

DEBATES DE LA COOPERACIÓN EURO-LATINOAMERICANA

¿Una estrategia para el desarrollo?

SILVANA INSIGNARES CERA (COMPILADORA)



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PRESENTACIÓN

Después de consolidar un diálogo político entre regiones, las relaciones entre la Unión Europea y América Latina — marcadas por distintos factores—, han evolucionado a otras áreas como el comercio y la inversión. Así, en la medida en que se fue profundizando el proceso de integración europeo, las diversas expectativas que se generaron hacia Latinoamérica permitieron, como estrategia de política exterior, enfocar la construcción de una alianza estratégica birregional con base en los pilares de cooperación al desarrollo, diálogo político y relaciones comerciales.

De esta manera, como eje fundamental en el manejo de las relaciones internacionales interestatales, la cooperación ha tejido lazos de armonía y desarrollo entre los Estados y, por tanto, los objetivos que estos formulan a nivel interno asimismo terminan siendo identificados: propósitos comunes en el plano internacional. En palabras de Keohane, la cooperación así entendida es "un proceso a través del cual las políticas seguidas por los gobiernos llegan a ser consideradas por los asociados como acciones que facilitan sus propios objetivos, como resultado de la coordinación de políticas" (Keohane, 1988, p. 89).

Sin embargo, las relaciones de la Unión Europea y América Latina enfrentan numerosos retos suscitados, entre otros factores externos, por la crisis económica mundial; la salida de Reino Unido del proceso de integración europeo; los cambios políticos en América Latina, todo lo cual ha provocado la búsqueda de alternativas que fomenten y refuercen las relaciones entre ambas regiones, siendo la cooperación una de las alternativas más efectivas utilizadas por Europa para posicionarse como actor positivo y líder en Latinoamérica.

Ante estos nuevos escenarios, la Universidad del Norte ingresó en el Programa de Acción en el Ámbito del Aprendizaje Permanente y recibió recursos de la Comisión Europea para desarrollar a partir del año 2014 el primer Módulo Jean Monnet-Universidad del Norte, en el que se trabajaron diversos temas sobre las relaciones entre la Unión Europea y América Latina. A partir de este programa, un grupo de profesores participantes decidió contribuir al debate académico de estas relaciones tomando como eje central la cooperación birregional, y generando aportes valiosos que en algunos casos son avances y en otros muestran resultados de la labor adelantada como miembros activos de diversos grupos de investigación, verbigracia: el Grupo de Derecho y Ciencia Política (Gidecp) y Agenda Internacional de la Universidad del Norte.

Los trabajos académicos en mención han sido elaborados desde tres enfoques fundamentales, (i) las relaciones birregionales; (ii) el comercio euro-latinoamericano; (iii) el modelo europeo de desarrollo, lo cual ha permitido enriquecer académicamente los elementos y factores que influyen en la cooperación euro-latinoamericana.

En principio, la serie de capítulos inicia con una pregunta fundamental sobre "What is Europe, What is the European City? Some reflections on current housing policies for refugees in a German city", que refleja lo que representa

Europa y específicamente, la ciudad europea. En tal sentido, el texto del profesor Florian Koch hace un análisis del quehacer de las ciudades europeas en torno al asunto los inmigrantes, cuyas respuestas varían entre soluciones de vivienda temporales y de largo plazo a partir injerencia que tengan instituciones europeas, de nacionales o federales, propietarios, firmas constructoras, ONG, comunidades de migrantes y la sociedad civil. El autor, tomando la experiencia de la ciudad alemana de Leipzig, un estudio de caso. muestra cómo desarrollado estrategias de inclusión de la población migrante en el contexto local conforme a las políticas europeas sobre las dimensiones sociales urbanas. Esto nos lleva a tener en cuenta el modelo europeo de ciudad como una política que puede ser compatible con los estándares de desarrollo sostenible implementado en la cooperación hacia los países menos desarrollados, y que lograría influir en la disminución de las desigualdades en las regiones donde pueda ser replicado.

Por su parte, el capítulo "Las perfectibles relaciones de la Unión Europea con América Latina y el Caribe", escrito por el profesor Eric Tremolada, muestra que si bien la crisis del 2008 modificó el orden global y que China ha emergido como potencia económica al nivel de Estados Unidos, las relaciones que la Unión Europea (UE) sigue con América Latina y el Caribe se han reforzado en diversos niveles de desarrollo, pero cada uno de ellos se atiende con diferentes interlocutores y con una agenda difusa. El gran desafío, según el profesor Tremolada, es lograr que estas relaciones enfoquen un solo objetivo: mejorar la alianza estratégica entre UE-ALC, de manera que resulte útil en la recuperación del bienestar social para ambas regiones aun cuando el escenario sea una economía en recesión.

A su vez, el profesor Carlo Tassara, en el capítulo "Cooperación de la Unión Europea con Colombia: desarrollo local, educación superior y cohesión social", se propone analizar algunas experiencias de la cooperación regional entre la Unión Europea y Colombia, con énfasis en los ámbitos del desarrollo local, la educación superior y la cohesión social. A partir de lo anterior, el autor revisa los antecedentes de la cooperación euro-latinoamericana, con énfasis en la estrategia de asociación birregional y las características de la cooperación regional, y después de examinar las características generales de tres programas regionales —URB AL, Alfa y EUROSOCIAL— y se presenta un estudio de caso para cada uno de ellos.

En el cuarto capítulo, "Las obligaciones democráticas exigidas en los acuerdos comerciales de la Unión Europea con América Latina y el Caribe y su fortalecimiento a través cooperación española", la profesora Insignares y Juan Miguel Quintero argumentan que la Unión Europea (UE) ha desarrollado una política comercial y de ayuda para el desarrollo en América Latina y el Caribe condicionada al cumplimiento obligaciones (ALC) de democráticas y que, por esta razón, España ha diseñado una política de cooperación para ALC observando el cumplimiento de las exigencias democráticas de la región, a la que le permite ser un socio comercial de la UE, mientras que se configura como un contrapeso de la política hegemónica de Estados Unidos en ALC.

Entre tanto, la profesora Mariangela Rueda en "Cooperación internacional, nuevos asuntos y actores en la era de la globalización: La UE y su modelo de ayuda oficial al desarrollo", analiza de qué manera la cooperación internacional puede ser entendida como un instrumento de

las relaciones internacionales que responde a los desafíos que plantea la globalización como fenómeno político, cultural, económico, histórico e ideológico. Con el reconocimiento de la existencia de una multiplicidad de asuntos y actores en el sistema internacional, la cooperación internacional propicia proyectos sostenibles en el tiempo, cuyo equilibrio entre lo social y lo económico busca un mayor empoderamiento de los actores locales y regionales, que rompe el paradigma tradicional vertical y jerarquizado. De manera particular, la autora analiza estos temas a través del modelo de cooperación de la Unión Europea, principal donante de ayuda oficial al desarrollo a nivel mundial.

El capítulo escrito por el profesor Jairo Agudelo, "Cooperación euro-latinoamericana en la estrategia 2007-2013", hace un análisis de la estrategia birregional de cooperación entre la Unión Europea (UE) y América Latina (AL) durante el periodo programático 2007-2013, acudiendo a fuentes relacionadas con instituciones multilaterales y organizaciones no gubernamentales, desde una óptica latinoamericana.

Finalmente, como resultado de las jornadas de trabajo al interior del Módulo Jean Monnet durante los años 2014, 2015 y 2016, Silvana Insignares e Iván Verbel como coinvestigador, en el capítulo "La construcción de un euro-latinoamericano barómetro (UE-LA-B). Primeras consideraciones", proponen la utilización de cuatro dimensiones de análisis para examinar el estado de las relaciones bilaterales entre América Latina y la Unión Europea, a partir del uso de indicadores, de los cuales los autores proveen una guía para su consulta.

De esta forma, con todo el grupo de académicos comprometidos con el Módulo Jean Monnet Uninorte, nos permitimos presentar los aportes que durante tres años de trabajo facilitaron la socialización del proceso europeo a través del acercamiento de Europa a la comunidad uninorteña y a la sociedad civil en general.

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CAPÍTULO 1

WHAT IS EUROPE, WHAT IS THE EUROPEAN CITY? SOME REFLECTIONS ON CURRENT HOUSING POLICIES FOR REFUGEES IN A GERMAN CITY

FLORIAN KOCH¹

INTRODUCTION

The influx of refugees coming to Europe has increased in the last years and led to new political challenges. Discussions between different national governments on the access of refugees, the construction of new walls and the reintroduction of pass controls within the member states of the European Union demonstrate the importance of these for the European integration process. management of the refugees coming to the European Union can be seen also a litmus test for the future of the European Union. Is the European Union developing towards "fortress Europe" and is based on exclusion, or European Union evolves leadership does the responsibility in a globalized world, where crisis do not end at the frontiers of the European Union. "What is Europe?"

and "what is the European Union?" are complex questions which can be answered in different ways and on different levels. The approach of this article is to focus on the urban level as European cities are major targets of migration movements. The question of how cities deal with refugees tells us a lot about how integration actually takes place on a local level and how European societies function. Besides aspects such as education, health and labor markets, the issue of how to host refugees has become an important topic in European Cities. Until now a multitude of different political approaches, ranging from temporary to long-term housing options, from centralized to decentralized approaches has been developed. The decision on which approach is suitable is foremost made by municipalities but influenced also by the interplay of various actors, such as European, national and federal state institutions, property owners, construction firms, NGOS, migrant communities and civil society. Furthermore, the current structures of local housing markets and land uses have an impact on how to host refugees. In this article I present the city of Leipzig in Eastern Germany as a case study. It is analyzed which political responses on how to host refugees have been developed on the local level in the last years and what governance forms were applied.

The aim of this paper is to compare the current policies in Leipzig with social science based approaches on the concept of the "European City". A huge body of literature on the European City has been evolved during the first decade of the 2000s (for example Le Galès 2002, Marcuse 2004, Häußermann 2011, Siebel 2004, Frey/Koch 2011, Clos 2005, Lenger 2007, Lawton/Punch 2014, Bagnasco/LeGalès 2000). The general objective of this article is to understand whether the principles of the

European City are also identifiable in contemporary policies on hosting refugees or if opposing political approaches are developed. With this paper, I aim to contribute to the general debate on the future character of the European Union and reveal whether the current situation requires rethinking theoretical concepts on how different social groups live in European cities.

CONTEXT I: THE EUROPEAN CITY

Authors such as Bagnasco/Le Galès (2000), Le Galès (2004),Kazepov (2002).Siebel (2005)Häußermann/Haila (2005) have emphasized that European cities consists of specific forms of social cohesion, integration mechanisms and governance structures as well far-reaching capacity to act politically, as distinguishes them from cities in other contexts. It needs to be acknowledged that this theoretical concept of the European City has a normative as well as an analytical dimension and needs to be understood as an ideal type in the sense of Max Weber. This signifies that the concept of the European City does not display the reality of all rather highlights cities but European the characteristic which may be found in some cities in others not (Siebel 2004).

As a leitmotiv for urban development, the European City seems to be more attractive than ever: Municipalities and private developers not only in Europe but also in Asia and Latin America are trying to implement urban strategies, masterplans and project developments under the label of the «European City». Furthermore, the European City is mentioned in European urban politics (for example the Leipzig Charta for the sustainable European City or the

European Urban Agenda) as well as on national level (for example in the German national urban politics) as a desired form of urban development. Despite it's widely spread distribution the model remains vague and different disciplines like sociology, political sciences and urban planning have their own understanding of it. In the following, the main characteristics of the concept of the European City are summarized, divided into social, political and urban design and historical dimension (The following paragraphs are based on Koch 2015).

A. HISTORIC DIMENSION

In his study on the history of the European City Leonardo Benevolo (1999, p. 13) describes the cities «as one of the reasons - maybe the most important - that Europe constituted itself as a historical unit». And he adds that the of public authorities and free coexistence market enterprise which have divided competences over land use issues characterizes the European cities. This equilibration between private rights and public control can only work if the interests of both parties are adequately represented (Benevolo, 1999, p. 223). The inherent conflict between a private and a public realm, but also the influence of different historical eras which shaped and still shape the urban development, leads to a so-called «presence of history» in European Cities (Siebel, 2004, p. 18) which is still evident and visible in the daily life of the city dwellers. Siebel adds that the European City is a place where a special form of living emerges which differentiates the inhabitants of urban areas from rural. Siebel also argues that the European city is the place where emancipation took place. The European city provides the hope for a better life and as a promise to entkommen dependencies which existed for example in rural areas to the land-owner.

B. SOCIAL DIMENSION

The European City as a social formation is characterized through a minor grade of socio-spatial segregation, especially compared to cities in the Unites States (see Bagnasco and Le Galès, 2000, p. 14). At the same time the role of its citizens as important actors which shape everyday life in urban areas through their participation in organizations, associations, citizens groups characteristic of the European city. Therefore Bagnasco and Le Galès describe the ideal type of European city as a «collective actor». Its urban development and urban politics are not only determined by the elected politicians and other public authorities but through a variety of different groups and micro-projects, the major part of them not having an institutionalized form (Le Galès, 2002, p. 262).

C. POLITICAL DIMENSION

The political dimension of the European City is a product of its embedding in the national welfare state and a farreaching capacity to act within a stable national context. This capacity to act is based on the fact that cities and municipalities receive national funds and have the autonomy to determine up to a certain degree how these funds are used. Thus, cities can determine their politics and developments (see Kazepov, 2005). In addition, the inclusion in the supranational system of the European Union strengthens the capacity to act because secondary to national funding, cities can also strive for European funds and use these for their development. Symbols for the municipal autonomy and the far-reaching capacity to act are local investments in infrastructure, water supply, public housing and urban planning:

European Cities have (had) the legal competences and the possibility to create and implement a local welfare state and determine the course of their policy. Also in a similar way the creation of modern urban planning instruments during the 19th century in European cities can be understood as a demonstration of municipal autonomy and the political idea to «restrain» market forces and obtain a coordinated development on the local level (Koch 2011).

D. URBANISM/URBAN DESIGN DIMENSION

the (2004.112) mentions Marcuse p. physical characteristics of the European City: a historical centre with low rise buildings (except for state and religious buildings), public places, neighborhoods with a mixed structure and small commercial units. social geographical limits, a high degree of densification and a well-equipped public transport system. Urban (2008) mentions the mix of functions and a sensible treatment of historical buildings as attributes of the European City. Public space, particularly the market place has a huge importance for being the location where urban society in medieval Europe was founded and different social groups met and interacted in a democratic way (Hassenpflug, 2002, Farías, 2005). The urban structure of the European city can be characterized through density, compactness, centrality and mixed uses.

The revision of the distinctive approaches in history, sociology, political sciences and urban design/urbanism reveals different definitions of the European City. The European City can be understood as the ideal type of a certain form of built-up environment, and as a social formation on the local level or as a political unit which poses a high degree of autonomy. Nevertheless interconnections exist between the various definitions.

CONTEXT II: MIGRATION AND REFUGEES IN THE EUROPEAN UNION AND GERMANY

Migration has always been a global phenomenon. Still, the UNHCR has highlighted that the number of migrants has never been so high than in 2016: It is estimated that more than 60 Million people can be considered as "on the move" (ISSC 2016), thus being migrants. The gross of these migrants are internal migrants. Internal migration means that people move within the boundaries of their country. Countries with the highest share of internal migrants are Colombia, Syria, and Sudan where due to internal conflicts and wars people are forced to leave their home and settle in other places within the countries' territory (Sánchez 2012). Current international migration flows can be seen for example from Central America to the US, in South East Asia, but also from the Eastern Side of the Mediterranean (especially Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan) to Europe (Sassen 2016). Nevertheless, it has to be acknowledged that most of the migration flows from Syria, Iraq or Afghanistan take place to neighboring countries (for example to Jordan or Turkey) and only a smaller share of these migration flows actually affects the European Union. While there is considerable agreement on the complexity of causes which actually drive refugee migration to the European Union,

the effects of these recent migration flows on the European Union require further analyses. Despite the only relatively small share of migration flows coming to the European Union, migration has become an important issue on European agendas and is perceived also as a challenge for the European integration project.

Different political opinions on how to handle the increasing amount of refugees coming to the European Union exist and range from building strict physical and legal barriers to a more progressive management of refugees. The main focus from a science perspective on refugees in Germany has been on the interplay between national and supranational levels, i.e. the member states and the institutions of the European Union. Researchers have analyzed how recent migration flows change the face of European integration and what impact the current situation may have on the European Union. In order to amplify this multi-level-governance perspective, it is argued that the local level plays an important role. Therefore this article focuses on the impact of the refugees on the local level. The city of Leipzig, Germany is used as a case study.

In Germany, the number of refugees (defined as asylum seekers) in 2015 has been 1.091.894 and between January and September 2016 this number was 272,185. The reasons for this decrease lie in new international agreements (for example the EU-Turkey agreement). German law on how to distribute asylum seekers foresees different steps: Asylum seekers coming to Germany first go to a so called "Erstaufnahme-Einrichtung". In this institution, the refugees will hand in there asylum seeker application. The idea is that in this "Erstaufnahme-Einrichtung" asylum seekers reside only for a very limited

amount of time. After they handed in their asylum seekers application and their application is analyzed, refugees have the possibility to move to large scale asylum seekers accommodation, rent an own flat or live in other forms of residences. The municipality is responsible to organize refugees' residences and receives subsidies for every asylum seeker coming to the municipality's territory. The distribution of the asylum seekers is done by the so called Königssteiner Schlüssel, a distribution mechanism which distributes refugees to the different federal states in Germany. Federal states with higher population numbers and higher economic development receive more refugees than smaller, less economically successful federal states. The federal states also have mechanisms on how to distribute refugees within their territory. For example, the federal state of Saxony distributes refugees proportionally municipalities' inhabitants; the therefore larger municipalities more refugees than receive smaller municipalities.

There are no legal specifications on how municipalities should organize the refugees' accommodation as long as basic requirements f.e. concerning hygienic standards are fulfilled. Within this article, it is argued that the question of how municipalities deal with refugees can be used as a test whether and how the concept of the European city is still considered as a leitmotiv for urban development or not. This question is exemplarily analyzed in the case of Leipzig, Germany.

CASE STUDY: LEIPZIG

Leipzig, a city with around 550,000 inhabitants is located in the federal state of Saxony in Eastern Germany. The case of Leipzig exemplarily presents a re-growing city: After decades of decline, Leipzig is now one of the fastest growing cities in Germany. The city encountered a long period of population decline after the political turnaround in 1989 from 530.010 inhabitants in 1989 to 437.101 inhabitants in 1998. After the incorporation of some suburbs around 495.000 inhabitants were living in Leipzig in the years from 2000. During this time, planning instruments to maintain the inner-city structures despite a declining population were implemented in the frame of the Stadtumbau-Ost national funding scheme: low-density housing (e.g. town houses), renaturation of brownfields, and renovation of vacant housing. Since the first decade of the 2000s population increased at a fast pace and currently 560.000 people live than more in Leipzig. neighborhoods for more than 10,000 inhabitants are planned in inner-city or close to inner-city areas, which are mainly directed at middle class households. Despite the population increase of the last years, the situation on the housing market is - especially compared to other German cities - as a result of the shrinking period rather relaxed and the average rent level is still modest. On a city wide level, there exist more flats than households.

The city has faced in the last years a growing numbers of refugees which ultimately decreased: In 2011, 285 persons were registered as new asylum seekers in Leipzig, in 2014 there were 1,243 persons registered, in 2015 4,230 persons. It is estimated that in 2016 around 3,000 asylum seekers will come to Leipzig. This is the result of the rising number of refugees coming to Germany especially in 2015 and the distribution following the Königssteiner Schlüssel and the mechanisms within the federal state of Saxony.

The city of Leipzig has already in 2012 decided that large scale asylum seeker accommodation should be avoided and that refugees should be hosted in smaller units or rent their own flats. This political statement has been also been included in the municipalities' housing policy concept, which was updated in late 2015. Concerning the situation of refugees, the housing policy concept stated that decentralized housing options for refugees should be accompanied by measures for social integration (language courses, possibilities to access the labor market etc.). The housing policy concept also implied that housing for refugees should be provided rather in central locations than in the periphery, where refugees might feel isolated (especially due to the fact, that refugees normally do not own cars and public transport towards and from peripheral locations is weak).

Leipzig's idea to prioritize decentralized housing rather than centralized housing is in line with the above mentioned concept of the European City. A social mix in neighborhoods, a focus on central rather than peripheral locations for refugees and the idea that integration can be achieved on an urban level refer to the ideal-typical concept of the European City.

Nevertheless, the latest numbers for Leipzig show a different picture: The majority of refugees in Leipzig live in large scale centralized housing. Of the approximately 5,000 refugees in Leipzig, 2,500 live in large scale refugee homes with more than 60 persons, approx. 600 refugees in small scale refugee homes with less than 60 persons, approx. 300 refugees in hotels, 50 refugees in contemporary housing conditions, 700 refugees in flats rented by the municipality and 1,100 refugees have rented their own flat, Thus it can

be stated that decentralized housing is of minor importance, despite the political will to avoid centralized housing for refugees.

Why does this gap between political will and real development exist? A multitude of different, partly overlapping reasons can be identified. In order to systemize these reasons, the different options of decentralized housing are analyzed and it is evaluated why only a small share of refugees lives in decentralized housing.

A. REFUGEES AND THE PRIVATE HOUSING MARKET

Currently, around 1,100 refugees living in Leipzig rented their own flats. According to the legal requirements, refugees can rent flats and the rent is paid by the municipality, if certain rent levels are not exceeded. The rent levels are indicated in the so-called "KdU-Richtlinie". The costs indicated there are equal to the rent which unemployed persons receive as a state subsidy. In the current situation of the housing market, it is difficult to find vacant apartments which cost no more than the prices indicated in the "KdU-Richtlinie". This is especially the case in central locations. In peripheral neighborhoods and/or neighborhoods refugees disadvantaged may apartments which do not exceed the amount of rent indicated in the KdU. Still, these locations are not really attractive and refugees sometimes refuse to live there. Furthermore, German landlords sometimes refuse to rent their apartments to refugees even though rent payments guaranteed through the state. Due to existing xenophobia, some landlords prefer to rent their flats to Germans than to people with other nationalities. It needs to be emphasized that refugees are in competition with other low-income households, they compete for the same flats and the number of affordable flats in attractive locations is low

B. Existing public housing

In Leipzig, a public housing company exists which has the mandate to balance market forces and provide housing for households which have difficulties to rent apartments on the free housing market. Especially households with low income or elderly persons have the possibility to receive a flat which is rented by the public housing company of Leipzig. Also refugees have the possibility to move in flats of the public housing company. As mentioned above, also in this sector of the housing market, competition for these flats with other low income groups exist. The fierce competition concerning these flats is demonstrated through a recent bribe scandal which took place in Leipzig. It was revealed that refugees paid the responsible official money in order to get a flat from the public housing company. Even though the CEO of the public housing company argued that the practice of corruption is a single case and the responsible person was fired immediately, the demonstrates the desperation of refugees to find adequate housing.

It also is necessary to mention that most public housing stock in Leipzig is concentrated in buildings which were constructed during GDR times, i.e. before 1989. The apartments build in this time were constructed in line with the principles of the socialist cities and their floor plans are orientated to small families and a certain "socialist" lifestyle. The household structures of the refugees in Leipzig are different: A considerable share of refugees lives

in larger families and also their living habits hardly fit with the floor plans of the apartments provided by the public housing company. Therefore the option that refugees find their apartments in existing public housing faces also difficulties because the floor plans are not adequate.

C. APPARTMENTS RENTED BY THE MUNICIPALITY (GEWÄHRLEISTUNGSWOHNUNGEN)

Due to the above mentioned access problems, the city of Leipzig started to rent appartments directly on the free housing market, so called "Gewährleistungswohnungen". Through this instrument it is posible to complement the housing options for refugees and get access to the kind of appartments which are actually missing. Nevertheless, the effort is very high and therefore only selected kind of refugee households (for example households with ill members), which have special housing needs have access to the Gewährleistungswohnungen.

D. New construction of public housing built by the municipality

Another opportunity would be the construction of new housing for refugees by the municipality. Even though there are discussions on the construction of new building in Leipzig the financial resources of the municipality are not enough to construct considerable new housing for refugees. Until now, no subsidies on national and/or federal level exist, which could support new construction. Additionally, it is argued that current migrations flows are very difficult to foresee and construction should therefore include flexible type of housing, which —if less housing for

refugees might be needed in the future— can be transformed in student housing and/or housing for families.

REFLECTION AND CONCLUSION

What does the situation in Leipzig tell us about Europe and European city? First, especially about the we can summarize that the current housing policy in Leipzig refers to the concept of the European city and that also current strategies on hosting refugees can be seen in line with the concept of the European city: Integration instead of isolation, central location instead of peripheral locations and rather small- than large-scale solution. Therefore we can conclude that even if on national and supra-national level the challenge of how to deal with the increasing amount of refugees leads to divergent policy responses and can be even considered as a challenge for the future European integration process, the case study Leipzig shows another picture: It is still tried to implement the European City model.

Two issues need to be highlighted:

• There exists still a considerable gap between the political ideas and the actual situation. Even though there is a political will to avoid large scale housing for refugees, the majority of refugees still live in large scale accommodation. Structural obstacles stand against the implementation of the political will. This shows that the implementation of the concept of the European city is not an easy-going process but requires to overcoming existing problems.