



UPLIFT – Urban PoLicy Innovation to address
inequality with and for Future generaTions

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Summary

The summary reflects the UPLIFT project findings about the main policies and actions that national, regional, and local welfare systems provide for vulnerable young persons and their milieus in Chemnitz. The focus is on four policy fields - education, employment, housing, and policies and practices supporting vulnerable children and young people. Within these fields, the focus is on the delivery of welfare services to vulnerable young people to empower them for independent lives in interdependence with society.

- **Focus on Crises** - The report focuses mainly on the situation after the 2008 financial crisis, and how the ongoing Covid-19 crisis affects policies for young people. However, the effects of the unexpected economic and social crises that followed unification after 1990 were included, as they still have an ongoing influence on developments in Germany, not least in youth welfare policies.
- **Accepted policy principles** – German welfare and urban interventions are based on a triangle of equally weighted and widely accepted constitutional principles on the levels of the federal, regional, and local state. The constitutional *principle of federalism* allows for differentiated policy action under an umbrella legislation that is responsive to horizontal regional varieties and cultures. *Subsidiarity* provides for the vertical balance between top-down and bottom-up policies and their implementation. In practice it encourages collaboration and reflexivity across actor networks covering state, civil society, professional actors, and applied research. The *principle of the rule of law* as a part of the democratic checks and balances sensitises for respecting the 'rights of the other' and safeguarding the inclusion of vulnerable members of society. Never totally uncontested in Germany politics, these three principles have been largely internalised in Chemnitz, and they are playing an important role in manoeuvring through crises. In Chemnitz urban development and housing, as well as youth policy, are major playing fields on which these principles are tested on the way to mitigate inequality – or reduce the stress of inequality through affirmative social action. They have also proved to be the basis for a relatively successful management of the crises effects after 1990, 2007 and in the current Covid-19 crisis. In a process of policy learning, a culture of reflexivity – although not in every policy domain – has established as routine.
- **Material inequality and experiences of immaterial inequality** - The local actors' understanding was that in a globalised world material inequality, as a lack of access to income, services, and knowledge, could only partly be tackled by local politics and policies. Mainly this was seen as the realm of the central state's distribution and welfare policies. However, the immaterial experiences of inequality, which were described as of growing importance and as partly uncoupled from material inequality, were seen as the realm for local policies and action. Local state, civil society and problem-aware welfare actors are working in a supportive and enabling capacity in Chemnitz to provide for feasible local

solutions, vertical and horizontal communication on causes of inequality, non-bureaucratic solutions, and utilising local knowledge.

- **Integrated and integrating policies and practices** across professional and departmental boundaries have become carrying elements in policy development in Chemnitz. From the innovative DELPHIN / Karree49 youth and community project to a new collaborative school (*Kooperationsschule Chemnitz*), and the opening of an under-used church to young people (*Jugendkirche*), a wide range of projects has emerged and moved from experiment to mainstream. The city has taken an active role initiated a network of community action as a supportive infrastructure across the city after 2010 that also were tasked with supporting youth initiatives. Those young people who find access to the open networks and programmes are benefitting from these participatory structures. However, with the periodic societal closures through the Covid-19 pandemic, it has become apparent that groups of the most vulnerable are excluded and in consequence self-excluding from assisting structures. At the same time, the pandemic has made it more difficult for youth-work to build up sustainable contacts to the clientele. For these groups new methodologies are in demand.
- **Appointed responsables** have built important bridges across the rifts between administration, social and youth work, housing actors and civil society and the clientele. The institutionalised independence of these intermediaries as members of the city administration was understood to be of great benefit for building trust. Responsibles were appointed by the local parliament for the domains of *youth and children, housing and urban development, migrant integration*, and citizens with *special needs*. They have helped launch new forms of education, cohousing and welfare practices, which have either made it from experimental to mainstream or in any way influenced the practices applied.
- **Persistent political support** was seen as a precondition for the success of policies and projects mitigating inequality. As vulnerability of social groups does not follow the rules of bureaucracy, politics should open up to the lifeworld's demands of the clientele and provide the projects, their workers, and participating clients with the means to implement inequality mitigation strategies.
- **Exploiting EU and federal programmes** and linking them creatively was a success factor in implementing integrated practices across thematic policies. European Regional Development Funds (ERDF) and European Social Funds (ESF), and other European programmes related to youth work and urban rehabilitation were linked productively to the benefit of the clientele.
- **Including research into the field** - Practitioners in the field of youth work, urban development, and housing, have from early on collaborated with academia. They have also actively used the opportunities of the UPLIFT project as a chance for self-reflexively and exploiting scientific knowledge.

- **European collaboration** - Finally, the local practice partners would have wished that cross insemination on a European level would become more common. They suggested that communities of practice and learning, as they have been partly established by UPLIFT in Chemnitz, became more of European normality after the Covid-19 restrictions.

Introduction

This urban report takes a look at the eastern German functional urban area of the city of Chemnitz and welfare policies for vulnerable young people against the background of the world financial crisis of 2008 and the present Covid-19 crisis. As the post 1990 crises following German unification still have strong material and lifeworld effects, consequences of these earlier crises were also taken into account.

The specific focus of UPLIFT is on vulnerable youth and on policies, programmes, and projects aiming at mitigating inequality in four policy fields: education, employment, housing, and youth-policies. Examples of good governance were selected in the various fields of youth-welfare. Inclusive forms of governance get special attention, as they have proved a clear success-factor.

Acknowledgements

This report would not have been possible without the intense support of the municipal responsables for youth and children, housing and urban development, migrant integration, and citizens with special needs. Also the coordinator and members of the municipal community development network have opened doors and contributed to debating interim results in focus groups. Experts contracted by the city for integrative housing projects were instrumental in understanding the relations between the youth-policy sector and general city politics.

Methodology

Desk-research, expert interviews, and focus groups provide the central background for this report. Narrative interviews with experts were conducted along the suggested interview guideline for WP2 of the UPLIFT project. Local interviewees were selected by the research team. Other interviewees and participants for focus-groups were recruited following a snow-ball system, expecting contrasting perspectives.¹

For the interviews and focus groups the Actor-Network-Theory (ANT)² was adopted as the conceptual framework. In spatial and policy research ANT helps conceptualising the relations between social, physical, and political entities, which together constitute 'region', 'city' or 'neighbourhood'.³

Desk-research was carried out from the first half of 2020 onwards and well into 2021 according to demand. From the second half of 2020 onwards individual and group interviews, and four focus groups were in all covering about 50 persons, some of them repeatedly.

Relations between the researchers and the local partners varied. There was a great openness to participate in the UPLIFT project on the side of base-line professionals – especially from town-planning, experimental housing, and work with vulnerable children and young people. High-ranking political and public administration experts were more reluctant to allow a look behind the curtains. These different approaches towards UPLIFT were mainly based on a contrasting understanding of government and the benefits of a participatory culture to change

bureaucracies to better serve their clientele and the public. Most interviewees took into account the value of bureaucracy as a system of accountable and ordered procedures in a democracy. At the same time, open modes of communication and shared knowledge – good governance - seemed more appropriate to others in managing complexity and diversity in fluid actor networks, as they appear specially in cities in crisis.

As an outflow of the strict Covid-19 related contact restrictions in 2020 and 2021, direct face-to-face contact with the partners was limited. Saxony had amongst the highest number of cases in Germany and continued to have the lowest vaccination rates. Communication with the experts was also restricted as from the first lock-down in spring of 2020 on, mandatory work-from-home for non-essential workers was introduced with limited virtual and media support by the state of Saxony.

Policies in an environment of ‘crisis as the new normal’

In Eastern Germany, the period after unification in 1990 encompassed a cascade of consecutive socioeconomic crises with profound effects on the country as a whole but on vulnerable persons and groups of the younger generation in particular. In the west, changes after 1990 were mostly moderate and did not necessarily influence the individual or collective life-worlds to a of the crises.⁴ As a consequence, accommodation in the new realities was a difficult experience for many with lasting stress effects.⁵

Table 1: Post-unification crises and respective programmes with effect on the young generation⁶

	Post-unification crises and effects	Policies and programmes with local reference
1990 – 1995	Total societal and institutional <i>reset</i> after unification in 1990, followed by a short-lived <i>unification boom</i> and unexpected years of <i>recession and massive unemployment</i> were seen as a stressful period of transition in Chemnitz.	<i>Ad-hoc programmes (Aufbau Ost)</i> for modernisation of administration, industries, and housing supported by financial transfer of 1.6 trillion € public investment and welfare transfer to the eastern ‘New States’. Transfer of welfare and youth-policies under stress of growing inequality. Constitutional policy principles of <i>federalism, subsidiarity</i> and <i>rule of law</i> .
1002 – 2020	Crisis of <i>shrinking cities</i> , massive emigration of able young people to the West, collapsing eastern birth-rates.	Programme of ‘ <i>Urban Regeneration East</i> ’ in a precarious balance between <i>demolition</i> of 11.000 vacant panel flats, <i>inner-city rehabilitation</i> , and <i>new build</i> of private housing were instrumental for improving housing conditions (investment support of 400 m€ for 16 rehabilitation areas in Chemnitz). Participation, community development and sociocultural projects as compensation of social crisis effects and urban physical change.

2000 - 2010	<i>Pisa Shock</i> followed by a half-hearted modernisation of the education system.	Collaborative efforts to improve <i>MINT education</i> in schools and vocational training. Successful <i>two-tier system</i> of <i>pre-academic and practical education</i> paralleled by critique of <i>segregation</i> between school- types and lack of digitalisation. Strong <i>school social work</i> effort against unequal opportunities .
2005 - 2022	In a period of austerity, a <i>welfare-state crisis</i> led to ' <i>Hartz IV</i> ' reforms under strict demand orientation of benefits. Establishment of integrated <i>Welfare Code</i> , e.g. unemployed, children and young people.	In youth-welfare policies, <i>stronger bottom-up participation</i> under the principle of subsidiarity and good practice. <i>NGOs as strong and professional partners</i> in holistic welfare service delivery.
2007 - 2009	<i>Global financial crisis</i> with harsh effects on banks but limited social, housing, and employment effects overridden by solid economic growth.	City benefits from <i>strong and regulated rental market</i> and <i>responsive welfare system</i> . Unemployment steadily down from 18% (2006) to 5.5% (2019), reduced inequality.
2015 - 2016	' <i>Refugee crisis</i> ' with strong effects on social cohesion.	Federal and local welcoming strategy partly overridden by <i>political conflict</i> under influence of xenophobia. Urban and civil society <i>conflict management</i> . Emergence of strong right-wing politics and social movements. .
2019 - ongoing	<i>Covid crisis</i> , lockdowns with so-far unclear socioeconomic consequences.	Limited economic crisis effects are paralleled by strong <i>non-economic sociocultural effects</i> and societal fragmentation leading to growing immaterial inequality for a <i>precarious minority of disadvantaged amongst the young generation</i> .
2022 - ongoing	Effects of Ukraine War	Unclear effects of refugee immigration for the urban welfare system with practices building on post 2015 experience, taken up by state, city and civil society.

Source: UP19

The political system on the federal as well as on regional and municipal levels had – in part – used the period after 1990 as an opportunity for policy learning and training of all actors. The mentioned public programmes helped develop the change instruments and at the same time mitigated crisis effects. Throughout the world-financial crisis, everyday lives were largely shielded off through the considerable regulated rental housing sector, low levels of private indebtedness, and the relatively secure welfare state. The post 2010 housing price and building crisis only later developed out of a situation of growing individual demand and before 2020 mainly struck larger and growing western cities .

Accepted constitutional policy principles in the German political system

In the four UPLIFT research fields, policies and practices are subsumed under three constitutional principles codified in the Basic Law (constitution) as basic elements of German democracy.

Federalism allows for policies and practices that are responsive to regional diversities and cultures under constitutionally regulated umbrella legislation.

Subsidiarity regulates a balance between various bottom-up forms of self-regulation and top-down policies. In practice subsidiarity encourages collaboration and reflexivity across different levels of statehood and actor networks.

The *principle of the rule of law*, with strong administrative courts is a part of the democratic checks and balances. It sensitises for the rights 'of the other' safe-guarding social inclusivity of politics and policies also with respect to vulnerable members of society and guarantees a relatively secure element of reflexivity between beneficiaries and their supporters and all levels of government.

Never totally uncontested in Germany politics, these principles have been largely adopted in Chemnitz by all relevant actors and have played an important role in manoeuvring through crises. Urban development and housing, and youth policy are the major playing fields on which they are tested, and methodologies are being developed to find ways to mitigate inequality – or reduce the stress of inequality through affirmative action.

They have also proved to be the basis for – in comparison to other European countries - a relatively successful management of crises after 1990. In a process of policy learning, the balance between government and governance has been widely internalised and a culture of reflexivity – although not in all policy domains equally – was established.

Material inequality and immaterial experiences

The local actors participating in a focus-group conveyed the understanding that, in a globalised world, material inequality as a lack of access to income, services and knowledge could only partly be tackled by local politics and policies. Mainly this was seen as the realm of the central states' distribution and welfare policies. However, the immaterial experiences of inequality, which were described as of growing importance and increasingly uncoupled from material inequality. This side of inequality was perceived as the major realm for local action. Parallel to an improved institutional framework and more inclusive practices after 2010, material and mental effects of the crises trickled down on young people from the parents' experiences, the peers, media, and other influences. Interviewees stated that an east German 'lock-in in crisis' has immobilised a considerable part of the young generation, who find it difficult to 'see a way out'. For a 'ground layer' amongst the young generation the feeling of exclusion has persisted.

Integrated and integrating policies and practices

Policies focussing on youth across professional and departmental boundaries have become carrying elements in policy development and application in Chemnitz answering to inequality. From the innovative *DELPHIN/Karree49*⁷ youth and community project to a new collaborative school (Kooperationsschule Chemnitz -> see the vignette on the Cooperative School in the Appendix), and opening an under-used church as a locally organised space for young people (Jugendkirche), a wide range of projects have moved from experiment to be cores of mainstreaming policies and practices across the city (see sections 2.4 and 3). Community development offices across all generations and the residual neighbourhoods were established as supportive infrastructures since 2010 and were also tasked with supporting youth initiatives.

But whereas those young people who are getting access to welfare services are clearly benefitting, not only since the periodic societal closures of the Covid-19 pandemic, some of the most vulnerable groups are strongly feeling excluded and self-exclude from access offered. They are retreating into often highly problematic forms of milieus. At the same time, the pandemic has made it more difficult for youth-work to build up robust relations to supportive practices. For these groups new methodologies are in demand.

1 General description of Chemnitz Functional Urban Area

Chemnitz in the Region

Chemnitz – in the former GDR between 1953 and 1990 ‘Karl Marx Stadt’ - is the third-largest city in the federal free-state of Saxony with appr. 240,000 inhabitants in 2000 - after the booming city of Leipzig and the state capital Dresden. The city, which has the legal character of county and municipality covers about 220 sq. km and is divided into 39 districts with limited administrative and political independence. In its present form this refers back to a large-scale incorporation of formerly independent municipalities and their populations into the generally shrinking city after unification.

Chemnitz is the most south-eastern core in the triangular ‘Metropolitan Region of Central Germany’⁸, which promotes regional economic development, supports collaboration between regional entities and is dedicated to structural modernisation. In comparison to Leipzig and Dresden, Chemnitz is peripheralized due to its location in the German urban system, its secondary transport relations and a prevailing economic ‘work bench’ function without important head offices. The adjacent region towards the Czech border was described in a group interview as ‘an outstanding crack hotspot’ and ‘backward in development’, even though the region’s local economy also incorporates some high-tech growth of small and middle-sized companies.

Chemnitz - city and functional area

The functional urban area of Chemnitz was identified by the experts as ‘the municipality within its current borders’. According to the OECD denomination it is a ‘medium sized functional urban area’ (FUA code DE05)⁹. For this area data and thematic maps are available (city and its 39 districts)¹⁰ with reference to the main themes of the UPLIFT project.

Although the city is clearly a centre in the state’s regional planning system, the surrounding towns often have stronger circular relations and radial links to further out neighbouring towns than to Chemnitz.

The 39 districts are partly identical with incorporated former municipalities and are cores of historical local identity of importance for local civic associations and neighbourhoods.

Figure 1. The functional urban area of Chemnitz (2018)

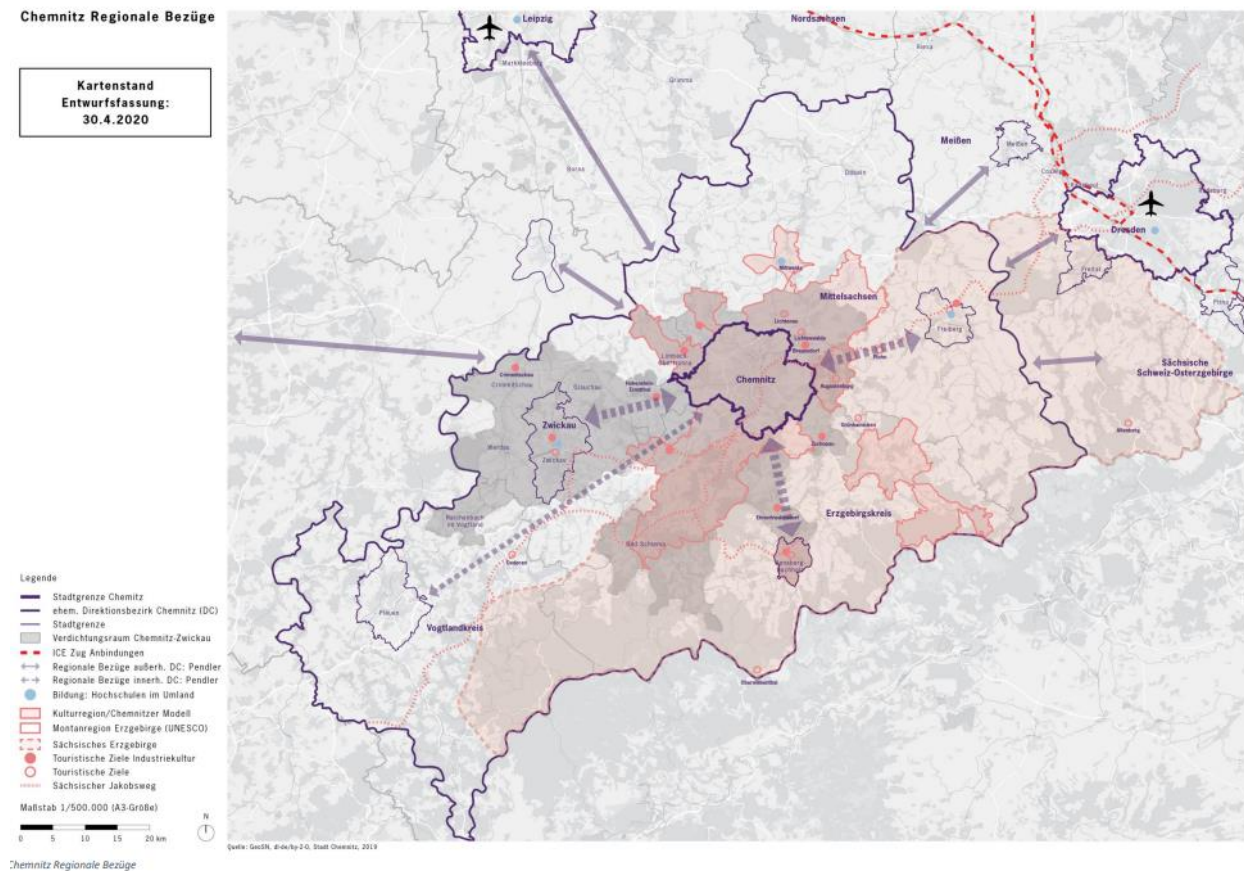


Figure 1 shows the city of Chemnitz and its functional regional relations. There are distant triangular relations between Leipzig, Dresden, and Chemnitz, which lie between 50-65 km away. However, Chemnitz' main networks exist within the city, the official FUA, in an inner circle of towns and southwards towards the Ore-Mountain County (Erzgebirgskreis)¹¹. Other national and international relations have developed through the supply chains of the main industrial actors and the city's creative cultural networks.

Urban tissue

The physical structure of Chemnitz is characterised by a fractured pattern of neighbourhoods in an open green cityscape which was developed following massive bombing at the end of the Second World War. On vacant ruin space, East German standard housing and industrial structures were erected until 1990, followed by post-socialist market-oriented developments within an automobile-oriented road network.

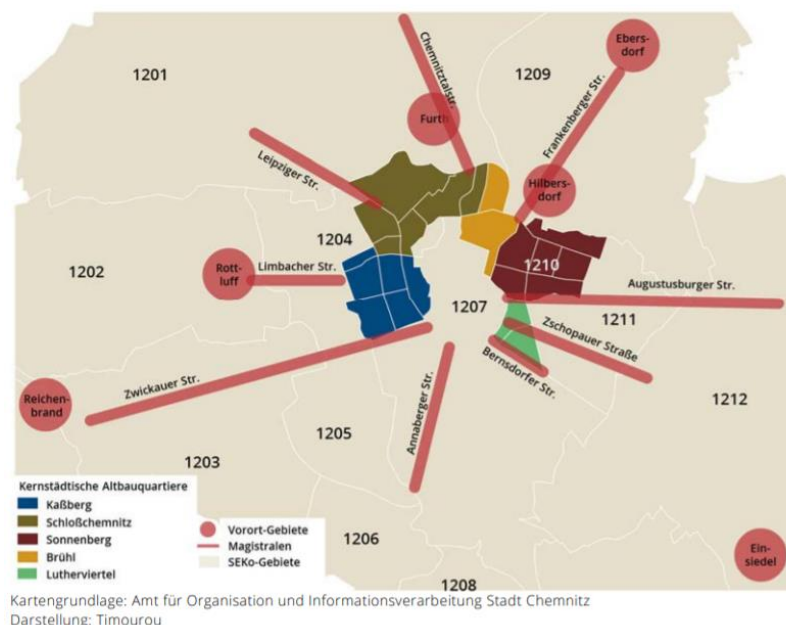
The main urban figure of Chemnitz largely coincides with specific urban milieus.

- The inner core area contains the historical and modern business and administrative centre with an interlinked commercial area and some adjacent GDR panel blocks. After 1990 only a small number of new housing blocks were added as 'rounding up gap-fillers' (urban planner). The area is a vivid preferred space during the days with a mix of residents

of all ages and incomes. Socio-cultural uses are interspersed. Housing is well developed, population divided between affluent younger and lower middle-class elderly.

- Around the urban core, a dense mixed inner periphery of former bourgeoisie and 'working-class' tenement blocks from the 19th and 20th century today provide for quality middle-class housing and neighbourhoods at various stages of transition. In this contested zone, old and young, locals and migrants, established and vulnerable groups are living together in relative separation. Incomes vary on a neighbourhood level and alternate below or above the urban average. Along some roads disadvantaged youth have agglomerated, while in others, younger self-using and entrepreneurial milieus have established as gentrifiers.
- Throughout the city, large by now refurbished, GDR type panel estates are dominated by varied groups of older and young Germans, migrants, and recent refugees. These estates are the main address for non-privileged residents and home-seekers.
- A large suburban to rural periphery is dominated by garden-city like environments. The users vary from traditional villagers to the wide spectrum of suburban middle-classes and affluent younger families. Only here, homeownership prevails in Chemnitz.
- Non-centrally located industry and services are interspersed in the outer core and towards the urban periphery, often on recovered old-industrial land in refurbished quality commercial buildings with some new developments, like the Volkswagen engine factory,

Figure 2. Pre-1950 urban development foci, mainly housing and small business around the political and commercial centre



Source: City of Chemnitz. Priority action fields are oriented at neighbourhoods and along the main main-roads¹².

➔ **See the vignettes on neighbourhoods in the appendix**

Demography and urban structure

Chemnitz currently is home to about 244,000 inhabitants. After a peak of around 360,000 during the late 1920s, the population started shrinking, mainly through suburbanisation until a deep slump towards the end of WWII. Growing during the GDR period again to over 300,000, Chemnitz was again affected by a sharp population decline after unification. Between 1990 and 2010 the city lost almost a quarter of its residents. The main reasons lay in 'over-aging' (wording by urban planner), low regional birth-rates and emigration because of de-industrialisation and resulting high unemployment. The more favourable economic situation in the west was a strong pull-factor. As a result of the incorporation of rural municipalities during the 1990s and an overall positive economic development in Chemnitz towards the 2000s, the population loss, in the words of an interviewee, 'was initially slowed down'. In 2003, the city again had approximately 250,000 inhabitants. Minor increases after 2010 then have turned into a slight decline since the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic.¹³

10% of the population have a migration background, which is appr. half of the German average of medium and larger cities. In demographic terms, Chemnitz is 'the oldest' of all east-German major cities with 28% of inhabitants above 65 years. At the same time, the younger generation has declined from 17% in 1985 to about 10% in 2020.¹⁴ Only the migrant population is dominated by younger people and will likely grow through births and immigration.

The data - with large and growing groups of elderly residents and a relatively small number of younger persons - clearly indicates pending future demographic changes.¹⁵ The demographic development is unevenly spread over the city and contrasting scenarios are expected.¹⁶ While middle aged groups are stronger in the south-western districts, the east of centre York neighbourhood (Yorkgebiet) is currently a 'very old district', in the words of an interviewee. At the end of 2018, the average age in this district was 58 years and 53% of the residents were above retirement age (Chemnitz overall: 28%, as of 2018). Only 9% of the district's population were younger than 18 years. At city level, over the next two decades, the presently numerous older groups will have largely gone, and a replacement can reasonably only be expected from the outside. All indications are that the future will again bring drastic shrinkage across the city. Economic actors (interview) see this as a risk factor for housing market stability and the city's social and economic well-being. According to an interviewee only a new wave of foreign immigration could curb the demographic losses. However, experts from city government and youth-work fear that this again could lead to conflicts with the sitting population.

➔ See the sociospatial maps in the appendix

The Technical University (TU) with about 10,000 students is the largest pool of young persons in the city. However, for them, mostly coming from other regions, the TU and the city of Chemnitz serve only as a biographical stopover, even though the chamber of commerce and the university have been trying to attract young start-ups to settle permanently. Even though the student population is considerable, due to the availability of flats all over the city, with a few exception, (Brühl, Kassberg, Bernsdorf) no especially vivid student-quarters have developed, which could have become a youth-cultural hot-spot with a pull capacity.¹⁷

Gender matters

The promotion of diversity and gender matters has been on the agenda of city politics not only to show up a counterpoint to embedded chauvinist local moods (Interview).¹⁸ It is also a reflection of the influence of women in leading positions in city affairs, especially in youth and social welfare administration and in the department dealing with housing and urban development. Throughout the planning documents of the city, sensitivity for the life world of families, women and minority populations is seriously pursued.

In 2015 the city council approved a Gender Action Plan that was designed in a participatory process with public and civil society stakeholders and is put into practice by the office of the gender responsible.¹⁹ The plan includes eight core obligations of the municipality, which include overall family friendliness, municipal support for women-specific projects and equal political opportunities for all genders in societal participation. It also pronounces gender sensitivity a main target of all departmental policies.

In practice and according to the action plan, this requires promoting a change in attitude and respect for gender diversity, which still is not a common feature in all of public administration. Gender awareness is to be checked in all public funded projects and internal structures of administration are addressed to remove structural disadvantages to support equality. Special attention is given to gender sensitive urban spatial and social planning and gender awareness in youth work.²⁰

The gender-plan contained a number of women empowerment objectives, but also a request for a gender sensitive youth welfare report, explicit goals, measures and indicators addressing gender sensitive professional orientation and skill development, and 'safe spaces' for the reflection of women's and men's everyday inequality experience. However, in 2020, a critical reflection at an International Women's Day conference shed a light on what has been achieved and what remains on the agenda – amongst other, overcoming an in part persistent anti-feminist position in parts of public administration, gender/LGBTIQ equality in youth work and gender equal access to housing.

Culture as a driver for overcoming inequality

Since about 2000 the city has focussed on concentrating on culture as a driver of development in its cultural and economic attraction and empowering residents through low-threshold projects including youth and vulnerable groups. In 2021 the city has won an application for becoming 'European Capital 2025' with the motto „C the unseen“. The term covers spaces and institutions as well as people, who should be made visible and empowered in a process that actively supports weaker groups and includes a wide variety of initiatives and civil society.²¹ Preparations are organised as process-oriented and inclusive, deliberately addressing young and old to present approaches to what culture means for them. Schools and youth centres are included and taking an active role. Making the unseen visible is understood as a political

process and the time before 2025 will show a line-up of participatory events referring to an integrated approach to ecology, space, and social matters.²²

2 Findings

2.1 Education

This chapter on education and the school system focusses largely on the state of Saxony and the city of Chemnitz, as education in Germany is since 2006 mainly a matter of the federal states, who then often – but not so in the case of Saxony and Bavaria – have devolved school matters to the municipalities. Reference material on the federal level mainly consisted of research reports²³ and the biannual German education reports²⁴. On the local level the text is based upon local reports and interviews with representatives of the regional education authority, teachers, and local school-welfare workers. The Saxon and Chemnitz education reports were consulted, which before 2018 have largely focussed on measuring school success. Since then, a wider life-oriented perspective has been adopted, which also includes early child development, further education, and educational outcomes for vulnerable young people.

2.1.1 Trends on the federal level

Education in Germany is seen as ‘a main denominator for individual advancement in life’²⁵, which derives from family and societal support and the material quality of schools as well as teachers’ and youth workers’ engagement, for which the state on all relevant levels is obliged to guarantee adequate opportunities.²⁶

According to the constitution, the federal government, the states, and the municipalities are jointly responsible for education. However, due to their cultural sovereignty, responsibility for schools and higher education mainly lies with the federal states.

School is generally starting after an obligatory pre-school year with a joint primary school of either four or six years – according to what strand of education is chosen. At the beginning of secondary school the system splits up between ‘middle school’, which leads to vocational training, integrated comprehensive school (a hybrid system integrating various strands with switching options) and grammar school (‘Gymnasium’), which guides to academic or other highly qualified professions. The general schooling period across all strands – depending on state – is 12 or 13 years, including a two- to three-year vocational school.²⁷

A lack of compatibility between the school types and exams of different states was mentioned in an interview (school administrator). The Saxon education system follows a loose nationwide framework, but common educational standards are increasingly being established via the joint conference of the states’ culture ministers.²⁸

Around 90% of schools are run by municipalities or the states, while the rest is split up between private schools, organised by religious denominations, non for profit or for-profit private school boards. All schools need public approval. Tuition cost is covered for schools run by public authorities, but also the private ‘free schools’ are heavily subsidised and obliged to accept a portion of students from lower income households to prevent ‘too strong a wealth

divide' (Chemnitz youth responsible). Despite this, private schools have the image of socioeconomic selectivity.

When it comes to school assessment, Germany, in contrast to a widespread self-image, scores only mediocre in global comparison²⁹. A backlog in digitalisation became obvious and not only during the Covid-19 pandemic. Also within Germany, the output of the educational systems varies. While the city-states (Hamburg, Bremen, Berlin) and old industrialised regions (e.g. North-Rhine-Westphalia, Saar) are rating below average, states with selective education systems performing better than average. Comparative studies stress the complexity of the underlying socioeconomic reasons for these difficulties, which lie in families' educational careers, incomes, and overburdened housing and neighbourhoods.³⁰ Experts find it difficult to address single issue explanations for these and attribute the lesser standards in the urban and old-industrialised states to the burdens deriving from inequality in incomes and life-situations, often stressing that schools in these areas have to deal with backlogs in parents education.

2.1.2 Trends on the level of the state of Saxony

The Saxon education system has taken a different path than much of the rest of Germany in 1990, following the Bavarian model with its relatively strict division between basic education and excellence selection. Even though there is criticism from within the state and some academic circles, who plea for more structural equality in education, Saxony has had an almost permanent first place on top of the list of educational achievements, with Bavaria the constant second³¹.

Contrary to the overall trends, Saxony also has persistently one of the highest proportions of students leaving school without the aimed at school certificate (8.5% in contrast to 6.6% on federal level in 2019). At the same time, the quantitative trend towards higher education is less pronounced and the number of students with university entrance degrees is increasing less than in other states. While the Saxon state government praises the intermediate school certificate for opening the way to '*sound and sustainable crafts*' (school administration worker), the Chambers of Industry and Commerce doubt that, on the long run, medium grade education could be sufficient for the future work-environment (interview with Chamber of Commerce). Also an increasing gap in educational output between urban and rural areas is perceived and a lack of qualified teachers on the middle level has been criticised – increasingly university graduates from other fields are invited to become fast dyed teachers.

A main difference towards a majority of German states is the two-tier structure of the school system. Curriculum programming, and organisation of tuition as well as employment of teachers and the assessment of educational outcomes are organised on the state level. The planning and provision of schools as infrastructure, the technical school environment, extracurricular activities, and mandatory school-welfare are organised on a municipal level.

The structure of the Saxon school system was criticised in interviews and literature, in part, as overcomplex, and reproducing handed down educational inequality, which often coincides with parents' income inequality. Long term welfare benefit dependency of vulnerable groups

and, in particular, a migrant status is seen as negatively affecting the students' success and opportunities.³²

The annual Saxon education report notes that – so far – the Covid-19 crisis did not reflect a widening gap between high-performing and weaker students. However, an increasing gap in educational opportunities between town and country was stated in 2020.

Strong criticism of the Saxon education system focusses on a persistent shortage of teachers, especially in socioeconomically peripheral regions and the larger cities, which affects Chemnitz. Many older teachers will leave into pension in the next decade and those entering school service will have a free choice to go to schools in attractive regions, also to evade the difficulties of teaching vulnerable pupils.

A major critique aired by school social workers in a focus group was that the education system's reaction to the Covid-19 crisis was too slow, ideologically focussed on formal tuition success, and superficial at the beginning and again during late 2021/22. Neither administrators, nor teachers or students found themselves seriously included in implementing policies in education against the pandemic by 'politics'. *'Too much depended on individual initiative of teachers and school social workers, to take parents and pupils aboard'* (School social worker).

2.1.3 Main local trends in education

At present, Chemnitz has 82 schools of different types well spread over the city. Primary schools are in the vicinity of the pupils' homes and secondary schools are either also located in the neighbourhood or within acceptable reach by public transport. As a response to the population's shrinking and the high average age of the population at large, the number of schools was reduced through demolition and conversion after the mid-1990s by more than a dozen schools. Some buildings were converted into (co-)housing projects or offices, while others remain vacant. By now, most older schools have been upgraded according to new tuition and ecological standards, and *grosso modo* the legacies of former neglect have been overcome.

Many schools, which could not economically be rehabilitated, have been replaced by modern and energy efficient buildings on the same spot, often of a high architectural and user quality. Critique was aired in the interviews, that new school buildings, a programme of €160 Million in Chemnitz between 2018 and 2024, gave too little attention to the out-of-school community use of the buildings. So far only 'traditional schools' were built, though, according to community workers, integrated school and neighbourhood centres would have been in demand. Also, multi-coding of spaces has been overlooked – *'e.g. a Saturday market in the sports-hall would open the school to the wider public'* (focus group on community development).

The state school system cares for vulnerable and 'learning inhibited' young persons in Chemnitz through a system of 'supportive schools' (Förderschulen) targeting specific disabilities, which in part is in contrast to aiming at widespread inclusivity. It was criticised that

'at the borderline of physical disabilities and social inabilities, the goal of inclusion was not sufficiently' reached' (expert interview).

➔ See the description of innovative projects in the appendix.

Main local trends of transfer from school to work

By federal law, it is a joint task of the employers and the schools to prepare students for successful access to an appropriate form of employment. Leaving school with a qualified graduation, about 50% of students enter the two-tier system of apprenticeship³³, jointly carried by employers and vocational schools. Others are entering further higher education, and others are dropping out. The widely appraised *'dual system'*³⁴ is seen as one of fundamentals for the relatively low youth unemployment in Germany. Besides practice in the workshop, office or in service work, apprentices are obliged to take part in theoretical training 'at school' for part of their time until either 11 years of mandatory schooling are completed, or their apprenticeship has ended. Students without an apprenticeship or a formal job can visit vocational school centres full time, or on application can be relieved from compulsory education³⁵. The period of apprenticeship varies with the school leaving qualification and is between a minimum of 1.5- and 3.5-years salaried training according to profession.

For the most vulnerable groups of jobseekers, the double demands of school and workplace acts as a hurdle, which cannot easily be overcome. In these cases, compensatory training through special social work is offered. However, as well paid exists in simple service work, especially vulnerable youth are often lost to the entry into quality jobs.

2.2 Employment

Labour and labour-relations have been affected in all crises following German unification. During the 1990s high unemployment, reforms in welfare and labour legislation were often solely associated in the east with neoliberal policies to reduce the rights of those working in employment, as freelancers or informally. But with the demographic change and rising productivity, incomes as well as relation between the quality of labour and life again came into the focus of employment policy. The political aim was 'quality jobs along with social protection and respect for rights at work to achieve sustainable, inclusive economic growth, and eliminate poverty.'³⁶

2.2.1 National trends and policies

In Germany's political realm, labour is closely linked to social policy, documented in the thematic integration of the federal 'Ministry for Labour and Social Affairs'. Labour and welfare policy develops in discourses in a joint arena between employers, trade-unions, and civil society, mediated by the federal ministry.

After labour relations since the 1970s had increasingly been left to employers and trade-unions without much political interference, since the post-unification surge in unemployment, politics again took a more active role in protecting labour conditions from free market imbalances after 1990. This attention has increased since the 2010s labour shortage. Sectoral perspectives

on labour were left for more holistic approaches linking education, gender (including female labour) and increasingly 'humanising work' towards a better balance between labour and life.

Two policy fields have had most impact on labour-relations. The reinforcement of subsidised short-term labour (Kurzarbeit) strongly reduced unemployment after 2007 and in the current Covid-19 crisis. It has directly helped controlling unemployment, provided an income continuity, and preserved the employers from loss of qualified labour - getting more important as 'work-force is gold-dust' (employment agency representative). A second sector of federal government engagement in regulatory labour policies was the legal minimum wage introduced for the first time in 2015. Starting at 8,50€ to be lifted to 12.00 €/h in 2022 it guarantees about 65% of individual and half of the median income, which was seen as the largest step against income inequality and its social fallout for more than half a century.

Officially Germany, with 5.9% of the workforce has the third lowest proportion of precarious labour in the EU. But many so-called modern labour agreements, e.g. for delivery-services, hospitality work and care that are contracted as independent small entrepreneurs with limited social protection, should be included. Even though political efforts have been made to reduce the proportion of bogus self-employment schemes, it was estimated that especially young people with a low educational standard are prone to this type of labour (interview labour-agency) .

Since 2005 the number of workplaces has increased in all but one of the federal states and in the second Covid-19 year has reached an all-time high. However, the increase was unequally divided between jobs, regions, and age-groups. The most striking increases lay in the service sector, whereas production increased considerably without much influence on the number of jobs. This is an indication of stronger automatization and digitalisation, which is hardly of benefit for vulnerable youth (labour agency worker).

General and youth unemployment

Post-unification unemployment rose fast in Germany between 1991 (8,9%) and 2005 (11.7%) to fall rapidly as the economy took pace again. The financial crisis of 2008 only showed up in a relatively small dent of 1% in 2008 in Germany to link up to the general economic recovery from then on – with hardly a difference between east and west. By 2019 unemployment was down to 2.69 m / 5% (2.07 m in the west and 0.62 m in the east). Unemployment of young people evolved parallel to overall unemployment, which was at 15.4% in 2002, rising to 18.6% in 2005, then gradually falling to 6.2% in 2019. However, this development was halted for the time being by the corona pandemic: the number of unemployed rose from 2.27 to 2.7 million in 2019. The first to go were the least qualified. Youth unemployment in the same period rose from 6,2% to 7.1%.

While generally the number of unemployed has gone down after the 2005 labour crisis, the problems of those unemployed or job-seeking for over a year are considerable and some have signed off from job seeking for good, living on benefits. Youth employment agencies are countering the solidification of unemployment, setting their focus of action along regional and

local needs. As hybrids between the feral labour-agency and municipalities, these are in intensive cooperation with schools as equal cooperation partners.

Until the age of 27 years, livelihood can be covered under the welfare packet for children and young adults, whereas later they fall into the general welfare benefit scheme for adults.³⁷

2.2.2 Local trends and policies

Also, in Chemnitz, unemployment has been falling following the general trends. In 2021 unemployment was down to a fraction of what it was in 2005 due to a generally growing economy, falling from 17.6% to 7.4% in 2000. Since then, long term crisis effects are difficult to assess, because short term public interventions – prolonged short-time work, supported training measures are blurring the picture. The Employment Agency stated that the impact of the Covid-19 crisis on the general labour market was '*astonishingly small*' (expert interview), while long term unemployment has solidified and finding jobs for school-leavers has become more difficult. For them '*the relation between school-success and finding jobs has become more apparent again*'.

Those searching for work or an apprenticeship in Chemnitz are supported by the Federal Employment Agency and the Chambers of Industry and Commerce presenting the offers of various industries and employers' organisations. School leavers are supported by the school-social workers and a joint youth-employment centre that coordinates the provisions of the Jobcentre as a network-oriented one stop-agency to unbureaucratically assist especially vulnerable clients. Tasked with the assistance to all young jobseekers, the agency offers support either at their mid-town offices, in schools, youth-clubs or in house at workplaces of companies looking for employees. All these actors, especially the labour agency and the youth-welfare organisations are offering information, personal consultancy, and access to youth employment projects at the threshold between welfare assistance and employment.

➔ See the vignette on the DELPHIN Project

Jobs and apprenticeships on offer in Chemnitz are provided by a large variety of small to big employers. Large companies offer job training from academic traineeships to mechanics and increasingly to hybrid engineering between mechanics, electronics, and programming. Also in services qualified work and training is offered by all sorts of public institutions and companies. Over the last two decades, a considerable slump in smaller companies offering apprenticeships has become apparent. It was stated that especially for small companies the system of company and vocational schooling is a bureaucratic challenge that does hardly pay off. In contrast, more apprenticeships were offered by larger employers in services, machine-making, the railways, health-providers, and institutional training companies.³⁸

The larger employers are public service providers and large industrial companies who are generally engaged in recruiting and training young people. The training engagement of smaller companies in contrast has gone down over time also as a consequence of insecurity over the long-term perspectives of sustainable developments in staff needs.

Table1: The 9 largest employers in Chemnitz

Chemnitz clinics ltd. (public trust)	6,100
City of Chemnitz	3,800
Chemnitz Technical University	2,250
Volkswagen vehicle engine factory	1,750
Niles machine-tools factory	1,280
Siemens	1,200
Energy1. Saxony	1,100
Wismut Ltd. (follow-up to nuclear-ore mining)	1,050
IBM	1,000

All of these employers are offering jobs on various skill-levels and are, often in collaboration with the labour-agency, engaged in training and further education. After a post-unification slump, women employment has been rising steadily.

Especially for vulnerable young people, despite the generally large demand on the labour market, job education and employment remain a challenge. Some smaller companies are specialising in a range of low-skill offers to enter the labour market, like a local seed-producer for nation-wider motorway accompanying greenery, who are working with youngsters that were otherwise seen as unemployable.

2.3 Housing

Competences in the field of housing were devolved to the states in the reform of the federal system in 2006. Since then, the federal government supports the 16 state housing policies in matters of supra-state relevance, while matters of housing provision on the regional level are the realm of the states and respective municipalities.

2.3.1 Main national trends in housing policies

Since the ministerial tasks were integrated as a department into the Interior and Homeland Ministry between the 1990s and 2021, the (re)creation of a Ministry for Housing, Urban Development and Building signals renewed political attention. The lack of affordable housing, problems in precarious neighbourhoods, a backlog in energy-efficient building, and research on innovation in these fields – smart cities - are the main urban action fields of the ministry.

In joint federal and state programmes, like urban renewal (Städtebauförderung), the federal ministry coordinates research, knowledge transfer and funds. To secure, restore, or redefine the functionality of neighbourhoods with regards to building, social matters and ecology are the medium-term targets. A second programmatic strand is providing the regulatory framework for building new homes and neighbourhoods. The provision of funds for the states to co-finance access and cost regulated housing (rent and mortgages for social housing) is in third place of federal engagement.

The main actors are the BBSR³⁹ (Federal Agency for Building, Urban Affairs and Building), a key knowledge producer including sociospatial research on all matters of housing and

neighbourhood, and the KfW Bank⁴⁰ as the supreme German public financing agency, while the individual state's urban programmes are funded through the 16 States' Investment Banks⁴¹. Together they are managing European and federal funds and handing out support to municipalities (public infrastructures) and public as well as private housing actors and individual home-builders. The bank is also investing into job creating by enterprises.

2.3.2 Main trends on state level

Saxony as a state with highly diverse regional housing markets has tasked the Ministry for Regional Development⁴² with managing housing by creating 'a framework for market actors' (Ministry Website). Saxony's housing policy is clearly dedicated to follow market principles and 'intervention, only where it is necessary if housing market conditions are in need of correction from a social point of view' (Ministry website).

In principle, the Western integrated urban renewal and social housing strategies of the 1980s were replicated in the East after unification.⁴³ The historical 'old housing stock' was re-privatised and a rent-index system enforced harnessing the rent market. Since then income and needs-tested housing benefits are handed out according to needs and the welfare law (Housing Allowance and Welfare support for housing). Housing from the GDR period – formerly so-called people's property – was first turned into municipal non-profit housing, managed by local public housing companies and after 2006 partly sold off to private investors. Only a 7% slice was earmarked to be sold to sitting tenants with little success, which was also the case in the traditional 'renters' city' of Chemnitz.

Over the following two decades, billions of euros were afforded to building and rehabilitation from public and private coffers. This has led to a fundamental improvement of the housing situation and physical urban quality.

2.3.3 Main local trends and policies

Towards the end of the GDR period, the majority of Chemnitz' housing was in a rundown and ecologically unsound state with only one late 19th century neighbourhood having undergone a simple form of refurbishment (The Brühl).⁴⁴

Soon after the political change, Chemnitz, as formerly the most important industrial city in the GDR, was particularly hard hit by transformation. Housing policy was mainly focused on renewal, as there was an overhang of vacant buildings that were indispensable for recreating the urban structure. From 1990 onwards a number of programs dedicated to rehabilitating the 19th and early 20th century neighbourhoods and the GDR panel estates were implemented. Chemnitz's housing benefited from massive urban renewal support (Städtebauförderung) and urban restructuring (Stadtumbau) programmes. Private landlords were supported through extensive tax-exemption on investments into rental properties 'in the New States'.⁴⁵ This policy transfer, due to much less capital available on the side of east Germans, however, led a 'coincidental' transfer of property to Western investors, which contributed to the discontent of the local population. On the other hand, public support for rehabilitation changed a lot of existing housing into 'quasi-social housing', as income and access control were exerted. New

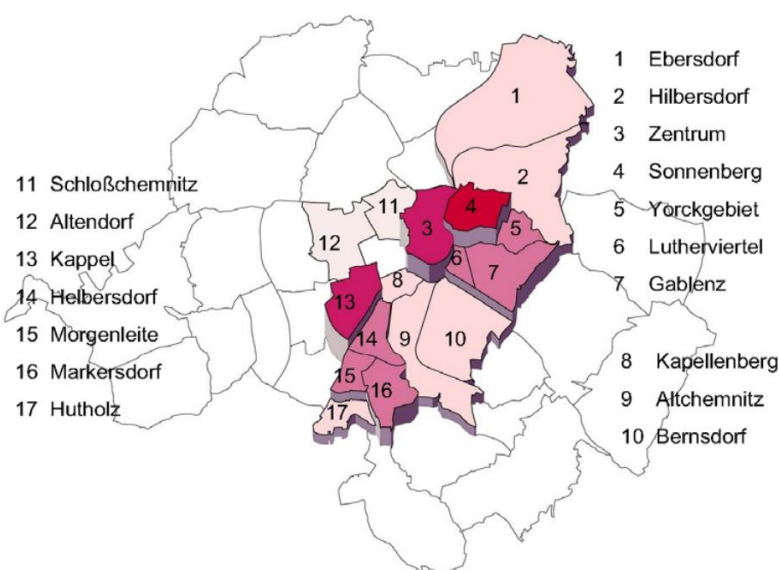
building was concentrated on high-end dwellings and private family homes towards the urban periphery.

The situation was difficult for the many, often elderly, private landlords with a small housing stock, because they were overtaxed by maintenance and managing rehabilitation. To support this group, two contracted advisory agencies have since been tasked as intermediaries to realise integrated rehabilitation and sociocultural housing projects.⁴⁶ New collaborations were established between private and public housing companies and youth welfare providers and young housing activists have been helped to buildings and plots. While one of the intermediaries focusses on supporting present owners to allow for the inclusion of vulnerable young and older residents, the other helps prospective owners to start (co-)housing and small businesses projects.

Recognising that technical improvement did not solve local sociocultural problems, rehabilitation was complemented from 1999 onwards by the joint federal and state programme of the 'The Socially Integrated City' (Soziale Stadt). Both the municipal housing company and potent larger private companies benefited from this public support.

The map shows the main urban intervention areas in Chemnitz according to the urban development concept SEKo2020⁴⁷, which largely coincides with 'socioeconomically burdened' areas. A high proportion of welfare benefit receivers and unemployed older and younger residents coincide with residents with a non-German background, single parent families, and high population density. According to the experts, none of these issues, as such, poses a social problem in themselves. However, the sociospatial overlay serves the city as an indicator of 'areas in need of policy attention' and as the basis for the rulebook of urban development planning measures. The same overlay also indicates the intersectional quality of issues the neighbourhoods and their residents of all ages are facing.

Figure 3: Urban action fields according to current city planning



Source: City of Chemnitz 2020 – the colours indicate the necessity for intervention as seen by city planners

➔ See the sociospatial maps in the appendix

Table 2 Ownership structure of Chemnitz housing

Property ownership	%	absolute
Federal or state	1.4	2,191
Private housing company	6.3	9,559
Other private enterprises	3.1	4,817
Municipal housing company (GGG)	18.7	28,500
Housing cooperatives	19.7	30,034
Welfare organisations and projects	0.3	463
Private individual owners	28.5	43,337
Flat owners' associations ⁴⁸	23.2	35,344
Total		152,273

Source: FOG Institute – Chemnitz in figures' 2020

The younger generation as renters

Young people usually leave the family dwellings between the age of 18 and 22 for a rented or co-rented flat. As still a large number of vacant flats are available at affordable rents, access to rental housing is usually relatively easy for younger home-seekers.

Affordable rents on the one hand are a consequence of low market pressure in Chemnitz. On the other hand, the German rent regulations (Comparative Rent Law; Vergleichsmieten und Mietendeckel in the civil code) and its limits to rent rises are reducing rents to a local level. The third factor providing for affordability is given in the rent subsidy mechanisms. Lower-medium income renters above 18 years can benefit from an income related housing benefit, while at risk of poverty renters of all ages have their rents and energy cost covered 'within limits of size and price' (Welfare Code) within the social benefit system. In some of the states, if the rent is above a third of the income, an eligibility for rent-support exists.

But even though many landlords are pressed by the market to let also to young people, whom they do not see as their priority choice, the rate of younger tenants accepted varies between different groups of landlords. Amongst larger institutional landlords, the municipal housing company GGG is a likely option. They are renting out on the basis of simple financial checks and the rents are relatively moderate. The second providers for younger renters are private individual landlords, while the housing cooperatives and others rent out on an individual level, but are in general, closed shops often discriminating against vulnerable groups.

Vulnerable young people who often are helped into housing by welfare organisations and youth projects are most often accommodated by the municipal housing company. They

provide a certain proportion of their stock to such target groups, often in a cared for position, on condition of some supervision. In some cases, framework contracts are concluded between housing companies and youth-welfare organisations, who act as renters and sublet. The municipal housing company has also handed over complete building blocks with a considerable maintenance backlog to welfare organisations or self-organisations of young people who pay for modernisation and repair from the clients' housing allowance or other public funds. So far, these types of transferring management to welfare organisations or the users themselves have been successful and persistent.

Such models are only sustainable under public supervision. Cases of a vicious circle were reported in the interviews. As owners of run-down houses are the most likely landlords of unrentable buildings, they benefit from the needs of problematic renters and cash in without providing quality housing, accelerating the running down process. According to youth workers this is an unsolved problem with some junk-real estate⁴⁹.

The city provides special assistance and access to housing to prevent homelessness within their legal responsibility, usually for young people over 17 years of age and refers them to cared-for accommodation and other assistance.

2.4 Welfare provision for children and young people

Social and youth work, due to their specific integrative structure in Chemnitz were analysed as an example of good governance and interplay between the public administration and NGOs providing services for children and young people. A general aim of the EU, to be reflected in national and local modes of regulation of policies and their application is based upon a simple set of goals set by the European Commission in 2015 to promote a better relation between government and those governed. Combining these goals in a network approach into a web of policies and practices was suggested in the 'Better Regulation Agenda' of 2021 that covers all regulatory attempts on the multiple levels of government⁵⁰. The modes of governance should help citizens by 'reducing obstacles and bureaucracy through involving citizens, business and stakeholder inclusion, transparency of action, and trust-building in processes of problem management under the participation of young people'.

Youth politics and policy in the city of Chemnitz have been chosen by the local research partners as a paradigmatic example of how various policy and action levels can interplay to the benefit of vulnerable youth.

2.4.1 Main national trends and policies

The Federal Ministry for Family Affairs (BMFSFJ)⁵¹ is a classic umbrella ministry with responsibility for the policy areas of 'family, elderly people, equality, children and youth, and volunteering. Besides formulating general policies, it is engaged in building consciousness for the 'role of mothers, fathers and carers' in society, non-violent upbringing and family poverty prevention. As a paradigmatic example of subsidiarity, the ministry has supported policy- and knowledge-networks and co-funds local initiatives but is not involved directly in regional or

local initiatives. In Chemnitz, the ministry co-funds two Kindergartens, and an integrated family centre in a vulnerable neighbourhood.

With the entry into force of the Child and Youth Welfare Act (SGB VIII), the federal legislature declared youth work in an 'appropriate quality and quantity a must have service of youth welfare' (Chemnitz youth charter). It sees as the major tasks 'to support young people in their individual and social development and to help avoiding or reducing disadvantages, to advise and support parents and legal guardians in upbringing children and young people, to protect them from threats to their well-being and to contribute to maintaining or creating positive living conditions' in a child- and youth-friendly environment.

Youth policy delivery in Germany has a mandatory double structure, which is regulated under SGB VIII (Welfare Code Book VIII – Care for Children and Young People). The administrative youth departments (Jugendamt) are public municipal authorities. They are supervised by a mandatory local parliamentary body, the youth welfare committee (Jugendhilfeausschuss), which is appointed by local parliament. It includes representatives of the administration, professional experts in youth work and representatives of approved NGOs, youth-judges, and representatives of client self-organisations.

Mandatory youth-services 'of general interest' are focussed on the provision of 'necessary goods and services for a meaningful human existence'⁵². These include youth and children welfare services, provision of kindergartens, establishing public schools, basic support for young job seekers and have to be financed through the local authority's basic budget. Voluntary services and projects are financed according to the municipalities' availability of funds. They include offers of special importance for vulnerable groups of the young generation within the municipalities' personal and financial room of manoeuvre. According to the interviewees and youth representatives, they are 'the provisions most flexibly targeted to the needs of young people', however they can be (partly) cut in financial crises. Cuts were last imposed after the 2007 financial crisis and further cuts may be pending as a consequence of the Covid-19 crisis.

2.4.2 Main local trends and policies

Youth welfare provision in Chemnitz is an integral part of general urban policy, which is self-described as a multi-level network of action between social, economic, and spatial development under the local parliament's supervision. Whereas administering the basic material services follows strict bureaucratic rules, the voluntary services are organised by welfare services bottom-up that had developed in a complex political process since the 1990s and helped subsidiarity and self-organisations to take stronger influence.

The city of Chemnitz and its collaborating welfare service partners are offering integrated services to young people and their guardians, mainly parents and employers, and are dedicated to the task of opening up paths towards independence and recognising the benefits of peer-interdependence.

In Chemnitz the public obligation to support young people in all matters of maturing entails four factors of publicly guaranteeing youth-services:

- Public provision of necessary and suitable facilities and services.
- Adequate personnel, training, and financial resources for the services.
- Regular scientifically based municipal youth assistance planning.
- Inclusion and participation of the young generation as well as relevant political actors and professional youth work in service delivery.

Youth work and services organisation in Chemnitz on the local level

Services for young people are tasked with providing open face-to-face consultancy and assistance 'to prevent the deterioration of the socioeconomic situation and social position, and to help organising professional help as well as self-help'.⁵³ The city offers and finances legally prescribed welfare services, mental health-services, and case-clearing for young people. Face to face youth services are mainly provided by independent welfare organisations on contract to state or city.⁵⁴ Jointly facilitated through the collaboration between administrative social work, projects of NGOs and the respective responsible for youth matters, *'emancipative youth work is able to master the challenge to vulnerable young people with relative success after two decades of an open organisation development across departmental boundaries and overcoming the structural differences between government and governance'* (interview with youth board member).

Besides the public administration's youth service centres, 24 recreational facilities for children and young people across the city are funded to provide *'open spaces for varied and flexible programmes'* in inclusive and open-door activities.

Child and family centres (voluntary) are intended to support parents and are focused primarily on the needs of the smaller children and parents in the city's 'Early Excellence' approach.

Work-related youth-work (voluntary) offers socially disadvantaged or personally restricted young people support options in the transition from school to training or work. The service is carried by the job agencies in collaboration with companies and school social workers. The job agencies are jointly carried by the federal agency for labour and the municipalities.

Street work and mobile youth work (mandatory) is especially targeted at those youngsters, who cannot be reached by other means and serves as an 'opener for individual clearance'. Since 2007 three street work projects are funded by the city in various neighbourhoods⁵⁵ *'joining vulnerable youth where they are'*. The projects reach out to marginalized and stigmatized young people who are *'threatened by effects of inequality'* (interview street-worker').

School social work (mandatory) as a municipal measure in collaboration with schools is open to all pupils at the interface between education, social work and every-day lives. The city of Chemnitz currently is active in 15 elementary schools, 11 secondary schools, 10 special schools, and four vocational school centres.

- *Child and youth protection* (obligatory) is a 'socio-educational child protection service' and provides emergency services for children and young people for those seeking advice, counselling, and therapy.
- *Youth welfare planning* (obligatory) is a central activity in preparing programmes and projects across all youth services and other parties involved. Youth-welfare planning is based on §80 SGB XIII (Eighth Book of the Social Code - Children and Youth Welfare). It builds upon an inventory and monitoring of facilities, services and visions taking into account the needs and interests of young people.

In principle, all mandatory or voluntary youth services can be administered by either the public sector or non-governmental organisations. In Chemnitz, most face-to-face and therapeutical services have been sourced out to initiatives and NGOs because this gives the city government room for targeted strategy and professional autonomy to the agencies delivering the services. NGOs and private partners have proved more flexible in adapting to changing needs of clients than public services.

3 Innovative post crisis policies

Innovation policy

On the federal level, innovations in German youth policy and practice were to a large degree developed in network relations between practitioners from youth and welfare organisations, youth- and professional lobby organisations and academic institutions⁵⁶. Also the research institutions of the six mentioned umbrella organisations of social work and welfare are providing an arena for innovations to be developed and evaluated. On the local level, and in the city of Chemnitz, youth policy and innovation are debated in the youth administration and the youth welfare-committee of city government and, when issues are pressing, also with other departments. Innovations are discussed on the work-bench level and, in crises under the auspices of the mayor. Other inputs into the debates about youth policy innovation come invited experts, e.g. on conflict mediation and with an advisory competence.

In all cases, low hierarchies, and comprehensive communication, which also often includes the clientele are important to develop '*learning step-by-step strategies of change*' (Interview Children and Youth responsible). In Chemnitz, innovations were described as a) coming out of perceive necessities of change in the context of the lives of young people, b) changing legal requirements, c) an intrinsic wish to improve access to young people and their problems and everyday work. However, innovation in welfare services for young people was interpreted in different ways by different actors. Especially from state bureaucracies, themselves under pressure to save finances especially in situations of crisis, economisation, and cost-cutting were seen more clearly than of the level of face-to face workers in the community.

While acknowledging that innovation should be seen from the side of the clientele, the interviewees spoke about conceptional innovations, innovations in service integration over actor's borders and in actor collaboration, and innovative models of financing services. So far, digitalisation of youth welfare services in Chemnitz has not played an important role. However, innovations looking across different sectors of society and markets were seen as interesting options for the further development of youth welfare projects.

→ See the vignette on DELPHIN in the appendix

4 Discussion and conclusion

Main trends of inequality

Overall welfare policies and their delivery through services in Germany have managed to keep inequality at a level that allows a large majority of people in material need to lead a life above the poverty level. However, the rift between the life-worlds of the affluent middle classes and those dependent on welfare services has deepened. A main factor is the relative uncoupling of material (objective) and immaterial – subjective – inequality, which is of growing influence on the social cohesion within the country as a whole, the states and local communities. Through the periods after unification, the financial crisis post-2008 and the Covid19 crisis the societal cohesion has weakened, which has become apparent in social dissent of large groups airing their dissatisfaction with 'the mainstream'. This, however, is not directly linked to material inequality, as the dissatisfied lower middle classes are the most active protesters, while many of the poor have withdrawn increasingly from participation in society into 'silent dissent', which increases the distance towards public helping interventions. Throughout the research, the growing groups of 'unreachables' were cited as the most problematic target group of welfare provision.

Principles of welfare service delivery

Over the last 30 years, the constitutional principles of federalism, subsidiarity and the rule of law have been adopted by all relevant actors on the federal, state, and municipal levels as 'carrying procedures' (interviewee). In youth work and housing, these high-ranking principles provide the freedom to react to a changing social and cultural environment in 'permanent crisis' in a collaborative climate and to develop tailor-made solutions across the different levels of statehood and non-governmental welfare organisations. Legally clear and robust structures in the relation between state, civil society, and professional welfare work – especially in youth work and urban development – have been established and proved a guarantor the professional integrity of youth welfare service delivery across the states and local entities.

Subsidiarity in welfare services development and delivery has proved the major strength in dealing with effects of inequality, as it has brought new non-state actors into the arena, who are acting in a partisan capacity for and are enabling the clientele.

Actor networks

Building up robust actor networks to perform the various tasks of integrated urban development, namely in youth welfare service delivery, urban development, and housing, has taken time. It needed professional persistence and continuous political backing on a basis of a political understanding of the interdependence of urban social matters. Flexible and reliable structures of work have emerged, which have proved sustainable and resilient in the eyes of the actors of public administration and of outsourced non-governmental and private welfare service providers.

Even though many individual actor-organisations may have hierarchical top-down structures, an understanding of the sense of balance between top-down regulation – in financial matters and to secure legally clear and rights-oriented solutions - with bottom-up initiative has developed, which serves to improve the livelihoods of the clients. It was seen as especially important, that cross-administrational collaboration is open to the inclusion of actors that generally are not seen as 'normal participants' of youth work or urban development, like young people at the edge of society.

Governance

The collaboration between state, economy, professional bodies, and the wider civil society in youth welfare provision has helped to establish theme-oriented relations between actors of different provenience focussed on social outcomes and not primarily on procedures. Participation of clients and peers has helped to qualify and ground professional work, even though activating for participating, which is above tokenism, remains a constant challenge. Integrated federal and municipal initiatives in urban regeneration and youth work – neighbourhood as a main policy element – has contributed to success as far as policies could overcome 'straw-fire' initiatives and become grounded in local politics and practices.

Gender matters

Only since 2005, the Saxonian Ministry of Social Affairs took on responsibility to implement a Gender Mainstreaming plan in the various ministries and in the municipalities. Even though every law passed needs to refer to this plan, strengthening gender and diversity equality and awareness remains a constant task, especially with young people as subjects of policies. On the federal and state level, gender and diversity matters have found their place in mainstream policies. However, in the everyday practices, this topic is often still contested and should, especially on the local level, receive more practical attention.

Causal relations between crises, inequality, and the young generation

In the statistical figures it is difficult to clearly identify causal relations between inequality and the lives of the young generation. On the local level, data are hardly available and on the national level indicators show little change in relation to the crisis. The GINI index, while assessed little lower during the early post-unification years, has been permanently at 0.25 in Saxony over the last 20 years. That, however, does not represent a qualitative impact of crises over the same period. Interviewees stated that the life world between various social groups and milieus have drastically moved apart and communication across milieu boundaries has become more radical and less accepting. While immigrants from the Middle East and Africa are blamed for many everyday life problems in some milieus, hardly any statistical links have shown negative impact on the everyday life situation in the country and in Chemnitz. Unemployment has shortly risen over the 2008 financial crisis, but in no way comparable to the post-unification crisis.

Also the present Covid-19 crisis during the period up till the end of 2021 has only shown little statistically relevant relations to the material situation in Germany, as federal welfare policies

have fast and consistently relieved a large majority of all employed and welfare dependent from the impact of the crisis. Only at the beginning of 2022 first statistics show that the number of people in precarious work is growing and that effects of states subsidised short-term work are reflected in slight income losses in the working population.

There are, however, clearer indicators that the least qualified work force in service jobs is experiencing most pressure from the current crisis, as the long closure of restaurants, pubs and kiosks has not only threatened especially the small self-employed proprietors but has led to growing redundancies of their employers. However, so far this is hardly represented in reliable statistics.

Digitalisation

The Covid-19 crisis has shown that digitalisation can be a great help in building up and streamlining services to the benefit of the clientele. The local critique was that the state (federal and regional) has not provided the means and training for schools, teachers, welfare institutions and welfare workers to sufficiently simplify procedures, to allow a trivial inclusion of digitisation in professional and administrative services.

So far, hardly any understanding of the difference between the use of digital means in administration and the cultural adaptation of digitalisation by young people has been adopted. Thus new forms of content-oriented communication thus have mainly remained in the professional sphere, which is seen as uncoupled from the everyday use of digital media by youth in general, but especially from the communication practices of vulnerable youth.

6.5 Adaptation to change in fluid situations

As far as the UPLIFT project is concerned, action fields in Chemnitz have turned out to be appropriately organised to react to changes in a self-aware way. The town planning department has reached out into social and youth welfare matters successfully on the basis of integrated project structures under umbrella regulations – and with partial funding by federal government and EU funds produced viable and sustainable results. The youth department has built helping structures for young people in collaboration with the welfare department and other urban actors, including the local economy. Especially under Covid-19, when accepted principles of action in the public realm are questioned and irrational demands are being aired by political groups (Corona rejectors, right wing ideologists and parties, the 'Monday Marchers'), 'firewalls' of rational discourse' – like the debates in the Youth-Welfare-Council or the 'League of Welfare Providers' can help secure the professionalism of welfare service delivery.

Annex - neighbourhood and project vignettes

Neighbourhood portraits from the generic description of the FUA

Vignette - Fritz-Heckert-Estate

The Fritz-Heckert estate was chosen as a paradigmatic example for the post 1960s 'new housing areas' of the state-socialist period. In 1990 factory pre-produced uniform panel-buildings housed about half of the population of Chemnitz, and 'Fritz-Heckert' – now renamed according to the historic village and neighbourhood names – was the largest.⁵⁷

The estate was constructed between 1974 and 1990 and provided homes and infrastructures for 90,000 inhabitants in 31,000 flats and was considered a major achievement of state-socialist housing policy. During the GDR, the new estates were in high esteem and to a large degree structured the everyday lives of the residents with their specific relation between the locations of labour and housing, with family-oriented infrastructures for all ages. Since the 1990s much of the publicly provided social infrastructures have either been modernised, converted – e.g. health-centres into private medical practices – have disappeared. However, the youth clubs have remained important and successful element of the city's provision for the young generation with a democratised youth political programme.

The loss of attraction and image of the estates also meant a partial loss of a grounded identity, which it had before 1990. Many saw 'their history devalued' in a deeply disturbing process of change. Despite the German welfare state providing for the basic amenities, a neo-liberalist undercurrent in politics led to deepened inequality in the city, which only somehow levelled out after the economy recovery over a longer period.

With housing demand imploding after 1990, 11,000 flats in 'Fritz Heckert' were demolished. The urban environment was upgraded in the sociospatial programme of 'Urban Regeneration' (Stadtumbau-Ost) for partly obsolete neighbourhoods of shrinking cities. With the two elements of demolition and recreating new neighbourhood structures, the intention was to keep the estate attractive for the remaining residents and for prospective newcomers. In some places building single family homes on the cleared land was planned, however this only materialised to a very limited degree. The by then former Fritz-Heckert area remained a 90% renters domain, even after parts were offered at discounted prices.

During the period of high unemployment in Chemnitz between the 1990s and the 2010s, the panel estates over-proportionally housed the unemployed and beneficiaries of welfare income, and those grown old since they moved in as young families. New life partly moved into the estate after the 2000s with young first-time renters, and after 2015 with the massive immigration of refugees, who were allocated to the estates. 'Parallel societies' between the old and new residents became prevalent (interviewee neighbourhood manager). However, for the post 2016 refugees the low market pressure on the panel estates was a lucky incidence, because homes of decent technical quality were available and – partly new identities were established.

Today 'Fritz Heckert' provides a well landscaped environment of rehabilitated blocks and flats for a variety of 'ordinary people' (housing manager) at generally affordable rents. However, the estate, like some others, still is a place of conflict, as various groups of young 'bio-Germans', immigrants and refugees live in the same blocks, but use contested spots as places of retreat.

The two youth clubs have considerable influence on building inclusive communities and, though contested space, young migrants and punks are claiming that for them these neighbourhoods were safer places in the evenings than the city centre. Continuous community development support will be needed to 'keep the peace' (youth-worker in focus group).

Vignette - Sonnenberg

The Sonnenberg district is a paradigmatic example of a late 19th century industrial labourers' neighbourhood. Structurally sound brick buildings provided mostly simple rental flats. Usually the landlord lived on site on the bel étage. Run down during the GDR period, part of the area was cleared and rebuilt with panel buildings before unification. After unification, the large remaining old housing stock of 3 to 4 story tenements had high vacancy rates of over 25% and a large number of young first-time renters moved in, partly as squatters. For a time, parts of the area were seen as 'potentially freed national zone'⁵⁸ by right-wing protest groups. During the 1990s and 2010s rehabilitation, this structurally sound and diversely usable neighbourhood was earmarked as a model project for 'mindful' physical and socio-economical rehabilitation by the city. In parts of the area, also social and ecological projects were initiated by various actors with energy saving on a block level, and urban agriculture.

The approach built upon an actor network inaugurated by the city under the regulations of the urban rehabilitation laws and with the local civil society partly taking over management. The local action network actors from the city administration (city planning and youth welfare services), private landlords and the municipal housing company, NGOs as carriers of community development and youth work, and resident organisations, assisted by contracted renewal management services. This network started about 20 years ago and is still active also across the neighbourhoods' boundaries.

Despite the high public (refurbishment of public properties like schools) and private investment (rehabilitation of housing) and a careful process management, the turn from the negative image of a neglected and peripheralized neighbourhood to an attractive multi-use area, took more than a decade. New building was limited to a small number of attractive infills in ruin-gaps, as generally the population decline kept housing and market pressure low.

Today, the Sonnenberg has the image of a diverse neighbourhood for owners and renters. Especially amongst younger residents, the different levels of rehabilitation, reflecting in a diversity of rent-prices, the neighbourhood is increasingly attractive. In some cases, old and incapable owners were replaced in 'friendly takeovers' by young cohousing groups. The network of actors states that after a long period of dire need of support for placing itself on the city map, the Sonnenberg is in a sound phase of user- steered development. Vacancies

have diminished as well as the rate of dependency on welfare benefits, although remaining above the Chemnitz average.

Vignette - innovative concept of a ‘cooperative school’

The school project is an example of how subsidiarity can work in sharing responsibilities between state and civil society in modernising institutions. In a processes ongoing for years, an initiative of parents and teachers could convince Chemnitz’ politicians and the state of Saxony to adopt its innovative approach of a cooperation between state, city, and civil society. At present, the school operates a ‘test-in-practice’ phase in a modern interim container building to be replaced in 2024 by ambitiously co-designed architecture, taking up pupil’s, teaching staff’ and parents’ ideas.

The model of ‘Good School Chemnitz’, carried by a non-profit association of parents and educators has had the goal of further developing the state school landscape in Chemnitz in line with the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Starting in 2014, a ‘working concept for a new state primary and secondary school’ was initiated that takes up modern educational approaches within the Saxon curriculum. The focus is on learning to ‘build an active community’. It should be made possible for everyone ‘to take on their share of responsibility in the community and for the common good’, including vulnerable children and young people. The school, which legally is a state school, covers grades 1-10 in a campus solution as a primary and secondary school with all-day tuition and after-school care, based on the principle of internal differentiation leading on to all further educational paths.

The school addresses a diverse body of parents and students that is socially, culturally, and ethnically diverse and has a wide range of skills and talents. The school endeavour’s to be a place to live, learn and work, providing creative freedom and encouraging responsibility in society. After a year of practice, the collaborative process of planning the building and the pedagogical concept and the practical experiences promises to be a model for other schools in the city.

Vignette - ‘DELPHIN’ Chemnitz as an innovative youth/welfare provider⁵⁹

DELPHIN provides integrated ‘socio-educational support services’⁶⁰ to vulnerable young people in jeopardy. The project is run by a private youth and social work ‘social entrepreneur’, a non-profit company under multiple contracts by various public youth welfare services. A civic associations provides link to Chemnitz civil society. The independence, from - while closely cooperating with - public welfare services - is seen as the basis and precondition for its successful work with young people who have suffered from inequality and demotivation. The project ‘steps in when more conventional types of social assistance have failed or are overtaxed’ (Interview).

‘We want to shape the future in an innovative and sustainable way and encourage young people to develop their potential and use resources optimally. We enable everyone to participate in life, work, living and education. We create awareness for fellow human beings and the environment and stand for tolerance and respect, integration and inclusion.’⁶¹

As the clients – from about 12 to 25 years – are urban kids, all activities are taking place in Chemnitz' at the direct perimeter of the inner city in – by now renovated – blocks, in unbuilt gaps and on fallow inner-urban land.

DELPHIN's clients are young people with multiple problems from general neglect to employment difficulties, educational deficiencies to indebtedness, who are in an acute crisis situation. They are referred to the project by welfare services or they find their way to the project through peer contacts. Almost all are suffering from multifaceted vulnerabilities, which often leads to an overlay of factual exclusion and self-exclusion as a strategy of accommodation. Difficult family setups, poverty and general problems in maturing are common amongst the clientele and aggression is also a common state of mind.

The acceptance of the biographical origin of the clientele is of high value for the project. In effective individual and group work, the project wants the clients to ultimately find joy and motivation for their lives again. 'Structured casework is the overriding methodology adopted in a cross-disciplinary approach that is targeted at enabling the young people for an independent and interdependent life' (mission paper). A special emphasis is on maintaining contact with the families even in conflict.

The team works in locations in Dresden and Chemnitz in vulnerable neighbourhoods. Teamwork is central for 'healthy professionalism, permanent quality assurance and a positive attitude in the everyday work environment.' The majority of the employees are trained 'socio-educational' experts often with a therapeutic or socio-psychiatric qualification.⁶² The team is supplemented by various thematic experts, e.g. for occupational therapy, technical training, or urban agriculture and aquaponics.

The project focusses on step-by-step assistance for young people with serious development problems in the family, at school, or in society in general. The project offers alternative schooling, including the possibility of external exams at regular schools, and job finding assistance.

Services provided start with strategic clearing to secure a 'holistic and personal approach to life structuring and social therapy'. In individual care strategies, young people are helped to build a foundation to independent life-careers.

DELPHIN's services include training in everyday matters and general life advice, securing a livelihood, dealing with debts, securing safe housing, building contact to public welfare institutions, the police, courts, juvenile court assistance under the principle of enabling independence.

Housing provision and emergency housing is a core objective as for the vast majority, a home is a core demand in managing life independently and in interdependence – as a single person, or in a group. Assistance is arranged in collaboration with municipal and private housing providers and alternative housing initiatives, and in dwellings owned by the company. As the clients often are in a phase of detachment from the parental home, homeless or in precarious housing situations, emergency housing is offered for individuals or small groups. The project

has been instrumental in an ERDF project for ecological neighbourhood heating in collaboration of city, landlords and the local energy provider.

Aquaponic and urban-farming are core projects of the integrated work and welfare approach – organised in a legally independent entity with vegetable and fish production. These projects provide special spaces for personal growth and competence building making urban food production a living experience. Also this work is a link of the project to the neighbourhood and – for the future – a source of income independent from subsidies - for the project. Also the aquaponic project is the basis for testing biological and technical as well as educational and therapeutic procedures and processes.

JustiQ – Strengthening youth in on the Block goes into the wider neighbourhood and takes part in a nationwide program ‘Youth STRENGTHS in the neighbourhood’⁶³, funded by the European Social Fund (ESF). The project contractor is the City of Chemnitz’ Office for Youth and Family. JustiQ is implemented by DELPHIN-Projekte gGmbH (non-profit) under the title ‘Courage to overcome the gap in Education’. The project enacts individual aid and micro-projects, especially in the north-eastern districts of Hilbersdorf and Sonnenberg.⁶⁴

Research since its foundation, DELPHIN has been engaged in experimental urban social projects on the local, national, and international level. The main fields of the always collaborative research are theory and practice development in youth work and urban social development. More recently, urban Aquaponic production and its implementation in social welfare projects for young people have become a research field with universities in an international network on resource saving and environmentally neutral food production chains.

Lessons learnt: DELPHIN is in its self-, and the external image a highly successful youth work actor that has helped a large number of young people with complex development problems through difficult times. The project is internally well set up to serve its clients and develop its staff professionally. The project not only serves the individual clients and the neighbourhood, but also is seen by the interviewees as an important provider of incentives for other projects in Chemnitz and the wider region. For the city of Chemnitz and collaborating partners, DELPHIN is a sustainable non-state service provider, who answers to new challenges and policy suggestions and works as a robust knot in the youth policy and practice networks of the city of Chemnitz. Main elements of DELPHIN were, according to the interviewees, its professionalism, its cross thematic and cross departmental effects, and its training effect on the local professional realm.

Mapping social spatial structures of Chemnitz

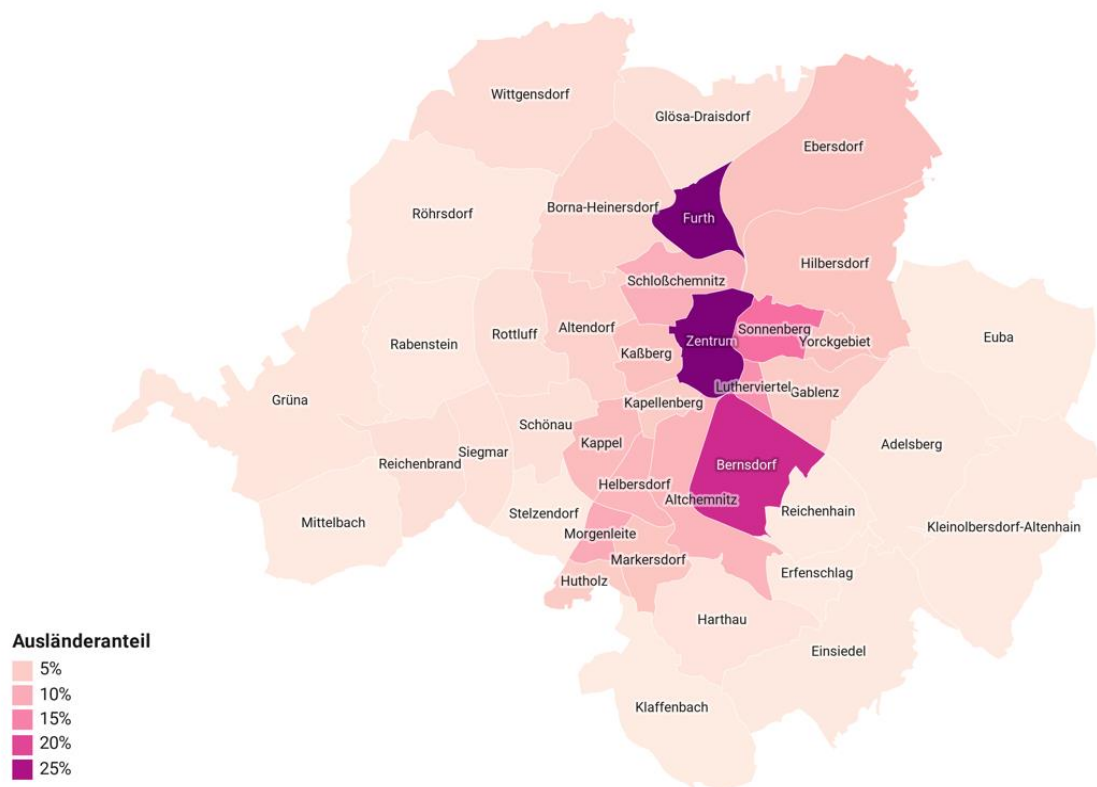
The following maps are showing the relations between various social data and urban structures. Between the 39 districts differences in their social use are also show on the individual maps and underlying urban patterns are exposed when taking various maps are in an overlay.

All data from 2018. Maps were provided by curtesy and under copyright of VOG Institute.⁶⁵

Residents with non-German nationality

Chemnitzer Stadtteile: Ausländische Bevölkerung 2018

Anteil der Einwohner ohne deutsche Staatsbürgerschaft an der Bevölkerung im Stadtteil (in %) am 31.12.2018



[für genaue Werte Werte auf Stadtteil klicken/scrollen]

Grafik: FOG-Institut • Quelle: Stadt Chemnitz, Amt für Informationsverarbeitung • Erstellt mit Datawrapper

Population density per km²

Bevölkerungsdichte in den Stadtteilen

Einwohner (mit Hauptwohnsitz) je Quadratkilometer (Stand 31.12.2018) in den 39 Stadtteilen



[für genaue Werte auf Stadtteil klicken/scrollen]

Grafik: FOG-Institut • Quelle: Stadt Chemnitz - Amt für Informationsverarbeitung • Erstellt mit Datawrapper

Arbeitslosigkeit in Chemnitz und seinen Stadtteilen

Map of Chemnitz districts showing the percentage of population with a migration background. The map uses a color scale from light blue (0%) to dark blue (100%).

Legend: 0% (lightest blue) to 100% (darkest blue).

Approximate data from the map:

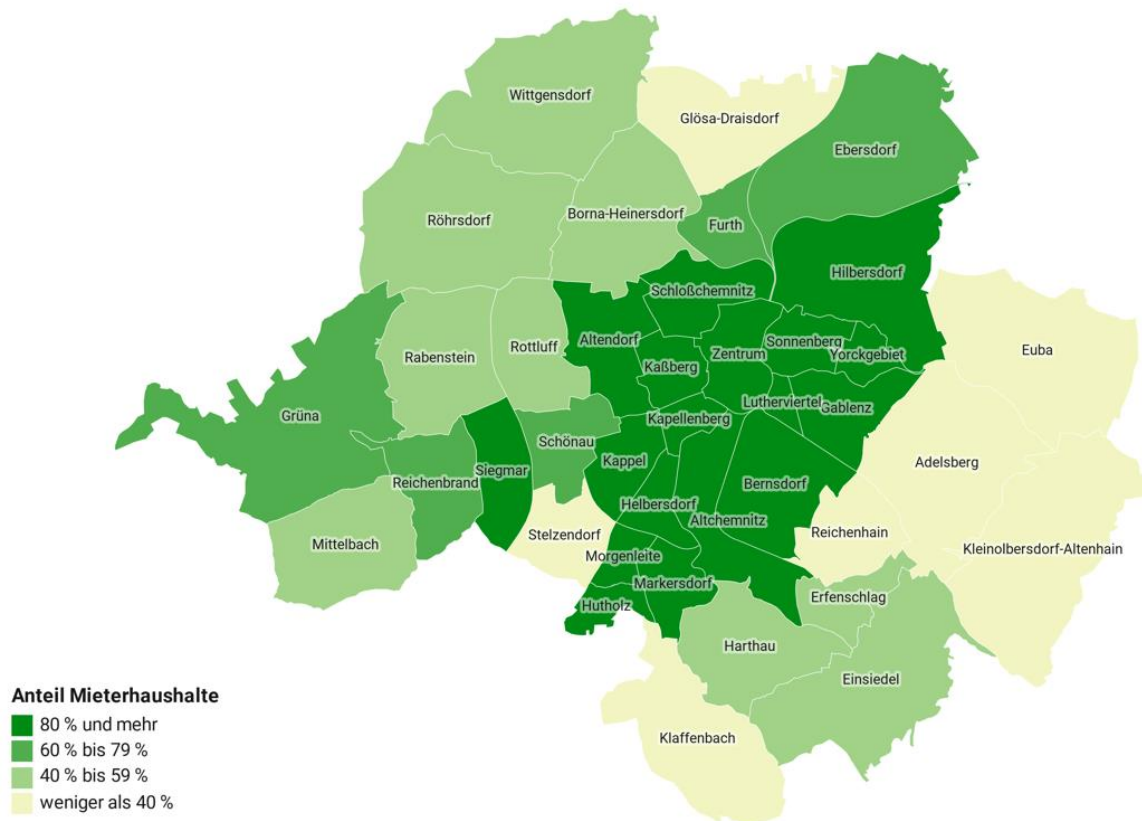
District	Percentage of Population with Migration Background
Wittgensdorf	~5%
Glösa-Draisdorf	~5%
Ebersdorf	~5%
Röhrsdorf	~5%
Borna-Heinersdorf	~5%
Furth	~10%
Schloßchemnitz	~10%
Hilbersdorf	~10%
Rabenstein	~5%
Rottluff	~5%
Altendorf	~10%
Kaßberg	~10%
Zentrum	~10%
Sonnenberg	~10%
Yorckgebiet	~10%
Euba	~5%
Grüna	~5%
Kapellenberg	~10%
Lutherviertel	~10%
Gablenz	~10%
Adelsberg	~5%
Reichenbrand	~5%
Siegmars	~10%
Kapell	~10%
Bernsdorf	~10%
Reichenhain	~5%
Kleinolbersdorf-Altenhain	~5%
Mittelbach	~5%
Stelzendorf	~10%
Altchemnitz	~10%
Morgenleite	~10%
Markersdorf	~10%
Hutholz	~10%
Harthau	~10%
Erfenschlag	~5%
Einsiedel	~5%
Klaffenbach	~5%

43

Proportion of renters among residents

Mieter- und Eigentümerhaushalte in Chemnitz

Anteil der Mieterhaushalte an allen Haushalten in den 39 Stadtteilen (Quelle: Zensus 2011)



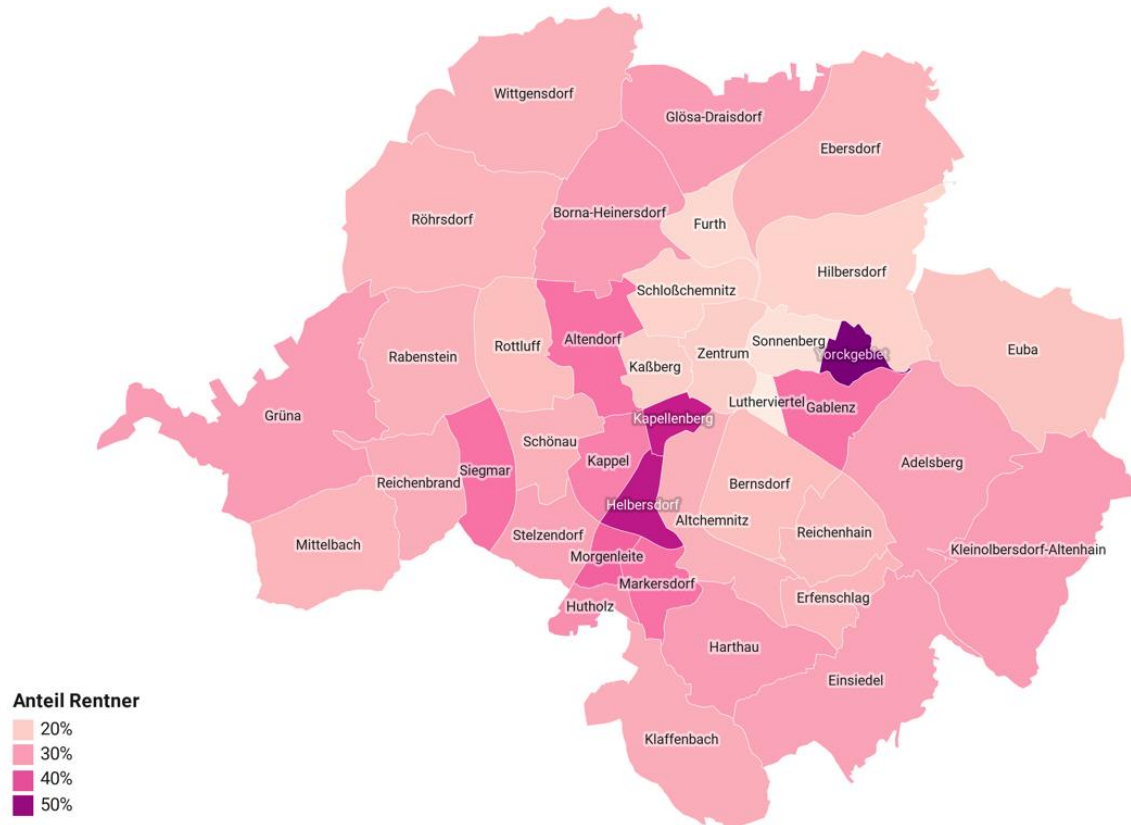
Anteil Mieterhaushalte in CHEMNITZ insgesamt: 83 %

Grafik: FOG-Institut • Quelle: Statistisches Landesamt Sachsen - Zensus 2011 • Erstellt mit Datawrapper

Proportion of pensioners

Altersstruktur: Rentner in den Chemnitzer Stadtteilen

Anteil der Einwohner ab 65 Jahren (in %) an der Stadtteilbevölkerung; Stand 31.12.2018 (für konkrete Werte auf Stadtteil klicken/scrollen)

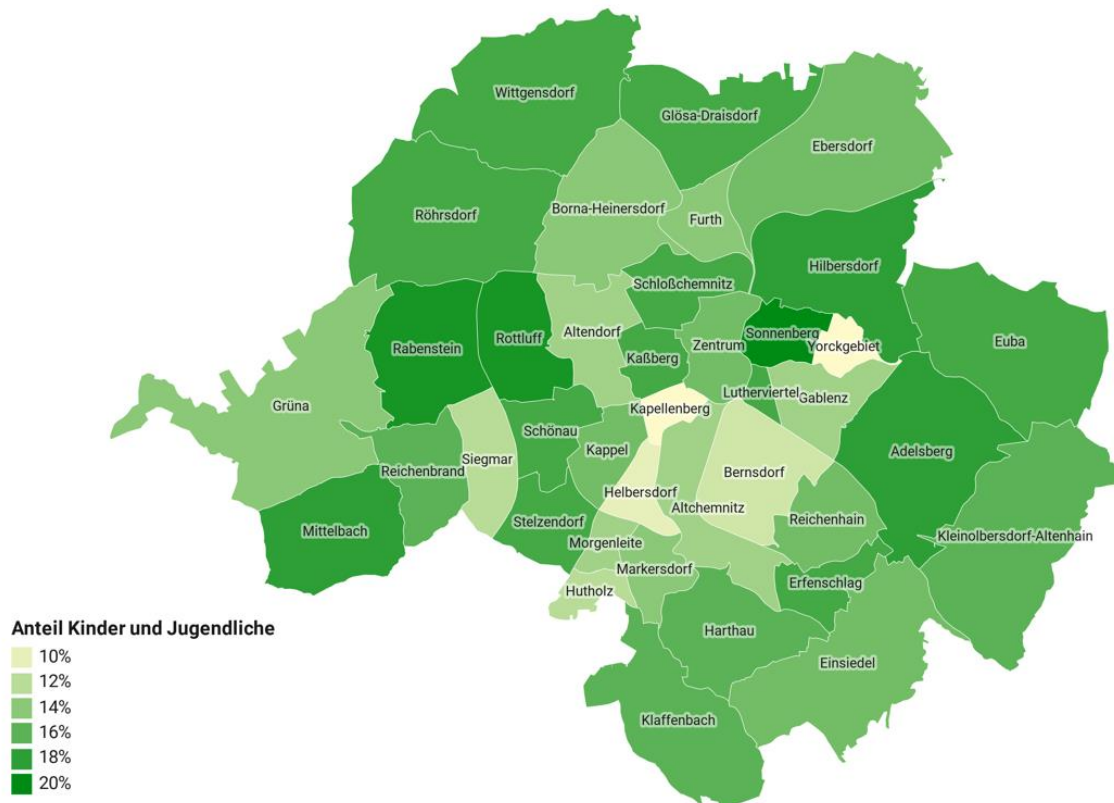


Grafik: FOG-Institut • Quelle: Stadt Chemnitz - Amt für Informationsverarbeitung • Erstellt mit Datawrapper

Age structure – Children and young people

Altersstruktur: Kinder und Jugendliche in Chemnitzer Stadtteilen

Anteil der Kinder und Jugendlichen unter 18 Jahren (in %) an der Stadtteilbevölkerung; Stand 31.12.2018 [für konkrete Werte auf Stadtteil klicken/scrollen]

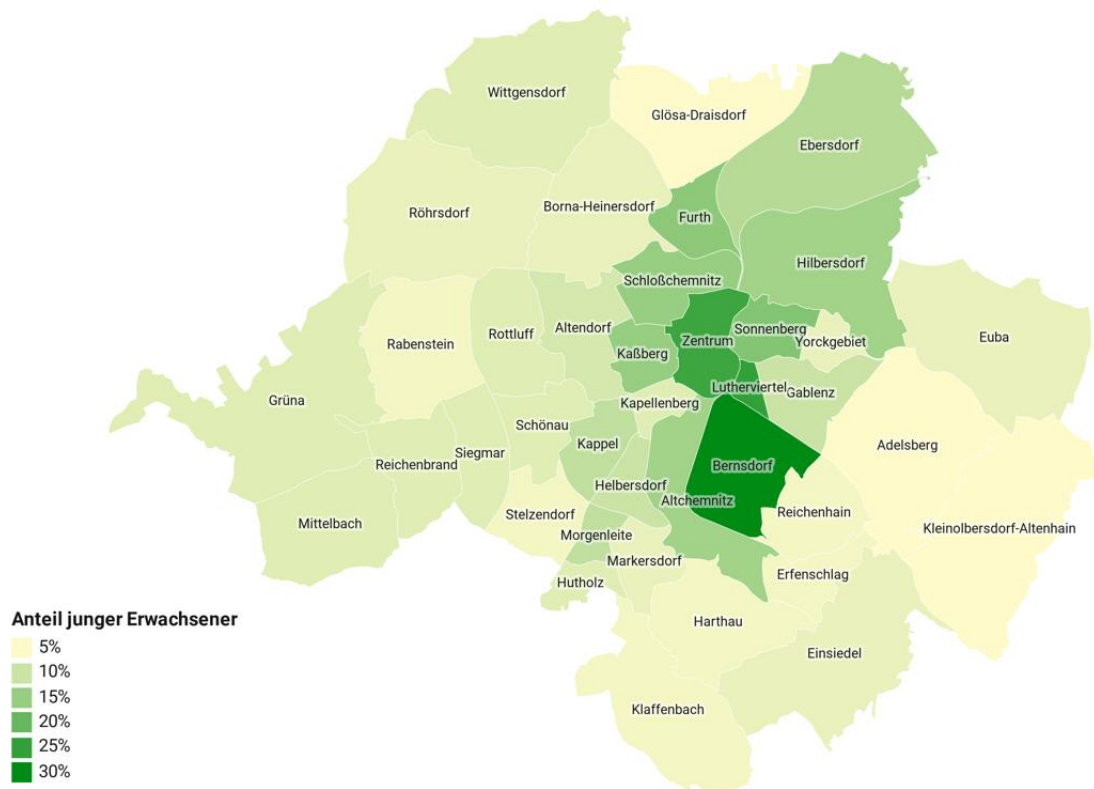


Grafik: FOG-Institut • Quelle: Stadt Chemnitz - Amt für Informationsverarbeitung • Erstellt mit Datawrapper

Proportion of young adults 18 – to 29 years

Altersstruktur: Junge Erwachsene in den Chemnitzer Stadtteilen

Anteil der Einwohner zwischen 18 und 29 Jahren (in %) an der Stadtteilbevölkerung; Stand 31.12.2018 [für konkrete Werte auf Stadtteil klicken/scrollen]

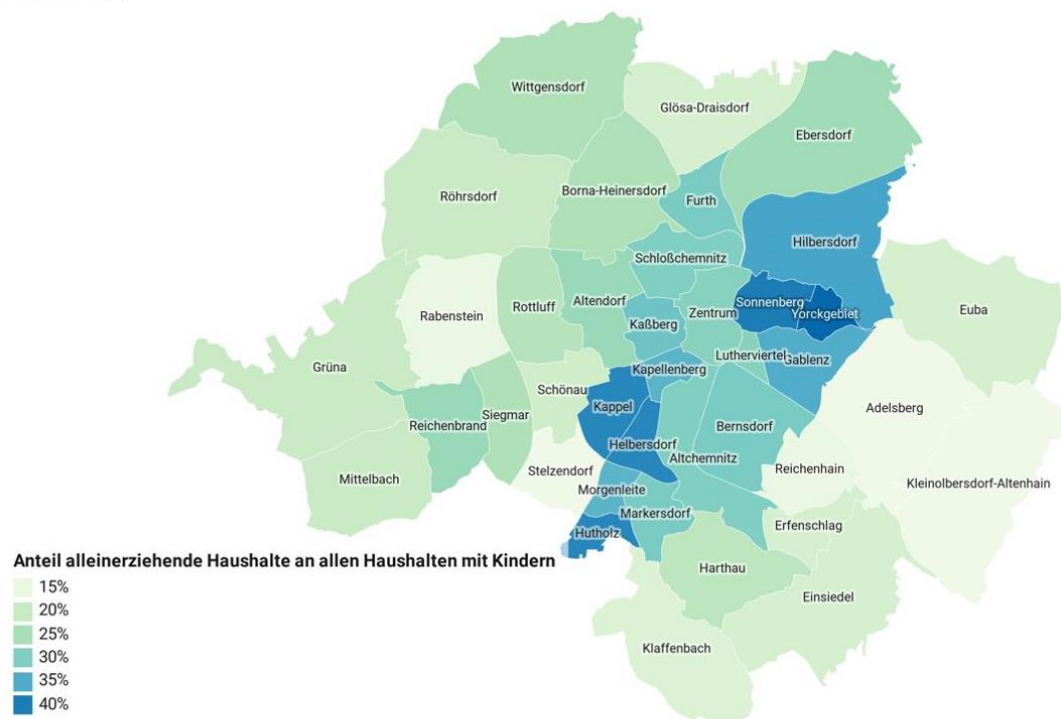


Grafik: FOG-Institut • Quelle: Stadt Chemnitz - Amt für Informationsverarbeitung • Erstellt mit Datawrapper

Proportion of single parent households

Alleinerziehende in den Stadtteilen

Anteil (in %) der alleinerziehenden Haushalte an allen Haushalten mit Kindern unter 18 Jahren im Stadtteil; Stand 31.12.2018 [für konkrete Werte auf Stack klicken/scrollen]



Die im Generierungsverfahren berechneten Haushaltezahlen sind auf Grund der Verfahrensunsicherheiten auf zehn Haushalte gerundet.
 Grafik: FOG-Institut • Quelle: Stadt Chemnitz, Amt für Informationsverarbeitung (Haushaltgenerierung) • Erstellt mit Datawrapper

References

¹ Recruitment according to a 'snow-ball-scheme' is suited for researching networks and network relations. https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/6aec/96da14bbc27c9707bc94a5c42fc96a952571.pdf?_ga=2.105535043.1175133672.1642953494-854610114.1641119386

² ANT was developed during the 1980s by French sociologists M. Callon und B. Latour and has since developed as a school of sociology and understanding practice.

³ Snowden, D.; Kurtz (2003), The new dynamics of strategy: Sense-making in a complex and complicated world. (in English) <https://alumni.media.mit.edu/~brooks/storybiz/kurtz.pdf>

⁴ Trommsdorf, G. (1999) Social Change and Individual Development in East Germany: A Methodological Critique https://kops.uni-konstanz.de/bitstream/handle/123456789/10145/Social_change_and_individual_development_in_East_Germany_1999_KOPS10256.pdf;sequence=1

⁵ Gebhardt, W.; Kamphausen, G. "Früher haben wir sicherer gelebt!" - Gewinne und Verluste der Wiedervereinigung (Formerly we have lived more securely 'on winning and losing in reunification), SSOAR papers - <https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:0168-ssoar-137527>

⁶ (1) During the welfare state crisis of 2005 the benefit system changed towards the more strictly needs- and-activity oriented 'Hartz IV' system. Employability and social pressure to in the welfare system were main factors of reform - at times of .18% unemployment in the east.

(2) The global bank and financial crisis of 2007 ff struck the German banking system and increased national debt. However benefits cushioned off individual effects. Unemployment decreased from 7.4 to 7.0% between 2008 and 2010 in Germany, also because tax funded short-time work kept people in work. In the 46% renter country – with about 80% in large cities - housing was hardly affected, while strong public urban rehabilitation programmes provided jobs and the widespread experience of improved housing.

(3) The crisis of shrinking cities in the east and demographic changes after 1995 forced cities to accept undesired change but boosted urban rehabilitation with creative and integrated methods. As an answer to shrinking demand ('over-ageing', emigration to the west), 350,000 flats were demolished within a short period and many residents were relocated. In the face of shrinking cities, new paths were adopted. S; soft tools of cultural, social, political, and communicative innovations appeared alongside the hard tools of structural interventions. On the urban policy level, the experience of shrinking cities was probably changing the urban policy agenda from administration to governance as the general mode.

(4) The PISA shock of 2000 ff demonstrated inefficiencies in the educational sector but initiated change, especially to boost female employment and interest in MINT jobs.

(5) The 'refugee-crisis' from 2015 onwards led to a fundamental and in part disruptive discussion about solidarity, and challenges of immigration. It led to racial conflict and at the same time to successful integration for a majority of refugees. Xenophobia found its right-wing institutional basis in the AfD and virulent radical initiatives.

(6) The still ongoing Covid-19 crisis since early 2020 has led to an open-ended culture clash between rational knowledge and fundamental questioning of the principles of democracy by larger and loud groups in society, reaching far into middle class milieus.

⁷ Karree49 is an integrated youth and community project, which has been chosen as main example of good government and innovative policy in this report. (in German) <https://karree49.de/de/karree49/>

⁸ The 'Metropolitan Region of Central Germany' is a joint planning association for regional strategic planning. It contains the large cities of Leipzig, Halle, Chemnitz, Dresden, the western parts of the state of Saxony, and eastern parts of Saxony-Anhalt and Thuringia. Founded by collaborating cities and the three states, the organisation promotes a wide range of topics from regional development, science, cultural action, and research to promoting

MINT qualifications across institutional boundaries. <https://www.mitteldeutschland.com/de/metropolregion-mitteldeutschland/>

⁹ Source: <https://www.oecd.org/cfe/regionaldevelopment/Germany.pdf>

¹⁰ FOG-Institut für Markt- und Sozialforschung (FOG Institute for Market- and Social Research) <https://www.fog-institut.de/> The Chemnitz based institute provides Research reports and data on urban development and housing with a focus on east Germany and has acted as a research partner for the UPLIFT project.

¹¹ Source: City of Chemnitz (2020) Chemnitz Strategy, draft version. <https://www.tspa.eu/de/portfolio/chemnitz-strategie/>

¹² City of Chemnitz (2017) priority urban action fields (in German) https://www.chemnitz.de/chemnitz/media/unsere-stadt/stadtentwicklung/konzepte/wrk_teilc_201810.pdf

¹³ The size of population in Germany directly relates to federal and state funding for the cities. A loss of population also means a loss of revenues – infrastructure funding. Thus shrinking cities try to keep above certain thresholds to avert losing the centrality functions.

¹⁴ VOG Institute (2020), (in German) <https://www.chemnitz-in-zahlen.de/> ('Chemnitz in figures')

¹⁵ State of Saxony prognosis: over the next decade a minimal loss of 10% is the middle estimate for Chemnitz https://www.bevoelkerungsmonitor.sachsen.de/download/RBV%20Kreise/rbv-landkreisinfo_kreisfreie-stadt_chemnitz.pdf

¹⁶ Chemnitz population prognosis as of 2020, see also the enclosed mapping of the age structure.

¹⁷ A blog exists, where mainly students share information about affordable housing: <https://www.studis-online.de/Fragen-Brett/read.php?28,1036514>

¹⁸ City website of the responsible for Gender and equality matters: (in German): <https://www.chemnitz.de/chemnitz/de/leben-in-chemnitz/frauen-und-maenner/index.html> -

¹⁹ The gender responsible was installed according to article 8 of the constitution of the Free State of Saxony to 'promote the legal and actual equality of women and men'. Municipalities with more than 20,000 inhabitants are obliged to appoint a full-time equal opportunities officer. Their task is to accompany the implementation of the legal requirements on the basis of the Saxonian Law on Women Empowerment (1994) and the General Antidiscrimination Law (AGG, 2006) and to help promoting gender equality in all fields of public action and thus all spheres of life. The city sees the creation of equal opportunities as a cross-sectional task that affects almost all areas of life.

²⁰ The experiences with the action plan's implementation have not been a focus of WP2 but have shown up in some interviews with the local experts. Gender projects, although widely supported, have also been an almost permanent field of political conflicts. While a large majority of all political parties support the cities gender equality politics, some initiatives, and the political right support at least certain measures, especially the inclusive language policy, but generally reject open debates about gender differences and gender equality politics.

²¹ Website of Chemnitz' Cultural Capital Organisation (sorry all texts still only in German) <https://chemnitz2025.de/5288-2/>

²² The website of 'Chemnitz 2025' (in English) <https://chemnitz2025.de/en/allgemein/we-have-a-dream/>

²³ Berngruber, A., Gaupp, N. e..d. (2022): Erwachsenwerden heute. Lebenslagen und Lebensführung junger Menschen (Becoming adult today. Situation and Life-management of young people), Munich. The German youth institute is the core research agency for youth-research in Germany. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer

²⁴ The federal education report, with a short overview in English: <https://www.bildungsbericht.de/de/bildungsberichte-seit-2006/bildungsbericht-2020/pdf-dateien-2020/bildungsbericht-2020-barrierefrei.pdf>

²⁵ Saxon ministry for social affairs and cohesion. (in German) <https://www.sms.sachsen.de>

²⁶ Right to education, constructed on the basic human rights; (in German) https://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/gg/art_7.html

²⁷ Complex - descriptive graph of the Saxon education system (in German) https://kemmlerschule.de/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/sächsisches_schulsystem_2013.pdf

²⁸ Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung (Internet 2021, in German) – on all institutional levels – as the carrier of education, shaping educational structures, and guaranteeing choice and standards <https://www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/bildung/zukunft-bildung/145238/staat-als-akteur> (state as actor in education)

²⁹ OECD – PISA studies - <https://www.oecd.org/pisa/>

³⁰ Freitag, H.W.; Blaeschke, F. (BPB) (in German on socioeconomic data about the consequences of inequality in the German education system) <https://www.bpb.de/kurz-knapp/zahlen-und-fakten/datenreport-2021/bildung/329670/der-soziooekonomische-status-der-schuelerinnen-und-schueler/>

³¹ The reason is seen in the different demographic layout of the population: Inequality and dependency on welfare benefits is higher in the city states and also the proportion of people at risk of poverty is higher in old-industrialised areas. DIPF | Leibniz-Institut für Bildungsforschung und Bildungsinformation (2018) (Federal Research Institute for Education Research (In German with a short explanation in English), National Education Report: <https://www.bildungsbericht.de/de>

³² The German national education report shows many of the comparative relations between the German states: <https://www.bildungsbericht.de/de/bildungsberichte-seit-2006/bildungsbericht-2020/pdf-dateien-2020/bildungsbericht-2020-barrierefrei.pdf>

³³ German Bundestag scientific service (In German) The dual system of job training in Europe <https://www.bundestag.de/resource/blob/416592/ac5bdf6baec097a14a6e645229e85e32/wf-viii-g-065-06-pdf-data.pdf>

³⁴ Conference of the Ministers for Culture and Education (2019) on the 'dual system' of Education: (in English) <https://www.kmk.org/kmk/information-in-english.html>

³⁵ The Chambers of Trade and Industry are actors in providing vocational training (in English) <https://www.chemnitz.ihk24.de/servicemarken/ueber-uns/welcome-to-our-english-service-center>

³⁶ ILO decent work agenda in detail: https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---europe/---ro-geneva/---ilo-lisbon/documents/event/wcms_667247.pdf

³⁷ Welfare Code: §§ 27-40 SGB XII (assistance to livelihood); §§ 67-69 SGB XII (assistance in specific precarious social situation).

³⁸ An example is the 'Education Workshop', a cross profession training enterprise with appr. 600 apprentices, who have built up networks with companies to fulfil the demands of the German dual company and school training model (in English) https://www.bildungs-werkstatt.de/About_Us_1488.html?sid=VhUGQExwp3RPDUrpyOCQ2LwGX550vhp

³⁹ BBSR Bundesinstitut für Bau-, Stadt-, und Raumforschung (in English) https://www.bbsr.bund.de/BBSR/EN/home/_node.html;jsessionid=2DC90F8C15269D25372E537852DC5A28.live21301

⁴⁰ KfW Bank, the German public development bank, which amongst a wide field of international development finding supports the whole realm of funding for infrastructures, building and housing according to the federal government's development policies. (In Chemnitz, the bank has co-funded ecological and social neighbourhood development.)

⁴¹ <https://www.investitionsbank.info/>

⁴² Saxon Ministry for Regional Development – (in German) <https://www.smr.sachsen.de>

⁴³ Knorr-Siedow, T.; Droste, C. (2003) Large Housing Estates in Germany, Utrecht

⁴⁴ See an image film about the Brühl is a new cultural hotspot in Chemnitz (in German): <https://www.chemnitz-bruehl.de/dein-stueck-bruehl>

⁴⁵ On the 'wild-west' housing market a text by the federal institute for political education (bpb) (in German) <https://www.bpb.de/geschichte/deutsche-einheit/lange-wege-der-deutschen-einheit/47280/wohnen>

⁴⁶ The agencies Kooperatives Wohnen Chemnitz (Cooperative Housing Chemnitz) and StadtWohnen (UrbanLiving) are tasked with supporting urban renewal by present and prospective self-occupying owners or landlords. A main job is mating planners and users and opening strands ways towards public and private financing.

⁴⁷ SeKo2020 – Chemnitz’s comprehensive urban integrated development programme. It is a precondition to acquire funds for renewal planning infrastructure from EU, federal and state funds and covers a wide variety of urban development issues. (in German) https://www.chemnitz.de/chemnitz/de/unsere-stadt/stadtentwicklung/stadtentwicklungskonzept/seko_2020/index.html

⁴⁸ WEG stands for ‘Flat-Owners’ associations, a special form of co-ownership of housing.

⁴⁹ BBSR (ed) – Neglected Real Estate – Guide to legal instruments to prevent junk housing (2014) (in German) <https://www.bbsr.bund.de/BBSR/DE/veroeffentlichungen/ministerien/bmub/verschiedene-themen/2014/verwaehrloste-immobilien.html>

⁵⁰ EU Better Regulation Agenda (in English) https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/qanda_21_1902

⁵¹ Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens and Youth, (in English) <https://www.bmfsfj.de/resource/blob/190146/7313bd244bf3b7d05b334afc70ce7e1c/family-today-data-facts-trends-family-report-2020-data.pdf>

⁵² Youth-welfare services are defined in § 1 Para. 3 SGB VIII (Welfare Code). The services and tasks in question are set out in § 2 SGB VIII.

⁵³ Chemnitz youth development plan of 2020.

⁵⁴ As umbrella organizations, large independent organizations have a special, legally recognized status (League of Welfare Organisations) and exert an influence on social policy of the federal government.

- Diakonisches Werk (DW) of the Protestant Church
- German Caritas Association of the Roman Catholic Church
- German Red Cross (DRK)
- Workers' Welfare Organisation (AWO)
- Parity (Der Paritätische, DPWV) as an association of social movements
- Central Welfare Office of Jews in Germany (ZWST)

⁵⁵ Section 13 of Book VIII of the Social Code

⁵⁶ 116 academic institutions are offering accredited courses and researching the core topics of social and youth work. An undisclosed number are dealing with special issues, like welfare-law, financing, and therapy.

⁵⁷ Besides the Fritz-Heckert Estate from the 1960s onwards the following large estates (above 2000 flats) were built in the Centre, in Hans-Beimler-Estate, the post demolition parts of Sonnenberg (mid 1980s) and the York Estate.

⁵⁸ Protesting against right-wing youth-unrest, left wing initiatives mobilised in 2018 (in German) <https://jusos-chemnitz.de/artikel/statement-zu-den-chemnitzer-naziaufmaerschen-am-26-und-27-august/>

⁵⁹ <https://karree49.de/de/delphin-projekte/>

⁶⁰ Self-description of the organisation.

⁶¹ Delphin agenda (in German) <https://karree49.de/de/delphin-betreuungsdienst/#top>

⁶² Sroka, K. (2019): The Concept of mindfulness in a professional context of social work, Master thesis, University of applied science Mittweida

⁶³ JustiQ is a nation-wide programme to support youth-work in vulnerable neighbourhoods, funded by the federal ministry from ESF funds in a second wave. (in German) <https://www.jugend-staerken.de/just/programme/jugend-staerken-im-quartier/jugend-staerken-im-quartier-139420>

⁶⁴ Zimmermann, K. (2005) Soziale Stadt und Local Governance, Phd Thesis, Hannover (English summary)

⁶⁵ All sociospatial maps © FOG-Institut für Markt- und Sozialforschung Chemnitz, E-Mail: info@fog-institut.de (in German) <https://www.fog-institut.de>