"Governance Arrangements Targeting Diversity in Europe – How New Public Management impacts on work social cohesion in different contexts."

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The changing climate in Urban Governance

The managament of urban policies underwent significant transformations in the last decades. Such changes speeded up in the wake of economic crises – in the 1970s as in the late 2000s (Warner and Clifton 2014).

In this introduction, we will first assess main features of these changes. Then, we will analyse how this may affect the governance of some urban policies – in particular arrangements targeting social cohesion, social mobility and economic success of a wide range of groups, sharing the label of "diverse" according to relevant stakeholders and policy makers.

In the aftermath of crises, not rarely a (contested) process of neoliberalization has been visible in state as in urban policy-making. A main feature of such changes is that they are deployed territorially: "Particularly since the early 1980s, processes of deregulation, liberalization, and state retrenchment – the linchpins of the neoliberal policy repertoire – have been imposed at a range of spatial scales, from the global and the continental to the national and the local, albeit always in context-, territory-, and/or place-specific forms" (Brenner and Theodore 2002: vi).

Urban governance has been more and more characterized by the use of market-related policy instruments, that transformed the role of public institutions and private (for profit and non profit) actors. Urban policy is more and more making use of territorially-based public-private partnerships, interinstitutional coordination models and interorganizational networks, regulated as quasi-markets.

Cities are somehow constrained to adopt new instruments, according to their position in the scalar fix: international, national and regional actors may directly or indirectly contribute to neoliberalization processes. For example, regulation and financing tools may influence available policy instruments, in turn affectin policy targets and responsiveness: a focus on efficiency and budget control, for example, may make the reduction of inequality harder, by shifting policy aims and by cutting resources. Actually, a relevant point is that new policy instruments are often framed in a "devolved austerity" (Peck 2012: 628), where innovative practices are side by side with retrenchement and hollowing out of public action.

Though, liberalization, privatization and deregulation took different shapes in different policy areas and cities. Different locales may embrace this general trend at different degrees: no one

way is defined, and local adaptations are related to specific institutional and societal path-dependencies.

1. **1.2. New Public Management in urban governance**

What characterises neoliberal policy instruments? From the first waves of changes in urban governance in the 1980s, this approach has been labelled as "New Public Management" (NPM) (Hood 1991; Pollitt, van Thiel and Homburg 2007).

NPM includes a variety of actual policies, even though we can identify some common trends (Kazepov 2010; Oosterlynk et al. 2013). We will list below four main areas of NPM actions: the reorganization of public administration, decentralization, partnerships and networks, innovation.

1.2.1. The reorganization of public administrations

An important factor is the reorganization of public administrations in terms of size, costs and goals: public workforce is often downsized in favour of externalization; public action is retrenched, while the focus shifts from hierarchical command to markets and networks. Market principles are adopted: the focus on efficiency and cost-effectiveness may boosts liberalization, contractring-out, externalization, privatization via competitive calls for tenders and bids.

Market competition tools may be enacted by urban, regional, state and supranational institutions. This means that at any level actors can be both promoters and subjects of neoliberal and austerity practices (Donald et al. 2014).

So, also local institutions (and their partners) not only issue calls for tenders, but they themselves are cought in the game of "fund hunting": participation into competitive calls replace standard funding; projects replace services. Risk coverage is hence subject to high variability, fro different points of view: territorial (capacity to attract resources at city and neighbourhood level), social (availability of resources for some targets), temporal (visions – if any – are blurred in order to "fit" priorities into existing short-terms bids and tenders), discoursive (projects more lobbied and promoted – not rarely tied to more powerful local or supralocal actors – have a competitive advantage in their continuity).

1.2.2. Decentralization processes

NPM has been also accompanied by decentralization and devolution processes, according to the principle of vertical subsidiarity: low-scale bodies are maintained to be closer to citizens, hence more able to frame problems, enact and assess solutions.

Though, a managerial, if not entrepreneurial, decentralization may affect negatively social participation, especially when concerning social policy. Penury is decentralized, risk is devolved giving local level responsibilities but limited tools and resources (Mèny and Wright 1985; Kazepov 2010; Peck 2012; Andreotti, Mingione and Polizzi 2012); their scale may be inadequate to face problems: "City elites are confronted by intensifying pressures to act (and to be seen to act) on urban problems, including localized poverty and unemployment, faltering growth, environmental degradation and social inequality, and to do so in ways that connect, pragmatically and presentationally, to dominant lines of policy development and financing, even if the capacity to achieve meaningful leverage over these issues routinely exceeds the scale of the urban. Urban policymaking has therefore become 'over-responsibilized', even as the limitations of prevailing modes of intervention become increasingly evident." (Peck, Theodore and Brenner 2013: 1097).

1.2.3. Partnerships and networks

As a correlate of the focus on markets and networks, public-private partnership and networking become instruments more and more used. In social policy, this leads to the creation of "welfare mix" models (Ascoli and Ranci 2002): according to the principle of horizontal subsidiarity, redistribution is complemented with reciprocity.

Networks is often seen as a solution per se. Even, as a functional substitute of other resources, since network is maintained to be resourceful by definition: "A network discourse has emerged during the last two decades, representing networks as self-organizing, collaborative, nonhierarchical, flexible" (Leitner and Sheppard 2002: 495).

The governance of a network requires a specific expertise, and a definition of room of manouver and roles. If local institutions just use networks to pass the buck, democratic accountability is limited: a lack of coordination may stimulate private, particularistic interests, negatively affecting risk coverage for those more blamed, excluded, stigmatized and less prioritized in the policy agenda. This may hinder availability and accessibility of protection.

Especially in deprived areas, actors taking part into networks may not enjoy resources and expertise to develop community capacity at a pace fast enough to replace retrenching public action (Deas and Doyle 2013). Weaker networks needing more support, can be the first affected by austerity measures.

Sharing goals, aims, methods, tools and discourses among a variety of public and private actors can be very risky. Power asymmetries, exclusions, co-optations and unclear tasks can create holes and overlaps in the networks, thus leaving some social needs uncovered and some involved actors disempowered (Gross 2014).

1.2.3.1. Specific problems in networking

Many management problems can be related to any kind of network, both communitarian and neoliberal. Nevertheless, some problems are specifically related to "neoliberal networks" (Leitner and Sheppard 2002), that prioritize competition and marketized outcomes. In this frame, public-private relations became more contractual.

A competitive approach to policy-making seeps in very local initiatives. Market-oriented discourses become so permeating that a range of other organizations adopt it: for example, also large nonprofit funders (e.g.: foundations) adopt competitive systems to select their partners and to fund projects and actions.

Delegation to profit or non-profit private actors, under the label of empowering civil society, can simply and strightforwardly pass the buck, with public actors just washing their hands. Associated audit regimes may "bureaucratize" back the market.

Public actors seem to take back control – though, this happens just formally, because poor attention is paid on societal effects. Controls do focus mostly on accountanancy, financial procedures, performance management and outputs. The focus on outcomes can be ritualized in the quantitative obsession for measurable standards and performance indicators (Pollitt, van Thiel and Homburg 2007).

The sum of such bureaucratic ritualism and NPM practices requires a double efforts for civil society organizations: to be both fit for the market and fit for bureaucracy.

The mix of traditional bureaucratic approaches and market rules can have complex consequences: high institutional barriers in terms of bureaucratic fulfillments and procedures

can reduce actual competition, but can also favour some private players, e.g. larger organizations more "fit" or adaptable to competition rules. On the other hand, the need to be "fit" to participate into competitive calls, rational market-like management may engender a dangerous trade-off between professionalism and activism. Civil society organizations are often forced to adopt market-oriented expertise to continue their collaboration with public institutions and providing continuity to actions – not in a painless way.

The trade-off between volunteerism and professionalism structurally changes the mission of civil society organizations. Professionalism needs takings to be stabilized, since professionals have to be paid. There's a shift from activism to technical skills – from politics to policies. Civil society organizations risk to become grant dependent, transforming their status.

Advocacy, volunteering, local rootedness have to be streamlined according to available calls and funding lines. "Purity" become isolation, and the risk of being kicked out from service delivery, and from relevance in the public discourse.

Business techniques have to be more and more used, even though not always fitting the organization and the mission of nonprofit organizations: corporate and project image becomes important, to create support for their aims (Alexander 2000). Selective a "profitable" niche of action becomes important, with the risk of excluding more stigmatized targets, or to focus more on means that on goals.

As long as public funding under NPM becomes more and more selective and based on short-term competitive calls, the risk of a battle of have-nots among small-scale grassroots organization requires new strategies, not to give in to bigger players. Networking may become a need more than a choice; strategic linkages with public and private players may be aimed at survival more than at sharing missions and goals.

Thus, grassroots movements, neighbourhood organizations, small-scale civil society that aims to collaborate with local institutions risk to be stuck in daily micropractices, that sustain their spatio-temporal segmentation (Uitermark and Nicholls 2014; Harvey 2001): short-term, small-size activites engage activists, reducing their ambitions and their potential disruptive effect on consolidated power relations. In this respect, even community-based policies – as long as they are measures intended not to challenge more general causes of local problems – can be produced in a neoliberal frame disempowering local actors.

1.2.4. Innovation as a framing discourse

NPM is also related to discourses on innovation. Even though innovation is not necessarily framed in a neoliberal discourse, it may well have neoliberal nuances (Lévesque 2012). Competition is considered to positively boost innovation. Innovative and entrepreneurial initiatives may be seen as necessary to alleviate local authorities' distress when their budget is eroded (Harvey 1989).

In last years, innovation is one of the most powerful frames for social policy change, that open the way to a further use of NPM instruments: innovation discourse criticizes welfare state rigidities, supports economic developments, answers urban crises through neighbourhood development (thus carrying on the above-mentioned spatio-temporal segmentation, cfr. Oosterlynck et al. 2013).

Some of the policy innovations within this frame risks to limit their social dimension: they may not have transformative effects on social relations and positive effects on need satisfaction of disadvantaged groups; they may not increase social participation and inclusiveness (Moulaert and Nussbaumer 2008). Changes may not turn into social innovations, instead regressing protected rights and social cohesion, and exacerbating conflicts and power asymmetries.

1.3. Austerity as a context for urban governance

The importance (and backlashes) of the above-mentioned stances has been stronger in the aftermath of the recent economic crisis, especially in local contexts hit harder by its fiscal and political consequences: many locales have to face much narrower operational conditions, being stuck in what Jamie Peck (2012) calls "austerity urbanism".

Though, it is also worth underlaying that austerity budgeting may be adopted in areas not so hit by the crisis. Fiscal distress related to decentralizing penury is not only visible in Mediterranean cities, but also in Continental ones (Färber 2014). As a local or as a state-level policy, austerity may be considered the only "necessary" solution to prevent budget risks (Peck 2012).

Institutional constraints and social conditions intersect in defining straits for urban policy.

Economic crises are an opportunity to justify austerity policies in and for the cities. Budget control mechanisms, limitation on spending, cuts of state transfers (also in the shape of

devolution without resources and increase of competitive instruments to access resources) renew public and political attention on efficiency and cost-effectiveness.

Though, the new austerity wave after the 2008 crisis implies new consequences, since "it operates on, and targets anew, an already neoliberalized institutional landscape. It cuts deeper into the remnants of the socially redistributive and welfare state" (Peck 2012: 631; cfr. also Warner and Clifton 2014). Where the welfare organization was already frail, new austerity measures can strongly undermine social protection.

This can hit harder disadvantaged contexts and social groups. The control on resources justifies selective practices: widening of NPM to other policy areas and fields; cuts or conditionality of provisions for some targets – with long-term social and institutional consequences beyond the cyclical crisis.

Actually the crisis affects social conditions, increasing the number of disadvantaged persons, and modifying their profile. New social risks adds on top of older ones. Welfare needs and responsibilities, and pressures on local institutions to cope with them, increase. Often, not the resources to cope.

1.3.1. Austerity urbanism and the governance of diversity

This issue may be particularly relevant for the increasing diversity cities have to cope – a challenge to social cohesion that is becoming more and more relevant (Vertovec 2007; Tasan-Kok et al. 2014).

Diversity and social cohesion are part of a set of new social risks that have been emerging in the last decades together with the crisis of the welfare state. They imply not only classical welfarist redistribution issues, but also its coupling with recognition (MacLeod and McFarlane 2014). A decoupling of these two sides may be detrimental to an effective treatment of diversity in new social risks: a focus just on diversity and not on inequality (or the other way around) increases exclusion (Fraser 2011).

Immigration related diversity, in particular, is gaining momentum in many local agendas: the evidence of (and discourse on) failing traditional national model of integrations and the superdiversification of migration flows (matched with hyperdiversification of intersectional diversities) challenge traditional state-level actions. The urban level more and more

complement or substitute high-tier institutions in managing migration, both in terms of immigrant and immigration policy.

Though, also the incorporation of other kinds of diversity (family arrangements, gender, age...) is more and more downscaled (Kazepov 2010; Ranci, Sabatinelli and Brandsen 2014). This is even more evident when diversity matches with inequality, in particular if spatially concentreted: neighbourhood policies often target areas that intersect many forms of diversities and disadvantages.

In the frame of austerity urbanism and decentralizing penury we mentioned above, we can suppose that new social questions related to diversity may be matched with unfavourable conditions: in terms of timing (Bonoli 2007), they become more relevant at a stage when cities may have less resources (in a broad sense) to cope with it; in terms of institutional coverage, the path-dependency of protection of some old risks (Ranci 2010), and an intense rescaling (Kazepov 2010; Ranci, Sabatinelli and Brandsen 2014) may leave limited room for new social risks: "spending fields that are not defended by powerful constituencies or large voting blocs are especially vulnerable under such conditions, resulting in the default targeting of programs for the poor and marginalized" (Peck: 631).

This may be "disproportionately impacting the poor, the young, racialised communities and the elderly leading to the intensification of social–spatial segregation at the neighbourhood, city and inter-city levels" (Donald et al. 2014: 4). Redefinition of blame and underservingness may be related processes, grounding punitive urbanism (MacLeod and Johnstone 2012)

1.4. Research perspectives: local embeddedness and place-specific in the case of diversity policies

Above mentioned transformations do not take place in an institutional and social vacuum: path dependency of national and local regulations, contestations and construction of alternatives may steer significantly the outcomes, in terms of governance arrangements, selected tools, impacts of changes (Brenner and Theodore 2002). A concern for the multifaceted arrangements adopted at local level is necessary to understand how new approaches to governance, albeit similar, are shaped differently in context-specific manners.

When dealing with diversity-related arrangements to boost social cohesion and social mobility, institutional and social contextual factors may steer their goals, targets, and governance. At institutional level, national and local political culture define how diversities are traditionally accommodated and framed (citizenship laws, welfare models, the politics of difference, the space of civil society, the role of local autonomies...). At social level, the weight, voice, isolation/incorporation and recognition of diversity affects incorporation.

Thus, institutional and social frames play an important role in providing a context for toxic effects of NPM measures, and provide alternative solutions: "even though economic and fiscal problems will continue to buffet municipalities, stronger institutional infrastructure, governance coalitions and community solidarity can position municipal governments to better cope." (Donald et al. 2014: 12).

The four factors identified above (reorganization of public administration, decentralization, partnerships and networks, innovation) can be disentangled from strictly market-oriented procedures and made fit for social goals.

Using market instruments not as a goal but as a disillusioned tool may create positive prospects: "some cities are learning to ride the wave [...] They contract out but give keen attention to the need to create markets for public services, build competition by allowing competitive bidding from in-house teams, and carefully monitor to ensure service quality and cost savings. They contract out to market and back in to public delivery creating a dynamic engagement with market over time. [...] Cities are becoming market makers" (Warner and Clifton 2014: 54).

Innovation in service provisions can hollow out public action, but can also be helpful to find new ways to answer needs without succumbing to market rules.

Partnerships and networks may both challenge and enrich social participation, so we have to focus on conditions that favour an outcome or the other – on different models of urban governance that may have a more managerial or corporatist and welfarist leaning (Pierre 1999). In the latter cases, democratic participation and social protection can be more defended.

2. Methods and data

The results presented in this paper are based on qualitative interviews with representatives of a range of governance arrangements in the case studies. Swyngedouw (2005; 1994) defines a governance arrangement as a "horizontal inter-action among presumptive equal participants without distinction between their public or private status being realized through regular, iterative exchanges among a fixed set of independent but interdependent actors (representing actors but not individuals) who have guaranteed (but possibly selective) access, preferably as early as possible in the decision-making cycle." On the ground, however, truly horizontal arrangements are rare. Even when identifying a network with rather flat internal hierarchies formed around a common goal, a common target group of work, dependencies are present which influence the work of the initiatives in one way or the other.

The case study cities represent three rather different contexts in Europe with respect to the structural conditions and institutional frames for the work of governance arrangements targeting social cohesion related to social diversity. Copenhagen represents a capital of a strong welfare state run by a socio-democratic government since a century. Compared to other European cities, resources available at the local level for social purposes are not scarce. Leipzig is a post-socialist city embedded in the German welfare state, which experienced the implementation of western model institutions and regulations, but also went through a phase of shrinkage bringing about an ongoing austerity condition in public administration. Milano represents a southern European city experiencing the effects of the financial crisis and thus a declining welfare state with resources at the local level reduced or blurred. The selection of governance arrangements was based on an analysis of governance approaches and policies targeting social cohesion, social mobility and the improvement of the economic performance of the less privileged citizens. From here, a range of governance arrangements was selected for each city to represent the different forms, goals and modes of work of arrangements.

Interviews were conducted with representatives from 10 governance arrangements per city, and complemented with the analysis of documents. Interviews were most times not recorded in order to stimulate more open descriptions of the conditions of work and factors of success and failure. The interviews followed a common interview guideline which put emphasis on the development of arrangement, the mode of work, relations to other stakeholders, success and fail-factors. The analysis is based on a coding of points of interest and a respective interpretation of the data.

3. Working for social cohesion in diverse cities under precarious conditions: findings from Copenhagen, Milano, and Leipzig

2. 1. Copenhagen, Denmark

3.1.1. Case study description

Compared to the general social composition of Denmark, Copenhageners overall have higher levels of education: 37% of Copenhageners have a higher vocational education/tertiary education compared to 26% nationally. The average household income is slightly lower than the national level; no doubt partly caused by the high numbers of students living in the city. 5.5% is unemployed, compared to 4.8% nationally. Age-wise, the 20-49 years olds are over-represented compared to the rest of the country with more than half of the population belonging to this age-category. Ethnically, Copenhagen is more diverse than the rest of the country with 77% Danes compared to 89% in the country as a whole. 15% of Copenhageners originate from a non-western country. Overall, Copenhagen is diverse in a range of ways including age, socioeconomic situation, ethnicity, culture and lifestyle.

The social composition of Copenhagen is thus very mixed. This is caused amongst other things by the diversity of the neighbourhoods in Copenhagen; ranging from socially deprived areas to gentrified and expensive areas. Overall, however, the city has over the last few decades changed from being a city of poverty to being a popular place to live with rising house prices and an increasingly affluent resident composition. While some areas of Copenhagen still offer housing for the socially disadvantaged, it is becoming harder and harder for such groups to afford the rent levels of Copenhagen. Thus, one of the key processes that have changed the social composition of Copenhagen is the increasing popularity of living in the capital and consequently the increasing costs of living there. An ongoing discussion in relation to this is how to secure affordable housing in the capital while at the same time improving the housing stock. One of the consequences as well as the causes of the growing popularity of the city has been the extensive regeneration and urban renewal projects initiated by the municipality. Such projects have had a huge impact on the quality and composition of the housing stock of the neighbourhoods that have been subject to them and this in turn has changed the social composition; in some areas

with wide-ranging gentrification as a consequence. Currently, the city thus offers a mix of neighbourhoods ranging from socially deprived areas to gentrified, expensive areas.

The ongoing urban regeneration leads, based on experiences from in particular one area of the city, to discussion of how to improve the housing conditions of the city while at the same time securing housing opportunities for a wide range of socioeconomic groups. As the rest of the country, Copenhagen has seen a growing immigration during the last decades; with Copenhagen attracting a higher share of foreigners than the rest of the country. This ethnic diversity does entail the risk of diversity challenges in terms of racism and ethnic conflicts; however, it seems that such challenges are less evident in Copenhagen, perhaps due precisely to the higher shares of ethnic minorities and the positive approach to diversity. Nevertheless, there is an overlap between ethnic minority groups and socially deprived individuals which means that targeting socioeconomic issues per definition leads to a targeting of ethnic groups. Overall, the interviewees from both WP4 and WP5 insist that challenges related to diversity are connected primarily to socioeconomic differences. If these are solved and if the municipality succeeds in spreading the notion of diversity as a strength and an advantage for the city, the idea is that diversity will not entail challenges.

The approach of Copenhagen to immigration specifically and diversity more generally is a pluralist policy, (Syrett and Sepulveda 2012). This is in contrast to national level policy which is an example of an integrationist/intercultural policy (ibid.). Copenhagen thus stands out compared to national politics by having a more positive approach to diversity, explicitly addressing it as an advantage and a strength for the city. Copenhagen is by far the largest municipality in the country which makes it the dominant actor amongst local governments and a pioneer in terms of diversity policies.

In the next sections, we introduce the cases, giving examples of governance arrangements and discussing the finding along the topics highlighted above.

3.1.3. The impact of NPM on diversity-related governance arrangements in Copenhagen

Analysing diversity-related governance arrangements in Copenhagen, viewing diversity as a potential resource for growth, innovation and development is present. For instance, arrangements are aware of highlighting the potentials for creativity, innovation, performance and growth inherent in diversity. This illustrates how the arrangements, to varying degrees,

adapt to elements of new public management in play in the current political climate in Copenhagen.

From being a city on the verge of bankcruptcy in the 1990s, Copenhagen has become a city of growth and wealth experiencing population increases and economic growth. The financial crisis in 2008 was without doubt felt in Copenhagen, but to a much lesser degree than in other parts of Denmark and in other European cities. By 2015, flat prices have exceeded pre-2008 levels, thus indicating that the crisis can, more or less, be considered a bump in the road for Copenhagen. Consequently, while austerity measures have been employed by the municipality, their impact on the conditions of the governance arrangements has been limited. While scarcity of resources can almost always be considered a challenge, the investigated governance arrangements do not perceive this challenge as having increased since the crisis.

A certain reorganisation of public administrations can be identified. Denmark has a very large public sector, and discussions of retrenchment are very pronounced on a national level. This is echoed in the city of Copenhagen, but to a much lesser extent; most likely due to a very stable predominance of left-wing political approaches. Still, contracting-out, externalisation and privatisation through calls for services and tasks have found their way into the political and administational climate in Copenhagen. The replacement of public services funded through general municipal budgets with time-limited projects funded by bounded grants is gaining ground. This includes the activities of voluntary organisations and private foundations as well as activities nested within the municipal administration itself. Municipal tasks are increasingly organised as specific, time-limited projects (e.g. Lab2400 Talents). In other words, the market-oriented approach is adopted by both public and nonprofit actors. While such reorganisations open the possibility of receiving funding for a variety of organisations, it makes the issue of funding a both comprehensive and ongoing task for them. Not all arrangements are fit to perform such tasks, and the constant risk of closing down excerts large impacts on the arrangements: Firstly, substantial resources are reserved for fundraising and networking, as well as for effect documentation. Demands for quantitative evidence-based effects contrast the often qualitative and preventive approaches of the arrangements.

PASTRY HILL INTEGRATION HOUSE   **[Integrationshuset Kringlebakken]**

Pastry Hill Integration House is a volunteer-based association established in 1999 on a private initiative. Today, the association is funded primarily by Copenhagen Municipality in combination with grants from various funds. The goal of the association is to empower isolated ethnic minority women in terms of their private life, social life, childcare, employment, education and citizenship of the Danish society. The strategy is thus to encompass all aspects of the women's lives. Pastry Hill aims at fostering social mobility through empowering these women as well as improving social cohesion by trying to include them further into Danish society and build up their social networks. Pastry Hill aims at promoting diversity as a strength, while concurrently tackling the challenging following cultural and socio-economic differences. While ethno-cultural diversity and diversity in gender is embedded in the very objective of Pastry Hill, many other diversities are included, for instance, lifestyles and life cycles as child care is provided in connection to language lessons. Pastry Hill thus recognises the hyper-diversity of their target audience.

Currently, Pastry Hill employs seven paid employees managing and organising activities and courses. Language lessons, homework help, childcare and job counselling are for a large part handled by volunteers. The largest difficulty for Pastry Hill is ensuring the sufficient resources. The basic funding is provided by the Copenhagen Municipality for a four-year term and thus has too be re-applied for regularly. The remaining funds are provided by various private funds, also through continous application. According to the manager, fundraising is a demanding and challenging part of the running of Pastry Hill, and it is a task for which she does not feel appropriately trained. Furthermore, this task has become more and more difficult over the years. Consequently, the recognition of the work of Pastry Hill by public authorities and the ability of the association to provide effect documentation is crucial for its continued existence. In connection to this, well-functioning cooperation with municipal actors like social workers and health visitors is necessary.

Especially for volunteer-based or activist initiatives and for newer initiatives, such demands for professionalised and technical skills can be problematic. Secondly, the formulation of goals and approaches of the arrangements are adapted to current discourses and focus areas as defined by funding bodies (be that public actors or private foundations). Innovation and entrepreneurship has become key concepts, thus affecting the framing of governance arrangements; for instance, Lab2400 Talents adapting a social purpose into a discourse of entrepreneurship. However, while market-related discourses favouring concepts like entrepreneurship, growth and innovation have become more present, the overall political goals of Copenhagen Municipality has a certain continuity to them due to the highly stable political situation. Thus, the challenges of the arrangements of adapting their work to political discourses is not as problematic as it could be.

A further indication of the reorganisation of public administrations is how **networks** of a variety of actors are considered more flexible and appropriate tools for social work as opposed to top-down controlled public services. Consequently, such networks consisting of actors from different sectors and levels are initiated. The master plans for community regeneration presents an example of such networks. This concept illustrates the key role of allowing for a bottom-up approach while ensuring a certain degree of central coordination. Across the analysed governance arrangements, this combination is considered the key determinant of the succes or the failure of the arrangements.

RESIDENTS' PROJECT BISPEBJERG   [Beboerprojekt Bispebjerg]

Residents' Project Bispebjerg is one of three master plans for community regeneration currently running in Bispebjerg. The community regeneration master plans 'boligsociale helhedsplaner' are nation-wide arrangements set out to create positive development and improved living conditions in deprived social housing estates. The concept of the master plans was initiated with a parliamentary compromise agreement on housing policy in 2005. The governmentally managed National Building Fund finances 75% of each of the individual master plans, and these resources come from the rent of the residents as all social housing associations in Denmark are obliged to contribute to the fund. The local municipality and the social housing associations represented in the area finance the remaining 25% of the projects together. Funds are applied for by the housing associations in close cooperation with the local municipality. Each master plan has a four-year duration period, but extension can be applied for. In Residents' Project Bispebjerg, the funding from the social housing organisation is co-financed by minor rent increases in the nine estates involved. The idea behind the master plans for community regeneration is to take a unified approach to challenges in certain housing estates focusing on the coordination and cooperation between various actors of the neighbourhood as well as on city-wide and national levels. Hence, cross-sector collaboration (between different social housing organisations, the residents and the authorities), networking, strengthening the existing resources and taking a bottom-up approach are key elements of the master plans and crucial for their success.

Every four years, the National Building Fund defines seven themes under which all applications for master plans must fall. However, these themes are quite broadly defined, thus leaving quite a lot of room for adapting them to specific local contexts and initiate bottom-up activities. Residents' Project Bispebjerg is organised around three main themes: vulnerable residents, resident democracy, and children, youth and families. Accordingly, the project deals with diversity in terms of cultures, ethnicity, age, gender, lifestyles and, especially, socio-economy. Seven paid employees coordinate and facilitate the initiatives alongside doing substantial outreach work to reach the most marginalised groups. Activities include counselling regarding conflict resolution, residents' democracy and home maintenance, a residents' café, a women's club, a fathers' network, a holiday camp for children, help with homework and club guides for children. The activities are primarily meant to have a preventive effect; yet, the master plans are faced with demands of comprehensive documentation of effects. Thus, providing the requested justification for the initiatives to the municipality and other stakeholders are difficult when doing preventive aimed at long-term and qualitative, rather than quantitative, effects. Furthermore, creating such long-term impacts on the residents' lives is challenged by the time limitations to the master plans. The positive effect of the

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This relates to another change in public administration, namely, processes of decentralisation. This happens on several levels. Formerly public tasks are devolved to smaller-scale local organisations, e.g. voluntary social organisations; structural social problems such as

geographical segregation of socio-economically disadvantaged groups are considered problems to be addressed at neighbourhood levels rather than national levels; and the municipality delegates various tasks to smaller-scale projects. However, a contrasting example to such small-scale addressing of problems is Copenhagen Municipality's Policy for Disadvantaged Areas: As a reaction to the national-level listing of a number of social housing estates considered problematic, the municipality has identified seven large areas of the city, consisting of both social housing estates and other urban features, whose challenges are to be adressed and viewed coherently.

LAB2400 TALENTS   [Lab2400 Talenter]

The Lab2400 Talents is a course on entrepreneurship. It is part of an overall municipal enterprise project focused on the city's disadvantaged areas administered by Copenhagen Municipality. In Copenhagen Municipality, the political focus on improving living conditions in the city's disadvantaged areas has increased in recent years. Concurrently, entrepreneurship has attracted attention as an economic potential to be developed. However, national level authorities are involved as well, as the project is financed entirely by the Ministry of Housing, Urban and Rural Affairs. The enterprise project runs from 2012-2015, while Lab2400 ran during the spring of 2014. The goal of the overall municipal project is to 'promote enterprise, business development and social innovation in areas of the city that are characterised by a lack of businesses, jobs and mixed-function properties' (Copenhagen Municipality, 2014). However, the Lab2400 Talents, which is based in the Bispebjerg area, has refocused its work towards a more social purpose because it is targeted at unemployed, unskilled, marginalised young people for whom starting up a business lies far ahead in the future. Entrepreneurship is presented to these youngsters as a possible alternative way of making a living. So, the main objective of Lab2400 is to increase the social mobility of these youngsters by empowering them and broadening their horizons. Hence, Lab2400 adapts to the overall municipal project through sowing the seeds for entrepreneurship, while meeting the local challenges of aiding the social mobility of the youngsters. According to the project manager, taking a bottom-up approach and avoiding imposing something on these youngsters is crucial for the course to have any effect. While this can be difficult being a municipally administered project subjected to political agendas, the staff does experience a certain degree of freedom. This is partly attributed to being externally funded (by the ministry) and partly to being a new development project allowing for the testing of new ideas and for making mistakes.

Though being entirely a public sector project, cooperation and networks with other sectors are important for the success of Lab2400. Firstly, private sector cooperation is a central element in the entrepreneurial course: A group of local businesses function as a sounding board and chooses the winning business idea at the end of the course. Secondly, support from other actors in the local area, for instance, businesses, youth clubs, the cultural centre and the area-based regeneration project, is crucial in order to ensure the local anchoring and continuance of approaches similar to the Lab2400 Talents course after the municipal project runs out.

In other words, rather than "over-responsibilising" (Deas & Doyle, 2013) smaller housing estates, an attempt is made to acknowledge the structural character of the issues detected in such estates by enlarging the perspective to entire city areas. See Andersen et al. (2014) regarding this.

While the delegation of tasks to private and nonprofit organisations is present in the Copenhagen context, the reach of the public sector is still wide. All Copenhagen arrangements studied in the DIVERCITIES project are to variying degrees financially dependent on the public sector, primarily Copenhagen Municipality. Consequently, the municipality has an influence on the organisation, targeting and framing of the arrangements. To sum up, the municipality delegates a wide range of tasks to external partners, but always has some degree of power over the their execution. Though such dependence can subject the arrangements to certain political discourses and demands, the opening of possibilities and the safety net provided by an extensive presence of the municipality is generally considered an advantage in the case studies.

3.2. Case Study Milano

3.2.1. Case study description

Milan has 3.2 million inhabitants in the metropolitan administrative area, and 1.3 million in the municipality. It is a highly diverse city in terms of population: 13.1 per cent of residents in the metropolitan area and 17.4 per cent in the municipality are non-Italian citizens. Children born from foreign couples and naturalizations are fastly changing this landscape.

Anyway, migration is not the only source of diversity in Milan. More than 45 per cent of households are single-person, while the "traditional" household made up by a married couple with at least a minor child sums up to just 12 per cent of the total, challenging the familistic boundaries of the Italian welfare state. In the last decade, Milan population grew by 15 per cent, with an increase of children, elders and foreign nationals. This means that relations are changing: the intersection of gender, ethnicity, family compositions and age produce new assemblages that may affect the way in which people group. This also intersect with socio-economic conditions. Milan is becoming more unequal: the unemployment rate is around 7.7 (2013), doubled in the 6 years after the crisis. The share is much higher for disadvantaged groups like migrants (from 6 to 20%, cfr. Menonna & Blangiardo, 2014) and youth (from less than 20% to 34.5%) . Milan has the highest Gini index among Italia

The challenge for Milan is to disentangle the tie between inequality and diversity: migrants, minorities, atypical (usually young) workers, non-standard family arrangements are overrepresented among the most precarious inhabitants of the city, in terms of income, housing and social opportunities. In a city that has traditionally few segregation areas, this may

increase the number and seriousness of spatial concentration of disadvantaged groups. This happens in a context were the policy attention and targeted funding for social and cultural issues related to diversity are quite limited, as part of a wider difficulty to perceive diversity as constitutive of "normal" social forces of the country. This may rise localized tensions hard to eradicate in the mid term. In more general, spatial terms, Milan is facing a housing crisis, with skyrocketing costs, a limited rental market, and investments in the last decades that were directed more to upper-middle classes (including new developments and gentrification processes), making more and more critical the conditions of some vulnerable families (e.g. reunified migrant families; single-parent families; new wedlocks and their children...).

In Italy, discourse on diversity is mainly focussed on reducing negative effects of diversity on social cohesion, and secondarily on supporting its social participation and inclusion against inequality. A discourse on recognition and appreciation of diversity and its potential positive role is much less present. At the same time, there is no wide-scope, cross-sectoral, general and strategic discourse on diversity and its promotion in the Italian policy and public agenda. Instead, there is a plurality of fragmented discourses concerning specific groups and categories, related also to an institutional fragmentation mirrored at territorial and sectoral level. Digging up into implicit and explicit discourses on diversity, we can see swinging an approach swinging between a non-policy and an integrationist model that is defined as "intercultural". The nuances can be quite different, from a conservative multiculturalism (Kincheloe and Steinberg 1997), close to an implicitly assimilationist non-policy, to a quasi-multiculturalist pluralism. Though, political anxiety about security and order issues (especially when referred to migrants and minorities), adds a punitive and revanchist nuance (Ambrosini 2013), with the effort to dilute and reducing the visibility of diversity in public spaces (Briata 2014). Therefore, formal praises for diversity go hand in hand with its limited recognition (Grillo and Pratt 2002).

In the case of Milan, we can see anyway some steps away from this paradigm, at least for in-migrant and LGBT diversity: there are signs of a changing discourse that passes mainly through symbolic policies, while actual measures able to affect practices are not yet so evident. A shift in policy prioritization is not enough, in a context where actual resources and strategies are limited and blurred.

3.2.2. The impact of NPM on diversity-related governance arrangements in Milano

A thorough discourse on diversity in Milan (and in Italy in general), and a consistent diversity policy approach, is still missing (Calavita, 2005; Caponio and Graziano, 2011; Bertolani and Perocco 2013). Analysing diversity-related governance arrangements in Milan show that discourses on diversity are quite fragmented, mostly focussed on reducing negative effects of diversity on social cohesion and secondarily on supporting its social participation and inclusion against inequality. This also means that a discourse on recognition and appreciation of diversity and its potential positive role is much less present.

A general support for an integrationist approach to diversity (usually labelled as 'intercultural') is quite widespread, though more implicitly and incrementally than by design. The lack of a clear and explicit discourse on diversity is tied with its low prioritization in the political and public discourse. This makes policies targeting diversity weaker in a context of austerity, especially in a country that has been hit particularly hard by the recent economic and financial crisis.

This means that local initiatives have to deal with a complex and changing hyper-diversity, non adequately mirrored and supported by public policies. The lack of a strategic investment, prioritization and legitimization of diversity weakens local practices in the long run.

G.Lab

G.Lab was an information and guidance desk and a project lab dedicated to generations from an immigrant background. G.Lab has been opened in March 2013 by the Municipality of Milan in collaboration with G2 Network (the most important association of youth from an immigrant background in Italy) with funds from the Ministry of Labour and Welfare within an experimental programme. The Municipality provided facilities, while G2 Network provided the staff.

Activities comeG.Lab started in March 2013, and the experiment came to an end in December 2013. The intention of the partners to extend its duration has been just partly successful: some of the initiatives (and staff) of G.Lab have been included in following projects, though not with the same name, goals, and extent. Actually, G.Lab was aimed at supporting youth and families from an immigrant background, teachers, social workers and other relevant stakeholders to favour access of these new generations to local services; naturalization procedures; study and job opportunities. It was also aimed at promoting diversity and social mix as a value, i.e. providing an arena where to discuss and share the condition of being in-betweeners (Foreigners-Italians).

The main problem of the initiative is its project-based nature: the needs that it had to cope persist; largely promoted and advertised, it created expectations of a long-term, enduring and steady support, while it was connected to short-term funding and projects. "The problem is the economic sustainability, in a context of retrenchment that affects social initiatives overall. The Municipality is relying very much on participation, activism and volunteering – even too much" (respondent: Member – G2 Network). Under austerity urbanism, NPM practices in public-private partnerships put the weakest actor (the partner NGO) in straits. The coverage and duration of the service is largely unpredictable. The redesign of the measure to fit new competitive calls need to focus more on innovation and change than on achieved success.

The intertwining effects of different NPM tools – a market regulation of diversity policies, mainly through short-term competitive calls; a decentralization of penury, with local actors poorly supported in defining and financing diversity policies; the consequent incapacitation of public administrations in the frame of austerity urbanism – may seriously jeopardize the long-term sustainability of interestening and effective initiatives.

Città del Sole – Amici del Parco trotter | City of Sun – Friends of the Trotter Park

'City of Sun – Friends of the Trotter Park' (CSFTP) is a volunteering association founded in 1994 by parents and teachers of the school 'City of Sun', located within the Trotter Park in the area of Via Padova. In the years, the strategy of the association has changed, according to the changes in the managing board, and in the area itself. At first, the focus was on education, cultural heritage and environmental activities; later, also the political engagement added up, connected with the mobilization for public education in early 2000s. Finally, the focus shifted more towards community commitment and social cohesion, also to reverse the stigmatization of Via Padova made by anti-immigration politicians.

In-migrant diversity was first coped with in 2003, to provide educational support to foreign children and parents. Later, the goal shifted: from activities targeting immigrants, to activities involving all children and parents from different social and cultural backgrounds and origins, with the aim to create spaces of encounter and tools for social cohesion. CSFTP is active in a number of neighbourhood initiatives, alone or together with other association, and is also an interlocutor for the local administration as far as neighbourhood policies are concerned. Its actions have a common ground in volunteering, free access to grant larger participation, activism and lobbying toward the perceived inaction of public institutions in order to revitalize their neighbourhood. The resources to manage their activities come from the collaboration with the school, membership fees, pre-tax donations, and competitive calls (issued for example by Cariplo Foundation, Municipality and District Authority).

The main problems CSFTP is facing now is related to its status. Volunteering has been a fundamental resource, granting good-natured motivation. At the same time, it caused discontinuities in the action of CSFTP. Nowadays, the association is undergoing an inflamed debate on the hypothesis to change its statute and in the balance between different goals and roles (in particular, volunteerism vs. professionalism). Related to this, fund-raising is an issue in maintaining some activities. Usually most of the projects require limited funding (and a lot of volunteering), but the reduction of transfers and calls may affect continuity and extent of some measures. On the other hand, the increase of professionalism requires a stronger "fund hunting" activity.

Even when and where there is a political support to diversity-related initiatives (e.g. G.Lab), severe constraints are still evident. A change in the local administration in 2011 (from right- to left-winged) shows a change in wide-scope visions on diversity, with poor effects on daily policy practice – and a consequent risk to rise expectations that cannot be met, raising disillusion and frustration.

Even when visions changes, diversity policy is still not prioritized, due to a strong negative politicization and stigmatization of diversity in the public and political arena; the lack of a consistent framing positive discourse on diversity at national and local level; and the limited availability of dedicated resources.

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Riguarda Niguarda | About Niguarda

About Niguarda (AN) is an area-based project of community development and community animation. Funded within a competitive call issued by Cariplo Foundation, aimed at 'building and strengthening bonds in local communities', it lasts between May 2013 and April 2016. The promoters are seven NGOs, partnered by local authorities (Housing Department – Municipality of Milan; District Council).

The aim of the project is the enhancement of social cohesion, by changing the public image of Niguarda neighbourhood via self-help and community participation, and supporting the engagement of the local community, especially the youth. The seven partners, with the support of volunteers and other institutions and NGOs, have been managing a number of activities (e.g. re-use of public spaces for cultural and social activities, like, bookcrossing and gaming; self-help groups among parents that may experience difficulties – families with new-borns; with disabled children; immigrants dealing with family reunion; empowerment of immigrant women through art).

Potential factors of success come from a rich network that gathers experts and volunteers, with a sound division of labour and collaboration among actors. Also, the network seems quite open and sensitive to changes, since different activities have been fine-tuned in progress, with the involvement of other local players. The main question mark about projects like AN concerns their long-term sustainability. This project can enjoy a longer duration than many project-based initiatives in the area, and the competitive call issued by Cariplo Foundation also rated ripple effects and sustainability. Some of the activities may have a spontaneous continuation: the project is a kick-off for self-help, peer social relations, intergroup contacts. On the other hand, more structural dimensions (e.g. the management of the community centre, the role of community animators) may require a longer-term support that it is difficult to foresee. The subsidiary role played by public seems not enough authorities seem not enough to empower and support the local community. activism.

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At the same time, the analysis of policy initiatives and of their governance structure showed a wide range of grassroots mobilization from civil society (see the cases of "Riguarda Niguarda" and "Amici del Parco Trotter"). These actions start to go beyond existing arrangements, providing potential path breaks and new developments for the next generation of diversity policy in the urban area of Milan – thanks to new governance arrangements, an attention to long-term sustainability, a more nuanced discourse beyond the present integrationist and residual approach to diversity.

Grassroots networking has positive effects when there's a relevant coordination among neighbourhood associations: this is easier when they share a common cultural background and a long-lasting collaboration.

However, these initiatives face also a number of risks. In general terms, good practices may be hard to generalize, given a problem of coordination among actors, and the lack of resources dedicated to this policy area. In particular, public-private partnerships see a subsidiary role of the public partners, usually able to provide just short-term, project-based support.

In particular, the competitive approach usually adopted to finance initiatives is at odds with an effective management of diversity-related needs and policies.

The amount of paper work and bureaucratic expertise required to distribute very limited resources catch civil society organizations in that segmented micropractices mentioned in the introduction.

Actions that are intended as long-term services (like G.Lab) are instead organized as an eternal sequence of short-term projects. The timing and the goal of calls imply that initiatives thus are offered with discontinuity. Also, they are offered with organizational changes (in names and formulations) that make hard to treasure from previous experiences and expertise. Activists and workers have a high turn-over, since they have to operate in a very stressful situation, with short-term horizons; activities have to change to "fit" the goals of the calls.

Calls often require both innovation and long-term sustainability: existing initiatives are forced into an innovation discourse to give them sustainability; the filing of information on outcomes and long-term sustainability of projects miserably funded for few months is based on an hypocrite *policy fiction*.

As a consequence, short-term, small-scale projects are very common, but little effective in overturning structural disadvantage and in providing a positive view on diversity.

On a positive note, having a quite large network of small- and medium-sized organisations creates a social mix among the promoters, and may increase a sensibility toward diversity and social change, and an attention for social participation, for a bottom-up action. A success factor (e.g. in the cases of Riguarda Niguarda and Amici del Parco Trotter) is the hammering bombing of the area with a plurality of tiny, cheap, low-threshold and accessible measures.

Though, such an approach is too small scale to produce radical changes. Initiatives do not seem to be able to structurally reverse a negative view on diversity and its possible disadvantage, scaling up and generalizing. Initiatives seem to have an effect on very limited areas – often just a block.

This is a serious problem for the long-term sustainability of effective measures, and for the strengthening of a positive discourse of diversity in the Italian case. Such an issue is even more worrying in the aftermath of the recent economic crisis, and in the frame of a weak welfare state, where diversity is more and more related to inequality, without proper institutional measures to cope with it.

3.3. Case study Leipzig

3.3.1. Case Study Description

The case of Leipzig represents a second order city with a recently diversifying urban society not least due to its post-socialist background. Compared to Copenhagen and Milano, it is rather small. In 2014, Leipzig had 539.000 inhabitants (city of Leipzig 2015). Leipzig represents the extremes of urban development in Germany. The 1990s were characterised by a rapid deindustrialisation, population decline, high levels of unemployment and an increased average age. Only since the 2000s, the city is experiencing re-urbanisation and population regrowth. Especially a net-influx of young people (e.g. professionals, students) and various international migrants shape the recent diversification. An overall 10% share of migrants is the highest in eastern German cities, but it is still rather low when compared to western German cities.

With respect to urban policies targeting diversity, Leipzig's municipality is just recently providing a broader recognition of its potentials and problems arising. Therefore policies targeting social diversity explicitly are rare, policies tend to address specific target groups in need of support. Within the German welfare state system, municipalities have a number of social tasks to perform like providing social and housing subsidies or target group specific care for youth or old people. Some of these tasks, e.g. social work for deprived youth or places of encounter for the elderly, are outsourced to commissioned bodies or institutions who get a certain budget to fulfil the tasks. What is specific for the Leipzig context is that urban planning is quite strong and subsumes other urban development goals in an integrated approach. The so called integrated concept of city development, an informal but influential planning tool, brings together goals for housing, social and technical infrastructure, environmental goals or economic development in a spatially explicit way. This instrument was introduced during the times of population losses as a means to manage a shrinking city. At that time, it was a precondition for many eastern German cities

to receive funding for demolition or upgrading the like. In result, social issues like inequalities and the life chances of people are addressed rather indirectly.

A direct policy goal has always been the increase of the economic performance of the city and the enhancement of competitive chances of the city in competition to other metropolitan areas. Aside from attracting large companies like BMW or DHL, attention was given to educational institutions and, lately also to support of the creative class.

With respect to resources, Leipzig has to cope with municipal dept burdens, tight budgets and austerity measures since roughly two decades. These problems are rooted in the post-socialist transition as well as in the reorganisation of the public sector in an overall neoliberal climate. Therefore, third party funding provided by the German state level or by the EU-structural Funds gain importance in financing work for social issues.

3.3.2 The impact of NPM on diversity-related governance arrangements in Leipzig

The **reorganization of public administration** in favour of a downsized labourforce, the externalization of formerly municipal work and tasks is rather pronounced in the Leipzig case . The municipality commissions large social institutions or smaller associations to e.g. take over specific assistance for seniors, deprived families or deprived youth. Contracting-out is a dominating principle of organizing the work with and for specific target group, especially in the areas of social support which go beyond material and financial support. Through the mode of continuous application and evaluation procedures, together with ongoing cut in budgets and working hours, the dependence of such institutions and associations on the municipal administration grows, capacities are spent on fund-hunting instead of actual social work. Still, the idea of providing services is not fully replaced by just project based work, both exists. Rather, longer term arrangements are implemented where the commissioned bodies can to some extent expect continuity. Nevertheless, short-term contracts always in fact put the risk onto the commissioned bodies. The competition for funding grows, be that funding by the state, the EU or private actors. What is meant to increase efficiency in fact leads to an increased workload and more time needed to handle funding applications, documentation and evaluation procedures. New, inexperienced actors have much less chance of winning the competition for funding. The relationship between funding institutions and initiatives is characterized by bureaucratic, distanced procedures, reporting and evaluation often done "from a distanced desk in some institution" (Wks DC, 2014), without any contact or knowledge of the work conducted.

Here, all local actors are dependent on funding-decisions and institutions. Thus, arrangements have to work with an enormous precariousness under which established structures, teams and professional resources built up within one project face the permanent risk of not being able to continue their work once the project funding ends. This is seen as a waste of material and human resources. Offices, infrastructure, local knowledge and valuable experience of the staff built up during the limited project period may be lost. Projects starting anew have to build up infrastructure and contacts from scratch. In the long run, without a continuity of personnel and places, the target groups lose trust in such initiatives and supporting arrangements.

Decentralization, an overburdening of the local level with responsibilities, while at the same time, resources are limited and become precarious, is a dominant trend throughout Germany. With the Hartz-reforms, high financial burdens were loaded onto municipal budgets which hit poor cities with high shares of welfare-dependent households even more. With Leipzig being among the German cities with the highest poverty rates, this financial task of providing welfare subsidies is especially high here. The administration of Leipzig also developed an incremental mode of working in this **austerity condition** by using projects in order to address issues outside the core tasks. The core tasks are obligations that the administration has to provide welfare and

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Offices for Senior Citizens [Seniorenbüros]

The arrangement Offices for Senior Citizens (OSC) is part of the reorganisation of the seniors work in Leipzig emphasising area-based, open service and meeting facilities targeted at residents of the respective district. Top-down, the city administration commissions non-profit organisations to organise and run the OSC's dividing the city into ten boroughs served by one office per borough. The idea of this arrangement is to overcome incremental financing and a lack of conceptual approaches in services for seniors. The offices were established in 2012 up until 2017; continuation depends on further decisions by the City Council. The city-wide provision of this area-based service is a result of a general approach of equality between Leipzig's districts adopted by the city administration (L4).

The duty of these offices is threefold: (1) the provision of meeting place activities; (2) the development of a professional network and counselling services for seniors; and (3) guidance respecting nursery care and institutional structures. The OSC's are highly institutionalised arrangements, tied to specific political (Senior Citizens' Advisory Board), administrative (Department for Youth, Social Issues, Health and Education), and non-governmental Stakeholders (commissioned non-profit organisations). Each OSC receives € 67,000 from the city for material, and staff per year. The OSC's have to re-apply for financing from the annual city budget every year and they are obliged to report on their work and to follow the regulations.

From a distance, the OSC's establishment is a step towards institutionally acknowledging seniors as subjects of local policies and actions, they provide a basis for political lobbying. The strong tie between the individual OSC's and their respective host organisation can be evaluated as an advantage. Sharing material resources, employees and contacts to the field of work are a strong support for their work. The objective of this arrangement is to combine non-governmental competences with the strong leadership of the city administration. It is questionable how the remaining non-profit institutions for elderly uninvolved in the OSCs survive considering the lacking in financial support from the municipality. The high degree of formalisation, scarce resources, and the lacking political and symbolic appreciation of volunteers appear to be the first obstacles.

support for people in need of assistance like costs of housing and job centres. Project based work is often work on the neighbourhood level with a more experimental character like employing EU-funds to revitalize neigbourhoods, to establish networks and neighbourhood management etc.

Partnerships and Networks are abundant in Leipzig's governance arena. Here, the general trend of the evolution of new public management overlaps with local specifics. During the years of population decline, emphasis was developed on integrated concepts and comprehensive plans how to further develop a city that faces high housing vacancies and a shrinking population.

EastWORKS [ostWERK]: Economy, Factory East, and Labour Shop East

The arrangement EastWorks consist of a family of projects that tries to stimulate the economic performance in an underprivileged neighbourhood in Leipzig's east. A complex composition of different arrangements was set up in order to 1) provide support for local entrepreneurs including networking and 2) to establish conceptualised low-threshold help for long-term unemployed inhabitants. From 2002 onwards, a number of smaller and time-restricted projects were carried out in a follow up manner. Resources come from third party funding, e.g. XENOS, BIWAQ from state level and EFRD from EU structural funding.

What these projects have in common is that they were all carried out by one municipal department in cooperation with a private professional. What can be named as a grant coalition leads to a hegemony of two partners who share a common history of cooperation. Therefore support with respect to the mentioned target groups is meanwhile provided for a longer period. Factors of success are long-term learning effects achieved by the different projects and that provision of support is organised for a longer period.

However the projects framed under EasWORKS suffer from general problems coming with the project approaches. Although a continuity of support within the neighbourhood is achieved competences, knowledge and established relationships with target groups get lost when the employees become unemployed at the turn of the projects. Stable personal relationship and perseverance in the work with target groups is hindered and problems like language barriers and a lack of resources for public relations remain.

Along this endeavour, also networks were formed to prepare difficult decisions and arrange trade-offs, e.g. with respect to housing demolitions. A multitude of types of networks exists including horizontal, professional networks, e.g. the working group youth, grassroots movements and civic networks, institutionalized networks and partnerships, e.g. the "Offices for Senior Citizens " providing decentralized services and meeting places for the elderly, or the classic district managements. The most interesting - and maybe specific – type are grant coalitions (Bernt 2009), a stable arrangement of administrative and civic or intermediary actors who secure their work on a specific target through a continuous attraction of funds. Thus, an interviewee pronounced: " The biggest challenge is to provide stable funding for good projects,

especially beyond funding periods." (PPT, 09.01.2014). For example, the Labour shops in Leipzigs district Inner East were part of a series of projects in the same manner trying to build up long-term structures supporting the local economy and unemployed residents. By now, this strategy has been successful in so far that the projects endure and some of the actors involved can continue their work. The professionalization of funding attraction priviledges the formation of grant coalitions among municipal and intermediary actors. They gain experience and knowledge in the "game" of funding attraction, but incremental procedures dominate their work. Dependence on the cooperation of the municipality is increasing. Open debate on conflicts in agenda setting are therefore discriminated by a complicated net of dependencies. The formation of grant coalitions has of course another flip-side of the coin: Those initiatives who are not part of the coalition might be excluded from the access to resources.

Innovation is a framing for the work of governance arrangements, but there is also a clear reflection of the discourse on innovation is part of the fund-hunting. A quite thin line is perceived by local arrangements between sticking to the needs of the field of ones works and bowing to the issues raised by calls for application for project money. Dependence on external funding does modify the goals followed and the modes of work applied. A need to present constant innovation and success lead to a policy climate where failure and learning, a constitutive part of social work, are discriminated against. Projects are doomed to succeed from the very start, and success has to be reached within the duration of the project. "Innovatitis" was a term interviewees used for this when describing their recent experiences .

4. Conclusion

In all three case studies, the core characteristics of NPM are present. In all three cases, work is more and more organized in short-term projects carried out by non-governmental actors or networks, bringing competitiveness, an emphasis on innovation, and a somehow paradoxical increase of both market regulation and bureaucracy. The extent of this and the impact on the landscape of governance arrangements in the cities varies though. It is three aspects, which make a difference here: the role of the welfare state; the government in the cities and their role in scale configurations – including leadership and priorities of parties in the lead; and the importance diversity issues are given in respective city.

The welfare state turns out to be the most important issue. It can provide a backbone for the work of governance arrangements in a climate of transferring responsibility to the local level and here further to networks of initiatives, municipal actors, large and small social institutions. Copenhagen is at one end of the spectrum with a strong welfare state providing rather good financial resources, even though these are increasingly handled with in competitive terms. The effect of this is a competition for funding privileging experienced actors, turning the field of social work more precarious and increasing beaurocratic burdens on initiatives which consumes human resources and time to an extent hardly effective in social work.

However, the precariousness of the work of initiatives is much higher in the case of Milano, representing the other end of the spectrum. Here, resources are much fewer, competition is much higher so that initiatives pop up and diminish shortly after. Networks substitute direct public intervention, with the state being a weak foundation of their work other than in Copenhagen. Risk is put frankly onto those actors working in precarious conditions.

On a positive note, case studie show that some grassroots-level networks may have positive effects in dealing with diversity and disadvantage at neighbourhood level. Though, these networks are too small scale to produce effective ripple effects. Initiatives do not seem to be able to structurally reverse a negative view on diversity, and one of the reaon is exactly the lack of a strong public institutional backbone.

In the Leipzig case, the welfare state is strong but the local level has been overburdened with tasks and obligations while the support from the national level is declining. Still, some sort of a back bone to stabilize work targeting social cohesion exists. In this situation, we observe how actors have learned to work under the precarious conditions and aligned their strategies. An abundance of networks across the landscape of actors evolve, some of them are weak and diminish, some of them are stronger and longer lasting. Especially grant coalitions including municipal bodies and experienced intermediaries manage to grant a – still precarious – longer-term engagement of established networks in the city and its neighbourhoods. Risk is high on the shoulders of initiatives, but the involvement of the municipality reduces it to some extent. One effect of this is a rather superior role of the municipality with many actors depending on their cooperation or decisions.

Secondly, the political leadership in each city along with the degree of political attention put on urban diversity is of great importance. Copenhagen has been governed by a social-democratically lead administration for more than 100 years. In comparison with the national

government shifting between social-democratic and liberal leadership, the adoption of NPM measures by Copenhagen Municipality has been limited. These two factors might very well be connected. Still, NPM measures such as project-making and calls for funding have been employed in Copenhagen, as the analysis has shown. In terms diversity as a factor in policies, an increasing attention has been put on diversity in recent years. Becoming an inclusive city is an explicit goal of Copenhagen Municipality, diversity is considered an asset to the city in official policies, and in 2011 an office for diversity and inclusion was established. Though there is no specific budget for diversity, the administration annually estimates the resources spent on diversity-related work within the municipality.

In Milano, a diversity policy is not a high priority target, while a more integrationist (and somehow ethnocentric) approach to social cohesion prevails. A change in the local administration took place in 2011 (from right- to left-winged), after a campaign quite focussed on diversity issues. Though, a change in wide-scope visions on diversity was poorly mirrored in daily policy practice. Even though the vision has been changing, diversity policy is still not prioritized, due to a strong negative politicization and stigmatization of diversity in the public and political arena; the lack of a consistent framing positive discourse on diversity at national and local level; and the limited availability of dedicated resources.

In Leipzig we observed a tension between the emphasis on Leipzig being a cosmopolitan city and the recognition of the multiple voices and life worlds of the steadily diversifying urban society. The comparatively young democracy in Leipzig is lacking well situated smaller associations who established a basis to acquire attention and own resources during a longer history of development (compared to western German cities). Instead municipal attention has been given to economic redevelopment that is flanked by social projects. The establishment of area based approaches dealing with anticipated shrinking within the last decades did not provide strategies of how to secure the development of a prosperous and autonomous third sector. Development according to NPM therefore induces local actors and administrative and municipal authorities to continue coping with scarce resources and incremental practises.

Reflecting on these different experiences, context matters a lot when analyzing the impact of NPM on work for social cohesion. In our case, the contours of the context are shaped by the crossings of the strength of welfare state and the extent to which diversity matters and is explicit in local political targets. The problems with the project-based approach are higher where the welfare safety-net is weaker. With the general shift towards market logical applied

to social work, experienced actors in the game of fund-hunting are privileged whereas the less experienced actors may be pushed into more precarious conditions.

Thus, the market logics of fostering social innovation through competition might even reduce the innovative potential of the governance landscape engaged in work targeting social cohesion in socially diverse settings. Instead of mobilizing human resources, most often human resources are consumed by applications, evaluations, and beaurocratic procedures. The logics of markets turn out to be contradicting the logics of work for social cohesion.

To sum up our main results, starting from the points made in the introduction, we have found that diversity-related initatives in selected European cities are affected by neoliberalization processes in potentially negative ways. Such an influence is context-related, where the 'context' we talk about lays mainly at the crossroads between the localized chatacteristics of two factors: how much the welfare state is inclusive, and how much a diversity policy is explicited and supported. What is more, new and old forms of austerity may narrow operational conditions of selected cities, increasing the idea of a "neoliberal one way" to cope with financial and social problems.

Though, beyond context-related issues, we can see some common features. How much these features are evident in the three selected cities is more about the intensity of the trends than its direction:

1) the reorganization of the public administration towards a market model, based on competitive calls, risks to negatively affect some initiatives, especially those promoted by new and small actors, and targeting stigmatized minorities; market regulation and re-bureaucratization of controls go hand in hand, catching grassroots initiatives in detrimental micropractices;

2) the decentralization process risks to enhance negative effects of marketized relations, passing the back of new and old social problems to local public and private actors not endowed enough to cope with them;

3) partnerships and networks are more and more a solution for the definition and implemantion of local initiatives. Though, their effectiveness can be jeopardized when the role of public actors is not strong enough, and when the command on the management needs networks have is limited;

4) innovation is often an important framing discourse. The constant need to provide ever new ideas and concepts hinders long-term work and learning, especially if the emphasis on innovation merges with project-based work.

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