

The Concept of Diversity in Migration and Urban Studies

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1. Introduction: Diversity and Cohesion¹

The marketing of diversity in urban contexts results from two recent phenomena. First, the positive view taken of cosmopolitan and diverse urban environments (by city governments, by tourists, and by investors), and, second, the empowerment of minorities who put their religious, ethnic, and gendered expressions of (multiple) belonging on stage. In the following chapter, I give an overview of the concept of diversity in different scientific communities, starting from the first uses of the term 30 years ago in the United States. Recently, the German Sociological Association (GSA) organized its annual conference around the theme "Diversity and Cohesion: Challenges of a New Societal Complexity."²

Examples of the perceived (as growing) diversity of social expressions and forms of life include the increase in different religious communities; the flexibilization and differentiation of forms of work and occupation; the growing determination of people's social conditions by diverse factors like communicative competence, networks, and experience; the continued differentiation of cultural orientations; the diverse development of lifestyles³ and sexual orientations; and the diffusion of new information and communication technologies.⁴ The initial question to be posed here is whether the situation is one of an empirically observable increase in these forms and patterns of diversity, or whether it is the case that (only) perceptions of them have changed. Further considerations are concerned with normative aspects of social cohesion. Is this promoted by increasing

(perceptions of) diversity or can processes of the erosion of social cohesion be observed?⁵ At the same time it is postulated that the many forms of individual, collective, socially relevant diversity are always also socially created forms of diversity and that their relationship to cohesion is thus not fundamentally strained.⁶ Here it can be seen that the German-language debate on the topic of diversity is greatly influenced by the post-war history of Germany⁷ and by its national homogenous disposition, as will be more closely illustrated by consideration of migration research. A similar situation somewhat differently nuanced could be illustrated for Switzerland or Austria.⁸ It is not only since the invention of the 'guest worker' category that the central location of the (changing) German territories in Europe has resulted in complex migratory movements (as well as immigration and emigration). However, there have been decisive changes in perceptions of the diversity, particularly religious diversity, related to migration in the last 20 years. If nationality is used as a criterion, then it is an empirically proven fact that, due to the great diversification of migrants' countries of origin, German society shows indications of "superdiversity" (Vertovec, 2007). If, however, other aspects are considered, such as those listed in the "Charter of Diversity" initiated by leading German⁹ businesses—"gender, nationality, ethnic origin, religion or worldview, disability, age, sexual orientation and identity"¹⁰—then it can only be postulated that every society is differentiated in terms of gender, disability, age, sexual orientation, and identity. The fact that here income and social class are missing is, incidentally, in keeping with the cultural turn in the social sciences, which results in the investigation of class differences within diversity studies being only marginal (despite the fact that "race, class, gender" were the most important elements in the history of the diversity debate). The extent to which ethnic origin, religion, or worldview exhibit great differentiation is even more obviously a question of the semantics of terminology. Constructivist research strands of sociology—especially gender research—would also view supposedly fixed categories (such as gender, sexual orientation, and disability) as being socially produced (Butler, 1993). An assessment of the state of social diversity "beyond 'identity or integration'" (Pries and Sezgin, 2010) is thus very much linked to the definition of diversity. What is actually diverse? And how does sociology think about social cohesion?

The following discussion presents the development of the concept *Vielfalt/diversity/diversité*¹¹ in terms of the etymology and history of science, in order to then build upon this to outline the current social scientific semantics of the field. Attention is subsequently directed towards classifying the diverse applications of the term within the individual disciplines. This is put into historical context against the background of

current political debates, whereby international migration research and urban research become particularly relevant. Finally, perspectives for future research are critically discussed.

2. *Vielfalt /Diversity/Diversité—a Genealogy of the Terms*

The current debate about the terms *Vielfalt /diversity/diversité*—broadly defined as the identification of difference on individual and collective levels—can be traced back to writings from the end of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. In his essays from 1580 to 1588, Michel de Montaigne writes about class differences, varied sexual orientations, ethnicity, and gender as differentiating criteria, as Allemann-Ghionda (2011, pp. 16–18) reminds us in her work on places and words of diversity. Montesquieu also lays a foundation for the invention of the strange and foreign—and consequently also the familiar—in his *Persian Letters* (1721). Although we know today that Montesquieu never actually travelled to Persia but rather described imaginary journeys, his writings are nonetheless an object lesson in literary raising of awareness for diverse customs and symbolic universes.

Even if the explicit use of the terms *Vielfalt/diversity/diversité* is relatively recent, it can be postulated that sociology and philosophy have always concerned themselves with the question of how processes of differentiation (Spencer) can be analyzed within societies (Pries, 2012, pp. 4–27). Whether investigating the development of totalitarian regimes (e.g. Hannah Arendt, 1951) or the outbreak of revolutions (e.g. Theda Skocpol, 1979), the balancing of divergent interests—and thus the question of cohesion—is at the heart of the analysis. Even as sociology was in the process of emerging as a discipline, Durkheim's concept of the transition from mechanical to organic solidarity posed, in a holistic fashion, the question as to how an increasingly diversified division of labor could be consistent with social cohesion. With his idea of the crossing of social circles, Simmel, on the other hand, assumed that individuality would further advance. The way in which this can lead to conflicts is analyzed in the Strasbourg tradition by Julien Freund (1983), whose work on the sociology of conflict continues to be developed today by the research group 'Cultures et Sociétés en Europe', following the Simmel tradition. Elias's thoughts on the emergence of power differences due to processes of inclusion and exclusion are also found in the sociology of today—for instance in the current consideration of vulnerability by Judith Butler (2009).

This chapter focuses primarily on the German-speaking discussion of the term *Vielfalt*. This cannot, however, be considered in isolation from

the Francophone and Anglophone debates, particularly as these linguistic strands are strongly linked to one another in the history of science. The term diversity itself was first used in 1978 in the case of the *Regents of the University of California vs. Bakke* (438 U.S. 265). Here the most important private US-American universities successfully defended the promotion of (race-defined) minorities. The social movements of the postwar era were decisive for the emergence of diversity as a sociological concept, in particular the black civil rights movements in the United States, as Hofmann (2012, pp. 23–26) points out. Other civil rights movements, the labor movement, the women's rights, and the lesbian and gay rights movements with their demands for equal rights led to an increasing awareness in academia and politics of otherness and difference—and of the related processes of discrimination that reflect power relations in society. As will be seen through the example of applications in diversity management, these political and discourse-shaped aspects of diversity theory and related demands for redistribution, equity etc., are retreating in the face of business-based cost-benefit analyses of diversity. Antke Engel (2009) has used queer theory to demonstrate this background of “appreciative interaction” with difference for cultural policy. Here once subversive images and representations are coopted by advertizing in order to capture new market segments. One example of this are the many image campaigns by metropolises that intend to attract lesbian and gay tourists and simultaneously project a cosmopolitan image of the city, which then has a positive effect on the entire urban economy. Richard Florida (2002) summarizes this type of diversity program with the terms “talent, technology, tolerance.” He suggests that urban policy that is tolerant and open for new technologies will be successful in attracting highly qualified labor. The development of the intersectorality approach by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991) was groundbreaking for considerations about the forms of discrimination that emerge when different individual personal characteristics lead to exclusion. Today the concept of multiple belonging (Yuval-Davis, 2011) is used to analyze the way in which, according to the situation, the different forms of belonging of an individual lead to different perceptions. More recent research approaches to diversity theoretically develop Pierre Bourdieu's concept of practice and Nancy Fraser's theory of recognition (1995). Currently then, structurally grounded, holistic approaches to difference and discrimination (following the work of Durkheim) are being combined with individual, action-theory based approaches.

In Francophone space the use of the term *diversité* in the context of political measures tackling discrimination was relatively late. In 2007 the former French president Nicolas Sarkozy was much criticized when

he proclaimed “La France de la diversité” and described his ministers Rachida Dati and Rama Yade as “issues de la diversité” (roughly translated as “descended from diversity”). But what does it mean, not to be descended from *diversité*? Is it even possible? Does *diversité* only refer to visible minorities, obscuring the invisible, white, male, heterosexual majority who define the visible minorities as distinct from themselves, similarly to the American WASP (White Anglo-Saxon Protestants)? As often in French sociology the academic handling of the term *diversité* is highly politicized, as Sénac-Slavinsky (2012) and Masclet (2012) show. Consequently the concept is (not yet?) regarded as a serious analytical category, at best preferred as a political ideal to the *communautarisme* feared by all political parties. In her book about the inventing of diversity (L'invention de la diversité, 2012), Réjane Sénac-Slavinsky pursues the goal of depoliticizing the diversity debate. Taking the evolution of the term as a starting point (from biodiversity to social diversity) she illustrates the difficulties (particularly for French society) of naming the unnamable in order to fight discriminations. In common with Schiffauer and Modood (discussed below), she refers to the principles of the French Revolution and asks whether freedom, equality, diversity can lead to a new fraternity. The three authors discussed here all make the suggestion that equality and diversity should not be played off against one another but rather—as Martiniello puts it—the existence of difference should be combined with the conferring of equal rights. Although this does not depoliticize the debate, it does constructively defuse the politically loaded polemic.

3. Semantics of Diversity

Here the semantics of diversity are teased out in order to then emerge from “the shadow of master categories” (Sassen, 2012, p. 43) and to find answers to migration-interaction paradoxes.

It is first necessary to distinguish between different levels (Prengel, 2006) on which comparative research into diversity can be conducted, as Allemann-Ghionda (2011, pp. 16–23) suggests: “The first level would be the empirically captured or historically reconstructed handling of diversity in different societies. Here it would in turn be necessary to distinguish between the macro level (world, societies), the meso level (institutional systems, e.g., education system or municipalities or hospitals, and their policies towards diversity and its implementation), and the micro level (interaction between individuals and noninstitutional groups). A further higher level (meta level) would be the discourse and the self-conception of

the scientific disciplines about the historical transformation of the treatment and thematization of diversity." In the broadest sense, the latter group could also be seen as including the historically developed scientific consciousness of diverse concepts—in particular modernity (see for instance Eisenstadt).

These debates are characterized by the problem of wanting to avoid the dilemma of essentialization but at the same time needing to develop succinct terms and concepts for social phenomena. When minorities—that are to be protected—are named, this inevitably occurs from the viewpoint of the majority, who claim for themselves the power of defining the norm and that, which deviates from the norm.

A similar danger related to the hegemonic view is valid for the analysis of the (ascribing of) belonging, as Nira Yuval-Davis writes in her latest book (2011): "Are nationalist politics of belonging still the hegemonic model of belonging at the beginning of the twenty-first century?" Or are religious aspects competing with them, as the profile of the perpetrators of the London terror attack of 2005 showed? Here too it must be asked who is defined as a "stranger" and who as a "member" or perhaps who defines themselves in these terms—possibly as a reaction to perceptions of in- or exclusion. Questions about how difference is dealt with then emerge. Amartya Sen (1992) has already indicated the necessity of dissolving the contradiction between equal treatment (i.e., the acknowledgment of universal individual rights) and special treatment (rights for collectives), a contradiction early reflected upon in the aftermath of the French Revolution by, for instance, Abbé Grégoire. She suggests the way forward would be to decide situation by situation what is the most politically useful and effective way to deal with diversity. Here there is a disjunction between the Anglo-Saxon communitarian model and the French, egalitarian republican approach. The former, which dates back to the American constitution, grants people certain rights based on their membership of groups, which triggers affirmative action programs. The latter grants rights to the individual as a citizen, but precisely not as a member of a group (Sainsaulieu, Salzbrunn, and Amiotte-Suchet, 2010, pp. 5–20). These two models (as diverging ideal types) both aim to safeguard social cohesion. Even when this distinction is no longer found in such a radical form in practice (it has long also been the case in France that special rights exist for many groups and territories), this analytical division reveals the contradictions in the negotiation of diversity (Lammert and Sarkowsky, 2010). Contemporary reflections in the social sciences to a certain extent mirror social debate throughout Europe—after all on May 4, 2000 the European Union took the motto *in varietate concordia* (united in diversity), as Anne-Marie Thiesse (2011, p. 24) recalls.

4. Diversity in Social Sciences—An Answer to the Migration-Integration Paradoxes?

Attention is first turned to discussion of diversity in the context of multicultural societies, taking a macro level view. Individual concrete attempts to investigate diversity in urban space are then presented and some synthesis undertaken, before interconnections to migration research are traced. Finally economic-sociological aspects from diversity management applications are examined so as to illustrate implementation on the micro level.

Parallel Society, Multicultural Society and Multicultural Democracy

In his study of multicultural democracy, Marco Martiniello (2011)¹² starts with the emerging awareness of European societies of the multicultural reality of the 1980s and 1990s. He too asks what political responses to populist and assimilationist demands can lead to cultural minorities being respected and democratic demands being fulfilled. Martiniello argues for a shared multicultural citizenship within a democratic system that can combine unity and diversity.

A similar plea for diversity is found in work by Daniel Dettling and Julia Gerometta (2007) considering the advantages of diversity and the challenges and prospects of an open society. This volume was published shortly after the national integration plan was adopted by the federal government of Germany and, like the volume edited by Christoph Butterwegge and Gudrun Hentges (2000),¹³ aims to contribute to this debate by indicating the positive potentials of diversity. Most authors have a background in practice (administration, education, politics, business, social work) and/or are involved in the berlinopolis think tank. They recommend concrete measures to promote migrants and ethnic German emigrants, etc. Rather than limiting themselves to the question of how much diversity is "desired" (as though this were a relevant desiderate), here the issue is to constructively identify how the much unrecognized potential of societal diversity can be used, especially in economic terms. As mentioned above, similar, if less functionalistic, notions about social recognition (and thus increasing cohesion) have been theoretically discussed by Nancy Fraser (1995), Axel Honneth (2010), and Estelle Ferrarese (2009)—at times drawing on Hegel's thoughts on justice. In addition to Estelle Ferrarese, within contemporary francophone sociology it is particularly the pragmatic sociology around Luc Boltanski (2009) that concerns itself with questions of cohesion in a liquid modernity (Bauman, 2000).

The collection of work on multiculturalism edited by Stefan Neubert, Hans-Joachim Roth, and Erol Yildiz and published in a second edition in 2008 also aims to review the theoretical and conceptual discussion on diversity and difference in the multiculturalism debate. Zygmunt Bauman's liberal ideas on the choices and thus the freedom of the individual are contrasted with communitarian arguments on the power of groups and their demands for recognition (Fraser). Similarly to the volume by Bohler and Corsten mentioned above, the ideas formulated by Charles Taylor about a "strong community of values" are discussed. However, it is then argued that functional differentiation and the extension of possible forms of relationships lead to the emergence of plural lifestyles that enable individual action to the same extent as they enable social integration in certain (sub)cultural milieus of individuals. Ultimately the authors wish to overcome the (political) binarity of the debate and suggest dividing the circulating streams into four areas: (1) the traditional multiculturalism model with *melting pot* and *salad bowl*, (2) the neoconservative corporatist ethnicity discourse, (3) the left-wing liberal progressive multiculturalism discourse, and (4) the critical self-reflexive multiculturalism discourse. The latter is said to favor "equality in difference" and fits with current theoretical approaches from cultural and postcolonial studies. The authors ground their individual papers on a constructivist reflexive understanding of multiculturalism and take an analytical perspective "that, without exception, concedes the treated objects the character of constructions and consults them about their social, biographical and political relevance instead of demanding information about the character of culture, identity or nation" (Neubert, Roth, and Yildiz, 2008, p. 26).

In his volume on parallel societies published in 2008, Werner Schiffauer also aims to overcome political debates on mainstream culture and parallel societies. He argues for a "new realism" and aims to prove "that social solidarity can also emerge and be maintained in situations of cultural difference" (Schiffauer, 2008, p. 18). He argues that it is not a "common platform of central convictions and orientation" that is decisive for the internal cohesion of a society "but rather the maintenance of processes of cultural exchange and a related cultural dynamic" (ibid). Pries (2012, p. 7) takes a similar view of the increasing diversity of employees in organizations, which could be coalesced to form relational cohesion.

In his recent essay on difference and integration, Tariq Modood (2012) responds to the political claim that multiculturalism has failed. He argues that this is because only one particular definition of multiculturalism is taken as a basis, "even neutral commentaries generally take as a starting point a concept of multiculturalism that emphasizes difference instead of commonalities, separatism instead of exchange, particular instead of national identities, and relativism instead of democratic values. However,

no academic sources, political speeches, or concrete policies are presented as proof that multiculturalists actually advocate such views. This rhetorical strategy is so successful that today even defenders of multiculturalism prefer to fall back on terms like 'multiculture' or 'interculturalism'" (2012, p. 5). According to Modood multiculturalism is a mode of integration "that can be contrasted with other modes like assimilation, individualist integration or cosmopolitanism. Just like the latter, it is based on the fundamental democratic values of the French revolution: freedom, equality and fraternity/solidarity" (ibid). Here he reaches similar conclusions to Martiniello in his concept of multicultural democracy (2011). Peter Kraus similarly emphasizes the complexity of political treatments of diversity and European politics of identity in his contribution to the volume edited by Gertrud Marinelli-König and Alexander Preisinger (2011).

Several of the debates discussed here have been fruitfully and concretely applied within urban research. Attention therefore now turns to comparing different analyses of the localization of diversity in urban space.

New Diversity in Urban Society

The volume on new diversity in urban society edited by Wolf-Dietrich Bukow, Gerda Heck, Erika Schulze, and Erol Yildiz (2011) opens with an introductory chapter entitled "Urbanity Is Diversity." Here various examples of the processing of diversity through the "increasing complexity of the city" are given. This involves the differentiation of formal systems, the development of a power tandem (religion and politics), the designation of a public space, and the staging of a local identity (Bukow, Heck, Schulze, and Yildiz, 2011, pp. 7–18), which generate or depict a feeling of belonging in an urban space. According to the authors, cities have achieved this increase in complexity through the development of formal structures. Urban societies are said to be a reaction to diversity, but it is also argued that the dynamic that results from dealing with diversity is based on practical rationality. Diversity is embedded in a formal structure through political, legal, economic, educational, cultural, and religious systems. This occurs through three strategies: additive incorporation (through the urban structure or the creation of ghettos); absorbing hybridization (through the development of new urban cultures and identities); or normalization and defusing (diversity becomes constitutively insignificant) (ibid.). The authors see the power discourse, through which diversity can be intensified and lead to political conflicts, as the antithesis to the pragmatic arrangement. Currently urban society is undergoing a fast rate of change, caused by "superdiversity" (Vertovec, 2010). The authors see here ambivalent social tendencies arising. On the one hand new hybrid

questions are posed about the attributing of belonging and the rules of authority involved in meetings of different cultures. Johanna Hess (2011) analyzes the placing of three bicultural couples in heterotopic space and shows how “for the partner concerned different degrees of otherness/trust are produced” which he/she has to work through Corsten and Bohler, 2011, p. 12). Stefan Weyers (2011) presents a study on religiously oriented young people and suggests that between secular and religious worldviews there exists the tension of “irreconcilable perspectives” (ibid.). Similarly reserved conclusions are drawn by recent studies and essays (Uslucan, 2011) on the tension between diversity and cohesion. Here the perspective of a German academic with Turkish roots is used to illustrate the importance of social participation for long-term cohesion and to indicate which obstacles are still to be overcome in the field of education in particular.

Cristina Allemann-Ghionda and Wolf-Dietrich Bukow (2011) also inquire into the recognition of differences in the context of social diversity in their edited volume on places of diversity. In common with the authors of the newest publication on diversity management, Allemann-Ghionda and Bukow see their work as succeeding minority research in which the segments’ gender, class, sexual identity, age, and disability are investigated. The introduction considers the problematic of the conflation of gender issues with the discrimination of other groups of people in political and academic discourse, due to the existence of horizontal and vertical discrimination against women, for instance in the labor market. The way in which issues surrounding the advancement of women have been conflated with or displaced to diversity management in company or university policies is also discussed in applied literature. Here, however, the intention is to bring together a number of critical discourses to achieve a “surmounting of power-impregnated lines of difference” (Allemann-Ghionda and Bukow, 2011, p. 8) in business practice. This could be theoretically accomplished thanks to the constructivist framework.

It is not only sociology that has concerned itself with diversity for the last two decades, but also interculturality research, musicology, and economics. The discussion now turns to the example of diversity studies and its application in diversity management in businesses and administrations, as this provides concrete examples of how scientific findings in the field of diversity are applied in practice.

5. Examples of Applications of “Diversity” in Businesses, Administrations, and City Marketing

Numerous administrations, governments, and businesses have assigned themselves the task of strengthening and promoting diversity. In this

realities are created, on the other hand the new diversity is regarded as a threat. This is particularly valid for representatives of social institutions who are still caught up in container thinking (a state = a society = a language = a culture = a religion = an identity = a nationality) and who see diversity as a temporarily occurring, reversible phenomenon. In the volume by Bukow, Heck, Schulze, and Yildiz, this introductory discussion is complemented by empirical examples of reactions to diversity in everyday urban life. In this way the diversity concept is applied to the complexity of urban processes of differentiation (and includes, for instance, gender aspects, the issue of disability, and social questions). The analysis by Lanz (2011) on Berlin reveals the development of Berlin imaginations, under the influence of cosmopolitan socioeconomic reality, from the national-homogenous city dispositif to a cosmopolitan diverse dispositif (in which the older dispositif continues to exist partially). The papers of this volume open up the diversity debate by capturing local empirical urban research in relation to national discourses and thus moving beyond the opposition between “chances and challenges of diversity.” A similar approach is taken by Caroline Wanjiku Kihato, Mejean Massoumi, Blair A. Ruble, Pep Subirós, and Allison M. Garland in their edited volume “Urban diversity. Space, culture, and inclusive pluralism in cities worldwide” (2010). The individual studies illustrate how the treatment of diversity and the reading of this empirically tangible (and—beyond central Europe—mostly long internalized) reality vary worldwide. In Germany it is often asked whether diversity is desirable—as though it could be stopped or even reversed—edited volumes like this one extend the perspective by assuming diversity to be a constitutive and historically evolved reality, as Dakhlia and Vincent show for Islam in Europe.¹⁴ However, papers that illustrate the long history of religious diversity also cement a culturalist view and do not consider social inequality that is based on class differences.¹⁵ While in their historical analysis Vincent and Dakhlia tend to take an optimistic view, seeing the long history of a locally rooted invisible religious diversity as proof of social cohesion, a quantitative study on cohesion in German regions reveals much more cautious findings.

Meetings of Cultures

In their edited volume, Karl Friedrich Bohler and Michael Corsten (2011) ask whether cultural differences lead to particular social relations and whether social distances are increased by differences in the pace of development in different cultures. It is postulated that intercultural relations in the globalized modern are not just more frequent but also more intensive. In this context the authors present three case studies. The background is provided by Charles Taylor’s ideas on “strong values” and concrete

context Nils Jent, Günther Vedder, and Florian Krause (2010) observe a clear increase in diversity discourses in business practice and in management handbooks, an evaluation that is confirmed in case studies (Vedder, Göbel, and Krause, 2011). Universities are also appointing Vice-Presidents of Diversity (like the universities of Duisburg-Essen—as the first in Germany—, Dortmund, and Lausanne) or using diversity sound-bites in advertising: “The first PhD to an African American woman. The first minority scholarship program at a business school. The city of Chicago’s first gay liberation organization. At UChicago, diversity makes history as it drives the power of ideas.”¹⁶ The Swiss Federal Council answered Kathrin Amacker-Amann’s question on using the potential of cultural diversity in the world of employment (February 20, 2008) as follows: “The integration of different languages and cultures is a formative element of the confederation. Diversity is an acknowledged value of Switzerland that is also reflected in the companies. The successful cooperation of different cultures in local companies is often also represented as a competitive advantage in a market environment that is increasingly international. The Federal Council views the promotion of this diversity as a self-evident task.”¹⁷ The city of Lausanne has taken the motto “La diversité, une valeur suisse?” (“Diversity, a Swiss value?”) for this year’s Week against Racism. The city of Bochum has signed the Charter of Diversity and implemented it in the city’s administrations under the heading “Diversity as a chance—We’re doing something.” This charter reflects the transformation of social values related to diversity: differences are no longer viewed as problems, but as potentials for mutual enrichment.

Many cities have also recognized that their history of migration and related cultural and religious diversity may be marketed. Thus the city of Cologne advertizes the uniting fact that the first inhabitants of Cologne were immigrants and underlines the “southern flair”¹⁸ of the city. Discourses about “do-it-yourself-biographies” (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002) and the related upgrading of being different, to which Antke Engel (2009) also draws attention in her book on images of sexuality and economy, are similarly finding a place in city marketing: “Vienna is different, I am too” is the motto of the Austrian capital. The neuro-physiologist Jürgen Sandkühler is quoted as saying “Without diversity, no creativity and no identity”.¹⁹ In Vienna as in Cologne the official tourism offices have produced city guidebooks for lesbian and gay tourists, so as to attract them with the argument of being a particularly tolerant, open-minded travel destination. These current developments in city marketing are investigated in very recent studies that combine migration and urban research and explore the active influence of inhabitants on urban scaling processes (Glick Schiller and Çağlar, 2011; Salzbrunn, 2011). This work

provides a starting point for illustrating the interesting prospects of current research on diversity and cohesion.

6. Prospects for Diversity Research: Locating Migration and “Global Divercities”?

The linking of migration and urban research promises interesting approaches that may solve the problem of essentialization in research on diversity and cohesion. Local empirical studies can show the extent to which “cohesion through diversity” (Pries, 2012) is promoted. Such studies include the “Rescaling Cities” and “Locating Migration” approach of Nina Glick Schiller and Ayşe Çağlar (2011), the project GLOBALDIVERCITIES (on migration and new diversities in global cities: comparatively conceiving, observing and visualizing diversification in urban public spaces) by Steven Vertovec, and the IMISCOE research group POPADIVCIT (on popular arts, diversity and cultural policies in postmigration urban settings). The latter group investigates the significance of art in theoretical and political debates about diversity. From the actor perspective the paradoxes between ethno-cultural segregation/separation on the one hand, and ethno-cultural mixing/*métissage* on the other hand are investigated in the local artistic spheres of medium-sized European cities and of multicultural metropolises. From an emic perspective, old categories are deconstructed and new categories that cut across conventional dichotomies conceived. This approach allows examples of diversity to be investigated without the established dimensions being essentialized. From the perspective of the fine arts and theater, the project “Creating belonging by means of performance” by Walter Pfaff also shows in a creative way how diversity and the affiliations of those involved, who become actors, painters and sculptors, can be performed in both a concrete and a figurative sense.

Glick Schiller and Çağlar (2011) urge that the nationally homogenous container thinking current in migration research be overcome by a return to local studies in urban contexts. This move towards social geography proves very fruitful for investigating urban processes of incorporation that are influenced by transnational social fields (of power). This approach is also pursued by the Swiss project “(In)visibilité de l’islam en ville” (the (in)visibility of Islam in cities) on the *métropole lémanique*, which investigates the global processes of negotiation of Islamic communities and their influence on the urban milieu.²⁰ The book by Monika Salzbrunn and Yasumasa Sekine: “From community to commonality. Multiple belonging and street phenomena in the era of reflexive modernization” (2011), likewise shows how comparative urban research can enable the development of emic

categories that make an investigation of local communitization processes without "ethnic lenses" possible. A similar approach has been pursued by the Global Young Faculty Group in their comparative research into the European Cultural Capitals of Istanbul and the metropolitan region of the Ruhr, as recorded in the present volume.

It is clear that alternatives to the terms and approaches of migration research are being developed. The question is no longer whether social cohesion is threatened by more diversity, as in some cases the subtext of this question connects with nationalist debates about possible tolerance limits. It is rather assumed that social diversity is a given fact and that the so-called migrants have long been part of the societies concerned—in terms of their legal status, in terms of everyday life, and in many cases also historically speaking. Their alteration through labels such as "secondos" (Switzerland), "2^e, 3^e, 4^e génération d'immigrés" (France) or "Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund" (Germany) misses the reality of intertwin- ing, hybridization, and the emergence of new cultural practices. A socio- logical concept of diversity can be helpful here and investigate the various parts of a society in (if at all necessary, then) new semantic hierarchies. However, the scientifically defined semantics of the term "diversity" do not always correspond with those of the political discourse. Even within these two fields the meanings of the concept are complex, as this discus- sion has shown. Nonetheless these reorientations offer urban research, migration research and the political debate on diversity and cohesion promising impulses. In particular the linking of migration research and urban research offers an innovative approach, as the POPADIVCIT proj- ect shows using the example of local artistic circles. Here the use of action theory approaches from the emic perspective allows new semantics of diversity to be teased out.

Notes

1. The author thanks Ludger Pries for valuable references, Raphaela von Weichs for helpful discussions, and Serjara Aleman for the extensive bibliographic research and helpful documentation of the literature.
2. A preliminary version of this article has been published partly in German: Salzbrunn, Monika (2012) "Gebietskartierung: Vielfalt/Diversity/Diversité." *Soziologische Revue*, 35, pp. 375–394.
3. It was as early as 1988 that Michel Maffesoli drew attention to the new urban "tribes" with their fanzines, meeting places, languages, etc. Ronald Hitzler, Anne Honer, and Michaela Pfadenhauer (2009) have demonstrated that this is also true of rural space. Communitarization processes can also be read from urban events, as Gregor Betz, Ronald Hitzler, and Michaela Pfadenhauer have shown (2011).
4. "Vielfalt und Zusammenhalt: Herausforderungen und Chancen neuer gesellschaftlicher Komplexität." Paper presented at 36. Kongress der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie in Bochum and Dortmund, October 1–5, 2012. "Soziologie," 1, 2012, pp. 58–69.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. The German debate about diversity shows that German society is (finally) questioning the superimposition of geographical space with supposedly cultural homogeneity and, in particular, views diverse forms of religious practice as a constitutive part of itself. This is related to a (now) positive connotation of difference, as is, for instance, revealed by later discussion of urban marketing.
8. As Anne-Marie Thiesse (1999; 2001; 2011) has shown, the European nation states emerged with an awareness of internal diversity as "little fatherlands." This is especially true of Switzerland with its linguistic diversity. However such awareness does not necessarily lead to a greater openness for diversity enriched by immigration.
9. This occurred in keeping with the French example: <http://www.chartre-diversite.com/> (accessed March 31, 2012). The French charter was signed by 3560 firms; the German by 1200.
10. Charta der Vielfalt, <http://www.charta-der-vielfalt.de/de/charta-der-vielfalt/die-charta-im-wortlaut.html> (accessed March 14, 2012)
11. *Vielfalt* registers 144,000,000 hits with Google, 3,940,000 with Ecosia. Diversity 224,000,000 and 199,000,000, and *diversité* 27,200,000 and 10,300,000. The distribution of the websites by language reveals that the use of the term in the German-speaking area is above average and in the French-speaking area below average.
12. In 1993 Daniel Cohn-Bendit and Thomas Schmid published a volume with a similar subtitle: Heimat Babylon. Das Wagnis der multikulturellen Demokratie. Hamburg: Hoffmann and Campe.
13. The book edited by Christoph Butterwege and Gudrun Hentges and first published in 2000, "Zuwanderung im Zeichen der Globalisierung," sheds light on the prospects of a multicultural democracy in the process of globalization. The fourth, updated edition published in 2009 refers to the ongoing relevance of the globalization discourse in the social sciences (particularly in political science). The editorial team also considered the role of mass media as an important vector for forming public opinion within the integration discourse. In their volume on mass media, migration, and integration edited by the same authors and published in 2006, it is argued that intercultural media education and a critical media pedagogy should be basic elements of political education in immigration societies, so as to counter the criminalization of certain groups.
14. Jocelyne Dakkhla and Bernard Vincent have recently (2011) traced the historical but "invisible integration" of Muslim cultures and inhabitants in Europe.
15. The extent to which, for instance, the educational and training success of Muslim young people is dependent on sociospatial segregation and class

- differences has been shown for Germany by Salzbrunn (2007), and for Europe in international comparison by Stellingner and Wintrebart (2008).
16. <http://diversity.uchicago.edu/> (accessed June 1, 2012)
17. Answer from the Federal Council on February 20, 2008 to Question 07.3801.
18. <http://www.koelntourismus.de/willkommen.html>
19. <http://www.wienistanders-ichauch.at/juergen-sandkuehler.php>
20. <http://www.unil.ch/issrc/page80229.html>

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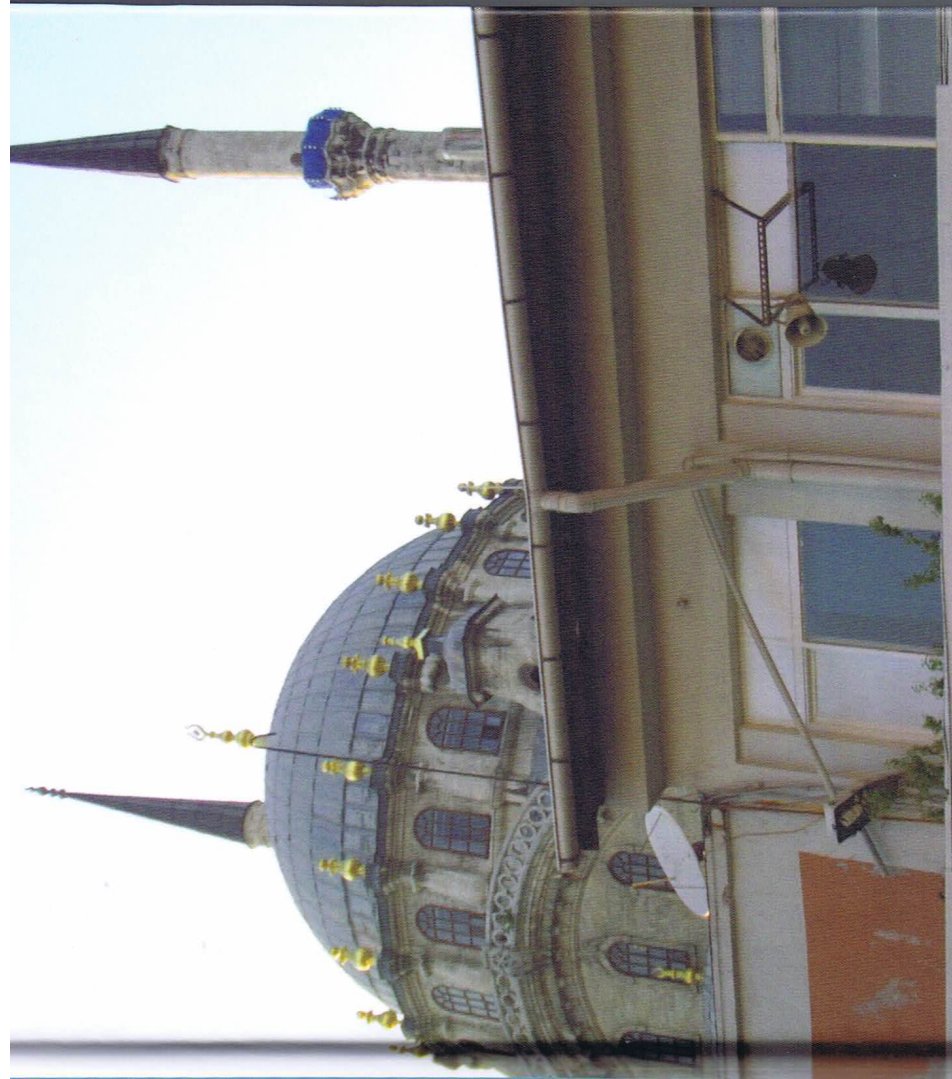
Plurality, Cosmopolitanism, and Integration: The Dangers of Comparing the Incomparable

Edhem Eldem

1. An Ottoman Inspiration for a European Present?

Following a workshop organized in Essen in January 2011, this volume investigates possible ways of understanding and, hopefully, facilitating the integration of "the others"—broadly defined in terms of ethnic and/or religious difference from the majority—into urban life in Western Europe, through their potential economic contribution to the community. The participants in the workshop convened around a discussion based on case studies from two metropolitan areas, the Ruhr in Germany and Istanbul in Turkey, both past and present. The aim was to compare and contrast, over an admittedly large divide in time and space, the status of minorities—or non-majority communities—and the dynamics of their integration (or lack thereof) into urban life, in the hope of gaining possible insights into the viability of present-day social and economic options. To put it rather simply, was there anything in the Ottoman experience with diversity and its management that might inspire the European trans-or metanational project and its dealings with a growing issue of immigration, past, present, and future?

This particular chapter—and I must insist it is just an essay, rather than a formal article—specifically addresses the historical dimension of the question, namely the possible comparisons that could be made between Istanbul as an allegedly cosmopolitan, but certainly plural, metropolis, on the one hand, and the *Ruhrgebiet* of today, on the other. Its title clearly

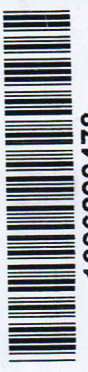


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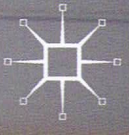
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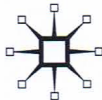
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