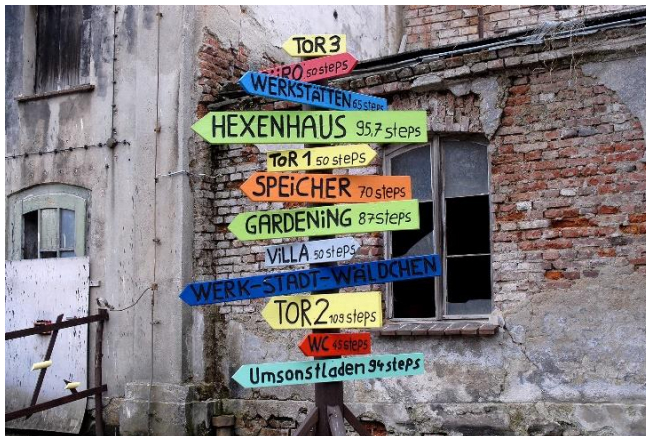




Resituating the Local in Cohesion and Territorial Development



**Case Study Report**  
**Local Youth as Urban Development Actors**  
**The Establishment of a Centre for Youth and Socioculture in Görlitz,**  
**Germany**

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## Abbreviations

Cultural District	Cultural District Upper Lusatia- Lower Silesia (gr. Kulturraum Oberlausitz- Niederschlesien)
BBSR	Federal Institute for Research on Building, Urban Affairs and Spatial Development (gr. Bundesinstitut für Bau-, Stadt- und Raumforschung)
EFRD	European Fund for Regional Development
ESF	European Social Fund
EU	European Union
e.V.	Registered Association (gr. eingetragener Verein)
GDR	German Democratic Republic
Hartz IV	Unemployment benefit II (gr. Arbeitslosengeld II): Basic security benefits for job seekers
INSEK	Integrated Urban Development Concept (gr. Integriertes Stadtentwicklungskonzept)
IT	Intelligent Technologies
NUTS	Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics
SME	Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises
The Centre	Centre for Youth and Socioculture

## Abbreviations for interview quotes and references

GR Number	Interview belongs to the Görlitz case study Number of the interview partner (see also Annex 8.1)
Civ Pub Priv Sci Med	Civil actor Public actor (including political actors and the municipal administration) Private actor Scientist/ academic Member of the media
L R	Local: Actor's main activities are on the local level Regional: Actor's main activities are beyond the local level
I E	Internal to the action under study External to the action under study
FG Number	Focus Group Number of the focus group (see also Annex 8.1)

Example: GR1 CivLE = Interview partner number 1 in the case study Görlitz is a civil actor on the local level, who is external to the action

All quotes in this report have been translated from German to English by the authors. Authors' notes are given in square brackets.

## Executive Summary

What impact can place-based local actions have on a fair and equitable distribution of resources within a locality? This study aims to contribute to this discussion by exploring the activities of *Second Attempt e.V.* (hereinafter *Second Attempt*), a non-profit association for the promotion of youth and socioculture in the German town Görlitz. *Second Attempt* is an interesting case for the potential of a local association by and for young people, which actively engages in local public affairs and seeks to involve young people in constructive forms of place-making and democratic engagement.

One important achievement of *Second Attempt* has been to take over the mandate for the establishment of a Centre for Youth and Socioculture (hereinafter the Centre) as well as the neighbourhood management in the area Inner City West. The association employs staff, engages volunteers, secures funds, carries out regeneration programmes, and has become highly professional. At the same time, the action has maintained a non-hierarchical and informal character, which attracts a wide diversity of users. We argue that the association has a specific potential for promoting spatial justice in Görlitz through activating localised resources and involving vulnerable population groups into urban development.

*Second Attempt* tackles perceived injustices on various spatial levels. The first form of injustice takes place at national level, as Görlitz is often perceived disadvantaged in contrast to other German towns. Secondly, an injustice was registered in the missing attention for youth issues by the municipality. *Second Attempt* aims to counter these perceived injustices through showing up spaces for intervention for young people in the town. The third dimension is on the local level amongst neighbourhoods. In this case, a socially disadvantaged neighbourhood, the Inner City West, shall be revitalised.

Consequently, the action directly speaks to issues of procedural justice, as they strive towards giving young people a voice in local-decision-making. Moreover, it promotes a diverse sociocultural scene. Local sociocultural development is perceived as a pre-condition for long-term positive development in relation to both, quality of life in Görlitz as well as the position and perception of the town in the wider regional and national context. In this way, the action's objectives likewise respond to aspects of distributive justice.

In pursuing their activities, the action has benefitted from the backing of the municipality as well as regional, national, and EU funding. These funding opportunities have been taken up strategically by the association and adapted (as far as funding requirements allow) to their already existing activities. The action would not have developed to its current state, if they had not taken up these chances and at the same time consequently followed their own vision and agenda. A most important driver behind the achievements of *Second Attempt* is thus the reflexivity and strategic capacity of the associations' stakeholders.

At the same time, research has raised questions regarding the important role *Second Attempt* has taken on in local development. If public affairs such as urban development, youth participation, and local democracy become common affairs which are dealt with in cooperation between municipality and autonomous local initiatives, how are issues of accountability or legitimacy best solved? How does an organisation achieve a balance between its formal role in urban development, complying with funding criteria, and pursuing its original vision and non-hierarchical mode of leadership? These questions provide the basis for interesting further discussions.



## 1. Introduction

This study focuses on the development of the non-profit association *Second Attempt* in the German town Görlitz. Guiding the research was the question: **Can spatial justice, as a fair and equitable distribution in space of socially valued resources and the opportunities to use them, be achieved through place-based strategies?** (for further information see Deliverable 1.1 of the RELOCAL project) The case study results are subsequently clustered into eight research dimensions, exploring the local context, the implementation, and the impact of the action in relation to spatial justice.

The focus of *Second Attempt* is on empowering adolescents and other citizens of Görlitz in local decision-making processes through collaborative urban development. The municipality has given them the mandate to open a Centre for Youth and Socioculture in an old industrial building, the *Furnierhalle*, in 2019. Since 2013, they have been creating a prototype for the Centre on a neighbouring industrial area. This prototype is called *Rabryka* and forms the central platform for initiatives launched by *Second Attempt*. Among their many activities are an annual music and culture festival, art and political education workshops, recording studios, urban gardening, and neighbourhood management (for more detailed information on the latter see Annex 8.4). The name *Rabryka* stems from the colour of the many former factory buildings in the town (“rot” (gr., red) + “fabryka” (pl., factory)).

The idea for the Centre emerged during a youth protest in 2012, when young people organised a flash mob in the town council and demanded more involvement into local decision-making, particularly regarding youth, cultural, and urban development issues. The protest was also a reaction to the socioeconomic situation in Görlitz. The East German town is peripherally located at the border to Poland and has been suffering from out-migration, high unemployment, and weak economic infrastructure, especially after the fall of the GDR. Particularly young people left the town as a result of missing perspectives for the future.

*Second Attempt*, which is led by students and young people themselves, has the goal to change the image of the town by showing up opportunities for change and creative ideas. The action generally targets the whole town of Görlitz and the Inner City West neighbourhood, where the Centre will be located in, in particular. As the Inner City West is shaped by many vacancies and low rents, mainly people of lower socioeconomic status live there. To strengthen connections in their neighbourhood, *Second Attempt* has taken over an ESF-funded neighbourhood management in 2018.

Most of the actors that work for the action are between 17 and 30 years old. Around the core group of around 15 people, who are employed or interning at the association, there exists a wide network of voluntaries and supporters. Many of the actors are (former) students of the studies ‘Cultural Management’ and ‘Social Work’ at the University for Applied Sciences Zittau/Görlitz. Nevertheless, in general both project team members and users of the action come from a diverse range of (academic) backgrounds. To a large extent, they grew up in the wider region around Görlitz, in Eastern Saxony. The action’s main target groups are inhabitants of Görlitz and the surrounding region around the same age, yet as of late they are developing intergenerational activities too.

The municipality is involved in the action insofar as they provide mandate and space for the Centre. Additionally, the action receives financial and conceptual support through the municipal administration. Other financial support comes from the region, the state and – in relation to singular projects – the ESF. On a national level, *Rabryka* has been conceptual-

ly influenced by the *BBSR*, a research institute advising the Federal State Ministry dealing with spatial development issues. From 2013 to 2016, the action was one of the model cases in the research project *Youth.City.Laboratory* (gr. *Jugend.Stadt.Labor*) that aimed to foster sustainable participation mechanisms for young people on a local level.

The action responds to various national discourses. These are mainly related to the location of Görlitz in rural East Germany. Firstly, there is an ongoing public debate on disparities between Eastern and Western Germany. Especially in terms of economic strength and political representation, the former is still mostly disadvantaged against the latter (Reiche 2018). Subsequently, there exist feelings of frustration and insecurity amongst many East Germans (Ibid.). Secondly, a political objective that emerged over the last years is the strengthening of rural areas. Many less populated regions in Germany suffer from a lack of infrastructure, vacancies, and demographic change. As a consequence of both issues, the German government has founded a commission in 2018 with the goal to pursue “equality of living conditions” all over the country (Der Bundestag 2018).

Thirdly, there has been a shift to the right in German politics over the last years, which was particularly notable in the national elections 2017, when a right-wing populist party entered the Parliament with 12,6% of the votes. In Görlitz and surroundings, the party received 32,9%, one of the highest results in Germany (Der Bundeswahlleiter 2017). The action under study is an important case in this context, as *Second Attempt* encompasses democratic forms of youth engagement and can be regarded as a promoter of democratic education in Görlitz.



## 2. Methodological Reflection

Generally, **access to stakeholders** of the action was easy. *Second Attempt* members were interested in the research and researchers had access to formal interviews, informal talks, public, and non-public events. The sequence of interviews developed from inside out, so that the first interviews helped to understand the action and the following interviews were conducted with those beyond it, including critics. All in all, 23 formal expert interviews were conducted with a total of 31 interview partners. Furthermore, a focus group (FG7) was organised with stakeholders of *Second Attempt*, the municipality, a regional cultural association, and academia to discuss questions emerging from research results.

Throughout the research, the **relationship to the action's stakeholders** was friendly and close. This can of course raise questions about researchers' biases towards the action. Yet, the researchers regularly reflected on this issue over the course of field work and analysis. In fact, the closeness to the actors is perceived as an advantage, as it allowed observing and gathering information informally. It can be assumed that most stakeholders openly stated their views instead of holding back information. Furthermore, interviews were conducted with a diversity of stakeholders external to the action, including a number of critics, whose perspective is equally represented in the report.

In preparing and conducting the interviews, difficulties were experienced in **translating and defining spatial justice** in the German context. Depending on which thematic perspective was taken into consideration, interviewees regarded other concepts as more significant.

Some interviewees were directly confronted with the German translation of spatial (in-) justice (gr. sozialräumliche (Un-)gerechtigkeit). Apart from a few respondents, particularly those with an academic background in sociology or geography, most felt uncomfortable with the term. Hence, we began to use terms such as '(social) disadvantages' or '(spatial) differences'. Thereby, it was emphasized that the interviewees themselves shall fill these terms with meaning instead of adhering to a predisposed explanation by the researchers.

Nevertheless, during the focus group, participants critically remarked that questions on 'injustices' and 'disadvantages' can produce different answers than if the question would have been geared towards 'justice' or 'advantages' (FG7). This might result in a more negative picture of the locality than interviewees actually perceive it. We aimed to keep this in mind when writing the report.

### 3. The Locality Görlitz – A Historic Hub recovering from Long-term Recession

#### 3.1 Territorial Context and Characteristics of Görlitz

The locality in which the action *Second Attempt* takes place is the medium-sized town Görlitz in the Free State of Saxony. As can be seen in Map 1, it is the most Eastern town of Germany, located directly at the border to Poland. In the course of the Saxon district reform in 2008, the former district-free town was merged with its surrounding areas and is now seat of the homonymous administrative district Görlitz. Together with the district Bautzen, they form the *Cultural district Upper Lusatia- Lower Silesia* (gr. *Kulturraum Oberlausitz-Niederschlesien*; see Map 1), which is responsible for the preservation and promotion of regional cultural assets and therefore an influential agent for the development of the action.

The region is classified as intermediate by Eurostat (2013). Yet, inhabitants generally perceive it as a rural area shaped by small villages. Dresden, the capital of Saxony, is the next larger city with more than 550,000 inhabitants (see Map 1). Consequently, towns of the size of Görlitz play a role as regional centres: *“From the perspective of the state, everything outside of Chemnitz, Dresden, and Leipzig is considered rural. So Görlitz is in a rural area too, on the one hand. On the other hand, Görlitz is [...] the largest town in the district and when you come around in Görlitz, you realize [...] that we really have an urban structure”* (GR29 PubRE).



**Map 1:** The region around Görlitz, including the administrative districts Görlitz and Bautzen, together forming the Cultural District Upper Lusatia- Lower Silesia (Source: ILS).

The town of Görlitz is particularly known for its historical centre, which houses monuments from over 500 years and attracts national and international visitors (see Fig. 4&5). These old buildings demonstrate the town's eventful history as an important trading and industrial centre. Due to its costly restored historic town and extensive coherent historic building density, Görlitz is a popular film location. Various famous movies such as *Grand Budapest Hotel* or *Inglourious Basterds* were produced in Görlitz, leading the town to market itself as 'Görliwood'.

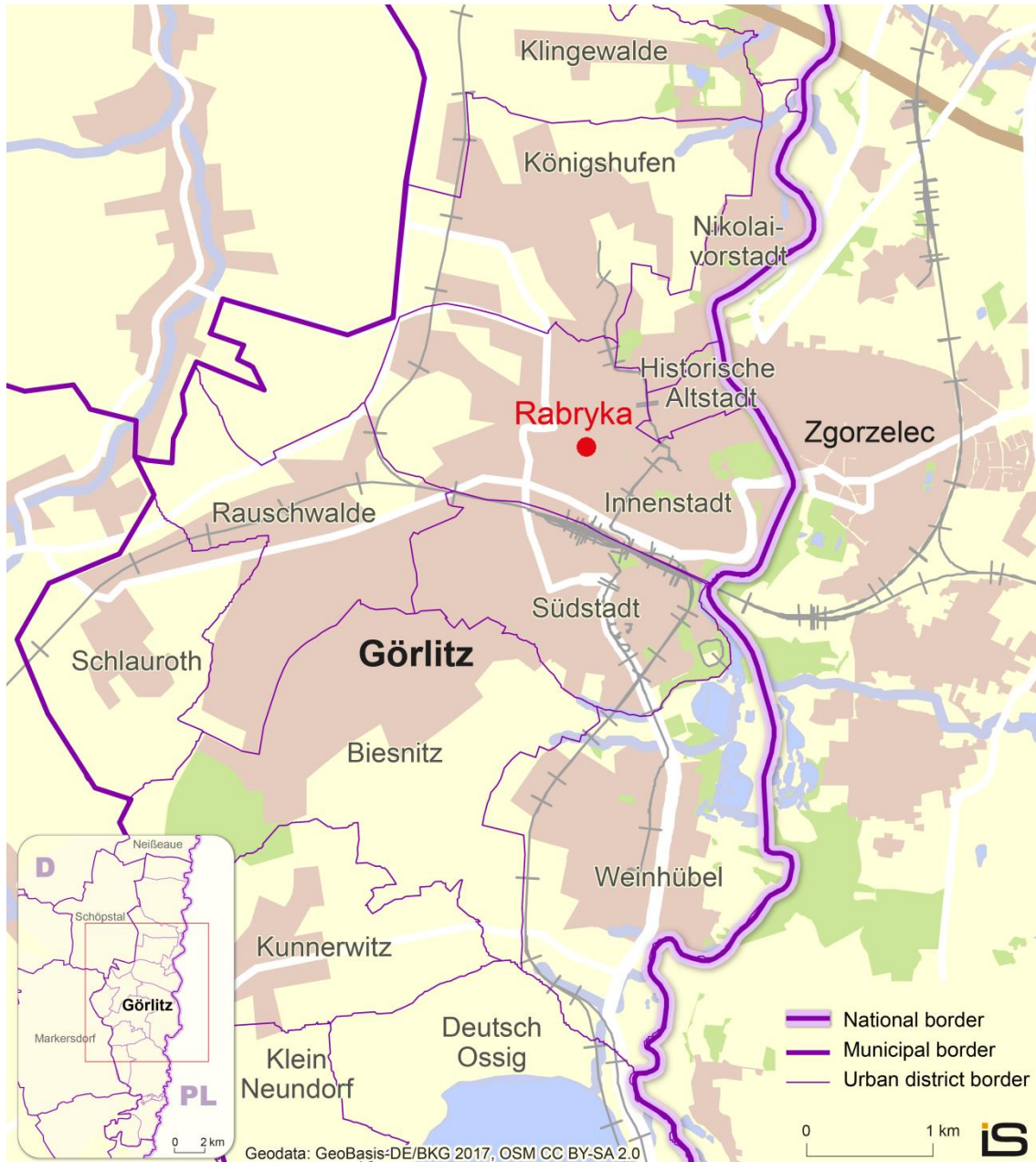


**Figures 4 & 5:** The historic centre of Görlitz, seen from the central market place (left) and the Polish riverside (right).

Over the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, however, the town lost in political and economic importance. One of the reasons was the redrawing of boundaries after World War II, which divided Görlitz into a German and a Polish part, called Zgorzelec (see Map 2). In contrast to its historical status as centre of Upper Lusatia and Lower Silesia, Görlitz from that time on was located in a peripheral position in geographical and mental terms (GR4 CivLI). Consequently, population went on to decline steadily over the decades, from almost 100,000 inhabitants in 1956 to 72,237 in 1990 (INSEK 2012, p. 2).

Nevertheless, during the time of the GDR new neighbourhoods were built in the northern and southern outskirts of the town, namely Rauschwalde, Weinhübel, and Königshufen (see Map 2). The newly constructed large panel system buildings in rather suburban areas drew many residents out of the inner city (gr. Innenstadt), whose historic structure was in very poor condition: "*Königshufen only was built because the inner city collapsed*" (GR19 SciRE). As a result, the town today is too large in relation to its actual population and large parts of the inner city are shaped by vacancies (Ibid.).





**Map 2:** Detail of the municipality Görlitz. In its centre are the historic town (gr. Historische Altstadt) and the inner city (gr. Innenstadt), in whose western part *Rabryka* marks the main activity location of *Second Attempt* (Source: ILS).

With further cracking loss of almost a third of inhabitants after the German reunification, Görlitz had a bottom population of 54,042 in 2013 (Stadtverwaltung Görlitz 2017a, p. 21). As mainly young people left the town, the average population age rose to 47.4 years in 2016 (Bertelsmann Stiftung n.d.) compared to 44.3 years in Germany (Statistisches Bundesamt 2018). However, since 2014 already, the number of inhabitants has been recovering again to above 57,000 (status February 2019; Stadtverwaltung Görlitz 2019, p. 3).

People moving to Görlitz can be roughly divided into four groups: Polish, German retirees, who appreciate the picturesque townscape as well as low living costs, students of the university, and inhabitants of the surrounding rural villages (empirica ag 2016). As regional centre, Görlitz provides low rent prices and urban infrastructure to people who are not able to compensate long distances in rural areas (Ibid.). A regional politician explains that such population influx has twofold consequences: *“On the one hand, we attract people from*

*the administrative district, but on the other hand, this is not necessarily the population, which, if I may say so, generates high tax revenues” (GR29 PubRE).*

The share of economically vulnerable inhabitants is generally high in Görlitz. The unemployment rate of 13.4% (status February 2019; Stadtverwaltung Görlitz 2019, p. 7) is far above the German average of 5.3% (Statista 2019). The reason for this is not necessarily a lack of jobs, yet a mismatch between workforce and vacant jobs (Gabler et al. 2016, p. 13). The local economy is shaped by the two large machine construction companies *Siemens* and *Bombardier* and a large proportion of SME in a diversity of industrial branches (Kluge et al. 2014, p. 58ff.). Other important employers are the municipality, the district administration, the health sector, mainly in form of hospitals, and the educational sector, including the university (Ibid.).

Many social benefit recipients are concentrated in the Inner City West (Stadt Görlitz 2016, p. 11). Consequently, the municipality has set up a rehabilitation zone in this area, where EFRD and ESF together support restoration of buildings, redevelopment of green spaces and social and cultural neighbourhood activities. Görlitz receives about 8 Mio. € through EFRD (Investieren im EFRE-Gebiet n.d.) in the current funding period, and 1.3 Mio. € by ESF (Die Stadt Görlitz... 2018). *Second Attempt* is involved in this rehabilitation process, as the action is located in the Inner City West and conducts ESF-funded neighbourhood work.

Name of Case Study Area	Görlitz (town) within the region Oberlausitz and the state of Saxony
Size	67,5 km <sup>2</sup> (Stadtverwaltung Görlitz 2017a, p. 12)
Total population (2016)	56.745 (Stadtverwaltung Görlitz 2017b, p. 3)
Population density (2016)	832 inhabitants per km <sup>2</sup> (own calculation)
Level of development in relation to wider socioeconomic context	Disadvantaged within a wider underdeveloped region
Type of the region (NUTS3-Eurostat)	Intermediate (Eurostat 2013)
Name and Identification Code of the NUTS-3 area, in which the locality is situated (NUTS 3 Code as of 2013)	DED2D Görlitz
Name and Identification Code of the NUTS-2 area, in which the locality is situated (NUTS 2 Code(s) as of 2013)	DED2 Dresden

**Table 1:** Basic socioeconomic characteristics of the town Görlitz

### 3.2 Spatial (in-)justice and territorial governance in Görlitz

#### Analytical Dimension 1: Perception of spatial (in-)justice within the locality

Interviewees stated that their **understanding of spatial injustice** is fundamentally shaped by personal feelings and perception. As one respondent puts it, spatial injustice *“occurs, if there is a milieu or a group of people who is limited in its opportunities to participate [...]. People who have no voices, who feel that they could not change anything”* (GR6 CivLI). Accordingly, **spatial justice** is always determined by an underlying frame of reference: *“The topic of justice and injustice is always and especially a perceived one. [...] Perceived injustice is definitely present here [in Upper Lusatia]. And, of course, it is always exemplified in comparison to other spaces”* (GR9 PubRE).

**Boundary-making** processes, which are results of such comparisons, take place on different spatial levels. Territorial reference frameworks for the perception of social boundaries addressed by our interview partners can be grouped into four spatial layers.

Firstly, on a national level, **historic inequalities are perceived between East and West Germany**, particularly in terms of economic strength and political representation (Reiche 2018). In relation to the case study, this issue has been discussed with academic experts working in the region (GR19 SciRE & GR25 SciRE). One of them argued that such **differences in the production of space** are caused by the challenging integration of the former socialistic state GDR into the Federal Republic of Germany: *“If it’s about spatial injustice, to my mind it’s a lot up to German history: GDR, Wende, post-Wende, transformation. [...] A lot of people simply feel neglected, disadvantaged, and aggrieved due to transformation effects”* (GR19 SciRE).

Interestingly, other interviewees, did not explicitly mention this issue. Instead of discussing the difference between East and West Germany, interviewees rather focused on the perceived disadvantage of the town Görlitz and the region Upper Lusatia in contrast to other areas both in the West and the East (GR5 CivLE, GR12 CivLE, GR15 PubLE, & GR22 CivLI).

Regarding Saxony, for instance, it is the federal state in Eastern Germany which coped best with the transformation process, at least economically (Ragnitz 2017). Yet, the financial reward is perceived as a result of **“lighthouse politics”** (GR3 CivLI, GR9 PubRE, GR15 CivRE, & GR31 CivLE) by the state government, which primarily concentrated on the three largest cities – Dresden, Leipzig, and Chemnitz – and came at the price of disadvantages for other regions. Consequently, in smaller towns like Görlitz, narratives show that the focus of political activities in Saxony since the 1990s is held responsible for an ongoing negative development; leading to a second spatial layer and an additional source of perceived injustice.

Thirdly, interviewees talked about a **distinction between urban and rural parts** of the district Görlitz, produced by a gap in the provision of infrastructure (namely public transport, day-care, and educational facilities; GR15 CivRE, GR16 PubLE, & GR19 SciRE). The inequalities are also manifested in migration flows of inhabitants from rural to urban areas (see Chapter 2.1). Consequently, due to the abovementioned urban character of the town, the increasing population as well as the offer of soft and hard infrastructure, some interviewees would perceive Görlitz to be advantaged in comparison to the surrounding



rural areas (GR14 CivRE & FG7). One interviewee referred to Görlitz as “the motor of the region” (GR16 PubLE).

Accordingly, one respondent perceives the “*discussion of central vs. peripheral*” merely as “*an external act of attribution*”, which does not represent a major issue for the residents themselves: “*When you live in the periphery, you do not necessarily experience yourself as peripheral*” (GR25 SciRE).

Lastly, on a local level, many interviewees perceive **spatial boundary-making** between the centre of Görlitz and its outlying areas (GR5 CivLE, GR12 CivLE, & GR14 CivRE). The town’s social structure supports this narrative. Königshufen, Rauschwalde, and Weinhübel (see Map 2) are the oldest urban districts with a residents’ average age of about 55, while the Inner City is only at an average of 39 years (Stadtverwaltung Görlitz 2017a, p. 29). In contrast to other German towns, Görlitz has a relaxed residential market, making large parts of the inner city affordable to students and low-income households. Hence, newcomers to Görlitz such as university students are mostly moving into the inner city, leading to negative demographic trends particularly in the abovementioned suburbs (INSEK 2012, p. 4).

Additionally, the built environment and its symbolic attribution facilitate the impression. Especially the central station is experienced as strong **physical and psychological boundary** to southern parts of the town: “*At college, we tend to say: The town ends after the central station*” (GR6 CivLI). At the same time, not all interviewees would conclude that the suburbs are disadvantaged. In some interviews, living conditions in these neighbourhoods were described as almost garden city-like due to public-supported decongestion and deconstruction processes since the beginning of the 2000s (GR3 CivLI, GR11 CivLE, GR12 CivLE, GR13 PubLE, GR14 CivRE).

In contrast, many interviewees perceive the Inner City West as clearly disadvantaged to other neighbourhoods (GR6 CivLI, GR7 CivLI, GR16 PubLE, GR19 SciRE, & GR25 SciRE). The former traditional railcar workers residential place is shaped by vacancies and run-down buildings, thus clearly divisible from the old town and its historic suburb, the Nikolaivorstadt. A well-established town-wide discourse of the “*L-streets*” which are located around the *Lutherplatz*, a central square in the Inner City West, illustrates this inequality (GR3 CivLI). The respective streets and the place are portrayed as an insanitary district with “*the socially weakest structures*” (GR5 CivLE), many vacancies, and a lack of child-friendly infrastructure (GR18 PubLE). One interviewee argues that this discourse is aggravated by measures of the municipal housing cooperation building social housing in the Inner City West (GR30 MedLE). The local media subsequently coined the term “*Hartz-IV-houses*” (Pfeiffer 2017), further promoting such **production of disadvantaged space**.

The **division between the old town and the Inner City West** is pictured as a double-edged sword: On the one hand, Görlitz generally benefited enormously from the renovation of the old town. Over the course of about 20 years, an anonymous donator provided an annual amount of money called the ‘*Altstadt-Millionen*’ for the restoration of the historic centre, strongly influencing urban development politics: “*From the beginning ‘90s till the present every bit of urban development and subsidies were reviewed on the basis of their usefulness for the old town*” (GR18 PubLE). Consequently, this spatial development focus was to the disadvantage of other, not equally promoted neighbourhoods such as the Inner City West. In defence of the municipal development politics one interviewee states that “*efforts had of course to be concentrated to some degree*” (GR19 SciRE). The ESF and EFRD rehabilitation zone shall now concentrate on that part, which has been largely neglected so far.

Interestingly, despite the close **proximity to Poland** the border acts as a powerful “**mental barrier**” for many inhabitants of Görlitz: *“A lot of people really have a [mental] barrier. And I think, you really notice that there is a big difference between both these towns. When you are going across the bridge, of course it’s the language, but the people as well, the cars, the signs, the facades. Everything is somehow ... you really notice that it’s a different town although it is actually the same town”* (GR4 CivLI).

Thereby, a distinction must be made between the German and the Polish perspective on the connection of the two cities. While Germans often do not speak Polish and are largely focused on the German part of the town, many Polish work and live in Görlitz and subsequently speak German as well. This imbalance as well as the question of how to connect two towns remains an important topic of debate amongst civil society (FG6, see Dimension 2). For the purpose of this case study, however, the issue has not been of central importance, as *Second Attempt* mainly focuses on the German part of the town, while other initiatives in the area are specifically aiming at German-Polish cooperation (FG7).

## **Analytical Dimension 2: Tools and policies for development and cohesion**

Perception of social and spatial boundaries as well as reasons why they emerged was reported relatively coherently throughout all interviews. However, differences exist in the **interpretation of Görlitz’ development**.

As Görlitz is a very old city, from a socio-structural point of view, policies towards youth were long perceived to be insufficient (Amt für Jugend, Schule und Sport, Soziales 2014, p. 2). Young peoples’ perception of not being addressed by local politicians eventually culminated in the foundation of the informal network *Rise of Görlitz’ Youth* and a flash mob during a town council meeting in January 2012 (see Chapter 4.1).

In the following year the independent mayor Siegfried Deinege won the local elections with a programme focusing on youth- and family-friendly, participatory, and dialogue-oriented politics (DIE PARTNER GmbH 2012). Through Deinege’s political programme, many interviewees assert, the town has improved a lot, in particular regarding youth and cultural activities (GR1 CivLE, GR4 CivLI, & GR16 PubLE). Because of the broad alliance of Christian Democrats, the Green Party, Bürger für Görlitz, a local citizens’ party, and the Liberals as well as the recommendation by the Left Party, Deinege’s mandate can furthermore be regarded as a statement against right-wing populism in the region.

Yet, the **positive developmental trajectory** the new mayor initiated does not seem to be a commonly accepted point of view: *“This city has become in such a way emergent in the last seven years. [...] Actually, it’s unbelievable. But nevertheless, some parts of the population still speak as if we only quite recently got running water. ‘Everything is going to the dogs.’ But that’s wrong. It’s definitely not the case”* (GR5 CivLE). A clear-cut gap between the more active citizens – which are networked quite well – and a non-active part of the citizenry is observed by our interviewees (FG6). Whereas the former show a positive attitude towards the town’s development, the latter are portrayed as being in a “*typical nothing-going-on-mood*” (GR11 CivLE). Hereby, it must be noted that interviews were mainly conducted with people, who already are in various forms active in the town’s community. Their external attributions are not necessarily the self-image of the respective groups of citizens, but instead represent the division between different social groups in the town (GR25 SciRE).

One interviewee raises the concern that Görlitz' recent positive trajectory is merely "*a result of pure luck*" (GR31 CivLE), in which the municipal government did not have a decisive role. Nevertheless, some **policies are evaluated** positively in general, like the implementation of an urban renewal area in the Inner City West, the participation in a national audit to become a family-friendly municipality, or the enacting of an article for civic engagement, which amongst others includes neighbourhood participation boards called *Bürgergeräte*<sup>1</sup> (GR14 CivLE, GR19 SciRE, & GR22 CivLI). Yet, problems are seen in the practical realisation. For instance, the *Bürgergeräte* are reportedly lacking in decision-making capacity and political appreciation (GR5 CivLE, GR26 PubLE, & GR30 MedLE). Other policies as the construction of the Centre and the appointment of an office, which coordinates a network of associations for civic engagement, called *Engaged City* (*gr. Engagierte Stadt*) are perceived as "*clientelism politics*" (GR26 PubLE) by the political opposition.

These opinions strongly contrast with the view of other actors that members of the municipal administration and the mayor play an important role as promoters of change for the town as a whole (see above). One respondent even specifies a beneficial regional axis of energetic mayors in the towns of Görlitz, Weißwasser, and Zittau (GR9 PubRE).

Regarding economic development, some interviewees criticise **Görlitz' dependency** on large-scale industries: "*These [Siemens and Bombardier] are two big employers and two very important employers for the town. But certainly, the town also clings extremely to them*" (GR19 SciRE). In 2017, the town made national headlines, as the two companies debated to leave the location. This would have heavily impacted the local economy and increased unemployment rates. On the one hand, the retention of thousands of jobs shows a supra-regional significance of the industrial location Görlitz. On the other hand, a variety of interviewees demands that the promotion of SME, particularly in crafts, IT and creative industries should not be neglected (GR5 CivLE, GR9 PubRE, GR13 PubLE, & GR19 SciRE). For the cultural and creative scene of the town, the university, especially the subject of 'Cultural Management', is denoted as "*germ cell*" (GR19 SciRE), which could transform the creative industry into an important player in Görlitz (Gabler et al. 2016, p. 13).

The *Aktionskreis für Görlitz e.V.*, an organisation founded to promote the town and highlighting the need for civic participation, recently expressed a **lack of strategic political vision** for the future development of the town (GR19 SciRE). Albeit it is admitted that some actions have to take place on higher political levels (e.g. public transport) and the municipality of Görlitz is limited in its own decision-making capacity due to financial restrictions (see also Annex 8.4), current urban development concepts such as *INSEK*<sup>2</sup> are not perceived as sufficient: "*There was a number of papers, [...] but none of them was really pursued, yet ended up in a drawer*" (GR31 CivLE). Hence, together with local academic

<sup>1</sup> In 2013, an article for civil participation was developed and legally adopted in 2015. A detailed version of the article for civil participation of Görlitz can be found here: [https://www.goerlitz.de/uploads/02-Buerger-Dokumente/Ortsrecht/Satzung\\_Buergerbeteiligung.pdf](https://www.goerlitz.de/uploads/02-Buerger-Dokumente/Ortsrecht/Satzung_Buergerbeteiligung.pdf). The main consequences of this article are the establishment of a coordinator for civil participation in the municipal administration and the election of the *Bürgergeräte* in eight newly defined "areas of participation" in Görlitz. *Bürgergeräte* are elected by the inhabitants of these areas and pursue over a budget of 1€/inhabitant to realise measures suggested by the citizens themselves. Further information on the mechanisms and updated news are available on the town's website: [https://www.goerlitz.de/Buergerschaftliche\\_Beteiligung.html](https://www.goerlitz.de/Buergerschaftliche_Beteiligung.html).

<sup>2</sup> *INSEK* is the short form for integrated urban development concept (*gr. Integriertes Stadtentwicklungskonzept*) and an important instrument for municipal planning strategies. Its main purpose is to conduct a baseline study of a town's main opportunities and challenges and to define areas and measures for improvement to justify funding from a national level. In Görlitz, the first *INSEK* was developed in 2001; the latest version stems from 2012. All chapters of the *INSEK 2012* can be downloaded from the municipal website: <https://www.goerlitz.de/Stadtentwicklungskonzept.html>.

stakeholders they organised the *Zukunftskongress Görlitz* in November 2018. The convention aimed at discussing the town's future through bringing together major stakeholders in administration, politics, private businesses, civil society, and academia.

During the *Zukunftskongress*, a critical issue for the future of Görlitz was seen in the **connection to Zgorzelec** (FG6). In 2007, a joint tourism and business development agency called *European City* (gr. *Europastadt*) *GörlitzZgorzelec GmbH* was founded to promote business and tourism activities on both sides of the river Neiße. Nevertheless, many attendants of the *Zukunftskongress* were of the opinion that cooperation should not only focus on economic issues, but that Görlitz-Zgorzelec should be seen as one city with the long-term potential of becoming a prime example for a European region (FG6).

Another **example of civil engagement** is *Motor Görlitz*, a political movement which emerged in reaction to the success of a right-wing populist party in the national elections 2017 (Beier 2018). It was founded with the objective of putting positive developments on the agenda for the next town council elections in Spring 2019. On a regional level, there is amongst others an alliance called *Bündnis Zukunft Oberlausitz*, a network connecting engaged people from rural villages in particular: "*It's about bringing the actors within this area to meet each other. [...] And what is actually created is [...] the feeling: I am not alone*" (GR9 PubRE). Another actor, the *Jugendring Oberlausitz*, an association for the needs of children, youth, and families, tries to promote the interests of its members with a party in the district council (GR15 CivRE).

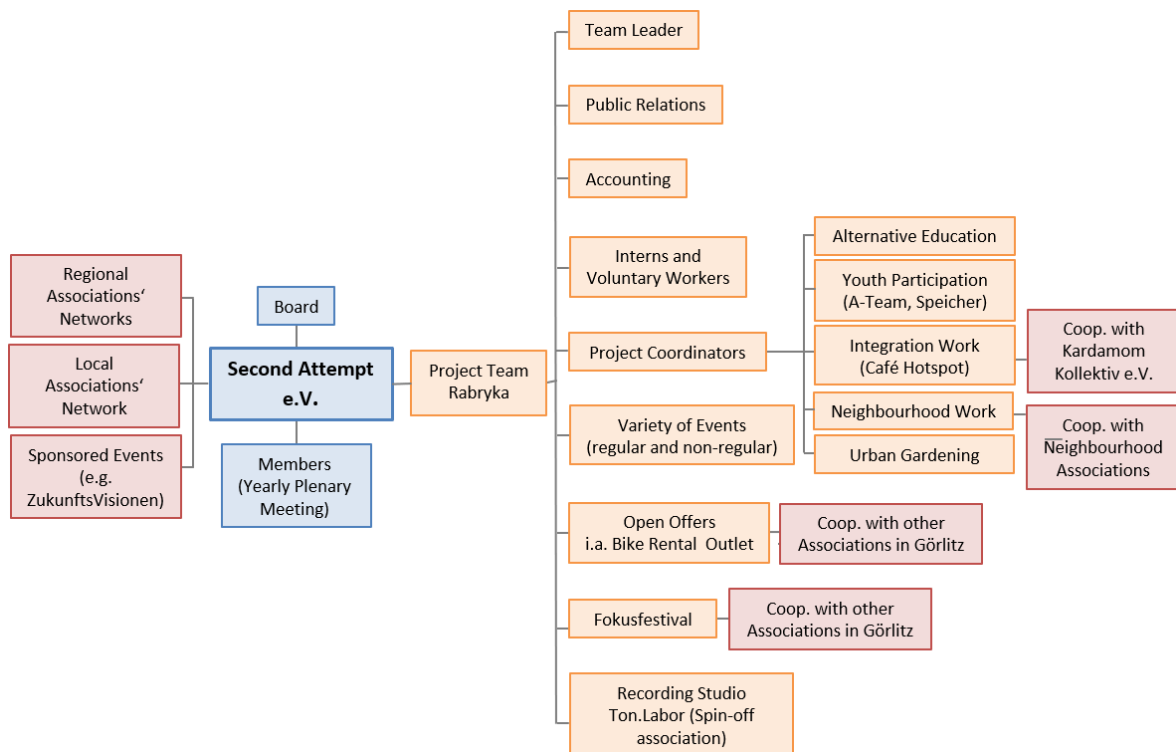
Most recently, Second Attempt itself initiated a discussion group with other cultural and civil actors on **cultural politics** in Görlitz. They diagnose a lack of transparent decision-making processes in the municipality and a need for better conceptual and financial support for cultural organisations (Internal document 2019). Their recommendations include the creation and maintenance of free spaces and low-cost cultural activities, respectful communication between the relevant stakeholders to increase trust, and the establishment of a coordinator for cultural issues in the municipal administration to give targeted support to cultural actors. On a more abstract level, they are interested in developing new economic and housing models, which shall be oriented towards the common good.

Altogether this draws a picture of a **very active civil society** which contends for a positive future regardless of all the challenges coming up with spatial injustice. But since the initiated positive developmental trajectory of Görlitz "*is up to single persons*" (GR19 SciRE), the question arises how decisive social and cultural initiatives can act as urban development agents. Town council elections coming up in May 2019 could be a test for the stability of current established civil structures in Görlitz.

## 4. The Action – A Youth Association becoming an Urban Development Actor

### 4.1 Basic Characteristics of the Action *Second Attempt e.V.*

*Second Attempt* is a non-profit association for the promotion and integration of youth culture. It was founded 2003 in Dresden by a group of young people, who moved their activities to Görlitz by the end of the year. The organisation consists of the managing board, the project team *Rabryka*, whose members are located in Görlitz and mainly take care of the preparation and implementation of the Centre, and more than 60 members, who are spread all over Germany (see Fig. 6). Across these three groups, there are usually overlaps in personnel. For instance, the leader of the project team is also currently head of the board.



**Figure 6:** Schematic representation of the internal organisation of *Second Attempt*. Please note that the authors do not guarantee the completeness of the portrayal; its purpose is to illustrate the diversity of projects managed by the association (Source: ILS).

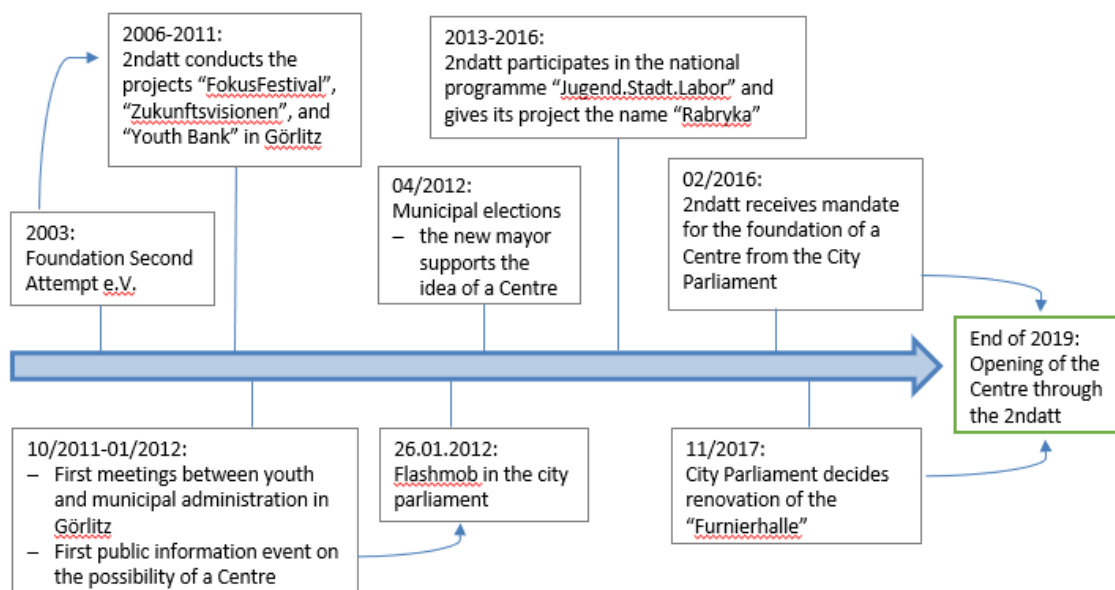
Already before it took over the implementation of the Centre, *Second Attempt* has been shaping the town's cultural scene through various projects, some of which are still ongoing today (see Fig.7). Examples are the *FokusFestival*, a yearly music and cultural festival, and the *ZukunftsVisionen*, an art exhibition reviving a vacant building every year. The latter is still sponsored by the association, but organised by an external team of mostly 'Cultural Management' students (see Fig. 6).

The idea of a Centre for youth and cultural activities developed end of 2011 during networking events between youth initiatives and the municipal administration. *Second Attempt* was part of these discussions. The then-current mayor, however, merely ignored the emerging interest groups. The young people reacted with a protest in January 2012, when around 120 adolescents, students, and representatives of civil associations did a flash mob in the town council to raise awareness for their interests. The protests brought great at-



tention to the youth and became an important issue in the following municipal elections. While the then-current mayor reacted unfavourable to the protest, his winning opponent Siegfried Deinege expressed support during his campaign (DIE PARTNER GmbH 2012).

The new mayor issued a call for tenders for the Centre, which was awarded to *Second Attempt* in 2016 (see Fig.7). At that time, the association had already initiated the platform *Rabryka* in a former yeast factory as a model case in the national research programme *Youth.City.Laboratory*. Through their previous activities and the development of *Rabryka*, *Second Attempt* proved their ability and maturity for organising such a large project. Consequently, *Rabryka* was continued after *Youth.City.Laboratory* ended. Its main purpose today is to experiment with ideas and projects that can then be moved into the Centre in 2019. The Centre will also carry the name *Rabryka* to provide continuity to its users and the citizenry (FG8).



**Figure 7:** Timeline of the activities of Second Attempt (abbreviated as 2ndatt in the figure), the youth protests and the emergence of the Centre (Source: ILS).

As the municipality is the largest financial sponsor of the Centre, *Second Attempt* is mainly held accountable by them. Nevertheless, when developing an operating concept, the association was given relatively free hand by the municipal administration (FG5). The second regular financial sponsor is the *Cultural District*. In order to receive financial means through this institution, *Second Attempt* has to comply with the *District's* funding criteria for sociocultural centres<sup>3</sup>.

The projects of the platform *Rabryka* are guided mainly by project coordinators and interns (see Fig. 6). Thereby, the association pays attention to transferring responsibility for the development of projects to engaged individuals, in particular young people, while providing the space as well as conceptual and financial support for these activities. This

<sup>3</sup> The catalogue of the *Regional Association for Socioculture Saxony* (gr. *Landesverband Soziokultur Sachsen e.V.*) presents the current guiding criteria for the funding as well as a definition of sociocultural centres: [https://soziokultur-sachsen.de/phocadownload/soziokultur\\_in\\_sachsen\\_2013\\_kriterienkatalog\\_bestandsaufnahme.pdf](https://soziokultur-sachsen.de/phocadownload/soziokultur_in_sachsen_2013_kriterienkatalog_bestandsaufnahme.pdf)



includes lobbying for the acceptance and valorisation of youth and socio-cultural initiatives through formal and informal channels in the municipality and the region.

Especially young people have long not been integrated into political decision-making processes (Amt für Jugend, Schule und Sport, Soziales 2014, p. 2). Yet, as they are important actors for the development of Görlitz, *Second Attempt* aims to improve the situation of the youth through empowering young people to take part in urban development. This entails turning around the negative image many inhabitants have of Görlitz and showing up opportunities for intervention. In a nutshell, the association takes a decidedly bottom-up approach in the development of its projects, while its implementation of the Centre is being overall regulated through the municipal administration and the *Cultural District*.

## 4.2 Evaluation of the Implementation of the Action in Görlitz

### Analytical Dimension 3: Coordination and implementation of the action

The following section presents the way *Second Attempt* implements and manages its activities. Furthermore, attention is given to the impact other stakeholders have on the action.

#### Internal structure and leadership of *Second Attempt*

As mentioned above, the project team is developing its own projects, yet there is a number of autonomously organised activities taking place under the umbrella of the association. One interviewee summarizes the **structure of coordination** of *Second Attempt* as follows: “It is really somehow the mother ship [...] with longer experience, with a more developed structure, with a somewhat higher degree of possibilities, with a larger scale somehow” (GR8 CivLE). That is to say, autonomously organised projects can rely on the **know-how and decision-making capacity** of *Second Attempt*. Consequently, many projects taking place at *Rabryka* are able to maintain an informal character, which is attractive to a wide diversity of users and specifically young people (FG7).

It was during *Youth.City.Laboratory* that the association deliberately shifted its focus from being the ‘maker’ to being the ‘capacitator’ (GR6 CivLI). Hence, a **professionalisation** took place, during which members of the project team took over bureaucratic tasks such as funding applications and most of the communication with other actors. This clear task division enables the association to give a lot of freedom to project developers, while securing the financial and structural basis and hence the continuity of their activities. The professional organisation of the association is viewed as unique across civil society in Görlitz: “*Second Attempt* is the responsible for [the Centre]. There are just no competitors in Görlitz. [Second Attempt] is the major driving force of Socioculture” (GR16 PubLE).

Within the action’s overall conceptualization and management, the current project team leader plays an important role. By external observers, he is perceived as the main representative of *Second Attempt*, partly because he is the one taking over most of the dialogue with other civil and public actors (GR25 SciRE). However, a volunteer at *Rabryka* explained that this situation is not perceived negatively by the team, as the team leader thereby allows them to concentrate on their projects without spending too much time on more representative and organisational issues (FG1). Furthermore, weekly team meetings, weekly open plenary sessions and yearly conceptual workshop weekends allow all participating actors to voice their opinion. All in all, the **mode of leadership** of the association can be considered simultaneously well-regulated and non-hierarchical.

One measure of empowerment for project developers implemented during the *Youth.City.Laboratory* was an ‘**impulse project fund**’<sup>4</sup>. With the help of state-level funding it provided people financial aid to start projects. The recording studio *Ton.Labor e.V.*, which is today its own registered association and the urban gardening project are two examples of such ‘start-ups’. One member of the project team *Rabryka* explained that the advantage of such project funds is that they allow the association to monitor and give targeted support to what is going on in the town, specifically in the youth and cultural scene (GR6 CivLI). Their hope is to subsequently provide space for alternative ideas and activities beyond high and mainstream culture, thereby fostering the formation of subcultural scenes in Görlitz.

Interviewees external to the action affirm that *Second Attempt* has the capacity to impact the town and its cultural scene. A member of the municipal administration assessed that the platform *Rabryka* “*changed communal politics. It changed the whole youth scene. It changed the relation between citizenry, particularly young citizens, and the municipal administration, to local politics*” (GR17 PubLE). The association has gained this **decision-making capacity**, mainly because it went through the above-mentioned process of professionalization and is particularly strong in the acquisition and allocation of funds (Ibid., GR25 SciRE).

Notwithstanding the positive effects of this professionalization, civil actors external to the action warn of the danger of falling into a “*mode of property management*” (FG7). Next to the structural and financial support to autonomously conducted projects, it was argued during the focus group that the association should not stop to develop its own content in order to transport its ideas and vision for the town to the wider public.

Regarding its regional impact, the association is well-connected through the sociocultural working group of the *Cultural District* as well as the *Regional Association for Socioculture Saxony* (gr. *Landesverband Soziokultur Sachsen e.V.*). On these levels, regional sociocultural organisations bundle experiences and form a lobby demanding more visibility and facilitation for their activities from public actors (GR6 CivLI). Furthermore, the association is in contact to the *Bündnis Zukunft Oberlausitz* and member of the *Jugendring Oberlausitz e.V.* (see Dimension 2).

In Görlitz, on the other hand, **cooperation between civil actors** takes place on a harmonious, yet low-threshold level, as several associations meet every few months and run a joint event calendar (GR2 CivLE). *Second Attempt* hopes to shift the network of civil and cultural actors to a more conceptual level (GR6 CivLI). One measure to achieve this are the discussion groups on cultural politics, whose aim is to formulate a position paper towards the municipality, thereby increasing the influence of civil actors on local politics (see Dimension 2).

#### The relationship of *Second Attempt* to local politics

Notwithstanding such plans, members of the project team *Rabryka* view the **relationship of the association with local politics** positively (GR4 CivLI, GR6CivLI, GR7 CivLI, & GR22 CivLI). It has always been in their interest to move the project forward. The relation to most town council factions is perceived as good, whereas contact to other, particularly right-wing parties, is more difficult. Yet, a member of the project team clearly states that

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<sup>4</sup> For further information on the mechanism of impulse project funds see the publication of the Federal Ministry for Infrastructure, Construction, and Urban Development (BMVBS, ed.) “Jugendfonds als Instrument der Stadtentwicklung” (2012).

*Second Attempt* is open to dialogue, including with those politicians critical of the action (GR6 CivLI).

Moreover, the existence of an **intermediary in the municipal association** is considered valuable (GR3 CivLI). The respective person can serve as a contact in cases of questions and facilitate communication between civil associations and the municipality, whose perceptions and experiences often differ widely from each other (GR11 CivLE). Local stakeholders view this unique relationship between administration and a youth association as an interesting and fruitful learning process. While it may often be difficult, it offers the municipality to reflect on its innate practices and open up to more experimental ways of urban development (FG7).

Yet, although the relationship to the municipality is regarded as being on a par, the municipal government **exerts power** over the action. A project team member asserts that the establishment of a Centre of such scale would not have been possible without the support and financial backing of the municipality (GR6 CivLI). This leads to some uncertainty, as political changes might constrain the resources *Second Attempt* obtains from the municipality. The town council aims to pass a target agreement for the Centre before the next elections in May 2019 (FG7). Moreover, supra-local funding programmes such as the financial support of the *Cultural District* are a possibility to alleviate these effects, as municipal governments will be hesitant to stop a project for which the municipality receives significant amounts of external funding (GR30 MedLE). Nevertheless, the mayor candidate for a right-wing party has already stated that he would prefer to close the Centre (Klaus & Beutler 2018).

Associations furthermore depend on the willingness of a municipality or the support of private owners to provide them with space. In the case of *Rabryka*, the association at first profited from the openness of the owner of the former yeast factory towards cultural activities (GR10 PrivLE). Yet, it was clear that the owner had his own plans with the area and that the action will eventually have to move into a municipal building (GR6 CivLI). In this regard, the association has shown the **capacity to negotiate** with the municipal administration. As the team was not satisfied with the selected building, *Second Attempt* called an urgent meeting with the mayor and members of the administration and achieved to change the building into the *Furnierhalle* (GR16 PubLE). Thereby, the responsible public actors showed openness and confidence in judgement of the association.

Consequently, *Second Attempt* has profited from a good relationship with the municipality and **the Centre is regarded as a joint project** between the two actors (FG5). Yet, the co-operation did bring difficulties with it, as **responsibilities were often unclear** to both internal and external stakeholders. Especially in the first years after the plan for a Centre emerged, many regarded the project as a “black box” (GR6 CivLI). An external observer explains the complex situation: “It wasn’t really clear, what they were actually doing. And not really clear what the assignment by the municipality was. In fact, *Second Attempt* gave itself its own tasks. [...] But it wasn’t bottom-up anymore, it was top-down through the mandate of the municipality.” (GR25 SciRE)

This means that the freedom in developing a concept for the Centre that was given to *Second Attempt* and a **lack of communication** by the municipality led to confusion on who will be held accountable for the contents of the Centre. *Second Attempt* achieved to resolve a large part of the discussion through an open dialogue further evaluated in Dimension 4. Nevertheless, while they appreciated the confidence of the municipality, team members would have sometimes wished for more guidance to be able to clarify the responsibilities of the Centre towards other actors (FG5).

#### Analytical Dimension 4: Autonomy, participation and engagement

In the previous chapter it has been indicated that projects of *Second Attempt* are organised in a largely independent and non-hierarchical manner. It is the goal of the association to facilitate easy **participation and engagement** of users and volunteers to the action. Thereby, the diversity of projects and a mixture of ‘professional’ and open activities shall allow accommodating different interests and talents.

For instance, there exists the *A-Team*, a youth participation group offering political discussion meetings and political education workshops. After the group was founded, the organizers realized that some participants are more interested in practical work (GR3 CivLI). Consequently, the self-organised youth club *Speicher* (transl. ‘attic’) was created, offering free space to adolescents. As the project received great feedback and volunteers were motivated to care for the place, the project team decided to include the youth club into the Centre (GR6 CivLI). This process stands exemplary for the openness of *Second Attempt* to **innovation and self-organisation**.

Moreover, the association offers many former students of the university or secondary schools in Görlitz internship and jobs, which make them stay in town for longer. To one interviewee this is one reason why *Second Attempt* could show continuity over the years despite constant changes in personnel: *“For many people it was not attractive to stay in Görlitz, because they could not find something that could give them a real perspective for the future. Second Attempt somehow succeeded in continuously employing people next to the innovative, voluntary things that they do. They just always applied for funds so that people had a job for a year or so”* (GR16 PubLE). Additionally, the **personal identification** members of the team have with the project motivates many to stay: *“There are several civil actors that then said: I’m only here because of Rabryka”* (GR2 CivLE).

Nevertheless, project team members know that there are groups of people whom they could not attract to the action so far (GR22 CivLI). Participants are still mainly students and people already interested in an alternative and creative scene (GR11 CivLE). Consequently, the project has a “leftist” image amongst parts of the population, although *Second Attempt* emphasizes political neutrality and is not attached to a political party. Particularly more conservative inhabitants of Görlitz, but also people from the neighbourhood, who often come from a lower socioeconomic background, mostly do not respond to the action (GR6 CivLI & GR30 MedLE).

The neighbourhood work targeting adolescents and young adults from difficult socioeconomic backgrounds as part of the Inner City West rehabilitation area has the objective to involve a larger diversity of people (see Dimension 5). Moreover, the association hopes that the opening of the Centre in 2019 will grab the attention of new potential users (FG8). Yet, a team member admits that it will be difficult to find a **balance between attracting the greatest diversity of users and at the same time not losing the core clientele** that shaped the project over the past few years (Ibid.).

The question of the typical *Rabryka* user profile and the **non-transparent communication** by the municipality towards both town council and public mentioned in Dimension 3 opened the door for criticism from political actors, the media, other civil associations, and parts of the citizenry. The pressure of the criticism led one of the main supporting parties to almost deny their backing of the Centre, which would have implied the failure of the action (GR16 PubLE).



Essentially, two groups of critics emerged, **challenging the legitimacy** of the action, but from contrary angles. For the first group, it is not justified that the municipality supports a Centre which will only address a minority of people instead of the citizenry as a whole (GR26 PubLE). In their opinion, a professional assessment of demands should have been conducted by the municipality to legitimize the opening of a Centre that requires large amounts of funding (GR30 MedLE).

In the local media, the *Saxon Newspaper* (gr. *Sächsische Zeitung*), critics argued that a Centre de facto already existed in the form of *Kühlhaus e.V.*, an association running a cultural venue in a former cooling store in Weinhübel, and other youth and cultural projects (Pfeiffer 2015). Therefore, a centralization of youth activities in one Centre could be problematic. The criticism had an important impact on public debate in Görlitz and led many people to doubt the usefulness of the Centre (GR5 CivLE). Some interviewees partly attribute this effect to the central role of the *Saxon Newspaper*, which has “*a monopoly on opinion, especially in Eastern Saxony*” (GR9 PubRE).

Reacting to these critics, a civil actor complains about *Kühlhaus e.V.* being exploited to generate competition between the two associations (GR5 CivLE). To annul the criticism, the two associations today deliberately cooperate in a variety of activities (GR25 SciRE). Nevertheless, *Kühlhaus e.V.* as well as other civil actors equally voiced doubts about the Centre, thus forming the second group of critics. For them, the main problem was the **confusion about the responsibilities** of the Centre, the “*black box*” (GR6 CivLI, see Dimension 3). They feared that other initiatives and associations would receive less funding and attention from the municipality, if resources were centralized in one action (GR25 SciRE). The municipality pays attention to this issue when providing finances to other cultural association (FG7), yet a lack of clear communication fuelled the criticism.

Eventually, *Second Attempt* took the initiative in 2016 to organise **open and moderated dialogue events** to which mainly town council members and civil actors were invited. Criticism could be voiced and the leadership of *Second Attempt* achieved to clarify the responsibilities of the future Centre. Instead of bundling all sociocultural activities of the town under one roof, the main focus of the action is supposed to stay with adolescents and young adults (GR6 CivLI). *Kühlhaus e.V.*, in contrast, is more focused on adults from the age of around 27 onwards (GR5 CivLI). Through the neighbourhood work, *Second Attempt* will moreover give special attention to youth from difficult backgrounds and has already served as a trigger for the establishment of further institutions in the Inner City West (FG7). By many interviewees, the dialogue was perceived very positively. A member of another cultural association affirmed: “*And I have to say, since then [the dialogue events] things have changed in an extremely positive way. [Second Attempt tries] to be extremely considerate, place even more emphasis on cooperation, focus on openness*” (GR5 CivLI).

The first group of critics, however, could not be convinced. Contrary to most civil associations, many critics with an outside perspective to the scene reject narrowing down the action’s focus to adolescents and young adults. **This raises the difficult question which criteria the Centre has to fulfil to be legitimized.** On the one hand, an interviewee asserts that if a majority of citizens do not want the Centre, one has to accept this as a democratic decision (GR28 PubRE). On the other hand, the specialization on non-mainstream culture and the experimental approach to urban development could make the Centre valuable for the whole region: “*When you look at the election results, also in Saxony, in places where sociocultural centres exist one can always see figures that actually show that it is good for democratic participation to have colourful spaces, which broaden thought patterns*” (GR13 PubLE).

Additionally, however, *Second Attempt* is **accountable** towards the *Cultural District* (GR6 CivLI). In order to receive institutional funding, they have to comply with the criteria for sociocultural centres (cf. Landesverband Soziokultur Sachsen e.V. 2013). Therein, one requirement is to conduct inter-generational activities. Hence, the project team has been joined by a person for the organisation of such projects. Thereby, the association has to take care that they balance their inter-generational work with their focus on young adults, so that the conflict with other civil associations does not emerge again. Possible solutions are the focus on single intergenerational projects and the spatial division of target groups in the Centre (FG7).

Another funding criterion that has been putting pressure on the association is '**regional importance**'. The focus of impact shall lay on either one of the two administrative districts (Kulturraum Oberlausitz-Niederschlesien n.d., p. 27), although interviewees argue that those areas are still too large for a sociocultural centre to reach (GR27 PubRE). Thus, the term is kept discursive and flexible by the *Cultural District* and is not based on quantitative measures.

Regarding the administrative district, a regional civil actor explains that it is very difficult to attract participants from small villages, especially young ones, as the transport infrastructure is not sufficient (GR15 CivRE). At the same time, he says that "*it [Rabryka] is an outstanding example in the region. Something like this has technically never existed elsewhere*" (Ibid.). Thus, the **unique profile of the action** would be a reason to argue in favour of its influence beyond Görlitz.

Moreover, instead of young people from the villages coming to Görlitz, *Second Attempt* can **serve as an inspiration** to establish similar projects in structurally more disadvantaged rural areas: "*They [the A-Team] were interested in organising an exchange with other youth clubs in the district. [...] amongst others the Pro Jugend group from Ebersbach was there and they saw the area and the Speicher and thought, incredible, they couldn't trust their eyes. [...] And then they saw, okay, if it's possible here, we want to have a room too and gain strength from that*" (GR20 CivRE).

*Second Attempt* appreciates the flexibility of the term to a certain extent, but would have wished for better communication by the *Cultural District* regarding this issue, as the question of institutional funding can have a decisive impact on the future of the Centre (FG5). Hereby, a regional civil actor points out that this can be a chance to discuss and enhance the funding criteria for sociocultural centres, which are not set in stone (FG7).

### **Analytical Dimension 5: Expression and mobilisation of place-based knowledge and adaptability**

Apart from showing its regional importance, *Second Attempt* aims to establish the Centre in the neighbourhood Inner City West. Thereby, the action is an **essential part of the rehabilitation zone** (cf. Stadt Görlitz 2016). Fostering the relationship of the Centre with the neighbourhood could moreover be an important step to legitimize *Second Attempt* towards critics.

The **neighbourhood work** currently encompasses the neighbourhood management (for further explanation see Annex 8.4), which started in February 2018, and the *MakerSpace*, a weekly meeting point on the Lutherplatz, where a social worker gets in contact with adolescents and invites them to participate in *Rabryka* activities (Kramer 2018). Both projects are funded by the ESF.



In total, *Second Attempt* will be conducting five projects through the ESF in the current funding period. This offers the association the possibility to actively integrate particularly young people from difficult socioeconomic backgrounds in the development of their neighbourhood (cf. Stadt Görlitz 2016). The aim of the association is to create meeting places and thus foster neighbourly culture and involvement (FG5). To do so, a survey amongst inhabitants has been conducted, a neighbourhood shop opened, open air events take place on the Lutherplatz, cooperation with other local associations and institutions, such as the library, is pursued, and open neighbourhood talks will start from 2019 onwards.

Moreover, the association has decided to focus their projects on young adults, as the least offers in the neighbourhood are directed towards them (FG5). A targeted approach through informal activities has proven to work well in attracting neighbours (cf. Stadt Görlitz 2016). Projects such as *MakerSpace* as well as presentations in local schools by the *A-Team* and informal talks at events and on public places pick the people up where they spend their free-time anyways. The actual involvement of inhabitants through the neighbourhood management will then depend a lot on the peoples' needs, wishes and interests (GR22 CivLI). Similar to the general capacitating approach of *Second Attempt*, the neighbourhood project will **adapt itself** according to what the people are motivated to do.

*Second Attempt* shows that they have been and are collecting **place-based knowledge** to subsequently adapt their activities to the specific context of the neighbourhood. They are aware that parts of the citizenry are still reserved towards them and that they will maybe not reach everyone. Furthermore, the *Furnierhalle* is farther from the centre of the Inner City West as the *Rabryka* area is today (GR7 CivLI). In reaction to that one member of the project team explains: "*This means that it is really important to go into the neighbourhood in order to approach the people, as not all are coming here [to the Rabryka area]*" (GR22 CivLI).

The action does not only show **flexibility and adaptability to place-based circumstances** within the Inner City West, yet within Görlitz in general. The previous analysis has shown that *Second Attempt* is perceived as an outstanding association in the town and the surrounding region due to its professional organisation and conceptual strength. Over the past years, the action deliberately pursued the development of its strategic foundation. Consequently, a shift took place from rather impulsive projects to a management form that serves as the capacitor for the actual makers (see Dimension 3). For example, the section 'alternative education' was set in place, which attached special attention to fostering the democratic understanding of the citizens of Görlitz. Such activities require the action to include pedagogic experts and social workers into the organisation.

*Second Attempt* has the flexibility to make these decisions, as it is strong in the acquisition of financial funding, possesses the financial backing of the municipality, and is thus able to pay project coordinators (GR25 SciRE). At the same time, the funding criteria require the association to justify their activities, which is another reason for the conceptual shift of the action. The **association has learned** that in order to guarantee the resources for and sustainability of their action, they need to be adaptable to the civil and political local context.

This can imply conducting projects and events that project team members personally do not like, which are however important to strengthen the town's socioculture. Two important means to achieve this are firstly the close cooperation with other local and regional civil actors and secondly the '**monitoring**' of the town to identify motivated people willing to develop their own projects. A local politician affirms that *Second Attempt* has so far succeeded on this way: "*They are continuously developing their professionalism. And they*

*are just fit, they know from where to get information. They know how to qualify themselves. They can write funding applications, they can acquire money and thereby simply grow”* (GR13 PubLE).

One member of the project team explains that this development of the association was mainly based on a leadership change and a subsequent opening up of *Second Attempt* (FG5). This was particularly visible during the dialogue started by the association in reaction to the criticism they received from civil actors, politicians, and parts of the citizenry (see Dimension 4). Although this initiative could not improve relations with all critics, *Second Attempt* achieved to clarify their relationship to other, similar associations in town (GR5 CivLE).

In this context, a member of the municipal administration likewise admits that mistakes were made and that it was a stressful, yet in the end fruitful **learning process for all stakeholders** until the opening of the Centre was decided (GR16 PubLE). Thereby, the fact that the intermediary in the administration spent some time in a different position firstly had a negative effect on the atmosphere amongst civil actors (GR6 CivLI). Since the intermediary returned, communication between civil and political actors has been facilitated and improved. Nevertheless, the municipality as a whole has largely left the responsibility for clarifying the conflict between civil associations to the *Second Attempt* (see Dimensions 3 and 4).

Considering the above, the association has shown the **capacity to learn and adapt** in cases of conflict. Furthermore, a member of the project team emphasizes that the association is continuously updating its concept for the running of the Centre together with the municipality to adapt themselves to changing contexts (FG5). Thereby, many interviewees wish that such changes, new contents of the Centre, and conceptual developments are **communicated in an open and transparent way** (GR5 CivLE, GR30 MedLE, & FG7). According to these wishes, *Second Attempt* has invited to a *Rabryka Conference* in March 2019 to inform and debate the construction and contents of the Centre. All in all, *Second Attempt* does not regard their action to be ever finished; instead, the **ongoing process** of developing projects, cooperating with other associations and involving the citizenry of Görlitz is perceived as a goal in itself.

## 5. Final Assessment: Capacities for Change

### Synthesising Dimension A: Assessment of promoters and inhibitors

Following the analytical findings in the previous sections, we now turn to reflect and evaluate to what extent decisions and taken actions support (or constrain) a fair process (procedural justice) and a fair distribution of resources and opportunities (distributive justice) in the locality of Görlitz.

Without doubt, we conclude from the previous analysis that **flexibility, adaptability and organisational learning** are most important assets of *Second Attempt*. The way how *Second Attempt* became a main driver for sociocultural development in Görlitz is built upon these assets. The action has taken considerable risks on its way to open a Centre for Youth and Socioculture. These risks have been taken quite strategically, discussed, and reflected by the members of *Second Attempt* as a means to achieve their wider agenda. These wider aims include giving young people a voice in urban development, thus directly speaking to issues of **procedural justice**, and promoting socio-cultural development in the locality. Local sociocultural development is perceived as a pre-condition for long-term positive development in relation to both, quality of life in Görlitz as well as the position and perception of the town in the wider regional and national context. In this way, the action's aims also respond to issues of **distributive justice**.

A set of favourable conditions and opportunities have allowed *Second Attempt* to become a relevant sociocultural and urban development actor in the locality. The existence of the 'Cultural Management' branch of the university serves as a hub to **build local capacities** and attracts young students to the town. Some of them become active in the sociocultural associations and stay after their studies.

The urban structure of Görlitz itself, with beautifully renovated buildings in the town centre, but at the same time abandoned buildings and low rental prices, offers urban space for sociocultural activities: "*I think that we [Görlitz] do have a speciality for creative developments, because, and young people also say that a lot, there is still the possibility to make a difference. This is certainly the point, so much is still unfinished, where one can really become creatively active*" (GR24 PubLE). Thus, *Second Attempt* was able to temporarily use premises of an investor, which in the beginning were offered free-of-charge to them.

Individual political actors, including the present mayor, have likewise supported the endeavours of *Second Attempt*. Last not least, the association profited from regional, national and EU funding programmes which support youth initiatives and sociocultural development. With all these enabling factors, the action would not have developed to its current state, if *Second Attempt* had not strategically taken up chances and opportunities and at the same time consequently following their own vision. A most important driver behind the achievements of *Second Attempt* is thus the reflexivity and strategic capacity of the associations' main stakeholders.

Even though important political actors have been sympathising with *Second Attempt's* local agenda, it is true to say that the town Görlitz has not always or unanimously supported the action or backed them up in times of conflict. Rather to the contrary, the political decision for the Centre has been on the fringe of failing, and the decision to let *Second Attempt* run it, was taken and communicated in a way which nearly damaged the good relationships of *Second Attempt* with other civil associations in Görlitz.

Concluding, we see as **main promoters** influencing the scope and impact of the action

- The strategic capacity of *Second Attempt* in defining, reflecting, and pursuing their aims, as evident in the decision to become a network actor and build up a platform for sociocultural activities in Görlitz (rather than remaining an independent and small association)
- The organisational learning capacity of the association, including its flexibility and adaptability to react effectively when opportunities arise (for instance, through funding programmes) or constellations change unexpectedly (evident in organising a dialogue with civil and political actors in Görlitz, when conflicts related with the Centre became apparent)

Apart from these internal factors, which are related to the set-up and management of the association, further supporting factors play a role.

- The backing of the municipality, despite the problems that arouse through the joint project. Without the financial and conceptual support of the municipal government, the action would not have been possible to achieve the importance and role it has today. Hereby, the intermediary in the municipal administration plays a particularly important role in supporting *Second Attempt*.
- The positive influence of regional, national, and EU funding programmes on the strategic development of the association into a sociocultural and urban development player. It should be noted that traditional large players in this field (such as welfare associations) are missing in Görlitz.

As the **main inhibitors** influencing the action's scope and impact we might conclude:

- There has been an obvious open space in Görlitz which allowed *Second Attempt* to develop and become a relevant sociocultural and urban development actor in the locality. However, while their role and function in urban development and structural policy is acknowledged by the municipality, it is not properly communicated towards the public. Thus, questions of legitimacy or accountability arose and remain unclear (see Dimension B).

## Synthesising Dimension B: Competences and capacities of stakeholders

A main mechanism producing spatial injustice in the locality and its wider region is outmigration of the young and qualified. Görlitz has faced strong outmigration over the last decades, which makes particularly younger citizens an under-represented group in public affairs. Due to its peripheral location in the national context, Görlitz faces problems to attract economic investment and maintain a qualified workforce.

In the newspapers, the wider region of Upper Lusatia made German headlines due to its high election results for a right-wing populist party. Wide-spread frustration and resignation seem to attract people to populist movements in the region, perpetuating stigmatisation and a negative image, which again diminishes the attractiveness of the location for a young, creative and innovative milieu. In this context, *Second Attempt* is an interesting case for the potential of a local association by and for young people, which actively engages in local public affairs and seeks out to **empower young people** and involve them in constructive forms of place making and democratic engagement.

As population numbers are rising again, many interviewees show a positive attitude towards the development of Görlitz. Nevertheless, the danger of outmigration is still present as one of the **main challenges for spatial justice**. The responses on how to face the challenge however, differ widely. In this context, it is evident that no common long-term vision for the locality exists. Though political stakeholders argue that there is one, linked to a

town-wide development concept (*INSEK*), others are missing a longer-term strategy which openly and critically discusses the future development options and priorities for the city. Being able to settle on common goals for the town's development, in a discursive and inclusive process, might thus be seen as a precondition for major steps forwards. At the same time, there are major political struggles and opposing positions, from the far-right to the left wing, in the town council, which make it both important to establish common visions and at the same time difficult to agree on these.

Several questions on future development options are controversially discussed. What is the **role of socioculture in urban development**? Stakeholders from (socio)cultural initiatives argue with good reason that future development of the locality, including its economic development, is rooted in its sociocultural fabric, democratic and civic engagement. Without it, there is no economic development, neither endogenous (creative industries) nor in form of external investments. Linked to this question is the role and function given to the sociocultural initiatives in Görlitz and more specifically, the *Second Attempt*, as urban development agents.

Over the years, *Second Attempt* has taken over quite a responsibility in initiating and developing contents for the Centre in Görlitz. They employ staff, engage volunteers, secure funds, carry out regeneration programmes, and have become highly professional. They actively lobby for the interests of young people in urban development, and filled a perceived gap or lack with regards to the **participation and empowerment** of young people in public affairs, which had not been covered by formal politics before.

Nevertheless, there is a potential dilemma in their development over the years. The more *Second Attempt* may become a formal actor in urban development processes (and thus become less autonomous) the more they may lose their attraction for parts of their clientele. Stakeholders of the project team are aware of this risk and rightly reflect the fine balance between becoming a professional urban development agent and at the same time remaining credible and trustworthy for their clientele. The modular concept of *Second Attempt*, including highly professionalised project modules on the one hand, among self-organised, autonomous, and informal activities on the other hand, helps to bridge the dilemma.

The municipal government has realised that local initiatives such as *Second Attempt* have a specific **potential for localised action** and sees them as partners in urban development. Formal stakeholders have given *Second Attempt* the freedom to develop the contents of the Centre and to take over responsibility and engage in public affairs, as they acknowledged that the association can raise resources (such as local youth engagement, secure funding from outside, etc.) which the municipal government could not. In contrast to former times and previous conflicts, barriers between youth groups and municipality have gradually broken down. The personal relationship between *Second Attempt* and political stakeholders is regarded as being on an equal footing.

At the same time, however, this freedom has had ambivalent effects, and more specifically, negative effects on the legitimacy of the Centre and the *Second Attempt* association. If the municipal government had explained in a more transparent and clear way the importance and central idea of the Centre to the local public, critics of the Centre would have had a less easy target. The missing transparency in the decision process to give the association the mandate to open the Centre has been rightly criticized. The municipality should have exerted more control regarding the communication of responsibilities of the Centre and its role and importance for the locality.



Linked to this interplay is a wider and for the authors' unsolved question: What determines and makes actors at the lowest level, such as *Second Attempt*, legitimate, public stakeholders? If public affairs such as urban development, youth participation and local democracy become common affairs which are dealt with in co-operation between municipal government and autonomous local initiatives, how are issues of accountability or legitimacy best solved? In the case of Görlitz it becomes clear that missing or non-transparent communication hampered the legitimacy of the Centre and its operator, *Second Attempt*.

Is legitimacy established formally (by elected municipal governments) only, contractually, or via communication in public debate? Or is the claim for legitimacy of local initiatives a misleading one, as formulated in an interview with an initiatives' insider?

*"When talking about democracy, people always think about political representatives. But they never get the idea that democracy already starts, when they start doing something together with their neighbours, creating something cool. And I think that's why you should not force legitimacy demands upon such democratic initiatives and projects such as youth participation, because then you end up in formal politics again, which upset so many."* (GR3 CivLI)

The **question of legitimacy** was also raised in the focus group, to reflect on the research results of the case study (FG7). Participants asked, whether civil engagement in general should strive towards institutionalisation. Regarding the action, local and regional stakeholders emphasized the need for *Second Attempt* to maintain an "*incomplete and informal character*" (FG7). Such character allows them more freedom in developing their own contents and enable them to maintain a relationship of trust with their users. Particularly regarding youth participation, open formats (the *A-Team* was mentioned as an example) would be necessary to activate youth and enable them to renew and enhance their structures according to their own interests (in the light of high fluctuation rates amongst engaged adolescents).

Nevertheless, no clear-cut answer could be found to how such open formats could gain legitimacy across the whole citizenry and in how far that would even be possible. The case of *Second Attempt* and the Centre is however perceived as a chance to start a public debate on these culture-political issues in Görlitz (FG7).

### **Synthesising Dimension C: Connecting the action to procedural and distributive justice**

In a regional context of structural economic change, outmigration, and increasing populism, the researched action is a bottom-up organisation by and for young people. In terms of **distributive justice**, it aims provide open spaces and activities as alternatives to mainstream culture in Görlitz. In terms of **procedural justice**, it seeks to be an anchor institution for the interests of vulnerable (young) people, seeking to involve them in democratic forms of engagement. The action could be seen as a catalyst for the interests of young people and a promotor of sociocultural development, both of which help to make young people stay in and feel that they belong to the town.

The inclusive procedures employed by *Second Attempt* in project development play a decisive role for the impact the association has on the just distribution of creative, alternative spaces and activities in Görlitz. As youth is empowered to create its own projects – while being allowed to try and fail as well – the creative scene of the town is shaped by young citizens themselves. A predisposed set of activities imposed by a higher-level actor would not have achieved the monitoring and activation of motivated actors and local interests in

the same way. Hence, the specific way how *Second Attempt* is set up and the freedom given to the association by the municipality have been prerequisites in achieving just outcomes.

Interestingly, however, when asked about future local development of Görlitz, the individual assessment among stakeholders about what has been achieved or not over the last years, varies quite a lot: Those who are active and engaged, are usually more inclined to see the progress in Görlitz' development. Yet, a large population group in Görlitz obviously tends to see themselves as marginalised in political and structural decisions over the last years, as the high election results for right-wing populist political parties show. It remains to be seen in how far the sociocultural development in Görlitz can have an impact on these parts of the population as well.

Nevertheless, *Second Attempt* over the years has become an important stakeholder for urban and sociocultural development in Görlitz. One important **achievement** of *Second Attempt* has been the development of *Rabryka* and the future establishment of the Centre in the Inner City West. Since beginning of 2018 their activities furthermore encompass neighbourhood management in the ESF rehabilitation area. Last not least the association promotes democratic empowerment and civic engagement, specifically amongst the youth, through promoting a range of formal and informal meeting places and building capacities for engagement.

We have argued that the association has a specific potential for creating **impact in the locality** by raising localised resources (such as local youth engagement, involving vulnerable population groups etc.). According to our evaluation, the impact of *Second Attempt* on the locality could not have been achieved otherwise (for instance, by formal or higher-level actors), as its resources and potential are deeply localised: Its credibility among its clientele and the trusted networks with other sociocultural initiatives are its social capital. The specific way how the action is set up, including, open, dialogue-oriented, and transparent, is directly linked to this capital. In this sense, the action is **contingent upon place and time** (an interviewee said that *Second Attempt* needed the specific atmosphere in the city to happen, and that it could not have happened several years before the youth protest emerged (GR17 PubLE)).

The achievements of the action could not be explained without a range of **internal and external factors** (see Dimension A). Going beyond the internal factors, which relate to the specific way how *Second Attempt* is set up and managed, there are parts of the action which could be transferred or up-scaled, specifically in form of supporting programmes. For instance, the national programme *Youth.City.Laboratory* (2013-2016) has supported *Second Attempt* in building up *Rabryka*, has given the team members space to experiment, and has supported the association in becoming an actor and a voice for young people in urban development.

Also, the 'impulse project fund', as part of *Youth.City.Laboratory*, has provided local youth groups with know-how and small sums which could be used for experimental projects. To fund innovative youth projects with small money and empower young people to engage with their local environment is an element easily transferable to other European regions. It is a most effective way to reach and empower young people – as it is often difficult interest them in formal politics.

Beyond funding programmes, our empirical findings point to the role and relevance of an intermediary between civil initiatives and municipal administration. In the case of Görlitz, the intermediary is embedded within the town's administrative structure, reaches out to

the initiatives and channels their concerns and positions back into the administrative structure.

It will be interesting to see how moving the activities of *Rabryka* to the new location will influence the **further development of *Second Attempt*** and its role in the locality. The new Centre establishes a platform for socio-cultural activities in the town of Görlitz which is aimed to attract wider population groups, beyond young people. Also, *Second Attempts'* neighbourhood management activities widen the original focus of the association with regards to target groups and spatial impact. The wider variety of target groups, partly as a consequence of funding requirements, could pose a challenge for the association.

As we have seen that strategic capacity, flexibility, and adaptability are specific strengths of the association, there is reason to believe that *Second Attempt* finds a way to balance the different responsibilities and expectations. The backing role of the local government is of great importance for their future impact. In this context, it remains to be seen how the local elections in 2019 will affect the further development of the Centre. It is to be wished that *Second Attempt* is allowed to play a role in the socio-cultural development of the municipality independent from changing political interests and rationalities, as it has proven that it can indeed make a difference in terms of local development and civic engagement.

## 6. Conclusions

### What is being achieved in terms of delivering greater spatial justice?

The RELOCAL project asks in how far spatial justice, as a fair and equitable distribution in space of socially valued resources and the opportunities to use them, can be achieved through place-based actions. We argue that the youth association *Second Attempt* is an example for a place-based project that successfully works towards greater spatial justice within its locality, the town Görlitz.

Over the years, *Second Attempt* became an important urban development actor and main driver for sociocultural development in Görlitz. In terms of procedural justice, the organisation employs a bottom-up organisational structure, capacitating individuals to develop their own ideas and projects. They provide financial and conceptual support to small-scale activities, use place-based knowledge to democratically engage citizens in the rehabilitation of their neighbourhood, and lobby for the interests of youth and cultural actors on a regional and national level. Consequently, they promote the involvement of young people – and other citizens – in local decision-making processes, urban rehabilitation, and urban development in general.

Regarding the just distribution of resources and opportunities, *Second Attempt* achieved to enrich the town's cultural scene by promoting spaces for intervention and alternative activities beyond mainstream offers. Together with other organisations and initiatives, these cultural actors make the town more attractive to a young, creative, and innovative milieu and improve its image on a supra-regional level. Moreover, as a consequence of its ability in acquiring and allocating funds, *Second Attempt* can offer young people at least short-term job perspectives and motivate them to stay in town.

*Second Attempt* has gone through a process of professionalization without parting from their original vision. Hence, they were able to take over tasks the municipality itself could not fulfil: The acquisition of supra-regional funds targeting youth and cultural activities and the mobilisation of parts of the citizenry that have so far been neglected by decision-making processes. The municipality has recognized this specific potential for localised action of the association, which generally changed the relationship between municipal government and youth and cultural actors.

Over the next years, it is yet to be seen in how far these positive developments can hold up against changing circumstances such as shifts in local politics. Specifically the mayor and town hall elections in 2019 could have an impact on the long-term stability of the project. Furthermore, it will be interesting to see what impact the opening of the Centre by the end of 2019 and the neighbourhood work in the Inner City West, which has only just started, will have on the future development of Görlitz.

### What are the policy changes ahead for bigger impact?

Throughout the analysis, several external mechanisms have been identified that promote the development of associations such as *Second Attempt* in a locality and that could be transferred to other towns and regions within the EU. Firstly, the backing of a municipality and the conceptual as well as financial resources provided by institutional structures are essential in developing a large-scale project like the establishment of the Centre. Thereby, it is important that local politics give freedom to the respective civil actors in developing the contents of the project, as they often have the greater potential in mobilising place-

based knowledge and local resources. At the same time, the municipality should make sure to openly explain the value of such projects and clarify responsibilities to prevent confusion and criticism amongst the town's citizenry and other civil organisations.

In the case of *Second Attempt*, the existence of an intermediary in the municipal administration has been identified as an important facilitator of communication. Such a person should have the capacity to 'translate' between municipal and civil actors, whose perspectives often differ widely from each other. The case has shown that it is of great relevance for civil associations to maintain autonomy, while at the same time being able to receive support from professional and knowledgeable contact persons in the municipal administration.

Going beyond the local level, the acquisition of regional, national, and EU funds has the potential to back local initiatives against political changes within the locality. At the same time, such support might contradict the need for a project to be legitimized by the municipality. The question, whether and by whom a project like the Centre needs to be legitimized has been identified by the researchers as an open question to inspire further discussion.

Last not least, we argue for an increased focus on funds that shift responsibilities to the local level, and civil actors in particular. An example for this is the 'impulse project fund' established by *Second Attempt* to give financial support to small-scale projects. Such allocation of funds allows local actors to monitor what is going on in town and hence use this place-based knowledge to mobilise local resources. Based on that instrument, *Second Attempt* could transform its role from being a 'maker' to being a 'capacitator' and become the professional urban development actor it is today. Certainly, local structures lacking professional agents doing community work contributed to the successful development of the organisation as well. Yet, giving responsibility to local actors pursuing over significant amounts of place-based knowledge could lead to a more effective distribution of particularly small-scale funding within localities.



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## 8. Annexes

### 8.1 List of Interviewed Experts

List of interviewed experts	Type of expert
GR1 CivLE	Local civic actor
GR2 CivLE	Local civic actor
GR3 CivLI	Local civic actor
GR4 CivLI	Local civic actor
GR5 CivLE	Local civic actor
GR6 CivLI	Local civic actor
GR7 CivLI	Local civic actor
GR8 CivLE	Local civic actor
GR9 PubRE	Regional public actor
GR10 PrivLE	Local private actor
GR11 CivLE	Local civic actor
GR12 CivLE	Local civic actor
GR13 PubLE	Local public actor
GR14 CivRE	Regional civic actor
GR15 CivRE	Regional civic actor
GR16 PubLE	Local public actor
GR17 PubLE	Local public actor
GR18 PubLE	Local public actor
GR19 SciRE	Regional scientist
GR20 CivRE	Regional civic actor
GR21 CivRE	Regional civic actor
GR22 CivLI	Local civic actor
GR23 PubLE	Local public actor
GR24 PubLE	Local public actor
GR25 SciRE	Regional scientist
GR26 PubLE	Local public actor
GR27 PubRE	Regional public actor
GR28 PubRE	Regional public actor
GR29 PubRE	Regional public actor
GR30 MedLE	Local media
GR31 CivLE	Civil society organisation at local level

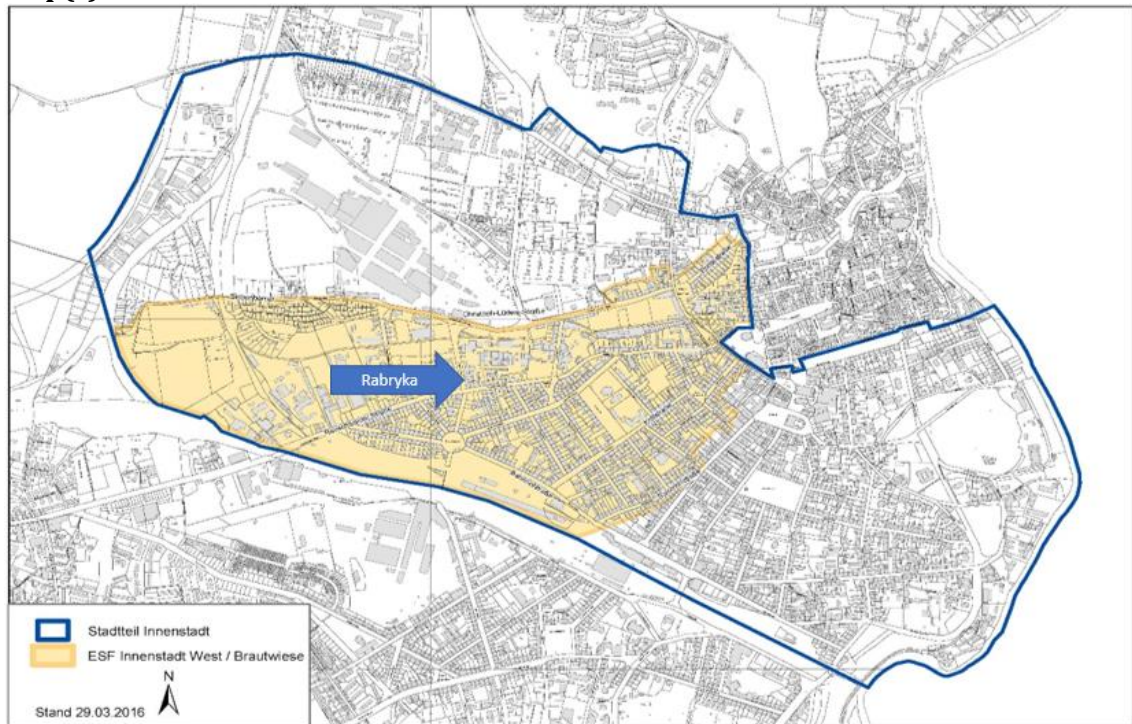
List of focus groups, meetings, & events	Abbr.	Date	Number of participants
Annual internal organisational meeting of project team	FG1	2018-03-16 to 2018-03-18	20
Network meeting of cultural and civil society associations in Görlitz	FG2	2018-04-10	15
Open plenum at <i>Rabryka</i>	FG3	2018-04-11	10 to 15
Weekly organisational meeting of project team	FG4	2018-05-08	15
Consultation interview with project team	FG5	2018-08-29	3
Future convention ( <i>Zukunftskongress Görlitz</i> )	FG6	2018-11-16 to 2018-11-17	100
Focus group to reflect and discuss research results	FG7	2019-02-05	6
Annual internal organisational meeting of project team	FG8	2019-03-01 to 2019-03-03	30

## 8.2 Stakeholder Interaction Table

Type of Stakeholders	Most relevant 'territorial' level they operate at	Stakeholders' ways of involvement in the project
Local politicians	Local (town)	Interviews: Insights into governance processes; importance of and critical opinions on the action; place-based knowledge about local contexts (identification of disadvantaged areas); future development and challenges of the town
Local administration	Beyond local (region Upper Lusatia-Lower Silesia) Local (town)	Interviews & focus group: Insights in governance processes; comprehension of practical realisation of political activities; history of the initiative; importance of civil organisations for the town; role of local administration in (not) supporting civic engagement processes; historical trajectory of the town
(Associations representing) Private businesses	Below local (neighbourhood)	Interviews: Motivation for providing property and estate free-of-charge to the action; future plans for the property
Project team (non-profit-/cultural organisation)	Local (town) Below local (neighbourhood)	Interviews, focus group, & events: Detailed insights in the action and coordination of its sub-actions; history and future goals of the action; discussion of possible future challenges; communication and relationship to local and regional administration and politicians; network to other initiatives
Non-profit/civil society organisations	Beyond local (region Upper Lusatia-Lower Silesia) Local (town)	Interviews & events: Importance and comprehension of civic engagement processes of residents and associations on and beyond the local level
Local and regional state offices/representations	Beyond local (state and region) Local (town)	Interviews: Regional and beyond regional perception of the town; supra-local influence of the action
Cultural institutions and associations	Beyond local (region) Local (town) Below local (neighbourhood)	Interviews, focus group, & events: Perspectives of other cultural institutions and associations on the action; connectedness and relationship of cultural and civil actors within the town; discussion of disadvantaged areas
Media	Local (town)	Interviews: Media-related perception of the action; communication of public perception and opinion of the action
Academics/Scientists	Beyond local (region and nation)	Interviews, focus group, & events: Scientific perception of the action; discussion of regional and local spatial and social injustices; evaluation of policies tackling spatial and social injustices; future development of the town



### 8.3 Map(s) and Photos



**Map 3:** The ESF-rehabilitation zone (marked in orange) and the location of *Rabryka* within the Inner City West (bordered in blue; Source: Stadt Görlitz 2016, p. 6; arrow added by the authors).



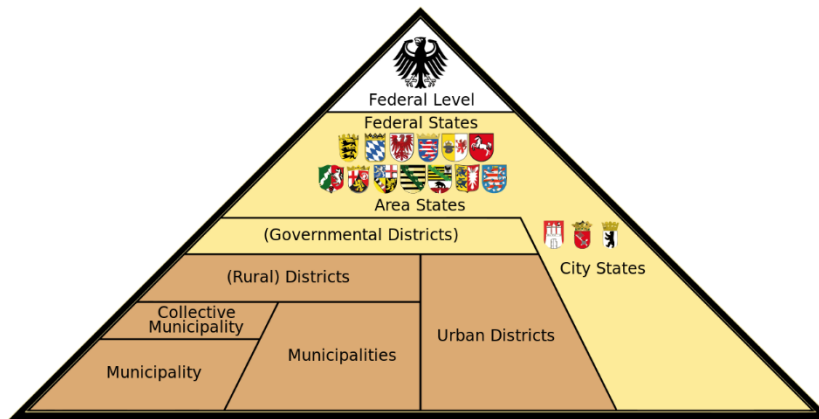
**Figure 8:** The future location of the Centre, the *Furnierhalle*, under renovation. Left of the building is a former yeast factory, the current location of the action (Source: Second Attempt e.V.).



## 8.4 Additional information

### Governance Structures of Germany

The graph below shows the German vertical governance structures. The town Görlitz is classified as a municipality, capital of the homonymous rural or administrative district Görlitz. It belongs to the governmental district Dresden and the federal state of Saxony.



**Figure 9:** Administrative structures of Germany (source: [Wikimedia Commons](#), Fred the Oyster).

In Germany, the administrative structure builds on federalism. Hence, states have relatively high autonomy towards the federal level and certain tasks such as the field of education mainly lay in their legislative autonomy. Governmental districts play a rather small role, while (rural) districts and municipalities together form the local self-government. The former mainly fulfils an administrative function, providing public transport, waste management, civil protection, health services and more. Municipalities are the lowest level of local self-government and responsible for both public as well as voluntary services (for instance cultural institutions and activities). The autonomy of municipalities to provide services depends to a large extent on their financial capacities, which are based on their tax income and allocation of funds by the state and federal level. Consequently, municipalities with low population numbers usually face more financial constraints than those with a high number of (financially strong) inhabitants.

### The Goals and Instruments of Neighbourhood Management

Since the 1970s, neighbourhood management is a commonly implemented mechanism in Germany in urban quarters facing development challenges. The exact contents of the neighbourhood management vary slightly depending on the locality and the funding programme. Most importantly, however, neighbourhood managers are responsible for the communication amongst actors within the neighbourhood as well as between the municipality and citizens.

In Görlitz, the neighbourhood management of the Inner City West is part of the ESF-rehabilitation zone. The plan for implementation of ESF projects describes the goals and instruments of the neighbourhood management as follows:

“[...] the neighbourhood management can be involved and serve as a support in approaching inhabitants. Moreover, it has the responsibility of coordinating the further participa-

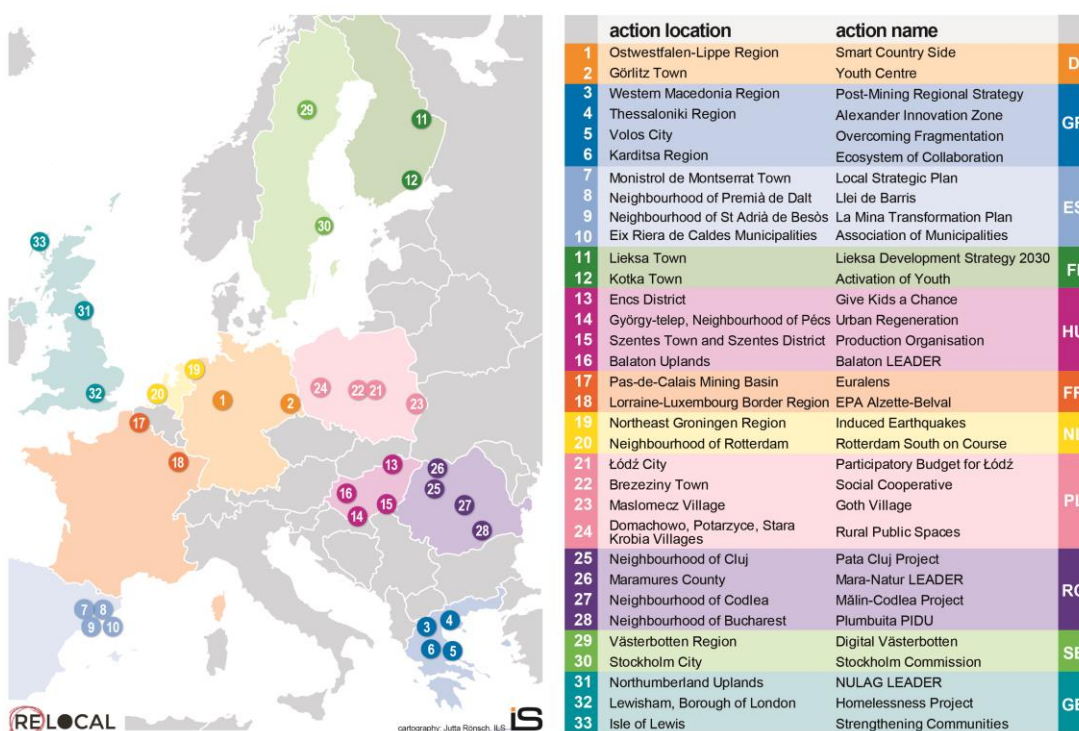
tion process and hence constitutes a direct connection to actors and inhabitants. To achieve this, the neighbourhood management should establish local information and communication channels and foster actor networks. The location of a neighbourhood office within the ESF area equally contributes to eradicating access thresholds, facilitating access to projects, and addressing target groups with information. All in all, synergies from the cooperation with various project partners should emerge [...]. Amongst others, the cooperation in project development takes place [...] together with kindergartens and schools as well as with the active *Bürgerräte* within the neighbourhood." (Stadt Görlitz 2016, p. 31, own translation)

## The RELOCAL Project

EU Horizon 2020 research project '**Resituating the local in cohesion and territorial development**' –**RELOCAL** aims to identify factors that condition local accessibility of European policies, local abilities to articulate needs and equality claims and local capacities for exploiting European opportunity structures.

In the past, especially since the economic and financial crisis, the European Social Model has proven to be challenged by the emergence of spatially unjust results. The RELOCAL hypothesis is that **processes of localisation and place-based public policy** can make a positive contribution to spatial justice and democratic empowerment.

The research is based on **33 case studies** in **13 different European** countries that exemplify development challenges in terms of spatial justice. The cases were chosen to allow for a balanced representation of different institutional contexts. Based on case study findings, project partners will draw out the factors that influence the impact of place-based approaches or actions from a comparative perspective. The results are intended to facilitate a greater local orientation of cohesion, territorial development and other EU policies.



The RELOCAL project runs from October 2016 until September 2020.

Read more at <https://relocal.eu>

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