



Universitat
Pompeu Fabra
Barcelona



Working Paper Series

Number 53, Winter 2023

Diversity Mainstreaming Through Intercultural Opening in Policy and Practice

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GRITIM-UPF Working Paper Series

Abstract

Diversity management gradually gains significance regarding recent migrations and growing hostility in Germany's urban societies. In the state of Saxony, where right-wing extremism is on the rise, cultural and social policies and civil society initiatives have tried to use cultural and social education and participation (CSEP) to remedy unmanaged diversity and to reduce negative effects of discrimination against negatively racialized people.

Zapata-Barrero (2017) speaks of the intercultural turn when diversity is seen as a resource, an advantage, and an opportunity for community cohesion and conflict mitigation. This article sheds light on the intercultural turn in CSEP in Saxony through a case study of the right-wing hotspot Dresden. A qualitative analysis of Dresden's diversity management policies and 2017-22 ethnographic data identifies the premises, opportunities, and challenges: commitments to interculturality are cross-sectional; diversity projects increased; vertical forms of participation emerged, but also pointed to loopholes that leave migrants at a disadvantage.

Keywords

Intercultural turn, Saxony, cultural and social education and participation, intercultural contact, diversity management.

Acknowledgements

I am very grateful to Zenia Hellgren and Ricard Zapata-Barrero for their support as well as fellow colleagues whose thoughts and suggestions helped improve earlier versions of this manuscript.

Author's biographical note



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Suggested Citation:

Carolin Müller. (2023). Diversity Mainstreaming Through Intercultural Opening in Policy and Practice. GRITIM-UPF Working Paper Series No. 53 (Winter). DOI:10.31009/gritim.2023.wp53



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1. Introduction

Reducing antidiscrimination and counteracting the negative effects that discrimination has on people are the two aims that antidiscrimination policy in Germany seeks to achieve (Peucker, 2010). Kasper Lippert-Rasmussen argues that these principles are ethical principles that speak to the ends of antidiscrimination policy (Lippert-Rasmussen, 2018, p. 268). By reducing the harmful effects of discrimination, societies intend to solve or prevent conflicts. In eastern parts of Germany, recent migrations have increased attention to cultural and religious heterogeneity of urban centres, whereas in western parts of Germany highly diverse societies have long been a constant. In states such as Saxony, however, commitment to diversity is a challenging project of the recent decade. The social transformation of society is perceived as a phenomenon of the more recent years (IntMK, 2021; Weinmann et al., 2014). Under the 2014-19 coalition between the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), Saxony installed a new diversity management that no longer calls diversity and difference social anomalies. Policymakers recognize that conflicts that remain unresolved when people feel mistreated.

Zapata-Barrero notes that discarding the idea that diversity and difference are anomalies to contemporary society marks a shift in policymaking: the intercultural turn. He explains, “a core conceptual idea is the particular view of diversity as a resource and as an advantage and opportunity for community cohesion resulting from interaction among people from different backgrounds, including citizens and non-citizens” (Zapata-Barrero, 2017, p. 175). Previous multiculturalist attempts have been criticized for their disciplining impetus in managing diversity. German integration courses are a key example for understanding that the civilizing attempts made actually reproduce colonial logics (Ha, 2016) and thereby religiously discriminate against Muslims (Joppke, 2007, p. 16), thus, promoting “segregation rather than union” (Zapata-Barrero, 2017, p. 172). The intercultural turn, as Zapata-Barrero argues, can be considered response to failed multiculturalism and unmanaged diversity.

This article takes the case study of the city of Dresden’s diversity management to discuss the intercultural turn in cultural and social education and participation (CSEP). The city of Dresden is one of Saxony’s urban hotspots in which hostility continues rising because of increased political extremism from the New Right and increased xenophobic violence and racism. For example, the Regionale Arbeitsstellen zur Förderung von Kindern und Jugendlichen aus Zuwandererfamilien und Regionale Arbeitsstellen für Bildung, Integration und Demokratie RAA Sachsen e.V.’s (regional service for support office of children and youth

from immigrated families and regional support office for education, integration and democracy, abbreviated as RAA) annual statistics of right-wing-motivated and racist attacks shows that hate crimes in the state have been on the rise since 2012, reaching a high of 477 attacks that affected 654 people in 2015 and 437 attacks that affected 685 people in 2016 (RAA - Sachsen e.V., 2021). 2015 marked a peak in right-wing violence in Dresden when the right-wing group Pegida (Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamization of the Occident) started to hold weekly marches with thousands in attendance that year. The past decade has shown that action is needed to shift the political, social, and cultural understanding of diversity from something that threatens the local identity and traditions toward something that helps mediate the differences that exist in society to mitigate conflicts.

The emergence of Pegida was not only a pivotal moment in which local New Right support renewed in Dresden. It was also a moment that brought together artists, activists, and civil society associations in a joint fight against the New Right's attempt to take over the city. Interventions in CSEP as forms of civil resistance were central in this provisional assembly (Butler, 2015). Activism against annual marches of Neo-Nazis through Dresden have been well-employed, however, until 2015 there were few incidents in which different civil society actors displayed their joint solidarity in collaborative, arts-based street interventions and community projects. Since then, the number of intercultural, antidiscrimination, and empowerment community projects that use CSEP increased.

From a policy level, Saxony's minister for equality and integration Petra Köpping (SPD) responded with Saxony's strategy to protect people from discrimination and to further diversity (SPDFDFD) to set up antidiscrimination work as a cross-sectional task in early 2017 (Kleine Anfrage Der Abgeordneten Katja Meier, Fraktion BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN, Thema: Strategie Zum Schutz Vor Diskriminierung Und Zur Förderung von Vielfalt Im Freistaat Sachsen, 2017). The local diversity management strategy builds on the 2006 General Equal Treatment Act (AGG), which prohibits any form of discrimination on the account of race, ethnic origin, gender, religion or worldview, disability, age, or sexual orientation in all areas of society (Allgemeines Gleichbehandlungs-gesetz (AGG), 2006, para. 1). In 2017, Saxony also became one of the 11 member states of Germany's 'coalition against discrimination' and built on the AGG to set up a multidimensional, horizontal antidiscrimination approach to fight ideological misanthropy and resist political extremism, prevent and dismantle discrimination, further equality, and strengthen competencies for appreciating and productively using diversity (Kleine Anfrage Der Abgeordneten Katja Meier, Fraktion BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN, Thema: Strategie Zum Schutz Vor Diskriminierung

Und Zur Förderung von Vielfalt Im Freistaat Sachsen, 2017, no. 1).

This turn was explicitly termed intercultural opening (ICO) in 2019. ICO traditionally refers to a concept that originated in voluntary antidiscrimination agreements on in German companies in the early 2000s. These were the beginning of a larger diversity campaign that now seeks to achieve equality in all levels of industry, administration, and civil society called the “Charta der Vielfalt” (diversity charta, author’s translation). In 2019, Saxony, along with 3 000 others, signed this voluntary commitment to diversity management. ICO in Saxony is the state’s strategy to prevent and reduce discrimination, foster social cohesion, democratic structures and competencies, and to improve economic and social performance (Sächsische Staatsministerin der Justiz und für Demokratie, Europa und Gleichstellung, 2021).

Saxony’s ICO concept resonates with the transformative social engineering that Ricard Zapata-Barrero ascribes to policies that follow the intercultural citizenship narrative (Zapata-Barrero, 2019, p. 113). ICO seeks to aid the mediation of diversity and differences through remedies and the promotion of strategies that prevent discrimination. ICO seeks to help mediate conflicts that arose from viewing diversity and differences as anomalies. The mediation process entails several dimensions to reduce unmanaged diversity and introduce proactive mechanisms that rely on the contact zone approach to build “relational competences” (Zapata-Barrero & Mansouri, 2017, p. 325) in different spheres so that different forms of contact can gradually develop. Zapata-Barrero describes, “mainstreaming an intercultural policy, which has the feature of including all citizens within the scope of diversity policies” (Zapata-Barrero, 2017, p. 182) is a macrosocial approach that needs combined horizontal and vertical communication.

This article argues that Dresden takes such a macrosocial approach. Therefore, the case of Dresden provides important insights into the kinds of community cohesion that diversity advantage promotion brings about, and where gaps remain. Further, the case study points to the explicit and implicit relationships between simultaneous top-down and bottom-up approaches that affect what kinds of contact zones can help restore social cohesion and monitor social change in controlled ways. To understand the transition process, this article first discusses the commitments made in both civil society and policymaking regarding CSEP to mitigate conflict in the city. I analyse the type of contact zones that evolved and what that meant for antidiscrimination commitments. The following discussion examines the how different groups of actors perceived the intercultural turn in Dresden in practice. The analysis demonstrates that while the combines vertical and horizontal communication encourage people to have a stake in society, there is an insufficient focus on the contextual, structural, and institutional factors that

hinder stable progress.

2. Materials and Methodology

This study bases its findings, on the one hand, on a textual analysis of cultural and social policy documents, agreements, and communications issued by the state of Saxony and the city of Dresden. Considered documents are Saxony's diversity management strategy include the SPFDFD (enacted 31.01.2017) and its 'integrative measures' (IM) and 'cosmopolitan Saxony' measures (WOS), Dresden's Creative Projects funding scheme for the advancement of small creative artistic, cultural, and social projects (CP), Dresden's 2020 Culture Development Plan (CDP), and Dresden's Local Action Plan for diversity and democracy in Dresden (LHP). All documents are publicly accessible via the Saxonian REVOSax database or the state of Saxony's websites.

In addition, this study draws on ethnographic data that was collected as part of the author's doctoral research on creative civic activism in the city of Dresden 2017-19, and as part of a follow-up study in 2020-22. Besides observations of different cultural institutions and independent civil society actors 2017-20 (n=24), 10 interviews were conducted with: music projects (n=4), civil society organizations (n=4), and politicians involved in the legislative decisions on antidiscrimination, integration, and ICO (n=2). In 2022, additional interviews were conducted with: civil society organization (n=2) and mediaries (n=2). Participants were recruited through purposive sampling based on their experiences with creative interventions in social conflict in Dresden through top-down and bottom-up means. Examined initiatives through observations and interviews (n=21) can be characterized as (A) initiatives funded by local cultural policy (n= 3), (B) initiatives funded by local social policy (n=14), and (C) non-funded, independent initiatives (n=4). Interview data was first thematically analysed with a contextualized method (Braun & Clarke, 2006) to understand the role participants ascribe to creative interventions in diversity management in Dresden from experience. Interview data that presented relevant semantic themes was then deductively coded to examine how experiences of diversity management in practice relate to the dimensions of the intercultural policy paradigm (IPP) (Zapata-Barrero, 2017) in the realm of CSEP in Dresden's ICO policy in implicit or explicit ways.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. Theoretical Dimensions of Mainstreaming the Intercultural Policy Paradigm in Diversity Management Policy

Zapata-Barrero explains that to understand how policy can help mitigate conflicts and promote the positive potentials of diversity, it is necessary to question what happens in the contact zones. Different from the multicultural policy paradigm (MPP), the intercultural policy paradigm (IPP) argues “that the interaction among people from different diversity groups matters, [which] has been overlooked by the MPP paradigm, which has mainly concentrated on securing the cultural practices of diverse groups in terms of rights and equal opportunities” (Zapata-Barrero, 2017, p. 183). Thinking IPP from Gordon W. Allport’s contact theory (1954), Zapata-Barrero is able to point to the different forms of communication (horizontal, and vertical) that can happen through contact. Furthermore, there are different levels to the intensity of contact (circumstantial, sporadic, inter-personal dialogue, and interaction) that each result in different intensities of communication, which in turn have different effects on conflict mitigation and diversity promotion for different audiences.

According to Zapata-Barrero, the contact approach in the IPP goes beyond promoting interaction, community-building, and prejudice reduction. It more clearly defines three basic premises through which different forms of contact can gradually develop. The first dimension is ‘(positive) contact promotion’ which describes “an ongoing process intended to develop and maintain relational competences” through interpersonal contact, the negation of stereotypes, and the reduction of prejudice. The end that this premise seeks to reach is to mitigate and prevent different forms of conflict that encompass racism, poverty, and social exclusion (Zapata-Barrero, 2017, p. 183). Activities to this end are network-centric and encourage seeing relations. Zapata-Barrero’s second dimension, ‘antidiscrimination promotion’ “focuses on the factors that hinder or support intercultural relations” (ibid) by considering contextual, legal, institutional, and structural factors that may reduce people’s motivation to interact, or which may be the basis for misinterpretations that form walls of separation (ibid). Central to this dimension is to show people that they, too, have a stake in society and can tackle disadvantages (ibid), which aligns with the premises that empowerment theories follow (Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995; Zimmerman, 2000). The final dimension is ‘diversity advantage promotions’, which describes cross-sectional action that results in a redesign of institutions and policies. Diversity is taken as a “potential resource and a public good and not as a nuisance to be contained” (Zapata-Barrero, 2017, p. 184), when equal opportunities are available to all in

education, employment, entrepreneurship, holding civil office, etc. (ibid).

Zapata-Barrero further argues that there are normative claims that seek to justify these three promotions. There is the assumption of social theory of diversity, which he grounds in Allport's contact theory (1954), Ted Cantle's argument that IPP effects community cohesion and community-building (2008) and the relationship between class and interculturalism (Zapata-Barrero, 2015), that predicts negative outcomes in terms of segregation and exclusion if there is no policy intervention in diversity. Supporting positive action aids the understanding that diversity is not an anomaly that produces social conflict but instead an element of the societal structure that, if unmanaged, prevents social cohesion, trust, and feelings of belonging for all. Then, Zapata-Barrero convincingly explains, that Gérard Bouchard's political theory of diversity (2015) emphasizes unmanaged diversity reinforces viewing difference as a threat to traditional expressions, functions of national values, and systems of rights and duties. Rejecting the anomaly myth could help "avoid dualism between traditional value and those that are introduced through immigration" (Zapata-Barrero & Mansouri, 2017, p. 185). Bouchard suggests participatory policy channels and other forms of vertical communication to motivate agreements "to regulate the behaviour of nationals, and to minimize impacts on the loyalty of citizens and the rights, duties and access to equal opportunities of immigrants" (ibid). Then, the stability could be assured, and national identity would not be lost but instead develops as society changes.

For IPP to take hold, however, practical implementation needs to factor in multiple dimensions and stakeholders. To understand how the different dimensions of IPP play out, I draw on the distinction of antidiscrimination policy dimensions made by Kasper Lippert-Rasmussen (2018). He uses five dimensions to examine the moral and political significance of different antidiscrimination policies, thereby demonstrating that analysing the (1) ends, (2) sites, (3) means, (4) intended beneficiaries, and (5) agents of a policy can help further differentiate the common project of a policy and the extents to which it is justified. In the following sections, I refer to Lippert-Rasmussen's dimension indicators to examine the ends (I), sites (II), means (III), intended beneficiaries (IV) and agents (V) in sampled practices that speak to the extent to which Dresden applied the intercultural turn in policy in CSEP.

3.2. Intercultural Opening as a Macrosocial Project in Dresden

Dresden is one of the hotspots of political and social conflict in Saxony. In 2015, the RAA recorded an increase of 86% in racist and right-wing extremist attacks throughout the state (RAA - Sachsen e.V., 2016). The RAA states that most of the attacks (477 in total) were

racist attacks (285) or against political opponents to right-wing groups (121). Dresden was the place in which most of the attacks took place (116). While most of the overall attacks took place in public spaces (172), 74 occurred in front of asylum accommodation facilities and 72 at Pegida or anti-asylum seeker demonstrations. Such interventions occurred parallel to a gradual rise in Dresden's number of migrant residents, which currently make up 13.8% of the urban population (Landeshauptstadt Dresden, 2020b). Continuous clashes between the New Right, its targets, and its opponents present the city as a segregated terrain wherein few positive contact zones exist. In fact, diversity management has only gradually been recognized as a policy intervention worth considering to manage and mitigate social conflicts in Dresden.

The turn to diversity management resulted from multiple political and social developments. Heike Kleffner and Mathias Meisner (2017) describe that the state of Saxony as a whole struggled to see diversity something else but an anomaly under CDU leadership. One reason is the unmanaged rise of the New Right and its violence throughout the state. A second reason is the fostered segregation and a dwindling sense of belonging for residents. Natalie Beyer and Mark Terkessidis argue that this is due to the political and social separation of migration as a topic from the national consciousness of both former West and East Germany. Information about how each society gradually diversified stayed in the background in public education, political debates, representations of German history in museums, and in many more areas (Terkessidis & Beyer, 2018, p. 193). In addition, there was a lack of attention to integration needs by migrants arriving in the state so that Saxony's society has until 2015 been conceived as homogenous in public and urban discourse and was thereby able to negate existing diversity. Therefore, a comprehensive diversity strategy was needed that had to encompass traditional sites of antidiscrimination policy (higher education and the labour market (Lippert-Rasmussen, 2018, p. 276), integration courses (Joppke, 2007)) as well as untraditional sites, such as domestic violence as well as CSEP.¹

The turn to diversity management marked a shift from Dresden's multiculturalist internationalization strategy, which focused on increasing the city's international popularity through traditional heritage promotion and exclusive urban identity politics to attract economic stakeholders globally. Explicit diversity management was only introduced under the 2014 SPD-CDU coalition, which launched the SPFDfD in 2017, Saxony's first step toward an IPP implementation. In 2019, the SPFDfD took a multi-sited approach to promote positive contact

¹ Other untraditional sites of antidiscrimination include housing, which is only implicitly addressed in Saxony's intersectional antidiscrimination approach to diversity (Sächsische Staatsministerin der Justiz und für Demokratie, Europa und Gleichstellung, 2021). Health continues to be excluded, which the ADB 2021 study concluded as a general concern in Germany (Bartig & Kalkum, 2021).

zones, antidiscrimination, and diversity advantage to open the society to all (ICO). ICO considered antidiscrimination policies cross-sectional and promotes horizontal and vertical communication infrastructures that establish better exchange between municipal and civil society actors. For example, the guideline fosters equal opportunities centres on issues of gender equality but also takes into consideration multiple discriminations (section A.II.1e) to support, accompany, and empower people who experience discrimination based on multiple categories (section B.I.5). Besides broadening opportunities for asylum seekers, migrants, and refugees to gain cultural and linguistic knowledge in German, receive support in terms of social and health services, a key component of this policy is ICO of public administration and society at large to provide more equitable opportunities and protection from violence for all (*Kleine Anfrage Der Abgeordneten Katja Meier, Fraktion BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN, Thema: Strategie Zum Schutz Vor Diskriminierung Und Zur Förderung von Vielfalt Im Freistaat Sachsen*, 2017, sec. 3b). In practice, ICO provided the financial support system for local actors to realize bottom-up projects and strategies to target specific local concerns and conflicts, including CSEP.

Concerning CSEP, the Dresden City Council for Culture and Heritage (CCCH) highlights that culture is at the centre of the city's identity, one that prides itself with cultural diversity (Dresden.de, 2021). Since 2012, the city records funded cultural activities, as for example, the annual Vietnamese moon festival and the Africa week, and there have been 32 annual iterations of the intercultural days in Dresden. CPs funded by Dresden's CCCH encourage intercultural work through creative means. Between 2012-19 showed that the city of Dresden funded 1392 CPs out of which 278 sought to promote intercultural contact. Funding for intercultural CPs increased in that time frame by 90,518€. These CPs increasingly began to focus on positive contact promotion. For example, the German-Jewish cultural dialogue whose end is reduce discrimination against Russian migrants in Dresden (I) holds annual creative opportunities for relational exchange. Agent is the KIW-Gesellschaft e.V. (V), an association that supports the integration of highly skilled Russian engineers and academics (IV) into the German labour market (II) by enabling positive contact between migrants and possible employers. The KIW-Gesellschaft's soft goal is to establish relations and develop emigres' social, cultural, and economic competences (III). Contact zones built in this initiative were gradual through bottom-up initiatives. However, the city only provided small scale annual support (1.200-1.700 €) to turn the local initiative into one that would also benefit others in the city. Thus, while in-group connections grew, the CP scheme did not aid stabilization to maintain the relational competencies across districts (III) to ensure that intercultural goals realized.

In addition, funded CPs during this time frame rarely went beyond the first dimension of the IPP that Zapata-Barrero outlined (2017). The city, however, only began to address the dimension of antidiscrimination promotion with the introduction of the 2020 CDP. The CDP recognizes segregation in the city based on the diverse social and ethnic origin of citizens, income, and education. Seeing diversity as part of the urban fabric is a significant change in perspective. To counteract the formation of parallel societies within the city, the CDP issues a commitment to new platforms and formats for horizontal and vertical contact that seek to strengthen a collective intercultural reflection of Dresden's identity. (Inter)culture is stated as a central building block to urban community cohesion (Landeshauptstadt Dresden, 2021, p. 5). Participatory and educational formats are rendered key spaces in which local creatives can aid the promotion of multidimensional community cohesion. These explicit commitments to positive contact promotion seek to overcome previous challenges to stabilize impact.

The CDP views contemporary methods of CSEP as central to identifying and maintaining relations within the heterogenous urban society. The CDP states intercultural understanding as a transgenerational task and the way through which there can be an end to urban segregation and social conflicts (I). The CDP combines top-down and bottom-up knowledge. Already in the conception of the CDP, Dresden engaged citizens (V) through a survey to identify bottom-up interests and concerns to understand the disadvantages in the cultural sector and the ways in which citizens imagined culture as a tool for social change (II). The targeted assessment of needs resulted in the creation of sector-specific action items that bridge between previously separate cultural worlds in the city (Landeshauptstadt Dresden, 2020a, p. 12). Commitments to a renewed intercultural strategy echo the need for stabilization of initiatives through changing funding schemes from resource-consuming single-year to multi-year models via Dresden's "Fair in Dresden" strategy (2018-25) (Landeshauptstadt Dresden, 2018). One interviewee stated that the CDP benefited from decades-long efforts by the Saxonian Music Council and the Landesverband Soziokultur Sachsen, who fought to install fair treatment for artists and cultural workers (SAX_01, personal communication, 27 May 2022), Dresden's application process for the cultural capital of Europe 2025 and being nominated as one of the eight German "cities of the future". Resources and discussions from that inspired city management to take actor-perspectives into consideration to evaluate the types of contact that can be made possible between citizens, how contact could be improved, and how culture could be used to mitigate conflicts. The CDP considers both agents (V) and intended beneficiaries (IV) from a broad scope and thereby demonstrates that diversity management is a macrosocial project that involves recognizing the interests, needs, capacities,

and discrimination experiences of all.

The CDP targets not only different migrant groups but all citizens of Dresden (IV) and regards both institutional and civil society organizations as agents of change (V). Hoping to show that people can learn how to have a stake in the society in which they live (I), the CDP commits to the formation of a house of interculture (II), a civil society centre wherein migrants can engage in sustainable projects, cooperate with the urban society and be located within one of the urban cultural centres, the Kraftwerk Mitte (Landeshauptstadt Dresden, 2020a, p. 62). Other commitments include opening all areas of CSEP through encouraging multi-language opportunities (II), a reorganization of the information platform for migrant actors (II), and a focus on institutional and contextual barriers that have prevented migrants from participation (II). Another dimension is the explicit inclusion of migrant urban history in the archives of the city (II), a hard policy change compared to previous considerations of ethnopluralist heritage in the region (III) (Landeshauptstadt Dresden, 2020a, p. 77). In sum, the CDP poses a range of explicit contact formats. The sites (II) of intervention mentioned show how knowledge gains from traditional antidiscrimination work, for example multi-language opportunities for navigating the labour market and higher education, inform antidiscrimination work in untraditional sites such as CSEP. Doing so, Dresden demonstrates commitment to the improvement of different forms of gradual contact by creating spaces for critical engagement wherein neglected citizens can feel to have a stake, something long overdue (Kulturbüro Sachsen, 2013).

The SPFD's social policies IM and WOS further aimed at civil society organizations to intervene in existing integration measures through long-term projects. One example is the 'House of Music' project by the local brass band Banda Comunale (2018-19, funded through IM with 272,982.15€) that established cultural contact zones through sharing of musical heritage and the development of musician networks between migrant and non-migrant musicians as well as opportunities to build musical competencies. 'The House of Music' was a multi-sited approach to intercultural contact through music. It included 'The Kids Are Alright' (already started in 2017 through funding by the Power of the Arts Award), a series of workshops in schools in Dresden and its surroundings to introduce positive examples of diversity through learning about music from Syria, Iraq, Burkina Faso, Palestine, Russia, or Spain. Observations during workshops (2017-18) showed target audiences ranged from rather homogenous student groups in privileged districts, to students with disabilities, and diverse student groups in less privileged districts (IV). Musicians act as untraditional educators (V) in traditional educational sites, and thereby bring soft means of antidiscrimination work into contexts wherein it is less

explicitly thematized. The music educational approach offered students an opportunity to create something new together in music and dance by using melodies, rhythms, and knowledge about instrument building from different geographies (II). Drawing on its own experience of undergoing social transformations and enduring social conflicts as Banda Internationale, a music integration project with refugees (2016-19), Banda Comunale could demystify what diversity meant for them by communicating how difficult it is for refugee musicians to establish themselves in the city.

In addition to IM and WOS Dresden's LHP² has promoted small-scale support since 2010. Following re-evaluation, the most recent 2017-22 LHP pursues a cross-sectional diversity strategy to improve democratic engagement. The LHP explains the need for positive contact promotion and antidiscrimination promotion with the threats to social stability and community cohesion posed by the New Right and Pegida (Landeshauptstadt Dresden, 2017, pp. 13–15). To the LHP, CSEP is central to facilitate low threshold means of citizenly contact that help prevent further segregation, and intercultural training in administration is perceived as crucial to reduce discrimination disadvantages (ibid, pp.19, 28). To ensure such horizontal and vertical communication structured, there are recurrent participatory evaluation workshops (II). During the 2022 LHP evaluation workshop, participants valued the low threshold opportunities the LHP offers. Participants of funded initiatives report knowledge gains concerning discrimination and tolerance. The exchange also made clear that inclusive language in the cultural sector and multi-language opportunities in city offices remain issues. Workshop attendees stated that in practice creative citizens need visible support structures that are more than one-hit wonders and ensure that diversity management remains a long-term concern.

Observations from the workshop show the LHP is not only a provider of funds but also a sounding board that initiatives throughout the city can use to feel heard, exchange experiences, and feel included in decision-making processes (I). In workshops, they collaboratively develop suggestions for immediate improvement of diversity management from a baselevel perspective and look beyond their immediate projects' horizon (III). The LHP's participatory approach indicates that civil society initiatives think positive contact promotion and antidiscrimination promotion as a collective effort and one that takes place in conversation with the city's LHP office. Overall, the LHP has established multifaced contact zones that allow for sporadic contact, but also doe inter-personal dialogue and can even result in interactions via

² The LHP strategy is based on the city's commitment to the Dresden Equal Treatment Action Plan and Dresden's commitment to the UN Disability Rights Convention per city council decision SR/008/2015 to commit to the EU-Charta for Equality of Women and Men in Local Life.

joint projects. Therefore, the LHP(V) can be considered as a well-established cornerstone of diversity advantage promotion through baselevel involvement (IV).

This analysis of cultural and social policy commitments in Dresden has indicated that, first, the diversity management through CSEP is framed as crucial for increasing the city's social capital and a sense of belonging (I). Dresden's ICO combines the suggested benefits that both the social and the political theory of diversity pose. Participatory methods have been used to identify and address multiple traditional and untraditional sites (II), agents from different communities (V) and stakeholders who experience different forms of discrimination (IV). Overall, ICO helped develop means (III) through which antidiscrimination can be enacted. However, most means are soft means, and issues remain regarding ICO's impact in practice. The following section draws on the themes identified in the interview data to question to what extent explicitly or implicitly this is the case in practice.

3.3. Contact Zones or Parallel Worlds? Reflections of ICO in Practice

Carina Lier first evaluated Dresden's ICO in the city's administrative apparatus. Her qualitative study points to gaps between theory and practice. Lier's interviewees stated administrative sensibilization for diversity management has only been realized through staff trainings since 2019, a process that was even slowed down by the Covid-19 pandemic (2021, p. 32). Lier concludes that while Dresden has the potential to advance in its diversity management, the city remains in the infancy phase because it has a segregated approach to treating diversity, motivated by ideological indifference and apprehension to diversity advantages (ibid, p.52).

Contextual observations that point to ideological indifference and apprehension to diversity could be made in everyday life during fieldwork between 2017-20. Everyday interactions in commercial and public spaces are characterized by racism toward immigrants and racialized people, Muslims specifically. In Dresden, Muslims are a highly segregated group that faces frequent attacks, ranging from verbal assault in public transport to physical violence. In addition to the many barriers that Muslims face throughout Germany, Muslims in Saxony face added roadblocks because they are not yet considered part of the social fabric, as for example indicated by Islamic burial prohibition (Peucker, 2020, p. 282). Neo-Nazi symbolism prevails during weekly demonstrations by Pegida and other New Right groups in Dresden (Fahrion, 2009; Steffen, 2020) while remembrance of the Hoyerswerda pogroms in 1991 and the killing of Jorge Gomondai in Dresden that same year remain stories of the margins brought

up by activists in small annual commemoration ceremonies.

Lived hostility complicates whether civil society organizations can act effectively. One example is the World Club, a community space hosted by the Afropa e.V. for migrant youth development for exchange, education, and community support in the Neustadt district. The empowerment initiative is in Dresden's most cosmopolitan and vibrant club district but even there, it is only an island of hospitality. It is one of the few migrant-centred youth initiatives that establish and help maintain relational competencies so that migrant youth can learn to establish their own projects and overcome disadvantaging factors, for example through language courses or music education. The World Club also treats migrant youth input as a potential resource for district development by encouraging Iranian and Eritrean migrant youth to promote their projects and help curate the district. However, Simon Hänel, a member of Afropa e.V., explains that despite the World Club's diversity advantage promotion, migrant youth still face hostility in Dresden's club scene that starts just across the street due to a lack of financial means, or racial profiling at the club entrances (Simon Hänel, personal communication, 3 April 2019). Hänel's experience indicates that although the World Club can offer meaningful and empowering contact opportunities for community-building and community-self-representation, participants face discrimination once they leave the protected space. Although, a closer examination of Dresden Neustadt's club and leisure scene would be needed to draw definite conclusion, I pose the hypothesis that ICO as applied in the Neustadt district establishes contingent community cohesion that is limited in time and space. Antidiscrimination work is successful regarding community empowerment but does little to change mindsets in the districts.

2022 interviews with project mediators and civil society organizations who have been working on diversity and antidiscrimination initiatives before and during the period of transition present further concerns. When asked about the role that study participants attribute to CSEP, mediators that assist projects in management and established civil society organizations reported that there have been many positive developments through Saxony's ICO that benefited antidiscrimination work via CSEP. However, they experienced positive developments more as results of bottom-up not policy approaches. All interviewed initiatives reported that they would only engage with the city's policies when they prepare funding applications. This was particularly the case for projects who work unfunded. All respondents noted that in practice Dresden's diversity scheme is never explicitly taken as a guideline. Instead, bottom-up initiatives have the ideological conviction that diversity is important. Their work and Dresden's ICO, thus, live side-by-side in parallel worlds. One interviewee stated that

he perceives the ICO approach as an afterthought to what happens through volunteering bottom-up initiatives (SAX_04, personal communication, 21 June 2022). Another interviewee described her experience as follows:

The paper is one thing. It is nice that it is stated somewhere so that in an emergency you can refer to it but often it does not apply to what happens in practice, the many policy papers, which often have so much, so many ambitious goals, or high aspirations ... I sometimes have the feeling that the visions are still missing. I mean, that you just think about, what do I really want and how can I anchor this [It is imperative that project owners] consider what effects they wish to get with a project ... [instead of] staying on the out-put level, that is how many people participated, without checking ... what can this project really do on a societal level ... Where do we really want to go and where does the city of Dresden see itself, you know. All the things relating to the opening process, that is something, that just does not resonate well for us working in the practice (SAX_02, personal communication, 21 June 2022, author's translation).

The interviewee continued to state that participatory processes that take place and encourage contact often lack subsequent action even if discussion and exchange plant promising seeds for next steps. Viewing ICO as an emergency tool, the interviewee suggested that diversity management is a less helpful tool for xenophobia-reduction but more helpful for providing a justification for others that it is right to do diversity work (I). Dresden's social change regarding policy implementation progresses at a snail's pace. Interviewed initiatives reported that administrative jargon, and the condition that projects can only be funded if initiatives can demonstrate the ability to inject some resources of their own (up to 10% for long-term project funding in IM and WOS) create barriers that significantly hinder work on the ground.

One interviewee felt that Dresden has been unable to put forth a clear vision regarding what the diversity management process that is set in motion should achieve (SAX_02, personal communication, 21 June 2022). It may, thus, be argued that while diversity advantage promotion is prominent throughout the policy documents, it is not that clear to civil society what the advantage of diversity to people's everyday lives is. Heike Greschke et al. evaluated the role that Dresden's cultural institutions take in mediating diversity in the urban society. They concluded that art and culture can make audiences aware of another viewpoint but rarely manage to truly mediate between different positions (Greschke et al., 2020, p. 47). Concerning Greschke et al.'s observations, this study can add that participants' experiences indicate

additional ideological barriers to already restricting structural conditions.

All respondents recognized that there are certain aspects that indicate that this is a Saxony problem, for example political decisions that prevent positive changes in diversity management decisions (SAX_01, personal communication, 27 May 2022) and political decisions that separate social exclusion issues as migration-related as opposed to conceiving them as a result of failed economic integration of former East Germans into the federal economic structures (SAX_03, personal communication, 15 June 2022). Other factors, including too many short-term projects, uncertain state households that can cause sudden take-backs of promised funds, and that initiatives are required to lobby successfully for recognition as serious contributors to diversity management (SAX_01, personal communication, 27 May 2022), however, remain problems common throughout Germany.

Interviewed civil society organizations and artists alike viewed themselves as service-providers. As such they argue that they are often undervalued. Even in collaborations with fellow diversity managers, different approaches and expectations can lead to misunderstandings, as the following episode illustrates. One interviewee reported that being a migrant herself, she values the contributions that artists can have for empowerment projects in Syrian communities in Dresden:

So, my message is when we have a dance session, when we have a painting session, our goal is not dancing. Of course, this is important and healthy and so on. But our goal is that we somehow gather. And when we have a simple goal [such as dancing], then people really come. It is fun. Through dancing, through the short waiting before all participants arrive, we can talk about so many things, we can solve many problems, and it is important for me that the migrants, especially girls, understand that German society has its problems. We are part of the society. We want to be part of the solution, but we are not the problem (SAX_03, personal communication, 15 June 2022, author's translation).

The creative intervention's aim is to reduce feelings of exclusion and guilt (I) that young migrant girls experience when confronted with stereotypes about Syrian Muslims in Dresden (IV). The project addresses private sphere discrimination that people of colour experience in everyday life (II). Exchanging shared experiences of discrimination and advice on how she grew from them (V), the interviewee explained, is her soft strategy to build confidence in the girls so that they understand that they are not the reason why they are dragged into a conflict

and that they have the right to refuse feeling guilty (III).

However, not being an artist herself, the interviewee must rely on collaborating with artists, which can cause tension:

I have to decide. If I want to use art as a tool, it should be like a mathematical equation. It should be like a chemical reaction. ... For me it has always been difficult that sometimes we get into unnecessary arguments with artists and workshop leaders. Sometimes, I have the feeling that we have to put our goals on the table and be quite open and we do not want to do that. It is important that we do not address the artists from above just because we are their employers. To figure this out was the hardest. Without the artists, we could not work with the people. I cannot lead every workshop. And when artists come with little motivation or have the feeling that I am giving them orders [then this does not work.] If this happens [, however] we have not reached our goal. ... (SAX_03, personal communication, 15 June 2022, author's translation).

Neither the CDP nor the LHP consider that diversity management also entail mediating collaborations between different civil society actors. Artists and project managers have few opportunities to take the time to learn about each other's ways of going about projects when time is tight, and results pressingly needed.

Furthermore, the interviewee noted that when she participates in committees, her status as a migrant is a disadvantage, a sign of not-knowing what she is talking about (SAX_03, personal communication, 15 June 2022). That migrant voices continue to be devalued in decisions about diversity management is well-researched (Foroutan, 2019; Peucker, 2020). However, it also speaks to the lack of attention that policies place on positionalities on paper and in practice. Interviewees noted that evaluation processes are untransparent concerning what projects are deemed within the scope of aspired diversity management (SAX_04, personal communication, 21 June 2022). In addition, long-standing bottom-up efforts and specific migrant community contributions are often not recognized if not properly lobbied.

In all, while ICO shows increased diversity management, the failures of MPP have not been overcome. Seeing relations through implicit, and to use the words of Sara Ahmed, "non-performative" speech acts (2006) remains a problem. Ahmed explains that while institutions may appear to admit that there is a problem that needs attention and even commitments are outed, these commitments are often followed by non-action. In such cases, she writes "diversity is taken in as an orientation toward the market, a way of being 'world class'" (Ahmed, 2006,

p. 119). Diversity as a tradable commodity resembles the MPP's view of diversity as a social anomaly that affects not all of society but only a few. Claiming to be a city with pride in cultural diversity, Dresden continues to reproduce speech acts that as one interviewee stated turn attempts to be cosmopolitan into a badge that you can wear without considering the base work needed to bring about substantial social change (SAX_02, personal communication, 21 June 2022).

4. Conclusion

This paper discussed the intercultural turn in Dresden's intercultural opening through cultural and social education to mitigate conflict and foster community cohesion as urban segregation persists. The intercultural policy paradigm to intercultural opening in cultural and social education is an untraditional site of antidiscrimination policy but a central one in Dresden's approach to diversity. The article presented the means of ICO and how city administrations and civil society initiatives shaped this tool to weather Dresden for social changes. Diversity mainstreaming through CSEP is a vertical communication approach in Dresden, "to manage the potential impact that any change can have on tradition, to regulate the behaviour of nationals, and to minimize impacts on the loyalty of citizens and the rights, duties and access to equal opportunities of immigrants" as the political theory of diversity suggests (Zapata-Barrero, 2017, p. 185).

As a macrosocial project, vertical communication happens throughout policy and bottom-up channels while horizontal communication is manifested through participatory approaches. Saxony's CDP and Dresden's LHP are the most comprehensive diversity management policies that follow the IPP and take hold in the city so far. Both developed following critical evaluations of contextual factors that deemed the previous MPP approach insufficient because it did not help overcome community segregation in the city. Contact zones that projects helped create lacked infrastructures that could guarantee interactional stability. With the CDP and LHP, the city provided civil society actors with opportunities to expand micro-context projects within districts or specific marginalized communities and begin cross-district exchanges. Nonetheless, migrant communities continue to struggle to receive recognition as equal communication partners.

Most of the MPP in CSEP may have been mitigated but in practice the legacy remains. The analysis of observational and interview data demonstrates that even though intercultural turn increased contact zones, the communication of commitments to disadvantaged

communities and the implementation of action are not congruent. Even if there is policy intervention that takes all IPP dimensions (Zapata-Barrero, 2017) into consideration, segregation continues. For example, when interaction is finally achieved, structural, institutional, and contextual barriers prevail and even lighthouse projects are rarely stabilized to effect sustainable change. Practitioners stated that impact- oriented goals that are central to CSEP, are lacking. Specific articulations of visions what a future society is supposed to look like for different communities in the population are insufficient. There is too little exchange with migrant actors for stabilized social change processes. Instead, the underlying disciplining impetus turns migrants' contributions to society into unvalued goods. Much more differentiated support is needed to not only use participatory processes to listen to citizenly concerns but include check-ins throughout the implementation phases. It is only then that we might find evidence whether diversity management leads to the reduction of economic and xenophobic disadvantages and helps strengthen community cohesion sustainably.

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Annex I: Abbreviations

SPD: Social Democratic Party

CDU: Christian Democratic Union

CSEP: cultural and social education

RAA: Regionale Arbeitsstellen zur Förderung von Kindern und Jugendlichen aus Zuwandererfamilien und Regionale Arbeitsstellen für Bildung, Integration und Demokratie (regional service for support office of children and youth from immigrated families and regional support office for education, integration and democracy, abbreviated as RAA)

SPDFD: Saxony's strategy to protect people from discrimination and to further diversity

AGG: General Equal Treatment Act

ICO: intercultural opening

IM: integrative measures

WOS: cosmopolitan Saxony

CP: creative projects

CDP: Culture Development Plan

LHP: local action plan for diversity and democracy in Dresden

MPP: multicultural policy paradigm

IPP: intercultural policy paradigm

CCCH: Dresden's City Council for Culture and Heritage