#RMP18
#Vielfaltleben

The complete study is only available in German:
Kulturelle Vielfalt in Städten
Fakten – Positionen – Strategien
Bertelsmann Stiftung (Hrsg.)

English Summary
Cities and Cultural Diversity
Facts – Positions – Strategies

Bertelsmann**Stiftung**

Summary

This study presents the current state of research and debates on migration-driven diversity and how it is addressed in German cities. It also articulates the various positions taken in these approaches. The analysis is supplemented with an overview of municipal strategies for managing migration-driven diversity. Selected practical approaches are presented to supplement the addressed topic areas.

The study focuses on the various dimensions involved with addressing migration-driven diversity in cities through the following four topic areas:

- **Segregation and integration:** the concentration of different national, ethnic and cultural groups in cities and what this means for integration into urban society

- **Participation and inclusion:** forms of participation in cities, the challenges and opportunities associated with strengthening inclusion for everyone

- **Identity and religious diversity:** conflicts between different cultural and religious identities or ways of life and the problems associated with these conflicts in cities

- **Diversity-facilitative locations:** places or facilities within a city in which new approaches to migration-driven cultural diversity can flourish

Germany features a broad range of city types – from large cities with long-term experience in navigating migration-driven diversity to those cities with limited experience in this regard. Among migrants who have settled in Germany, we observe a broad range of mobility patterns among those who have moved to cities. This ranges from the voluntary migration of primarily highly skilled and educated people to the temporary stays among tourists and conference attendees to refugee migration, that is, people who have been forced to leave their country of origin due to war and persecution. Labor migrants represent a category somewhere in between. This mixture of a city's *stock population* with or without a migration background and its incoming *flow population* in specific social and economic contexts determines the composition of diversity in a city. In Germany, we see different types in the west and the east. The study highlights six city types: *Magnete* (economically dynamic cities known for their highly diverse populations), *Solide* (cities featuring "guest worker" populations and a stable economy), *Ambivalente* (traditionally industrial cities transitioning to service industry that feature "guest worker" populations), *Nachholer* (cities with a relatively small immigrant population that is growing in an increasingly service-based economy), *Gestalter* (smaller cities featuring culturally diverse population and specialized economic sectors) and *Unerfahrene* (smaller, economically weak cities that have little experience with diverse populations and high unemployment).

To date, many cities in Germany have found it difficult to pursue policies and measures designed to address the challenges associated with migration-driven cultural diversity. Current trends toward socio-spatial polarization in cities pose a challenge to social cohesion. Social **segregation** is more prevalent than ethnic segregation, though we frequently find that they overlap in certain urban districts. The question of an ideal social mix therefore remains important, as a systematic collation of research findings shows. In many cases, there is simply not enough processing and analysis of the available data on marginalization (i.e., indicators on unemployment and transfer benefits) by country of origin at the municipal level.

If we look at the extent to which migrant **participation** and migration-driven diversity is embedded in city development planning, we see a persistent under-representation of people with an immigrant background in the administrative institutions of German cities. At the same time, efforts addressing this issue are on the rise in local contexts. Migrant efforts to self-organize and neighborhood-based formats are undergoing a renaissance and attracting more and more attention. In some cases, tasks traditionally slated as the responsibility of the welfare state are being transferred to voluntary activity and associations. This is viewed with criticism when municipalities use these mechanisms to shift responsibility for such tasks to the shoulders of civil society in order to resolve their budgetary constraints. However, this trend also involves empowering groups that have otherwise been marginalized.

As an aspect of cultural diversity, visible **religious diversity** is becoming increasingly relevant in cities. Places of worship have made this development particularly noticeable in cityscapes. Because migration-related questions of religion are subjects of vehement and to some extent culturalized debate within (urban) society, cities are faced with divisive conflicts. Measures applied in interfaith dialogue efforts offer good examples of how to resolve these tensions. These approaches are increasingly implemented as part of municipal mediation strategies.

Each German city examined features locations that stand out for their unique approach to diversity: These locations are characterized as **diversity-facilitative locations** in navigating migration-driven cultural diversity. They can refer to libraries, museums, specific neighborhoods or festive events. They are locations where new approaches to and forms of inclusion as well as participation are developed. And they serve as appealing venues which can, in the long term, contribute to a city's revitalization.

In the different cities examined, we see a variety of approaches to migration-driven cultural diversity. Large cities such as Frankfurt am Main and Stuttgart that were quick to implement pro-active policies and have successfully navigated the transition to a service-based economy, are now beginning to reap the benefits of their diverse populations. Smaller cities, particularly those marked by a declining population and structural weaknesses, tend to bristle when faced with "external" influence. For these cities, viewing migration-driven diversity as an opportunity to target municipal revitalization often comes less easily. Living well together in cultural diversity is more easily achieved in those areas with experience in this regard, that is, in areas where conflicts have been worked through. An important next step in the academic research on this subject involves analyzing in quantitative and especially qualitative terms the combined impact of stock and flow dynamics on various types of cities. In the short-term, municipal policymakers can draw on the findings of the study presented here.

Key findings and recommendations for action

(1) Immigration and integration must be embedded in urban development policy

Finding:

To a certain extent, immigration from abroad is an unpredictable factor in public space and urban development policymaking. Given the context- and historically dependent nature of frequently unforeseen political developments, it is difficult to specify transferable recommendations for action in the field of immigration (Gans und Schlömer 2014: 157–158). Nonetheless, we can expect that if municipal policymakers are proactive in pursuing a cross-cutting approach to integration and urban development, effective measures will result. Municipalities across Germany are increasingly tasked with pursuing an active immigration policy as part of a long-term demographic strategy (Gesemann, Roth and Aumüller 2012) and with combining urban development and integration issues in policy planning. However, such efforts have only just begun in small and medium-sized cities (Reimann 2017: 260). Potential elements of a combined urban development and integration policy could involve: an analysis of immigration and skilled labor needs that is then linked to migrant recruitment, targeting openness in municipalities by articulating a welcoming culture (e.g., Welcome Centers, renovating immigration offices and buildings, promoting volunteerism among citizens) and promoting intercultural awareness in public administration (see also Kühn 2017) that underscores the fact that Germany is a country of immigration.

Currently, public administration authorities tasked with integration issues focus primarily on intervention policies targeting social problems among the stock population. Diversity issues, however, are usually the responsibility of economic affairs departments that aim to attract flow populations, which primarily involves marketing or advertising measures. And finally, municipal administrative offices are not sufficiently networked with civil society actors that work in areas associated with migration-driven cultural diversity.

Specific recommendations for action:

- Building alliances between municipal authorities, local businesses and civil society is necessary and involves closer coordination among the various departments within a city's administration itself.

- Integrating urban development and migration as a policy objective requires broad-based departmental support and the development of experimental programs such as those involving diversity-facilitative locations that can be implemented elsewhere across the city.

- Networking among municipalities and communities should be encouraged. Developing appropriate community services and government guidelines for things such as Mosque construction can make on-site work easier. Long-term and cross-cutting project planning should be targeted.

(2)   The integration efforts of municipalities must be recognized and supported.

Finding:

The challenges associated with cultural diversity and integration arise not only as a result of the number of immigrants arriving in a community, but also as a result of its net migration balance (including internal migration), economic structure and employment figures. If we contextualize these indicators, we see more profound integration challenges in some administrative districts and communities across Germany's eastern federal states – particularly in those areas where trans-regional refugee reception facilities have been set up (Maretzke 2017: 13). Given the lack of historical experience in dealing with cultural diversity (Glorius 2017: 13), the structural weaknesses of some regions and the presence of hostile attitudes toward immigration in the eastern part of the country, housing refugees in these communities without proper support is likely to result in conflicts. For those communities where integration is unchartered territory, implementing a strategy of this sort is initially less important than making the decision to create and oversee one. It seems advisable to establish across Germany structures similar to those found in North-Rhine Westphalia that are designed to improve networking between federal states, municipalities or communities and local actors so as to strengthen synergies between activities. The Association of German Cities therefore calls on federal states to take on greater responsibility and advocates increasing public funds for federally mandated municipal integration activities (Association of German Cities 2016: 5–6).

Specific recommendations for action:

- Federal and state public funds should be adapted to cover mandated integration services that are carried out by municipalities. In addition, federal and state agencies should aim to provide municipalities with cohesive administrative support; administrative responsibilities must be clarified.

- Migration-driven diversity should be anchored more firmly in civil society and volunteer activities.

- Procedures for interfaith dialogue should be implemented in municipalities and education measures targeting democratic values, in particular women's rights, should be promoted. Municipalities should maintain a neutral position with respect to the right of individuals to exercise their religion.

(3)   Urban development policies must be prepared for new forms of mobility

Finding:

Municipalities have little leeway in terms of influencing the immigration flows of different groups. This is further constrained by the rapidly growing variety of patterns in terms of a migrant's duration of stay and legal residency status. And finally, today's migrants generally stay for a shorter period of time than have the ethnic Germans who arrived after the fall of Eastern bloc in the 1980s and 1990s ("AussiedlerInnen") (Krummacher 2017: 92). No longer easily categorized in terms of "incoming" or "permanent," current mobility patterns are creating new action areas for urban planning. In cities where the population composition is increasingly diversifying in terms of origin countries, ethnicity and residency status, the relatively high degree of migration fluctuation renders more complex and difficult efforts to involve self-organized ethnic groups as well as those promoting intercultural work (ibid. 2017: 92–93). The low level of stability in local neighborhoods is in part attributed to highly mobile middle classes and tourists, who tend to treat urban environments as a vast consumption area. Added to the mix are refugees, whose prospects of residency are subject to specific constraints.

Whereas immigration is experienced locally, the drivers of immigration and those responsible for it are subject to national, international or global institutions of power and influence. Municipalities are faced with having to deal with an entire set of mobility forms that "(can) have a wholly heterogeneous impact on urban spaces and which can influence urban planning through the implementation of various instruments at different levels of activity and inclusion of different actors" (Hillmann 2015: 24).

Specific recommendations for action:

- In order to avoid pseudo-participation from taking hold, public administration must provide low-threshold offerings and develop new formats for participation that are embedded in local contexts.

- The right for non-EU citizens to vote in local elections should be set as an objective. Care should be taken to ensure that advisory committees are balanced in terms of nationality, gender and professional group representation.

- Additional staffing is needed in order to revitalize more diversity-facilitative locations (i.e., public spaces, in particular parks, intercultural gardens, libraries and museums) and to leverage their capacity to promote networking activity throughout the city.

- International cooperation through, for example, city networks and thematic alliances at the EU level, should be deepened. Germany needs to strengthen its international position in this area.

(4) Independent academic studies must be applied to monitor new forms of migration-driven diversity and their associated segregation trends

Finding:

In order to identify competition between groups featuring different mobility patterns and the housing market discrimination associated with it, municipal policymaking must target individual groups. In order to design measures able to counter such discrimination, policymakers need the proper kinds of information – such as data sets for a target group that capture characteristics beyond nationality. However, since collecting such data is in conflict with the principle of equality, municipal statistics authorities do not have data of this nature. As a result, the danger of attributing residential behavior and integration problems to clichéd images of culture persists (Krüger 2016: 5).

Specific recommendations for action:

- Ongoing, systematic observation of housing market segregation in terms of socioeconomic status and residents' region of origin is required. In addition, we need ongoing and systematic surveys of local experts on issues regarding social segregation.

- Efforts to explain segregation in terms of individual preference or culture should be avoided and instead focus on structural factors affecting the entire city. Voluntary segregation not rooted in discrimination should be accepted.

- A sufficient level of affordable housing should be ensured in neighborhoods that are particularly affected by gentrification – efforts to counteract displacement should be in place; every district in a city should feature a mixed population and subsidized housing

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