citizenship rights (Bendel, 2014). Those people come especially from peripheral European countries such as Turkey, former Yugoslavia and from Southern European countries like Italy and Greece for example. The intention was that those workers would not stay in West Germany, but they would return to their home countries (Bendel, 2014). Thus, integration was also not seen as necessary, but rather connecting those guest workers to their homelands in order to assure their return was mostly important (Bozgag, 2014).

Even though most guest workers did in fact return home (Bendel, 2014), others decided to stay. This pushed for the first integrationist measures in the 1970's which had two aims: (1) support integration of those who intended to stay and (2) reduce the number of foreigners by incentivizing them to return to their home countries (Bozgag, 2014). This fostered the debate of integration, which presented distinct meanings for the state actors and the civil society – it meant political and administrative integration for the first group and equal rights for Germans and foreigner-born population for the latter (Bendel, 2014).

The first recognition that Germany was indeed an 'immigration country', occurred in a report in 1979 and it demanded better integration policies in especial for young migrants that were arriving via family reunification (Bendel, 2014). According to Bendel (2014), the 1980's could be considered the 'lost decade' with very few policies and innovations. The most significant measure concerned language courses for those who could not speak German and information concerning the labor market, in order to help migrants integrate into the labor market. On the other hand, Bendel (2014) affirms that despite these measures to aid guest-workers' integration, the German government still mostly incentivized return migration.

I.2 Ethnic diversity and integration in East Germany

Immigration in the two Germanys was dealt with in very different ways. While West-Germany largely recruited labor workers from other countries, East-Germany systematically avoided recruiting labor from abroad (Bendel, 2014). The communist government did not stimulate migration in the same way its west counterpart did nor

debated about this theme (Bendel, 2014). At a first moment the German Democratic Republic (GDR) government made efforts to bring back 'Aussiedler' (ethnic Germans that were living outside of Germany) that were living in Poland and did not have a Polish citizenship (Panagiotidis, 2015). By this time it was not clear how this repatriation of ethnic Germans would happen between the two sides of Germany and from 500.000 Germans in Poland that decided to return to Germany, one fourth went to East Germany (Panagiotidis, 2015). Considering the difference in population size (West Germany had a population three times bigger), East-Germany was able to attract a relative proportion of ethnic Germans. Nevertheless, after the 1970's it became clear that Western Germany evolved into the most desired destination (Panagiotidis, 2015).

A second wave from ethnic Germans came from Russia starting by the end of the 1960's (Panagiotidis, 2015). Nevertheless this migration had smaller proportions than the one coming from Poland for mainly one simple reason. In general, ethnic Germans that were trying to return to Germany did not have family members living in East-Germany nor concrete ties to that area. Their main idea was to use East Germany as a stepping stone into resettling in West Germany or West Berlin (Panagiotidis, 2015). Thus the Soviet government was unwilling in allowing such mobility.

At the same time that migration was largely discouraged, the GDR was suffering a shortage of workers and therefore was in need to recruit labor migrants. According to Panagiotidis (2015) GDR authorities gave preference for forming a more homogenous nation, which meant in this case to give preference to the immigration of ethnic Germans. However, there were not enough ethnic Germans to move to the GDR to cover the labor force gap. Therefore, the communist government ended up authorizing contract-workers that came from other socialist countries such as Vietnam, Mozambique, Cuba and other communist countries to move to East-Germany for working purposes (Panagiotidis, 2015). Those labor migrants were kept apart from the local German population and had very strict contracts that hampered longer stays. In that way, those from other ethnicities that came to fill in a labor gap were submitted to strict rotation systems (Panagiotidis, 2015). Weiss (2010 in Großmann et al., 2014a) mentions that after 1989 most guest workers returned home, but not all. Many Vietnamese decided to stay in the country and had their situation legalized in the early 1990's.

The difference in status and permanence between ethnic Germans and other ethnicities resulted in an understanding that integration was not necessary (Panagiotidis, 2015). Given that labor migrants were not allowed to stay longer than

their contract, they were not perceived as migrants. That avoided problems associated with “real” migrants and resulted in a lack of integration policies and measures (Panagiotidis, 2015).

1.3 Ethnic diversity and integration after the German Unification

With the unification of Germany and all ethnic Germans reunited under the same country, the idea of *jus sanguinis* and ethno-nationalism did not hold anymore (Mouritsen, 2012). However, the conditions involving immigrants really demanded for changes after a wave of xenophobic attacks against immigrant population in the early 1990’s, as the cases that happened in the cities of Mölln², Solingen³ and Rostock⁴. Discussions on migrants and integration policies gained space and while some favored more multicultural measures giving more autonomy to ethnic and religious groups, others preferred having a “uniting German *Leitkultur*” (Bozgag, 2014:294). ‘*Leitkultur*’ was, being used by then, as a term associated “with pride in the constitution and political institutions” that should be rooted on a deeper emotional and cultural way. However, *Aussiedler* challenged the idea of having a common ‘German culture’, since most of them were raised in former communist countries and had contrasting cultures (Mouritsen, 2012).

As a result of all discussions concerning integration, following the reunification a new immigrant act “established certain instruments relevant for integration: it laid down the principles of formal judicial equality and equal access to social security, and made integration measures more coordinated” (Bendel, 2014: 3). A new naturalization act was approved in 2000 in which after great discussions enabled the possibility of dual-citizenship (Mouritsen, 2012).

After this period there have been more laws and acts changing integration rules in Germany and we can notice greater concerns and actions on this area. In 2005, a new immigration law passed that was based in two main points: the federal government would offer integration courses based on learning the German-

² On 1992, right-wing extremist attacked two houses of Turkish families, in which resulted in three dead people. More information: http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_image.cfm?image_id=3250

³ On 1993, another arsenal attack took place in Solingen against a Turkish family. More information: http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=3685

⁴ On 1992, a mob of local residents and neo-Nazis attacked a building for asylum seekers in the city of Rostock. More information on: <http://www.spiegel.de/video/20-years-after-rostock-germany-s-shameful-xenophobic-attack-video-1217041.html>

language and on German civilization and culture, and on the other hand, migrants must take a test on this material provided. In 2009, some groups were targeted, such as youth and the government institutionalized counseling for those groups (Bendel, 2014).

Nowadays, Germany does not have one specific level of government responsible for the integration of migrants, and neither is it entirely focused on cultural integration. In next part, I explain how integration policies are organized and the areas that they focus on.

1.3.1 The current integration policy

The first very important aspect of the German integration policy is that there is not one single institution that is responsible for it (Bendel, 2014). Matters and responsibilities are spread within different levels of Government ('*Bund*', '*Länder*' and '*Kommunen*') and different ministries. Therefore, for example freedom of movement, passports, immigration and emigration, and extradition are exclusive matters of the national level. The *Länder* have more space in matters of education and unemployment services, while the municipalities have the right to set executive laws for example. However, in the past decade integration has been observed as mainly a task for the federal government (Bendel, 2014).

In 2006, the "National Integration Plan" was published and later a "National Action Plan", which constituted a great progress in the area. The plan intended to better organize the coordination and networking of the policies across the different levels (horizontal and vertical levels), establishing integration as a cross-cutting issue, and "*demanding regular evaluation on the basis of specific indicators*" (Bendel, 2014:6). It also demands that integration should not only be a responsibility of the state but also from the active civil society (Bendel, 2014).

Measures for integration in Germany concern mainly: promoting the learning of the German-language, integration courses, foster education and employment, cultural integration and increase in civic participation (Bendel, 2014). This plan was elaborated with the participation of all levels of government and actors that could influence integration (Bendel, 2014). Within the parameters established by the plans, each level of government develops policies that should tackle integration.

At the national level most responsibilities concerning integration are attributed to the Home Office (Bundesministerium des Innern, BMI) and its agency, the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (or Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge - BAMF) (Bendel, 2014). Their main fields of action regard, other than

asylum, reception and repatriation, also the coordination and fomenting of language training, educational measures and social integration programs (Bendel, 2014). It is crucial to stress that the BAMF does not have the power to implement policies in education and employment and policies directed at youth for example. Those responsibilities lay within different Ministries and other levels of government. Thus, their main actions were to develop a federal integration program, implement the integration courses for immigrants, foster counselling, supporting projects for social integration of immigrants with a permanent legal status, offering information for migrants and institutions that offer courses targeting migrants (Bendel, 2014:7).

Before explaining more closely the functions of the states, it is essential to observe that migrants are unevenly spread in between them. While Baden-Württemberg is the state with the highest proportion of migrants, there are others that have considerably lower proportions of migrants. In the east for example, area of the old GDR, proportions of migrants are the lowest in the country given the systematic avoidance of labor recruitment during the period of the communist government as it was mentioned before. Thus, states such as Sachsen-Anhalt have only 1,9% of migrants for example (Bendel, 2014).

The states and municipalities are quite autonomous and therefore are free to organize themselves and promote integration actions as it better suits their situation (Bendel, 2014). In this sense for example most states have an integration commissioner at the vertical level that is responsible for realizing the national plans as it is needed in each circumstance. And at the same time municipalities have adopted integration plans on their own, usually promoting diverse concepts aimed at affecting both the immigrant population and the host German society. This results in a perception that integration is problem of the entire community instead of as problems faced by one specific group (Bendel, 2014).

Other than the official government, Germany also relies heavily on non-profit organizations for carrying out integration policies (Bendel, 2014). There are institutions such as trade associations, chambers of commerce, business associations and charity organizations that actively participate in migrant's integration and can be considered the closest peer to migrant individuals. This shows how important it is for the German government to involve the civil society in action plans and for dialogue, and at the same time it relies largely on the involvement of those organizations to carry out many policies (Bendel, 2014).

Youth is the main target group of integration measures (Bendel, 2014). Those actions focus very strongly on education and providing a concrete basis for entering the labor market. As we have seen before, there were no real policies for previous

generations concerning education and training. That has brought consequences to the second generations of those families that are still not well integrated in the German society. Thus, some issues are shared by first and second generation migrants. Bendel (2014) points to the fact that the lack of good German-language skills and the rigidity of the German education system contribute to the disadvantage of the migrant children. As a result, migrant children are, for example, less likely to graduate from school. Bendel (2014) argues that while only 1,8% of German children drop out of school, it happens to 14,2% of children with a migrant background⁵.

The same trend holds for professional qualifications. Bendel (2014) shows that adolescents with a migrant background are over represented in lower forms of education, such as vocational training. On the other hand, migrants and population with a migrant background are underrepresented in higher levels of education. This tendency holds true even for immigrants with the same socioeconomic background as nonimmigrants children, displaying the general tendency of migrants to have lower educational levels as Germans (Bendel, 2014).

Therefore in order to tackle such issues the national plan emphasizes the need of learning the German-language. The federal level subsidizes 600 hours of language courses to those who hold a permanent visa in order to achieve level B1 (intermediate level) to those willing to also apply for the German citizenship. On top of the language skills, the migrant must attend to a 60 lessons course on German culture and laws, and then pass an exam called "Living in Deutschland" (Bendel, 2014).

Another emphasis of the plan concerns the integration of children in the school system (Bendel, 2014). Because the educational system depends on the states, there are several models that are arising in response to those difficulties. Thus, some states are reducing to only two⁶ different kinds of schooling and extending the period in which children are divided and should choose which kind of school to follow (either leading to university level or to lower levels of education) (Bendel, 2014).

⁵ German government refers to migrants as the first generations of people that came to Germany and as people with a migrant background as the second generation of immigrants. In order to be considered as person with a migrant background, at least one of the parents must be foreign-born.

⁶ There were three different kinds of school in the German system. The first one called Förderschule aimed at children with special-needs; Haupt- or Mittelschule and Realschule are kind schools that will not necessarily lead to a University degree; and finally the Gymnasium that can more easily lead to a University degree. In this case of reducing the kinds of school, the Hauptschule is usually being eliminated.

When it comes to employment opportunities, the German government has very little interference and has the tendency of regarding the labor market as an autonomous space (Bendel, 2014). In this circumstance, it is understood that the educational levels greatly influence the outcomes. Therefore, in order to promote higher levels of employment for migrants, vocational trainings and enhancing the general level of education are seen as vital. It is important to note however, that the policies regarding vocational training are not directly targeted at the migrant population, but they aim at the society as whole (Bendel, 2014).

Another difficulty experienced by the migrants relates to the validation of studies done outside Germany. The process of recognition of studies done abroad is often long and arduous. At the sight of a demographic change and in need of qualified workers this is seen as problem to those that intend to immigrate. However, the federal government has created portals of communication in order to attract possible migrants with a desired profile (Bendel, 2014).

More recently new measures were adopted to attract skilled labor to the German Labor market. As mentioned by Großmann et al. (2014a), at the same time that poverty immigration is largely advertised as extremely problematic leading some politicians to argue that Germany cannot handle anymore incoming immigrants, Germany is welcoming those that are highly skilled. Thus, it creates a division line between those that are “good migrants” and those that are “bad migrants”.

As a conclusion, we can notice that Germany’s strategy to tackle integration is very fragmented, not only across government levels and different actors but also across distinct demographic situations, administrative cultures and structural issues (Bendel, 2014). This presents positive and negative points. First, the coordination and communication of actions become very complex. In order to develop one action it is necessary to coordinate it with several institutions and levels of government. On the other hand, it allows that experimentations are done in different places, transforming states and municipalities in cases for good practices (Bendel, 2014). This autonomy for all levels also provides room to adapt policies and actions to the local context, which diverge across the country and between states.

Another important point of the integration approach in Germany is distancing itself from strong ethnic values. Despite still having several measures that could be understood as reinforcing German values onto immigrants, ethnicity is no longer the main way of accessing rights and achieving citizenship. Moreover concerns regarding education and access to employment start to gain greater

attention in integration, signaling an increasing importance of structural integration.

Therefore, we can notice a great change in the discourse and in actions concerning the possibilities of acquiring German citizenship and integration measures. It varied largely from the non-recognition as an immigration destiny and not providing any citizenship rights to guest-workers into acceptance and elaboration of an integration plan in the early 2000s. As we can also note Germany never presented a multicultural approach to integration policies (Lesinska, 2014), going from assimilationist policies to present post-multicultural phase. The process of transformation was very slow at first and the most meaningful changes happened from the end of the 1990's and beginning of 2000's, and thus are fairly recent.

2. Presenting Leipzig

Leipzig is a city located in the northeast of Germany, in the former GDR. In 1989, the city was the stage for the peaceful revolution which also triggered other social movements. One of the concerns by that time was the lack of investments and disregard with built-up areas in the inner city. After the German reunification, Leipzig suffered severe consequences. Within the first year after the turnaournd of 1989/1990, approximately 30.000 inhabitants left Leipzig for West Germany. Within the next 10 years, until 2000, the city would lose about 100.000 inhabitants, almost 20% of its population (Großmann et al., 2014a).

Accompanying this massive population loss, a fast process of deindustrialization was responsible for the loss of over 80% of industrial jobs. Unemployment levels were extremely high going from 10% by 1993 to 20% by 2002. Parallel to this migration to West Germany, Leipzig also experienced a wave of suburbanization, in which close to 20.000 households moved to suburban areas (Großmann et al., 2014a).

After the year 2000 and of several investments made, the city is now regaining population and therefore going through a process of reurbanization. Yet the consequences of this period are still felt in the city that is considered one of the poorest cities in Germany (Großmann et al., 2014a). Leipzig is one of the largest cities in Germany with the highest proportions of poverty and people at risk of falling into poverty (Baumann and Seils, 2014 in Großmann et al., 2014). Thus, shrinkage largely affected the city, and even though that is not the present reality of

Leipzig, consequences can still be felt. So it is important to understand what it means to be a shrinking city and how it influences the cities' development.

Even though urban shrinkage is a relatively new subject of debate, the idea of shrinkage is usually associated with two main aspects: population loss and economic decline. While Pallagst (in Wiechman and Pallagst, 2012: 261) links shrinkage with population loss and structural economic decline only within large areas, other scholars like Bernt (2009) connect the process of city shrinkage to capitalism and to the natural process of attracting investments or not. Some other scholars point to the possibilities of having bench marks for shrinkage, as for example Delken (in Bernt, 2009), who states that a certain city can only be called a 'shrinking city' if it suffered population loss by 3% or more over a 15 years period of time.

However, one of the most complete definitions and understanding from shrinkage comes from Haase et al. (2013:4), who define the concept of urban shrinkage as *"an empirical phenomenon resulting from the interplay of changing drivers of shrinkage at different spatial levels that produces a decline in population at local scale"*. This given definition encompasses different possible drivers and implies the possibility of happening anywhere, whether one block in a neighborhood or a whole region of a country. However, there is a consensus that shrinkage should be analyzed at local scale, given that national demographic and economic trajectories are unable to explain why a region or a city shrinks (Haase et al., 2013).

When trying to understand why shrinkage happens, most researches identify as the main drivers for urban shrinkage as being economic decline (Haase et al., 2013; Bernt, 2009; Martinez-Fernandez et al, 2012; Weichmann and Pallagst; 2012; Moss, 2008). This also means that there will be severe consequences that cities will have to cope with throughout a long period of time (Haase et al., 2013). The consequences are innumerable, from governance to infrastructure, from housing to urban fabric perforation, and are all somehow interconnected. Here I will focus more closely on how shrinkage affects local governance, so we can better understand how this context can shape reactions to identified issues in the city.

When a city experiences high population loss, one of the first consequences is the decrease in revenues for the municipality (Bernt, 2009). Without enough revenue, infrastructure becomes more expensive, given that there are minimum costs for it to run efficiently. In a shrinking city the biggest costs are related to maintaining infrastructure, and thus, very little revenue is left for investing in new projects and programs that could benefit the city (Bernt, 2009). Another immediate

consequence is the increase in the number of housing vacancy (Martinez-Fernandez et al, 2012; Haase et al, 2013). Empty buildings can have a dramatic influence in cities, especially small ones, with potential for impacting on life quality by devaluing properties, increasing criminality and losing part of the shopping, cultural and sports activities in the city (Martinez-Fernandez et al, 2012). The urban fabric is also affected by such factors, and as a result, many shrinking cities present brownfields and the pattern of 'urban perforation', especially in the German case (Schetke and Haase, 2008). Thus, it is noticeable that a quick and meaningful population loss brings several consequences to municipalities, which are all related and demand an integral approach.

As mentioned, local governance usually faces severe problems with revenue decrease, irreducible costs despite decreasing population, rising expenditure per capita, additional costs due to internal migration (suburbanization) and costs from marketing and incentives to attract new investors (Bernt, 2009). The combination between population loss and economic decline affect directly the municipalities' budget, creating a difficult situation for local governments.

In order to fight this issue, there are only a few options, which might not necessarily be feasible. One option is to raise taxes, as a consequence rising expenditure; another possibility is to cut services, downsize and reorganize public administration; and finally there is the possibility of reengaging in economic development activities seeking new investments and increasing indigenous taxes (Bernt, 2009). In the German context, some of these possibilities can be limited by the national policy, such as raising local taxes and the cut back of services.

However, there is still a fourth option that is the most used by German cities: the mobilization of federal resources in the form of grants and changing some local responsibilities to the federal government (Bernt, 2009). In some German cities, this can represent up to 50% of their budget, as in Leipzig for example. As a consequence there is an increasing dependency from local governments to the national one, also turning them more susceptible to changes on the national sphere.

Nevertheless, achieving those grants might not be an easy task, demanding administrative capability and human resources, what can be a potential problem for a shrinking city. Moreover, German federal funds are allocated according to the cities total population. Therefore bigger cities like Leipzig are more likely to receive bigger transfers and might have better possibilities of making more meaningful investments, while smaller shrinking cities also see their federal transfer diminish, aggravating even more their financial situation, and creating an important nexus between population and city budget (Bernt, 2009).

According to studies by Jörg Pohlan and Jürgen Wixforth (in Bernt, 2009) an average shrinking city is able to generate nearly 40% of the revenue of other West German cities. In this scenario, cuts on the budget are essential. Personal and fixed assets are many times sacrificed. However, with high index of unemployment the outlay with social security benefits raises. As a consequence nine out ten Euros of taxes have to be spent on social welfare. (Bernt, 2009)

Leipzig however finds itself in a transition moment. After years shrinking, after the year 2000 the city started to regain population going through a process of reurbanization. Despite this regain in population, revenues are not necessarily increasing in the same proportions, given that the city is mostly attracting a young population formed by students, apprentices and young professionals, aged in their 20-30s (Kabisch et al., 2010). Those young people and having smaller households are the main drivers that are conditioning the reurbanization process in Leipzig (Kabisch et al., 2010).

Among newcomers international migrants can be found as well. There is not one specific profile of migrants that arrive in Leipzig, but a mixture of different countries and with different socioeconomic, educational and cultural background. In the next section I will analyze show who are the migrants in Leipzig are.

2.1 Immigrants in Leipzig

As mentioned before, the former GDR government systematically avoided recruiting workers from different ethnicities to work in East Germany, limiting period of stay and number of migrants aiming mostly at creating a highly homogenous society. Those policies are reflected in today's proportion of migrant population in the "new states" of Germany, being the states and municipalities with the lowest proportions of non-Germans within Germany. From those that were able to settle in Leipzig, it can be noticed that the majority belonged to former communist countries, such as Vietnam, URSS and Poland that largely differentiated from the happenings in Western Germany. In order to have a better understanding of who are those migrants in Leipzig nowadays, the municipality produced a publication on the statistics of the city concerning immigrants for the year of 2012, with statistics from 2011.

According to this latest report there were 44.409 foreigners and Germans with migration background⁷ in Leipzig, corresponding to 8,6% of the total population. From those, 26.672 are foreigners, or 5,2% of the total population, and another 17.737, 3,4%, are Germans with migration background. The largest immigrant groups are Russians, followed by Ukrainians and Vietnamese (Leipzig, 2012a).

On average, immigrants are younger than the German population. While the average age of the German population in Leipzig is 44,9 years old, for the immigrant population that average age is 32 years old. Thus we can notice that the majority of immigrants and persons with migrant background are not for long in the city, being mostly new comers or families with children or teenagers (Leipzig, 2012a).

According to the report released in 2011 the areas that had the most immigrants were Zentrum-Südost, Neustadt-Neuschönefeld, Volksmarsdorf, Reudnitz-Thonberg and Gohlis-Süd. However, after updating this information at their official website⁸, differences can be noticed within the total numbers and where those migrants are concentrating on. Some neighborhoods have entered the list, while other neighborhoods have left it within 3 years, as we can compare in table 2.

Moreover it is very important to point out that despite the new influxes of migrants and dynamism within the city, immigrants are not equally distributed in Leipzig. Their concentration in some specific areas is noticeable, while the majority of neighborhoods in Leipzig remain with very little percentage of immigrants. It is also important to note that despite the list of the neighborhoods with the highest proportions of foreigners changed, foreigners are, and have been, centrally located and most the areas in the outskirts of the city still count with very low proportions of foreigners.

Moreover, even though some neighborhoods have high proportions of immigrants, Leipzig does not show meaningful proportions of immigrants when compared with the national averages for example. As a comparison for the year of 2013, the average city in Germany⁹ had about 9,5% of foreigner population and

⁷ As mentioned before a German with migration background concerns the second generation of migrants here in Germany. Those who have at least one parent that is foreigner-born are accounted for in this statistics.

⁸ Statistik und Wahlen is the official department responsible for the statistics of the city. Their official website is: <http://statistik.leipzig.de>

⁹ Data from Statistisches Bundesamt, 2013 - <https://www.destatis.de/EN/Homepage.html> - consulted on 18/03/2015

20,5% of population with a migrant background. These same averages in Leipzig¹⁰ are significantly smaller, being of 6% for foreigner population and almost 10% of Germans with a migrant background. On the other hand, compared to the average in Sachsen, percentages can be considered high. Above we see a table with the numbers relative to neighborhoods that concentrate the most of foreigners and population with a migrant background and a map localizing them within Leipzig.

Neighborhood	Number in the map	Foreigners (2013)	% Population with migrant background % - (2013)
Zentrum-Südost	1	24,9%	32,6%
Volkmarsdorf	2	22,7%	32,5%
Neustadt-Neuschönefeld	3	21,6%	32,2%
Zentrum	4	20,6%	25,1%
Zentrum-Nord	5	12,4%	17,8%
Zentrum-West	6	11,6%	18,4%
Lindenau	7	9,9%	14,7%
Zentrum-Ost	8	9,9%	14,2%
Hartmannsdorf-Knautnaundorf	9	9,5%	9,9%
AltLindenau	10	9,1%	13,5%

Table 2: Neighborhoods with the highest proportions of foreigners in Leipzig, 2013. Data source: Stadt Leipzig, 2015¹¹ - author's elaboration.

¹⁰ Consulted at the website: <http://statistik.leipzig.de> on 17/03/2015

¹¹ Consulted at the website: <http://statistik.leipzig.de/%28S%28c1n2ukqvhzemqx55ucqdqq55%29%29/index.aspx> on 17/03/2015

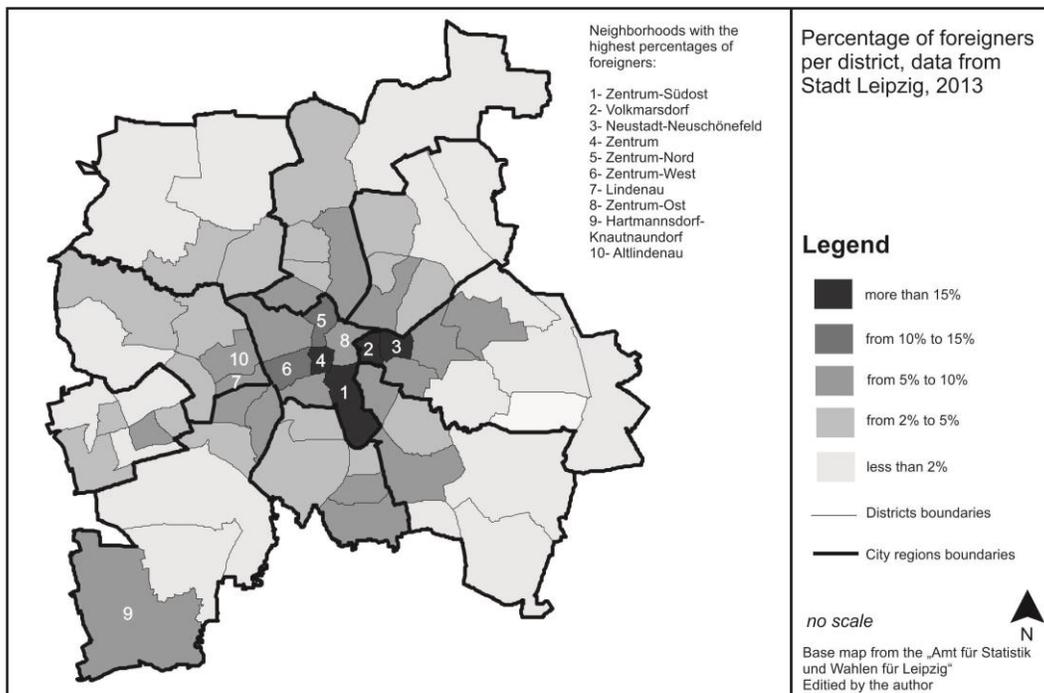


Figure 2: Distribution of foreigners per district in Leipzig, 2013. Data source: Stadt Leipzig, 2015¹² - author's elaboration.

One area that is being analyzed by this report concerns employment and social benefits. As stated by Großmann et al. (2014a), Leipzig is a poor city, with high levels of unemployment, people dependent on social benefits and lower income levels when compared to large cities in West Germany and the average of the country. This report analyzes the proportion of migrants and people with a migration background contributing or being dependent on the welfare system. Contributing to social welfare system in Germany are all workers and employees that are higher-paid or people going under vocational training. Civil-servants, self-employed people, part-time workers and low-paid positions do not contribute to the social welfare system. On the other hand, those dependent on the welfare system are usually either unemployed, retired, sick or present a situation in which they cannot or are not able to find work (Leipzig, 2012a).

The numbers presented in the report concerns only third-country nationals that need proper authorization for working such as work-permit visa. Other difficulties that the foreign population goes through to be able to work and

¹² Consultated at the website:
<http://statistik.leipzig.de/%28S%28c1n2ukqvhzemqx55ucqdqq55%29%29/index.aspx> on 17/03/2015

contribute to the welfare system concerns the educational barriers, either regarding their insufficient qualifications or difficulties in the recognition and acceptance of their degrees. Insufficient language skills and prejudice are also potential obstacles mentioned by the report (Leipzig, 2012a).

Notwithstanding the number of foreigners contributing to the German welfare system and proportion of contributions have been increasing since 2002. The proportions of migrants contributing rose in this period from 1,5% in 2002 to 2,6% in 2012 (Stadt Leipzig, 2012a). This shows that more foreigners are able to have jobs in the recent years and/or that employers might be more willing to employ foreigners than some years ago.

The report also published a map in which shows the percentages of immigrants contributions per neighborhood. The map was extracted from the report:

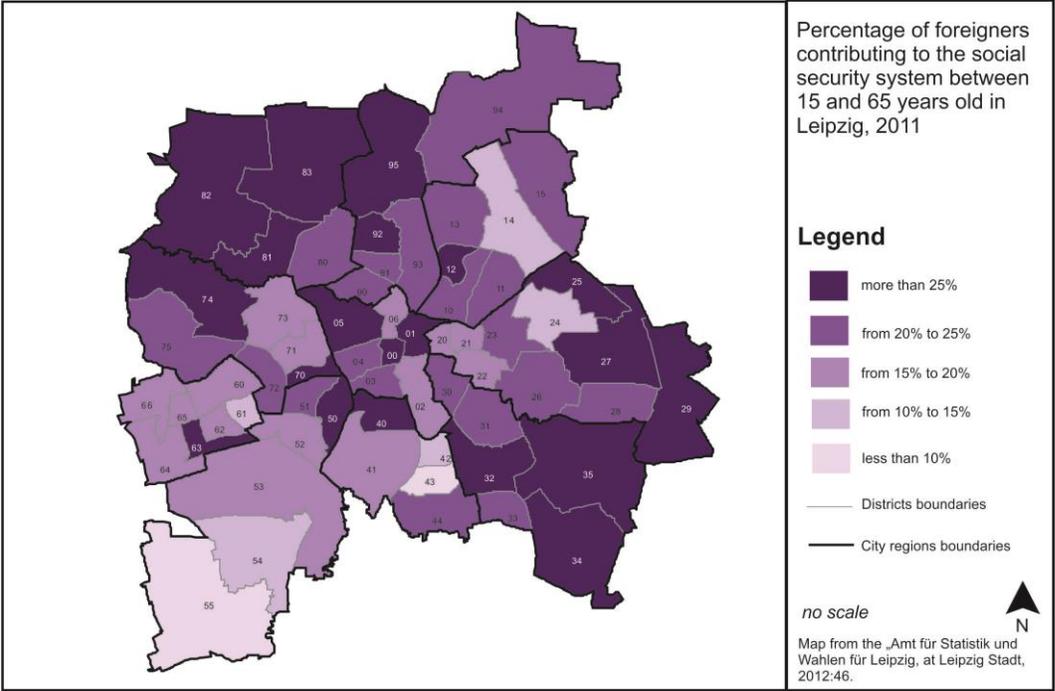


Figure 3: Percentages of foreigners contributing to the social security system per neighborhood, 2011. Source: Stadt Leipzig, 2012a:40

In this map above, it is noticed in darker colors the highest proportions of migrants that are contributing to the welfare system. When comparing this map with the previous one, which shows the distribution of immigrants in Leipzig, it is noticed

that most of the areas that are highly contributing are not necessarily the ones with the higher proportion of foreigners. It is observable that areas with lower proportions of foreigners in suburban areas are responsible for the higher percentages, while some areas downtown present higher proportions of foreigners and low proportions of contributors. This map could be an indicator to areas in which immigrants are doing better, displaying possible living patterns of high skilled migrants.

At the same time that there is a relative high proportion of migrants that contribute to the welfare system, there is also a greater number of foreigners that are currently unemployed and therefore dependent on it (Leipzig, 2012a). By the statistics shown at Leipzig municipality's website¹³ the proportion of unemployment has been decreasing for the whole city and for foreigners. While in 2008 the general unemployment rate was 13,6%, for foreigners it was considerably higher reaching 26,3%. Those numbers reduced and for the year of 2014 the general unemployment rate is 9,9%, while for foreigners it is 20,7%. Even though the proportion of unemployment is still very high for foreigners, it has been dropping within the past years.

It is interesting to note that the percentages of unemployment are unevenly spread in the territory, concentrating higher levels of unemployment in certain areas. As provided by the report, it is possible to observe which neighborhoods were the ones concentrating more vulnerable conditions in 2011. The map goes as follows:

¹³ Data from the Destatis – Statistisches Bundesamt, available at: <https://www.destatis.de/EN/FactsFigures/NationalEconomyEnvironment/LabourMarket/Unemployment/Unemployment.html> - consulted on 13/06/2015

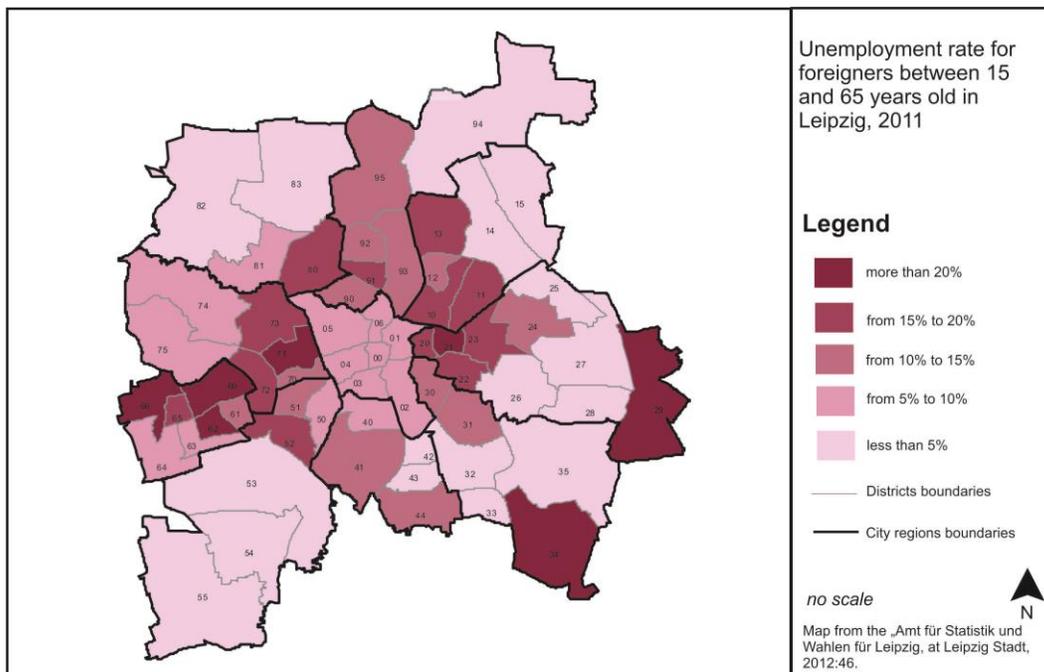


Figure 4: Unemployment rate among foreigners by neighborhood, 2011. Source: Stadt Leipzig, 2012:44

It is identified by this report that in neighborhoods such as Neustadt-Neuschönefeld and Volksmarsdorf one out of four foreigners is unemployed, being in east Leipzig where the highest levels of immigrant unemployment are. As presented by the report those are also the two areas in which the most foreigners receive social benefits such as the ALG II (Arbeitslosengeld II) for unemployed persons.

The next analyzed theme deals with criminality. In 2011, 12,1% of crimes' suspects were non-German. The number has been lower by 2008 reaching 10% of non-German having been suspected of committing crime. Despite Russians being the largest group in Leipzig, they are not usually pointed as suspects of crimes. On top of the list are Vietnamese followed by Iraqis and Turks. However, only 9% of crime convicted people in 2011 were non-Germans. This section also shows some statistics for xenophobic attacks. In 2009, 10 xenophobic attacks were registered, 12 in 2010 and 13 attacks in 2011, thus increasing throughout the past years (Stadt Leipzig, 2012a).

Lastly, the report tries to analyze the relationship between Germans and immigrants. In their survey some questions were asked relating contact with immigrants, feeling of belonging, work, political participation and the immigrant's adaption. When it comes to contact, 55% of Germans reported having direct contact

with foreigners and therefore 45% having irregular contact. This percentage is relatively low when compared to other German cities in the West, in which about 80% of Germans have regular contact with immigrants.

Given the concentration of foreigners and immigrants, it is expected that most of the regular contacts would not happen at their own residential neighborhoods. Thus, 29% of Germans have regular contact with immigrants at the work environment, 20% among friends and acquaintances, 19% in their own neighborhood, 10% at an educational facility and 8% reported having contact with foreigners at the club or having some sort of relationship with one (Stadt Leipzig, 2012a).

In order to evaluate the quality of such contacts people were asked to classify these contacts as very positive, positive, not positive nor negative, negative or very negative. In total the report shows that only 5% of the people of Leipzig stated that this contact is negative or very negative. The majority, 64% stated that contact with foreigners is positive or very positive. Germans from 18 to 34 years old represented the greatest proportion of people that classified immigrant contact as very negative or negative, with 7% of respondents. Surprisingly people aged from 65 to 85 years old were the largest group that declared this contact as positive, with 54% of responses (Stadt Leipzig, 2012a).

In the sequence, some sentences were presented in which respondents should say whether they completely agree, agree, not agree nor disagree, disagree or completely disagree. The first sentence is "The foreigner living in Leipzig contributes to the cultural enrichment of our city" (translated by the author). The highest proportion of respondents declared that foreigners neither contribute nor hinder the cultural enrichment of Leipzig, with 44% of respondents. 32% of respondents agree or completely agreed to this statement and 24% disagree or completely disagreed to this statement (Stadt Leipzig, 2012a). Below we can see a chart with the percentages of the answers regarding this statement:

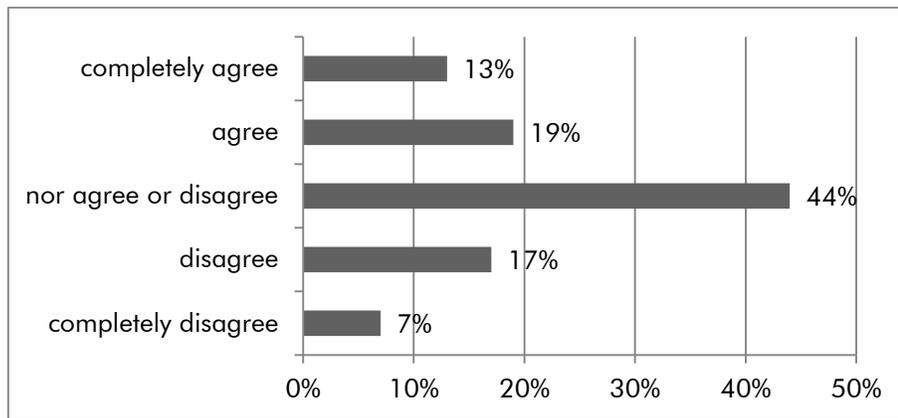


Figure 5: Percentage of answers regarding the statement “The foreigner living in Leipzig contributes to the cultural enrichment of our city”. Stadt Leipzig, 2012a. Graphic elaborated by the author.

The second statement was “Due to the many foreigners in Leipzig one feels increasingly as a stranger in his/her own city” (translated by the author). For this question, 23% of people didn’t really agree nor disagree with this statement, while another 56% disagreed or completely disagreed with this sentence. Thus, 21% agreed or completely agreed to this statement (Stadt Leipzig, 2012a). The chart below shows the percentages of each answer:

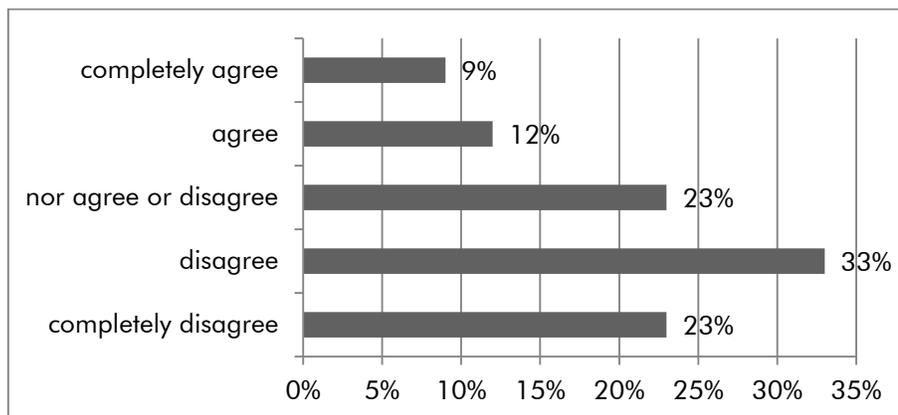


Figure 6: Percentage of answers regarding the statement “Due to the many foreigners in Leipzig one feels increasingly as a stranger in his/her own city”. Stadt Leipzig, 2012a. Graphic elaborated by the author

The third statement was “Foreigners take away work places from Germans” (translated by the author). Here, 72% of respondents declared that they disagree with or completely disagree with this statement. Another 19% neither agreed nor

disagreed with this sentence (Stadt Leipzig, 2012a). Below we can see a chart regarding the answers given:

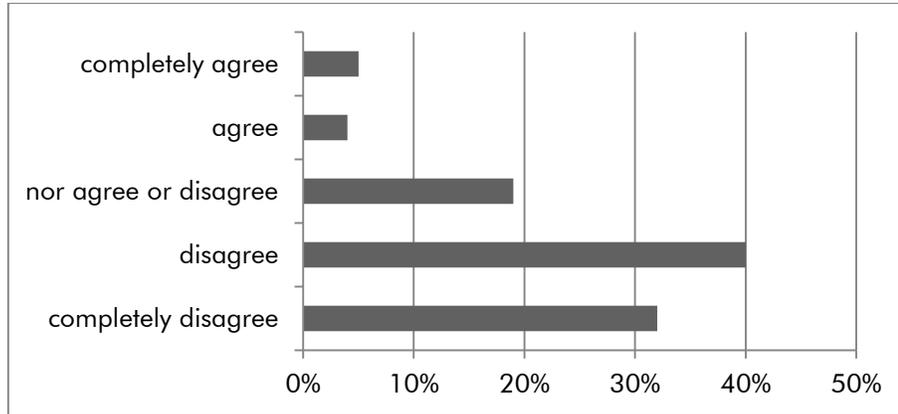


Figure 7: Percentage of answers regarding the statement “Foreigners take away work places from Germans”. Stadt Leipzig, 2012a. Graphic elaborated by the author.

The phrase “Foreigners should adapt their lifestyle to the German lifestyle” (translated by the author) counted with 52% of respondents agreeing or completely agreeing with this affirmation and 38% neither disagreeing nor agreeing (Stadt Leipzig, 2012a). Below we can see more in detail the answers provided:

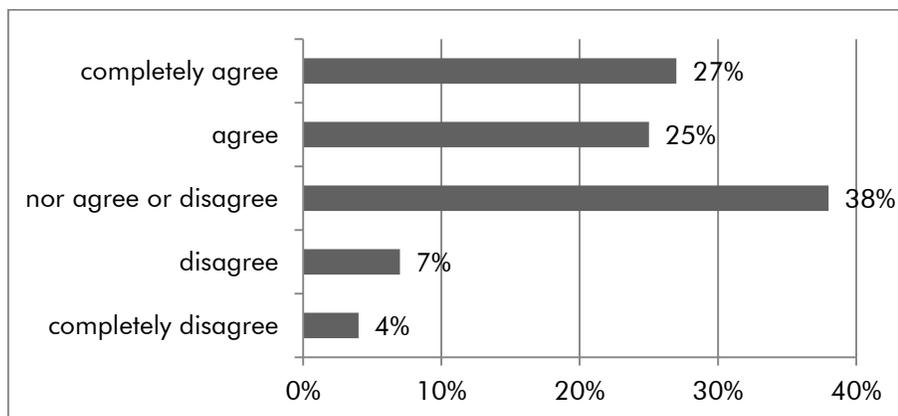


Figure 8: Percentage of answers regarding the statement “Foreigners should adapt their lifestyle to the German lifestyle”. Stadt Leipzig, 2012a. Graphic elaborated by the author.

The next affirmation was “Foreigners do the work that Germans are not willing to do” (translated by the author). To this statement 41% neither disagreed nor

agreed to it and 31% disagreed or completely disagreed to it (Stadt Leipzig, 2012a). Below we can check the answers provided concerning this statement:

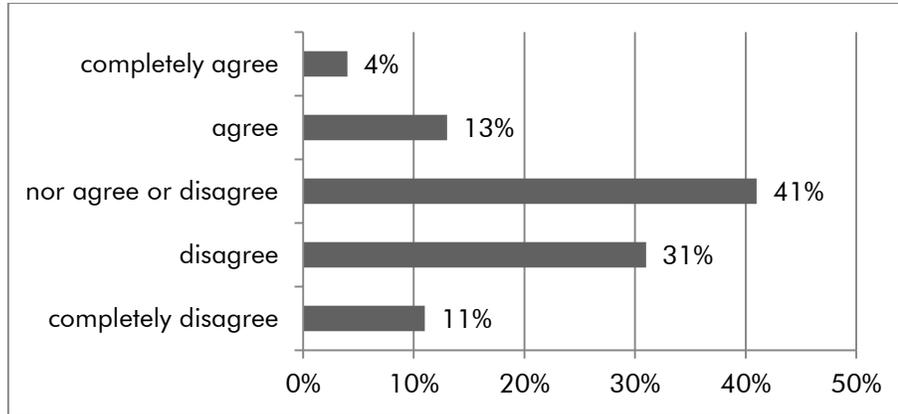


Figure 9: Percentage of answers regarding the statement “Foreigners do the work that Germans are not willing to do”. Stadt Leipzig, 2012a. Graphic elaborated by the author.

The last sentence was “One should prohibit foreigners of pursuing any political activity” (translated by the author). 61% of respondents disagreed or completely disagreed with this statement and therefore believe that foreigners should take part in political activities (Stadt Leipzig, 2012a). The chart below shows the answers more in detail:

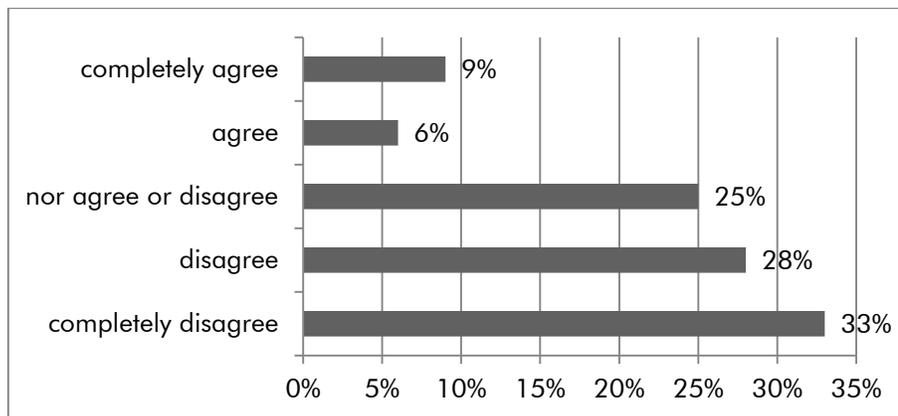


Figure 10: Percentage of answers regarding the statement “One should prohibit foreigners of pursuing any political activity”. Stadt Leipzig, 2012a. Graphic elaborated by the author.

It is interesting to observe that unemployed people were the group that provided with the most negative answers towards foreigners and thus could point to

a greater difficulty for this group to accept and tolerate foreigners (Stadt Leipzig, 2012a).

One conclusion drawn by the report is that Germans that have more regular contact with foreigners are more tolerant than those with irregular contact. Those that have more contact with immigrants were more likely to answer positively to the statements which point foreigners as an asset and incentivizing foreigners to participate more actively in political activities. Therefore, the report indicates that there is a tendency of those that have higher contact with foreigners to have more positive attitudes towards them.

However, one can notice that the population of Leipzig might desire the homogenization of its society. Despite the very low percentage of foreigners in the city, percentages concerning the desire that foreigners completely adopt the German lifestyle are high, showing maybe some intolerance towards ethnic diversity and its different lifestyles.

Despite providing numbers that relate education and immigrants, the report does not show the highest levels of education achieved by the immigrant population. This report estimates merely how many immigrants are in each level of education, as in day-care facilities, middle-school, high-school and higher level of education. However, it is important to also note that schools are not obligated to share their numbers with the municipality and therefore the total numbers and main concerns could only be assessed with some difficulties.

It can also be observed that some areas are more deprived than others. For example the neighborhoods of Volkmarshdorf and Neuschönefeld-Neustadt are areas concentrating one of the highest proportions of vulnerable people. This is also the reason why these areas are also receiving national funds in order to improve life-quality, as we will see later on policies analyses.

2.2 Case study area: Neustadt-Neuschönefeld and Volkmarsdorf

Neustadt-Neuschönefeld and Volkmarsdorf are two districts in the east part of Leipzig, in the surroundings of the city center. This area suffered heavy damages after the World War II, and conditions were quite unfavorable to continue with its main activities (Stadt Leipzig, 2000). In this area there were several publishers and book printers and it was known to be a Graphical Quartier. The GDR government neither invested in the recuperation of this area nor maintained the buildings that could be conserved (Stadt Leipzig, 2000).

Only after the unification there were opportunities to renew parts of this area. Neustädter Markt, Neuschönefeld and Reudnitz were the areas that received the first investments and support (Stadt Leipzig, 2000). However it is observed that these fragmented investments resulted in significant differences in the urban environment, and affected the overall development of the neighborhood. After the refurbishing of most parts of the city, the fact of still having older non renovated buildings contributed to lack of competitiveness of the neighborhood (Stadt Leipzig, 2000). Therefore great efforts in the built environment were demanded as much as structural poverty reduction investments.

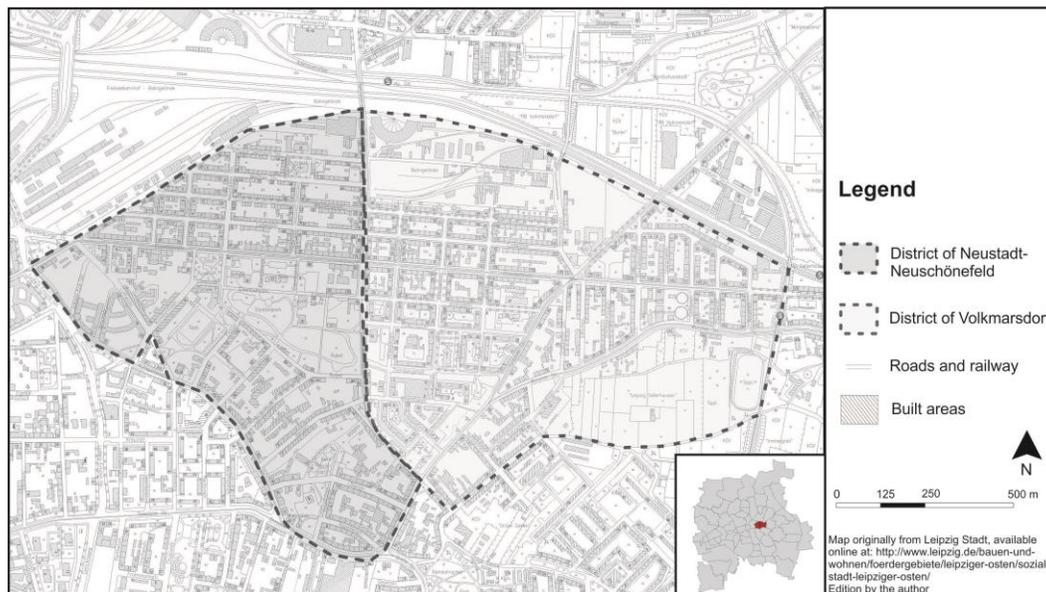


Figure 11: Boundaries of the districts Neustadt-Neuschönefeld and Volkmarsdorf. Base map Stadt Leipzig, online at: <http://www.leipzig.de/bauen-und-wohnen/foerdergebiete/leipziger-osten/soziale-stadt-leipziger-osten/>. Edited by the author.

As I have mentioned these districts concerns two of the highest proportions of foreigners and Germans with migration background. However it is also important to note that those areas are not homogenous nor concentrate all the same proportions of foreigners. Physical and social characteristics vary considerably within this area. Therefore, using the sub-area division of the Development Plan for Leipzig-East, I will present these sub-areas and their main characteristics. Below we can see the general map illustrating those areas and in sequence I will briefly introduce them.

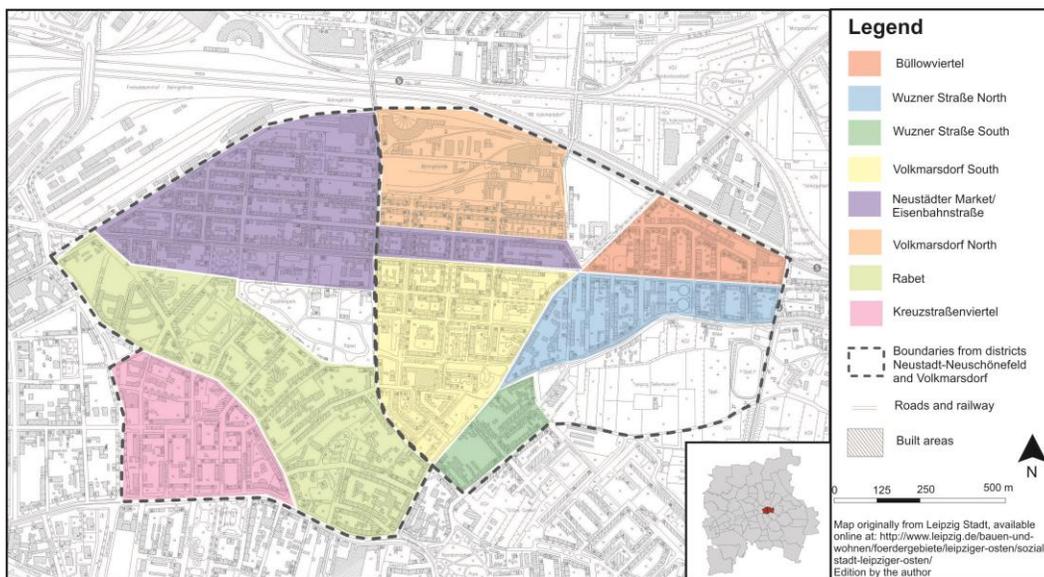
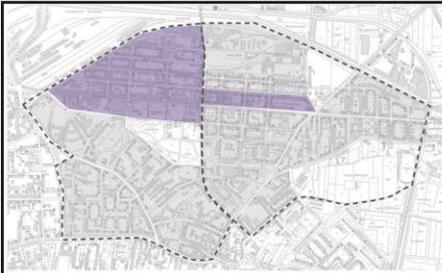


Figure 12: Sub-division of the case study area. Base map Stadt Leipzig, online at: <http://www.leipzig.de/bauen-und-wohnen/foerdergebiete/leipziger-osten/soziale-stadt-leipziger-osten/>. Edited by the author.



Neustädter-Market/ Eisenbahnstraße

Characteristics

Despite having a large share of its housing stock renovated, rents are still low in this area. Residents of this area are considerably young and there are high proportions of both immigrants and low-income households. Another important characteristic is that the Eisenbahnstraße is one of the most important commercial areas of Leipzig-East.

In this area there are 19,7% of unemployment and 29,2% of foreigners.

Photos information (from the left to the right):

1. Building under renovation in Neustädter-Market area; 2. Renovated building in Neustädter-Market area; 3. Crossing between Eisenbahnstraße and Hermann-Liebmann Straße; 4- Eisenbahnstraße

Photos by the author

Information: Stadt Leipzig, Stek-Leo, 2013, data from 2010



Figure 13: Area file – Neustädter-Market/ Eisenbahnstraße



Rabet

Characteristics

This area is socially very diverse, with young families, elderly people, immigrants and students. Demand for housing in area are high. Rents prices are also higher than on average for Leipzig-East, but still is in the medium segment when compared to Leipzig.

The area has only 14% of its inhabitants unemployed and almost 15% of its inhabitants are foreigners.

Photos information (from the left to the right):

1. New development closer to the downtown area; 2. Typical building types at the Kohlgartenstraße; 3. Rabet Park; 4. Buildings in front of the Elsa Park

Photos by the author.

Information: Stadt Leipzig, Stek-Leo, 2013, data from 2010

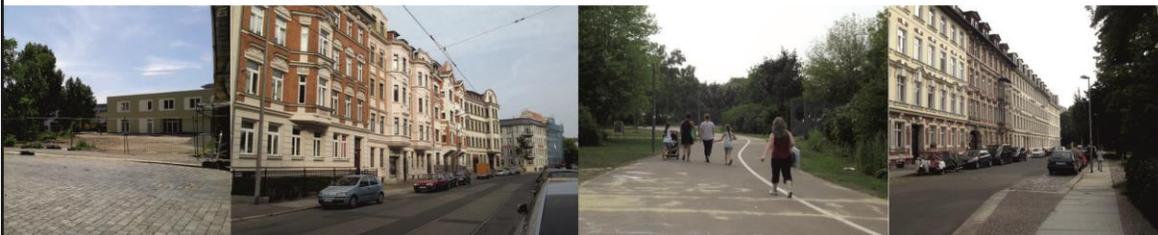
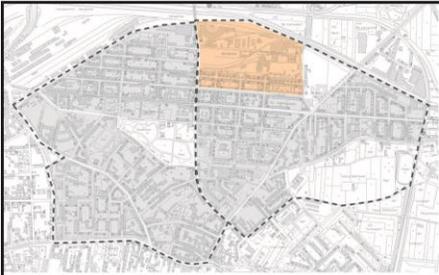


Figure 14: Area file - Rabet



Volkmarsdorf North

Characteristics

This area still has a large housing stock that has not been renovated, and thus, rents are considerably low and the vacancy rate is high. This area also has a high percentage of low-income households.

This neighborhood has 23,2% of unemployed persons and 22,2% of foreigners among its inhabitants.

Photos information (from the left to the right):

1 and 2. typical building for the area; 3. Graffiti stating that „No one is illegal“; 4. New kindergarten built in the area.

Photos by the author

Information: Stadt Leipzig, Stek-Leo, 2013, data from 2010



Figure 15: Area file – Volkmarsdorf North



Volkmarsdorf South

Characteristics

This area has a large stock of affordable housing and most households can be classified as having a low-income. The number of migrants and persons with a migration background has been increasing lately. This area has also schooling options and it is believed that it has a guaranteed demand in the future giving the need of housing states faced by Leipzig.

The percentage of foreigners reached 15,8% of the total residents and there are 21,2% of inhabitants of this area were unemployed.

Photos information (from the left to the right):

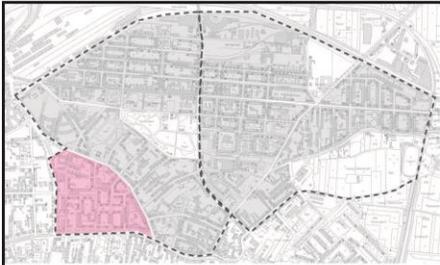
1. New kindergarten in the area; 2. Old school; 3 and 4. Housing stock of the area.

Photos by the author

Information: Stadt Leipzig, Stek-Leo, 2013, data from 2010



Figure 16: Area file – Volkmarsdorf South



Kreuzstraßenviertel

Characteristics

This area is located closely to the city and center and is one of the areas in Leipzig East that still has housing built in the GDR time. Residents from this area are older than the average in Leipzig East. The housing stock is partially renovated, so there are still buildings and apartments that need to go through renovation process.

It has about 15,5% of foreigners within its residents and about 20% of unemployment.

Photos information (from the left to the right):

1. Renovated housing stock; 2. Older housing stock from the GDR time; 3. Ongoing renovation process in the neighborhood; 4. School of the area

Photos by the author

Information: Stadt Leipzig, Stek-Leo, 2013, data from 2010



Figure 17: Area file - Kreuzstraßenviertel



Büllowviertel

Characteristics

Housing market in this area is becoming very dynamic and the neighborhood finds itself in a clear renovation process. Despite the high vacancy in the neighborhood, the renovation process is being lead mostly by cooperatives. Alternative forms of renovation are being put to the test here, as the housing projects. In these projects people transform the building in communities and renovate the buildings with very low-costs.

There are 18,9% of unemployed persons and 15,1% of foreigners among residents.

Photos information (from the left to the right):

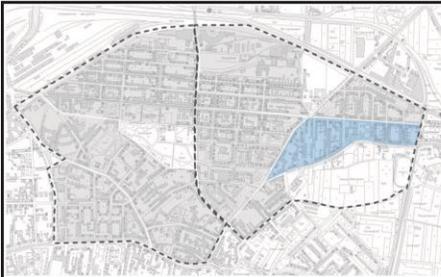
1. Building in need of renovation; 2. Renovation of building in the neighborhood; 3. Renovated housing; 4. Housing project.

Photos by the author

Information: Stadt Leipzig, Stek-Leo, 2013, data from 2010



Figure 18: Area file - Büllowviertel



Wurzner Straße Viertel North

Characteristics

This area has several brownfields due to the demolition financed by the program „Stadt-Umbau Ost“. Rent prices are quite low and the social structure from the neighborhood is diverse.

Unemployment affects 22% of the population living in this area and it has 16,7% of foreigners.

Photos information (from the left to the right):

1. Buildings are in diverse conservation situation; 2. Typical building typology for the area; 3 and 4. Brownfields, signs of the demolition that has taken place in the neighborhood.

Photos by the author

Information: Stadt Leipzig, Stek-Leo, 2013, data from 2010



Figure 19: Area file – Wurzner Straße Viertel North



Wurzner Straße Viertel South

Characteristics

The area is partially renovated, while the western area is dominated by commercial buildings and brownfields, the eastern part of the neighborhood has high percentage of buildings renovated.

Unemployment in the area affects 19,2% of the population and 12,4% of its inhabitants are foreigners.

Photos information (from the left to the right):

1. Commercial area; 2. Small green area and renovated buildings; 3 and 4. Typical building type for the area.

Photos by the author

Information: Stadt Leipzig, Stek-Leo, 2013, data from 2010



Figure 20: Area file – Wurzner Straße Viertel South

3 Policies in Leipzig

Following the same idea of the federal policies, there is not only one single planning document that deals with the integration of migrants. There are several documents that were created in order to deal with this topic. Here, I will mention 4 documents those being: the “Overall concept for immigrant integration”, the “Integrated Development Concept for Leipzig”, the “Integrated Development Concept for the district of Leipzig-East” and finally the “Municipal overall strategy for democracy and diversity”.

3.1 Overall concept for the integration of immigrants in Leipzig

Leipzig adopted an integration policy (“Gesamtkonzept zur Integration der Migrantinnen und Migranten in Leipzig”) in 2012 in response to the guidelines established by two other previous documents: the “Agenda 21” and the “Integrated Development Concept for Leipzig” (“Stadtentwicklungskonzept” – also referred to as SeKo). The plan’s main aim is to define a strategy into tackling the integration of migrants, dividing responsibilities among municipal departments and some civil society organizations and to foster a welcome culture in the society, thus reducing the possibility of conflicts (Stadt Leipzig, 2012b).

Following the idea of the national plan, Leipzig’s local plan for integration deals with this subject as a cross-cutting theme to be debated among several departments and actors and considers education as the main point for integration. Nevertheless, it is organized in eight different points: education, training and employment, health care and health promotion, socio-spatial integration, intercultural and interreligious dialogue, intercultural orientation and opening, political participation and combating discrimination and racism.

The plan also explicitly states avoiding to use the term ‘integration’ (of migrants) and instead prefers terms that have a more positive connotation such as ‘inclusion’, ‘participation’ and ‘diversity’. It seems like an intention of stepping out of ideas of assimilation that could enforce the obligation of the migrant to adopt a German lifestyle. However, later I will point some misconceptions within the plan that might contradict this desire.

It is also important to note that despite the plan’s intention of being valid for the entire city and for all migrants, the perception one has is that it was developed

having the area of Leipzig East in mind and therefore it seems to be more specifically designed for the migrants in this area. Throughout the entire plan this part of the city is referred to either by mentioning some projects developed that should continue, for example, to pointing out what difficulties are faced by migrants in this region. For example, the section dedicated to spatial integration is entirely around this part of the city. Moreover, other areas of the city are not mentioned at all, and the reader might have one of the impressions: either that there are only immigrants in this part of the city and/or that foreigners in this area pose as a problem.

Leipzig's 'Integration Plan' approaches integration as a structural issue, concerning largely for matters such as education and employment. These areas are the ones that raised the most concerns and that are considered primary for migrant's integration. The other very important measure pointed by the plan addresses learning the German language, which is perceived as a factor that could also foster improvements in several areas as education, labor market inclusion and health care for example, and could be considered as main factor for integration.

Another characteristic of the plan regards the target population. Even though it does mention different groups within migrants, such as skilled migrants, or immigrants that come from other EU- countries for example, the vast majority of measures and actions aim at deprived groups within immigrants. There is a great effort in trying to analyze in which ways this population lags behind and that could result in a possible marginalization process. Thus the plan proposes several measures that seek to improve migrant's access to chances and opportunities.

When connecting the issues identified by the plan with Young's (1990) theory of justice, it is noticeable that the plan addresses four forms of injustice and proposes measures to improve issues related to those conditions. Hence, exploitation, marginalization, cultural imperialism and powerlessness are in one way or another approached by the plan. However, violence is the form of oppression that is not mentioned at all by this integration plan.

In relation to exploitation¹⁴, the plan identifies that most immigrants do not have high qualifications and thus are more likely to have an underpaid employment (Stadt Leipzig, 2012b). The plan also identifies that most immigrant children do not achieve an educational level as high as native children do, alarming for the possibility of in the future, for those children to also end up in low paying

¹⁴ Just to remember, exploitation is connected to the transfer of one's work results to another group and in which benefits go to the latter group (Young, 1990).

employments that only propagate socioeconomic vulnerability (Stadt Leipzig, 2012b). The plan mainly approaches issues regarding exploitation at the chapters that refer to education and employment. Proposed measures involve mostly stimulating immigrants to upgrade their skills through vocational trainings and to encourage immigrant children to achieve higher levels of education. It is also pointed as extremely important by the plan to tackle this disadvantage from a very early age. In this manner, parents are urged to enroll their children in day-care facilities, in which children will be able to more easily learn and master the German-language, consequently also improving their chances of going further in their education and thus, having better chances of achieving better employment conditions (Stadt Leipzig, 2012b).

Concerns with marginalization¹⁵ are also expressed in the same way as for exploitation. The plan recognizes that there are higher proportions of unemployment among immigrants than among natives and their profiles are not considered as appealing to the labor market (Stadt Leipzig, 2012b). Thus the plan proposes measures to improve their educational and training profile, so that immigrants can have better access to the labor market. Counselling and information are also measures considered important for providing higher chances of immigrants to integrate the labor market (Stadt Leipzig, 2012b).

The third form of oppression to be analyzed is powerlessness¹⁶. The section discussing the political participation of immigrants in Leipzig recognizes that firstly, there are not enough organizations and associations from migrants that could help giving them voice and authority (Stadt Leipzig, 2012b). Moreover, it is also observed that very few individuals chose to take part in decision making processes and public debates relating their environment and to raise their voice in demands and claims. A practical example is given at the "Spatial Integration" part, in which it states the lack of participation of immigrants in decision making processes in projects that had this group as main target (Stadt Leipzig, 2012b). Secondly, the plan further recognizes that immigrants are also target of structural discrimination at the chapter dedicated to "Intercultural orientation and openness" and to "Fighting racism and discrimination". These chapters explain that there is still discrimination within public institutions and at the individual level in Leipzig. Here is it stated that immigrants have more difficulties in accessing housing, employment, health care and public services due to discrimination (Stadt Leipzig, 2012b). For those issues pointed by the

¹⁵ Marginalization refers to people that the labor market will not or cannot integrate (Young, 1990).

¹⁶ Powerlessness is related to the lack of authority and of decision making power and leads to a disrespectful treatment by others.

plan, the measures are not so specific and it is not clear how the municipality could empower immigrants in political organization or what could effectively be done in order to reduce structural discrimination.

Cultural imperialism is as clear expressed in the document as it happens with the previously mentioned domains of social (in)justice. Despite having one chapter dedicated to defending freedom of religion and interreligious dialog, the subject can be found more fragmented throughout the plan. The importance of developing more cultural sensitivity and respecting cultural differences can be found at the section mentioning health care as well as in the part concerning education. It is considered as basic to develop respect for other person's cultures and not to impose the native's values into immigrants (Stadt Leipzig, 2012b). On the other hand, there is one part of this plan that contradicts this value. It can be found at the "spatial integration" section and it mentions that the level of heterogeneity of Leipzig-East is problematic given the possibility of increasing conflicts between the different groups that live there (Stadt Leipzig, 2012b). In this case, to a certain point, the homogenization of this population seems to be desired.

Given the direct mention and dedication of an entire chapter to the case study area, I will present in more details the chapter dedicated to spatial integration. Firstly, it is explained that the reason to give more detailed attention to Leipzig-East is a perceived process of segregation that is happening in the area. Thus, the areas of Neustadt-Neuschönefeld, Volkmarisdorf and in Zentrum-Ost are increasingly concentrating immigrants (Stadt Leipzig, 2012b). As mentioned, the plan also expresses a concern that the high level of heterogeneity of this region could lead to more serious conflicts and that in order to tackle such issue it is necessary to have the involvement of several level of governance, including civil society associations.

Furthermore, the integration plan states that several investments on the physical environment have been made through the last years and that now it is important to invest in social cohesion and in increasing opportunities for structural inclusion in the area (such as investments in education, access to work and housing) (Stadt Leipzig, 2012b). The municipality of Leipzig also hopes to increase the promotion of opportunities for the immigrant population to develop linguistic, social and learning skills (Stadt Leipzig, 2012b). There is the perception that those measures are the ones necessary to avoid the segregation of this area.

One of the investments that should have fostered social cohesion and provided a greater sense of belonging to the area was the redesign of the Rabet Park. It was renovated and extended in order to work as a space for encounters in which the local population would be able to get in contact with each other.

However, the openness of the park eventually provided a sense of lack of security, impacting negatively the neighborhoods' inhabitants (Stadt Leipzig, 2012b). As a result, it is stated by the plan that the promotion of art and culture in this park could stimulate a higher sense of belonging to the neighborhood.

The plan also points to the difficulties of first generations to completely adapt to the German lifestyle, giving that they chose to maintain and be connected to their home countries' cultures (Stadt Leipzig, 2012b). The municipality evaluates that adequate bridges to the mainstream culture are missing and urge the creation of them.

Therefore, the measures perceived as necessary to tackle matters in this area regard the development of intercultural approaches by social service providers and the administration, in special in Leipzig-East; the incorporation of people with a migration background in public services and sensitize staff to cultural differences; encourage families which do not have German as the language spoken at home to enroll their children into activities or day-care facilities; design family centers taking into account immigrants families' needs; promote more intercultural activities in day-care facilities and schools; increase the number of immigrants and local actors' participation in the planning process; increase social cohesion in Leipzig-East (Stadt Leipzig, 2012b).

Notwithstanding, the also point some limitations with its elaboration. It is mentioned at the document that some indicators are just not available for further characterizing the situation or to follow up advances. For example at the chapter dedicated to education, it states that schools are not obliged to provide information and that only some schools provided with data (Stadt Leipzig, 2012b). Another passage in which it is mentioned the lack of information and data regards the section addressing discrimination and racism (Stadt Leipzig, 2012b). The plan does not understand how everyday discrimination happens and suggests that further studies should be provided. In that way, the analysis if the situation and measures proposed could be misleading.

Another interesting aspect of the plan is that it presupposes a two-way process, in which migrants should take steps into being integrated but so the host population. On the one hand, it is understood that people also need to accept ethnic and cultural diversity and develop intercultural skills. It accepts that public servants can be role models for the population. The plan believes that the general population observes how the municipality deals and treats immigrants and that reflects on the population's attitudes towards immigrants (Stadt Leipzig, 2012b),

thus concluding that the population needs to be more tolerant and acceptive of immigrants.

On the other hand, the plan uses the term 'social cohesion' when referring to development of Leipzig East, without being clear what is meant by it. The text does indicate that it seeks the inclusion of the foreigner population into the mainstream German society, and thus implies the need of homogenization. Hence, despite not clearly stating how social cohesion should be understood, one could argue that it expresses the desire of developing one homogenous society. In this case, one could question if the so intended integration process as a two-way process (in which not only the foreigner needs to adapt him/herself to the host society) can really happen or if it is rhetoric.

Finally, in the chapter dedicated to spatial integration, Leipzig East is highly focused and flagged as problematic area. Indicators start to point to a segregation process in the area and the answers lies mainly in solutions directed to this neighborhood. As we have seen before, according to Ireland's analysis (2008), unless policies are generalist and do not directly target to migrants these investments could back-fire and create more conflict, deepening the stigmatization of the neighborhood and stereotyping the population from that area.

3.2 Seko and Stek-Leo

'Seko' or 'Integriertes Stadentwicklungskonzept 2020' ("Integrated concept for city development 2020") refers to a development strategy for Leipzig until the year of 2020. It approaches not only physical development but also defines aims and strategies for social developments. It brings sectorial plans in different areas such as education, housing and transport, for example, into the idea of one spatial plan attempting to coordinate and integrate all those measures that were conceived separately.

This general plan proposes improvements on housing, economic development and employment, the environment, education, social development, culture, commercial centers, transportation and mobility, renovation of historical heritage and sports and leisure (Stadt Leipzig, 2009). The plan presents goals for all those areas concerning the entire city and when necessary, defines which regions within the city certain aspect should be further developed. In the social development chapter, the areas of Volkmarshdorf and Neuschönefeld-Neustadt are mentioned as key areas, considering that those correspond to one of the most deprived areas in

Leipzig. However, this plan only presents some guidelines and more exact analyses and actions are drawn by a local plan. Therefore, I will only mention the general city measures concerning migrants and later on I will focus on the local plan developed for Leipzig East.

There are five goals that concern immigrants and foreigners in the general plan (Stadt Leipzig, 2009). It mentions the need to create an environment that propitiates the integration of migrants, in special for the youth. The plan mentions that recreational, cultural and educational activities should be more often used to promote the integration of young immigrants. In this case, sports activities are perceived as powerful catalyzers for the integration of immigrants and other disadvantaged groups. Another goal concerns the inclusion of immigrants in participatory models, fostering cooperation between foreigners and Germans. A third goal is to better integrate other disadvantaged groups, such as migrants, into the mainstream economic force. A fourth goal concerns creating public open spaces to facilitate the contact and communication between foreigners and migrants. And finally, the last goal aims to use the '*Quartiermanagement*' of neighborhoods into promoting integration and participation of migrants.

As it can be observed, the general development plan for Leipzig gives little attention to the topic of integration of migrants. There are only few parts that mention this topic, and the goals established are quite broad. Another observation is that it identifies migrants as a disadvantaged group. These goals served as basis for the development of the local immigrant policy in Leipzig.

Stek-Leo or "Integriertes Stadtteilentwicklungskonzept – Leipziger Osten" (Integrated Development Concept for Leipzig East) is a development plan for the area of Leipzig East. Following the same logic as Seko's, this local development plan will try to provide guidance when dealing with education, economy and employment, health, culture, climate and the energy efficiency, the neighborhood and the urban environment but now having as focus this particular part of city and spatializing some of the actions proposed.

The main priority actions aim to develop Leipzig East through economic upgrading actions, improving educational opportunities, using cultural diversity to foster other areas, improving its physical connections and renovating buildings that are yet not renovated (Stadt Leipzig, 2013). This development plan is divided into four sections: the first one points out what are the main challenges, goals and measures taken within fields like education, economy and so on; the second part aims to special goals and directions per area within Leipzig East; the third part develops strategies, indicators and main measures to check the integration of

diverse groups in the area such as elderly, migrants, low income population and so on; and finally the fourth part develops an analysis of the different parts of Leipzig-East and points to more specific actions to be implemented in all those areas (Stadt Leipzig, 2013).

Migrants and foreigners receive the most attention in the part destined to discuss the neighborhood. In this section, the plan states that migrants have problems with being accepted and that the population in the area has resentment and prejudices towards this group. Despite the recent influxes of younger newcomers that have fewer prejudices, they also present very different values, adding to the diversity and heterogeneity of the area and possibly resulting in more conflicts (Stadt Leipzig, 2013).

In this part, it is also stated what the municipality of Leipzig intends with the term 'social cohesion'. Their idea of 'social cohesion' is much connected to the contact theory and with forming bridging ties among the different groups, as proposed by Granovetter (1973). The ways of promoting social cohesion that are described by the plan are: (1) to develop and maintain individual social networks; (2) to promote encounters and stimulate the communication between residents by supporting social, cultural and sports activities; (3) to enable encounters between people through urban design; (4) to diminish prejudices and cultural barriers by propitiating contact and places for encounters; (5) to promote a climate of mutual respect; and (6) resident's commitment to citizenship, which is also believed to reduce prejudice and discrimination and improve life quality in the district (Stadt Leipzig, 2013).

The other themes approached such as education and health promotion were more concerned with language barriers (Stadt Leipzig, 2013). Moreover, the part reserved to health care also notices cultural barriers, describing that most migrants are reluctant of searching medical care. It also acknowledges the several barriers are faced by immigrants, when they do search medical care. Therefore, this is an important point that should be improved.

After describing the situations to be overcome in each area and the measures to tackle such situation, the plan designs an "integration check" of the target social groups. Therefore the term integration is not used exclusively towards migrants, but also includes children with their families, the elderly, people with disabilities, low-income population and families that are more educational conscious (and therefore highly value education) (Stadt Leipzig, 2013). For this plan integration is perceived as providing equal opportunities and access to all groups in the society avoiding putting certain groups as the center of attention.

The “Integration check” is a method which analyses the objectives and actions proposed by several reports, technical documents and plans produced by the municipality with regard to the specific requirements of different target groups and their qualifications. This check also had the contribution of the organized civil society, and thus can also be referred to as participative. The criteria used for analyzing situations and possible actions concerns: (1) overcoming barriers, in particular linguistic, cultural, social and spatial ones; (2) improve equal opportunities; and (3) tailor adjustments offered (Stadt Leipzig, 2013).

Generally speaking there were two main goals appointed (Stadt Leipzig, 2013). The first relates to improving the equality of opportunities for people with a migration background and foreigners, for disadvantaged children and their families and for the elderly. The second main goal is to improve housing attractiveness for all social classes, but in particular for low income population and for families that value education. Measures that focus more on immigrants regard to weaken social and ethnic segregation, to promote intercultural opening, to improve information flow and to provide more support regarding employment (Stadt Leipzig, 2013).

The third part will provide integrated strategies for actions and designs four main images that should come out of the more specific and technical actions. The first image is Leipzig East as an attractive business location; the second image is Leipzig East as an attractive residential location; thirdly, as an integration area for newcomers, that would most likely first settle here due to low rental prices; and finally, as a place that offers equal opportunities in comparison to the rest of the city.

Finally the last part of the plan directs some measures to specific locations within Leipzig East. The area of the plan is quite large and heterogeneous, and therefore the needs and characteristics of each smaller area are distinct. As it was mentioned before, the area which it is referred to as Leipzig-East changes depending on the plan, policy and investment scheme. Thus, in figure 15, I overlapped the area and sub-areas in which the integrated development plan for Leipzig-East refers to and the official boundaries of the districts of Neustadt-Neuschönefeld and Volkmarisdorf.



Figure 21: Overlapping the area defined as Leipzig-East by the Stek-Leo plan and the official boundaries of the districts of Neustadt-Neuschönefeld and Volkmarshof. Map originally from Stek-Leo, with editing from the author, 2015.

Very importantly and interestingly, this plan does not focus specifically in social groups. Nevertheless, these social groups are mentioned throughout the plan and target groups are stipulated. Some actions are conceived specifically for some groups such as older population, low income population, children and their families and immigrants. However, this is not its main focus, on the contrary, most measures are quite generalist and could fit more than one target group as mentioned. This is a very important effort, to drag less attention to certain groups in order to not stimulate their stigmatization or generate conflicts.

The approach chosen for this plan could be considered closer to an intersectionality approach. This approach was first presented in the feminist debate and it is credited to Crenshaw, who defended that race, class and ethnicity were separable characteristics from a person, and therefore the separation of people larger categories or social groups becomes problematic. Therefore the interconnection, interdependence and 'interlocking' of those characteristics contribute in overlapping different forms of disadvantage (Bastia, 2014:238). Thus, the plan mainly tackles structural issues in Leipzig East without recognizing people as belonging to one single group, but openly to all those who might suffer a certain form of deprivation.

3.3 Overall strategy for democracy and diversity

This very short strategy has as an overall aim to promote democratic values and a peaceful existence among residents in Leipzig. It comes in response mainly to right-wing extremists, which are present at a higher rate in East Germany and have a more active political role as a result of the support provided by those inhabitants. Therefore, this main goal is divided in two fronts, or sub-objectives: (1) encourage Leipzig's residents to be more tolerant and to accept more easily diversity and (2) unite the organized civil society, institutions and municipal agencies against right-wing extremism.

It seeks to achieve these two goals by promoting three main actions. Firstly, it mentions the importance of promoting democratic values and strengthening civic engagement and citizens' participation. Secondly, it proposes to strengthen intercultural dialogues mainly in educational institutions and to actively stimulate the integration and participation of immigrants. Thirdly, the strategy aims at restraining right-wing activities and ideology. However, this plan is too vague, and there are not precise measures to tackle the problem observed. Thus, this is the only plan in which the possibility of violence against the immigrant is mentioned.

4 Investments done in Leipzig-East

After developing analyses on the area's main challenges and plans for development, it is also important to research how transformations have been taking place in the last years. In this way, the municipality of Leipzig was able to access funding from several projects, which enabled a great transformation of this part of the city from 1999 until 2011. Funds from several programs (Stadt Leipzig, 2013) were combined such as:

- Program "Sanierung und Entwicklung";
- Program "Social City";
- EFRE Stadtentwicklung;
- Program "Lokales Kapital für locale Zwecke (LOS)";
- Program BIWAQ;
- And Program "XENOS Integration und Vielfalt";

Below we can see the areas of the main programs that have invested in the area of Leipzig-East. The three first mentioned programs are delimited in the map.

Nevertheless, I focus on the two most meaningful sources of investments: the programs 'Social City' and EFRE.

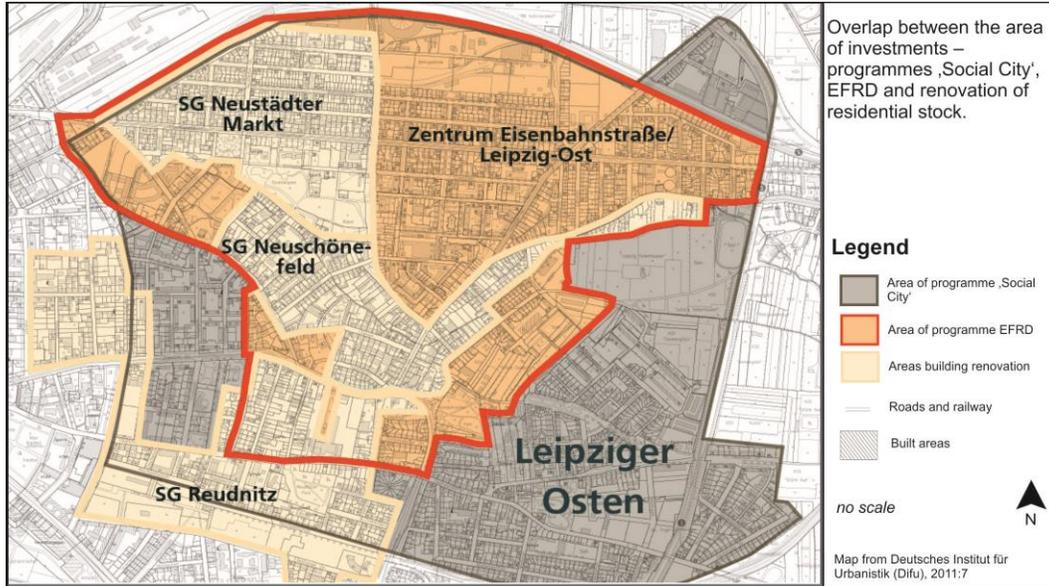


Figure 22: Investment areas per program, Deutsches Institut für Urbanistik, 2011:7

4.1 Social City

In order to fight growing social exclusion in Germany, the Federal Ministry of Transport, Building and Urban Affairs (Bundesministerium für Umwelt, Naturschutz, Bau und Reaktorsicherheit) has created the program 'Soziale Stadt' ('Social City'). The program exists since 1999 and its main goal is to tackle socio-spatial polarization through urban renewal and through strengthening of social cohesion, having the improvement on the life conditions of people living in deprived neighborhoods as main target. According to the Federal Ministry of Transport, Building and Urban Affairs (BMVBS) (2008:5), "the program works on a premise of area-based, socio-spatial actions and active resident participation".

According to the official website of the program¹⁷, the federal government finances only one-third of the total cost of the program, while the states and municipalities must pay for the other two-thirds of the total invested. Municipalities also have the option of establishing public-private partnerships for affording the

¹⁷ Official website of the 'Social City' program: http://www.staedtebaufoerderung.info/StBauF/DE/Programm/SozialeStadt/soziale_stadt_node.html - consulted on 20/06/2014

costs. The government claims that between 1999 and 2012 about one billion euros were allocated and invested in this program by the federal government, and thus, summing up the total investments (adding state and municipality investments) of more than three billions.

Moreover, the federal government claims to combine strategies to combat social structural issues with investments in the built environment (BMVBS, 2008). Nonetheless, the most important and meaningful investments done by this program are still in the residential environment, infrastructure and quality of housing. On the other hand, there is also support for other areas such as education, integration of different ethnic groups, foster local economy, health promotion, support to environmental actions, support to local culture, sports and leisure activities and to improve the image of such a neighborhood, still with fewer funds available for such measures (BMVBS, 2008). Thus, it tries to have an integral approach in the neighborhood tackling not only physical characteristics of the neighborhood, but also providing support to structural causes of deprivation. It is also interesting to note that this very broad approach enables municipalities to adapt the program in the best way possible into the areas' need (BMVBS, 2008).

Despite the overall result of the program is considered by the Federal Government as being highly positive, they also assume some difficulties and areas in which results were not as expected (BMVBS, 2008). Certain structural issues as reducing unemployment and fostering the local economy were considered the greatest challenges of the program. Another issue identified by the report concerns the program sustainability. It is a requirement that expenditures from the federal government decrease gradually over time, demanding from municipalities and states to organize administrative strategies in order to keep up and maintain the projects. It was also observed by the BMVBS (2008) that most municipalities have a great difficulty in securing investments in the long-term (BMVBS, 2008).

The municipality of Leipzig applied for funds to further develop two areas: Grünau in the west part of the city and Leipzig-East, that comprises the neighborhoods of Neustadt-Neuschönefeld, Volkmarisdorf, and parts of Reudnitz and Anger-Crottendorf (Stadt Leipzig, 2000).

At the beginning of the program a report was produced establishing which areas were going to receive investments, lasting from 2000 until 2011. Eight major fields were observed as in need of attention and that would be dealt with by the program. On top of those goals, channels to increase local political participation were also implemented.

The program 'Social City' was responsible for implementing the 'Quartiermanagement' and creating the Forum 'East Leipzig' in order to establish cooperation between interested local actors (Stadt Leipzig, 2000). The forum is an initiative that continues even after the official end of the program and the main intention of this Forum is to discuss issues and possible improvements in the area. The forum is merely consultative, and does not have the power to implement their ideas. In that way the forum serves as bridge between local stakeholders and the municipality, making recommendations in how to further develop the neighborhood (Stadt Leipzig, 2000).

A second aim was to promote more community-oriented projects, in order to support the local culture, create places for social integration between the inhabitants of the neighborhood and strengthen civil engagement (Stadt Leipzig, 2000). In order to achieve this goal the municipality proposed to list all initiatives that already existed by then and integrate actions and local actors which had similar projects and aims. The program is also meant to assist new actions proposed by locals and match them to existing projects.

A third aim involved the upgrading of the Eisenbahnstraße into a commercial area (Stadt Leipzig, 2000). This area was considered unattractive by the municipality and in disadvantage when in competition with other commercial areas of the city such as Paunsdorf Center, for example. Thus, the idea was to upgrade Eisenbahnstraße into a multifunctional area mixing commerce, services and implementing communication spots with the municipality. It was also a goal of the program to improve the quality of the built environment, creating a more inviting space and by reorganizing the traffic.

A fourth goal concerned the improvement of the housing stock with housing projects initiatives (Stadt Leipzig, 2000). Housing projects are cooperatives of individuals that in agreement with the building owners will upgrade the building structures in exchange of cheap living in this building for a limited amount of time. The municipality of Leipzig proposed to support the creation of such cooperatives and match them to homeowners in which apartments and buildings needed of renovation.

The neighborhood of Volkmarshaus was identified as particularly disadvantaged, by having the highest proportions of social welfare beneficiaries, unsatisfied inhabitants (when it comes to the built environment) and a lack of identity (Stadt Leipzig, 2000). By the time it was intended to first stabilize population influx, renovate and develop it, promote an identity to the area, improve housing

conditions and therefore reduce housing vacancy, establish new associations and provide better conditions for housing companies to invest in the area.

Another objective was to foster local employment in this area (Stadt Leipzig, 2000). The high proportion of unemployed population was a concern by then, and the expected outcomes involved the stabilization of the economic structure, the integration of the socially disadvantaged population, to support the coordination of funds and monitoring and analyzing results.

A seventh aim concerned social counselling, that was not able to in fact aid the local population (Stadt Leipzig, 2000). Thus, the stabilization of social structures, the earlier detection of possible social problems, meeting social issues with district resources and connecting social issues with local employment were perceived as main goals for this theme.

Lastly, it was proposed the creation of an office in which could promote intercultural contact (Stadt Leipzig, 2000). This would be part of a youth initiative connected to other NGOs. This measure envisioned achieving a better integration of the migrant youth and to create spaces of coexistence between locals and newcomers.

Many of the issues that are mentioned here were addressed by the program, however if we compare them with the demands established by the other plans investigated previously, we can observe that the needs and situations are still more or less the same.

4.2 EFRE

Another major investment fund comes from the “Europäischer Fonds für regionaler Entwicklung” (European Regional Development Fund - EFRE). This fund is made available by the European Commission and it *“aims to strengthen economic and social cohesion in the European Union by correcting imbalances between its regions”* (European Commission, 2014). Thus, certain areas that contribute to the unbalance of territorial development of Europe, and therefore are somehow under the “development standards” of the European Commission are eligible for this fund. Different areas are identified to receive support in different fields those being: growth and job creation, research and innovation, information and communication technologies, small and medium-sized enterprises and to promote a low-carbon economy (The European Parliament and the Council of the European Union, 2013).

Investments made in Leipzig-East were allocated in different fields such as urban renovation, social programs, enhancing local economy and management and cooperation (Stadt Leipzig, 2007). According to public information more than half of the funds received by the EFRE were invested directly in actions that involved upgrading the urban environment. However, it is important to note that same actions classified as “economic actions” also involve upgrading the urban environment. On the other hand, much of the social actions defined were concerned in trying to engage the population in the changes that were going to happen by this realization of these projects (Stadt Leipzig, 2007).

Regarding the local economy several projects were developed aiming at the physical improvement of the commercial area and building spaces that could support commercial activities, and by providing knowledge and counselling to interested investors in this area (Stadt Leipzig, 2007). Concerning the built commercial environment the main projects developed were: the revitalization of the main commercial road, the Eisenbahnstraße, while also analyzing the renovation’s impacts on increasing business potential; focus revitalization efforts on strategic locations such as the crossings between Eisenbahnstraße and Hermann-Liebmann-Straße; creation a pilot project in which the ground floor of buildings in “Wilhelminian” style would be used for commercial purposes; and finally, the actions concerning the built environment regarded increasing the cleanness of the area, especially during the renovation of the Eisenbahnstraße (Stadt Leipzig, 2007).

Moreover, management actions and that hoped to stimulate economic growth also took place in this project (Stadt Leipzig, 2007). These actions concerned: implementation of a counselling group on economy and employment helping the coordination of local economic development; creation of a network of traders in the area by organizing their participation on the revitalization process at the Eisenbahnstraße; the documentation of the former commercial structures of the area by children and adolescents; the creation of a database of commercial structures in the area as supportive for management efforts; and finally the involvement of a field officer from the ERDF that was able to maximize the efforts made during the development of the projects.

As mentioned before, the main investments were made in upgrading the built environment through the renovation of school and kindergarten facilities and the improvement of public green spaces (Stadt Leipzig, 2007). Pointed as one of the most important projects for the revitalization of Leipzig East, the Rabet Park suffered great transformations, with the upgrading of its furniture and urban design and by the expansion of its area. Related to education, actions implemented regarded the

restoration of three daycare centers. Another important measure conceived within this funding program concerned supporting communities and inhabitants interested in settling in Leipzig East into acquiring ownership of buildings and apartments in order to promote the renovation of the housing stock and stabilize social networks and structures. Moreover the demolition of a former factory used for the production and consumption of drugs was also an important measure for upgrading the neighborhood (Stadt Leipzig, 2007).

In respect to the management of the area two actions were taken. The first one was the construction of the Eisenbahnstraße Infocenter in which advertises all projects that were developed (and still are being developed) in the neighborhood. The second measure concerned promoting information about the projects and calling for the participation and civic engagement of residents and business people in the area (Stadt Leipzig, 2007).

The program also tried to engage locals into the projects and create some spaces that could bring municipality' officials and Leipzig' inhabitants closer and at the same time provide greater support for locals (Stadt Leipzig, 2000). Among those initiatives there is the creation of the project "Dialog", which offered regular advice to immigrants concerning everyday issues, housing, employment, education, how to deal with the authorities and concerning possible conflicts. It also offered regular language classes and it proposed creating a network between migrants and associations. The creation of several community centers allowed the organization and networking of the inhabitants of certain neighborhoods and the idea was that those centers could also be a place for the municipality to offer counselling, consulting and supportive services. In that same direction kindergartens and Kitas were transformed into family centers in order to open up communication between families and municipality and also to increase support for families (migrants and native). There were also actions made into trying to promote inter-religious dialog in this area and cultural festivals were incentivized (Stadt Leipzig, 2007).

Despite all the investments done in the infrastructure, long-term funds were necessary to keep the projects and programs running. However, due to the small revenue of Leipzig, some of those initiatives no longer exist.

4.3 Municipality initiatives

Here, I will better explain two initiatives promoted by the municipality of Leipzig. One that has been one of the first actions of the municipality towards ethnic and cultural diversity and the second initiative that was part of the investments funds previously mentioned.

The first initiative to be discussed here is the Intercultural Weeks ("Interkulturelle Wochen"). This is not a new idea and it was conceived in the 1970's happening across several German cities. In Leipzig the initiative began in 1992 and it intends to celebrate diversity and support mutual tolerance by creating 'spaces of encounter' (Großmann et al., 2014b). According to Großmann et al. (2014b) this initiative was created to counter xenophobia and show that Leipzig is an intercultural city. In these events, the civil society organizations dealing with various aspects of cultural and religious diversity is able to offer events to the overall public of Leipzig. It tries to bring always the most current discussions concerning diversity in the city to the overall public in an attempt of contesting everyday discrimination.

Despite the low budget and the minimal human resources into organizing the event, it has established itself and gained space as an important festivity in Leipzig's calendar (Großmann et al., 2014b). However, the event faces other limitations like the difficulties in involving foreigner communities and organizations in the event. It is assessed in the report produced by Großmann et al. (2014b) that the possible main reasons why migrants' organizations do not take part in this event might be related to the lack of knowledge, lack of time or language barriers. However, despite all the difficulties it is a well-established event that does take place every year for more than 20 years now and it can be considered a success.

The second initiative promoted by the municipality that is important to mention is the Forum Leipzig East ("Forum Leipziger Osten"). It was created in the year 2000 firstly as a space in which the transformations happening in the neighborhood could be accompanied and debated (Großmann et al., 2014b). Its main idea was to be a space in which all stakeholders could meet and discuss relevant themes, also working as a bridge between local actors, inhabitants and the municipality. The fund for supporting this platform comes from both programs 'Social City' and EFRD, which were previously mentioned.

Another important characteristic of the meetings is that their decisions do not need to be implemented, and thus meetings have a deliberative character. Topics to be debated are predetermined by the municipality and decision-making power over those topics concerns only to the municipality (Großmann et al., 2014b).

Participating in the meetings usually are the city's administrators and politicians, paid professionals and ordinary citizens. Nevertheless, it is observable that the extensive majority of the participants belong to the two first categories, and the local population represents the smaller share in meetings (Großmann et al, 2014b). The local population present in meetings also does not represent the proportions and reality of the neighborhood. The high proportion of migrants and people with a migration background are underrepresented and they usually do not involve in the initiative (Großmann et al., 2014b).

At first, meetings were held two to four times per year, however currently only one meeting is held a year due to the decline of interest over the last years (Großmann et al., 2014b). The platform for sharing and debating issues was new and was highly appreciated by the population, however the lack of real participation and other than just being a consultative assembly discouraged further participation and development of this platform.

Moreover, such a platform is not perceived as for going deep into problems and issues. Großmann et al. (2014) report that given size of the forum it does not allow to discuss a problem in detail. Moreover, the fact that topics are chosen in a top-down approach also does not allow to the discussion of uprising issues.

5 Discussion

The first aspect to be observed concerns the time frame in which policies and the debate have evolved, both at the National level and at the local level. Discussions in East Germany about immigration and integration happened mostly after the reunification, so during only the last 25 years. Despite the fact that West Germany have debated about those topics somehow before East Germany, does not mean that discussions happened necessarily around the need to increase social justice or rights for immigrants. Discussions concerning integration and acknowledging Germany as an 'immigration country' are rather recent. As a consequence the current legislation is also very recent and still undergoing significant changes. At the city level, we can perceive the same tendency. The Integration Plan developed for Leipzig was published only in 2012 and other plans that mention immigrants more closely are also fairly recent. Therefore, the topic of immigration and integration is only receiving more attention within the last years.

Moreover, the legislation is still not completely consolidated. At the present moment the direction of the national immigration law is under debate. Those

debates question whether Germany needs a completely new law, or if there is a need to continuing adapting the current regulations or even if the current one is sufficient¹⁸. Thus, we can observe that policies are undertaking fast transformations and are still being debated over. This factor also interferes largely in evaluating those policies and understanding their direct impact on immigration processes.

The second aspect that should be mentioned concerns remembering the fact that the social group of “immigrants” is large and very diverse. And in a general way, integration policies in Germany and in Leipzig try to integrate immigrants that are somehow out of the mainstream society by a number of reasons, being those socioeconomic, linguistic or cultural. Thus, integration policies are not necessarily ‘universal’ for all immigrants, but for those that are perceived as in need of being integrated.

5.1 Social justice in the policies

Firstly, it is important to understand if the policies analyzed provide ground for supporting measures that could impact immigrant’s lives towards achieving social justice as it was conceived by this thesis. A relevant remark is that all plans recognize immigrants and how heterogeneous this group is. Plans acknowledge that migrants suffer different forms of oppression and yet do not classify and stress which groups suffer which forms of oppression. In especial, the ‘Integrated Development Concept for Leipzig East’ deals with this matter in a general way, in which is observed to potentially have better outcomes. Most investments made also did not necessarily target foreigners in actions. So it can be affirmed that the plans do recognize immigrants, the forms in which they lag behind the mainstream society and the possible oppressions experienced by them.

Plans recognize for example that due to lower educational levels immigrants are more likely to either have lower forms of employment or be unemployed and urge to increase the general level of education and qualification achieved by this group. Thus, indirectly, plans and policies recognize that migrants are more likely to suffer exploitation (when their work benefits mostly others and is usually associated with servile forms of employment) or marginalization (when people are altogether excluded from the labor market).

¹⁸ This is a current debate on the mainstream news, as to be observed by this news published at the Deutsche Welle in 24/07/2015, in which Angela Merkel intended to discuss a more comprehensive immigration law in the near future. Available online at: <http://dw.com/p/1G4DA>

The documents also admit to structural discrimination within municipal institutions for example, and thus point to the powerlessness of immigrants. Other observation made by the documents analyzed concern the need to involve immigrants in participatory processes through new tailored structures of participation, and declare that they are currently not included in decision making processes. Hence, it is understood that immigrants can also lack of authority and decision making power over their own lives and thus, experience powerlessness as described by Young (1990).

Also identified at several parts of the documents, the need of developing intercultural competences and respecting differences within cultures, either in order to reach immigrants and so aid them or to promote an increase in tolerance. In addition, it was mentioned that there is a need of promoting intercultural contact in order to create more concrete bonds between foreigners and Germans, also aiming at increasing respect and tolerance for cultural differences. Intercultural Weeks have also been promoted in the last years in order to increase the acceptance of diverse values and as consequence also diminish prejudices against other cultures. Thus, the documents express the desire of immigrants to somehow preserve their culture and identities and assume that Leipzig could be culturally diverse and tolerant. These values can be connected to the idea of cultural imperialism, in which the culture from the dominant group is imposed to the minority and resulting in a perception that the minority's culture is inferior.

Finally, regarding violence as defined by Young (1990), only one document stresses the possibility of violence against immigrants: the overall strategy for democracy and diversity. It is observed that the proportion of right-wing extremists is higher in East-Germany what could lead not only to several forms of everyday discrimination and racism but could also lead to violence and xenophobia.

It is noticeable that all forms of oppression as proposed by Young (1990) are in one way or another approached by the ensemble of policies. However, the documents are more concerned with handling marginalization and exploitation. Thus, incentives for increasing educational levels and qualifications are extremely important in most documents analyzed. Measures and actions proposed regarding this topic are more concrete and extensive than for other topics. Documents also perceive that a successful integration is connected to a successful inclusion in the labor market and as consequence reduction of marginalization.

5.2 Policies' limitations

On the other hand, all plans and policies were developed as a top-down approach. So at the same time that it recognizes the plurality of immigrants, it does not give them a voice (Großmann et al., 2014a). The policies were not developed alongside with migrant groups, and as a consequence it might be missing important understandings concerning their current situation. As it was remarked by the literature review, some decisions taken by individuals might be intimately connected to cultural differences (Pinkster, 2014), for example. Moreover, the municipality probably does not have a complete understanding of the real issues and challenges faced by the immigrant community. In the cases of education and everyday discrimination this is the most noticeable. In both cases, the lack of reports, indicators and data compromise the effectiveness of analysis and measures to be taken.

The lack of involvement of foreigners and immigrants in the policies and investments done also leads to question how much of these investments made in the neighborhood truly benefit or even reach this group. So far, most transformations happening are taking place at renovating the urban environment and it is essential to ask for whom those places are being designed. For example, it was mentioned that the renovation of the Rabet Park was one of the most important investments made in the area. It was redesigned to be a space for encounters among the different groups. However in a different policy it is mentioned that the park's design propitiated a feeling of insecurity for all social groups living in the area. Thus, consulting residents could have led to better results and might have improved the chances of actually fulfilling its intended goal.

Although, it is more important to observe that the top-down approach reinforces patterns of powerlessness. When immigrants and foreigners are not included in debates that affect them directly, participation and civic engagement is not stimulated. As a consequence decision making power over topics that could impact their lives are denied.

Nevertheless, both municipality and civil organizations report having difficulties involving migrants at their projects (Großmann et al, 2014b). However, the main reason on why that happens is not clear. One possibility might be the lack of knowledge of the German language that becomes an obstacle for interaction. Another reason yet might be cultural differences. Having a staff that could not only speak their native languages but also make advices and designing participation

structures that are more culturally sensitive could have better results in increasing the participation and involvement of these groups.

Another issue concerns the access to funding. On the one hand the partnership with the organized civil society is considered very important in carrying out several measures of the policies that deal with integration, being those organizations more directly involved with the target individuals. Their projects could truly impact people's lives, however their work could achieve better results on the long-term. On the other hand, the municipality can only make funds available for a short-term. The municipality can only offer resources for some years and the continuation of a project depends on whether the associations and organizations reach external funds or not. Therefore there is a mismatch between the municipal funds available for developing those projects and the period of impact that is necessary in order to achieve good results (Großmann et al., 2014a). Another effect experienced by the intermittence of projects is the mistrust generated among immigrants towards those projects (Großmann et al., 2014a). Thus we can notice that shrinkage still affects the city's development despite population growth. Regaining population thus does not mean necessarily increasing revenues. As a consequence one can observe the unsustainability of long-term actions.

Additionally, the population does not have knowledge about local policies and is also not aware of the actions taken by the municipality. As stated in the report for an EU funded project on diversity in cities, *Divercities*, residents frequently do not know the policies or can only mention some measures (Kullmann et al., 2015). In my interviews this was also the case. All the interviewees were not familiar with local policies and could only mention as integration policy the integration course offered by the national government. Only one interviewee was able to name one measure promoted by the municipality, the Intercultural Week.

5.3 Contradictions of the policies

Besides limitations, the documents also show some contradictions. The first contradiction refers to the desire for strengthening and promoting diverse culture within Leipzig and expressing issues with diversity. On the one hand, it is stated at the "Integrated Development Concept for Leipzig-East" that heterogeneity can lead to conflict and therefore the population should be more homogenous. On the other hand, several measures and proposed topics refer to respecting different values and cultures.

Supporting this point of view, it can be observed how the term 'social cohesion' was used in the documents. At the policy concerning integration, this term is freely used and it is not possible to understand exactly what is meant by it. Despite, one can imagine it is connected to the desire for homogeneity within the society. As a result, we can notice this great contradiction along the document, that at the same time as it tries to promote respect for cultural differences, it also shows very little of understanding for those differences.

At the "Integrated Development Concept for Leipzig-East" document, social cohesion is referred to as places that could promote encounters, using both the idea of the contact theory and the theory developed by Granovetter (1973). The main idea expressed by the document is that this contact could strengthen both the links between the diverse groups, avoiding a fragmented society, and also to reduce prejudice and discrimination. Although, at the same time it is also stated that this encounters could also foster conflicts and it understands that having such diverse population could result in a negative outcome, backing up on the idea of the conflict theory. So it poses the question how much diversity there should be in such a neighborhood? Moreover, along both documents the idea of 'social cohesion' changes demonstrating a lack of consistency within the usage of the term.

Another contradiction comes from the claim of being an open and tolerant city and simultaneously stating throughout the documents that there is a need to either create a 'welcome culture' in Leipzig or stimulating more tolerance and acceptance of foreigners. At the same time that the Integration plan states that there is no more racism and discrimination in Leipzig than in any other major German city (Stadt Leipzig, 2012b), the policy against discrimination states the high percentage of right-wing extremism that needs to be fought in Leipzig. However, despite this contradiction one can notice that Leipzig is highly committed to creating the image of a tolerant city, being its main slogan "Leipzig, an open and tolerant city".

This contradiction can also be perceived in daily practices. In the document showing statistics and attitudes towards foreigners, an overall positive attitude from native Germans towards foreigners can be observed; however, respondents strikingly believe that foreigners should adopt a German lifestyle. The report elaborated by Großmann et al. (2014a) offers two good examples that question the understanding of how open and tolerant Leipzig can really be. The first example given refers to the construction of decentralized homes for refugees. Local protests happened in 2013, claiming that the spread of refugees would be a danger to the neighborhood and especially to children. Another case that was recently debated by

the city, involved the construction of a mosque. Shortly after the announcement of the authorization to build a mosque in Leipzig, protests started. The main concern was to support a symbol that did not belong in Leipzig's western culture, and thus the fear of creating a "Muslim ghettoization". Rallies and protests took place for a couple of months and incited attacks on the mosque's building site. Protests were only dispersed by upcoming protests against asylum seekers' new accommodations.

The contradiction concerning this topic was also reflected in my interviews. At the same time interviewees believed that Leipzig was a tolerant and open city, they also reported experiencing cases of discrimination and intolerance. For example, one of the interviewees (I1, female, Brazilian) mentioned that despite believing that Leipzig is a very tolerant city, other nationalities than hers might suffer more with discrimination than she does. So in this case, tolerance and openness might be selective to certain stereotypes. Another interviewee (I2, male, Brazilian) enthusiastically agreed with the city's slogan. However, while he was of German ascendance, looked like a local and had never experienced a single case of discrimination, his partner that clearly looks like an outsider has experienced cases of discrimination due to his skin color. Yet, a third interviewee (I4, female, German) that stated being open minded and tolerant towards foreigners, also agreed with the protests against the mosque. She truly believed that a mosque did not belong to Leipzig. Finally, the last interviewee (I3, male, German) seemed to have a more balanced view and stated that not everyone in the city is very open. He further mentioned that it highly depends on some factors such as education, age and whether the person has always lived in a bigger urban area or if this person comes from a more rural area for example. Thus, policies fail not only to understand to what point Leipzig is an open and tolerant city, but it also assumes that its population might be more tolerant towards foreigners than it actually is.

5.4 Different perspectives of Integration

Yet, another more important concept that is not clear in the documents analyzed is the concept of integration. Remarkably, the document that describes strategies regarding the "overall concept for integration for Leipzig" does not mention what it understands by the term 'integration'. There is the general perception that it tries to equalize access to opportunities to all by improving foreigners' capabilities and the municipality's. This is also what is mentioned by the migration check publicized at the "Integrated Development Concept for Leipzig-East". Moreover, it is noticeable that such a term is also not clear for the

interviewees. The understanding of integration is very diverse and it is not necessarily connected to what is being stated in the official documents.

The first interviewee (I1, female, Brazilian) believes integration is much about knowing the German language and the German culture. For her, it is important to assimilate the values of the host country. During the interview she reproved some of her friends' attitudes. They neither speak German nor have any friends outside their own ethnic group. Hence, she questioned these persons' overall integration in Germany. On the other hand however, the interviewee herself did not yet have a good command of the German language and most of her network consisted of friends of the same nationality as hers. She named her partner and his family, thus part of her network, as her main link to the German culture, and thus claimed to be well integrated in Germany.

The second interviewee (I2, male, Brazilian) believes that being well integrated meant *"to feel comfortable in one certain place and to have the freedom to do things without suffering discrimination for being a migrant"* (translation by the author). His perception of integration was closer to a multiculturalist view. When questioned about the foreigners in Leipzig-East, I2 talked about their isolation in this area. However, when questioned if he considered them well-integrated in Leipzig he replied with a question: *"What is integration in this case? Leipzig has so many different groups that the city is already fragmented. Why couldn't they also be considered just as another group?"* (translation by the author). On the other hand, despite respecting the desire of some ethnic groups in Leipzig East to live in isolation, he also believed that it could be important to be more open to the host culture and values. I2 also stated that it was important to respect those that live in the same area and do not share the same values, thus not impose their culture upon those who lived in the same areas.

In this case it is important to observe that I2 believes not only that foreigners in Leipzig-East are isolating themselves, but they also somehow impose their way of lives on the other inhabitants. Hence, in the same way that I2 did not believe in cultural imperialism from natives into immigrants, he also does not approve it when it comes from immigrants towards other groups.

The third interviewee (I3, male, German) was more concerned with the German role of integration. He believes that children should be taught from a very young age how to be more accepting of cultural and ethnic diversity. He supposes that adults and the older population can very hardly change in this matter and de facto become more tolerant, thus he assumes that children have an important role in integration in the future. On the other hand he also perceives that same areas in

the city, immigrants are better integrated than in others. Thus he perceives integration as a two-way process, in which the host society accepts foreigners and in which foreigners also make an effort in integrating and not isolating themselves.

The fourth and last interviewee (14, female, German) presented a very irreducible view that all foreigners should completely adapt to the German lifestyle. Her perception was that foreigners should not choose to live in Germany if they do not have the desire to live like Germans and adopt German's values. Even though recognizing that people do have different lifestyles, she feared the loss of the country's identity and values.

Therefore, we can observe that views largely varied in terms of what 'integration' stands for. Nevertheless, all interviewees criticized the fact that some ethnic groups have the tendency to isolate themselves. When questioned about their opinions towards the integration of immigrants in Leipzig East, all respondents mentioned their isolation as negative. This can be observed to corroborate with the critics against multiculturalism of developing 'parallel lives'.

Another aspect regards the role of natives in the integration process of foreigners. While documents do mention the importance of having a two-way process, in which migrants adapt to the local society and the local society accepts foreigners, it is not clear how this can happen in daily life situations. The cases concerning the mosque and the refugees' accommodation in Leipzig show that most locals do believe that integration is a responsibility which falls mainly to the immigrant. That is also reflected in the interviews. While two interviewees believed that integration is strictly responsibility of the immigrants, only of them strongly believed it to be a two-way process. Nevertheless, in general, I would argue that most of Leipzig's population does not realize their role in integrating foreigners.

5.5 Hypothesis

As a result of the literature review in connection to the documents analyzed and the interviews, one 'cycle' can be observed. It needs to be said that it does not refer to all immigrants. It does not have the intention of fitting the situation of every single foreigner in Leipzig, especially because their status and characteristics are quite diverse, largely influencing their own personal cycles when arriving. This graphic tries to understand and simplify the stages that contribute into trapping an immigrant in a deprivation cycle. Therefore, it relates to those foreigners that arrive in Leipzig without being 'high-skilled' and having a competitive profile.

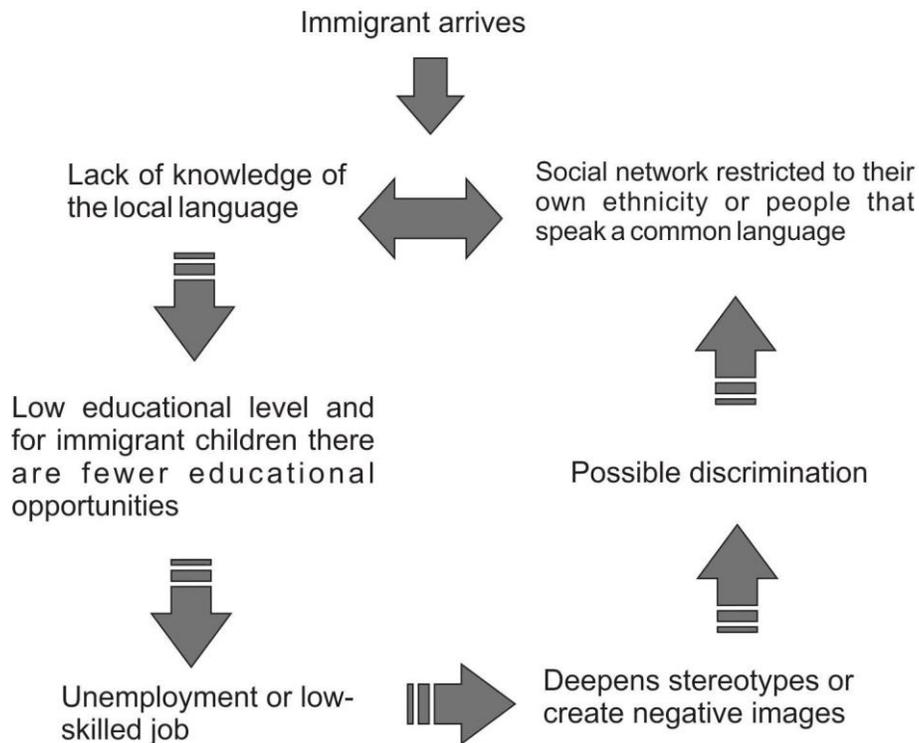


Figure 23: ‘Cycle of deprivation’. Elaborated by the author, 2015.

The first stage is the arrival of the migrant. At first, if he/she does not have previous knowledge of the German-language, it is more likely that this person will find first connections within their own ethnical/national group. If the immigrant is an adult, the lack of knowledge in the German language will restrict his/her access to employment. Additionally, difficulties in the recognition of their skills and diplomas could be another obstacle in integrating into German labor market. If this immigrant is a child, due to poor knowledge of German, this child might not be able to achieve the highest levels of education, such as tertiary education. Keeping one’s educational level low will directly affect one’s prospects into finding a ‘well-paid’ job or will keep one at the margin of the labor market.

In many cases social networks play an important role for newcomers by integrating them into the labor market and often the first employment is found through those connections (Eraydin et al., 2010). As a consequence, newcomer’s work scope depends on the scope of work done by previous compatriots

(Pinkster, 2014). Thus, there is the possibility of maintaining patterns of low-skilled employment among certain ethnicities.

The lower levels of education and the poor working situation (either being unemployed or having a low-skilled job) could lead to either deepen certain stereotypes that already exist or even create new ones. This stereotypization could lead to discrimination, which could then push immigrants into choosing to isolate themselves within their own ethnic group and have a place in which they would not have to face discrimination.

Living among their own kin will exempt foreigners of improving their skills in the German language, using mostly their mother-tongue with their closer network, comprising also their children. As a result, the deficiencies at the German language are passed on to the next generations. They might also not achieve levels of German that are considered desirable and that will also hinder down their opportunities in school and when it comes to employment. In this case, the support of their ethnic community will be put to action, leading the second generation to continue with this cycle of low forms of employment. Therefore, this cycle could be understood as generational, with some limiting factors being passed from generation to generation. This cycle would explain why in many cases people with a migration background, who have at least one parent that is non-German, are also seen as foreigners and are pointed to share the same issues and barriers as foreigner children.

As I have mentioned, it is important to note that this model does not represent all cases of immigrants that arrive in Germany. Some might arrive with already a high educational level and would not fit in this cycle. Cultural differences can also change the situation drastically. For example, the first Vietnamese that arrived in Leipzig were neither skilled-workers nor had high levels of education. However, the second generation of Vietnamese community is known for achieving very high levels of education in Leipzig, for example. Therefore they would most definitely not fit in this cycle.

Another factor that varies is how much support one might need and where this person could reach for this support. The forms in which social support is achieved within different ethnicities might lead to certain groups to be more open or isolated than others. For example, some ethnic groups that are living in the case study areas are perceived as really isolated and *“living in their own world”* (I2, male, Brazilian). In cases in which immigrants are living as in ‘parallel lives’, the model could be more easily applied.

Nonetheless, all identified components from the model could be ways of breaking it. For example, as it is most prominent in the documents analyzed, solid knowledge of the German language could increase the chances of breaking this cycle and either achieve higher levels of education or providing better base for obtaining better forms of employment. Another measure could be to fight certain stereotypes and show that foreigners are able to do other forms of work. Discrimination is also another important variant that needs to be tackled. It is further important to note that the German society also has a role in this cycle and it could also influence it in order to achieve better results. Changing attitudes towards certain groups of immigrants could impact directly on these groups' overall integration and situation. It could diminish the feeling of not belonging in Germany and discrimination.

Part 3 – Conclusions

Policies concerning immigrants are being largely discussed at the moment as international immigration increases and host countries have to cope with newcomers. Europe in particular has been experiencing waves of immigration since the end of the Second World War and policies have been suffering modifications ever since. Going from the refuse of integration of guest-workers to multicultural policies in the 1980's and 1990's to new developments nowadays, the idea of what it means to be integrated in the host country has been changing accordingly.

After the 'death declaration' of multiculturalist policies and the backlash to this approach, on a general way new European immigration policies try to ensure greater social cohesion and express a desire for developing an homogenous national identity. However, academics debate on whether those new policies can be perceived as assimilationist or they can reconcile claims for a strong national identity and social cohesion and at the same time ensure and preserve cultural diversity at the local level. That is a question that still remains unanswered.

Thus, the term social cohesion becomes an important term that could also be understood as an umbrella-term. It was first used at the literature on socioeconomic inequality and today can be understood in very different ways. One possibility for using this term relate to a desire for homogeneity and thus against diversity. A second one could be related to developing contacts, or weak ties, and thus bridging different groups. This second form of understanding cohesion could result in diminishing discrimination and prejudices, for example.

However, immigrants are far from being a homogenous group themselves, and while some arrive in the host country with more assets and thus are able to find themselves in a better economic situation, others might not have the same assets and find themselves in more precarious situations. As a consequence, it is noticed that some immigrant groups have more difficulties in accessing adequate housing, employment and higher levels of education for example. As a consequence of the overall low socioeconomic level of those immigrants and their concentration in certain neighborhoods, those areas suffer with the so-called 'white fly' and aggravate segregation. Hence, some migrant groups find themselves in more vulnerable situations, demanding more social justice.

As consequence, the municipality can approach such an issue in two different ways: as an ethno-cultural issue or as a structural issue. When municipalities focus on ethno segregation, usually spatial specific measures are demanded. This sort of policies and plan usually brings as consequence more conflicts between natives and foreigners from that area. On the other hand, when the situation is understood not as a segregation issue, but as a deprivation issue, policies tend not to focus on

certain groups but in the situation itself. By not focusing directly on migrant groups, policies have better outcomes and do not incentivize conflicts.

Therefore, at the same time that is important to understand and recognize the specific issues that are faced by immigrants, policies to tackle those issues should treat the subjects as structural issues. If policies emphasize too much ethno-cultural issues, they might backfire and instead of promoting social justice, they might create more conflicts and diminish social justice.

Therefore the question of **“are policies concerning immigration and integration able to promote social justice for ethnic diverse population?”** arises.

In order to answer this question the case of Leipzig was used. The first important conclusion is that context matters. Leipzig, which is located in East-Germany, has a specific historical context that could help understanding people’s attitudes towards foreigners. In the past, as former communist country, immigration and integration was neither stimulated nor debated. On the contrary, the communist government sought for achieving an ethnically homogenous nation. However things rapidly changed after the reunification. All those factors together contributed to: (1) having low proportions of foreigners in East-Germany; and (2) a greater difficulty in dealing with ethnic diversity.

A second way in which context is important regards the continuous years in which Leipzig suffered with shrinkage. Shrinkage brought several consequences and one of them was financial limitations. In this scenario implementing policies, plans and projects that need long-term support, becomes difficult. There is a great mismatch between the needs and available funds for implementing measures and projects that aim at tackling structural deprivation issues.

Within Leipzig, one area concentrates high proportions of foreigners and at the same time it is one of the recognized deprived areas of the city: the neighboring districts of Volkmarshdorf and Neustadt-Neuschönefeld. This area concentrates more than 20% of foreign population, high rates of unemployment and of people who receive welfare benefits. This area is also lagging behind when it comes to the renovation process that is happening in the city, and has still several buildings in need of renovation.

For this thesis, I have analyzed three policies: the integration concept for the city, the development concept for Leipzig-East and the anti-discrimination policy. In order to understand how those policies are affecting the development of the neighborhood, investments made in neighborhood were also listed.

Firstly, it is important to observe that policies do recognize immigrant groups and do acknowledge that they need more social justice. All measures proposed try to fight exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism and violence. Therefore, when it comes to the documents analyzed, there is an attempt of countering forms of oppression, as it is established by Young (1990).

On the other hand, the documents did not involve the participation of immigrants in their elaboration, which resulted in a disconnection of the policies with the reality. There is a lack of understanding of what really are the obstacles and oppressions faced by immigrants that find themselves in deprivation, as well as of the mechanisms that could keep immigrants from having more social mobility. This lack of connection from policy makers and the immigrant population results in gaps between the measures proposed and realities, most likely restricting the achievement of better results.

Hence, the second conclusion of this thesis is that policies need to be more connected to the reality in which it is advocating for. Developing projects and programs that have the participation of the target group is essential. In this manner, one could develop more effective actions combining the aims of the municipality for that area or field and claims made by the target population, in this case, immigrants.

Another issue is that people have different understandings of terms. When debating about how integration policies could support achieving social justice for immigrants, it is important that people understand what is desired for and the final goal of "integration" is. Some perceptions of integration could counteract the promotion of social justice, while other perceptions and approaches could foster it. As a result, it is important that people understand what the final goal of integration is.

Moreover, when it comes to ensemble of integration policies, it is noticeable that all levels of policy have to enable and promote social justice. The national policy could be a great limiting factor for achieving social justice for individuals. However, the local policy is also very important in this matter, given that conflicts between natives and locals are happening at the local level.

Hence, the third conclusion is that assimilationist policies act contrary to social justice claims. It is not possible to conciliate both strong claims for homogenization at the local level and respect diversity at the same time. On the other hand, by this thesis it is not possible to confirm if national policies that claim

for a national identity could in fact be matched with ethnic and cultural diversity at the local level, thus proving Vertovec's (2010) idea for post-multiculturalism.

Moreover, based on the literature review, interviews and policies, I created a model that could point to cycle, which tries to explain the process of deprivation among immigrants. It is mainly an effort into trying to understand why some immigrants are trapped in deprived situations and how it could extent to future generations. This hypothesis should be further tested and it should be understood how much this cycle can explain mechanisms and tendencies that are responsible for trapping immigrants in poverty and prevent those groups of achieving social mobility and higher levels of social justice.

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Annex I

Questionnaire for immigrants and for Germans

Master Thesis Questionnaire – Immigrant population

Working title: Increasing social justice for ethnically diverse population: the case of Leipzig's district of Neustadt-Neuschönefeld and Volksmarsdorf

Paula Leite Cassas – Master Student

Personal information

1. Quantos anos você tem? How old are you?
2. Há quanto tempo você mora em Leipzig? How long have you been in Leipzig?
3. Qual é a sua atual situação profissional? What is your current state of work?
4. Qual o seu país de origem? Where do you come from?

Neighborhood

5. Quais atividades você faz em Volksmarsdorf? Você mora nesse bairro?

How do you spend time in Volksmarsdorf? / Do you live in the neighborhood?

6. Por favor descreva, no seu ponto de vista, o que bairro tem de melhor e pior.

Please describe out of your point of view the strength and weakness of Volksmarsdorf.

7. Na sua opinião, como o bairro pode ser melhorado?

What do you think it could be improved in the neighborhood?

Inhabitants

8. Por favor descreva como você se relaciona com a população que mora nessa região.

Please describe your relationships with people living in this area in Leipzig.

9. Por favor descreva como você se relaciona com os imigrantes dessa região.

Please describe your relationships with migrants living in this neighborhood.

10. Na sua opinião, como você acredita que imigrantes influenciam nessa região?

What kinds of influence do you think migrants have in this area?

11. Na sua opinião qual o nível de integração dos imigrantes dessa área em Leipzig?

How well do you think migrants of this area are integrated into Leipzig's society?

12. Você acredita que imigrantes são uma importante parte de Leipzig?

How do you think migrants influence the city of Leipzig?

Daily life

13. Como foi o seu processo de adaptação em Leipzig?

How was your adaption process in Leipzig?

14. Qual a sua relação com a população alemã aqui em Leipzig?

How is your relationship with the German population of Leipzig?

15. O quão bem integrado(a) você diria que é aqui em Leipzig?

How well integrated would you say you are in Leipzig?

Policies

16. Quais políticas de integração da cidade de Leipzig você conhece?

Which integration policies promoted by the city of Leipzig do you know?

17. O quão importantes são as políticas de integração?

How important do you think those policies are?

18. Qual o nível de integração dos imigrantes em geral em Leipzig?

How well integrated are migrants in Leipzig's society?

19. O que você entende por "integração ideal"?

What would you consider an ideal integration?

20. Como você se posiciona em relação a afirmação: "Leipzig é uma cidade aberta e tolerante"?

How do you feel about the statement Leipzig is an open and tolerant city?

Master Thesis Questionnaire – local German population

Working title: Increasing social justice for ethnically diverse population: the case of Leipzig's districts of Neustadt-Neuschönefeld and Volkmarsdorf

Paula Leite Cassas – Master Student

Personal information

1. Wie alt sind sie?

How old are you?

2. Wie lange leben Sie schon in Leipzig?

How long have you been in Leipzig?

3. Wie ist Ihr aktueller Erwerbsstatus?

What is your current state of work?

Neighborhood

4. Wie verbringen Sie ihre Zeit im Stadtteil? / Wohnen Sie in diesem Wohngebiet?

How do you spend time in the neighborhood? / Do you live in the neighborhood?

5. Bitte beschreiben Sie aus Ihrer Sicht die Stärken und Schwächen des Stadtteils.

Please describe out of your point of view the strength and weakness of this part of the city.

6. Was könnte Ihrer Meinung nach im Stadtteil verbessert werden?

What do you think it could be improved in the neighborhood?

Inhabitants

7. Bitte beschreiben Sie Ihre persönlichen Beziehungen zu Personen in Leipzig Volkmarsdorf/Neustadt-Neuschönefeld.

Please describe your relationships with people living in Leipzig Volkmarsdorf/ Neustadt-Neuschönefeld.

8. Bitte beschreiben Sie Ihre persönlichen Beziehungen zu Migranten in diesem Wohngebiet.

Please describe your relationships with migrants living in this neighborhood.

9. Welche Bedeutung haben Ihrer Meinung nach Migranten für Neustadt-Neuschönefeld und Volkmarisdorf?

What kinds of influence do you think migrants have in Neustadt-Neuschönefeld and Volkmarisdorf?

10. Welche Wirkung haben Migranten auf die Stadt Leipzig?

How do you think migrants influence the city of Leipzig?

Policies

11. Welche Integrationspolitiken der Stadt Leipzig kennen sie?

Which integration policies promoted by the city of Leipzig do you know?

12. Wie wichtig sind diese Politiken Ihrer Meinung nach?

How important do you think those policies are?

13. Wie gut sind Ihrer Meinung nach Migranten in Leipzigs Stadtgesellschaft integriert?

How well integrated are migrants in Leipzig's society?

14. Was wäre Ihrer Meinung nach eine ideale Integration?

What would you consider an ideal integration?

15. Wie stehen Sie zu der Aussage Leipzig ist eine offene und tolerante Stadt?

How do you feel about the statement Leipzig is an open and tolerant city?

Annex 2 - List of interviewees

Code	Gender	Age	Status	Nationality
I1	Female	28	Working	Brazilian
I2	Male	24	Unemployed	Brazilian
I3	Male	27	Working	German
I4	Female	27	Working	German