

Picking up the fight: Segregation and the power of local representatives



Hannah Rautenberg
Bachelor Thesis Geography, Planning
and Environment (GPE)
Nijmegen School of Management
Radboud University
June 2018

**Picking up the fight:
Segregation and the power of
local representatives**



Hannah Rautenberg
s1008784
Supervisor: Simone Pekelsma
Bachelor Thesis Geography, Planning and Environment (GPE)
Nijmegen School of Management
Radboud University
June 2018

Word count: 21,758

Abstract

Segregation and cities – two constructs that co-exist nearly since the origins of the latter, being mutually dependent. Principally referring to its residential form, there is no segregation without cities and no cities without segregation. Thus, the debate about the concept, its effects on society – being in this context believed to cause isolation and exclusion of specific societal groups, and, therefore consequently the discussion on how to counteract the negative impacts of segregation is both from ancient and recent times. In fact, it appears to stay controversial, with no consensus in sight yet.

Nevertheless, and may even due to the controversy that emerges from the topic's immense complexity, further research is indispensable. This paper, therefore, focuses on segregation within a neighborhood and evaluates how measures counteracting the effects of segregation should be developed most appropriately. Having looked at existing academic literature that has been published so far, it is argued that the current measures, especially those implemented by governmental institutions, are not properly addressing the local needs of the neighborhood's residents. Subsequently, the situation calls for a shift in perspective, and in fact, a shift in power. This means enabling actors – that are more elaborated, for instance, through their spatial proximity to the locals – to create resident-oriented means to counteract the effects of segregation. In order to underline this argumentation this research paper chose to apply a single case study, a method that allows to gain deep insights into complex constructs which make the latter more comprehensive.

Thus, introducing the case of Baumheide, Bielefeld, primary data was collected by making own observations as well as by conducting interviews with relevant representatives of local organizations. Based on these findings, the neighborhood's specific problems are given, some of them corresponding with those presented in literature whereas others might be valid for Baumheide only. Applying the ambiguity-conflict matrix (Matland, 1995) on the case, a well-grounded categorization is given, allowing to indicate how situations should be approach best, arguing that individual situations need tailor-made solution procedures. Being classified as low conflict-high ambiguity, the situation of the case researched here, consequently, demands for a bottom-up approach. Thus showing that first and foremost local organizations are able to counteract segregation within their neighborhood, compared to central authorities, specific means implemented by these actors are presented. Illustrating what has been done so far as well as what is still in planning, one section demonstrates potential future prospects. To conclude, the discussion of findings for Baumheide supports the above-stated assumption that segregation should best be dealt with from the bottom-up.

Table of content

Abstract.....	iii
List of images.....	vi
List of figures.....	vi
1. Introduction	1
2. Justification	3
2.1 Research question	4
2.2 Objectives	4
3. Literature review.....	5
3.1 Urban geography	5
3.2 Segregation.....	6
3.2.1 Residential segregation.....	7
3.2.2 Forced segregation	8
3.2.3 Self-segregation	8
3.2.4 Problems of segregation	9
3.3 Desegregation.....	11
3.3.1 Social mixing.....	12
3.3.2 Governmental intervention	13
3.3.3 Criticism	13
3.4 Bottom-up approach.....	15
3.4.1 Matland's ambiguity-conflict-model	17
4. Methodology	21
4.1 Case Study	21
4.2 Interviews.....	22
5. Discussion of findings.....	25
5.1 Description of case.....	25
5.1.1 Residential structure of Baumheide.....	25
5.1.2 Ethnic segregation	26
5.1.3 Socio-economic segregation	26

5.2	Own preconceptions	27
5.3	Main problems	29
5.3.1	Housing market.....	29
5.3.2	Reputation of Baumheide.....	30
5.3.3	Development of a parallel society.....	31
5.3.4	Culture clash.....	32
5.4	Finding the right approach.....	33
5.4.1	Level of conflict and ambiguity	33
5.5	Counteracting segregation	35
5.5.1	Address housing problems.....	36
5.5.2	Re-building of reputation	37
5.5.3	Avoid establishment of parallel society.....	40
5.5.4	Prevent culture clash.....	42
5.6	Future prospects	46
6.	Conclusion	48
6.1	Limitations.....	50
6.2	Recommendations	51
7.	References.....	52
	Appendices	58

List of images

Picture 1: Two hands (Source: own photography)	i
Picture 2: Legend describing the 'Planetenwanderweg' (Source: own photography) ...	38
Picture 3: Housing complex in Baumheide (Source: own photography)	39
Picture 4: Illustration of green surroundings (Source: own photography)	39
Picture 5: Community center from the front (Source: own photography)	42
Picture 6: Community center from the inside (Source: own photography)	42
Picture 7: Impression of the flea market (Source: own photography)	44
Picture 8: Flea market with buggy (Source: own photography)	44
Picture 9: Women looking at clothes (Source: own photography)	45
Picture 10: Mosaic on wall outside the community center (Source: own photography)	46

List of figures

Figure 2.4.1: Ambiguity-conflict matrix as developed by Matland (1995:160)	17
Figure 4.2: Map of Bielefeld, including number of residents (Source: Presseamt Stadt Bielefeld, 2018)	25

1. Introduction

Imagine the following scenario: you live in a neighborhood that is characterized by its residential structure, being mostly defined by people with migrant background and/ or low socio-economic status. Lack in money is reflected in the prefabricated high-rise social housing complexes made out of concrete, inhabiting residents that live isolated from one another due to language barriers or sheer disinterest, struggling with their own problems. Germans, Russians, Turks or Kurdish people – various cultures that differ in values, beliefs and norms, however united in their current living situation which segregates them entirely from the rest of the city.

Imagine living in this neighborhood, being aware that you face several disadvantages people in other parts of the city may not have.

Imagine being in this situation, depending on help from the outside as your own assets limit your opportunities to escape immensely.

And then, a small glimmer of hope. Due to the so-called 'refugee crisis' the city's social department head – you thought had already forgotten about you – visits your neighborhood, organizes an assembly and starts speaking:

In these areas, where housing is rather cheap, you have to be aware that the tension within the neighborhood will further increase as the low prices will attract people with migrant background or more specifically refugees, thronging to the area.

That is it. The situation in your neighborhood that is already stigmatized by a bad reputation within the rest of the city, being classified as social flashpoint, is about to get more tense. Just because. I was told this story by one of my interview partners (interviewee #3) who explained the scene further:

The way he formulated it, however, followed the logic to accept this phenomenon, implying that only enough money for compensation would be needed. [...] And this is a process that ultimately determines who lives here and why.

Consequently, the social department head showed no intention to actively improve the situation for the residents, but suggested that money as mean for compensation would be sufficient to cope with a potential further increase in neighborhood tensions.

In my interview partner's point of view, however, a segregated community calls for a change in environment that addresses the local residents' circumstances more appropriate (interviewee #3).

Before this controversy can be broken down, one should take a step back looking at all components that flow into this process. Thus, the connections between different social phenomena will become visible which are essential for explaining the construct of cities, segregation as well as respective countermeasures.

In the urban context, various factors such as economic performance, demography, politics and environmental aspects determine the organization of a city (Pacione, 2009:6), which, in turn, influences the cityscape as well as its inhabitants economically, socially and culturally (Pacione, 2009). Thus, neighborhoods start to transform themselves according to the residents' needs that may vary between the different societal groups: one is looking for great job opportunities (Watson, 2009) whereas others focus on leisure and the proximity to green spaces (Schmidt, 2018).

Such ideal decision-making process, however, is only feasible when one has endless financial assets available, expressed in one's ability to pay for goods (Hall & Barrett, 2011; Schmidt, 2018; Watson, 2009). This being, naturally, dependent on the people's socio-economic status, so basically their income, some people, for instance unemployed, may already be limited in their freedom of choice. Despite this aspect, moreover, personal factors can decide upon one's type of residency, such as lifestyle and ethnicity, as defined by Pacione (2009). Consequently, newcomers are confronted with pre-defined districts they can choose the one that suits their individual needs the most from. Thus, slowly but surely, people distribute themselves or are pushed off to areas that correspond with their individual circumstances, leading to the creation of residential cluster (Hall & Barrett, 2011; Pacione, 2009).

Appearing to be a rather natural, comprehensive process, determined by several external as well as internal factors, the question could be raised why to deal with the clustering of populations, in academic literature better known as residential segregation (see among others Da Piedade Morais, De Oliveira Cruz & Wagner de Albuquerque Oliveira, 2005; Glebe, 2002; Hall & Barrett, 2011; Nakagawa, 2015; Pacione, 2009).

2. Justification

Zimmer-Hegmann et al. (2003) and Siebel (2013) point out that it must be strictly differentiated between voluntary segregation – people choosing their residency freely and based on own preferences – and forced segregation – people having no other chance than to live in a specific neighborhood. Both authors consider the first option as unproblematic, arguing that this reflects people's self-determination.

On the contrary, the latter is widely discussed in academic literature (see among others Bolt, Phillips & Van Kempen, 2010; Lees, 2008; Lemanski, 2006; Phillips, 2010; Siebel, 2013; Zimmer-Hegmann et al., 2003), arguing that preventing segregation, or more explicitly the effects of segregation on society must be the goal. Although it is still highly controversial in how far these can be negative or positive (Bolt, Phillips and Van Kempen, 2010; Da Piedade Morais, De Oliveira Cruz and Wagner de Albuquerque Oliveira, 2005), academic literature agrees that problems arising from segregation within neighborhoods call for means that counteract segregation (Bolt, Phillips & Van Kempen, 2010; Florida, 2015; Lemanski, 2006; Van Kempen & Bolt, 2009). This is also supported by interviewee #4 who states:

This is the essential for our society: we are diverse, but we need to try to live together [...]. It is important that we learn from one another, with one another and, moreover, stick together.

Here, however, the on-going discussion debates on who carries the responsibility to create, develop and implement such means, disagreeing mainly on the role of central authorities and governments (Bolt, Phillips & Van Kempen, 2010; Epstein, 2017; Lees, 2008; Lemanski, 2006; Kleinhans, 2004; Phillips, 2010; Zimmer-Hegmann et al., 2003). As desegregation has become more and more popular in politics (Bolt, Phillips & Van Kempen, 2010), researchers such as Epstein (2017) claim that governmental interventions are an appropriate method for implementing counteractions against segregation, being delegated from the top down. In contrast, Van Kempen and Bolt (2009), for example, argue that governments fail to accomplish the process of going from goal formulation to the actual implementation as their measures do not fit the individual situations. Matching the individual needs, however, is essential for a successful implementation (deLeon & deLeon, 2002; Matland, 1995).

Mainly pointing out governments' failures in implementing policies successfully which leads to a gap between policy expectations and their actual outcomes (Bolt, Phillips & Van Kempen, 2010; Cairney, 2015), literature is occupied with criticizing their methods. Thereby, searching for other, more suitable solutions to counteract segregation is pushed into the background.

Consequently, in order to get to the heart of the discussion, the topic must be coiled up from a new perspective. Being aware that unique cases of segregation demand tailor-made solution approaches, this research paper argues that measures for desegregation must come from the bottom-up.

Thereby, the aim is to carefully develop individual strategies, created by local actors (Anderson, 2016; Cerna, 2013; deLeon & deLeon, 2002; Gridwood, 2013; Khadka & Vacik, 2012; Meslin, 2010), rather than applying standardized policies from the top. In order to provide scientific evidence supporting this argumentation, the following analysis uses a single case study, thus showing which approach – top-down or bottom-up – should be taken for the case of Baumheide, thereby referring to the ambiguity-conflict matrix, developed by Matland (1995). Further, it will be evaluated which means derive from the respective categorization and what factors determine their successful implementation.

2.1 Research question

Based on above-stated research gap, scientific as well as societal relevance this thesis attempts to provide deeper insights into the debate about segregation and, moreover, desegregation using single case study. Hereby, the paper is orientated along the following question:

In how far can a bottom-up approach, deriving from the Matland matrix (1995), contribute to the implementation of desegregation measures, evaluated by using the case of the neighborhood Baumheide, Bielefeld in Germany?

2.2 Objectives

Aiming at answering this research question to its fullest extent, it is divided into several objectives that will guide throughout this paper. Therefore, the different parts of the overall question are broken down into four objectives that logically follow one another as the first one will set the scenery by giving insight into the researched case. The second question, then, will take the application of the theoretical framework into account which will provide the base for the third objective. The last sub-question, subsequently, will point out the future prospects. Based on this logic of thinking the objectives can be formulated as follows:

1. How can the situation in Baumheide be characterized related to segregation and why is there a need for desegregation measures?
2. Applying the ambiguity-conflict matrix by Matland (1995), how should the case of Baumheide be approached in terms of desegregation?
3. Which goals derive from this categorization and what are the means to counteract segregation in this neighborhood?
4. In how far can, based on the analysis above, the future prospects for the chosen approach and its respective means be evaluated?

Before engaging in answering these questions, whereby the findings evolving from the conducted research will be elaborated, the following section will provide an insight into literature, thus exploring what has been done so far.

3. Literature review

As stated above, an overview about the different concepts playing a role for the thesis will be given. Thereby, academic literature is examined and the opinions of various authors compared and contrasted.

3.1 Urban geography

Having existed for about several thousand years (Pacione, 2009), the very nature of cities, their characteristics as well as their developments are still being examined today. Within these studies, belonging to the academic field of urban geography, two main approaches arise: (1) "The study of systems of cities" and (2) "the study of the city as system" (Pacione, 2009:18). Whereas the first approach deals with the distribution of settlements within space as well as their linkages with one another, the latter focuses on the internal structures present in one place. Consequently, this research follows the principles of the second approach which means that segregation is examined within the context of one city, especially focusing on neighborhood level.

Nevertheless it is crucial to point out some overall aspects of urban geography in order to put the topic into the proper setting. Hereby, in particular the emergence of urban changes should be taken into account as they influence the dynamics of a city. Nowadays, one factor evoking change is globalization which affects urban connectivity – both nationally and internationally – and as such determines its importance, for instance in regard to trade, resulting in either high or low economic performance (Pacione, 2009). How respective performance can shape a city is demonstrated by the argument of McCann and Acs (2011) who claim that stronger economies, and thus regions with increased amount of job opportunities attract a greater workforce, causing more people to move to a particular place. Besides economic forces, Pacione (2009:6) indicates various other factors that initiate urban change: These include "Demography" describing people's migration or "Politics" that either invite or repel certain groups of people. Moreover he refers to societal, cultural and environmental aspects, giving the example of "global warming [that] may require the construction of coastal defenses to protect cities" (Pacione, 2009:7) which, obviously, would force the city to adjust. Society and culture can be summarized to a certain extent as both describe the populations' structure in terms of values, norms, beliefs and also lifestyles.

Subsequently undergoing substantial transformations, several effects for a city's environment can arise: For instance these can influence the general system of the city or foster urbanization and suburbanization. Moreover, they can have an impact on the "socio-spatial construction" of a city (Pacione, 2009:11). Such construction, in turn, defines the distribution of population across one place leading to the agglomeration of specific societal groups in one region (Tissot & Poupeau, 2005; as cited by Najib, 2017). This process in which the residential separation of groups is naturally accompanied by both benefits and disadvantages – deriving from above-mentioned economic, political, social as well as cultural aspects – is known as segregation.

3.2 Segregation

Being widely researched upon throughout academic literature (Bolt, Phillips & Van Kempen, 2010; Bolt, Özüekren & Phillips, 2009; Da Piedade Morais, De Oliveira Cruz and Wagner de Albuquerque Oliveira, 2005; Florida, 2015; Hall and Barrett, 2011; Nakagawa, 2015; Pacione, 2009; Siebel, 2013), segregation remains a cutting-edge debate. According to Bolt, Özüekren and Phillips (2009:171) the term refers to a “neutral concept [describing] the unequal distribution of a population group over a particular area”. Clearly, this definition is value-free, distancing itself from either positive or negative connotations. This plays an important role as segregation can present itself as advantageous and disadvantageous – depending on the context of occurrence (Bolt, Özüekren & Phillips, 2009; Da Piedade Morais, De Oliveira Cruz and Wagner de Albuquerque Oliveira, 2005; Musterd, 2005). This argument will be explained in more detail in the further course of this research.

Before elaborating more on the possible effects of segregation on society, however, it will firstly be focused on its occurrence. According to Pacione (2009) segregation is in terms of urban geography particularly a phenomenon of postmodernism. He argues that, here, the population is not seen as a whole, but rather regarded as millions of individuals. Thus, their differences are recognized, accepted and, even more, are given meaning within the structural planning of a city. This intensified during the “cultural turn of the 1980s and 1990s” (Pacione, 2009:29) which led to the acknowledgment that culture unifies, but also divides certain groups of society. Consequently, the challenge for cities is to consider the needs of all its inhabitants whereby the immense social diversity of today’s globalized world hinders the fulfillment of this obligation.

Thus, on the one hand cities may not be able to satisfy the desires sufficiently, making the place unattractive for a specific group. Or, on the other hand neighborhoods and its facilities invite certain societal members to move to the area (Nakagawa, 2015; Pacione, 2009).

Whether or not a neighborhood is appealing, depends on the respective society. Therefore, Nakagawa (2015) claims that the dynamic of segregation is multi-layered and difficult to break down as it is further divided into several subgroups. These, backed up by several other authors, include for example age (Nakagawa, 2015), social status/ income or ethnicity (Da Piedade Morais, De Oliveira Cruz and Wagner de Albuquerque Oliveira, 2005; Florida, 2015; Hall and Barrett, 2011; Pacione, 2009; Sturm, 2007). Consistent with ethnicity, Sturm (2007) also adds that people segregate based on religion. In addition, Pacione (2009:375) differentiates even further and also includes “lifestyle, gender, sexuality [...] and able-bodiedness” to the list of possible segregation factors.

3.2.1 Residential segregation

By the definition given above one can think of several situations in which segregation can occur (Nakagawa, 2015). Academic literature implies for example separation in schools or at work (see Abdou & Gilbert, 2009; Amnesty International, 2017; Council of Europe, 2017; Hellerstein & Neumark, 2008; O'Nions, 2010; Reskin, 1993) and, as mentioned previously, segregation in neighborhoods, the so-called residential segregation (Da Piedade Morais, De Oliveira Cruz and Wagner de Albuquerque Oliveira, 2005; Glebe, 2002; Hall and Barrett, 2011; Pacione, 2009; Watson, 2009).

In order to describe residential segregation, academic literature refers to a “mosaic” (Hall & Barrett, 2011:260; Pacione, 2009:377). Thus dividing the city's space into cluster, several districts or neighborhoods are established. These are described by different characteristics such as size, shape and – most importantly for this research paper – the demographic structure. In line with the latter, Bolt, Özbekren and Phillips (2009:171) claim that this type of segregation shows itself in “the overrepresentation of a particular group in some parts of a city and the under-representation of the same group in other areas”.

This argument can be underlined by the following examples: According to Pacione (2009), one extreme residential pattern are slums or accumulations of mostly underprivileged people. Further, he also mentions areas with a high population share of elderly people who have a rather low income or where people of a certain able-bodiedness are overrepresented.

Despite these examples, the other extreme is possible as well where wealthy people with high social status cluster in specific areas which sometimes take the form of gated communities (Lemanski, 2006; Pacione, 2009). Here, well-examined cases present themselves in South Africa, where – in the case of gated communities – the white upper and middle class lives segregated from the rest of the population (Lemanski, 2006).

Speaking of residential segregation, it needs to be clarified what factors play a crucial role in choosing a place to live: In general, these include, for instance, the access to (public) transportation, the density of amenities such as grocery stores or cafes, the existence of green spaces and if the neighborhood is considered to be quiet (Schmidt, 2018). Moreover, security and safety play an important role when picking the right living area (Martin, 2016; Schmidt, 2018). According to Watson (2009) a neighborhood gets also more attractive through potential employment opportunities, the quality of schools as well as through its proximity to the city core or other cities.

Despite of these rather ‘soft’ factors that determine the residents’ choice of neighborhood, there exist further aspects that need to be taken into consideration. Hall and Barrett (2011) argue that housing strongly influences people. Hereby, especially the type of housing along with pricing can limit the residents in choosing their neighborhood freely as due to their socio-economic status not all people are able to afford the same housing as others might do (Hall and Barrett, 2011; Schmidt, 2018; Watson, 2009). In order to support those who would get priced out on the open housing market, the system can be divided into public and private institutions, offering different types of accommodations whereby, arguably, the private ones are those more expensive. Thus, districts – in which private housing in forms of, for instance, single-family houses are predominant – are established, most likely inhabiting wealthier people. On the contrary, deprived people rather live in areas defined by social housing (Bolt, Phillips and Van Kempen, 2010).

Consequently, housing, besides the above-mentioned “soft” factor, can bolster spatial segregation.

This argumentation clarifies how external “structural barriers” (Bolt, Phillips and Van Kempen, 2010:133) determine people’s residency as well as how these factors can already evoke segregation by limiting the chances of free choice for minority groups.

3.2.2 Forced segregation

This is known as forced segregation where outer circumstances drive people to live in certain neighborhoods (Siebel, 2013).

In terms of housing, involuntary segregation mostly occurs due to high property or rental costs in more popular districts which are not affordable for low-income groups (Hall & Barrett, 2011; Watson, 2009; Zimmer-Hegmann et al., 2003). Therefore, deprived people depend on social housing and those that are subsidized by the state. Even though these are offered at affordable prices for lower classes, they are not located in the supposing better neighborhoods, but rather dominate outlying and unpopular regions (Siebel, 2013). Thus, it is made sure that destitute members of society are kept away from flourishing, well-performing neighborhoods (Sellers, 1999).

This can affect ethnic minority groups as well, given the argumentation by Bolt, Özüekren and Phillips (2008) that especially these seem to move to rather poor areas. That is, however, not only to their limited assets, but is also due to “racist practices (direct and indirect) that occur in the allocation of social housing and in the private sector” (Phillips, 2010:222).

3.2.3 Self-segregation

Despite the evidence presented above that segregation is forced upon underprivileged people as well as migrants, it is further indicated in academic literature that specific groups of society tend to segregate themselves voluntarily based on their individual perception of a neighborhood (Permentier, Van Ham & Bolt, 2009). Here, it is mostly referred to those who are better off, namely those with higher incomes and therefore higher social status. In fact, when talking about disadvantaged minorities before, self-segregation rather appears to be a phenomenon of the majority group.

According to categorizations given by Pacione (2009) the perceptions of a neighborhood base on the socio-economic status and lifestyle which dominates the area. Following the first category, people are more “[willing] to pay for [...] goods (Watson, 2009:822) and therefore decide to live in areas in which costlier offers – apparently – guarantee a higher quality of life. This can be translated to the quality of education, housing or other amenities such as well-groomed green spaces (Schmidt, 2018; Watson, 2009).

Moreover, forming the second category, residents can choose their neighborhood based on lifestyle. Hereby, they look for the proper environment which meets their specific needs most satisfyingly. The search for “diverse and vibrant cultural opportunities” (Hall and Barrett, 2011:265) and the phenomenon of ‘gentrification’ lead people to move to poorer areas – mainly because of the low rents (Beitzer, 2015), starting to re-build it according to their individual way of living – thus turning communities from former

low-status to arguably better regions (Saunders, 2016) that are defined by new fancy restaurant, cafés and art galleries (Beitzer, 2015). Although throughout theory one can find assumptions that such process of gentrification encourages the residents to mix (poor with rich), there is lack of evidence in practice. Especially due to the main argument that the new attractiveness of the neighborhood causes an increase in property values, pricing out the poor residents (Beitzer, 2015; Lees, 2008).

Within the third category developed by Pacione (2009), it is stated that also ethnicity plays a crucial role in choosing one's residency. That is due to several benefits that can arise for people by living in a segregated community where most of the neighbors share the same cultural background: Siebel (2013) and Zimmer-Hegmann et al. (2003) argue that in such environments local and rather informal networks are established which support their members, for instance, in finding a job or in filling out bureaucratic paperwork. Thus, new migrants can rely on experience reports from those who had to go through the same procedures as getting in contact is facilitated by the network. In addition, the residents have access to familiar articles in grocery stores and language does not have to present a barrier for their daily life (Nakagawa, 2015). Consequently, living in a by ethnicity segregated neighborhood can simplify life for the residents.

This section showed that residents both native and foreign tend to choose their neighborhood based on homogeneity (Nakagawa, 2015), either on the socio-economic, lifestyle or ethnic level (Pacione, 2009). This argument is further supported by Van Kempen and Bolt (2009), indicating that sharing the same values and beliefs unites people and encourages social contacts. Moreover, segregated neighborhoods can function as a place of refuge from discrimination that especially minority groups face within society (Lees, 2008).

Due to above-mentioned factors – describing the process of forced as well as voluntary segregation – the emergence of agglomerations of a specific societal group within one area cannot be seen as surprising. However, while “white segregation” is hardly ever seen as a problem” (Phillips, 2006; as cited by Bolt, Özüekren & Phillips, 2009: 174), this does not account for the separation of minority groups. Although they, as stated previously, usually occupy rather poor neighborhoods, facing several disadvantages (see section 3.2.4), “poor and minority ethnic communities are [often still] blamed for their own exclusion” (Bolt, Phillips & Van Kempen, 2009:133). They are accused of wanting to stay within their own culture (Lees, 2008; Siebel, 2013; Sturm, 2007), refusing to integrate into the majority's culture (Zimmer-Hegmann et al., 2003). It can be argued that this might apply to some people. However, in most cases the factors that force people to segregate dominate strongly – at least on the neighborhood level – leaving them unable to choose their place of residence freely (see section 3.2.2). The following section will further examine more disadvantages for the neighborhood that derive from segregation and thus explain why this topic is so heavily debated upon.

3.2.4 Problems of segregation

In academic literature, it is mostly agreed that segregation affects neighborhoods negatively (Bolt, Phillips & Van Kempen, 2010; Da Piedade Morais, De Oliveira Cruz and Wagner de Albuquerque Oliveira, 2005; Florida, 2015; Sharkey, 2013; Zimmer-Hegmann et al., 2003).

Such disadvantages present themselves as two-sided: on the one hand they affect the residents of the area directly. On the other hand, also problems for the whole city the neighborhood forms part of can arise.

In general, the public opinion prevails that – by socio-economic and ethnic aspects – segregated neighborhoods that are defined by poverty are more unstable, insecure and are characterized by more violence (Bolt, Phillips & Van Kempen, 2010; Sharkey, 2013). Furthermore, relatively low education is provided either because of the quality of respective school or because less educational trainings are offered in comparison to neighborhoods of higher social status. Consequently, residents face less employment opportunities (Sharkey, 2013). Subsumable under infrastructure, Glebe (2002) argues that certain public services are unequally distributed within one city, going from the best facilities for the most popular neighborhood to the worst for the underprivileged districts.

This, again, is illustrated by the housing situation which segregated neighborhoods have to deal with. As indicated before, rather poor people cannot spend massively on housing, but need to take the options offered to them (Watson, 2009; Zimmer-Hegmann et al., 2003). However, a potential “decline in the availability of social housing” (Hall & Barrett, 2011:279) can present enormous challenges for the district and its residents. These could include for instance an increase in homeless people or the formation of neighborhoods where specific ethnicities are predominant (Da Piedade Morais, De Oliveira Cruz & Wagner de Albuquerque Oliveira, 2005; Florida, 2015; Watson, 2009). Once stuck in such an environment, Bolt, Phillips and Van Kempen (2010:129) claim that the “residents’ chance of escaping poverty” are of almost no existence and that people born and raised in segregated neighborhoods are most likely caught in a ‘vicious cycle’ (Florida, 2015; Zimmer-Hegmann et al., 2003). Bolt, Özüekren and Phillips (2009:342) further express this as “lack [in] positive role models” wherefore the younger generations might be exposed to “crime gangs, drugs, and other negative influences”.

Searching for orientation, people living in deprived neighborhoods might support the establishment of either above-mentioned informal network or – as a rather extreme case – an ‘ethnic elite’ (Zimmer-Hegmann et al., 2003) that puts itself in control of the neighborhood, imposing their comprehension of structure. Consequently, districts emerge which are – colloquially speaking – in the hands of foreigners, for instance of Turkish families (Suttlüty & Walter, 2005) or Arabic clans (Handelsblatt, 2015).

Thus, neighborhoods might develop their own identities based on the residents that could be totally different from the rest of city. That is because identity, according to Pacione (2009:375) is shaped by “social forces, individual personality and life experience.” If, therefore, one neighborhood is dominated by only one group of society, offering less diversity, the whole area’s population adopts to the identity – either due to social pressure (Zimmer-Hegmann et al., 2003) or the strive for social belonging (Pacione, 2009). This can result in an even more segregated community as the values and beliefs shared within the whole city might not match anymore.

The simple acceptance of a new identity could also be linked to the weak influence of politics within the segregated neighborhood. Due to the mostly miserable situation people find themselves in – for instance unemployed and financially restricted – people feel abandoned and neglected by their local government (Bünning, 2016; Zimmer-Hegmann et al., 2003) as their status does not change over time. It can be argued that their feeling is not even ungrounded as Zimmer-Hegmann et al. (2003) and Sellers (1999) clarify by indicating that governments and other authorities are less likely to care about those regions where their efforts are not being rewarded, for example by being re-elected. This might in particular apply for neighborhoods segregated by ethnicity in which a great part of the population is not entitled to vote due to their foreign nationality (Zimmer-Hegmann et al., 2003).

It should be noted that segregation does not automatically have to mean inequality or exclusion (Musterd, 2005). However, the high concentration of several disadvantages in one area creates the basis for conflicts, also intensifying its unattractiveness for people from the outside or other parts of the city.

This, in particular, has a strong impact on the neighborhood's reputation, resulting in prejudices and further isolation of its residents (Zimmer-Hegmann et al., 2003).

As intensively clarified above segregation can be associated with benefits – in particular when occurring voluntarily – but, first and foremost, can be responsible for disadvantageous situations people who live in segregated neighborhoods face daily. In order to consist of one stable society spread across its districts, a city should therefore aim to eradicate potential trouble spots emerging from segregation and think of ways how to counteract them. These could, for example, include an improvement in housing opportunity and quality, embellishment of the neighborhood or public offers for the residents like educational programs. In general, such measures can be subsumed under the term of desegregation which will be explained in more detail in the following section.

3.3 Desegregation

In general, this concept – as counteraction against segregation – can be defined as describing the “relations between different classes/ races/ ethnicities living in a shared physical space” (Lemanski, 2006:418). In order to build up such relations, the role of both the environment as well as atmosphere within a neighborhood is of great importance, having an “impact on community relations, neighborhood stability and the well-being of minority ethnic groups” (Spencer et al., 2006; as cited by Phillips, 2010:210). That is why measures of desegregation mostly focus on improving the area as such (Van Kempen & Bolt, 2009).

Hereby, Zimmer-Hegmann et al. (2003:11) point out that strategies should not fight the emergence of segregation – as this might present a thankless task. Much more, they should rather be oriented towards minimizing the negative effects on the isolated groups. Thus, desegregation measures are created that address issues regarding stability with the purpose to settle inter-ethnic conflicts, infrastructure as well as the establishment of formal networks in terms of public services (Florida, 2015; Zimmer-Hegmann et al., 2003).

3.3.1 Social mixing

As can be seen from this brief overview, desegregation unites several strategies – one of these being the so-called social mixing. Hereby it is argued that the above-mentioned issues can be dealt with by encouraging the settling of different societal groups within one region (Lemanski, 2006). Aiming for diversity, these groups should preferably include people of various ethnicities, of different socio-economic status but also of age or gender (see Da Piedade Morais, De Oliveira Cruz and Wagner de Albuquerque Oliveira, 2005; Florida, 2015; Hall and Barrett, 2011; Nakagawa, 2015; Pacione, 2009; Sturm, 2007). Thus, the exclusion of one particular group due to its specific characteristics would be avoided, providing all residents with the same outer circumstances.

Generally spoken, social mixing is, consequently, supposed to turn the yet segregated neighborhoods that entail negative effects into beneficial areas for all residents. Thereby, it is aimed to establish “outcomes, like social cohesion, social mobility opportunities, more social capital, better services, [and] less crime” (Van Kempen & Bolt, 2009:460). This development would enable the neighborhood to take care of itself by re-building its reputation and, thus, attracting more and more people who, in turn, would be more willing to invest in the region.

In order to make the benefits of social mixing more comprehensive, Schoon (2001; as cited by Lees, 2008:2451) suggests three arguments which justify the use of the counteraction against segregation. Firstly, he indicates that socially mixed neighborhoods benefit from strong public maintenance as the present middle class can be defined as demanding, asking for improvement, for instance, by the establishment of new schools. Secondly, this is further supported by a higher availability of assets, encouraging money to flow in the local economy. Thirdly, social mixing is believed to foster networks and intergroup contact. Engaging with people outside the own societal group might not only eradicate prejudices and establishes trust (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Schlueter et al., 2015; Wagner, Hewstone & Machlelt, 1989), but might also entail opportunities in regard to employment or education which, before making contact, were left unattended by the one group of society – maybe because they were not even informed about other options (Van Kempen & Bolt, 2009).

However, implementing a social mix is not without challenges. On the one hand it is often left unclear how society within one neighborhood would be perfectly composed in order for the benefits to arise from the mix (Lees, 2008; Van Kempen & Bolt, 2009). On the other hand the success of social mix is questionable most of the time (Bolt, Phillips & Van Kempen, 2010; Kleinhans, 2004; Lees, 2008; Van Kempen & Bolt, 2009; Zimmer-Hegmann et al., 2003).

Before one will further elaborate on the criticism concerning desegregation and especially social mixing, it will be given a short summary about how the government could interfere in this process.

3.3.2 Governmental intervention

Due to the still on-going debate about segregation, most local governments put desegregation on their agenda (Bolt, Phillips & Van Kempen, 2010) while “play[ing] a crucial and active role in the socio-economic and urban changes” (Hamnett, 1998; Marcuse & Van Kempen, 2002; as cited by Arbaci, 2007:407). According to Epstein (2017) policies present a suitable tool for establishing desegregation measures as they, for example, can be able to control the housing market by offering affordable housing through social aid (Epstein, 2017; Phillips, 2010). Moreover, in terms of housing, governments obtain the power to control the “housing providers and the promotion of social mixing” (Phillips, 2010:215) which in fact means that landlords are encouraged to regard all housing applicants equally (Bolt, Özüekren & Phillips, 2009). Accepting different kinds of people within one house, diversity is fostered which leads to “socially and ethnically mixed neighborhoods” (Arbaci, 2007:425) in the long run.

Other potentials for interference address the embellishment of neighborhoods by implementing free and public elements – such as green spaces in order to make the area more attractive – or the extension of public transports (Sellers, 1999). However, as well-grounded as these measures might seem – their realization is often difficult due to the culturally diverse population (Bolt, Özüekren & Phillips, 2009). Another critique is that even though governmental interventions are supposed to “promote ethnic desegregation, common values, stability and national unity” (Phillips, 2010:209) such policies are only directed into one direction, neglecting a two-way communication. Thus, as stated by Phillips (2010) as well as the Commission of the European Communities (2007), measures are mostly pointing at the segregated communities, asking them to adopt or change according to the majority. However, one might argue that it would also be the task of “the host population” to accept the diversity and acknowledge the benefits of having a multicultural society (Commission of the European Communities, 2007:8).

3.3.3 Criticism

Despite the above stated criticism on measures of desegregation and especially on social mixing, there are also other points that lead to the current discussion. In academic literature is argued that the dynamics of society as well as the process of decision-making regarding one’s residency are simply too complex, causing abstract measures to fail the needs of the individuals (Lees, 2008).

Further, self-segregation – as described above – might present advantageous situations for the residents who, consequently, show no interest in mixing with other groups. From this perspective, the implementation of desegregation policies can be seen as disruptive for the initial atmosphere of the neighborhood (Bolt, Phillips & Van Kempen, 2010).

In terms of housing, critics such as Bolt, Phillips and Van Kempen (2010) or Lemanski (2006) claim that even if one housing complex would consist of a variety of people this would not result in getting in contact with one another. That is similar to the argument both Kleinhans (2004) and Zimmer-Hegmann et al. (2003) give, stating that residential proximity does not guarantee intergroup relations and communication. That is because inhabiting the same area does not eradicate other differences concerning other parts of life, meaning that values, beliefs and lifestyle continue to vary.

This error in reasoning can be seen by looking at the method of gentrification which on first sight seems appropriate: the neighborhood becomes popular, attracting people with higher incomes and other lifestyles in order to further improve the region. However, the downside shows fast as little exchange emerges between old residents and newcomers and, moreover, the run on the neighborhood increases the housing prices, chasing away the low-income residents (Lees, 2008).

Another criticism is directed at the scope of desegregation and whether it is sufficient to encourage mixing on neighborhood level, city or even province level (Phillips, 2010; Van Kempen & Bolt, 2009). It can be also further transferred onto other areas of life – meaning that not only residential segregation can be problematic, but also segregation in schools or at work (Nakagawa, 2015) should maybe be targeted by desegregation measures. That is due to at least two reasons: on the one hand the construct ‘neighborhood’ might become more and more irrelevant for some people as a result of their increasing mobility as well as “national and transnational connections” (Phillips, 2010:221; see Kaplan & Holloway, 2001; Kennett & Forrest, 2006). Hence, it can be argued that although people find themselves socially mixed within their neighborhood, the impact is limited as other parts of life remain untouched from those measures, thus staying segregated (Lemanski, 2006; Van Kempen & Bolt, 2009). On the other hand, this scenario is also possible the other way around. Here, Phillips (2010) claims that people might experience segregation in their residential area, but surround themselves with a diversity of people at places like work or educational institutions, thus, minimizing the negative effects.

The arguments stated above rather deal with the necessity of desegregation as such. Despite these, it is further criticized that it nevertheless continues to be a popular topic within politics (Bolt, Phillips & Van Kempen, 2010; Lees, 2008; Van Kempen & Bolt, 2009). Critics accuse policies of being unable “to translate the goal of improving [...] into concrete measure” (Van Kempen & Bolt, 2009:471), discovering a huge gap between what is promised and what is then finally achieved (Bolt, Phillips & Van Kempen, 2010). Lees (2008) additionally questions the entire effectiveness of political desegregation measures due to lack of evidence in practice.

This summary of criticism prevailing in the debate about segregation as well as the measures of desegregation shows how the topic is surrounded by controversy. Further, it provides insight in how challenging the implementation process for, amongst others, a social mixing strategy might be. Zimmer-Hegmann et al. (2003) get to the heart of it, highlighting the dilemma society faces nowadays: Neighborhoods expect all residents to form a similar identity and share their values and beliefs in order to not live isolated from one another. Moreover, especially people of different cultural backgrounds are asked to adopt to the majority’s identity, striving for integration. However, thereby, diversity should still be maintained as a mixed society is believed to “increase [...] social capital” (Bolt, Phillips & Van Kempen, 2010:130).

3.4 Bottom-up approach

In this research paper it is therefore argued that top-down policies are not effective enough to on the one hand tackle the problems of segregation sufficiently and on the other hand to meet above-mentioned dilemma accordingly. That is reflected upon by Cairney (2015) who claims that in the process of policy implementation a huge gap exists between expectations of policymakers and the actual outcome, doubting that decisions made on political level are simply applicable to every situation. According to Bermann (1978; as cited by Matland, 1995:146) this could be due to the fact that one needs to differentiate between a “macro-implementation” and “micro-implementation” level. While the first points from governmental decisions to the locals who are supposed to follow the instructions provided from above, the latter shifts the hierarchy, enabling local organizations to act more freely on the policies. This could, for instance, lead to a transformation of the program, making it a better fit to the local conditions (Matland, 1995; Meslin, 2010). This granted flexibility on micro-level can give a deeper comprehension of what policies are needed and might clarify how a specific topic should be approached. Matland (1995:146) goes a step further, arguing that “policy really is made at the local level”. This perspective is widely shared throughout academic literature (Anderson, 2016; Cerna, 2013; deLeon & deLeon, 2002; Gridwood, 2013; Meslin, 2010) and started to generally evolve in the 1950s (Laswell, 1956; as cited by deLeon & deLeon, 2002). Although various theoretical frameworks – for instance “principal-agent, rational choice, and game theories” (O’Toole, 2000; as cited by deLeon & deLeon, 2002:468) – have emerged, the opinion prevails that policies can only be implemented successfully if they are accepted on local level (Matland, 1995), predetermined to fail if otherwise (Isidiho & Sabran, 2016; Palumbo, Maynard & Wright, 1984; as cited by Matland, 1995). Consequently, Meslin (2010:209) pleads for the necessity to “begin [the development of a strategy] with those who are most affected by the problem”.

This procedure is best described by the bottom-up approach. Striving to include all people involved on the local level (Anderson, 2016), meaning official representatives, academics but also so the public, this approach enables especially the latter to participate (deLeon & deLeon, 2002; Khadka & Vacik, 2012). Thereby, they are encouraged to state their “needs, motivations and opinions” (Roche, 2017:146). Due to consulting with society as well as their representatives in forms of local organizations, as claimed by deLeon and deLeon (2002), policies are believed to be implemented successfully more often, facing less resistance to change. Potential actors that should be included in this process are “those bodies representing collective interests” (Isidiho & Sabran, 2016:270), such as above mentioned organizations but also community centers, local consultancies or migrant societies.

Consequently, the primary goal of the bottom-up approach which basically only emerged in the 1970s is to “address more carefully the kinds of democratic processes that are called forth by varying specific conditions” (deLeon & deLeon, 2002:468). Thus, the previous gap between expectations and outcome is supposed to be closed.

Involving more societal groups than on the macro-level – for which a top-down approach is found to be more suitable (Anderson, 2016; Cerna, 2013; deLeon & deLeon, 2002; Gridwood, 2013; Matland, 1995), a bottom-up approach lives of its innovative and solution-oriented focus (Anderson, 2016) as well as its flexibility (Matland, 1995). These characteristics derive from its method that takes “empirical data, lived experiences, personal accounts, and circumstances as the starting point” into account (Meslin, 2010:207). Isidiho and Sabran (2016) further argue that locals should be involved at every stage of policy making, thus, having a say in the development phase, implementation phase and also after in the evaluation process.

Existing mostly in direct competition with the top-down approach – although some literature suggests a mix of both for policy implementation (deLeon & deLeon, 2002) – however, the community-based framework is not free from criticism. On the one hand it is argued by Anderson (2016) that going through the process of engaging everyone can be quite time-consuming and is further heavily dependent on the motivation of the locals to give support. On the other hand, it is crucial to be aware of the division between macro-level and micro-level as decisions concerning the first one – for instance policies dealing with “national security” (deLeon & deLeon, 2002:470) – demand for a more sophisticated top-down approach (Berman, 1978; as cited by Matland, 1995; Cerna, 2013; deLeon & deLeon, 2002). That is mainly due to the lack of authority which is attributed to the bottom-up approach (Gridwood, 2013). As stated by Matland (1995) as well as deLeon and deLeon (2002) it must be noted that local organizations and other public actors do not obtain the same democratic status as politicians who were elected by the public for the exact reason to make policies for them. Thus, by shifting the power to civil society this process is more confusing about who could be hold accountable for failures, for instance.

Nevertheless, despite this criticism, some situations call for rather flexible and innovative procedures for which implemented strategies need to be tailor-made as there is not “one shoe [that] fit[s] all situations” (deLeon & deLeon, 2002:471). According to Isidiho and Sabran (2016:270) the bottom-up approach is especially then needed when the local community requires change and demands “to negotiate with power holders [...] [in order to start] programmes they felt would be of great benefit to the communities and enhance their wellbeing”.

Based on the line of argumentation displayed above, the bottom-up approach as applied in this research paper can be defined as a strategy to address certain issues and problems from the perspective of those who are affected directly from both the problem and the developed solution. Thus, means are created by people on local level for people on local level. Thereby, the situation takes place in a political context – due to the issues’ nature, no matter the degree of an actual political institution being involved. For the case of Baumheide, it can be said that segregation and its negative effects on the residents experiences political attention. However, as will become clearer in the next section, the interference of the government – which is highly criticized (see section 3.3.3) – is not the most suitable way to approach means for desegregation in the chosen case as this would require a top-down approach, rather than a bottom-up which is the focus of this thesis.

3.4.1 Matland's ambiguity-conflict-model

A method on how to find the most appropriate way to deal with single situations –as they can vary from case to case – derives from the theory of Matland's ambiguity and conflict model from 1995. For this model, he compared and contrasted various approaches for implementation from other researchers, aiming to subsume them all in one in order to create "analytical tool for identifying [...] [what] best describes the implementation process" (Matland, 1995:156). He claims that, hereby, the process can be operated and controlled from either the top or the bottom. However, every individual situation demands its own procedure.

Thus, following the idea of Matland (1995), choosing either a bottom-up or top-down approach is determined by both the level of ambiguity as well as the potential for conflict – as can be seen from his matrix in the following:

		CONFLICT	
		Low	High
AMBIGUITY	Low	<i>Administrative Implementation</i> Resources Example: Smallpox eradication	<i>Political Implementation</i> Power Example: Busing
	High	<i>Experimental Implementation</i> Contextual Conditions Example: Headstart	<i>Symbolic Implementation</i> Coalition Strength Example: Community action agencies

Figure 2.4.1: Ambiguity-conflict matrix as developed by Matland (1995:160)

In this model, the choice of approach depends on how conflictual the situation is. High conflict emerges when "when more than one organization sees a policy as directly relevant to its interests" (Matland, 1995:156) and, therefore, adjust their behavior in relation to their self-interests. Consequently, the different actors might already struggle to formulate one mutual goal, not even bothering to decide on common means to implement the policies. Thus, the more incompatible the individual ambitions of the parties involved are, the higher the conflict level. This would call for a process of "bargaining and coercion" (Matland, 1995:157) between the actors in order to find common ground. Moreover, suitable rewards must be found that motivate the actor to participate. Nevertheless, although it is favored to work towards a common goal by all parties, in the end "some policies are inevitably controversial and it is not possible to adjust them to avoid conflicts" (Matland, 1995:157).

In Matland's opinion, however, even conflictual situations offer grounds for successful policy implementations. He suggests that – in order to minimize the conflict potential to the lowest point possible – the level of policy ambiguity (second component of matrix) plays a role.

Stating that “the clearer goals [...] the more likely they are to lead to conflict” (1995:158), he implies that as people become aware of what it would cost them to pursue the goals, they back off. Thus, leaving room for interpretation by ambiguous formulations they can develop their own ways of approaching a situation. Consequently, it is earlier agreed on common goals. Ambiguity, however, does not only refer to the formulation of goals, but also to the determination of specific means, necessary for the implementation of policies. Matland (1995:158) claims that an ambiguous mean is especially advantageous when “the technology [...] does not exist” yet. And therefore, the correct way of dealing with a situation has not yet been discovered. Furthermore, he adds that ambiguity supports organizations in finding their roles in the process as well as it allows them to experiment with different measures in order to find the most suitable approach.

Consequently, this stage can be described as learning process, “provid[ing] an opportunity to learn new methods” (Offerdal, 1984; as cited by Matland, 1995:158). Based on his model, he assumes that a high level of ambiguity is mostly desired on public policy levels where the progress is constantly evaluated in order to go from experimenting to implementing well-proven policies (Matland, 1995).

Here, it already becomes visible that a high ambiguity level supports strategies that come from the bottom-up as it allows local actors to participate actively, giving them the opportunity to find the most appropriate way to implement an overall common goal in their community by creating their own, individual means that fit their case best. Thus, the central authority – in close cooperation with local organizations – makes sure that, applied to the context of cities and the topic dealt with in this research, segregation is counteracted within the whole city while granting the different neighborhoods the necessary freedom to find the most suitable means in order to do so. On the contrary, a low level of ambiguity would suggest that the city's government imposes both goals and means that have to be implemented equally in every district, paying no explicit attention to their specific circumstances. This would, in order to stay within this paper's argumentation, present a top-down approach where strategies are delegated from the top to the down, expecting the local actors to simply adopt the created means rather than developing them on their own.

In the following, a brief overview about the four possible connections between level of ambiguity and conflict will be given. These will enable the categorization of the case researched here as the aim is to evaluate if segregation should rather be addressed from the top or the bottom.

Low Ambiguity – Low Conflict

Being called “programmed decisions” (Simon, 1960; as cited by Matland, 1995:160), this situation occurs when both goals as well as means are fixed and is delegated from central authorities to the local level. Here, every actor is accurately informed about their tasks, leaving no uncertainties or flexibility. As “outcomes are determined by resources” (Matland, 1995:160), the success of policies with low ambiguity and low conflict level depends heavily on what is invested on high political level.

Presenting a rather strict top-down approach, reluctant towards outer circumstances, challenges might be miscommunication, shortage in resources available to follow the set of means or an erroneous controlling process (Matland, 1995).

Low Ambiguity – High Conflict

This situation calls for a top-down strategy as well. Although being fixed, “dissension occurs because these clearly defined goals [and means] are incompatible” (Matland, 1995:163), consequently leading to conflicts. The conflict, for example, could express itself as follows: specific resources are needed for the implementation process that are inaccessible for the approving actors, being held back by the opposing party.

Whereby Matland suggests for his model to increase the level of ambiguity so that the potential for conflicts shrinks, this case uses another method: power. Taking advantage of one’s power over the other one, decisions are made forcefully. On local level this would translate to the central authorities urging the local parties to follow their instructions whereas the latter actually rejects the goals or means. Consuming a lot of time, this approach should rather be avoided (Matland, 1995).

High Ambiguity – Low Conflict

On the contrary, this approach is determined by a low conflict level, but a high level of ambiguity and is therefore referred to as “experimental implementation” (Matland, 1995:165). Here, the focus shifts from having a central authority on top to involving more actors on the local level, giving them greater say in the implementation phase. Thus, it is guaranteed that decisions are based on the needs of those who will be directly affected by the policies. As can be seen, this corner of the matrix aligns with the principles of the bottom-up approach, being depended on participation. Consequently, the success will be influenced by who is involved and how strongly. Their engagement, of course, varies in terms of topic, their expertise and their spatial closeness to where the policies should be implemented. These circumstances make the usage of standardized means unfeasible – in contrast to both approaches mentioned above – characterizing it as a situation in which goals are agreed on at all levels, however, the actors are free to choose their own means. Matland (1995:167) claims that this approach is especially needed when “policies operate in areas where there is insufficient knowledge to institute programmed implementation or of how elements in the policy environment are causally connected”. He further states, that in particular flexibility must be granted to the parties in order to succeed in the implementation process.

Therefore, it can be argued that there are no general solutions as outcomes differ from time to time, from case to case. Following its 'experimental' character, the conditions for using this approach are: "problematic preferences (ambiguous goals); uncertain technology (no predefined correct behaviour); and fluid participation (actors vary over time)" (Cohen, March & Olsen, 1972; March and Olsen, 1976, 1986; as cited by Matland, 1995:166).

High Ambiguity – High Conflict

Within these situations, one looks especially at "policies aimed at redistributing power or goods" (Matland, 1995:169) where neither a top-down nor a bottom-up strategy appear to be suitable. Policies with both high ambiguity and conflict mainly follow the purpose to (re-)agree on goals – new or old – or change the perspectives. Thereby, although both indicators slow down the process immensely, the parties involved attempt to take advantage of the situation. According to Matland (1995:168) "the high level of conflict is important, because it structures the way resolutions are developed. The high level of ambiguity results in outcomes that vary across sites". Thus, the actors obtain a specific role within this construct, aiming to build up alliances on local level in order to minimize at least one of the model's components.

In this section, an overview about the important literature was given, introducing all concepts and ideas about (residential) segregation, its effects as well as its counteractions in terms of desegregation. Moreover, political interventions were highlighted, but simultaneously concluded that they are not sufficient. Therefore, the theory of bottom-up approaches were stated, focusing on the ambiguity-conflict matrix by (Matland, 1995) which supports the determination of which approach to choose in which situation. Having elaborated on respective model that will be used as structure for the analysis, subsequently, the methodology of this research paper will be explained.

4. Methodology

While the first part of this research paper sets the base for the further discussion, this section deals with the methodological approach, describing the development process of this thesis, the chosen method as well as the procedure of primary data collection.

During the first stages of research, that is the reading of papers for some time, the overall topic for my thesis became clear to me relatively early – desegregation it is. Thus, over the following weeks, I started to concentrate on specific keywords that came up in the papers of the most important researchers in this field, for instance Bolt, Van Kempen or Phillips. For the German speaking area, my search for buzzwords took me to papers by Zimmer-Hegmann et al., Glebe as well as Siebel. This reading period ended with an extensive collection of secondary data which was clustered over and over again until a clear structure could be developed. The latter is reflected in the literature review given above that contains all necessary information as well as it shows my line of thought – which topic is influenced by what term, how do they relate and what I concluded from that.

However, this paper is supposed to mirror my abilities to work scientifically and, especially, empirical. Therefore, basing the whole argumentation on secondary data was not an option.

4.1 Case Study

But how could abstract concepts such as segregation, desegregation and further the bottom-up approach be studied from a qualitative point of view? Going through the various options offered by Creswell (2013), the decision was made quickly: the best way to break down these concepts would be by giving them a context, setting them in a real-life scenery (Yin, 2009). This research argues that desegregation measures must come from the bottom-up as each segregated community or neighborhood presents a unique case in terms of reasons for segregation as well as the effects – positive as well as negative. Subsequently, means to counteract segregation must be tailored to the individual situation, not looking for standardized implementation process, but rather carefully chosen measures offered by local organizations that are as close to the segregated groups of society as possible. Thus, searching a supportive methodology to approach this line of argument, the theoretical framework of case studies was chosen which generate “in-depth understanding” in order to “explore an issue or problem using the case as a specific illustration” (Creswell, 2013:72).

In general, one can use this approach for either broad or narrow cases, depending on the problem that is being researched. Based on the argumentation given above and due to the delicacy of this topic, I decided to select a rather narrow case for this research: the neighborhood of Baumheide, forming part of the district Heepen which belongs to the city of Bielefeld, Germany. This limited size is accepted by Creswell (2013:73) who argue that smaller cases are mostly conducted on community levels or if topics deal with “a decision process, or a specific project”.

According to the categorizations of case studies by Yin (2009), Baumheide presents a holistic single case study, focusing only on this one particular situation – neglecting its further tangency with other cases or units. Furthermore, the research was applied ‘instrumentally’ because – as stated earlier in this section – the topic of this research was chosen firstly, picking “one bounded case to illustrate this issue” afterwards (Creswell, 2013:74; see also Stake, 1995). Having had in mind that this theoretical framework can be challenging, for instance, in terms of choosing the right case, the proper scope as well as the case’s location (Creswell, 2013), it was made sure to clarify the boundaries of the within this paper researched case from the beginning.

Baumheide presents itself as a suitable case to me. That is first and foremost due its long-time and well-known problems with segregation, inhabiting mostly underprivileged people – both in terms of ethnicity and socio-economic status. In addition, this case was selected as potential role model for other German cities due to its size, complexity and thus, arguably, representativeness. An exact description of the case will follow in the next section. Last but not least, the location can be seen as another reason for choosing this particular case. On the one hand, thus, no language barriers emerged between my interview partners and me, preventing misunderstandings. On the other hand, the proximity of Bielefeld encouraged me to go there more often in order to gain various impressions.

4.2 Interviews

Aiming to provide insights into above-stated case, I needed to find a suitable method of data collection. According to Saunders et al. (2009) there are many different approaches to access primary data, their level of fit depending on the nature of research. This is also found by Creswell (2013:73) who suggests to use tactics that enable “detailed [and] in-depth data collection” when dealing with case studies.

Amongst others, information can be gained from observations, papers or video materials such as documentaries. Additionally, he points out that interviews present an appropriate way of collecting primary data. This corresponds to my demand to question people who are preferably directly and deeply connected with the neighborhood – in order to obtain reliable data. Therefore, in line with the arguments given by Saunders et al. (2009) and due to the complexity of this topic, I decided to conduct expert interviews. Hereby, it is strived to obtain high quality data rather than huge quantities, in contrast to surveys, for instance. Trying to ensure this quality, I created several preconditions for the choice of interview partner that needed to be fulfilled before getting in contact with them: (a) In their position, they work closely together with or in the neighborhood and, thus, (b) engage with the residents of Baumheide daily which allows them (c) to make well-grounded statements about segregation as well as its effects on the residents.

Based on these characteristics, the website of Bielefeld (www.bielefeld.de) and the citizen leaflet (online version) of Heepen were consulted whereby especially the latter proved itself useful. That is because it contains lists of important actors in Baumheide such as members of the neighborhood council, different associations and local organizations, while concurrently providing the contact details. After evaluating the potential of those listed in the leaflet to contribute to my research, a list of 17 possible interview partners were created. Whereas some of them were contacted by e-mail, others were tried to reach via telephone. Both methods ended in a tedious process which, finally, resulted in positive responses from four women, eager to support this work:

- Interviewee #1: member of city council (representing the Green party) and special education teacher at a school in Baumheide
- Interviewee #2: head of the community center in Baumheide
- Interviewee #3: psychologist at the life and social consultation in Baumheide
- Interviewee #4: neighborhood coordinator of Baumheide

When scheduling the interviews, deciding where to meet, I wanted the interviews to happen in a professional, but friendly atmosphere, being aware of the “power asymmetry” (Creswell, 2013:115) that might adulterate the course and outcomes of the interviews otherwise. Thus, the first interview was conducted in a café in the inner city of Bielefeld, following the wish of interviewee #1 to meet there. Regarding the other three interviews, I was able to meet the women in their offices which – surprisingly – are all located at the same place, in the community center of Baumheide.

In total, three days were spent on conducting the interviews while between the first and the second interview only one day passed and then two weeks between the second and third as well as fourth meeting. This created the opportunity to rethink the interview guide used for the first two interviews in more detail. Thus, the questions asked changed throughout the process. This is on the one hand due to the information gained from the first interviews which functioned as a base for the following meetings which, in turn, were used to receive either confirming or contrasting statements. On the other hand, the questions differed in relation to the positions obtained by the interviewees as, for instance, the psychologist can provide much deeper insights into the life of the residents while the head of the community center had a lot more knowledge about segregation and, moreover, means of desegregation. Thus, in total, 89 questions were asked.

As these interviews were held in German, which is the mother-tongue of all my interview partners as well as myself, not the whole transcripts have been translated. However, every statement given by them that is used as quotes in this research were translated by me to the best of my knowledge and conscience. Moreover, the analysis of interviews was carried out manually, meaning that no software such as Atlas.ti was used. This allowed a more flexible approach, enabling me to go through the data quicker and more comparative – as I quite literally could put the interviewees next to each other on the floor, making the process more visual.

The coding is oriented along the objectives given in the first section of this paper. Thus, for instance, indications about the problems of Baumheide in terms of segregation were highlighted in the same color while the means implemented by the interview partners were given another recognition feature. Thereby, the approach of “pattern matching” (Amaratunga et al., 2002:27) was applied. Following the logic developed by Yin (1994; as cited by Amaratunga et al., 2002), it describes going through the interviews in order to check for similar, but also contrasting indications which can be matched to one topic – or in this case to one of the objectives. Building upon this cluster, the argumentation emerges quite naturally.

Respective transcripts of the interviews, containing the coding, are made available in the primary data folder as including all the pages within this paper would immensely go beyond the scope of this thesis.

In order to provide a well-grounded analysis, I followed the suggestion by Creswell (2013) to not only rely on one source of information, but decided to make some own observations as well. Thus, I was able to countercheck the information gained from the interviews and therefore, to verify their statements.

Based on this procedure of analysis, the findings will be discussed in the following course of this thesis, starting with portraying the case of Baumheide more thoroughly.

5. Discussion of findings

Orientating along the structure imposed on this thesis as stated above, this section will concentrate on discussing what has been found out, thus forming the main section of this research paper.

5.1 Description of case

Belonging to Germany's 20 biggest cities, Bielefeld inhabits a population of approximately 330,000, having a surface of 258 square kilometers. Founded in 1214, the city is located in the West, namely in North Rhine-Westphalia. More specifically it forms part of the well-known business location East-Westphalia which is described as pulsating area for the industrial sector (Bielefeld Marketing GmbH, 2018).

Offering various opportunities, however, not everyone living there can make use of the region's benefits. This will be further explained in the following section.

5.1.1 Residential structure of Baumheide

The city Bielefeld is divided into ten different districts, visible in the following map which, besides the names of the districts, also states the number of inhabitants:

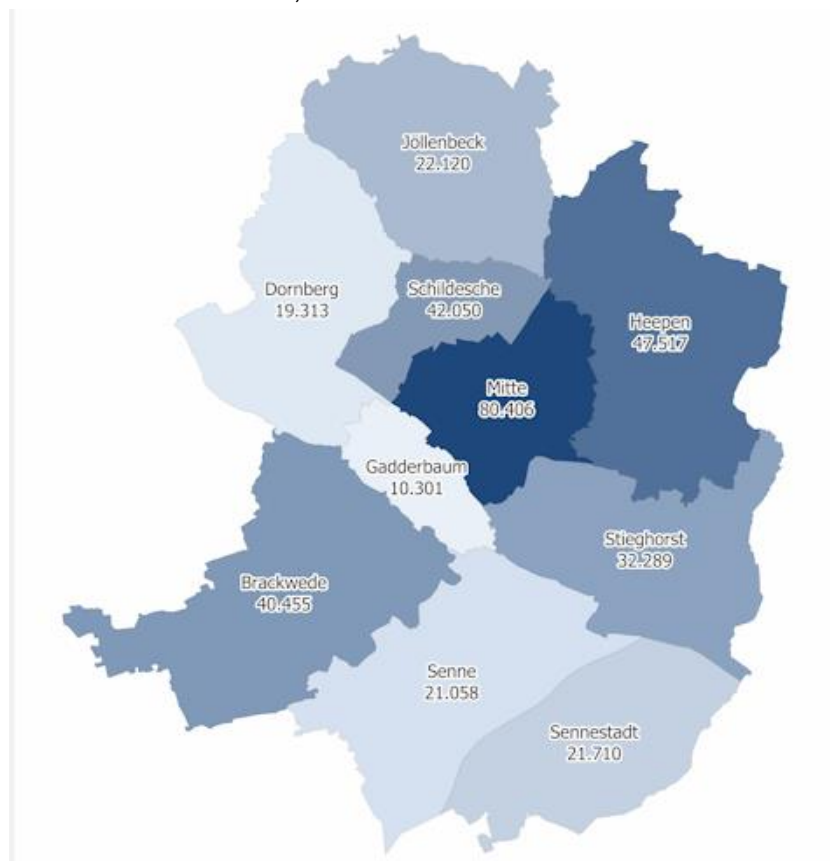


Figure 4.2: Map of Bielefeld, including number of residents (Source: Presseamt Stadt Bielefeld, 2018)

One can recognize that "Heepen" presents one of the most populated districts, given the total number of 47,517 inhabitants (Stadt Bielefeld, 2017). These live in various neighborhoods, Heepen is further split into, for instance Brake, Milse, Oldentrup or Baumheide.

Serving as case for this research, the latter shows on the one hand a typical residential structure in terms of segregation (Stadt Bielefeld, 2016a) and is on the other hand known as problematic area within the city (interviewee #1; interviewee #2; interviewee #3, interviewee #4; Wohlan, 2016). The residential structure of Baumheide will be further evaluated based on socio-economic and ethnic factors as these two are the ones often associated with segregation (Da Piedade Morais, De Oliveira Cruz and Wagner de Albuquerque Oliveira, 2005; Florida, 2015; Hall and Barrett, 2011; Pacione, 2009; Sturm, 2007) and the most pressing ones for Baumheide (interviewee #1; interviewee #2; interviewee #3; interviewee #4).

Generally, it can be said that Baumheide covers a surface of 4,345 square kilometres, giving home to 7,743 inhabitants who can clearly be defined by their distinct characteristics that distinguishes them from other parts of the city (Ellermann, 2017).

5.1.2 Ethnic segregation

Based on the numbers obtained at the end of 2015, Baumheide's share of residents with foreign cultural background amounts to 69.1%, thus being over-proportional high in comparison to the averages of Heepen (44.6%) and Bielefeld in total (35.9%) (Ellermann, 2017). Consisting of approximately "40 to 50 nationalities" (interviewee #2) the most dominant groups of migrants are Russians and Kurdish people (interviewee #1; interviewee #2; interviewee #3; interviewee #4). Furthermore, one can also find residents from the "Iraq, Turkey and nowadays Syria" (interviewee #1), whereby especially the latter represent refugees (interviewee #1; interviewee #3; interviewee #4). It should moreover be noted that a share of 89.4% of the foreign residents is under the age of 18 (Ellermann, 2017).

That such dense agglomeration of people with different ethnicities is clear evidence of segregation can be substantiated by looking at numbers of another neighborhood in Bielefeld: One of its wealthier districts is "Gadderbaum" which inhabits 'only' 10.9% migrants whereby, here, 39.1% are under 18 years old (Stadt Bielefeld, 2016b).

It can be argued that these are no static numbers, but affected by movements from foreign people coming to Baumheide whereas the German population prefers to leave this neighborhood as soon as other options emerge (Ellermann, 2017; interviewee #1; interviewee #3).

All four interviewees agreed that the concentration of different ethnicities on such tight space leads to tensions and a high frequency of conflicts as, apparently, especially Russian and Kurdish people are not getting along (interviewee #2; interviewee #4).

These conflicts are further fuelled by the residents' poor socio-economic status (interviewee #3) which will be described in the next section in more detail.

5.1.3 Socio-economic segregation

Having been incorporated to the city in 1965, this area was specifically built up to inhabit Bielefeld's underprivileged residents. By mainly constructing social housing complexes where apartments are subsidised by the state Baumheide became home to those with low socio-economic status (Ellermann, 2017; interviewee #1; interviewee #2; interviewee #3). This residential structure is reflected by an internal city ranking which ranks the neighborhood second in terms of number of unemployed, scoring also second for its share of people in need of social aid (Stadt Bielefeld, 2016a).

As comparison, the district Gadderbaum is said to have the smallest amount of nonworking residents (Stadt Bielefeld, 2016b). Coupled with the reason of such high unemployment rates, some of the inhabitants can be classified as educationally disadvantaged – both Germans and migrants (interviewee #1). In addition, resulting from this accumulated redundancy, Baumheide has a huge problem with child poverty, amounting to 57% (interviewee #2).

Furthermore, one can see the rather unsurprising connection between ethnicity and socio-economic status as especially the residents with migration background seem to be out of work – 15.4% compared to the whole city's average of 13% (Stadt Bielefeld, 2016a). That can on the one hand be due to language barriers (interviewee #4). On the other hand it can be argued that migrants and refugees are simply unfamiliar with the German job market and therefore unable to find work (interviewee #1; interviewee #2).

Thess, arguably, deprived life circumstances which most of Baumheide's residents face leave marks on them, leading to a high level of stress (interviewee #3). In turn, stressed people are more likely to engage in conflicts which is a situation often occurring in the neighborhood (interviewee #1; interviewee #2; interviewee #3; interviewee #4).

These conflicts as well as the problems Baumheide has to deal with as segregated neighborhood will be further explained on the base of the interviews conducted. However, as essential part when applying a case study, reflections on own biases and presumptions are required in order to generate an as objective analysis as possible.

5.2 Own preconceptions

Having never been to the neighborhood prior to this research, I still had a pretty clear picture of what I would expect to see there. These presumptions were on the one hand shaped from what I had read in literature about segregated communities so far and on the other hand influenced by Baumheide's image all around the other parts of the city where it is seen as Bielefeld's social flashpoint.

Thus, the image I drew in my head before actually visiting could be best described as such: a dingy area with prefabricated buildings including huge social housing complexes. Further, I expected to see a lot of dirt on the streets and had heard about groups of both young people and refugees hanging around the neighborhood, different nationalities dominating the area. I was under the impression that neighborhoods are only cared for by people with enough financial assets and those who do not have to fear about their own life existence due to unemployment or the risk of deportation (Sellers, 1999). Consequently, as the residential structure of the neighborhood leads to the assumption that Baumheide mostly consists of rather poor minority groups, which the numbers mentioned above clearly indicate, I imagined to come to a skid row with bad outer appearances, for example in terms of destructed houses.

Thus, I believed the situation in life of the residents living in the neighborhood influence it negatively, having simply no means to improve the area. Not having discussed my prejudices with any of the interviewees, my perspective was still confirmed by interviewee #3 who indicated:

Living in Baumheide does not automatically determines my self-esteem. It really depends on the money and the status, which, that is what I think, goes beyond the neighborhood as such.

However, it must also be noted that a lot of my preconceptions could be disproved throughout this research due to own observations made by visiting Baumheide as well as due to the conducted interviews. In terms of the former, I looked at three sceneries: The neighborhood itself, the community center which plays a significant role within the area's desegregation process as well as the impressions I gained while visiting a flea market. Thus, I was able to fully portray Baumheide and to gain insight into its structure – despite the focus on its ethnic and socio-economic aspects.

Doing so, it allowed me to change my point of view based on well-grounded arguments rather than hear-say. How these experiences transformed the presumptions will become clearer in the course of the analysis of findings as the observations made in these sceneries are interrelated with further findings. Nevertheless, in order to give a small summary regarding this section, I can say that especially the surroundings made a much better impression. Although it is true that the neighborhood scape is dominated by migrants, they did not attract my attention negatively.

Consequently, based on the few observations I made, but also taking the information gained from the interviews into account, I can tell that the reputation of Baumheide is far worse than it actually is. Nevertheless, I need to admit that these observations are quite limited and that despite campaigning for the neighborhood, highlighting its good sites, my interview partners still emphasized the existing problems as well – as especially the head of the community center said: “We cannot embellish the situation. Logically, we have problems” (interviewee #2).

5.3 Main problems

What kind of problems she was referring to will now be elaborated on in the following section. Hereby, the findings from the interviews will be matched to what has been found in academic literature before to guarantee structure. Furthermore, this allows to discover similarities to other researches and cases, as well as differences might be detected.

5.3.1 Housing market

In general, Bielefeld suffers from housing shortage and therefore lot of tension derives which is displayed by the residential vacancy rate: For the whole city of Bielefeld it amounts up to 0.38%. Breaking this number down for Baumheide, in which particularly social housing complexes and other low-price apartments are dominant (with prices from 4.87 €/m² to 6.40 €/m²), the residential vacancy rate shrinks to only 0.2% (Bauamt Stadt Bielefeld, 2017; interviewee #2). This situation supports what was found in literature, namely that a decline in social housing presents a great challenge (Hall & Barrett, 2011).

Another problem deriving from the housing system is that people are forced to accept whatever is offered to them (Watson, 2009; Zimmer-Hegmann et al., 2003) due to their socio-economic situation. Having only poor financial assets, people are restricted in their choice of neighborhood which is expressed by interviewee #3 as follows: "From their own subjective view, residents will tell you that living here is not good. If I had the chance, I would like to live somewhere else". However, as they do not have the option to look for housing in another area, people are stuck (Bolt, Phillips & Van Kempen, 2010).

Moreover, the quality of the low-price social housing in Baumheide can be described as poor. Although some housing associations seem to care about their residents (interviewee #1; interviewee #2), many apartments are "very dilapidated, [with] mould infestations and this is no bearable condition" (interviewee #4). Feeling powerless due to their lack in financials, residents accept these states rather than protesting (interviewee #2).

Furthermore, their foreign background can present a barrier to escape the overall housing situation. Interviewee #2 explains it by stating: "as a general rule they have no chances because no one else really wants them".

This might on the one hand be due to their different style of living which appears too loud and too disturbing for direct (German) neighbors (interviewee #2; interviewee #3). On the other hand, many of the migrant families need more space than a typical German family does, having at least five up to 13 family members (interviewee #2). Consequently, as Baumheide's housing market is especially designed for such cases, it is mostly people's only chance to get an apartment (Ellermann, 2017; interviewee #2).

Based on both the forlornness of residents to find an accommodation in another area as well as having only limited space to themselves, interviewee #3 argues that the emerging conflicts between people "are certainly not primarily motivated by xenophobia, but rather occurs due to the enormous stress level".

5.3.2 Reputation of Baumheide

These conflicts between the residents are consequently fuelled by segregating these “problematic groups” (interviewee #1) and letting them struggle on their own (interviewee #2). According to interviewee #2 the fall of Baumheide as reputable neighborhood

started to rigidify immensely in the 80s because the area was solely defined by social housing complexes and the residents that were allocated to the neighborhood were incompatible [...]. At first, the Russian-Germans arrived and after that, Turkish, Kurdish people came and they did not get along with one another at all. And this led to mass brawls and whatsoever. And this did not go well.

Thus, a specific image is created in the people's minds, basically saying that “the situation is so bad” – a statement given by the neighborhood coordinator (interviewee #4) with a sarcastic connotation. Responding to the question in how far she experiences the bad reputation of Baumheide as a disadvantage, she told me the story of how family and friends reacted to her starting the job in the neighborhood:

I come from Halle (Westfalen) which is approximately 20 to 25 kilometers from here and when I said that I am now going to work in Baumheide, their eyes opened widely and ‘oh my god, Baumheide? How can you work there? What are you doing there and is it not dangerous? Will you be there in the evenings?

One can clearly see that the image corresponds with the assumptions made by Bolt, Phillips and Van Kempen (2010) as well as Sharkey (2013) who claimed that segregated neighborhoods are believed to be more unstable, insecure and are defined by more violence.

Although all four interview partners assured me that Baumheide is not more dangerous than any other part of the city, the head of the community center, however, reported about criminal schemes that flourish under segregation as no one cares enough to take a closer look. Thus, things happen under the radar which were not possible if “I would open myself up to society” (interviewee #2).

That such bad reputation leads to more prejudices and further isolation of the residents as stated by Zimmer-Hegmann et al. (2003) is confirmed by interviewee #2 who states that Germans – due to their mentality – tend to neglect the existence of their troubled neighbors, preferring to isolate themselves rather than engaging in open communication about grievances.

Moreover, also within the neighborhood, the internal reputation suffers. That is on the one hand because the residents are aware of their poor external image (interviewee #3), leading to the desire to leave the area as soon as possible in order to escape the stigmatization (interviewee #1; interviewee #2; interviewee #3).

On the other hand, the neighborhood is not experienced as attractive (interviewee #3) as there are simply no financial assets available by the residents to embellish the area. This argumentation is supported by the psychologist (interviewee #3) who states:

But income is the linchpin of what one is able to do. And here, why should someone where no one has a lot of money to spend open a café, right? If you look around you will find only a few, most of my clients rather go to Marktkauf (note: a supermarket) and sit by Pollmeier (note: a bakery) to drink coffee. Probably the whole day in front of only one cup of coffee.

Thus, it is comprehensible that the prospects of success for leisure amenities are rather poor, keeping them away in the first place. This results in a lack in infrastructure that would be needed in order to attract people from the outside. Another example for such deficiency in services is given by the neighborhood coordinator (interviewee #4):

We do not have any resident doctors here, everything is really restricted [...]. Because no doctor wants to work in Baumheide as it is so horrible here.

This development is described in literature by Glebe (2002) claiming that public facilities are unequally distributed within one city, consequently increasing the attractiveness of specific parts, while leaving others behind (Zimmer-Hegmann et al., 2003). Being aware of the dreadful reputation other people have towards Baumheide, its residents feel unwanted and abandoned (interviewee #3).

5.3.3 Development of a parallel society

This feeling of forsakenness is often warned for in academic literature in terms of segregation. Searching for structure themselves and within the neighborhood only, residents start forming informal networks (Handelsblatt, 2015; Siebel, 2013; Sutterlüty & Walter, 2005; Zimmer-Hegmann et al., 2003). These might seem advantageous at first as such groupings can support their members in finding jobs, for instance (Zimmer-Hegmann et al., 2003). They can also have a deeper function – of making newcomers, and especially migrants, feel welcomed and accepted in their new living space. However, this might be dangerous for their integration process as interviewee #1 expresses, responding to the question if segregation could not also be beneficial for people:

From my perspective, rather not because a parallel society develops. I mean, I would say that, ok, in my opinion it is a good thing when people firstly want to feel comfortable and surround themselves with their own for some time [...]. In a parallel society [however] it is normal that I receive my money from the state and if I do not, I am going to make a scene, right? Or that it is not bad that I do not show up to scheduled meeting, what would I need them for? And when I know that ten other people from my neighborhood are in the same situation, I am lost, right? [...] I feel normal on such a low level.

The acceptance of one's situation both by oneself as well as by the neighboring people is also an experience interviewee #4 has made as she told me that people rather resign oneself to their destiny. Simultaneously, the people aim to take whatever they can get in terms of social aid, child benefits (interviewee #4) or reduced-earning-capacity pension (interviewee #3).

Thus, they create a new identity for themselves which is also described as one consequence of segregation by Pacione (2009) and Zimmer-Hegmann et al. (2003) in order to legitimize their ways of living, striving for social belonging. And this process “cannot be broken up that easily” (interviewee #2), particularly not voluntarily (interviewee #1).

The difficulty shows in two reasons given by the interview partners: On the one hand interviewee #1 argues that even though integration should be a two-sided way involving migrants and the host population both parties seem to have low interest in getting together. Consequently, different identities live next to one another, divided by non-communication. On the other hand – as Bolt, Özüekren and Phillips (2009:342) indicate as well – segregated communities “lack [in] positive role models”.

This also applies for Baumheide which can be seen from the following statement by interviewee #2:

And I also have this here when I have a group of alcoholics sitting in front of the house. I approach them and tell them that they are no good role model, for the children and youth. Please go to other places.

Interviewee #1 further states another example:

And this poor social status does not only concern people with migration background but it also relates to the German population who are on a low level of education. And who are also unemployed, passing this on to the children.

Consequently, the development of a parallel society challenges the neighborhood to break open habitual patterns as well as to offer its residents incentives to aim for better (interviewee #3). Otherwise, if remaining segregated from the rest of the city, the situation will worsen – creating a “divided civilization” (interviewee #4).

5.3.4 Culture clash

In how far a separated community obtaining several different parallel societies can be disadvantageous can already be seen from incidences that occurred within the neighborhood of Baumheide itself. Inhabiting about 40 to 50 nationalities whereby Russians, Turks and Kurdish people represent the biggest migrant groups, it is not surprising that the potential for culture clashes is high (interviewee #2). A huge conflict emerged, for instance, between the Russian-Germans and the new wave of refugees as clarified by interviewee #4:

A lot of refugees arrived in Bielefeld and also in Baumheide, so those - in particular the Russian-Germans – who had come here before, already several years ago, feel disadvantaged. They claim that they had not received that much support.

This conflict is also experienced by the psychologist working at the life and social consultancy who states that the Russian-Germans perceive the situation as unfair nowadays and prefer to stay within their own rather than initiating contact with the newcomers which could defuse the rivalry. However, she also highlights that avoiding contact is not an option due to the limited living space.

Thus, the forced proximity, moreover, might fuel the tension between the different cultures (interviewee #3). This assumption can be verified as it is also discussed in literature that spatial proximity does not automatically guarantee a social mix or unprejudiced contact (Kleinhans, 2004; Zimmer-Hegmann et al., 2003).

The question, nevertheless, remains: how should measures for desegregation than look like if simply bringing together people seems to be insufficient.

5.4 Finding the right approach

However, before this question can be answered to the fullest extent, especially in regard to the case studied in this paper, it must be evaluated from whom the measures should come from. This is important as – based on what has been learned so far – measures or means can vary, depending on the acting party (Matland, 1995). Moreover, the approach selected to tackle segregation will finally determine the success of respective counteractions (deLeon & deLeon, 2002; Matland, 1995). Hereby, one differentiates between top-down or bottom-up strategies, both methods that demand specific actors to be more or less involved (Anderson, 2016; Cerna, 2013; deLeon & deLeon, 2002; Gridwood, 2013; Khadka & Vacik, 2012; Meslin, 2010). This, amongst other differences, makes clear that not every approach suits every situation (Matland, 1995).

In terms of desegregation, the case does not change. The on-going debate still proves that the best way to counteract segregation and to create as well as to implement means of desegregation is yet to be found (Bolt, Phillips & Van Kempen, 2010; Epstein, 2017; Lees, 2008; Lemanski, 2006; Kleinhans, 2004; Phillips, 2010; Zimmer-Hegmann et al., 2003).

The following analysis, consequently, classifies the case of Baumheide using the matrix of Matland (1995) in order to introduce the most suitable approach as well as corresponding goals and means.

First, the level of conflict regarding desegregation measures in Baumheide will be evaluated. In a second step, the corresponding ambiguity level will be determined, so that, thirdly, a categorization in one of the four fields of Matland's matrix (1995) is possible.

5.4.1 Level of conflict and ambiguity

Many researchers already highlighted that desegregation is a quite popular topic within politics (Arbaci, 2007; Bolt, Özüekren & Phillips, 2009; Epstein, 2017; Phillips, 2010), putting measures on the agenda (Bolt, Phillips & Van Kempen, 2010). Here, the city of Bielefeld which as the central authority is in charge of its neighborhood Baumheide does not present an exception.

In one of their published papers, for instance, they state that they aim to “create a mutual base in order to react to the changes evoked by demographic as well as economic changes” (Ellermann, 2017). Demonstrating their commitment to, on the one hand, engage in desegregation measures and, on the other hand, to work together with other actors, implies their willingness for compromises – fundamental for a low level of conflict (Matland, 1995). In the course of the first interview, this was furthermore confirmed by the member of the Green Party, which forms part of the city council. She highlighted that desegregation is a very popular term in politics, especially in the ‘exclusion – integration discussion’ nowadays. She, further, pointed out that this would, however, not only concern politicians, but other actors such as housing associations or local organizations as well.

Based on these statements, it can already be seen that various actors seem to work towards one common goal which would classify the case of Baumheide as a low conflict situation. Interviewee #4, however, concedes that incidences occur in which she has “to grapple with the city” in order to get means pushed through. Nevertheless, these might be neglectable in determining the conflict level, as it further becomes clear that especially her job – coordinator of Baumheide – is coupled with the city, having been developed with exactly this purpose: having central authorities and local actors working together closely. Thus, she has on the one hand the obligation “to report to the city”. But on the other hand, she also “receives feedback or tips, or maybe also support in order to realize” projects (interviewee #4). Thus, it is made sure that all partners are informed about the steps undertaken by the individual parties without limiting them in their flexibility to choose their own means. Deriving from these arguments, the classification as a case of low conflict rigidifies. Consequently, according to the matrix, the approaches of political implementation as well as symbolic implementation can be excluded, leaving only administrative or experimental implementation as options for dealing with segregation in Baumheide.

This, however, cannot be determined yet, as the second component of Matland’s matrix (1995) must be taken into consideration as well – its ambiguity level.

As indicated by Van Kempen and Bolt (2009) policies are often unable to hit the nail on the head with their formulations. Thus, one could already argue that their suggestions leave room for interpretations which would speak for a high level of ambiguity (Matland, 1995). However, this conclusion would make it too easy as well as it does not reflect the actual situation in the case of Baumheide. Although it must be admitted that the interviews lack in representatives from the central authority directly as well as none of the interviewees was able to provide information about current policies on city level that affect desegregation in Baumheide, the statements received as well as what was found in literature allow following assumptions about the ambiguity level.

Firstly, in literature it is indicated that the dilemma between wanting people to integrate without losing in diversity (Zimmer-Hegmann et al., 2003; Bolt, Phillips & Van Kempen, 2010) is most likely not solvable on political level as their access to the locals is limited (Zimmer-Hegmann et al., 2003). Further, the means that would arise from this goal might not be translatable into instructions for the local players. This would, however, be one condition for low ambiguity as here the crucial element is that the “goals are given and means for solving the problem are known” (Matland, 1995:160) as well it is from utmost importance that “the policy is spelled out explicitly at each level” (Matland, 1995:161). Therefore, in terms of literature, it would be suggested to have a high level of ambiguity in order to address segregation.

This finding is supported by the interview partners who – as local actors – indicate that they are using their own ideas and means on how to bring people from different cultural backgrounds and socio-economic status together (interviewee#2; interviewee #3; interviewee #4).

To conclude, the case of Baumheide can, therefore, be classified as a high ambiguity – low conflict situation which corresponds to Matland’s category ‘experimental implementation’ (1995). Thus, as stated in the explanations for each option of the matrix above, it calls for a bottom-up approach where the “opportunities available to local-level actors appears most appropriate” (Matland, 1995:167).

After this analysis, a detailed exploration of what kind of opportunities come in question for the local actors in Baumheide will be given. Here, their goals and means to counteract segregation will not only be evaluated, but also checked along the conditions given by Matland (1995) in order to truly align with the bottom-up approach.

5.5 Counteracting segregation

In order to keep also this section as structured as possible as well as keeping it in line with what has been researched before, the goals and means for desegregation emerging on local level will be stated according to the problems they address. Therefore, the topics given in section 5.3 are taken up again.

Before this will be done, however, firstly the local actors as such are introduced, certifying their right to play a role in the implementation process as vicarious supporters for a bottom-up approach. In his explanations of the four possible outcome of his matrix, Matland (1995) explicitly claims several conditions for the experimental implementation, this case can be categorized as (see section 5.4), which need to be fulfilled by the local actors. Thus, he makes sure that they truly follow the principles of the bottom-up approach (see Anderson, 2016; Cerna, 2013; deLeon & deLeon, 2002; Gridwood, 2013; Isidiho & Sabran, 2016; Khadka & Vacik, 2012; Meslin, 2010).

Therefore, according to Matland (1995:166) their degree of involvement and, consequently, their chances of success depend on “the intensity of their feelings, the number of other demands on their time, [and] their physical proximity to the place where decisions are made”.

Starting from the last condition, it can be argued that proximity to the neighborhood of Baumheide is given to the almost fullest extent. All actors, that is the interview partners of this research paper, are employed in Baumheide: interviewee #1 being a school teacher in Baumheide, interviewee #2 being the head of the community center, interviewee #3 being a member of the consultancy located within the community center and interviewee #4 being the coordinator of the neighborhood, having her office also in the community center. Thus, spatial proximity is guaranteed. However, it should be noted that this is ‘only’ almost to the fullest extent as this proximity just concerns their working places. Being unsure about the first interviewee’s residency, all of the others admitted to not live in Baumheide themselves. Nevertheless, based on their statements it can be argued that they are in close contact with the residents of the neighborhood as such, which is seen as sufficient proximity.

In line with their working positions, the second condition – having enough time to take care of means for desegregation – can also be verified, as it is mostly part of their job to create such means, as this excerpt from the dialogue with interviewee #4 highlights:

Me: How would a successful integration look like? What would you do to achieve it?

Interviewee #4: How we could boost it?

Me: Yeah.

Interviewee #4: Well, I mean this actually is my job.

In the course of this section of the interview with her, she refers to several attempts she has made in order to bring people together, eradicate their prejudices and fight for integration. Speaking very passionately about their means and activities, the impression that she – as well as the other interviewees – is emotionally involved is evoked. Furthermore, the way especially interviewee #4 talks about failures supports this feel.

In case of the following statement, she refers to a situation in which she visited the Kurdish parents' association who, during her stay, refused to speak German:

In the first place I felt totally alienated and this is, yes, this is no integration, when I sit there and, yeah. For instance, I stood up and wanted to introduce myself but this went absolutely wrong [...]. They were not quiet and continued talking and this very very loud. This just makes it really complicated.

Or that one time when she suggested to have a joint breakfast, also to this association:

This is very difficult. They organize a lot of things among themselves. So I suggested to have a common breakfast, for instance. Here, in the community center. And the only reaction was – only us or also others? [...] So I thought where is the problem to have breakfast with other people? [...] That would not be too bad. Thus, I get the impression they really do not want to [get in contact with other people].

Nevertheless, she keeps going, trying to find the one offer everyone accepts. This strive is also shared by the other interview partner who all concede that maybe their means are not the ones most suitable for their audience in cases of rejection. Thus, their engagement is reflected by them not giving up. This behavior corresponds once more with the approach from Matland (1995:167), arguing that in this stage the implementation process must be seen as a learning process with “experimental characteristics” that orientates itself closely to the local level.

What kind of experiments are applied to the neighborhood of Baumheide will be examined in the following, giving an overview about the major means for desegregation created by the actors in order to counteract the existing problems in the area.

5.5.1 Address housing problems

Arguably, especially the problems that occur due to the housing situation in Baumheide cannot be solved by any of the local actors interviewed for this research.

That is because they have not the power to change the market as, for instance, the government would have (Epstein, 2017; Phillips, 2010). However, they can give impulses to the housing associations. The latter, as suggested by Bolt, Özüekren and Phillips (2009), could be urged to consider all applicants equally, actively filling their housing complexes with culturally and socially diverse residents (see also Arbaci, 2007).

According to interviewee #1 this, in fact, is done by some of their local housing associations which select their tenants by aiming for a mix.

Interviewee #2 also highlights the efforts made by them, nevertheless, demanding them to engage even more:

And I think that all housing associations, it does not matter which one exactly, have the obligation to take an even closer look and to contribute to the community.

That, again, most of them already do is proven by interviewee #4 who indicates that as soon as she forwards complaints from residents about their apartments to the association, they act immediately. Local actors working closely together with other parties, also high level institutions – which is another component of the Matland matrix (1995) – they ensure the well-being of the people without being stuck in bureaucratic constructs. This case and the local actors' approach towards the problems emerging from housing underline the suitability of a bottom-up approach once more. That is due to their function as mediator, representing the needs of the local people and giving them a voice in front of the housing associations as well as the government as such, thus strengthening their position. Consequently, the characteristics of a bottom-up approach are fulfilled by involving the public and building policies upon the residents' individual needs and requests (deLeon & deLeon, 2002; Khadka & Vacik, 2012; Matland, 1995; Meslin, 2010).

5.5.2 Re-building of reputation

A highly important aspect that was pointed out through all of the interviews is the attempt to make the neighborhood more attractive, for both those living there and outsider. Therefore, the bad reputation (as described in section 5.3.2) is addressed by various means. Following the idea of, for instance, Sellers (1999), stating that green spaces increase an area's attractiveness, interviewee #1 and interviewee #4 imply that Baumheide is supposed to be embellished in the near future. Such embellishments would, among others, include the redesigning of the neighborhood's city center. Thereof, interviewee #4 hopes for a higher identification of the residents with their home.

Other offers, initiated by the community center, is the so-called 'Planetenwanderweg' – a walking trail through the whole neighborhood with stopovers in form of planets made from sheet metal. Thus, movement is connected with on the one hand getting to know the area and on the other hand gaining knowledge about the planetary system. A project which has just been launched is the construction of cycle tracks that connect the neighborhood with the nearby parks (interviewee #2).



Picture 2: Legend describing the 'Planetenwanderweg' (Source: own photography)

Rather than hoping for processes such as gentrification (Beitzer, 2015; Saunders, 2016) that would probably improve the reputation quickly, but would worsen the situation for the current residents (Lees, 2008), interviewee #1 formulates their common goals as such: the residents “can transfer their positive experiences” onto their acquaintances which would slowly, but surely increase Baumheide’s reputation in the long-run. Interviewee #3 obtains the same perspective as she assured that – instead of aiming for radical transformations within the neighborhood – the focus should be on building up the residents’ sense of togetherness, shouting to the world outside: “We in Baumheide and Baumheide is better than its reputation”.

Some success regarding the embellishment of the neighborhood, in order to, subsequently, make it more attractive, especially also to people from the outside, could already been discovered by a tour through the neighborhood by myself.

Walking around allowed me to become familiar with the environment and atmosphere of Baumheide. Noteworthy is on the one hand the height of the buildings which is rather low compared to other areas with social housing complexes as they, here, mostly consist of up to three floors. This alone already refute my previous prejudice about the area being dominated by high-rise complexes. This can be seen in the following pictures that were taken during the tour:



Picture 3: Housing complex in Baumheide (Source: own photography)



Picture 4: Illustration of green surroundings (Source: own photography)

On the other hand, the very green surrounding of the neighborhood is striking. This discovery also does not correspond with the image I had in mind before visiting the district as I believed the neighborhood to be dirty and abandoned. Although I did not manage to explore every corner, so that I cannot fully deny the existence of rather bad areas within the neighborhood, the impression gained is much better than expected. Additionally, my observation was also confirmed during the interviews as all four of the interviewees highlighted the greenness and the increased value for the area.

This mentioned value, in turn, is aimed at re-building Baumheide's reputation, demonstrating that the area appears to be better than its still prevailing image in the rest of the city. As has been shown by giving some bottom-up means, the local organizations work hard towards that one common goal. Thus, they align with Matland's (1995) assessment of the ambiguity-conflict matrix which determined this case to be a high ambiguity and low conflict situation. Consequently, working towards one common goal proves the low level of conflict whereas their freedom to implement various means in order to achieve that goal exemplifies the high ambiguity level.

5.5.3 Avoid establishment of parallel society

Being one of the biggest fears of cities, the development of parallel societies emerges when people with foreign backgrounds refuse to integrate into the majority's culture. Having been walking around Baumheide on my own, I could definitely make the clear observation that the neighborhood consists of a high share of people with diverse cultural backgrounds. For instance, I met people from various nationalities on the streets which I concluded due to their use of other languages than German and, partly, their outer appearance. Further, a lot of children were observed, fitting the description of the case given above that Baumheide contains a high share of people under 18 (Ellermann, 2017).

Coming from this perspective, these groups are often accused of remaining in their own culture (Lees, 2008; Siebel, 2013; Sturm, 2007; Zimmer-Hegmann et al., 2003). According to Siebel (2013) and Zimmer-Hegmann et al. (2003), this might, however, not be the primary reason for people to stay among their own, but rather the benefit that arises – the formation of supportive networks.

Having understood this concept, the local organizations in Baumheide try to build such networks, but formally. These could take various forms as explained by interviewee #1, firstly giving an example about a network between native-foreigner and secondly arguing that this could also work formally between foreign resident and foreign newcomer:

(1) There are people (note: migrants) that think – if I make a friendly face, I will manage to get a vocational training for my child. But, here [in Germany], it does not work that way. And this is something, they will learn much faster when observing other people, or when they talk to them over the garden fence, bumping into each other while grocery shopping or [when you have] neighbors who tell you, listen, this is the way we do it around here.

(2) Or one could take care of their own people. I mean there are definitely people with migrant background here who already made it and who are integrated. And now they see refugees coming, helping out. I think this is a really good thing. I got to know a family lately who did that. They 'adopted' a boy who recently fled into their well-functioning family, take care of him and teach him, in terms of education and also how things work in Germany.

In her opinion, consequently, such behavior contributes to avoid parallel societies as informing and educating the people might already be enough. Hereby, being a school teacher, she further highlights the role of schools (interviewee #1).

Interviewee #4 ascribes education a crucial role as she points out that the offers of the community center which promise entertainment should always contain a lectureship, for example in terms of language. Her argument, therefore, is that people who join the activities are automatically caught in an integration process.

While education forms one big part, another important aspect is giving the people the opportunity to access the offers easily as well as open the activities to everyone. This is underlined by the following statement by interviewee #2:

We accept it, but we always try to offer something that is not only for one target group separately, right? We do not say, let's make a Kurdish celebration. They can do this privately, they even have the chance to rent a room here and then it is fine. But when we organize something, it is open to everyone.

This openness, interviewee #2 takes about, is reflected in their premises of Baumheide's community center. Having been offered a tour by the head of the community center (interviewee #2) after conducting the second interview, I could explore a huge event room, a café and small gym. I was also shown the meeting points for kids and teenagers this place provides. Further, the local library as well as the life and social consultancy is located within the center. It can be pointed out that the facilities available enable the diverse residents of the neighborhood to come together, meet each other purposely or 'just run into each other' due to a common event that takes place. As has been confirmed by the interviewees, the offers are targeted at all societal and cultural groups, preventing exclusion while fostering mixing. How this strategy, furthermore, works against people with different cultural backgrounds fighting against one another will be shown in the next section.

Before, however, a summary of the own observations made in the community center will be given as this institution – as could be seen from the argumentation so far – plays an immense role in improving the situation of Baumheide while, moreover, presenting a valuable bottom-up actor. For the observations, it can be concluded that all necessary facilities are present, while I would classify it rather old than new though. This showed for example by the fading and flaking of the paint or wallpaper. However – having existed for 41 years now – renovations are coming up soon, aiming to even extend the already spacious building (interviewee #2; interviewee #4).

Having been there in the morning while no event was taking place, I might make no judgments about the residents visiting the community center based on own observations. However, interviewee #2 underlined that the welcoming atmosphere which guarantees low thresholds attracts a lot of people who, in some cases, come on a daily basis.



Picture 5: Community center from the front (Source: own photography)



Picture 6: Community center from the inside (Source: own photography)

5.5.4 Prevent culture clash

The particular openness mentioned above, moreover, lies the foundation for acceptance which is absolutely key “when cultures collide” (interviewee #2). And in the case of Baumheide – as described in section 5.3.4 – they do often. As a tense atmosphere within one neighborhood also influences its reputation within the rest of the city, thus making it less attractive to other people, preventing these conflicts needs to be one of the most important aims of Baumheide. Due to their close interrelation, one topic cannot be addressed and, in the best case, be improved whereas others are neglected. This would mean that positive means that are aimed to solve one problem might be counteracted by another.

Here, for instance, the local actors could focus mostly on re-building the reputation of Baumheide, but simultaneously they need to pay attention to solving inner-ethnic conflicts in order to establish peace and a acceptable atmosphere. Otherwise, the reputation would suffer further.

The importance to, generally, put this goal onto the neighborhood's agenda is supported by literature that states that one aim of desegregation measures is to defuse culturally motivated conflicts (Florida, 2015; Zimmer-Hegmann et al., 2003) by establishing a social mix which, principally, is believed to create "social cohesion" (Van Kempen & Bolt, 2009:460).

However, as already argued earlier in this research, spatial proximity is not sufficient for counteracting the effects of segregation (Zimmer-Hegmann et al., 2003).

Being aware of this shortage, the local actors in Baumheide direct their means at establishing contact between the various ethnic groups within the neighborhood in the first place, trying to eradicate prejudices and to establish trust, crucial elements for intergroup contact (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Schlueter et al., 2015; Wagner, Hewstone & Machlett, 1989). According to Van Kempen and Bolt (2009), such contact is, furthermore, facilitated when values and beliefs are shared. This is exactly where the measures of Baumheide's advocates root as explained by interviewee #4:

You cannot generally say that all Russians have an aversion to Kurdish people. It is nothing like that. I really want to make them realize – oh, basically, we are very similar. We are not so different from one another. And also the other way around, the Kurdish people might think – oh no, they really are so different from us. But, honestly, they are not. And this is what I aim for, bringing them together.

Thus, she tries to find activities in which culture steps into the background and similarities unify the participants. One example presents a joint music course, which is currently in planning.

The flea market which I had the chance to visit during my field work can be seen as another offer that is characterized by its purpose to get people in contact. Interviewee #3 who, in her function as psychologist in the life and social consultancy, organizes this event reports that this market "presents a moment where [...] integration takes place". From her perspective, people are encouraged to talk to one another. In this process, the cultural differences do not play a role anymore as all participants strive for a common goal: either sell or buy goods. Interviewee #3 sees this as incentive as she is aware that the various ethnicities will rather not approach each other voluntarily, but can be united when their individual self-interests are addressed as well, showing them the benefits of integrating.

For my research, being able to visit the flea market presented a special moment as I could capture both signs of segregation as well as social mixing.



Picture 7: Impression of the flea market (Source: own photography)

The flea market is a weekly event on Wednesdays mornings, allowing people from the neighborhood to sell and to buy mostly second hand clothing and children's toys. I got the impression that both sellers and buyers were of all possible ethnicities whereby, however, predominantly elderly white women were selling their products.

Wandering through the rows and rows of sales tables, I identified different languages such as, for example, Turkish, Russian, German and Kurdish – negotiating language however seemed to be primarily German. Most probably because of the offers, the flea market was rather visited by women of all age, some with, others without children, whilst I could only spot two or three men.



Picture 8: Flea market with buggy (Source: own photography)

The general atmosphere during the event can be described as friendly and open, having lots of people chatting with one another. I therefore assume that it presents a meeting opportunity for Baumheide's residents which was also confirmed by the interviewee #2 and interviewee #3. Again the easy accessibility of this flea market should be highlighted as no entrance fee is claimed. After one hour, the selling tables were emptied.



Picture 9: Women looking at clothes (Source: own photography)

Nevertheless, putting aside the informal character of this event, I – as an outsider to this community – felt rather uncomfortable observing people buying old clothing, being constantly reminded that this might present the only chance for some of them to get new things (interviewee #3). While my observations as stated above, therefore, rather showed how social mixing could successfully work, indicators of segregation were still present both in relation to ethnicity as well as income. This is confirmed by a statement of the psychologist working at the life and social consultancy (interviewee #3) that, as previously stated, organizes the flea market. Answering my question how the attendees could be defined she claimed that it is an event only visited by residents of Baumheide and maybe those living close to the neighborhood's borders but that she has never seen people joining from the inner city or other areas.

However, she also admits that even in this artificially create micro-environment one can detect differing behavior that is based on culture, as she describes the following scenario:

We recognize this every time we open the doors [to the flea market] [...]: does one push herself in, has the biggest bag and jumps the queue. [...] Or have you been raised up to stand in line and wait? [...] This forces us to react constantly and the situation demands us to take a stand. [...] And thus, principally, to protect one's values from others.

This situation portrays the complexity of culture and how it shapes the residents' behavior. Nevertheless, interviewee #3 and also interviewee #2 are convinced that events such as the flea market are suitable means to prevent culture clashes as, thus, people get in contact with other nationalities, pulled out of their enclaves.



Picture 10: Mosaic on wall outside the community center (Source: own photography)

To conclude, it can be said that the means evaluated above only present a small sample of what is done on local level. However, the ones chosen here reflect on their overall purpose to improve the residents' lives in Baumheide. Thereby focusing on actions that are actually achievable and simultaneously effective, does not only correspond with the principle of the bottom-up approach, but also with an argument previously given by Zimmer-Hegmann et al. (2003) that the emphasis of means should not lie on fighting the occurrence of segregation, but rather its effects.

5.6 Future prospects

As could be seen from all these different means that the local actors created, implemented or are still planning to do, it can be argued that they – as vicarious agents for a bottom-up approach – present the neighborhood's best chance to counteract segregation. Although no sharp strategy derives, every measure is directed towards this common goal: to minimize the effects of segregation. Again, it should be highlighted that even though it appears to be unstructured, this method clearly follows the principles of Matland's category (1995) as defined above. This section, as last part of the analysis, briefly points out how the future prospects for the projects in Baumheide could look like.

Already building upon 41 years of experience, the community center has been around for a long time, accompanying Baumheide's residents through many changes.

Therefore, the head of the community center (interviewee #2) is qualified to make the following observation:

So, for a long time we had people who only lived in their isolated enclave, never looking beyond the horizon. By now, I rather think these structures opened up.

In her opinion, this development was strongly determined by their offers that, despite establishing acceptance for one another among the residents, aim at rebuilding Baumheide's reputation by making the neighborhood more attractive, from internal but also external perspectives (interviewee #2; interviewee #4). Thus, a lot of means – as stated above – comply with the principle:

We want to say: we are not only making it attractive for one specific group of society who can afford it, but we will make it also nice for those who are limited in their assets (interviewee #2).

In order to be able to keep following this approach, she, however, admits that more financial support from the central authorities and the city as such is needed. She especially complains about the time-consuming and bureaucratic processes before receiving the necessary assets and, therefore, suggests to create a fund which the neighborhood can manage on their own. Thus, their flexibility to react would increase immensely (interviewee #2).

This logic is supported by interviewee #3 who – although not speaking about any funds – implies that the most crucial element for the success of their offers and means of de-segregation is that they are for free. Consequently, Baumheide's residents, who are definable by low income, face lower participation barriers and are more willing to engage if they do not have to spend any money. Therefore, one can conclude that having offers for free that are moreover suitable for the needs of the residents and address them directly will also play a substantial role in the future as the socio-economic status of the residents will not change (interviewee #3).

Keeping these basics – create acceptance, rebuild reputation, make offers for free, orientate on local needs – in mind, all four interview partner agree that the situation of Baumheide and its residents in terms of segregation can improve. Being able to act flexibly due to their classification as low conflict-high ambiguity case (Matland, 1995), the actions of the here researched local actors furthermore demonstrate that approaching segregation from the bottom-up is most likely the best way to do so. Even if, as indicated by the interviewees this will take another couple of decades, maybe even new generations (interviewee #1; interviewee #4)

This is one last time backed up by one of the statements given by the neighborhood coordinator (interviewee #4):

How long I cannot say. But this alone already shows how long it takes to get things accepted [by the authorities]. Up to the point, until we created something and it is passed, maybe [the residents] will have no interest. This could also happen and then we have a problem how we are going to [...] rescue, or create new or do something completely different. So, I do not think that one will say within the next few years – Oh Baumheide changed so much. It will take time.

6. Conclusion

This paper has researched in how far the measures to counteract segregation should emerge from the bottom-up as this approach can be seen as more suitable to implement respective means. It has been argued that, although governments put desegregation on their political agendas and even though they might also actually implement policies regarding segregation, their means lack in success (Bolt, Phillips & Van Kempen, 2010; Lees, 2008; Van Kempen & Bolt, 2009) as well as they do not reach the residents who are the ones directly affected (Meslin, 2010). Therefore, it has been claimed that strategies should not be delegated from top-down, but rather come from the people themselves and their local representatives in forms of, among others, organizations (Anderson, 2016; deLeon & deLeon, 2002; Khadka & Vacik, 2012). As this is especially valid for the “micro-implementation” level (Bermann, 1978; as cited by Matland, 1995:146), this research explained thoroughly in how far the endeavors on local level address the problems of segregation within their neighborhood, using more flexible and tailor-made means as the bottom-up approach enables them to do so (Anderson, 2016; Cerna, 2013; deLeon & deLeon, 2002; Gridwood, 2013; Matland, 1995; Meslin, 2010).

In order to provide well-grounded insights and in-depth understanding of the topic, this paper’s discussion has been examined using a case study, namely the case of the neighborhood of Baumheide. Belonging to the city of Bielefeld which counts to Germany’s 20 biggest cities (Bielefeld Marketing GmbH, 2018) this case has presented itself as suitable frame for this research. Aiming to conclude the latter, the findings will be briefly summarized in the following, highlighting the most important outcomes:

Focusing on the problems deriving from segregation at first, and in addition, describing the specific situation for Baumheide, the findings are more or less in line with what has been written in academic literature. As Sharkey (2013) pointed out segregated communities are characterized by low employment rates which applies to the here chosen case as well. Furthermore, also a lack in infrastructure could be detected, looking at the density of cafés in the neighborhood, for instance (interviewee #3). This observation has already been described by Glebe (2002) who argued that amenities and public services are unequally distributed among the neighborhoods while those inhabiting the people with especially low socio-economic status suffer from the worst facilities. Another problem of segregation, which also corresponds with one of the biggest problems residents in Baumheide face, is presented by the housing situation as mostly people with culturally diverse backgrounds and low incomes are not able to make free housing choices, but need to take whatever is offered to them (Watson, 2009; Zimmer-Hegmann et al., 2003). This situation has also been described by interviewee #1, interviewee #2 and interviewee #3. However, in particular for the case of Baumheide, it should be noted that all interview partners pointed out that the responsible housing organizations are willing to cooperate and take good care of the apartments as well as their tenants. While, consequently, this paper has been able to confirm a lot of the effects of segregation on neighborhoods, others could be rejected such as the assumption by Bolt, Phillips and Van Kempen (2010) that segregated communities appear to be more unstable or violent.

Here, interviewee #2, interviewee #3 and interviewee #4 assured that Baumheide does not have a higher criminality rate or is in any other terms more dangerous than other districts of Bielefeld. Having been there myself, this impression can be verified by my own perspective as well.

Due to the criticism surrounding governmental interventions in terms of desegregation (as stated above), this research has, subsequently, evaluated if a bottom-up approach would be a better way to address segregation in Baumheide. In order to do so, the ambiguity-conflict matrix from Matland (1995) has been applied to the case. Judging from the information gained during the interviews, and based on the explanations given by Matland (1995) that characterize the four types of implementation processes, the case researched here has been classified as high ambiguity – low conflict situation as locals and central authorities aim for the same results, leaving the 'how to' open to everyone's individual interpretation. Thus labeled as experimental process, Matland (1995) suggests to approach the situation from the bottom-up which fits the case of Baumheide.

Deriving from this categorization, this research has furthermore introduce specific goals and means that were developed and are constantly renewed by the local actors within the neighborhood. Thereby, it has been aimed to show the diversity of offers on the one hand, and the intention to get the residents more involved with both the activities and one another on the other hand. It has been clarified how it is attempted to increase the participation by designing the activities with a low threshold by, for instance, making them free of charge (interviewee #2; interviewee #3). In addition, it should be highlighted that the offers mostly aim to bring people together, thus automatically counteracting segregation. Thus, they avoid the effects most governmental interventions have – that, even though they guarantee a social mix, people are not getting in touch with one another (Bolt, Phillips & Van Kempen, 2010; Lemanski, 2006; Kleinhans, 2004; Phillips, 2010; Van Kempen & Bolt, 2009; Zimmer-Hegmann et al., 2003). This argumentation has consequently pointed out that the measures implemented on the local level by local actors meet the residents' needs and are establishing contact between the different groups of society living in Baumheide. Thus, this research has moreover been able to shed some light on future prospects.

Overall, it can therefore be concluded that based on the findings resulting from the case of Baumheide segregation is most likely to be best addressed by local actors who are particularly close to the people most affected by the effects of segregation – the residents. As the actors introduced in this research are – due to their work – in direct contact with the residents daily they are legitimized to create means that are focused on the residents' specific needs (Matland, 1995). Thereby, following the principles of the bottom-up approach, the means implemented are, consequently, believed to be more suitable and more successful in counteracting segregation, compared to political interventions that come from the top down. That is, among others that have already been described in the course of this paper, due to the problems' as well as the solutions' interrelation which means that the several problems occurring in Baumheide cannot be looked at separately, but their context and their influence on other areas need to be taken into consideration. As has been argued in this paper, obtaining an all-embracing perspective within the neighborhood is more likely for local actors that are in contact with the residents – a condition for the bottom-up approach – daily.

Nevertheless, it must be noted that governmental support still is essential as, especially because of local actors' limited power, many situations, for instance by disputes with housing associations, call for central authorities to handle them (interviewee #2; interviewee #4).

Thus, this research will be finalized by presenting one last statement given by interviewee #2 who hits the nail on the head by describing the community center's role:

In the end, we are principally the balancing and compensatory institution for things that would otherwise not be here. Where you have the alternatives to retreat, where you can celebrate, where you can just go in the afternoons, where the kids can play. Where I can go shopping, where I can visit a flea market or whatever, or whatever.

6.1 Limitations

Although having been able to answer the set research question as well as its accompanying sub-questions, several limitations of this research need to be pointed out. On the one hand the quantities of conducted interviews should be taken into consideration as the whole analysis section is – despite well-grounded theory – based on the statements given by a total amount of only four interviewees. It can be argued that this presents a quite low number. Thus, it is further recommend to discuss the findings either again with the same interview partners or increase the amount in order to get more opinions, and maybe also more diverse arguments. However, as already stated in the methodology section, the purpose of case studies is to provide in-depth understanding of one particular case which justifies concentrating on rather high quality interviews with only a few people instead of high quantities, but less representative.

On the other hand, the choice of interview partner might also be seen as a limitation. All interview partners are local actors, therefore only representing vicarious supporters of the bottom-up approach. Thus, the argumentation might seem one-sided. It would be recommend, in order to continue this research, to also include other actors, for instance members of the central authority. In that way, the top-down approach might would be favored more and advantages as well as disadvantages of both approaches could be elaborated on in terms of segregation. That would be beneficial as having more perspectives on one topic is believed to enrich the discussion. Nevertheless, for the purpose and scope of this paper the researched done is sufficient for answering the research question.

As a last limitation, one could also argue that simultaneously looking at another case would verify the results found in this research more. Thus, the findings would be more valid as, for instance, the case chosen here might present the exception to the rule which would hinder its generalizability.

6.2 Recommendations

Deriving from this thesis's limitations, suggestions for further research can be made. Firstly, more cases should be included in a next step to see if the findings from the case presented here also apply to other situations. If so, the outcomes would have a stronger impact and would lead the discussion from governments having the responsibility to deal with segregation and respective criticism to embracing the benefits of the bottom-up approach regarding this matter.

Secondly, it is recommended to interview more people or make sure that the outcomes found are verified in any other way.

Thirdly, this research focused on the micro-environment of the neighborhood of Baumheide. However, one could also have looked at its relation to the whole city as such, what segregated from the other parts of Bielefeld actually means for the lives of both Baumheide's residents and the others. As this paper rather neglected the whole construct and reflected on the neighborhood only – motivated by the bottom-up approach that, as mentioned above applies on the micro level (Matland, 1995) – including the effects of segregation on the whole city would add another, enriching perspective.

7. References

- Abdou, M. and Gilbert, N. (2009) Modelling the emergence and dynamics of social and workplace segregation. *Mind Soc*, 8:173. DOI: 10.1007/s11299-009-0056-3
- Amaratunga, D., Baldry, D., Sarshar, M. & Newton, R. (2002) Quantitative and qualitative research in the built environment: application of "mixed" research approach. *Work Study* 51 (1), 17-31. DOI: 10.1108/00438020210415488
- Amnesty International (2017) Slovakia: Unlawful ethnic segregation in schools is failing Romani children Retrieved from <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2017/03/slovakia-unlawful-ethnic-segregation-in-schools-is-failing-romani-children/>
- Anderson, N. (2016) Top Down or Bottom Up Approaches to Successful Change. *The Crispian Advantage*. Retrieved from <http://thecrispianadvantage.com/top-down-or-bottom-up-approaches-to-change/>
- Arbaci, S. (2007) Ethnic Segregation, Housing Systems and Welfare Regimes in Europe. *International Journal of Housing Policy*, 7 (4). 401-433. DOI: 10.1080/14616710701650443
- Beitzer, H. (2015) Was Gentrifizierung wirklich ist. Published by Süddeutsche Zeitung. Retrieved from <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/leben/mietpreise-und-verdraengung-was-gentrifizierung-wirklich-ist-1.2517648>
- Bielefeld Marketing GmbH (2018) Stadtportrait. Retrieved from <https://www.bielefeld.de/de/ti/portrait/>
- Bolt, G., Özüekren, A. S. & Phillips, D. (2009) Linking Integration and Residential Segregation. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(2), 169 – 186. DOI: 10.1080/13691830903387238
- Bolt, G., Phillips, D. and Van Kempen, R. (2010) Housing Policy, (De)segregation and Social Mixing: An International Perspective. *Housing Studies*, 25(2), 129-135. DOI: 10.1080/02673030903564838
- Bünning, M. (2016) Soziale Lagen und soziale Schichtung. In *Sozialstruktur und soziale Lagen*. Auszug aus dem Datenreport 2016. Retrieved from https://wzb.eu/sites/default/files/u36/07_dr2016_160421.pdf
- Cairney, P. (2015) The implementation of policy in Scotland #POLU9SP. Published by Paul Cairney: Politics & Public Policy. Retrieved from <https://paulcairney.wordpress.com/tag/bottom-up-policy-making/>

- Cerna, L. (2013) The Nature of Policy Change and Implementation: A Review of Different Theoretical Approaches. OECD. Retrieved from <http://www.oecd.org/education/eri/The%20Nature%20of%20Policy%20Change%20and%20Implementation.pdf>
- Commission of the European Communities (2007) Third Annual Report on Migration and Integration. Retrieved from <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM%3A2007%3A0512%3AFIN%3AEN%3APDF>
- Council of Europe (2017) Fighting school segregation in Europe through inclusive education: a position paper. Retrieved from <https://rm.coe.int/fighting-school-segregationin-europe-throughinclusive-education-a-posi/168073fb65>
- Creswell (2013) Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design. Choosing Among Five Approaches (3rd ed.) London, England: SAGE Publications.
- Da Piedade Morais, M., De Oliveira Cruz, B., and Wagner de Albuquerque Oliveira, C. (2005) Residential Segregation and Social Exclusion in Brazilian Housing Markets. Retrieved from <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTURBANDEVELOPMENT/Resources/336387-1269364699096/6892630-1269364758309/piedade.pdf>
- deLeon, P & deLeon, L. (2002) What Ever Happened to Policy Implementation? An Alternative Approach. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory, 12 (4), 467-492. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3525857>
- Ellermann, D. (2017) Integriertes Städtebauliches Entwicklungskonzept. Ed. Stadt Bielefeld Bauamt. Retrieved from <https://www.bielefeld.de/de/pbw/mup/baum/>
- Florida, R. (2015) America's Biggest Problem Is Concentrated Poverty, Not Inequality. Published by CityLab. Retrieved from <https://www.citylab.com/equity/2015/08/americas-biggest-problem-is-concentrated-poverty-not-inequality/400892/>
- Geller, L. W. (2008) Business Success from the Bottom Up. Published by strategy+business. Retrieved from <https://www.strategy-business.com/article/li00070?gko=cf7e9>
- Glebe, G. (2002) Innerstädtische Segregation in deutschen Großstädten. 142-143. Retrieved from http://archiv.nationalatlas.de/wp-content/art_pdf/Band5_142-143_archiv.pdf
- Gridwood, J. (2013) Top-down and Bottom-up Approaches within Implementation. Published by Political Pipeline. Retrieved from <https://politicalpipeline.wordpress.com/2013/02/21/top-down-and-bottom-up-approaches-within-implementation/>
- Hall, T. and Barrett, H. (2011) Urban Geography. Retrieved from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ubnru-ebooks/reader.action?docID=957367&query=>

- Handelsblatt (2015) Wo Kinder auf Autos trampeln. Retrieved from <http://www.handelsblatt.com/politik/deutschland/no-go-area-duisburg-marxloh-koerperverletzung-sachbeschaedigung-poebeleien/12207662-3.html>
- Hellerstein, J.K. and Neumark, D. (2008) Workplace Segregation in the United States: Race, Ethnicity, and Skill. *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 90(3), 459-477. DOI: 10.1162/rest.90.3.459
- Isidiho, A. O. & Sabran, M. S. B. (2016) Evaluating the Top-Bottom and Bottom-Up Community Development Approaches: Mixed Method Approach as Alternative for Rural Un-Educated Communities in Developing Countries. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 7 (4), 266-273. DOI: 10.5901/mjss.2016.v7n4p
- Khadka, C. & Vacik, H. (2012) Comparing a top-down and bottom-up approach in the identification of criteria and indicators for sustainable community forest management in Nepal. *Forestry An International Journal of Forest Research*, 85 (1), 145-. DOI: 10.1093/forestry/epr068
- Kleinhans, R. (2004). Social implications of housing diversification in urban renewal: A review of recent literature. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 19(4), 367–390. DOI: 10.1007/s10901-004-3041-5
- Lees, L. (2008) Gentrification and Social Mixing: Towards an Inclusive Urban Renaissance? *Urban Studies* 45(12). 2449-2470. DOI: 10.1177/004209800809709
- Lemanski, C. (2006) The impact of residential desegregation on social integration: Evidence from a South African neighborhood. *Geoforum*, 37(3), 417-435. DOI: 10.1016/j.geoforum.2005.09.002
- Marcuse, P. & van Kempen, R. (2002) Of States and Cities. The partitioning of urban space. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Andrew_Cliff/publication/253763276_Of_States_and_Cities/links/00b7d535615c41d076000000/Of-States-and-Cities.pdf
- Martin, D. (2016) 5 Tips For Choosing The Right Neighborhood. Retrieved from <https://www.forbes.com/sites/dmartin/2016/07/29/5-tips-for-choosing-the-right-neighborhood/#1752ba836581>
- Matland, R. (1995) Synthesising the implementation literature: the ambiguity-conflict model of policy implementation. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 5(2), 145-174. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/1181674.pdf?reqid=excelsior%3A1cd83dd5a1efac0ee84836cb17ed1198>
- McCann, P. and Acs, Z.J. (2011) Globalization: Countries, Cities and Multinationals. *Regional Studies*, 45:1, 17-32, DOI: 10.1080/00343404.2010.505915
- Meslin, E. M. (2010) The Value of Using Top-Down and Bottom-Up Approaches for Building Trust and Transparency in Biobanking. *Public Health Genomics*, 13 (4), 207-214. DOI: 10.1159/000279622

- Musterd, S. (2005) Social and Ethnic Segregation in Europe: Levels, Causes and Effects. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 27(3), 331-348. DOI: 10.1111/j.0735-2166.2005.00239.x
- Najib, K. (2017) Socio-spatial inequalities in the cities and their recent evolutions: comparison between Besançon, Mulhouse, and Strasbourg. *Cybergeo: European Journal of Geography*. DOI: 10.4000/cybergeo.27975
- Nakagawa, M. (2015) Segregation patterns in cities: ethnic clustering without skill differences. *The Annals of Regional Science*. 55: 453. 453-483. DOI: 10.1007/s00168-015-0709-6
- O'Nions, H. (2010) Different and unequal: the educational segregation of Roma pupils in Europe. *Journal Intercultural Education*, 21(1). 1-13. DOI: 10.1080/14675980903491833
- Pacione, M. (2009). *Urban geography*. Routledge, Oxon. 3rd edition. Retrieved from <https://www.taylorfrancis-com.ru.idm.oclc.org/books/e/9781134043095>
- Permentier, M., Van Ham, M. and Bolt, G. (2009) Neighbourhood reputation and the intention to leave the neighbourhood. *Environment and Planning A*, 41. 2162-2180. DOI: 10.1068/a41262
- Pettigrew, T.F. and Tropp, L.R. (2008) How does intergroup contact reduce prejudice? Meta-analysis tests of three mediators. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 38. 922-934. DOI: 10.1002/ejsp.504
- Phillips, D. (2010) Minority ethnic segregation, integration and citizenship: a European perspective. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(2): 209-225. DOI: 10.1080/13691830903387337
- Presseamt Stadt Bielefeld (2018) Häufig nachgefragt: Aktuelle Einwohnerzahlen. Retrieved from https://www.bielefeld.de/de/rv/ds_stadtverwaltung/presse/stas/ak/
- Reskin, B. (1993) Sex Segregation in the Workplace. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 19. 241-270. DOI: 10.1146/annurev.so.19.080193.001325
- Roche, S. (2017) Listening to the grass roots: Bottom-up approaches to lifelong learning. *International Review Education*, 63, 145-152. DOI: 10.1007/s11159-017-9634-5
- Saunders, M., Lewis, P. and Thornhill, A. (2009) *Research Methods for Business Students* (5th edn) (Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd) Retrieved from <https://eclass.teicrete.gr/modules/document/file.php/DLH105/Research%20Methods%20for%20Business%20Students%2C%205th%20Edition.pdf>
- Saunders, P. (2016) *How To Understand Gentrification*. Published by Forbes. Retrieved from <https://www.forbes.com/sites/petesaunders1/2016/08/29/understanding-gentrification/#7f2d0a7e35ec>

- Schmidt, D. (2018) How to Pick and Move to the Best Neighborhood for You and Your Family. Retrieved from <https://www.thespruce.com/choosing-the-right-neighborhood-2435878>
- Schlueter, E., Ullrich, J., Glenzt, A. and Schmidt, P. (2015) From segregation to intergroup contact and back: Using experiments and simulation to understand the bi-directional link. *European Journal of Social Psychology* 48. 17-32. DOI: 10.1002/ejsp.2284
- Sellers, J. M. (1999) PUBLIC GOODS AND THE POLITICS OF SEGREGATION: An Analysis and Cross-national Comparison. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 21(2). 237-262. DOI: 10.1111/0735-2166.00013
- Sharkey, P. (2013) Rich Neighborhood, Poor Neighborhood: How Segregation Threatens Social Mobility. Published by The Brookings Institution. Retrieved from <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/social-mobility-memos/2013/12/05/rich-neighborhood-poor-neighborhood-how-segregation-threatens-social-mobility/>
- Siebel, W. (2013) Es gibt keine Ghettos! Wie lassen sich Migranten am besten integrieren? Nicht durch naive Toleranzappelle, sondern durch Segregation. Published in *Zeit Online*. Retrieved from <http://www.zeit.de/2013/18/essay-segregation-migranten-integration>
- Stadt Bielefeld (2016a) Stadtbezirk Heepen. Bevölkerungsstruktur und Arbeitsmarkt. Retrieved from https://www.bielefeld.de/ftp/dokumente/Steckbrief_2016_Heepen.pdf
- Stadt Bielefeld (2016b) Stadtbezirk Gadderbaum. Bevölkerungsstruktur und Arbeitsmarkt. Retrieved from https://www.bielefeld.de/ftp/dokumente/Steckbrief_2016_Gadderbaum.pdf
- Stadt Bielefeld (2017) Statistische Kurzinformation mit Daten zum 31.12.2017. Bevölkerung. Retrieved from https://www.bielefeld.de/ftp/dokumente/Bevoelkerung_31122017.pdf
- Sturm, G. (2007) Ungleichzeitigkeiten in deutschen Großstädten. Informationen zur Raumentwicklung. Heft 6. 381-390. Retrieved from https://www.bbsr.bund.de/BBSR/DE/Veroeffentlichungen/IzR/2007/Downloads/6Sturm.pdf?__blob=publicationFile&v=2
- Sutterlüty, F. and Walter, I. (2005) Übernahmegerüchte. Klassifikationskämpfe zwischen türkischen Aufsteigern und ihren deutschen Nachbarn. *Leviathan*, 33(2). 182-204. DOI: 10.1007/s11578-005-0035-y
- Van Kempen, R. and Bolt, G.(2009) Social cohesion, social mix, and urban policies in the Netherlands. *Journal House and the Built Environment* 24. 457-475. DOI: 10.1007/s10901-009-9161-1

- Wagner, U., Hewstone, M. and Machlelt, U. (1989) Contact and Prejudice Between Germans and Turks: A Correlation Study. *Human Relations*, 42. 561-574. DOI: 10.1177/001872678904200701
- Watson, T. (2009) Inequality and the Measurement of residential segregation by income in American neighborhoods. *Review of Income and Wealth*. 55(3). 820-844. DOI: 10.1111/j.1475-4991.2009.00346.x
- Yin, R. K. (2009) *Case study research: Design and methods* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. Retrieved from <https://journals.nipissingu.ca/index.php/cjar/article/view/73>
- Zimmer-Hegmann et al. (2003) Sozialraumanalyse – Soziale, ethnische und demografische Segregation in den nordrhein-westfälischen Städten. Retrieved from https://www.landtag.nrw.de/portal/WWW/GB_I/I.1/EK/EKALT/13_EK1/EKZukunftStadteNRWILSZEFIRSozialraumanalyse2003.pdf

Appendices

See Blackboard folder for primary data used in this research. It contains the interview transcripts, including the coding.