



Concordia Discors

Understanding Conflict and Integration Outcomes of Inter- group Relations and Integration Policies in Selected Neighbourhoods of Five European Cities

Nuremberg Final Report

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Preface. Essential features and fundamental assumptions of the Concordia Discors project.

I. The expression “Concordia Discors” comes from the Latin poet Horace’s epistles and has become paradigm of a dynamic state of “discordant harmony”. A fundamental assumption of this project is that integration is a dynamic achievement and it is not a rigid state nor the conceptual opposite of conflict. Therefore it is necessary to face, thematize and analyze the inter-group tensions associated with integration processes, as a precondition to deal with such tensions proactively and constructively. We have thus investigated different modes of intergroup relations, in particular the various shapes of conflict and cooperation, including intermediate patterns of interactions, seen as developmental dynamics of integration processes.

II. Another assumption concerns the view of intergroup relations. We have adopted the boundary-making perspective proposed by Fredrik Barth as early as the 1960s, according to which ethnic distinctions have a relational nature and they may (or may not) crosscut groups of shared culture or nationality. Therefore, our units of observation are individuals and organised groups, that we have not pre-clustered into ethnic groups since the existence and the configuration of such groups will rather be part of the research findings. Coherently with this approach we have looked not only at ethnic/migration cleavages but also at other relevant cleavages which structure interactions - overlapping, reinforcing or blurring the ones produced by migration - such as the cleavages based on socio-economic status, generation or length of stay in the neighbourhood. The choice of this approach is the reason why we use the term “intergroup relations” and not “interethnic relations”.

III. A third assumption inspiring this project is that places matter in shaping relations among groups. Given that contemporary cities are (increasingly) internally fragmented and too heterogeneous to be investigated as undifferentiated places, we focused our study on those specific areas in cities which share urban and social characteristics and are called quarters. We define the quarter as a sub-municipal urban entity, which is not necessarily an autonomous administrative entity, but whose identity is recognisable (although not necessarily with a shared perception of its exact geographical boundaries).

IV. Given these three assumptions, Concordia Discors have investigated intergroup relations at the quarter level, in order to produce a deep, strongly empirically-based and directly policy relevant understanding of integration and conflict processes.

We focused on the quarter specificities, nonetheless adopting a wide perspective and taking factors into account which belong both to the macro and micro levels. In particular, we analysed the role played in shaping intergroup relations by:

- Neighbourhoods as urban and social contexts;
- Everyday experience and relations;
- Information and representation flows of local media concerning the target neighbourhoods;
- Local policies producing their effects on intergroup relations in the target neighbourhoods, including political/electoral communication strategies.

V. We have referred to different disciplines and fields of study, using both quantitative and qualitative methods. The main methodological steps of the Concordia Discors project are the following.

- Analysis of social and urban context. The first step consisted in reconstructing the urban and social context of the target quarters and identifying common indicators describing the urban, social and migration contexts;
- Analysis of local policy communities' perceptions. We carried out interviews and focus groups with quarter-level policy communities (policy-makers, street-level bureaucracy, NGOs, etc) investigating policy frames (i.e. the cognitive dimension of policy, in particular the way in which immigration and intergroup relations are framed) and the measures that according to interviewees have influenced intergroup relations;
- Analysis of local media flows. This step of analysis was based on media contents of local and/or local sections of national newspapers depending on the specificities of media landscape of each city. First, we tried to understand how often the target quarters have been mentioned in association with immigration. Then, we analysed the contents of the news identifying the dominant representations of intergroup relations and of policy interventions on immigration and integration issues in the target quarters;
- Ethnographic fieldwork. We tried to catch the experienced intergroup relations through direct observation and interviews that allowed us to single out residents' representations of differences, on the one hand, and investigating everyday practices and daily encounters, on the other hand. In order to carry out an in-depth analysis, the ethnography was focused on a limited number of "interaction zones" for each quarter, which are regarded as significant in terms of intergroup relations and are geographically circumscribed. Furthermore, we reconstructed collective narratives of the neighbourhoods' recent history through the Neighbourhood Forums, half-day events engaging residents from different ethnic and socio-economic groups (local administrators, NGOs, ethnic associations, residents of various ages, shopkeepers, etc). This Forums also represented means of involvement of population of the target neighbourhoods thus enhancing the participatory nature of this research.

VI. The Concordia Discors project has adopted a comparative perspective which has been articulated over two levels:

- Comparison between different quarters within the same city;
- Comparison between quarters located in different cities and countries.

The project's specific focus has been on eleven quarters of five European cities, each of which has been investigated by one research partner: Barcelona by the Migration Research Group of the Autonomous University of Barcelona, Budapest by TARKI, London by COMPAS of the University of Oxford, Nüremberg by efms of the University of Bamberg and Torino by FIERI. A sixth partner, the Brussels-based European Policy Centre (EPC), has been in charge of the dissemination of results and of networking and institutional relations with decision-makers and civil society organizations at EU level.

For each city a Background report and a Final report have been produced, whereas the Synthesis report provides a comparative analysis of all eleven quarters of the five target cities.

Introduction

Nuremberg is located in the South-Western part of Germany. It ranks on place fourteen among German cities according to its population size. It is the second largest city of the German federal state of Bayern (Bavaria). At the end of 2010, the city had a population of 498,000 (Statistik Nuremberg Fürth, 2011/01_2, p. 5). The city stretches over 186 km². The average population per km² was 2,700 in 2009. Together with its neighbouring cities Erlangen, Fuerth and Schwabach, Nuremberg constitutes a Larger Urban Zone (LUZ), as defined by the Urban Audit, of over 1.2 million inhabitants that covers an area of 2,934 km².

The total population of Nuremberg has increased by about 25 per cent (100,000 people) in the last 55 years. At the same time, the proportion of the foreign population has risen strongly. While foreigners constituted 2 per cent of the total population in 1956, their proportion in 2010 was 17 per cent. 38.8 per cent of the population have a migration background (Statistik Nuremberg Fürth, 2011/01_1 and Statistik Nuremberg Fürth, 2011/01_2).

The annual influx to Nuremberg has been around 30,000 with an immigration rate of 5.7 per cent in 2009; the annual outflux has been around 28,000 since 2000 (Statistik Nuremberg Fürth, 2011/01_1, pp. 32-34). There was a migratory balance rate of 0.02 per cent and an immigration rate of 1.4 per cent in 2009. 59 per cent of migrants arrived in the last five to ten years.

Foreigners have mainly settled in the downtown and surrounding areas. In most statistical sectors of those areas, foreigners constitute 15 per cent up to 30 per cent or more of the total population, while in most statistical sectors of the northern, southern and eastern areas of Nuremberg, the proportion of foreigners are 10 per cent or less (Statistik Nuremberg Fürth 2011/01_1) (see **Graph 1**).

The largest groups of foreigners are EU-Nationals (35 per cent), mainly from Greece, Italy, Poland and Romania, and Turkish Nationals (23 per cent), followed by Ukraine, Russia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Iraq (Statistik Nuremberg Fürth, 2011/04).

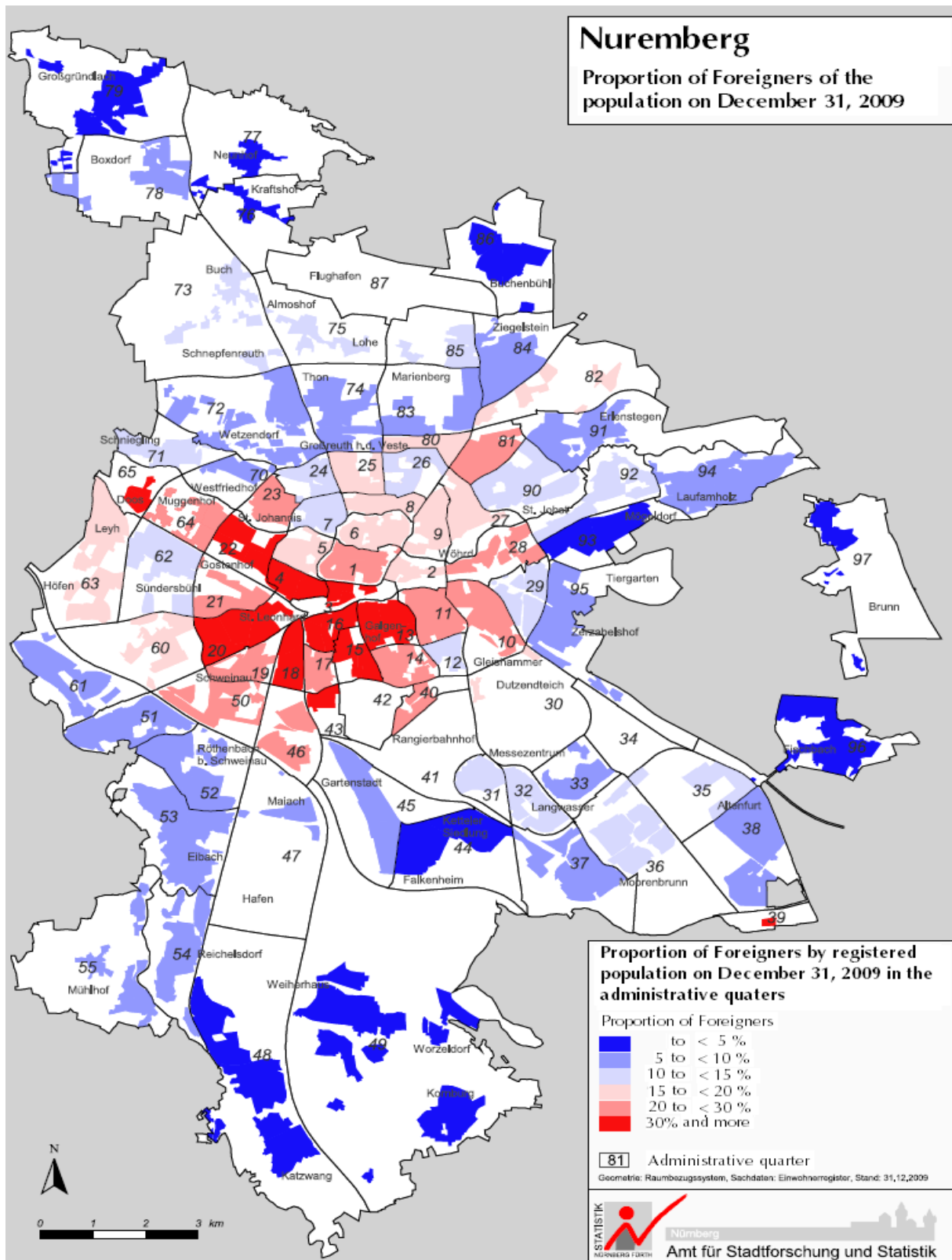
The municipal statistics of Nuremberg differentiate three analytical levels:

- The city level
- The level of statistical districts (*Statistische Stadtteile*); there are nine of them
- The level of statistical sectors (*Statistische Bezirke*); there are 97 of them (six to ten per statistical district)

Three statistical sectors (or groupings of statistical sectors), here referred to as 'quarters', were selected for the analysis of intergroup relations: **Werderau (statistical sector 46)**, **Langwasser (statistical sectors 32, 33, 36, 37)** and **Gostenhof (statistical sector 4)**.

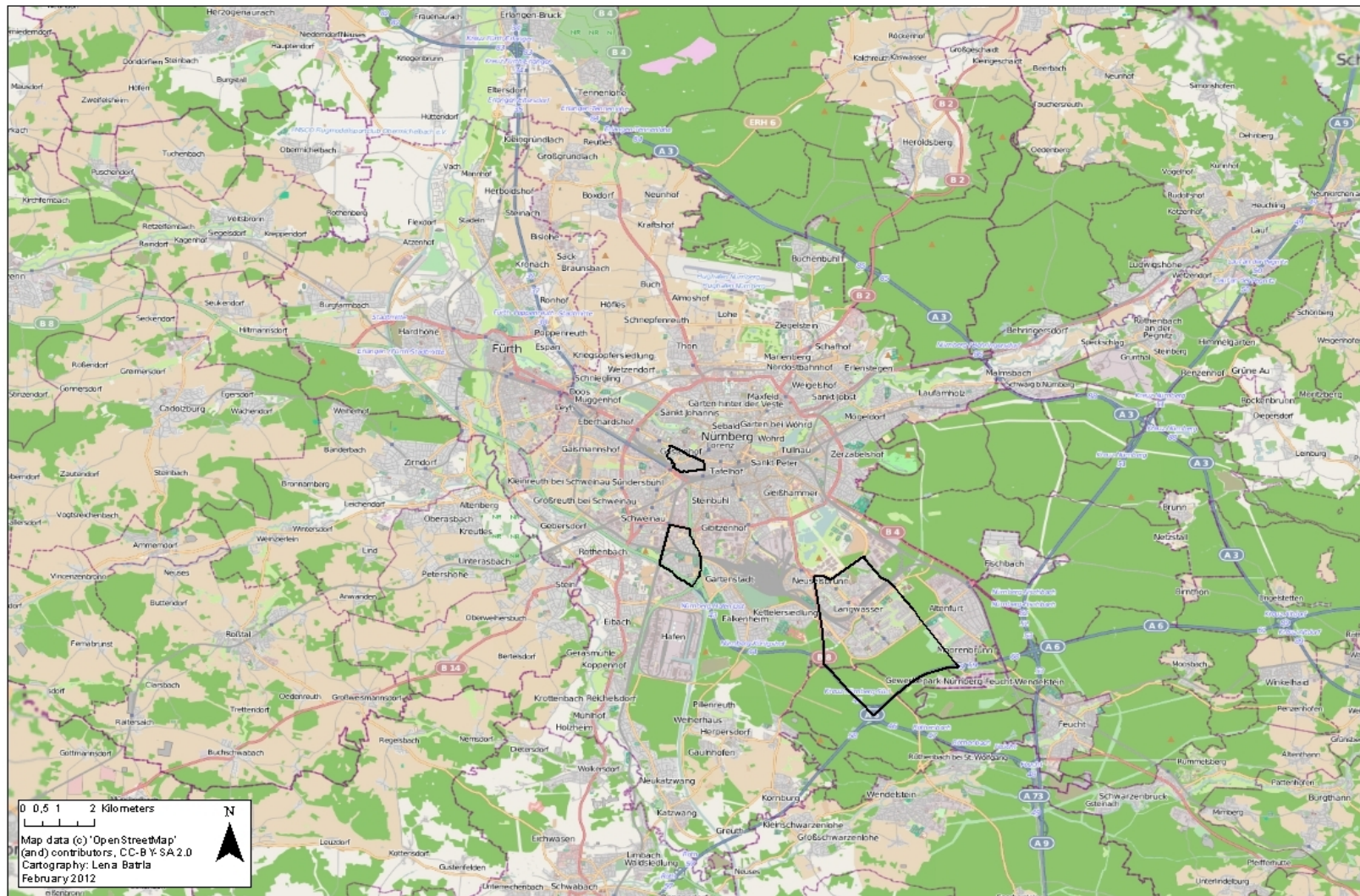
Langwasser actually consists of four statistical sectors which divide the quarter into a northern, southern, eastern and western part. In the quarters Langwasser and Gostenhof the focus of the analysis is on particular interaction sites (see below for more details), whereas in the quarter Werderau – the smallest of the three - the interest lies on the quarter as a whole.

Graph 1: Proportion of foreigners in the statistical sectors of Nuremberg, 2009



Source: Statistik Nuremberg Fürth, 2011/01_1, p. 255

Picture 1: Nuremberg and the three quarters of analysis



Our interest in the quarter **Werderau** originates from a conflict which evolved around the sale of housing allotments leading to a migration into and out of the quarter. The consequent change in the composition of the quarter's population caused quarrels at different levels framed by some actors in ethnic terms. The analysis focuses on the evolving and the reasons of this conflict and the development of intergroup relations in Werderau after the peak of the conflict and aims also at formulating recommendations on the improvement of intergroup relations in this quarter.

We focused on the quarter as a whole, rather than on a smaller unit of analysis, because the whole population of Werderau is concerned by the described issues. This method was enabled by the small size of the quarter. Moreover, a large area of the statistical sector Werderau is purely industrial. This area is not considered as part of Werderau by the majority of the inhabitants and was not included in the field studies.

As another quarter of analysis, **Langwasser** was chosen primarily as the arena of a recent conflict around a project of an Intercultural Garden which was built in a residential area and led into migrant-majority ascriptions. Thematically, the focus is not the project itself, but the ways in which it was perceived by the residents of the area and the influence of third parties on local conflict dynamics. Spatially, the focus is on the area surrounding the garden project.

The choice of the quarter **Gostenhof** as study target originates from the high diversity of its residents. The whole quarter is shaped by the diverse origins of its residents and their high proportion within the total population of the quarter. The area around the quarter's main street is characterised by an even more pronounced diversity. This area was chosen in order to analyse intergroup relations in a context of high diversity.

1. Methodology

The analysis of the three quarters is based on different instruments: ethnographic interviews, expert interviews, policy/stakeholder interviews, a neighbourhood forum, a media analysis, quantitative analysis of socio-demographic and economic data and further background data. The analysis combines these instruments in order to find comprehensive results.

The primary instrument is **ethnographic interviews**. These were conducted with residents of each quarter. The interviewees were chosen on the basis of a sampling method aimed at giving qualitative representation to the different groups of society in rough proportion to their distribution in each quarter. The sampling criteria included: migration background (direct, indirect, none), gender, age (18-35, 36-65 and 65+ years), and participation in social life (none/low, user of measures/activities, conductor of measures/activities). In total, 34 ethnographic interviews were conducted. All interviews were conducted in the respective quarters at different locations (on the street, in homes, in restaurants etc.) between October 2011 and January 2012. All interviews were conducted in German with the exception of two interviews in Turkish. For each interview, a summary in English was written. Each interview was transcribed and analysed using the software MAXqda2. Table 21 illustrates the sample and distribution according to the sampling dimensions of the interviewees in the three quarters.

Expert interviews were conducted with twelve stakeholders and policy makers in the phase of the selection of target quarters and again in the preparation phase for the ethnographic interviews in order to identify relevant aspects of analysis for the respective quarter and to choose the interaction sites within the target quarters.

Policy and stakeholder interviews were conducted with eight people with specific policy expertise on one or more of the target quarters. These interviews aimed at reconstructing the policy perspective from the side of the stakeholders/policy makers. The analysis compares this perspective with the policy perspective of the residents, as expressed by interviewees of the ethnographic interviews.

The **media analysis** of two newspapers was conducted with the intention of demonstrating how the quarters and their developments were framed in newspapers. The media selected for analysis were *Nuremberger Zeitung* und *Nuremberger Nachrichten*. Both of them are large local daily newspapers with different political orientations. The two selected newspapers were accessed through an online archive. With a sample of newspapers of every fifth day of the last ten years, a keyword search was conducted. 212 articles in total were identified through the keyword search, 81 of them concerned Werderau, 71 Gostenhof and 60 Langwasser. The analysis compares the media coverage with developments in the quarters and with interviewees' perceptions of media coverage.

Quantitative socio-demographic and economic data was collected for relevant dimensions in order to demonstrate the social context of the quarter and attempt comparisons with other quarters.

A **neighbourhood forum** was conducted in the quarter Werderau after the completion of the above described research phase in order to present first results to the quarter's residents and stakeholders, discuss these results with them and thereby gain further insights, and stimulate future activities in the quarter which will hopefully be carried on by the quarter's stakeholders.

2. Context description and perceptions

2.1 Urban context

Location of the quarters

Langwasser is located in the south-western outskirts of Nuremberg. The southern part of the quarter constitutes the city limits of Nuremberg. Langwasser is divided by two main streets into four sectors.

Interviewees do not include the northern part of the quarter in their subjective definition of Langwasser's physical limits. They further exclude the non-residential southern part of Langwasser. Whereas all interviewees perceived the housing area that is located southeast of the train trails as part of the quarter, only a few perceived the south-western housing area as such. An interviewee stated that Langwasser was divided into southern Langwasser and northern Langwasser, whereas northern Langwasser can be separated again into an eastern and a western part with the underground station constituting the border between both parts – this is in line with the statistical definition of the quarter divisions.

Werderau is located closer to the city centre, bordering the southern downtown belt in the Southeast. In the East, Werderau is bordered by a highway. A highway junction divides the quarter into a northern and a southern part. These two sectors were formerly named 'Materlach' and 'Werderau'. Only recently was Materlach statistically integrated into Werderau. However, the former definition is still reflected in people's perceptions of the borders of Werderau (see Picture 2): Most interviewees identify the northern part, which is located between *Frankenschnellweg* and the trails, as Werderau. No interviewee considers the southern residential area, which used to be Materlach, as part of Werderau. Only the sports facilities located in that area were perceived as part of Werderau by some.

Gostenhof is the quarter located the closest to the city centre, being part of the downtown belt and bordering the city centre to the Northeast. Gostenhof's south-western borderline is constituted by a highway. Three big streets further form the borderlines in the other geographic directions. The proximity to the city centre is perceived as one of the main advantages of the quarter by its residents.

All interviewees consistently stress the central location of the quarter and tend to perceive it as much smaller than its actual statistical limits. According to their definition, Gostenhof lies to the East, in between the streets *Am Plärren* and *Kohlenhofstraße*. Even though the statistical Gostenhof reaches until *Kernstraße*, which lies more to the West, most interviewees drew the border at the cemetery.

Public transportation

While Langwasser is located on the outskirts of Nuremberg, it is nevertheless well connected to the other parts of the city: It has a direct connection to a highway and various options for public transportation. In accordance with this, interviewees praise the good public transportation of Langwasser.

Gostenhof's public transportation is similarly well developed but not equally essential since all city centre facilities are in walking distance. The quarter Werderau is only served by buses. However, a very close tram station in the neighbouring quarter *Gibitzenhof* is very close and frequently used for accessing

Werderau. It is located directly at the residential bridge connecting the two quarters. This bridge represents at the same time the 'main gate' to this rather isolated quarter.

Development of the quarters

Langwasser's development can be traced back to National Socialism. Prisoner-of-war camps, military camps and a train station for war transportation formed Langwasser's structure and environment. After the Second World War, these buildings were partly used by refugees, displaced persons and US military, whereas other parts were transformed into housing developments. From 1946 to 1960, the largest foreigner camp of the region was located in Langwasser. With the beginning of the 1960s, the city of Nuremberg initiated a structured development of housing areas in Langwasser and thus dismantled the camps. Due to frequent restructuring, Langwasser has a diverse architecture and a huge diversity of inhabitants. 50 per cent of the south-eastern and south-western parts of Langwasser are constituted by non-housing areas. The northern sectors of Langwasser primarily consist of housing areas. Housing units in the north-eastern part of Langwasser have mainly been built after 1991.

In accordance with the above remarks about Langwasser's diverse architecture, some interviewees mention the large variety of houses, such as one-family houses, row houses, housing allotments, as a peculiarity of the quarter. It is mentioned that many buildings which originated from war times were torn down and many buildings had been renovated. Present day buildings increasingly look very similar and ordinary, without any special features. A comparison to Gostenhof is drawn, stating that Gostenhof, in contrast to Langwasser, developed over a longer period of time which is apparent in the architecture of the buildings. The after-war renovations played an important role for Langwasser's reputation. Some interviewees mention that in the past, Langwasser was often associated with Russian gangs, thus its reputation was bad. The renovations helped to improve the quarter's reputation.

Interviewees stress that Langwasser's housing areas are closed off from transit traffic, which accounts for the quietness that is one of Langwasser's characteristics. The majority of interviewees describe Langwasser as a very green quarter. Even though it is not too far from the city centre, it is at the same time nearby the forest and offers a lot of green areas in between buildings.

Gostenhof is predominantly characterised by housing areas. However, throughout the quarter, a large number of shops can also be found. Particularly the area around the main street – *Gostenhofer Hauptstrasse* – is known for its large variety of shops, many of them are in ownership of people with a Turkish background. This area is the focus of the analysis in this quarter. The majority of houses in Gostenhof originate from times before World War II, since only few houses were damaged during war. After World War II, many migrants and socially disadvantaged people moved into the quarter due to old and thus cheap houses within an unattractive environment (lack of green areas). During the last ten years, extensive renovation works were initiated in order to improve the quality of living in Gostenhof and the image of the quarter. The quarter has increasingly attained the reputation of a multicultural and artist area, although it remains socially challenged.

Interviewees perceive a lack of green areas in Gostenhof. It is often stated that 'instead of green and free areas, grey buildings are dominating the overall picture'. An interviewee contrasts the grey appearance of

Gostenhof to the green appearance of Langwasser. One person feels that Gostenhof has 'ugly houses, like in a ghetto' and that it is 'the worst quarter of Nuremberg'. The old appearance of Gostenhof's buildings is mentioned by several people. Some interviewees mention the renovated buildings from Gostenhof, but remark that those buildings are inhabited by wealthy people, artists and students and consider them as the 'hip' part of the quarter. Contrastingly, there is an area which has not been renovated, namely the buildings West of *Maximilianstraße*. An interviewee says that this contrast sometimes causes social envy. Another interviewee perceives a positive change of Gostenhof's outward appearance, due to the recent renovation of many buildings. Nevertheless, many interviewees describe Gostenhof as a dirty quarter. The huge amount of traffic crossing the quarter is criticised, but it is remarked as well that the traffic situation has improved a lot during the last few years.

The inhabited area of **Werderau** nearly exclusively consists of housing developments that were built over several construction periods (about 60 years), beginning in 1911, and consists of about 1,260 housing units. Werderau's general impression is that of a village within the city. The director of the factory MAN – a large industrial factory, located in the neighbouring quarter *Gibitzenhof* - initiated the construction of houses in order to provide accommodation for his employees. The model for Werderau was designed as a garden city with rather rural structures including all essential facilities: a market place, doctors and stores, and small gardens for most housing allotments. Each one-family house was built with a small garden (Kraus 2006: 107). The proportions of the types of apartments by the construction and the type of building reflect the history of Werderau: Nearly all apartments were built before 1990, about half of them before 1948, over one fifth of housing units are one-family houses and over one third are part of blocks of three to six apartments. In 1998, a significant event changed the housing structure of Werderau: Large parts of the housing developments were sold by MAN to a real estate company. The subsequent sales of hundreds of over 700 housing units to private owners resulted in a remarkable change of the composition of Werderau's population: Until that time the inhabitants were almost solely employees of MAN (migrants as well as Germans). After 1998 many of them moved away and others who had bought houses or apartments moved in (Referat für Jugend, Familie & Soziales, 2011). Conflicts arose between old and new inhabitants, which are the subject of the analysis below.

Most interviewees in Werderau mention the old buildings as the quarter's characteristic. In accordance with the above description of Werderau, various interviewees mention the construction of workmen's houses by MAN and their nice architecture and the working-class history of the quarter. Some interviewees perceive Werderau as spaciouly built, whereas others underline a redensification that took place in the 1960s. Most interviewees perceive Werderau as a very green quarter with a lot of gardens. Apart from the green areas in between buildings, natural surroundings are easily accessible. An interviewee compared Werderau with Gostenhof, where the densification is much higher and where recreational activities are much more directed towards the city centre of Nuremberg. Most interviewees stress the village-like character of the quarter - a village in the centre of the city with a clear and stable structure. Even though Werderau is not directly located by the centre of the city, it is perceived as 'central' by some interviewees. All essential facilities are easily reachable. Some interviewees perceive Werderau as a rather calm quarter.

Recreational and commercial features

Except for the north-eastern part of **Langwasser**, the quarter features various industrial and commercial areas such as the big shopping mall *Frankencenter*. Langwasser's recreational and cultural facilities such as a museum and a swimming pool provide possibilities to spend leisure time within the quarter. Interviewees point out that Langwasser offers all essential facilities. In reference to facilities, nearly all interviewees mention the importance of the shopping mall *Frankencenter* around which the majority of economic activities take place. One interviewee identifies a shortage of youth centres and meeting places.

Gostenhof - though smaller in size than Langwasser – has yet a larger variety of recreational and commercial places. A considerable part of recreational activities are offered by the large number of social services and welfare organisations which are located in the quarter. Gostenhof's commercial life is spread throughout the quarter, with a particularly high concentration around *Gostenhofer Hauptstrasse*. Various small shops, bars and restaurants, of which some have an alternative and artistic touch, are run by migrants as well as non-migrants. Although there are hardly any green areas in the quarter, there are quite a number of places where people can meet and interact, e.g. small squares with benches, etc. Interviewees' perceptions concerning Gostenhof's economic life and its facilities are consistent with the general description of the quarter. An interviewee praises the diverse, good and international grocery stores and further mentions the very friendly Turkish shops and snack bars. Critical comments are made about the local mosque, the numerous gambling places and the localities of the Salvation Army. An interviewee mentions that in the last 30 years many social facilities such as a big doss house were installed. A hostel for asylum seekers is planned.

Multiculturalism is often mentioned as a characteristic of Gostenhof. In accordance with this, many interviewees perceive their quarter as colourful, vivid and easy-going. A lack of playgrounds and other activities for kids is identified.

In contrast to these two quarters, recreational opportunities in **Werderau** are limited to two playgrounds and a youth centre. Throughout the quarter there is hardly any area where people can gather and interact. The *Volckamer Platz*, the centre of the housing development, constitutes the square around which nearly all commercial life happens.

2.2 Quarters as social contexts

The three quarters Langwasser, Werderau and Gostenhof differ remarkably in their population size. In 2009, Langwasser had 32,879 inhabitants (almost 7 percent of Nuremberg's population), Gostenhof's 8,079 inhabitants accounted for only about 2 percent of the city's total population. With 4,650 inhabitants, Werderau is the smallest quarter of the three.

The age composition of the three quarters does not differ very much, except for the percentage of inhabitants over 60, who in 2009 represented approx. 26 percent of Werderau's population, a similar share as in the city as a whole. In contrast, in the same year, 34 percent of Langwasser's population and only 14 percent of Gostenhof's population were over 60. The gender composition in each of the three quarters is balanced.

Concerning the population composition by year of arrival in the quarter, it is remarkable that in Langwasser more than half of the population arrived ten years ago or earlier. Approximately 44 percent of Werderau's population belong to this group. In contrast, about 54 percent of Gostenhof's population arrived rather recently, meaning four or less years ago.

In Werderau, the attendance rate of pre-primary institutions was below 70 percent which is very low, compared to other quarters such as Langwasser with an attendance rate of 80 percent and above. The attendance rate of pre-primary institutions in Gostenhof almost reached 100 percent and thus was the highest among the three quarters. In Werderau as well as in Gostenhof and in the western parts of Langwasser the proportion of children in pre-primary institutions whose mother tongue is not German was above 50 per cent and was thus rather high. In 2009, the proportion of pupils in Werderau who transitioned to lower secondary school (*Hauptschule*) with about 50 percent was relatively high whereas the proportion that transitioned to higher secondary schools (*Gymnasium*) was below average. Transition rates of Langwasser indicate that the proportion of pupils who went to higher or intermediate secondary schools was on a medium level. Among the three quarters, Gostenhof had the highest transition rate to lower secondary schools.

The proportion of unemployed among the population of Werderau in 2009 was relatively low (5 percent) and slightly below Nuremberg's average. However, the proportion of foreigners among the unemployed was considerable high (approx. 40 percent). The proportion of unemployed in Langwasser differed significantly among the four sectors. In the quarter as a whole, foreigners were overrepresented among the unemployed, but their representation was lower than the city average. The proportion of unemployed in Gostenhof was 12 percent in 2009, amongst which 49 percent were foreigners.

As for the **relations and interactions of people** in the quarters, interviewees in **Langwasser** perceive the shopping mall *Frankencenter* as very important, not only as a place to shop, but also as a gathering point, a centre where a lot of activities are offered, e.g. exhibitions and other events. Apart from youth centres (four in total), the church, the civil association, the centre for families, the city library, the nursery, playgrounds and the day-care centre are also mentioned as relevant for social encounters. Some interviewees mention a new community centre, which organises dance balls, gatherings of senior citizens, movie screenings and ping-pong events. The youth is reported to meet up through sports activities and to use the carports, which were installed for them due to a former lack of youth facilities. Street workers look after the youngsters that are using the carports. Apart from that, youth also meet at public transportation stops. The neighbourhood centre and the Intercultural Garden are mentioned as further meeting places. The neighbourhood-festivity is an annual event designed for bringing residents together. In general, activities which aim at bringing people together are perceived as a positive input for the quarter and as a means of creating mutual trust. The numerous and various activities of that kind seem to have been contributing to a positive social climate in Langwasser.

As for **Gostenhof**, the social context differs in several aspects from the one in Langwasser: The various, international gastronomies and shops which are shaped by the diverse ethnic backgrounds of the residents as well as by artists play a meaningful role in the lives of Gostenhof's residents and also attract people from other quarters as places to meet, interact and spend leisure time. The diverse social and ethnic composition is perceived as a major characteristic of the quarter. Interviewees differentiate the

groups of artists, middle-class intellectuals with children, the Turkish community and young mothers and argue that these groups rather live side by side with few encounters.

Whereas a lack of green areas is identified, a space on the compound of a former factory is described as the only green area which is existent and which is frequently used by residents for recreational activities. Moreover, a large variety of activities for different target groups is offered by the numerous associations, clubs and social services in the quarter. Besides ongoing activities, there are annual festivals organised by neighbourhood associations as well as by ethnic and migrant organisations. The neighbourhood centre has a leading role in organising activities and is home for a large number of migrant, ethnic and religious organisations as well as for the district coordination of Gostenhof. Besides the neighbourhood centre, there are several localities which serve as meeting points for different groups, e.g. Turkish men, Spanish migrants etc. A mosque is located in Gostenhof as well. Besides clubs and associations, there are some individuals who organise events for the quarter. In general, the population of Gostenhof is described as socially very mixed and dynamic. Gathering points are sometimes socially segregated. With the arrival of students as new residents, the composition of the population changed quickly. In comparison to Werderau, Gostenhof is described as faster, younger, more vivid, louder and more individual.

Werderau's social context differs much from the one of Gostenhof and Langwasser: Whereas the leisure time of residents in Gostenhof is often directed towards the city centre, people in Werderau rather spend time in their own gardens or at the nearby canal. In the evenings, people in Werderau normally go home, whereas in Gostenhof they often go out. Due to the original construction of Werderau's buildings for MAN-employees, the structure of the quarter was village-like. Men knew each other through their jobs at MAN, women met on the playgrounds and children went to the same primary school. While the composition of the population has changed, social life is still primarily characterised by these village-like structures.

Leisure time activities are dominated by sports. There are two athletic grounds which are used by several Turkish male soccer teams and youth teams. The main square *Volckamerplatz* and a pizza bar are described as central public gathering points. The church, the bowling club within the only restaurant of the quarter, the association of garden plot holders, the youth club and the civic association are other significant meeting places for residents. Young mothers and children meet on playgrounds, which turn into gathering points for youth in the evenings. The bilingual parents-child groups, which meet up in the rooms of the church, are used as opportunities to get together (for migrants of Turkish origin as well as for Germans) and make friends. The Turkish women's club is an old-established group with regular meetings. An important function for the social life of the quarter is the annual neighbourhood festivity. It has since its initiation contributed to bringing people together and has become a tradition in the quarter. Particularly for young people, the youth club is a central, and actually the only ad-hoc institution. It is used by many young people of Werderau on a daily basis. However, the activities seem to be rather aimed at youngsters, whereas older youth lack opportunities for meetings and activities. The voluntary fire brigade appears to be an important stakeholder in Werderau, which organises festivities, as well.

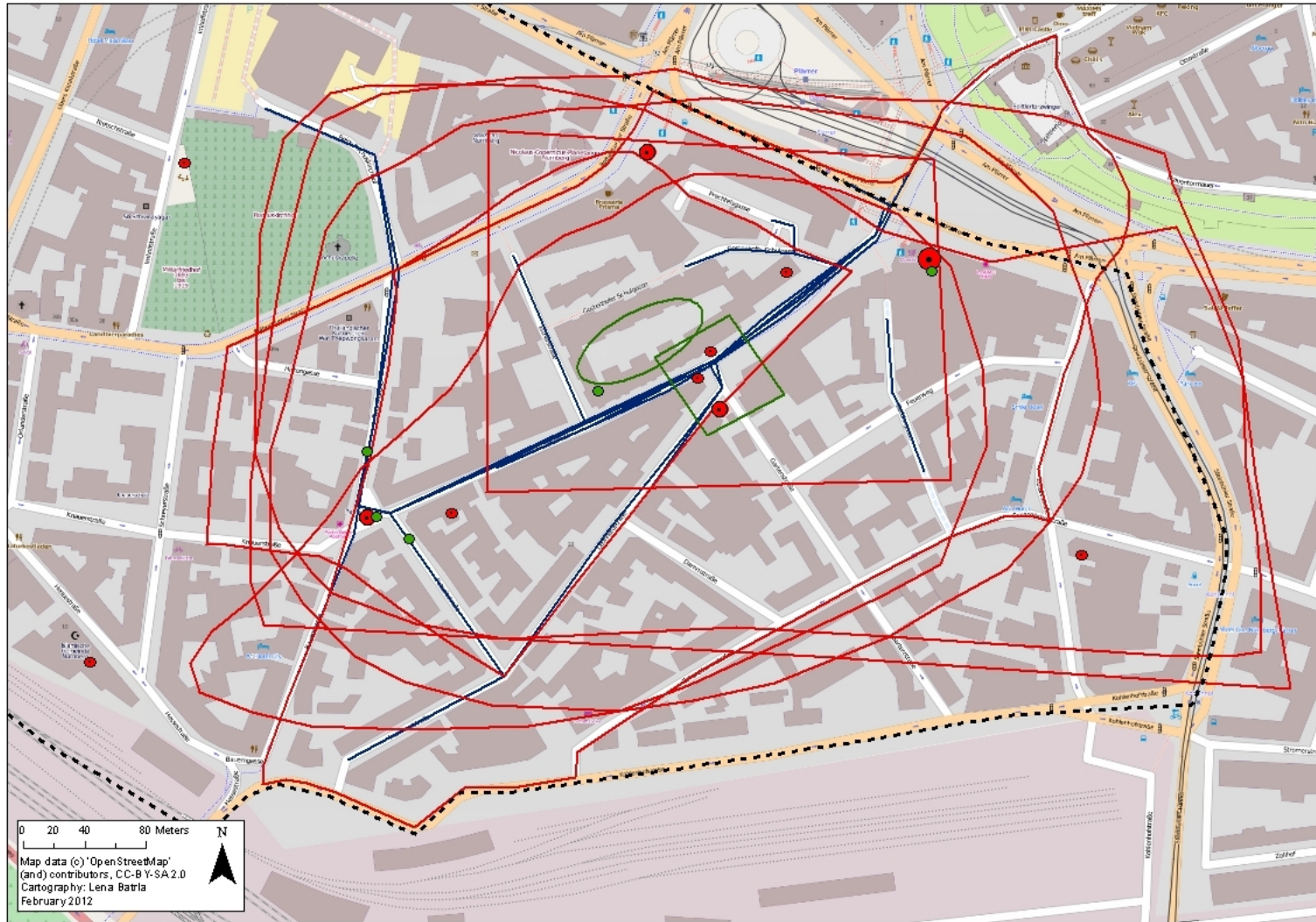
Interviewees and participants in the neighbourhood forum agree that a facility where meetings can take place, e.g. a cultural facility, is missing and would have an added value for the quarter. Moreover, there appears to be a lack of opportunities for interaction in the public sphere, such as small green spaces with benches.

The maps below illustrate the described perceptions of interviewees of their quarters in regard of the perceived quarter limits, relevant meeting places and areas, and areas which migrants had a particular influence on.

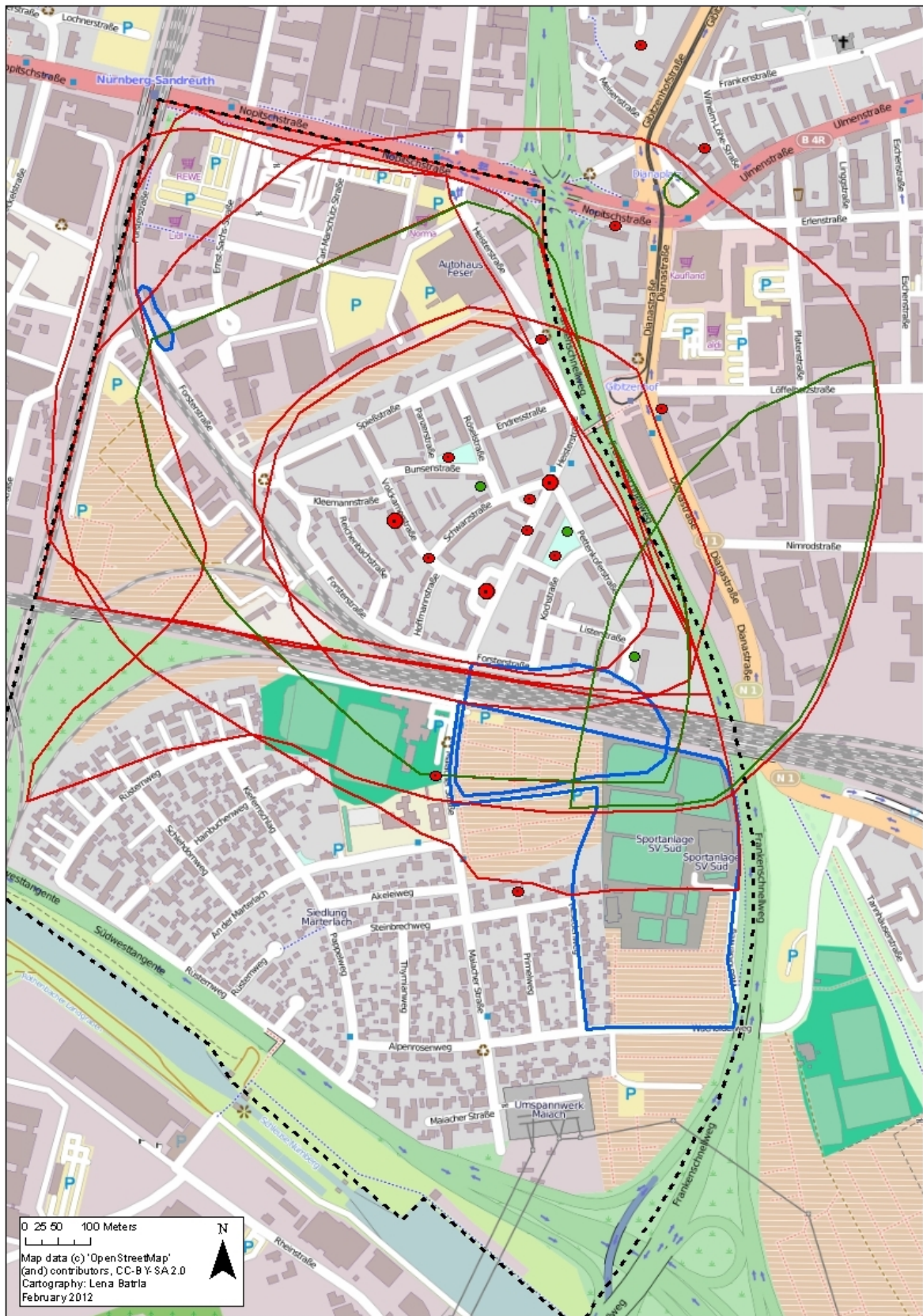
Picture 2: Nuremberg Langwasser



Picture 3: Nuremberg Gostenhof



Picture 4: Nuremberg Werderau



3. Werderau

3.1 Intergroup relations

3.1.1 The neighbourhood conflict in Werderau

3.1.1.1 The conflict¹

Werderau is a traditional working class quarter in the Southern suburbs of Nuremberg. In the past, most of the inhabitants were working for the nearby MAN factory. With increasing integration and family reunion of guest workers in the late 1960s and 1970s, migrant families, mostly of Turkish origin, were moving to the quarter. They rather quickly integrated and were perceived as a regular part of the quarter's population. Interethnic and intergroup relations were peaceful.

Since about the turn of the century the composition of the population changed and interethnic relations started to become tense and conflictual. Neighbourhood conflicts developed between old inhabitants and new Turkish families who had recently bought houses and moved there. Anti-Turkish sentiment and hate rose, different forms of protest against the new inhabitants developed. Old inhabitants complained about the new inhabitants for 'not keeping to the rules', not taking proper care of their garbage and being noisy, particularly the children. Old inhabitants accused the new Turkish families of threatening the 'old order'. An anti-immigrant nativist group (an activist movement associated a right-wing party) from outside the quarter interfered and increased the interethnic tensions. They distributed anti-immigrant leaflets and held meetings in the pub of the quarter. In municipal and federal elections the nativist group succeeded in getting a share of the vote much above the city level. Inhabitants complained for being left alone by the city administration.

A new mayor was elected 2002 in the municipal elections. The city administration appointed a district coordinator for the quarter who was able to slowly ease the tensions and to end the open conflict.

3.1.1.2 A closer look at the conflict and how it can be explained

In this section we will reconstruct the development of the conflict in more detail and will try to explain the rise, different stages and 'solution' of this neighbourhood conflict. We will combine description with theoretical analysis. The theoretical analysis is based on elements of intergroup relations theory (Sherif & Sherif 1969) and a reformulation of Esser's theory of interethnic conflict (Esser 2000: 418-423).

We start by clarifying the very notion of the concept of conflict. What is a conflict? In the tradition of inter-group relations research **conflict can be defined** as strife between two (or more) groups for the control of goods that each urgently desires, but which can be attained by one group only at the expense of the other(s) (Sherif & Sherif 1969: 239). Goods can be material goods and rights, but also values, beliefs, norms and lifestyles.

The Werderau conflict had taken the form of an interethnic conflict between Germans and Turks. The basic theoretical proposition we work with is that **there is no 'genuine' interethnic conflict**. Conflicts that

¹ A detailed description and timeline of events and actions is given in section three

take this form arise from a 'structural conflict' of interests and are framed as ethnic conflict in a series of stages. Based on Esser's model and slightly reformulating it we discern the following stages of conflict development and will apply it as an explanation to the Werderau conflict. The stages are:

- Structural conflict
- Framing of the conflict, ethnicisation
- Mobilisation and intensification of conflict
- Spreading of conflict
- Solution of conflict.

The argument in the following sections is organised by first giving a description of events and actions, and then trying to categorise and explain these.

3.1.1.2.1 Development of a structural conflict

The present day Werderau neighbourhood conflict is related to characteristics of the quarter which arose with the very foundation of the quarter shortly before the First World War. In 1911 a non-profit association was formed and the construction of houses began for the new settlement. The MAN company and a house building cooperative of MAN workers were the share holders of the association. Employment in the factory was a precondition for renting a house; thus, the Werderau population consisted of MAN workers and their families. Situated outside the city the quarter had an almost rural character and had the appearance of a village. Each house had a garden. Voluntary working class associations contributed to a rich communal life. The MAN workers' council played a central role in the communal life. In sociological terms, Werderau matched the classical definition for a *Gemeinschaft*.

In 1941 the workers' housing cooperative was dissolved and the MAN company remained as the single owner of the settlement and the houses. In the 1950s additional houses were built, some without gardens. New MAN workers moved in and enlarge the population. The MAN workers' council also had a strong role in allotting houses to workers and on the general living conditions in the quarter.

The 1960s see the addition of a large multi-story building to the single houses structure, with single apartments. With the recruitment of guest workers by MAN a number of them move to the quarter and become part of the Werderau population.

The idyllic character of the neighbourhood was somewhat disturbed in the 1970s, when a motorway was built close to the quarter. Whereas this environmental issue could be somewhat settled by the construction of anti-noise and anti-pollution walls, a very different kind of issue developed in the year 1990, which would become a major cause for the Werderau conflict: the Werderau building society that owned the houses **abolished its non-profit status**. One of the consequences was that people other than MAN employees were allowed to rent Werderau houses. The other consequence was that severe fears arose among residents that the MAN controlled building company would sell the houses to outside investors and that their housing rights and low rents were threatened.

The fears become a reality when in 1998 MAN sold the housing stock to the real estate company Telos. With the new owners, the MAN workers' council's influence on housing and living conditions in Werderau ended. Telos aimed at reselling the housing area as a whole or by single houses and started forcing some tenants to move out and is reselling the houses. New tenants and new house owners moved into Werderau, mainly migrants of Turkish origin.

In 2001 Telos went bankrupt and a **series of ownership changes** among different investors occurred, in which more houses were sold to single households and new inhabitants came to Werderau, again mostly of Turkish origin².

On an explanatory level the events described constitute a **structural conflict**: the conflict consists of the opposite interest of investors and of old inhabitants. The old inhabitants wanted to keep their housing rights (life long residence right, low rent, some control over who moves into the neighbourhood), the different new owners wanted to pursue their interests as investors, i.e. sell houses to new owners. This is the **material side** of the structural conflict. In addition, there is a **cultural dimension** of the structural conflict. The new inhabitants had different ways of behaviour, the old inhabitants felt that the new neighbours were not keeping to the rules' (noise, garbage, children's behaviour) and that they threatened the 'old order' which could not be enforced any more.

3.1.1.2.2 Framing and ethnicisation

The next step in the explanation is about the **framing of the conflict**, about the definition of the situation, which decides about the way in which mobilisation of people over the conflict can take place. Major possibilities of defining structural conflicts are along class lines, between ethnic and between religious groups. Framing of a situation has important implications: 'Framing of a situation is a process in which individuals change their perspective from an individual rational orientation to a collective-emotional orientation. This may take the form of an ethnic identification or of religious or other *Gemeinschaft* like framing of the situation with feelings of collective solidarity' (Esser 2000: 420). The framing of the structural conflicts in Werderau takes place along ethnic lines. The incoming new Turkish residents are perceived as threatening the established residential status of old Werderau inhabitants and as threatening the old order in the quarter. The **structural conflict has been ethnicised**.

3.1.1.2.3 Conflict mobilisation and intensification

Ethnicisation implies that the conflict is defined as **group conflict**: we and they, Germans and Turks. Ethnicisation brings into play existing stereotypes about the groups that have nothing to do with the structural conflict but contribute to intensifying the conflict. The ethnic framing has a strong **emotional component** and increasingly drives people on both sides to take part in the conflict.

² For details see Timeline of development and rise of conflict

Table 1

Such mobilisation can be further increased by **outside intervention**. This is what happened in Werderau in 2002. The mobilisation and intensification of conflict is mirrored in the strongly increasing media reports about Werderau³. The quarter is more and more portrayed as a 'problem quarter'. The ethnicisation of the conflict had already been partly stimulated by nativist right wing forces of the neo-Nazi party NPD and a regional group called 'Ausländerstopp'. They claimed to be supporting the old inhabitants' interests and blame migrants for the ongoing changes of driving people out as tenants, selling the houses to mostly Turkish families and threatening the 'old order' of the quarter. As local and other elections showed they were partly successful, since many inhabitants felt left alone by the city administration of Nuremberg which did not seem to care about what was happening in the quarter. This has to be understood against the background of Werderau being used to be taken care of by the MAN company and the workers' council in the past.

3.1.1.2.4 Conflict solution

In 2002 a new mayor was elected and the Social Democrats became the leading political force in Nuremberg. The new administration installed a conflict manager in the quarter. The **conflict manager** initiated a round table of citizens and voluntary associations and the conflict groups started communication with one another. The conflict, which had not been violent anyway, started de-escalating. After two years the conflict manager could be withdrawn from the quarter in 2004. In the same year a youth centre was opened which partly took over some of the functions of the conflict manager.

After several changes in the ownership of the Werderau housing association the remaining property – houses that had not been sold to outside families – was bought by the non-profit city housing company WBG in 2008. This way the **structural conflict ended** that lay behind the interethnic tensions in the quarter, since the WBG is obliged to follow a socially responsible housing policy.

As a result of the many changes in the quarter in the last decade the old working class village-like *Gemeinschaft* does no longer exist. Divisions persist between old and new residents, German and Turkish residents, also between old and new Turkish inhabitants. But disputes between the groups have eased and they have learned to communicate and cooperate with one another. The city continues to support stakeholders in their community work.

3.1.1.2.5 Conclusion

Werderau is the case of a structural conflict between investors and long time house renters, who feel that their housing rights ('property rights') are threatened. Since it is Turkish families who buy houses sold by the investors it is rather easy to ethnicise and emotionalise the conflict and extend the conflict to this group. A second dimension of property rights – to want to have control over one's environment – is cultural and confronts old and new residents with very different values and behaviour, lifestyles and senses of order. The material side of the conflict could have been avoided or solved earlier by political intervention and having a non-profit housing company take over the old MAN housing stock. Earlier

³ See Media Analysis

mediation by a community worker might have avoided the ethnicisation of the conflict and the anti-immigrant group's intervention from outside.

3.1.1.3 Timeline of development and rise of conflict

Table 1: Werderau: Timeline of development and rise of conflict⁴

Year	Type of event	Property and residence rights	Social structure and social relations	Perceptions and reactions to events
1909	MAN (Transport-related Engineering Factory) bought the land property (13.5 hectare) near the MAN factory in the rural surrounding of Nuremberg which later constituted Werderau			
1911	-Foundation of Non-Profit Housing Association (NPHA) 'gemeinnützige Baugesellschaft Werderau mbH' -Start of construction of the housing development	-Main shareholders of the NPHA: MAN and Cooperative Building Society for Members of MAN 'Baugenossenschaft für Angehörige der MAN" -Tenants own shares of NPHA which grant them the right of residence -MAN employment is precondition for right of residence	-Only MAN employees live in Werderau -Rural and harmonic character of quarter -Working class residents -Working class volunteer associations	
1941	Cooperative Building Society for Members of MAN dissolves	-MAN remains as only shareholder of NPHA		
1950	-Extension of the quarter through purchase of additional land property, construction of additional housing allotments without gardens -10% of the present number of housing development and nearly the complete	-Strong role of workers' council for housing rights and living conditions	New MAN employees move in	

⁴ The sources of information in the 'Timeline' are various documents, e.g. expert, policy and ethnographic interviews, media reports, city documents etc.

	factory of MAN had been destroyed in WWII -55% of the present number of houses had been constructed by 1948			
1960s	Construction of first multi-storey building with one-room apartments and other additional buildings		Guest workers move in	Guest workers are part of the social group of MAN employees and are accepted and integrated as such
End of 1970s	-Construction of highway bordering the quarter -98% of the construction of houses was finished by 1969			Idyllic character of quarter is disturbed
1990	NPHA abolishes its non-profit status	The statute of NPHA allows for a small proportion of non-MAN residents		Fears of the sale of the housing development arise among residents
10 March 1996	Town council elections: votes for right wing parties (2.5 percentage points) above city average			

<p>1998</p>	<p>MAN sells the housing development Werderau to real estate company Telos GmbH</p>	<p>-The influence of the workers council of MAN on the allocation of apartments ends</p> <p>-Telos aims at reselling the housing development as a whole or as single units</p> <p>-Despite agreements with the city, Telos forces some tenants to move out and sells some apartments</p>		<p>-Residents and politicians are outraged about MAN not communicating their plans prior to the sale</p> <p>-High level of uncertainty and anxiety among residents</p> <p>-City of Nuremberg fails in the attempt to assign historic preservation status to Werderau to avoid reconstruction into luxury housing units</p> <p>-City of Nuremberg succeeds in agreements with Telos to prohibit luxury reconstruction and grant life-long right of residence to all tenants</p> <p>-Disputes between Telos and tenants</p>
<p>2000</p>				<p>Constitution of a civic association to represent neighbourhood interests in Werderau</p>
<p>Early 2001</p>	<p>-Telos declares insolvency</p> <p>-Housing development Werderau is transferred to Federal State Bank of Bavaria</p>	<p>-Federal State Bank of Bavaria proceeds with the sale of apartments to tenants or new owners, tenants were partially forced to move out of or buy apartment</p>	<p>New tenants and owners move into Werderau, mainly migrants of Turkish origin</p>	
<p>Summer</p>	<p>-Federal State Bank of Bavaria founds the Housing Society Werderau and transfers to it the housing development</p>	<p>-Sale of apartments to tenants or new owners continues, tenants were partially forced to move out of or buy apartment</p>		

<p>2002</p>	<p>-Real Estate Company Frankonia takes over housing development -MAN lays off employees</p>	<p>-Sale of apartments to tenants or new owners continues, tenants were partially forced to move out of or buy apartment -Some former MAN employees are forced to move out of apartments due to unemployment</p>	<p>-New tenants move into Werderau, mainly migrants of Turkish origin -Social relations change with new neighbours -Some neighbourly disputes -Some unemployed among Werderau residents for the first time since the existence of the quarter</p>	<p>-New residents increasingly considered as a threat to the 'old order' -Fears of unemployment among residents</p>
	<p>-Residents of Werderau ask city of Nuremberg and political parties for assistance for the quarter, but no responses/actions follow</p>			<p>-Residents of Werderau feel 'left alone' with their situation (while being used to being 'taken care of' by MAN and its workers council)</p>
	<p>-Right wing parties (NPD, <i>Initiative Ausländerstopp</i>) campaign in Werderau, claim to be supportive of the quarter and blame migrants for the change of the 'old order' and neighbourly disputes</p>			<p>-Part of old-residents feel that right wing groups represent their interests and perceive migrants increasingly as the source of the changes and neighbourly disputes</p>
<p>3 March</p>	<p>-Municipal elections reveal above city average level proportions of votes for right wing parties in Werderau -Ruling political party of the city changes</p>			<p>-Responses by media, politics and city to high proportions of right wing votes -Quarter increasingly considered as 'problematic' -Conflicts are increasingly interpreted in ethnic dimensions</p>

Sum-mer	-The new administration establishes a district coordinator in Werderau, a round table and other measures initiated by district coordinator, cooperation with civic association		-Conflicts ease	-Ethnic interpretations of disputes decrease but don't disappear
2003	District elections: votes for right wing parties from Werderau far above city average			
2004	District coordinator withdrawn from Werderau, youth centre partly carries on activities for youth	-1,247 housing units in the quarter -15% of housing units are in one or two-family houses -58% of housing units are in three to six-family houses -27% of housing units are in seven and more family houses	-Conflicts have eased (appear once in a while on a neighbourly level), but divisions of social relations according to old and new residents, Turkish and German residents, youth and older residents, families and singles, etc.)	
2005	Bundestags elections: votes for right wing parties from Werderau far above city average			
2008	-Non-Profit Municipal Building Cooperative (wbg Nuremberg GmbH) takes over all remaining buildings that had not been sold in previous process -District and municipal elections: votes for right wing parties from Werderau far above city average			No mentioning of changes due to this event by interviewees
2009	<i>Bundestags elections</i> : votes for right wing parties from Werderau far above city			

	average			
2010	Workshops and qualification seminars for stakeholder of Werderau by city of Nuremberg (on request by stakeholders)		<p>-Stakeholder's ability to network and cooperate among one another strengthened</p> <p>-Disputes have eased (appear once in a while on a neighbourly level), grouping of social relations has diminished slightly but has remained in principle (except for youth)</p>	<p>Different perceptions of social relations according to group belonging. Tendencies: old-residents feel that social relations have worsened, new residents feel that social relations are normal, young people feel that too many restrictions are set by older people, older people feel that young people don't obey to the rules of the neighbourhood</p>

3.1.2 Aspects of present intergroup relations

The limited empirical material of this analysis does not allow drawing general conclusions on intergroup relations in Werderau. The aspects discussed here solely represent the perceptions and experience of the people interviewed within the expert, policy and ethnographic interviews.

Interviewees **characterise** the present **social interactions** in Werderau in reference to different aspects:

- **Space** is a criterion differentiating the quality of social interactions: residents of small row houses appear to be coexisting in a more familiar and more positive manner than residents of big apartment blocks do.
- The perception of the quality of social interactions appears to differ depending on the **length of residence** in the quarter:
 - People who have been living in Werderau for fifteen years or longer - old-established residents – compare the present coexistence with the past and find the following differences:
 - Formerly everybody used to know each other; this is not the case anymore.
 - The atmosphere used to be calm, like in a village, nowadays there is more restlessness.
 - Safety is not as well established as it used to, but yet is on a higher level than in other quarters of Nuremberg.
 - There used to be a stronger sense of unity and belonging in former times.
 - In contrast, people who have been living in Werderau between ten and fifteen years – rather newcomers – perceive social interactions in the quarter as ‘normal’ or ‘good’ or rather better than somewhere else; they find it normal that one gets along with some people better than with others.

When describing contacts between neighbours of different origins, interviewees stress that interactions are mostly positive and peaceful, though often on a superficial level. Most interviewees describe neighbourly interactions in Werderau as ‘completely normal’, including occasional disputes, which appear independently from the origin of the concerned people. Some statements indicate that disputes have a background of cultural habits: complaints about children of migrants staying up too late at night and causing too much noise, activities of migrants at night, e.g. vacuum cleaning, and migrants having many visitors. However, the respective statements originate exclusively from elderly persons; this suggests a generational instead of a cultural background. Some disputes escalate into ethnical framing. This occurs in accusation of the general category of ‘foreigners’ for interpersonal problems and the expression of hatred against ‘foreigners’ by some residents. However, most conflicts are described as rather subliminal. In general there is a tendency of improvement and a change towards peaceful cooperation. Yet, quality relations between residents often go along lines of origin; there are only few quality relations across these lines.

In regard of social groupings, interviewees differentiate primarily by criteria of generation and time of residence in Werderau: Relevant groups are young families and elderly people (50+). Moreover, the use of playgrounds is used as a criterion for groupings: Mothers with children (primarily of Turkish origin) who

use the playgrounds in the day time, as opposed to the youth, who uses the playground in the evening. It is stressed that there is no grouping among youth. Generational differences regarding contacts among people of different origins are described as follows: children don't have any hesitations in interacting with each other. The middle generation, particularly families with children, mainly have contacts within the neighbourhood and through activities of children in sports clubs, kindergartens, schools, etc. These contacts, however, are superficial. In general, natives separate themselves from people with a migration background and vice versa. Coexistence takes place, even though lifestyles rather vary by generation rather than by migration background. Encounters among the older generation (50+) hardly ever happen.

The relevance of the criterion of the length of residence in the quarter in the differentiation of sub-groups is suggested by interviewees with the identification of the following sub-groups: old-established residents of Werderau, MAN employees living in Werderau, newly-arrived residents, natives, 'old' migrants, and 'new' migrants. Moreover, the fire brigade, sports clubs and church communities were identified as sub-groups.

The interviewees were asked to fill in a table identifying the place and nature of their perception of contacts between natives and people with a migrant background. Besides the categories school, work, public space, shopping and leisure time, specified in the table, the category 'immediate neighbourhood' was identified as relevant for encounters of people in Werderau. Hence it was added to the table.

It is understood that the type of contact depends much on the living circumstances of the person (e.g. children in school vs. working vs. retirement). Throughout the here differentiated four areas of interaction, the most prevalent pattern are sporadic contacts, as expressed by the answer category 'sometimes'. The only place where frequent contacts between natives and people of migrant background happen in Werderau, according to the interviewees, is in school.

Table 2: Places and frequencies of contacts between natives and people with a migrant background in Werderau, as perceived by interviewees (N=9)

	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	No answer
In school	1	1	5	2
At work	2	2	1	4
In public space	2	4	0	3
During shopping	1	7	1	0
Within leisure time	2	2	2	3
In the immediate neighbourhood ⁵	1	8	3	0

⁵ The values for 'Immediate neighbourhood' were taken out of the interviews, not from the table which the interviewees were asked to fill out. Therefore N=12 applies for this category.

The nature of contacts between natives and people of a migrant background in Werderau is primarily characterised as 'rather positive'. However, in each of the six differentiated spaces, one or two interviewees characterises contacts as 'rather negative'. Exceptions are the 'school' and the 'immediate neighbourhood', where contacts were only characterised as 'rather positive' (see Table 3).

Table 3: Nature of contacts between natives and people with a migrant background in Werderau, as perceived by interviewees (N=9)

	Rather positive	Rather negative	No answer
In school	5	0	4
At work	4	2	3
In public space	5	2	2
During shopping	5	1	3
Within leisure time	5	1	3
In the immediate neighbourhood ⁶	9	0	4

In addition to the above categories, the following spaces were identified as relevant for encounters: The annual 'festivity of the quarter', the housing allotments, the Civic Association (*Freundeskreis Werderau*), sports clubs and social facilities.

Moreover, the interviewees were asked to characterise the relation between natives and people with a migration background in Werderau with one of three attributes. Most interviewees assigned the attributes 'cooperation' (six) or 'peaceful ignorance' (five). Two interviewees were unsure which attribute to assign, no interviewee assigned the attribute of 'conflict'.

3.2 Policies in Werderau

Policies which were specifically aimed at Werderau within the time frame of this analysis include the purchase of the remaining building by the Non-Profit Housing Company (*wbg Nuremberg GmbH*) in 2008, the initiation of district coordination and a round table in 2002, the consecutive foundation of a civil association and the further cooperation between actors of the city and local actors in Werderau after the termination of district coordination in 2004. Table 4 summarises these policies.

The district coordinator acted primarily as an initiator of measures which could assist the quarter in their further independent development. An important goal was the strengthening of the self worth of the

⁶ The values for 'Neighbourhood' were taken out of the interviews, not from the table which the interviewees were asked to fill out. Therefore N=12 applies for this category.

quarter. Public events and visits of public persons were organised for its realisation. One of the activities was the initiation of the foundation of a civil organisation. This civil organisation is still in place and has tried to actively push back right wing forces in the quarter, e.g. by cleaning up playgrounds before right wing activists had a chance to complain about untidiness. Similarly, the association achieved that the only restaurant in the quarter, which used to be a meeting place for a right wing party, does not allow this party to meet on their premises anymore. The civil association's initiation and annual organisation of the district festival is a further important achievement. In 2010, the civil organisation asked the city of Nuremberg for further assistance, in particular in strengthening their competences in project management and networking in order to support the coordination and cooperation of actors in the quarter. The city organised several workshops and qualification seminars in this respect.

The investments of *wbg Nuremberg GmbH* contributed to the structural upgrading of the quarter.

The general strategy of the city of Nuremberg is to strengthen quarters in their independent functioning. In close cooperation with actors of the quarters, the city tries to assess which (temporary) assistances are necessary for this goal. Measures nearly exclusively aim at local stakeholder, not at the quarter inhabitants. In regard of intergroup relations, the city does not support policies for particular ethnic groups but those which target all residents or a particular group (e.g. children) regardless of origin. The policies for Werderau are in line with this strategy. A particular goal for Werderau is to avoid all opportunities for publicity of right wing parties concerning the quarter.

An interviewed expert argues that the district coordination did not effectively meet the needs of the quarter and did not directly target the conflict. The strategy of the district coordination went by the assumption that the conflict was ethnically based. Considering that there was a territorial conflict, the measures did bring people together and helped to make them feel valued, but did not contribute to enabling communication and consensus on territorial questions. He considers the high proportions of right wing votes in Werderau within recent elections as evidence that the root of the conflict was not targeted with the policy of district coordination.

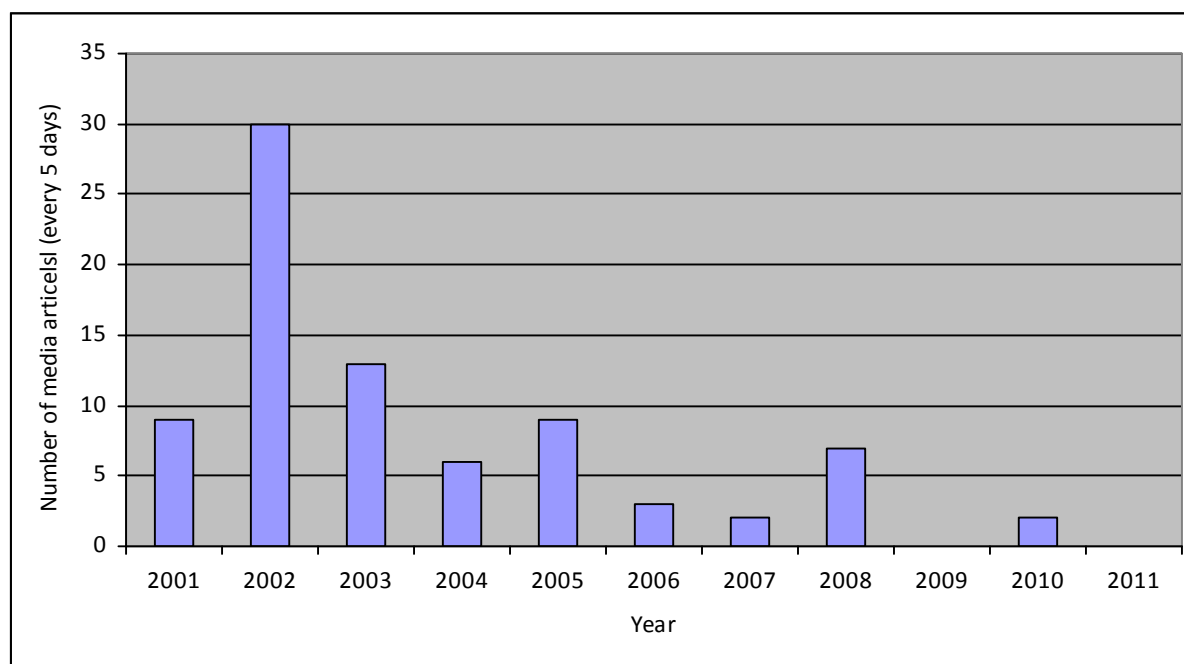
Table 4: Selected policies in Nuremberg Werderau

Policy (Date)	Frames	Outputs	Specific Outcomes	Systemic Outcomes
District Coordination (2002-2004)	<p>Goal: Interethnic exchange, political pacification vs. cooperation with local actors with the goal of enabling independent structures</p> <p>Perception of migrants: As a problem vs. not relevant</p> <p>Perception of interethnic relations: Conflictual vs. cooperational</p>	Implemented and completed	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • parts of the population who had expressed complaints were satisfied • more contact among neighbours • networking was fostered • the usefulness of cooperation across institutional and ethnical borders was moderated • but: the real problem could not be solved because measures targeted only the willing parts of the population • the needs of the target group were met regarding an exchange between different groups and a political pacification, but not regarding the main problem of xenophobia vs. it was done what was possible but social structural problems remain 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • intergroup relations improved and contacts intensified • the perception of problems in the quarter decreased • this could be reached through the inclusion of the different groups in the quarter and the initiation of neighbourly activities
Purchase of the remaining buildings by the Residential Building Cooperative (wbg Nuremberg GmbH), (2008)	<p>Goal: Stabilisation of Werderau's real estate market</p>	Implemented and completed	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • no more private sells of apartment possible • fixed rent prices 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • insecurity about residence rights and living conditions decreased
Conduction of workshops and qualification seminars (2010)	<p>Goal: Strengthening competences of local stakeholders in networking and project, event and association management</p>	Implemented and completed, possibly repetition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ability of local stakeholders to conduct quarter festivity successfully and network and cooperate among each other strengthened 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • sense of togetherness of people in the quarter strengthened • limited sources for negative press

3.3 The media and politics in Werderau

The total media coverage of issues relating to migration and integration in Werderau reflects the development of the conflict with its peak in 2002 and an easing tendency afterwards (see Graph 2).

Graph 2: Number of articles in local media (NZ, NN) on migration- and integration- related issues in Werderau, every five days 2001 – middle of 2011



Looking at within which areas media coverage on Werderau took place, we find that the majority of articles fall into the social area, followed by the cultural area. Within the social area, there are slightly more reportages within the frame of conflict as compared to the frame of cooperation. Similarly, in the total of reports there is a slight prevalence of articles in the frame of conflict (see Table 5).

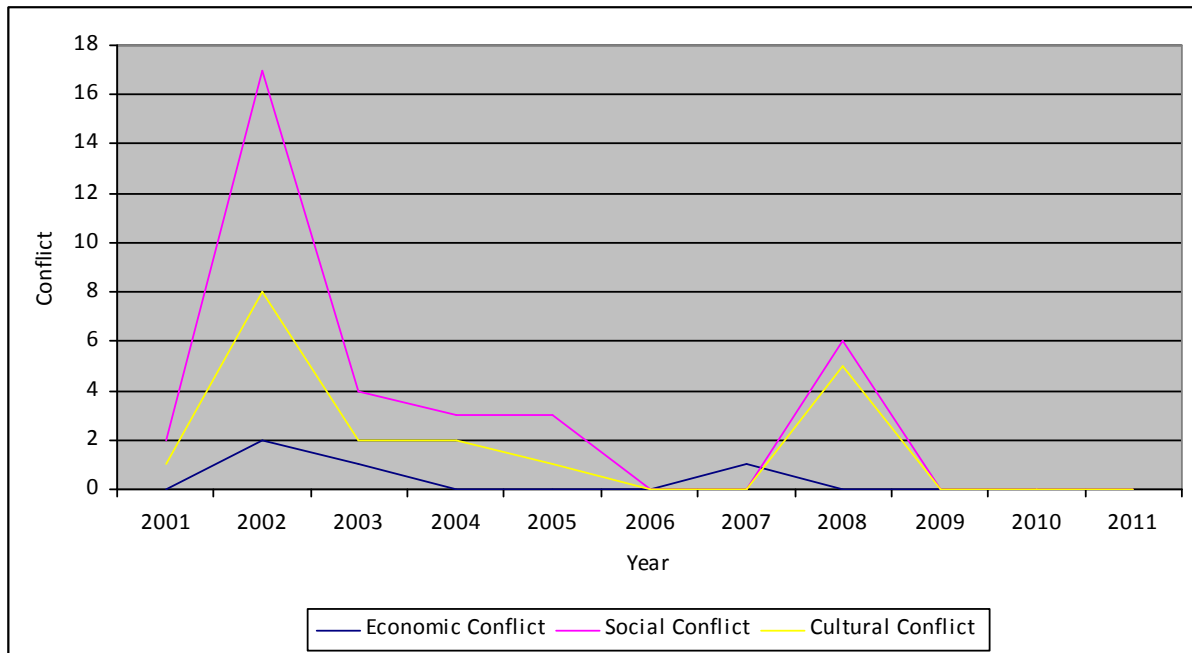
Table 5: Media reports on economic, social and cultural cooperation and conflict in Werderau, 2001 – middle of 2011, total

Frame	Area			Total
	Economic	Social	Cultural	
Conflict	4	35	19	58
Cooperation	1	24	23	48
Total	5	59	42	106

Analysing the distribution of these pieces of news over the last twelve years, we clearly find the majority of articles within the frame of conflict in the year 2002 – the peak of the above described conflict. Most articles assign conflicting issues of that year to the social area, half as much locate issues in the cultural area. Another minor rise of coverage on conflicts within these two areas took place in 2008 – the year

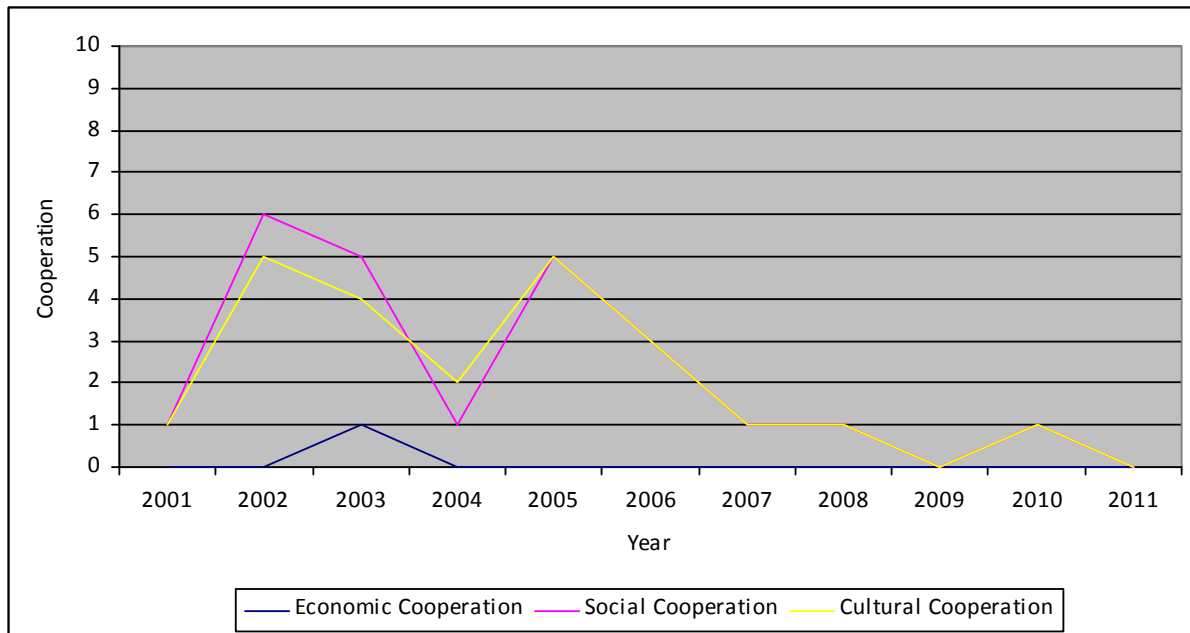
when the Residential Building Cooperative (*wbg Nuremberg GmbH*) took over all apartment buildings that had not previously been sold (see Graph 3). The majority of articles which are here listed among the social and cultural area were assigned to both areas simultaneously.

Graph 3: Media reports on economic, social and cultural conflict in Werderau, 2001 – middle of 2011, by year



The numbers of articles on issues of cooperation in Werderau was not as high as that of issues on conflict. However, between 2002 and 2007 there were several articles on issues of cooperation in both, the social and the cultural area (see Graph 4).

Graph 4: Media reports on economic, social and cultural cooperation in Werderau, 2001 – middle of 2011, by year



Interviewees' perceive that the media report only little on Werderau. Exceptions are special events taking place in Werderau, which are reported about more comprehensive. There are no indications that media coverage on Werderau is biased. Interviewees find that positive as well as negative aspects are being covered by the media. These perceptions are in line with the results of the media analysis.

Similarly, interviewees perceive that the media coverage generally corresponds with the reality of the quarter.

The media analysis conducted by Smutny (2004: 51, 56) provides valuable information on the time frame prior to our analysis: Smutny finds that before 2002 positive as well as negative aspects about the quarter were covered in the media reportage (only *Nuremberger Nachrichten*) in similar shares. After the 2002 elections, there was hardly any positive coverage to be found, anymore. The media followed the line of explanation of the city administration, claiming that the reason for the ongoing of conflicts in the quarter is the lack of institutions and ascribing the source of conflicts to the moving in of foreigners. Smutny finds that the media created the following picture of the situation in Werderau in 2002: there used to be a strong feeling of identity with the quarter as well as with MAN. With the sale of housing allotments, the sense of belonging to MAN diminished, while the sense of belonging to Werderau became stronger. The inhabitants of Werderau were characterised as a homogeneous and multiethnic, but not as a multicultural group. The moving in of foreigners in the course of the sale of apartments represented a threat to the homogeneity of the quarter. The ascribed fact that the newcomers are not willing to integrate and have only little knowledge of the German language led to a division of the quarter and to neighbourly conflicts which were the causes of a rise of in xenophobia and evident also in election results.

The specific reporting on the living environment and conditions in the quarter were increasingly negative. The press described different social groups; mainly the groups of old and new residents were differentiated. The first group was described as synonymous with MAN employees whereas the group of new residents was described as synonymous with foreigners.

Smutny finds that the press followed the general line of argumentation of 'sale of housing allotments, followed by the moving in of foreigners, followed by conflicts'. He argues that the press neglected to ask the question why old-established residents opposed against the moving in of newcomers and why the latter were primarily perceived as foreigners.

The connection between politics and the media is mainly identified in the association of each of the two analysed newspapers to one of the main political parties. Reportages manifest these bondages to the political party counterparts. Such political links are generally made evident by the tone of the articles.

Politicians are perceived as primarily showing interest in Werderau when journalists are around. Individual journalists are perceived as having contributed to drawing politicians' attention to the concerns of Werderau, but not so the media as a whole.

In analysing the political dimension of media coverage, we find a prevalence of positive policies of integration; the majority of these are in the social and cultural area. In the same areas there are several reports on repressive or restrictive policies. This suggests that the media recognize the attempts of policymakers for improving the situation in the quarter. Reports on non-policy, e.g. complaints for the lack of public intervention, are to be found in the economic, social and cultural areas. However, in total there are twice as many reports on positive policies of integration as on non-policy (see Table 6).

Table 6: Political dimension of media coverage on Werderau, 2001 – middle of 2011

Frame	Area			
	Economic	Social	Cultural	Total
Non policy (e.g. complaints for the lack of public intervention)	7	10	7	24
Repressive or restrictive policies	2	11	6	19
Positive policies of integration	2	28	23	53

According to experts and stakeholders, the most effective policy interventions for Werderau were the initiation of the district coordination in 2002 as well as the taking over and investment in the un-sold housing allotments by the Residential Building Cooperative (*wbg Nuremberg GmbH*) in 2008. The media seem to have perceived the success of these measures as well: Most of the articles focusing on positive policies of integration refer to cultural and social cooperation in the quarter. The majority of these were published in 2002 (twelve articles referring to the social area and eleven referring to the cultural area).

This suggests that particularly the initiation of the district coordination in 2002 was perceived by the media as an effective policy for fostering cooperation (vs. conflict).

Residents appear to be aware of the impact of these interventions by the city. However, time has passed since and not all issues in the quarter seem to be resolved. At present, residents feel that policymakers are only little, and not enough interested in the concerns of Werderau. It seems to them that interest and activities are only displayed in connection with elections. In contrast, local associations are considered as being much more interested and active in communicating the needs of the quarter to policymakers.

Regarding issues of migration and integration in Werderau, interviewees find that policymakers are interested to a certain degree, but not enough. However, promises regarding their initiatives for the quarter, such as playgrounds and day care centres are normally kept.

The term 'migrant' is used more frequently in articles dealing with cultural conflict (15 items) and cultural cooperation (18), as well as in those focusing on integration policies in the social (20) and cultural (18) areas.

A similar pattern emerges for articles which explicitly refer to the quarter: these articles primarily deal with social and cultural conflict and cooperation as well as with positive policies of integration in the social and cultural area (see Table 22).

Looking at the distribution of these articles over time, it is remarkable, that there was a sudden rise in the number of articles dealing with migrants in 2002, the next year only three out of thirteen articles dealt with migrants. In the subsequent years, the total number of articles was considerably lower. However, the number of articles on migrants was nearly equivalent to the total number of articles. This indicates that the issue of migrants in Werderau has remained relevant for the press (see Table 7).

Table 7: Articles containing the term 'migrant', 2001 – middle of 2011

Year	Number of articles with the term 'migrant'	Total number of articles
2001	1	9
2002	17	28
2003	3	13
2004	4	6
2005	9	9
2006	3	3
2007	2	2
2008	5	7
2009	0	0
2010	2	2
2011	0	0

In analysing the extent to and the way in which the quarter was framed by the media in the last years, it is striking that in 2001 and 2002 about half and one third respectively of all articles of the key word search on Werderau contained labelling comments on the quarter as a whole. After 2002, this was not the case anymore. This supports the assumption that the media contributed to the labelling of the conflict situation in 2002 which in its development started in 1998. Also remarkable is the fact that in 2003 nine out of thirteen articles reported a story in the quarter but without labelling comments on the quarter as such. This indicates that the media in that year shifted from a framing approach towards a more neutral one. This development could be a result both of the broader political change in the city of Nuremberg and of the appointment of the district coordinator and her activities in Werderau. This suggests that the local policy community had a strong influence on the media which led to the described shift towards neutral reportage. After 2003 there were hardly any articles which referred directly to Werderau (see Table 23).

4. Langwasser

4.1 Intergroup relations in Langwasser

4.1.1 The conflict around the Intercultural Garden project in Langwasser

4.1.1.1 The project ‚Intercultural Garden‘

Intercultural Gardens are gardening projects with the purpose of fostering integration and intercultural learning and understanding. The concept of Intercultural Gardens originates from the USA and has been established in a number of cities across Europe.

People of different origins, including natives, attend to their own small vegetable and flower checks (around 25 m²) in such gardens. There are no fences between neighbours; this is intended to encourage them to enter into exchange on gardening and on every day issues. The goal of this exchange is to get to know each other, to diminish fears of contact, to develop mutual tolerance and respect as well as some friendships (*Interkultureller Garten Nuremberg Langwasser e.V.*, 2012).

4.1.1.2 The neighbourhood conflict⁷

The intercultural garden conflict in Nuremberg-Langwasser is a case of unintended consequences of social action, where a project that was intended to promote migrant integration actually leads to a migrant-majority neighbourhood conflict.

Intercultural gardens are a type of project through which intergroup relations shall be improved by creating group contact through mutually rewarding activities, i. e. gardening. Since such projects have been successful in other cities Nuremberg city authorities decided to establish such a project as well. They chose a site in the Langwasser part of the city that has a substantial part of inhabitants with a migration background, particularly of *Aussiedler* (ethnic Germans) from the former Soviet Union. *Aussiedler* are known to love gardening. But the intention of the project was to bring together migrants of different origin, not only *Aussiedler*, with native Germans through common gardening.

City community workers initiated a committee for the establishment of the garden, consisting of neighbourhood associations and individuals and chose a site. A so-called district coordinator (community social worker) held a meeting to inform the neighbourhood about the nearby intercultural garden project. The meeting was not well attended and for several months this was the only official information activity of the project planners about the project. During the meeting already some residents expressed fears about possible disturbances in the neighbourhood caused by the garden project. After the meeting rumours spread and more residents felt not informed and were seeing similarities in the proceedings of city authorities with the recent building of a nearby sports' park; this was a project, which lead to frustrations and protests of people living near it. The media supported the complaints of the growing numbers of protesters against the intercultural garden.

⁷ A detailed description and timeline of events and actions is given in the timeline in section three.

A right-wing group – the so called ‘Initiative Ausländerstopp’ - tried to profit from the conflict and intervened with several actions. After forming an association for the establishment of the garden, ten people hesitantly started preparing the garden, under constant attack from neighbours and the anti-immigrant group. After the improvement of information about the project by the city community workers and a change of side of the media, many people recognise of having been misused for anti-immigrant actions and start seeing the project in a different light. This is helped by very careful and responsible behaviour of the gardeners who do not give any support to the argument of the critics that the garden would cause many kinds of disturbances. The campaign against the garden slowly gets weaker and normal gardening begins with a first thanksgiving in the fall of 2011.

4.1.1.3 A closer look at the conflict and how to explain it

The description and explanation of the Langwasser conflict will follow the theoretical foundations as presented in the Werderau case. This means that we start assuming that there is a structural conflict in the beginning, that a framing process takes place which helps to mobilise, intensify and spread the conflict, and that there is a solution to the conflict.

4.1.1.3.1 The structural conflict

The quality of a city’s integration policy has become a major indicator of a city’s overall political competence. The quality of a city’s integration policy additionally is a factor for its attractiveness to foreign migrants. Since intercultural gardens had been reported to be a successful method for improving intergroup relations between migrants and majority Nuremberg’s integration policy wanted such a garden as well.

The plan was to build it in Langwasser, a city district with lots of green space and a high proportion of inhabitants with a migration background. The site chosen by the responsible committee was part of a park-like area, but close to multi-storey apartment buildings. In the first information meeting some residents in the neighbourhood of the site expressed fears about the project and disagreed with it. The fears were about feelings that the garden would be too close to their houses, that gardeners would make noise, produce garbage and dirt, that safety in the neighbourhood would decrease and that the value of their property would decrease as well. In the meantime information and rumours about the garden project were spreading in the district. Residents felt similarities in the city’s proceedings in the garden project with the recent city’s planning and building of a nearby sports’ park that was built without properly informing the neighbours of that site. People felt ‘run over’ by the city’s proceeding. The media took sides with the residents’ complaints.

The structural conflict that developed was between the residents’ interest to keep their environment intact and unchanged and to be able to control it. They felt they have a kind of legitimate property right for the control of the environment of their houses. This is in conflict with the city’s planning sovereignty to choose a site for constructing a project at a location that seems appropriate for it. The conflict was kindled by the by residents’ recent frustrating experiences with the construction of the sports’ park.

4.1.1.3.2 Framing of the conflict

In this situation a neighbour of the planned garden site with right-wing attitudes started a campaign among residents of Langwasser and neighbours of the project site based on the collection of signatures against the intercultural garden. As a result the intercultural garden was increasingly seen by residents as a project for migrants; few people realised that the project was intended for people with a migration history and for native residents to meet and better get to know one another. This perception was further reinforced by anti-immigrant right-wing activists from outside Langwasser, who intervened, put up banners against the garden and distributed leaflets against the project. The different activities succeeded in defining the conflict as a migrant-majority conflict. The potential gardeners are portrayed as migrant intruders into the peaceful environment of the local residents, who do not respect the property rights of residents.

4.1.1.3.3 Mobilisation and counter-mobilisation

The framing of the conflict as a migrant-majority conflict had strongly emotionalised and politicised the case and drew more people into it. Frequent presence of the police at the planned garden site underlined the intensity of the conflict. The person who started the signature campaign decided to file a lawsuit against the project and got a lot of support from Langwasser residents and project neighbours. In this situation the district coordinator (local community worker) held a second public meeting to inform residents about the planned garden and to counteract the many rumours about the project. The district coordinator appealed to the media not to give the anti-immigrant groups publicity and support for their propaganda.

The media thus got increasingly critical of the right wing campaign and reported more favourably about the project. A counter-mobilisation set in with political parties and district organisations lending support to the garden project. To counteract the fears of residents the intercultural garden committee developed a set of rules to protect neighbours from possible disturbances. The rules were about opening hours, parties, hygiene, parking and other provisions all meant not to raise any problems for the neighbours of the garden.

Because of the politicisation and unwanted publicity only a rather small number of families (twelve) applied for having a lot in the garden and signed up.

4.1.1.3.4 Solution of the conflict

Conflicts can be solved in different way: by compromise between the parties, mediation, mutual exhaustion of the parties or one side winning over the other. Langwasser is a case of one side winning over the other.

Two critical events are mainly responsible for this development: during a council hearing in the city hall with participation of many residents from Langwasser these residents started realizing that they were being misused by right wing anti-immigrant neo-Nazi groups. Media reports about the hearing helped

change the perception of the garden conflict and people started disengaging from the campaign against the project. The other critical event was a decision of the court dealing with the lawsuit against the garden. The court clearly rejects the lawsuit as unjustified which took away much of the legitimization of the campaign and weakened the movement against it. Moreover, it seems like the involvement of right-wing parties caused that associations and political parties clearly took position for the project in order not to support the right-wing agitation in any way. All of these actors wanted to avoid being accused of sympathising with right-wing opinions by their reluctance in taking sides. In the meantime, an association for the garden had formally been established and a few months later construction of the garden began. Tension eased and in 2012 the garden association has 22 members with eighteen active gardeners from nine different countries. The gardeners are very careful about keeping the garden clean and to give no reason for complaints by the neighbouring residents.

4.1.1.3.5 Conclusion

The structural conflict between the city's planning sovereignty and the residents' property rights concerning the neighbourhood of their houses evolved into a migrant-majority conflict due to a lack of anticipatory communication with the residents by the city. This way, irrational fears developed which were reinforced and exploited by anti-immigrant agitation of neo-Nazi groups. Counter-mobilisation against the anti-immigrant forces and careful action by the project weakened the campaign against the garden. A well planned communication strategy taking into account possible fears of residents for their property rights was not implemented. Mediation attempts were made within the information meetings and might have avoided a further escalation of the conflict. Nevertheless the mediation did not succeed in resolving the conflict. The analysis of the series of events shows how residents generally do not want a "new neighbourhood" to be forced upon them; instead they want to be involved into planning the change of their environment.

4.1.1.4 Timeline of the neighbourhood conflict

Table 8: Timeline concerning the Intercultural Garden project in Nuremberg, Langwasser⁸

Time of event	Event	Responses/perceptions	
		Pro-project	Con-project
2008 July	<p>-The city of Nuremberg decides to plan the initiation of an Intercultural Garden as part of their integration strategy.</p> <p>-Representatives of the Civic Association of Langwasser (<i>Bürgerverein Langwasser</i>), the Gardening Office, the Environmental Office of the City of Nuremberg, and the Non-Profit Housing Company (<i>wbg Nuremberg GmbH</i>) get together to search for possible locations for an Intercultural Garden in Langwasser.</p>	<p>-The district coordinator (<i>Stadtteilkoordinatorin</i>) and some neighbourhood associations support the project.</p>	
2009 Summer	<p>-Foundation of a committee for an Intercultural Garden (with neighbourhood associations and individuals).</p> <p>-District Forum of Langwasser (<i>Stadtteilforum</i>) supports the initiation of an Intercultural Garden.</p> <p>-An area at the corner of <i>Breslauer</i> and <i>Glogauer</i> Street in the proximity of a residential area with multi story buildings is chosen as the location for the Intercultural Garden by representatives of the district.</p>	<p>-First information meeting for residents by the district coordinator in a neighbourhood centre (<i>Haus der Heimat</i>).</p> <p>-Some residents support the project and disclaim the fears of others.</p> <p>-The planning committee of the Intercultural Garden responds to the expressed fears by including respective provisions in the plans for the Garden, among others:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Festivities have to be registered with the city in advance, no more than six events per year, -The gardeners are advised to use a nearby public toilet and are responsible for its maintenance, -The Garden should have fixed opening hours in order to 	<p>-Some residents express fears and disagreement with the planned project in the meeting.</p> <p>-No further information for residents about details of the planned project following the information meeting.</p> <p>-Residents feel not enough informed and 'run over'; similarities are seen by residents with the authorities' policies to build a nearby Sports' Park:</p> <p>Anxieties arise among residents:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Intercultural Garden might be too close to houses and to their own gardens, -Gardeners might cause noise and produce garbage and dirt,

⁸ The sources of information in the 'Timeline' are various documents, e.g. expert, policy and ethnographic interviews, media reports, city documents etc.

		<p>prevent disturbances at night (8am-9pm)</p> <p>-Twelve families from Langwasser are interested in becoming gardeners.</p>	<p>-Value of neighbouring houses might decrease,</p> <p>-Safety in neighbourhood might decrease,</p> <p>-Partly prejudice against potential migrant gardeners.</p> <p>-Media take sides with fears of residents in their reporting.</p>
July	<p>-The construction of a Sports' Park – initiated by the city of Nuremberg - is completed. The Sports' Park is located in <i>Breslauer</i> Street, in the proximity of the later Intercultural Garden project, on a lawn which was formerly used by the residents of nearby multi-storey buildings as a recreational area.</p>		<p>- Residents do not feel sufficiently informed about the project Sports' Park and the impact that it has on the living environment of the nearby residential area.</p> <p>- Some residents express disagreement with the Sports' Part.</p>
September	<p>-Soil samples proof the suitability of the ground that was chosen for the Intercultural Garden.</p> <p>-The City Council of Nuremberg, with the particular support of the mayor, welcomes the Intercultural Garden project and its location.</p>		<p>-Signature campaign among residents against the Intercultural Garden project: The campaign was initiated by one resident who later filed a lawsuit against the garden. The arguments are based on the above fears as well as on untrue statements by right wing activists. The campaign is strongly supported by residents of neighbouring houses which are located nearby the Sports' Park, the argument of these residents is: the Sports' Park was constructed without consultation of residents, the same is happening with the Intercultural Garden project.</p>
October		<p>-Second information meeting for residents by the district coordinator in a neighbourhood centre (<i>Haus der Heimat</i>) among others for communicating the provisions which followed the first meeting and for responding to objections against the project; twenty residents participate.</p>	<p>-Shortly after the second information meeting, right wing activists put up protest banners on the area that the Intercultural Garden will be built on.</p> <p>-The media support the objections of residents against the Intercultural Garden.</p>

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Residents communicate their fears and express objections against the project, -District coordinator tries to mediate. <p>--District coordinator advises the media not to support fears of residents in their reporting and not to give right wing groups opportunities for their propaganda.</p>	
2010 January	-The district coordinator is withdrawn from Langwasser due to the termination of the project District Coordination in Langwasser and turns the project assistance over to a neighbourhood centre (<i>Centrum Aktiver Bürger</i>).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Political parties and district organisations increasingly support the project and discontinue supporting the right wing protests (in order to not support the position of right wing groups). -The District Forum of Langwasser repeats its expression of support for the project. -The media increasingly stress in their reporting that Langwasser is not in support of right wing activities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Right wing groups continue to protest against the project through flyers and banners. -The Intercultural Garden project is increasingly politicised on the city level (SPD: divided in their position towards the project, Green Party: strongly in favour of the project, NPD: strongly against the project).
February	-The Intercultural Garden Association (<i>Interkultureller Garten Nuremberg Langwasser e.V.</i>) is founded with ten members.		
April	-The police are increasingly present at the location of the Intercultural Garden and increasingly express their support for the project.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -A petition by a right wing party (NPD) for the disapproval of the Intercultural Garden is rejected by the city. -At a hearing in the city hall, some residents who support the right wing campaign are surprised to discover the right wing background and hence distance themselves from the campaign. -Fears of right wing activities come up among some gardeners, but they decide to continue supporting the project. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -A representative of a right wing party (NPD) applies for disapproval of the Intercultural Garden by the city, he is supported by some residents and other representatives of NPD. -The media blame residents for allowing right wing groups to exploit their interests. -A right wing group (<i>Bürgerinitiative Ausländerstopp</i>) puts up banners on the prospective land property of the Intercultural Garden and distributes flyers against the project.
May	-The attempted mediation by the neighbourhood centre representative between supporters and opponents of the project fails.	-Third information meeting for residents by the district coordinator in a neighbourhood centre (<i>Haus der Heimat</i>).	

July	-Formal registration of the Intercultural Garden Association (<i>Interkultureller Garten e.V.</i>).	-The District Forum of Langwasser approves of a resolution 'Pro-Intercultural Garden and against xenophobic propaganda in Langwasser', signed by 55 representatives of local organisations and associations and residents.	
September		-Opponents of the right wing demonstration (50-70) hold a counter-demonstration at a neighbourhood centre.	-Right wing activists (twelve) demonstrate against the Intercultural Garden at a neighbourhood centre in Langwasser. -Residents, represented by a lawyer, publish an open letter stating that their arguments are not against foreigners but in favour of the persistence of the residential area including the green spaces in the present state. -Green party replies claiming that there is no obvious alienation among residents and their lawyers against right wing interests and stress their own support for the Intercultural Garden. The residents are described as xenophobic and not in sufficient support of the project.
December	-The official permission for the construction of the Intercultural Garden is issued.		
2011 Spring	-The city sets out the land property (1050m ²) of the Intercultural Garden at the corner of <i>Breslauer</i> and <i>Glogauer</i> Street. -The construction begins (eighteen checks by 21m ²). -Gardeners start digging and cropping. -Four parking spaces are built for the members of the Intercultural Garden in order to ease the parking situation, particularly in regard of residents of nearby apartment buildings.		

	-A fence and a utility shed are built and electricity and water access are applied for.		
Summer	-Several documents and expert statements are requested by the responsible city administration and supplied by the Intercultural Garden Association in order to obtain water access.		-Gardening throughout the summer without water represents a big challenge for all gardeners and an obstacle for some of them. Therefore, the garden is not being cultivated on its full scale during the first year of existence. -Some parts of the city administration are perceived as hindering the process of obtaining water access by posing unjustified administrative obstacles on the Association.
September	-The permission for water access is issued. -The Association consists of sixteen members. -The first Thanksgiving is celebrated.		-Some residents of nearby apartment buildings feel excluded as they had expected to be invited for the harvest home celebration.
October		-The court rejects the lawsuit of a resident against the Intercultural Garden; reasons for rejection: the bordering street causes much more noise than gardeners may possibly cause and permission for the project legally exists.	-A resident of a nearby apartment building (the same resident who initiated the signature campaign in September 2009) files a lawsuit against the Intercultural Garden. The main arguments of the lawsuit are the noise and other disturbance caused by the gardeners.
November/December		-The tensions have eased. The residents have developed more acceptance of the Intercultural Garden as a result of the information that they have received and their experience that the first year of the project has went without the expected disturbances. -The gardeners are very careful to keep the garden clean and to provide no reason for complaints.	-Some pieces of false information remain and contribute to the objections of residents, e.g. some think the garden project is only for foreigners and Germans are excluded, some think a nearby sculpture, which is perceived as too expensive and unnecessary, is part of the garden project. -Some members of the Intercultural Garden Association feel afraid of right wing activities, mainly when being in the garden.

			-Some residents remain sceptical, a number of them, particularly of the apartment building closest to the garden, remain in opposition of the project. Single residents of this building are afraid to take side with the gardeners in fear of being marginalised by their neighbours (doctor: fears of loosing patients).
2012 May	-The Intercultural Garden Association has 22 members; among them are eighteen gardeners from nine different countries who cultivate eighteen checks of 21 m ² each.		
16 June	-The Intercultural Garden holds a 'Day of the Open Door' in order to demonstrate the activities of the association in the scope of Rio+20 (Agenda 21).		

4.1.2 Aspects of present intergroup relations in Langwasser

Due to the size of the population of Langwasser and the limited scope of this analysis, it is not possible to draw general conclusions on intergroup relations in Langwasser. The aspects described here solely represent the perceptions and experience of the interviewed Langwasser residents.

In describing positive changes within the last ten years, the engagement of district stakeholders (e.g. neighbourhood centres, youth centres, district coordinator and other social institutions) emerges as a particularly important factor for the improvement of intergroup relations. Through this engagement, people could be brought together, have been encouraged to interact, accept each other and organise some neighbourhood and district events together. The Intercultural Garden is mentioned as one important occasion for such engagement of stakeholders and as a relevant venue of interaction. Moreover, generational disputes could be diminished through the involvement of stakeholders.

The perceived negative changes are primarily related to a more pronounced anonymity of the society. Due to changes in the composition of the population as well as generational changes, the relations among people are perceived as less familiar, less open, less rule obeying and more egoistic than in former times.

Harmonious relations are particularly ascribed to the various youth groups who meet up in the quarter regardless of the individual origin or religious orientation. The quality of their relations is often stressed. The mutual concern for children and young people in general is described as a criterion which contributes to harmonic relations.

Cooperation is perceived as taking place particularly on the level of families and their closer circle of friends. The Intercultural Garden is mentioned as contributing to cooperative relations.

Conflicts are described as appearing among generations; mainly between older people and the youth. Moreover, some conflicts appear due to prejudice against residents of Russian origin.

Mutual ignorance is described as a prevailing pattern due to the size of the quarter, as opposed to a smaller quarter or a village. Language barriers are perceived as contributing to ignorance and the formation of groupings within the quarter.

The pattern of cooperation as well as of a combination of cooperation and ignorance are described as the prevailing patterns of interaction between migrants and natives in the quarter.

Relevant groups in the quarter are primarily defined along age lines: children, youth, mothers with children, elderly people. Only the group of 'people with an Eastern⁹ origin' are defined by a criterion of origin.

When asked for their own contacts, the answers of the interviewed migrants as well as natives have no prevailing pattern: Among each group (migrants and natives), some have only contacts to people of their own group and some to both groups. Places of interaction with the people of the 'other' group are primarily in school and at work (see Table 9). Particularly places concerning children, e.g. day care centres, schools etc. as well as neighbourhood centres, the direct neighbourhood and the Intercultural Garden were mentioned as places of interaction between migrants and natives.

⁹ The interviewees refer "Estern" to the countries of the former Soviet Union.

Table 9: Places and frequencies of contacts between natives and people with a migrant background in Langwasser, as perceived by interviewees (N=8)

	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	No answer
In school	3	0	3	2
At work	0	1	4	3
In public space	4	1	1	2
During shopping	4	2	1	1
Within leisure time	2	2	2	2

The nature of the respective contacts is primarily described as 'rather positive' regarding interactions in school, at work, during shopping and within leisure time. Only in the category 'in public space' the number of the 'rather positive'-answers equalled the number of the 'rather negative'-answers (see Table 10).

Table 10: Nature of contacts between natives and people with a migrant background in Langwasser, as perceived by interviewees (N=8)

	Rather positive	Rather negative	No answer
In school	4	1	3
At work	5	1	2
In public space	3	3	2
During shopping	3	1	4
Within leisure time	6	0	2

'Ideal' intergroup relations in Langwasser are described by the interviewees as a condition where it does not matter anymore where one is from. According to the interviewees, in aiming at this goal, one has to start at the level of the neighbourhood and of personal relations, in diminishing barriers, among others language barriers, and prejudice and in fostering participation and mutual acceptance.

4.2 Policies in Langwasser

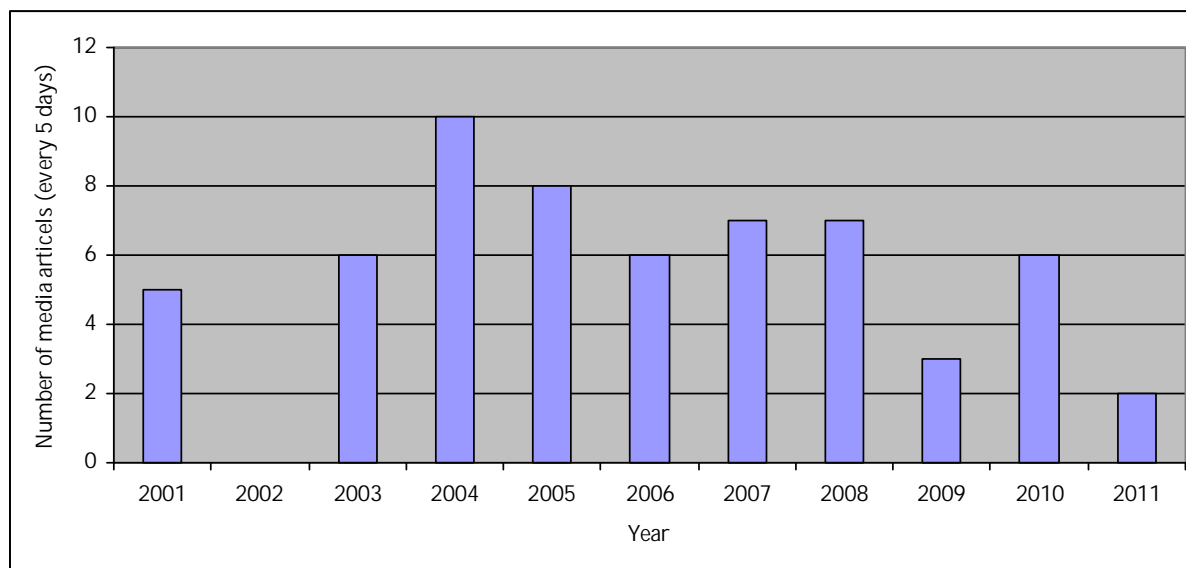
Table 11: Selected Policies in Nuremberg Langwasser

Policy	Frames	Outputs	Specific Outcomes	Systemic Outcomes
Intercultural Garden	<p>Goal: Fostering of the dialog between migrants and receiving society and improving coexistence and migrant integration, cooperation with neighbourhood stakeholders</p> <p>Perception of migrants: By some residents as a potential, by others as a threat, by policy makers as a potential</p> <p>Perception of interethnic relations: Conflict among residents (mainly right wing groups vs. active residents) vs. cooperation</p>	Implemented	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Goal was partly not met, temporary consolidation of prejudice and disputes in the neighbourhood of the garden • Planners of the garden project failed to include neighbours in the planning process • City council was actively involved • Limitation of target group: Interest in gardening is precondition for participation • Interest of the whole quarter in the project 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People of different origins (who would not have met otherwise) get in contact with each other, ongoing exchange and communication, learning about other cultures, improvement of intercultural relations (between participants of the garden project), learning agree on common goals despite conflicting interests • Mutual learning about gardening • Positive and negative influence on the neighbourhood (cultural enrichment and conflict) • Ongoing difficulties with opponents of garden project; assumption that single persons practice targeted agitation, improvements through consistency of support
District coordination and district council	<p>Goal: Cooperation with district stakeholders and support for district</p> <p>Perception of interethnic relations: Turn negative reporting into positive</p>	Implemented	The goal was met: successful cooperation with and coordination of district stakeholders and enabling of ongoing cooperation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improved neighbourhood interactions and coexistence • Improved awareness of responses to social and economical needs of the district
Neighbourhood Centre	<p>Goal: To come to shared decisions on the social and cultural development of the quarter and the inclusion of migrants in the regular institutions and activities of the quarter and their being perceived as part of the quarter</p>	Implemented	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Among others: Group of Russian speaking residents, annual Culture Market and Christmas Market 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intergroup relations improved, mutual learning about different cultures was fostered, mutual tolerance improved • Different groups can be active for their own interests but have to negotiate with each other in the shared use of the building • Venue where district council conclusions are implemented

4.3 The media and politics in Langwasser

The following graph demonstrates the number of articles related to migration and integration issues in Langwasser. The number of articles is rather balanced over the analysed years, with a decrease in 2009 and 2011. Compared to the year 2009, the number of articles in 2010 is higher, which is related to the above described events concerning the Intercultural Garden (see Graph 5).

Graph 5: Number of articles in local media (NZ, NN) on migration and integration related issues in Langwasser, every five days 2001 – middle of 2011



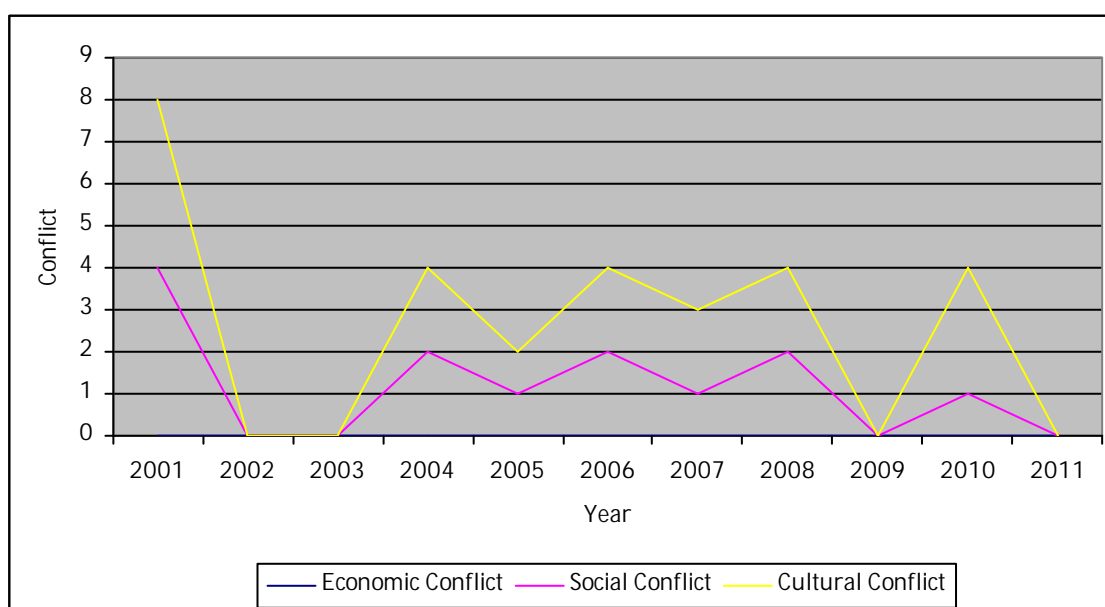
Media reports on Langwasser clearly focus on the social and cultural area with the majority of reports on the latter. There is a slight majority of reports on the cultural area. There was no article in the economic area within the sample. Reports in the frame of cooperation in Langwasser clearly prevail over reports in the frame of conflict. Most of the articles deal with cultural cooperation. This indicates that the pattern of cooperation generally prevails in Langwasser. The conflict around the Intercultural Garden was an exemption to this but did not have a significant impact on the number of articles in the frame of conflict (see Table 12).

Table 12: Media reports on economic, social and cultural cooperation and conflict in Langwasser, 2001 – middle of 2011, total

Frame	Area			Total
	Economic	Social	Cultural	
Conflict	0	13	16	29
Cooperation	0	25	35	60
Total	0	38	51	89

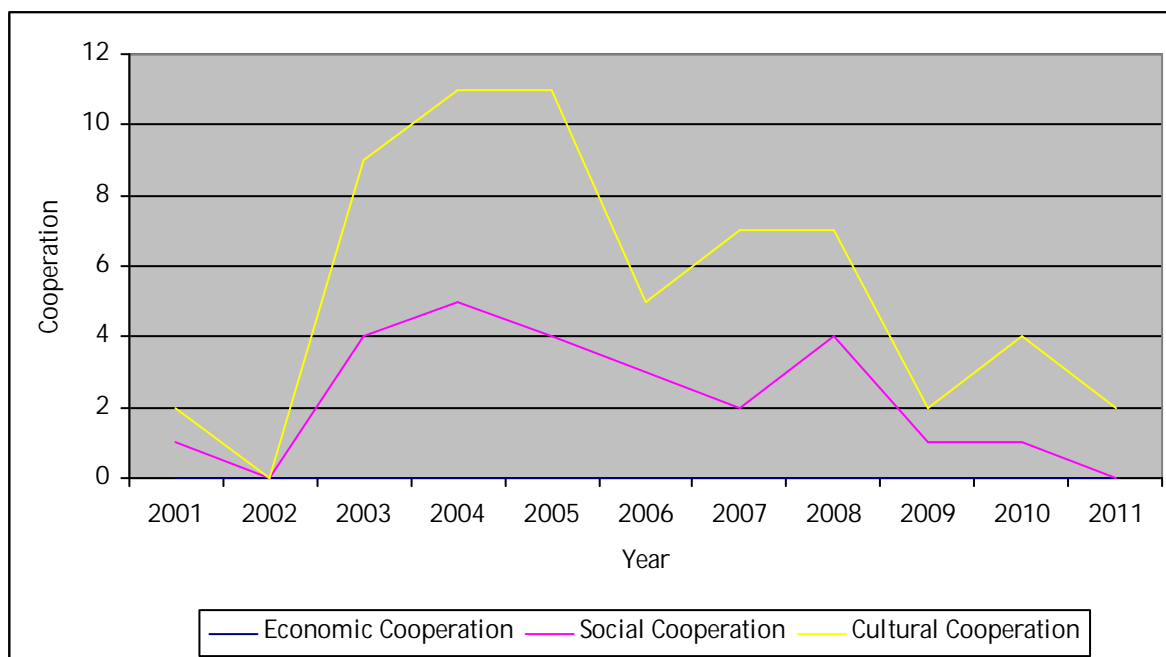
Looking at the media reports by year, we find the largest number of reports on cultural conflicts in the year 2001. Similarly, reports on social conflicts in Langwasser are at a relative high level in that year. Both numbers decrease significantly in the following years 2002 and 2003. The numbers of media reports of social and cultural conflict tend to run parallel to each other; many articles concern both areas. This development of reports on conflicts can not exclusively be interpreted in conjunction with the Intercultural Garden. The first plans for the Intercultural Garden were mentioned in the year 2008. The media analysis suggests that there were some happenings in the quarter before the Intercultural Garden which gave rise to reports on conflicts. Furthermore, it is striking that the number of reports on conflicts did not significantly increase with the events concerning the Intercultural Garden (see Graph 6).

Graph 6: Media reports on economic, social and cultural conflict in Langwasser, 2001 – middle of 2011, by year



Among reports on cooperation, the areas of social and cultural cooperation are prevailing. In the period 2003-2005 both, reports on social and cultural cooperation reached their peak. Afterwards their numbers decreased to a lower level (see Graph 7).

Graph 7: Media reports on economic, social and cultural cooperation in Langwasser, 2001 – middle of 2011, by year



In the political dimension of media coverage on Langwasser, articles on positive policies of integration clearly dominate. Articles on non-policy and repressive or restrictive policies only appear in small numbers (see Table 13).

Among the interviewees, some take the view, that media draws the attention of politics to Langwasser, but others clearly deny an interaction between media and politics.

Table 13: Political dimension of media coverage on Langwasser, 2001 – middle of 2011

Frame	Area			
	Economic	Social	Cultural	Total
Non policy (e.g. complaints for the lack of public intervention)	0	4	4	8
Repressive or restrictive policies	0	2	4	6
Positive policies of integration	0	22	33	55

The interviewees agree in the perception that the media are interested in issues concerning Langwasser. The interest rises, if there is a special event in the quarter. Small numbers of media reports are ascribed to a lack of significant events in the quarter to report on. Generally, the media coverage on Langwasser is perceived as positive.

The perception of just being interested in Langwasser when there is an event also appears in respect to local politics: Interviewees find that policymakers are interested in Langwasser to a certain degree, primarily in respect to certain events and to a lesser degree regarding issues of migration and integration in Langwasser in general. However, the attention Langwasser received by policymakers regarding migrants is not perceived as sufficient.

Some of the interviewees find that migrants are mentioned in the media but not in a negative way, others find that migrants are particularly mentioned in the media. The *Langwasserkurier*, a quarter-level newspaper, is named as a source that mentions migrants more frequently.

In media reports on Langwasser, the term 'migrant' is explicit mentioned in articles on cultural and social cooperation (33, 22) and in articles about positive policies of integration (cultural 32, social 21) (see Table 24).

Having a closer look at the articles containing the term 'migrant', beginning in 2001 and ending in the middle of 2011, the years 2004, 2005 and 2007 are noticeable in having high numbers of articles with the term 'migrant' (see Table 14).

Table 14: Articles containing the term 'migrant', 2001 – middle of 2011

Year	Number of articles with the term 'migrant'	Total number of articles
2001	5	5
2002	0	0
2003	6	6
2004	9	10
2005	7	8
2006	6	6
2007	7	7
2008	5	7
2009	3	3
2010	6	6
2011	2	2

In analysing the extent to and the way in which the quarter was framed by media in the last years, it is striking that in 2004 almost all articles of the key word search on Langwasser reported about a story on the quarter and other places in the city without labelling comments on the quarter as a whole. In the following years this pattern, as well as the pattern of reporting on the quarter without labelling comments were the most prevailing ones. The other categories - "story in the quarter and quarter object of specific comments as labels" and "story talks about the quarter and other places in the city and comments as labels of the quarter" were only named a few times in the sample (see Table 25).

5. Gostenhof

5.1 Intergroup relations in Gostenhof

The limited scope of this analysis makes it impossible to draw general conclusions on intergroup relations in Gostenhof. The following aspects are solely based on the positions of the interviewed people, who were consulted in expert, policy and ethnographic interviews. Unlike in the other two target quarters, there is no indication for relevant ongoing or past conflicts in Gostenhof.

5.1.1 Perceived characteristics of the quarter

a) Level of quarter-relevant activities of Gostenhof's residents

Social life in Gostenhof seems to rely strongly on the **individual initiative** of its residents. Many people are actively engaged in voluntary work in the quarter. Interviewees stress that these individuals are determined to work towards an improvement of living conditions and social relations and find it fairly easy to mobilise people in the quarter for working with them. The neighbourhood centre (Nachbarschaftshaus Gostenhof) has a central role for these activities; it serves as a meeting point for various active groups and associations. According to the interviewees, many people in the quarter are **politically active**. Gostenhof is described as a stronghold of the Green Party "Bündnis 90/Die Grünen". The large electorate is ascribed to the multicultural population structure. However, not all residents of Gostenhof show the same commitment. A group of **formerly active people**, who lost their activism due to disagreements and the absence of desired results, is identified. Once in a while this group still initiates some activities. Moreover, a **partially active group** of people is identified. This group mainly consists of the younger generation, who periodically take part in demonstrations, such as on 1st of May. The willingness to engage obviously exists, but at the same time this group complains about a lack of interesting initiatives in the quarter. Apart from that, the people belonging to the **group of non-actives** argue that there are no or too little initiatives in the quarter or that disinterest or a lack of time prevents them from taking part.

b) Social challenges in Gostenhof

According to interviewees, social challenges seem to be among the aspects characteristic for Gostenhof. As mentioned above, the building fabric of most houses in the quarter is old but extensive renovations have been taken part in the last ten years. This brings the advantage of the architectural as well as living-quality related upgrading with it. However, as a disadvantage, many residents feel afraid of consecutive **rent increases**. Especially the venues of associations and activity groups as well as of many artists are expected to be affected by the rent increases. The left-wing scene is currently trying to keep up the "grubby" image of Gostenhof, for example by spraying graffiti.

Furthermore, the openings of numerous Casinos in Gostenhof are perceived as a serious social issue. According to the interviewees, the presence of these premises allures many people. Gambling addiction is a present problem in the quarter and often leads to conflicts in the family and the neighbourhood. As one possible cause for the establishment of so many gambling halls in Gostenhof, the interviewees mention

that there are many people living in the quarter, whose lives have not been easy or straightforward. In this way many of them now try to get out of their unsatisfactory situation. In particular many migrants and homeless people of the *Heilsarmee* are affected. There have been many calls to the city administration, as – according to the interviewees - restrictions and intervention would be urgently necessary.

c) Comparisons with other quarters

Among the interviewees, different patterns of perceptions of intergroup relations in comparison with other quarters can be found: some find social relations more negative than in other quarters, whereas others stress out their strong approval of the multicultural and diverse composition of Gostenhof's population and the lively and vibrant character that comes with it as well as the cosmopolitan nature of the residents. The latter pattern seems to be the prevailing one. It is stressed out that Gostenhof is the quarter in the city where people mix up the most, among others because of the high population density. Interviewees appreciate the variety of places and occasions where connections can be made, such as schools, grocery shops etc. Interviewees appreciate that Gostenhof allows a free and independent lifestyle, as one is not as much subject to certain cultural constraints as in other quarters. They emphasize the high level of acceptance of diversity in the quarter and remark that there are only a few exceptions of people who are prejudices. The interviewees agree that the friendly openness towards cultures is a very unique feature of Gostenhof.

5.1.2 Aspects of intergroup relations in Gostenhof

a) Perceived changes of intergroup relations in the last ten years

With some exceptions, the general notion of interviewees is that of a positive development in contacts among people living in Gostenhof within the last ten years. The improvement of relations is described as a process which is still ongoing. Some interviewees go as far as to feel that no improvement is possible since they already perceive social relations as perfect.

Gostenhof used to be rather dominated by the Turkish influence but has been changing towards a multicultural quarter. Interviewees stress out that due to the high diversity and the non-existence of a clear majority culture in today's Gostenhof, mutual tolerance and acceptance has been significantly increasing in the quarter and has been having a positive effect on the communal life in general. It is mentioned that media reports on Gostenhof's diversity have contributed to the cultural and social awareness of the residence and have encouraged them to build up positive social relations and contacts. At the same time, the special proximity and the development of more and more potential points of contact, e.g. shops and restaurants, are found by interviewees to have contributed to a trend away from mutual ignorance towards more harmony and cooperation among residents.

However, some interviewees express some concerns: Some fear that natives may tend to live more and more isolated and retreat of the quarter. Others identify a general trend towards more isolated and more individualistic ways of living with a decrease in neighbourly help. An increase in social differences is also identified as a negative development.

b) Perceptions of present-day intergroup relations

Among the interviewees, positive, negative as well as neutral perceptions on intergroup relations can be identified. The statements can be summed up with the generic terms 'colourful' and 'too colourful'. This reveals the multiculturalism of Gostenhof that is often understood as positive but sometimes as too pronounced and consequently as negative.

Many residents perceive the peaceful relations of people with different origins, religions and attitudes as enrichment by providing the opportunity for mutual exchange and mutual learning. The atmosphere in the quarter is described as welcoming and friendly. Interactions are mostly respectful, without fears of contacts and generally positive. Interviewees state that they have many contacts to neighbours. The term 'live and let live' is often used as characterising life in Gostenhof, meaning that even though the ways of living in the quarter differ remarkably there is mutual acceptance of these differences. As indicated also in the qualification of contacts (Table 16), interviewees remark that intergroup relations in the immediate neighbourhood tend to be more harmonious than in the public space. Moreover, education is described as a determining factor for intergroup relations, regardless of origin: the higher educated people are, the easier it is to get along with them. In this regard, interviewees mention that many highly educated people with a migrant background live in Gostenhof and are examples of "successful integration".

However, other interviewees remark that intergroup relations are not always peaceful. Unfriendliness, disputes and affrays are described as common occurrences. Disputes occur mostly among neighbours and concern children, untidiness and dirt. The ascribed reasons are the high density and the consecutive limited privacy in the quarter. Once in a while xenophobic disputes occur owed to prejudice among natives as well as migrants. With the increase of cultural diversity, these disputes are perceived as decreasing.

On a neutral note interviewees remark that misunderstandings in the frame of high cultural diversity can not be avoided and need to be solved once they occur. Their existence is one of the peculiarities of the quarter.

When asked to characterise intergroup relations in Gostenhof by either "conflict", "cooperation" or "mutual ignorance", interviewees find it hard to apply these terms. A mixture of "cooperation" and "mutual ignorance" seems to be the prevailing pattern; with "conflict" being excluded by all interviewees. Assumably, the pattern of "cooperation" can be ascribed more to intergroup relations in the immediate neighbourhood, whereas the pattern of "mutual ignorance" applies more to the public space.

At the same time, cooperation seems to be the highest among the younger generation. In general, an increasing trend is identified for the pattern of cooperation.

c) Groupings and attitudes in Gostenhof

There are numerous different groups and associations in Gostenhof. In addition to Greek, Turkish and Italian associations the interviewees mention African, Asian, Eritrean, Thai, Russian and Christian groups.

Parts of the community with a Turkish background are described as rather keeping to themselves, e.g. in shopping in their own stores. This applies mainly to the older generation who mostly have limited German language skills due to their guest-worker history. At the same time the pronounced Turkish infrastructure in Gostenhof is perceived by some interviewees as a facilitator for integration for newly arriving migrants.

Besides the ethnic and religious groups, the group of artists is identified as relevant for the quarter. The members of this group have mainly moved to Gostenhof recently and tend to keep among themselves.

The group of 20 to 25-year-olds and the group of shopkeepers are mentioned as other relevant groups for the quarter.

The decreasing size of the group of natives is for some interviewees a cause for concern. Being part of that group raises fears that come along with belonging to a minority. For some native residents this development gives rise to the consideration of moving out of the quarter.

Some interviewees remark that group formation appears to be increasing with the increase in diversity, which is perceived as a negative development.

Cultural differences, e.g. in regard of gender roles and expected gender-specific behaviour, are considered by some interviewees as critical factors for social life in the quarter.

Attributes are not ascribed to particular groups, rather interviewees remark that among all people living in Gostenhof, regardless of origin, positive and negative traits can be found. Particularly young interviewees respond with misunderstanding why categories of origin would be relevant. They explain that in their age group, not origin, but the individual himself matters.

Interviewed migrants as well as native remark that some people in Gostenhof have successfully integrated and some have not. The latter group causes some disillusionment which is reinforced by those natives who intentionally live in the "in" quarter of Gostenhof but send their children to schools outside of the quarter in order to avoid that they attend the quarter's schools with high proportions of migrants.

Interviewed migrants feel welcome and at home in Gostenhof. They have the feeling that most native are happy about having the chance to get to know different religions and cultures. They perceive natives in Gostenhof as different from those in quarters in the fact that they are well informed about other cultures and judge specific situations competent and without prejudices.

d) Contacts between residents in Gostenhof

Contacts between natives and migrants can be aptly titled with the frequently asked counter question 'How am I supposed not to have any contact?'. For the natives of Gostenhof it seems to be absolutely usual to be in touch with migrants. Various forms of relationships with migrants were described by the interviewed natives, such as colleagues at work, friendships, marriages or an adopted child from Eritrea. Migrants find it equally normal to be in touch with natives and describe contacts as open and spontaneous. Both groups describe the number and frequency of contacts with the same and the other group as similar.

Some interviewees state that the origin of their contacts does not matter to them; rather it is important to share interests. Others state that they prefer contacts with members of their own group, as communication works easier for them with people from the same or a similar origin.

Everyday interactions, e.g. shopping, work place, school, leisure time activities (involvement in associations, local district committee, neighbourhood centres, e.g. Zentrum Aktiver Bürger) are considered

as having a key role in encounters between migrants and natives in the quarter. Moreover contacts arise through courtyard festivals, mutual friends, spontaneous acquaintances and others.

The Interviewees were asked to specify, where and in which intensity contacts between natives and migrants arise in the quarter according to their assessment. Given options were at school, at work, in public spaces, during shopping and during leisure time.

Most of the interviewees choose the answers “often” or “sometimes”. There is no person, who does not have any contact to natives or migrants at work, yet eight of them stated to have frequent contact. This reveals the importance of work-related relationships. Moreover it is noticeable that school and children respectively seem to be an essential connecting factor: Nine out of eleven indicated to have frequent contacts to migrants or natives through school. However, leisure time activities appear less important, as only four persons rate contacts as frequently here, while five have sometimes contacts in this field. (see Table 15).

Table 15: Places and frequencies of contacts between natives and people with a migrant background in Gostenhof, as perceived by interviewees (N=11)

	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	No answer
In school	1	0	9	1
At work	0	2	8	1
In public space	2	4	5	0
During shopping	2	3	6	0
Within leisure time	2	5	4	0

Moreover, the interviewees classified the quality of contacts by “rather positive” or “rather negative”. Locations and situations of approach were the same as in the preceding table. In most of the categories contacts are rated prevalently as rather positive. Only in the public space there is a slight dominance of those voices, who classify contacts as rather negative (see Table 16).

Table 16: Nature of contacts between natives and people with a migrant background in Gostenhof, as perceived by interviewees (N=11)

	Rather positive	Rather negative	No answer
In school	6	2	3
At work	9	1	1
In public space	4	5	2
During shopping	6	4	1
Within leisure time	7	1	3

The descriptions of the interviewees of the quality of their contacts between migrants and natives indicate that – while high in frequency – quality contacts are mainly between people of the same group which contacts between migrants and natives are often rather superficial without in-depth conversations. Part of the reason for this pattern is ascribed to language barriers and the tendency of some groups to live rather isolated, e.g. women of some cultures tend to focus on household chores; hence it is difficult to get in contact with them. But despite these constraints, interviewees stress out that Gostenhof is the quarter in Nuremberg with the most contacts and the best relations between natives and migrants.

5.1.3 Ideal intergroup relations in Gostenhof

The interviewees were to describe how they ideally wish intergroup relations in Gostenhof to be and which suggestions for how to achieve this type of relations they have.

Some of the respondents consider social and intergroup relationship in Gostenhof as ideal already; others feel that more has to be done to reach the point of ideal relations.

Interviewees hope for certain policy interventions in order to improve social and intergroup relations in Gostenhof (see 5.2). Moreover, some hope for more openness, more will for adaptation and more initiative in establishing contacts by migrants. Equally they call for more acceptances for cultures, habits and customs of migrants by natives. Some interviewees believe that events where residents of the quarter have a chance to meet and get to know each other as well as Turkish courses for natives and German support for migrants could be helpful in this process.

For all residents, interviewees find it important that prejudice get eliminated, mutual acceptance of cultures and religions increases and that people talk openly with each other in order to come to joint solutions and develop their quarter on a joint basis.

5.2 Policies in Gostenhof

Experts describe two different levels of the most effective policy interventions. The Neighbourhood centre (Nachbarschaftshaus) and the family centres (Familienzentren) operate on the level of real life. Their main objective is to offer opportunities for encounters, whereas the District Coordination aims to pool multipliers. The civic association (Bürgerverein) and the district working group (Stadtteilarbeitskreis – STARK) form a quarter-orientated superstructure and serve as multipliers. All measures have a very positive perception of migrants, aiming self-assurance and equality of all residents. Retrospectively the renewal of the urban district is rated as the political measure with the greatest potential. Shaping courtyards created opportunities for the residents to meet. Due to a lack of financial resources, this measure was implemented insufficiently. More attractive common areas would be desirable, such as a market place, playgrounds or maintained green spaces.

In general, the three policies listed in Table 17: Redevelopment of the district, Neighbourhood centre, and District Coordination have substantially improved the quarter in respect of its architecture and housing quality, opportunities for associations, groups and other residents to come together, and the coordination of the services, events and the involved actors. The impact of these policies has been essential for the above described development of Gostenhof. The interviewees give credit to these policies, but find that particularly policies referring to migrants are not among the focus areas of local politics. According to their assessment, only few of the planned objectives could be achieved and many of them could only be sustained for a short time due to a lack of financial resources and confinements of local politics.

Interviewees moreover mention the need for better educational and employment opportunities for migrants in the quarter in order for them to be no longer overrepresented in the lower wage class. Furthermore, some demand more action of policymakers against the segregation and isolation of some groups. This refers particularly to housing segregation in which regard the interviewees hope that Gostenhof would move away stronger from being Turkish dominated towards a pronounced multicultural quarter. They hope that this process contributes to increased integration. Apart from the existing services, some interviewees identify a need for more social services for children and youth to offer them perspectives and thereby keep them off the streets. As instruments for bringing people closer together, providing opportunities to meet and increasing mutual tolerance, some interviewees call for Turkish courses for natives, German support for migrants, and joint festivities and events. Regarding the outer appearance of the quarter, interviewees feel that more attention needs to be drawn to cleanliness and the state of maintenance of the quarter, among others of parks and other public spaces.

Table 17: Selected Policies in Nuremberg Gostenhof

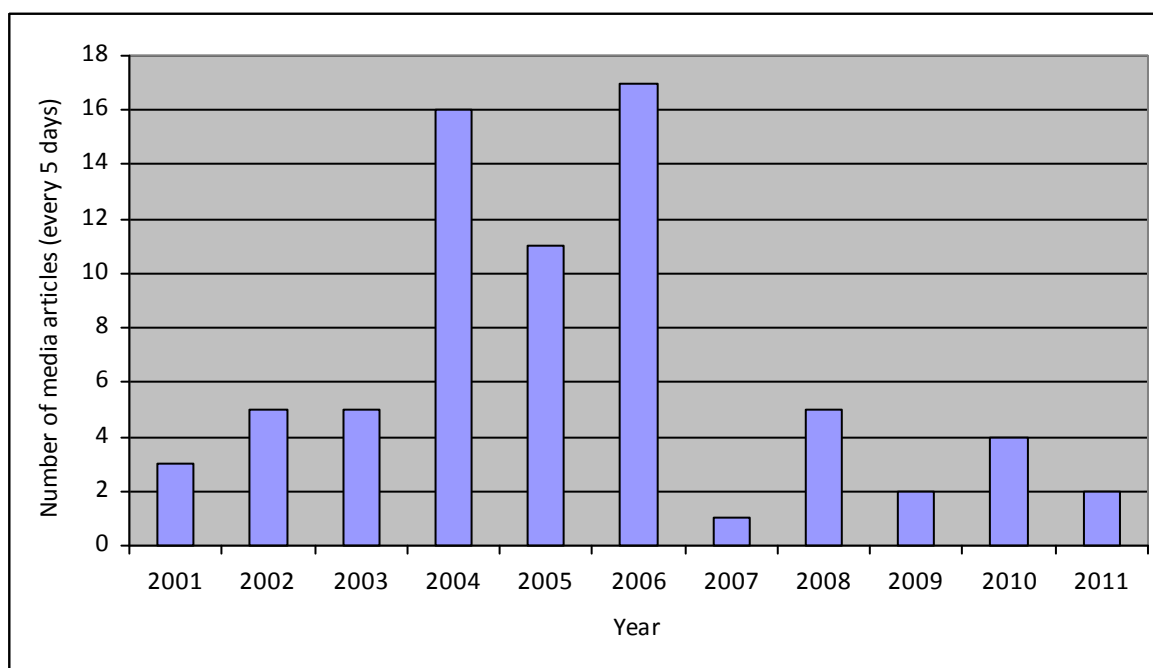
Policy (Date)	Frames	Outputs	Specific Outcomes	Systemic Outcomes
Redevelopment of the district (1980s)	<p>Goal: Improvement of housing and living conditions (improvement of backyards and creation of green spaces) and city-maintenance (high requirement of fundamental reconstruction)</p> <p>Perception of interethnic relations: Rather co operational; no open conflicts</p>	Implemented and completed	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Though redevelopment uplifted the quarter in general, the financial resources were too little to implement the measure thoroughly • The needs of the target groups were generally met 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High priority was set on participation of residents (carpentry workshops with professional instruction, district office, workshops, public pub for district planning) • Associations and institutions emerged
<i>Nachbarschaftshaus</i> (Neighbourhood Centre) (1989 up to present)	<p>Goal: One building to host groups and associations (to achieve a better coordination and collaboration and to enable people to participate in society)</p> <p>Perception of migrants: Clearly as a resource</p> <p>Perception of interethnic relations: Cooperational</p>	Implemented and completed, still in action	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The needs of the target group were met • The neighbourhood centre enjoys great acceptance: People are involved in planning processes; the neighbourhood centre meets the demands of a space for groups to meet and work. The leadership is responds flexible to changing needs; the elected advisory council consists to 50% of migrants and has a distinctive right of co-determination 	
District Coordination (up to present)	<p>Goal: Collaboration with stakeholders of selected districts - not with the 'end-users' - in three steps:</p> <p>(1) Mapping: What is available?</p> <p>(2) Enter into target agreements: enable children to grow up, prevent and reduce poverty, living quality of senior citizens</p> <p>(3) network and transfer into regular institutions to retract the coordination</p> <p>Perception of migrants: Not relevant vs. as a resource</p> <p>Perception of interethnic relations: Cooperational</p>	Implemented and still in action/not completed	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Good collaboration of the various associations: support and cooperation of many active groups, • Many highly motivated people with a direct democratic attitude • Neighbourhood Centre as a point of interaction and development for different groups (see above) • Needs of the target groups were met vs. the needs of the target groups were only met partly within the limited resources: Issues arisen on higher levels (national politics etc.) could not be fixed, for example poverty (educational disadvantage and old-age poverty). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intergroup relations improved: clichés could be removed and the feeling of security could be increased • This could be reached through the actual involvement of people, neighbourhood events, the increased police presence, traffic calming measures and the financial support of the city • Social and cultural dimensions of life in the neighbourhood could

				<p>be influenced. The economic situation in the quarter is still poor and can hardly be influenced by local political actions.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Particularly influenced were nearly all parts of the quarter, only Gostenhof west-west still lacks sufficient infrastructure.
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5.3 The media and politics in Gostenhof

Apart from the peak values in 2004-2006, the numbers of media articles on Gostenhof regarding migration and integration related issues are fairly consistent (see Graph 8).

Graph 8: Number of articles in local media (NZ, NN) on migration and integration related issues in Gostenhof, every five days 2001 – middle of 2011



The majority of articles address the social area, followed by the cultural area. In all areas the frame of cooperation is clearly dominant: The numbers of articles reporting in the frame of cooperation in the economic and the social area are approximately twice as high as those featuring the frame of conflict in the same areas. Concerning the cultural area, this number is even five times as high (see Table 18).

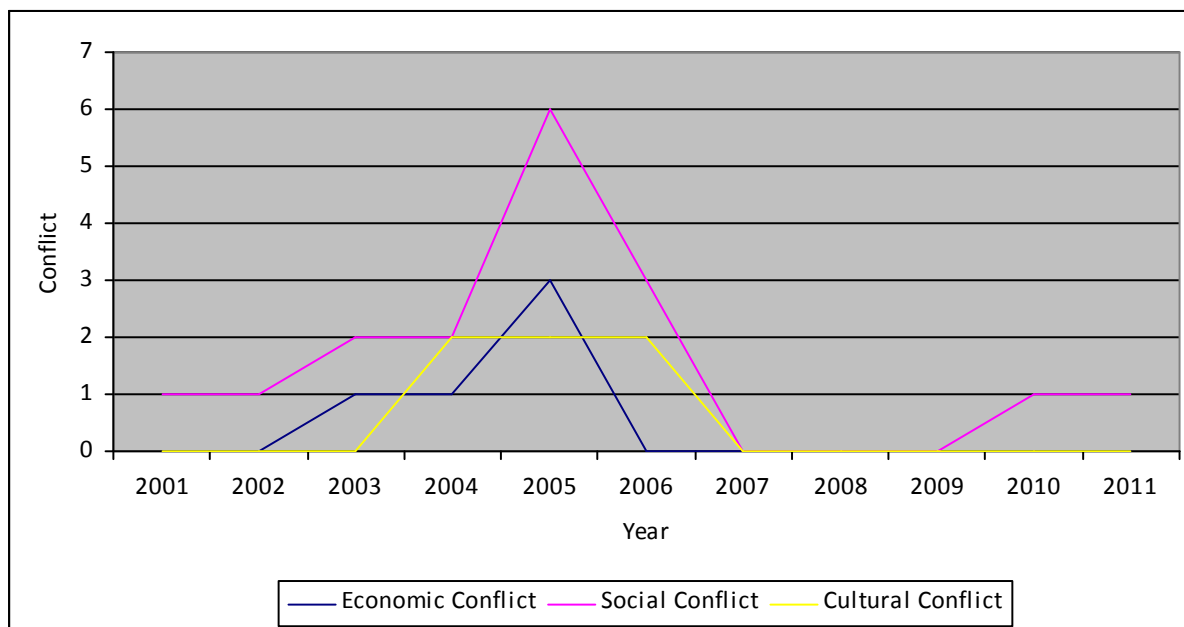
Table 18: Media reports on economic, social and cultural cooperation and conflict in Gostenhof, 2001 – middle of 2011, total

Frame	Area			Total
	Economic	Social	Cultural	
Conflict	5	17	6	28
Cooperation	10	33	32	75
Total	15	50	38	103

Looking at the distribution of these reportages over the last ten years, the majority of articles within the frame of conflict can be found in the year 2005. Most articles assign conflicting issues of that year to the

social area, half as many to the economic area. Since the year 2007 there have hardly been any reports within the frame of conflict (see Graph 9).

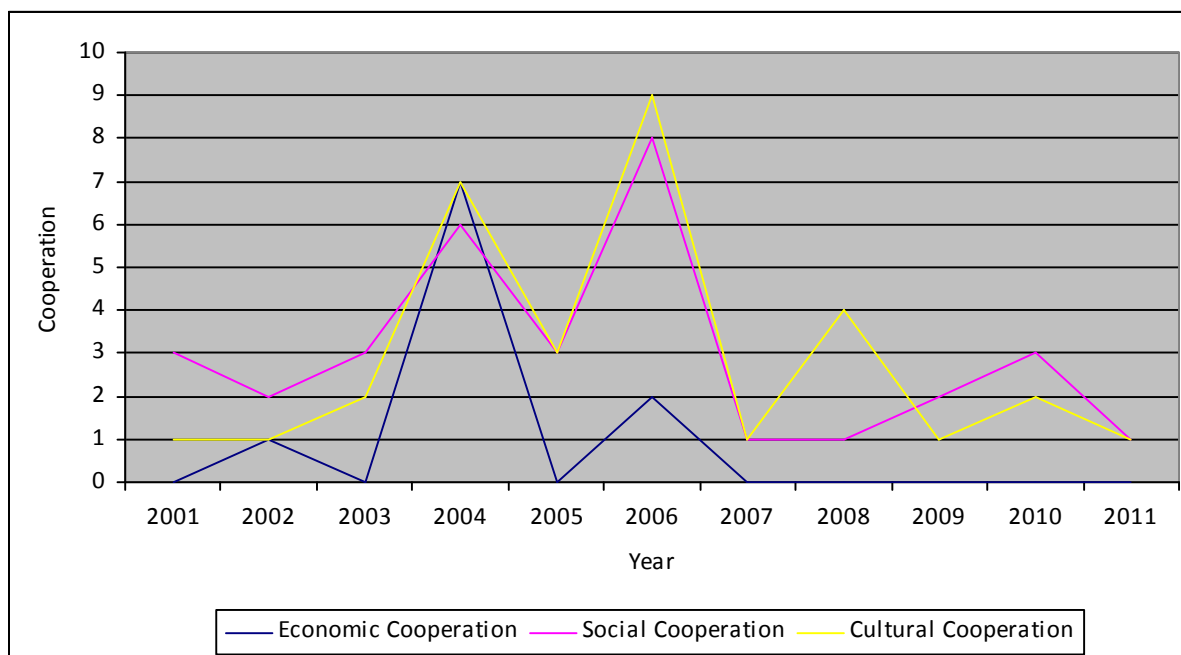
Graph 9: Media reports on economic, social and cultural conflict in Gostenhof, 2001 – middle of 2011, by year



In nearly all years, there is a prevalence of reports on cultural and social cooperation, only in year 2004 there is an equally high number of articles regarding economic cooperation. After the year 2007, no more reports on economic cooperation could be found. The numbers of all three forms of cooperation are higher in 2004 and 2006 than in the other years (see Graph 10).

Overall - with the exception of 2005 - the number of media reports concerning the frame of cooperation is considerably higher than of those in the frame of conflict (see Graph 9 and Graph 10).

Graph 10: Media reports on economic, social and cultural cooperation in Gostenhof, 2001 – middle of 2011, by year



This finding is in line with the assessment of the interviewees who state that cooperation and mutual ignorance, but not conflict, are the prevalent patterns of intergroup relations in Gostenhof. They agree that the media usually reflect reality; reports are neither blandished nor dramatised. The majority of them perceive the media coverage on their quarter as rather positive. Especially in the last years the image of Gostenhof has changed to the better and the media is reflecting this trend through sympathising with the autonomy and activism of the residents. Moreover, the media gives credit to arts and culture of Gostenhof and characterises it as an individualistic, colourful and diverse quarter. At the same time, migration is so strongly connected to the quarter that reports always implicate migrants, even if the term is not explicitly mentioned. Reports on migration related topics are perceived as predominantly positive. Migrants are pictured as enrichment and Gostenhof is often mentioned as an example for successful integration. However, the interviewees mention that Gostenhof is still discredited as a deprived area and that there is not enough media coverage on the quarter. They find that most reports refer to special occasions and events, such as the festivities around the 700th anniversary of the quarter.

According to the interviewees, many journalists who report on the quarter are spatially and personally connected to it, they know the area very well and hence have the ability to assess situations correctly and draw a realistic picture. In some cases, however they report in an exaggerated positive way and quote only positive responses of interviewed people.

Most interviewees share the opinion that politicians and the media operate independently and hence do not influence each other. Problems in the quarter as well as concerns of the residents are mostly corresponded to local politicians by politically active residents and city councils who live in the quarter. Interviewed experts have a slightly different view: They are persuaded that politics, the media and also the attitude of the citizens are closely linked to each other. The media are financially dependent from their

recipients, while at the same time they are able to influence opinions. A stigmatisation of a quarter as a deprived area by the media is often a necessary precondition for local politicians in order to justify the funding of certain measures.

The interviewees find that, in spite of the importance of the quarter and its central location and supra-regional reputation, the interest of local politicians in Gostenhof is little and priority is given to more prestigious events. They blame this lack of interest on limited financial resources of the city as well as on the rather small number of potential votes in Gostenhof due to the large proportion of foreigners who are not entitled to vote. Consequently, local institutions and the large commitment of the residents play an even greater role, as they have initiated and achieved many changes in the recent past without the support of the city.

The results of the media analysis confirm these perceptions: Analysing the political dimension of media coverage, we find a clear prevalence of reportage on non-policy and positive policies of integration. Compared to the other two target quarters, Werderau (24) and Langwasser (eight), the reportage within the frame of non-policy is outstandingly high in Gostenhof (84) (see

Table 19). While non-policy-regarding reports as well as those referring to repressive or restrictive policies are distributed almost evenly among the three areas, the majority of articles concerning the dimension of positive policies of integration can be found within the social and cultural areas.

Table 19: Political dimension of media coverage on Gostenhof, 2001 – middle of 2011

Frame	Area			
	Economic	Social	Cultural	Total
Non policy (e.g. complaints for the lack of public intervention)	32	25	27	84
Repressive or restrictive policies	4	5	4	13
Positive policies of integration	10	31	29	70

Articles explicitly mentioning the element 'migrant' can be found particularly among those reportages addressing social (29) and cultural (30) cooperation, non-policy in the economic (29), social (22) and cultural (25) area and positive policies of integration in the social (26) and cultural (27) area (see Table 26).

Analysing the distribution of these articles over time, we find an up rise of the number of articles containing the element 'migrant' in the years 2004 to 2006 (see Table 20). However, this is in line with the increase of the total number of articles, which was described based on Graph 8.

Table 20: Articles containing the element 'migrant', 2001 – middle of 2011

Year	Number of articles with element 'migrant'	Total number of articles
2001	3	3
2002	5	5
2003	4	5
2004	14	16
2005	10	11
2006	14	17
2007	1	1
2008	5	5
2009	2	2
2010	3	4
2011	2	2

Looking at the extent to which the quarter was framed by the media coverage in the analysed period, it is remarkable that the first up rise of the number of reportages in the year 2004 is in line in nearly even proportions with articles reporting on Gostenhof with comments as labels of the quarter and those with no comments as labels of the quarter. This significantly changed in the years 2005 and 2006, when 100 per cent (2005) and sixteen out of nineteen (2006) articles reported on the quarter with comments as labels of the quarter. In the years after, the number of reportages decreased again and from the year 2007 on there have been no substantial differences between the respective categories (see Table 27).

6. Conclusions

We analysed three case studies; in two of them we took a closer look at the development and solution of neighbourhood conflicts and the frame of intergroup relations in which these take place, in one we identified intergroup relations shaped by cooperation and mutual ignorance in a frame of high diversity and analysed the framework in which these patterns take place. We draw the following conclusions from the analysis of these three case studies:

- There is a potential for conflicts to arise when sudden changes of the environment which residents of a neighbourhood have got used to, occur. Determining factors, as arising from the case studies, appear to be:
 - A lack of information of residents about the planned changes early enough in time can cause rumours and fears which can lead into objections against the plans. In Werderau residents were not informed at all about the plans of the sales of housing units; in Langwasser residents around the planned Intercultural Garden were not early enough and not sufficiently informed about the plans.
 - A lack of communication with and inclusion of the residents in the plans of changes can cause residents to feel excluded and ignored in their rights and concerns which can lead into objections against the plans. The residents around the planned Intercultural Garden felt that their concerns were not considered and included in the plans.
 - Reluctance of the city administration to consider the concerns of residents and take action where necessary can lead into mobilisation processes. In Werderau, local actors asked the city for help but no help was provided in the first place.
- There is a potential for arising structural conflicts to be framed in ethnical dimensions. Determining factors, as arising from the case studies, appear to be ascriptions from outside of the quarter, especially by right wing forces: These forces seem to be particularly successful in contexts of insecurity of the residents, the lack of intervention by local actors and a strong established order. In Werderau and Langwasser residents were insecure about what the changes meant for their personal environment and there was no effective action for mediation and no consideration of their concerns. Additional to this, in Werderau an old established order was considered as being threatened. Apart from right wing influence, media seems to have a determining role as well: In Werderau and Langwasser, media contributed to ascriptions whereas in the latter case, the media later on changed their position and supported the solution of the open conflict.
- Ethnical framing seems to be less likely in contexts of high diversity, multiculturalism and in the absence of a strong established order. Gostenhof is located in such a context; ethnic categories were hardly applied by interviewees or even denied, mutual acceptance and tolerance seems high, there are no relevant conflicts in the quarter.
- Local actors, such as social services, associations, neighbourhood centres etc. seem to have a crucial role in solving conflicts and preventing such. In Werderau, the absence of such actors was identified as one of the reasons for the conflict, whereas the introduction of respective actors and measures contributed to the solution of the conflict. In Langwasser, the clear position for and support of the

project by local actors contributed to the weakening of the right-wing influence as well as the objections against the project and hence to the solution of the conflict. In Gostenhof, the strong representation of a large variety of associations, services and respective venues is identified as supporting the positive development of intergroup relations.

- Individual initiative by actors of the quarter, including on a voluntary basis, seems to have a crucial impact on well-functioning intergroup relations. In Gostenhof there is the complaint about too little engagement by policy makers for the quarter, yet the level of activities is high, much of which originates from individuals. These activities contribute to a positive development of intergroup relations.

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Annex

Table 21: Ethnographic interviewees in Gostenhof, Werderau and Langwasser by sampling dimensions

		Gostenhof			Werderau			Langwasser		
Total interviewees		12			13			10		
Number of interviewees by selection criteria	Migration background	Direct	Indirect	None	Direct	Indirect	None	Direct	Indirect	None
		4	2	6	1	2	10	3	0	7
	Gender	Male		Female	Male		Female	Male		Female
		7		5	7		6	7		3
	Age	18-35	36-65	65+	18-35	36-65	65+	18-35	36-65	65+
		5	6	1	2	7	4	1	8	1
	Participation in social life	None/Low	User of measures/ activities	Conductor of measures/ activities	None/Low	User of measures/ activities	Conductor of measures/ activities	None/Low	User of measures/ activities	Conductor of measures/ activities
		4	4	4	1	3	9	2	2	6
	Use of public areas (in the quarter)	None	Partly	Frequently	None	Partly	Frequently	None	Partly	Frequently
		3	5	4	6	5	2	2	4	4

Table 22: Element 'migrant' in media coverage on Werderau, 2001 – middle of 2011

Area		Number
Social dimension		
Economic	Conflict	1
	Cooperation	0
Social	Conflict	21
	Cooperation	17
Cultural	Conflict	15
	Cooperation	18
Political dimension		
Economic	Non policy	6
	Repressing or restrictive policies	1
	Positive policies of integration	2
Social	Non policy	7
	Repressing or restrictive policies	7
	Positive policies of integration	20
Cultural	Non policy	6
	Repressing or restrictive policies	6
	Positive policies of integration	18

Table 23: Framing of the quarter by media coverage on Werderau, 2001 – middle of 2011

	Story in quarter and quarter object of specific comments as labels	Story in quarter, no comments as labels of quarter	Story talks about quarter and other places in the city and comments as labels of quarter	Story talks about quarter and other places in the city, no comments as labels of quarter	Total
2001	5	2	1	1	9
2002	10	5	9	6	30
2003	1	9	0	3	13
2004	1	1	0	4	6
2005	0	1	2	6	9
2006	0	1	0	2	3
2007	1	1	0	0	2
2008	2	2	3	0	7
2009	0	0	0	0	0
2010	0	2	0	0	2
2011	0	0	0	0	0
Total	20	24	15	22	81

Table 24: Term 'migrant' in media coverage on Langwasser, 2001 – middle of 2011

Area		Number
Social dimension		
Economic	Conflict	0
	Cooperation	0
Social	Conflict	12
	Cooperation	23
Cultural	Conflict	15
	Cooperation	33
Political dimension		
Economic	Non policy	0
	Repressing or restrictive policies	0
	Positive policies of integration	0
Social	Non policy	4
	Repressing or restrictive policies	2
	Positive policies of integration	21
Cultural	Non policy	4
	Repressing or restrictive policies	4
	Positive policies of integration	32

Table 25: Framing of the quarter by media coverage on Langwasser, 2001 – middle of 2011

	Story in quarter and quarter object of specific comments as labels	Story in quarter, no comments as labels of quarter	Story talks about quarter and other places in the city and comments as labels of quarter	Story talks about quarter and other places in the city, no comments as labels of quarter	Total
2001	0	3	0	2	5
2002	0	0	0	0	0
2003	0	4	0	2	6
2004	0	2	0	8	10
2005	2	1	2	2	7
2006	0	1	0	5	6
2007	3	4	0	0	7
2008	2	3	0	2	7
2009	1	1	0	1	3
2010	3	0	1	2	6
2011	0	0	0	2	2
Total	11	19	3	26	59

Table 26: Element 'migrant' in media coverage on Gostenhof, 2001 – middle of 2011

Area		Number
Social dimension		
Economic	Conflict	5
	Cooperation	8
Social	Conflict	16
	Cooperation	29
Cultural	Conflict	6
	Cooperation	30
Political dimension		
Economic Area	Non policy	29
	Repressing or restrictive policies	3
	Positive policies of integration	10
Social Area	Non policy	22
	Repressing or restrictive policies	5
	Positive policies of integration	26
Cultural Area	Non policy	25
	Repressing or restrictive policies	4
	Positive policies of integration	27

Table 27: Framing of the quarter by media coverage on Gostenhof, 2001 – middle of 2011

	Story in quarter and quarter object of specific comments as labels	Story in quarter, no comments as labels of quarter	Story talks about quarter and other places in the city and comments as labels of quarter	Story talks about quarter and other places in the city, no comments as labels of quarter	Total
2001	0	0	0	0	0
2002	0	3	0	2	5
2003	2	1	2	1	6
2004	4	6	3	2	15
2005	6	0	1	0	7
2006	14	1	2	2	19
2007	1	0	0	0	1
2008	1	3	0	1	5
2009	1	0	0	1	2
2010	0	1	1	2	4
2011	0	2	0	0	2
Total	29	17	9	11	66