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Managing Difference: Preliminary Research to an Enculturational Care Strategy in the Triple Periphery of Eastern Saxony, Lower Silesia and North-Eastern Bohemia

Abstract

There may be areas in the world where reflection on strengthening intercultural resilience belongs to the group of amenities—nice to have, but not a must be, and a mere object of evening chit-chat among well-mannered people, after which the brave citizen goes to bed. The triple periphery of East Saxony, Lower Silesia and North-East Bohemia does NOT belong to this type of area. Here, on the contrary, the future of society and its economy, depends on successful intercultural resilience, and not least its political including its party-political preferences.

For the following reflections, we choose the example of the care labour market and focus in particular on the situation in the German part of the European City of Görlitz-Zgorzelec as pars pro toto of the three-countries'-region. A small preliminary empirical study by Monique Ritter commissioned by us can be found in the same volume.

The intercultural integration of care workers from overseas requires special efforts. Max Frisch (1965) wrote about the situation of Italian “guest workers” in Switzerland: They have called for labour, and human beings are coming. This sentence has a special truth when it comes to people who come from far away and hope to find a new home here.

A critical question to be asked in the following is whether the city of Görlitz is at all suitable for such a project, and how the research can do justice to the complex situation in the border triangle. Can the findings from Leipzig (Decker et al., 2023) be transferred one-to-one to the situation in Görlitz? What insights does a more detailed analysis of crime and constitutional protection statistics offer for the safety of foreign trainees in Görlitz? What is the need for research on enculturation? This article concentrates on the background picture from which the concrete research on care will start.

Keywords: enculturation; nursing shortage; Görlitz; enculturation; media discrimination against East Germany; racist crime statistics; foreigner crime statistics; welcome concept Görlitz.

Introduction

In the city of Görlitz, firstly, the proportion of people aged over eighty will have almost quadrupled between 1990 and 2025 (Vogt, 2021a) and the need for care will have increased accordingly. Secondly, for every sixty-year-old retiring woman, there follows only about half a twenty-year-old woman (Vogt, 2021a) Thirdly, the often reprinted narrative of poor pay in the nursing professions caused, that the willingness to take up the physically and mentally demanding nursing profession is less than before. (In fact, remuneration has in the meantime risen very significantly to about EUR 3,500 employee gross salary per month, including shift supplements

(Beutler, 2022). The first factor corresponds to an increase in demand for care workers by a factor of 4, the second corresponds to a doubled increase in demand due to a halved skilled labour market (resulting in a combined factor of 8), the third corresponds to an increase in demand due to a further deterioration in the supply of skilled labour (combined factor of 10-12 of the existing domestic care worker market).

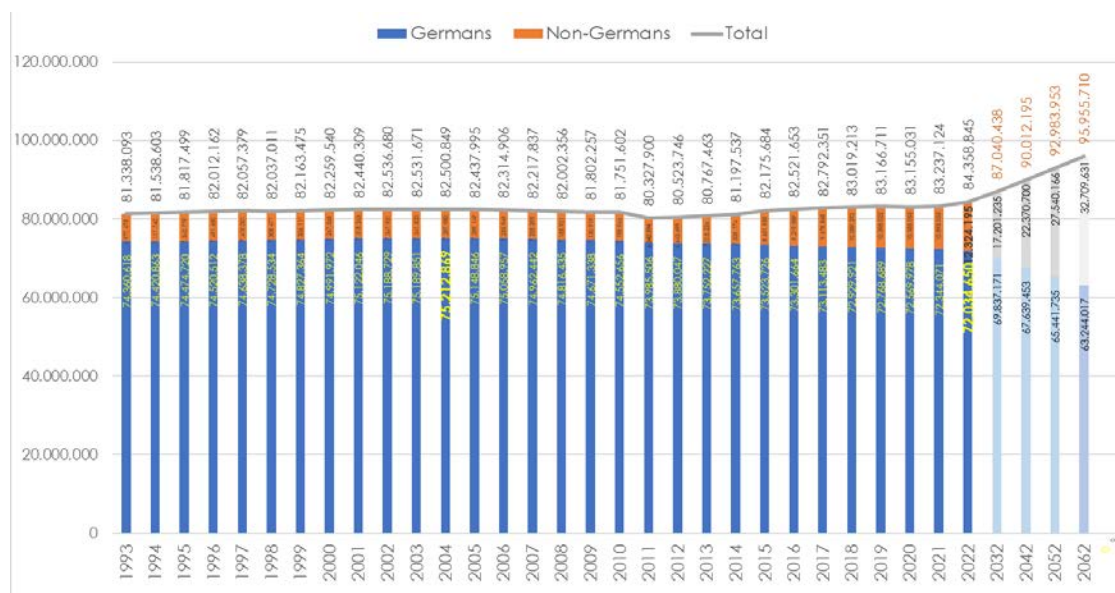
This has the consequence that the vocational training places “nursing” at the hospital academy of the district of Görlitz still do not sufficiently take into account the increasing demand. However, even the existing places can no longer be filled with regional junior staff. As of 01.07.2023, as few as 32 applications had been received for the 90 places for the winter semester starting 01.09.2023, i.e. only one third of the available training places (Beutler, 2023). Where will the missing two-thirds of apprentices come from?

The recruitment of foreign trainees is inevitable. However, the situation in the immediate neighbouring Lower Silesia and North-East Bohemia is analogous. In Lower Silesia, the average age of nursing staff is 54.3 years, 5.7 years before the Polish retirement age for women. By 2028, replacements for 65% of the current nursing staff must be found or a good 9,000 new nursing staff must be trained. This cannot be achieved from within the EU; however, the Polish care system is almost entirely mono-national in structure. The proportion of non-EU nurses is only 1.19%, almost all of whom are Ukrainian. The problem of fears of foreign infiltration is even more acute than in Germany due to the political course of the PIS.

However, the trust of locals in foreigners has not exactly been increased in the last three decades by the experiences of transformation and emigration in the populations of Eastern Saxony (whose grandchildren often grow up many hundreds of kilometres away from their grandparents), Lower Silesia (one only has to think of the seven daily flight pairs between Wroclaw and Dublin in the heyday of Polish emigration) and North-Eastern Bohemia (with its almost universal poaching of health personnel by Great Britain, Norway or Germany).

Here it is the task of politics to transform undifferentiated stereotypes towards groups into a subject-centred realistic perspective that enables the population to experience immigration and its the opportunities as an enrichment of their own situation. It is the task of science to soberly analyse the complex processes without normative presumptions. Germany is going to change radically from its traditional inbound view of the world with a mere 9.0 % share of foreign passport holders (as of 1993 after at the beginning of reunification statistics) to an integration society with a quota of 14.6 % (as of 2022 [Statistisches Bundesamt, 2023a]); for a detailed analysis of first and second generation migrants see Vogt et al., 2016). In the big cities, there is already a share of 50% and more of pupils with foreign-born parents in several school classes. Within the next forty years, the proportion of Germans in the population will shrink sharply, and the proportion of foreigners is difficult to estimate. In any computer with a forecasting programme, it can be projected that, continuing recent trends, the foreigner quota could be 20% in 2032 and 34% in 2062 (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2023a). However the figures develop: In any case, a shift in the mentality of the German population towards cosmopolitanism is necessary, mind you, in their own interest. In short, the task is to learn how to manage differences. This requires active willingness of the citizens, and cannot simply be commanded by any government *par ordre du mufti*.

Fig. 1: German and Non-German Population, Germany 1993-2002, and prognosis 2022-2062



Source: Statistisches Bundesamt, 2023a
(The calculation and the graph were prepared by the author)

Demographic Starting Point

The projected research project “Managing difference. Enculturational Care Strategy in the Triple Periphery of Eastern Saxony, Lower Silesia and North-Eastern Bohemia” has developed organically from a delegation trip Culture & Religion of the German Chancellor's Commissioner for Africa 2018, Günter Nooke (Nooke et al., 2018), as a result of which the Institute for Cultural Infrastructure Saxony 2021 sq. was able to bring an exhibition “Cameroon through the eyes of a thousand women”, conceived by African women themselves, to Germany and Poland, and soon to Hungary (Vogt et al., 2021b). In turn, against the background of the large youth cohorts in sub-Saharan Africa on the one hand and the excessive need for nurses in the Görlitz area (and the same situation in Lower Silesia and north-eastern Bohemia) on the other, a trinational training and research project has grown out of the work on the exhibition, the implementation of which is planned for the years 2024-2027.

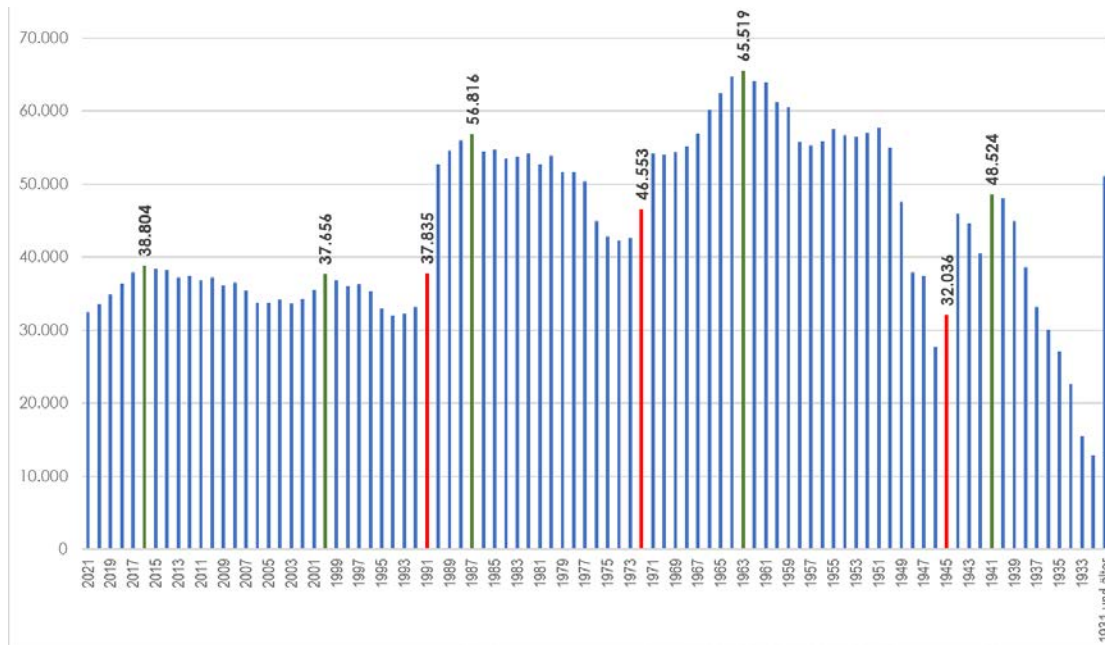
The research approach chosen was the implementation and observation of an *Intercultural Year of Nursing Görlitz* (based on the voluntary social year). It will bring 24 candidates from all over the world to Görlitz in three years in 2024, 2025 and 2026, each starting on 1 September, and which will allow rich scientific observation opportunities on several levels. The content of the Voluntary Social Year will be essentially characterised by (1) language instruction in the three language levels essential for the nursing profession (a) medical lexis and jargon, (b) terms in written German, (c) colloquial and dialectal terms; (2) artistic workshops, including workshops together with the city population, nursing teams, old people's homes, etc.; (3) the exchange of ideas and experiences. (3) intercultural seminars, and of course (4) practical work, to which the second of three trimesters is dedicated.

A critical question to be asked in the following is whether the city of Görlitz is at all suitable for such a project, and how the research can do justice to the complex situation in the border triangle. First, however, the demographic starting point must be presented.

Structural change in the extra-metropolitan area of Eastern Saxony

The sharply diverging cohort strengths of Saxony's population at the end of 2021 provide a clear picture of the historical transformation shocks in connection with the four system changes between 1918 and 1990—from (1) the Imperial German Reich to (2) the Weimar Republic to (3) National Socialism to (4) the Soviet occupation zone and the GDR to (5) the all-German Federal Republic. The birth rate reflects objective deprivations such as the war and post-war periods and long-term effects such as the birth spike in 1944 on the grandchild generation, but not least also confidence in the future. At present, Saxony is not only characterised by the declining number of women of childbearing age, but also by extreme shocks. Compared to the births in 2016 with 38,804 children (100.0 %), this results in 97.6 % (2017); 93.8 % (2018); 89.8 % (2019); 86.6 % (2020); 83.6 % (2021) (Statistisches Landesamt Sachsen, 2023).

Fig. 2: Population of Saxony as of 31.12.2021 by age group



Source: Statistisches Landesamt Sachsen, 2023 (The graph was created by the author)

Among the German Länder, Saxony and Brandenburg are particularly dependent on medium-term resilience reinforcement, as they are among the focal points of the German phase-out of coal-fired power generation. In terms of social cohesion, it is the task of politics to stabilise self-supporting forces in the former coal regions and to identify and eliminate resilience-reducing forces. As a result of the pandemic and inflation, a lack of confidence in the future can be observed throughout Germany, as well as, on the one hand, an agora fatigue of considerable

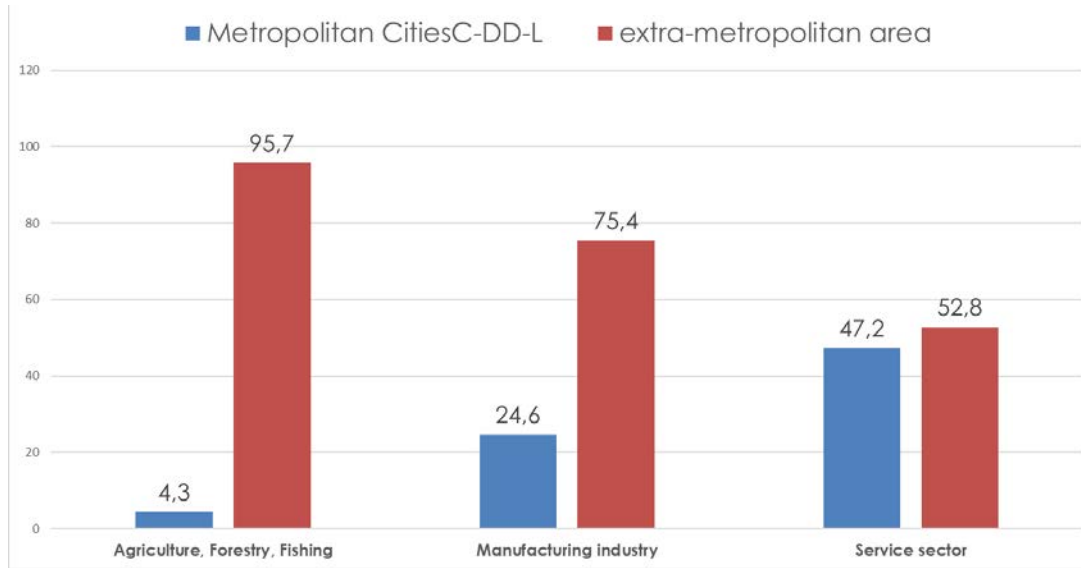
parts of the population and, on the other hand, a para-religious critical agora with processions, pilgrimages, sermons, votive flags every Monday evening, also in Görlitz, for the demonstration of anti-democratic propaganda.

After years of negotiations between the affected population, industry, federal states and the federal government, it was determined by law in 2020 that the last coal-fired power plant in Germany should be shut down in 2038 (Deutscher Bundestag, 2020a). By then, secure and sustainable jobs are to be created in the previous coal regions by financing structural change at the amount of 40 billion euros (Deutscher Bundestag, 2020b). Immediately after the law was passed, however, the current federal government agreed in its coalition agreement (SPD, Bündnis90/Die Grünen, FDP, 2021) to bring forward the coal phase-out to 2030 by eight years, thereby causing very considerable irritation among the population. It rightly questions the reliability of politics. This contributes to the manifest alienation of about one third of the population from the political system. The polling trend of the last few months indicates that the current governing coalition only has a narrow majority. The Alternative for Germany (AfD), which is based among other things on xenophobic populism and rhetorically presents itself as the 'Alternative to Germany' (AtD), achieved the top position among Saxony's political parties with 32.5 % (Neueste Wahlumfragen im Wahlrend zur Landtagswahl in Sachsen, n.d.).

The decision on the earlier coal phase-out in 2030 once again confirms the opinion of parts of the population that Berlin's decisions are detached from the real conditions beyond the metropolises and that the conditions within the districts are not sufficiently taken into account by Berlin (Gerlach, 2016). The term "rural area", which is often used in the media and the metropolises, is inaccurate insofar as the population predominantly pursues urban occupations (agriculture, forestry and fishing account for only the usual 1 % (Statistisches Landesamt Sachsen, 2023). But even these have long been highly technologised and cannot be managed without knowledge of the relevant EU regulations and support measures). It would therefore be correct to speak of the "metropolitan-remote" or "extra-metropolitan" areas.

In the media there is a distorted picture of the relationship between the economic weight of the metropolitan cities Chemnitz-Dresden-Leipzig (1/3 of the population) on the one hand, and the ten counties on the other (2/3 of the population). In fact, within Saxony, firstly the share of the metropolitan cities Chemnitz-Dresden-Leipzig in Saxony's manufacturing industry is almost negligible (25 % compared to 75 % in the extra-metropolitan area), secondly the share of Saxon service jobs in the extra-metropolitan area (53 %) is also higher than that of Chemnitz-Dresden-Leipzig (47 %) (Statistisches Landesamt Sachsen, 2023). The extra-metropolitan area dominates in all three economic sectors.

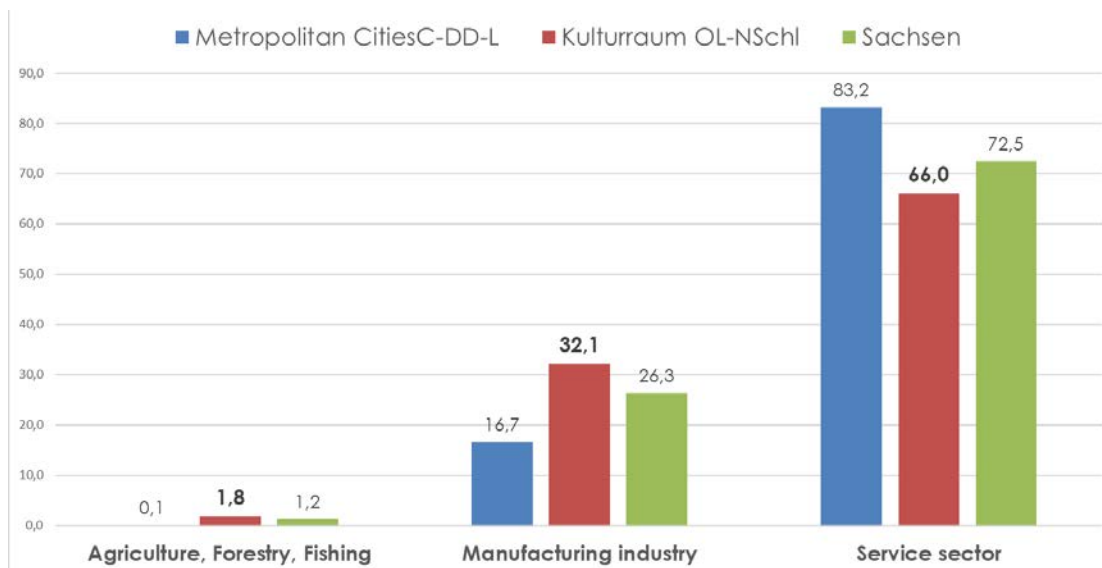
Fig. 3: Employed persons in Saxony 2021 by economic sector in percent Metropolitan cities Chemnitz-Dresden-Leipzig versus extra-metropolitan area



Source: Statistisches Landesamt Sachsen, 2023 (The graph was created by the author)

In the two counties of Bautzen and Görlitz (hereinafter: Kulturraum [cultural area] Oberlausitz-Niederschlesien), two thirds of the workforce work in service jobs (Statistisches Landesamt Sachsen, 2023), many of them highly specialised and placing correspondingly high demands on the quality of life.

Fig. 4: Economic sectors 2021: Saxony versus metropolitan cities Chemnitz-Dresden-Leipzig versus cultural region Upper Lusatia-Lower Silesia.

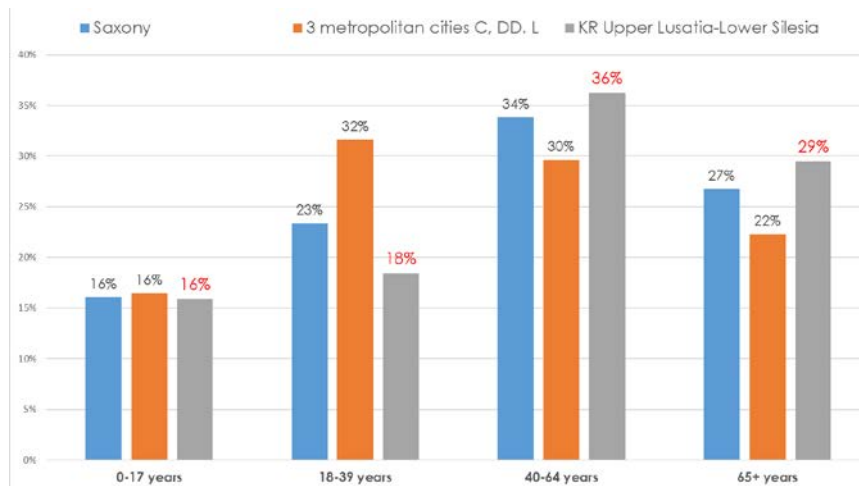


Source: Statistisches Landesamt Sachsen, 2023 (The graph was created by the author)

The central resilience problem is the distribution of age cohorts. While the cohorts of 18-29 year-olds make up a third of the population in the three metropolitan

cities of Chemnitz-Dresden-Leipzig (32 %), they make up only half of this in the cultural region, namely a good sixth (18 %) (Statistisches Landesamt Sachsen, 2023). The central task of municipal *Daseinsvorsorge* (services for good life) must therefore be to take care of the cohort of 18-39 year-olds, who have dropped out and are continuing to drop out.

Fig. 5: Age Cohorts Saxony versus Metropolitan Cities Chemnitz-Dresden-Leipzig versus Kulturraum Upper Lusatia-Lower Silesia

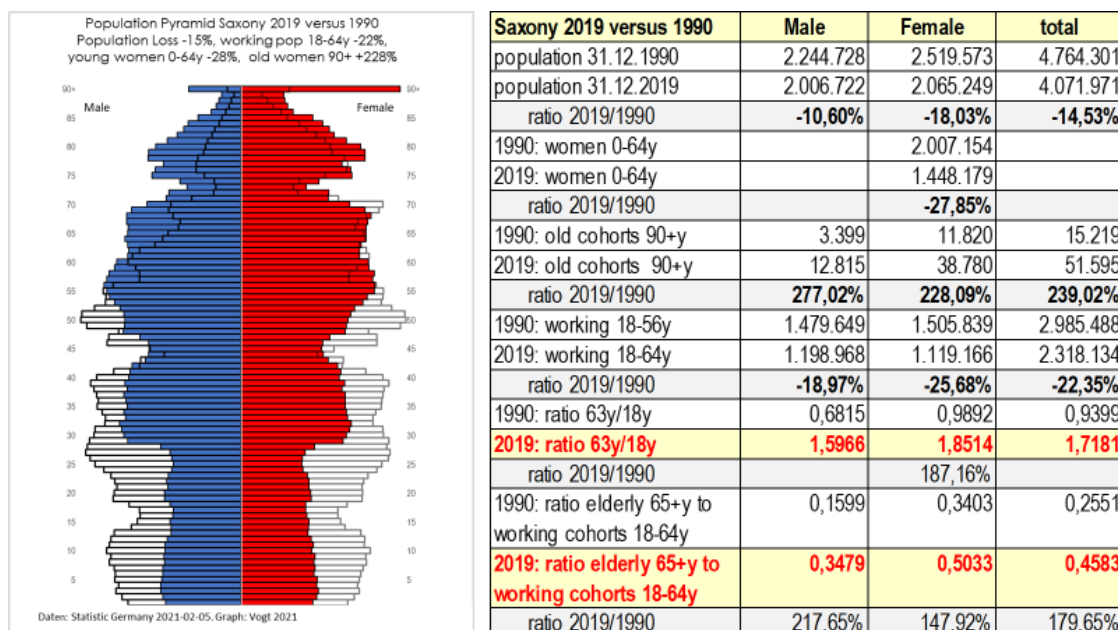


Source: Statistisches Landesamt Sachsen, 2023 (The graph was created by the author)

Demography Saxony and Eastern Saxony

A look at the population “pyramid” of Saxony—with a narrow base and a broad top rather like a ‘population mushroom’—is somewhat deceptive in that here the three metropolitan regions of Leipzig, Dresden and Chemnitz lead to a certain levelling in the number of young people as well as the number of old people. But here, too, the strongest cohort for both women and men is aged 55-59.

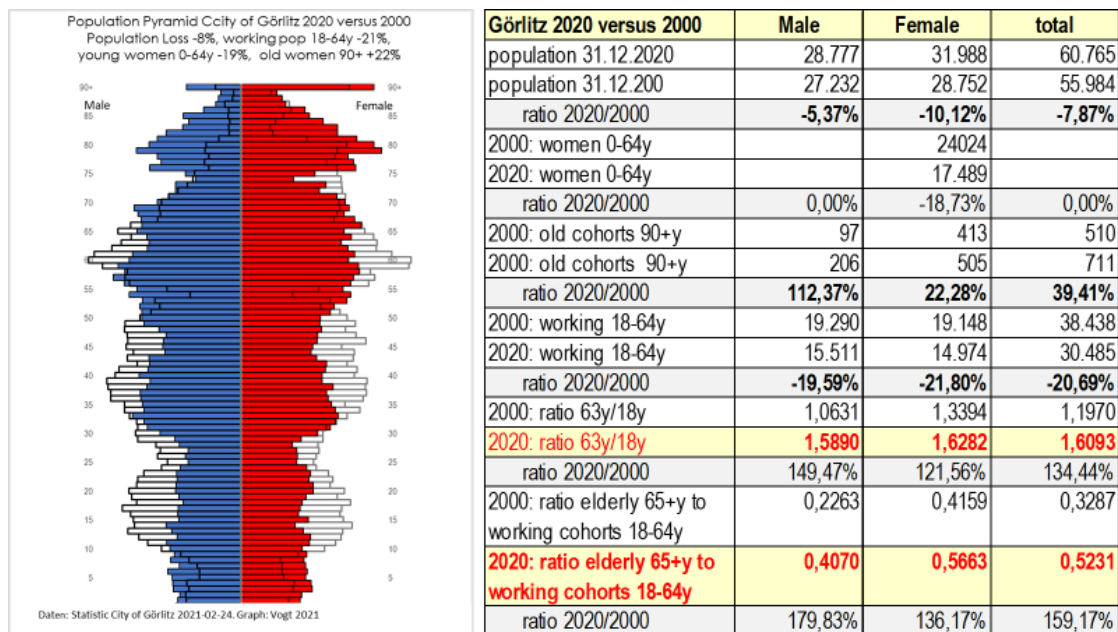
Fig. 6: Population pyramid Saxony 2019 compared to 1990



Source: Statistisches Bundesamt, 2023 (The calculation and graph were made by the author)

A look at the situation in the district city of Görlitz (medium-sized city with 56,000 inhabitants in 2023) is more meaningful for the situation in the peripheral regions. In 2000, the strongest age cohort was the then 60-year-old women. Twenty years later, in 2020, the strongest cohort was women of 80. One third of women over 18 are aged 65+. For every woman who retires at 60+, there are less than half as many females aged 18-20 (Vogt, 2021). The demographic situation outside the district centre of Görlitz in the actually rural areas of Eastern Saxony (Germany) below 20,000 inhabitants per municipality as well as in the rural areas of Lower Silesia (Poland) and the district of Liberec (Czech Republic) is even more drastic (Statistisches Landesamt Sachsen, 2023).

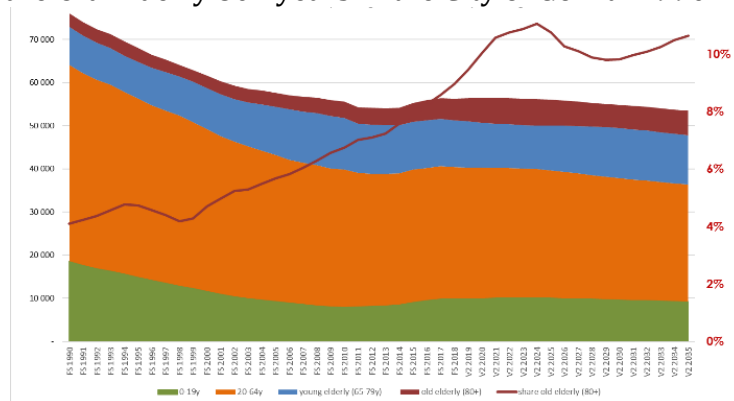
Fig.7: Population pyramid City of Görlitz 2020 compared to 2000



Source: Stadt Görlitz, 2022 (The calculation and graph were made by the author)

From 1990 to peak 2025, the proportion of cohorts 80+ years will have almost tripled from 4.1% to 11.1% and then level off around 10% (Vogt 2021a).

Fig. 7: Share Old Elderly 80+ years in the City of Görlitz 1990–2018–2035

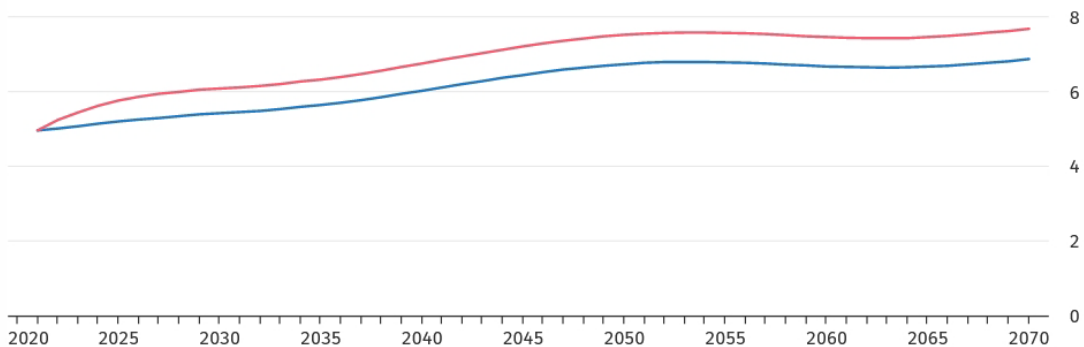


Data: Statistisches Landesamt Sachsen, 2023
(The calculation and graph were made by the author)

Nursing care projection of the Federal Statistical Office 30.03.2023

On 30 March 2023, the Federal Statistical Office presented a “Long-term projection of care needed–Germany and federal states for the reporting period 2022-2070” under EVAS number 12421, 22421. The Federal Office calculates 6.8 million persons in need of long-term care by 2070, assuming a constant care rate (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2023).

Fig. 8: Persons in need of long-term care in Germany 2021 to 2070, in millions



Source: Statistisches Bundesamt, 2023b

With an increasing care rate in connection with the expanded concept of need for long-term care, the Federal Office calculates a care rate of 7.1 million persons in need of long-term care (in the mean of the ten variants presented; minimum 6.156 million, maximum 8.498 million) (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2023). The mean value corresponds to 15.7 % of the working population of 45.3 million people (2019) (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2023). Since the nursing ratio in outpatient care is one nurse per two persons in need of care and in inpatient care the ratio is approximately one to one (Bundesgesundheitsministerium, 2023), this ratio alone indicates the tendency of demographic development to overstretch national resources. This can only be offset by increasing the number of working people in line with the increase in the number of senior citizens, i.e. through qualified immigration into the labour force.

Whereas the Free State of Saxony is currently among the leaders in the elderly ratio, the majority of German states still have this development ahead of them; by 2055, for example, the Federal Office forecasts an increase of 51 % in the number of people in need of long-term care for Baden-Württemberg, and only 11 % for Saxony (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2023). Since Baden-Württemberg has disproportionately richer resources, it has favourable conditions for recruitment projects - and above all for attempts at poaching, e.g. from Saxony.

According to the findings of the Statistisches Bundesamt (2023b), in Saxony itself, the ratio of those in need of care in 2020 to those in need of care in 2070 [calculated from Table 12421-14] shows an increase of 300 % for men 90+ and 174 % for women 90+ (Nota bene: an intra-regional analysis for eastern Saxony is not available from the Federal Office's tables).

Fig. 9: Increase in persons in need of long-term care in Saxony 2070 to 2022

Age	Persons in need of care Total			Outpatient services			Full inpatient			Care allowance - Care by relatives			Care level 1 - Without benefits		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
2022 (in Thousand)	312	118	194	79	26	53	48	14	34	149	65	84	38	13	23
2070 (in Thousand)	347	137	210	92	33	59	61	19	42	158	72	86	38	14	22
2070 Total	111.2%	116.1%	108.2%	116.5%	126.9%	111.3%	127.1%	135.7%	123.5%	106.0%	110.8%	102.4%	100.0%	107.7%	95.7%
under 15	83.3%	75.0%	100.0%							80.0%	71.4%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%
15 - 60	87.1%	82.4%	85.7%	80.0%	66.7%	100.0%	50.0%	100.0%	100.0%	90.0%	90.9%	88.9%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
60 - 65	69.2%	71.4%	66.7%	66.7%	50.0%	100.0%	50.0%	100.0%	0.0%	66.7%	66.7%	66.7%	50.0%	100.0%	100.0%
65 - 70	70.6%	77.8%	75.0%	75.0%	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	75.0%	60.0%	75.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
70 - 75	75.0%	81.8%	75.0%	80.0%	100.0%	66.7%	66.7%	100.0%	100.0%	75.0%	83.3%	66.7%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
75 - 80	90.6%	92.3%	85.0%	87.5%	100.0%	80.0%	100.0%	100.0%	66.7%	87.5%	100.0%	77.8%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
80 - 85	95.7%	104.3%	89.4%	94.7%	100.0%	92.3%	90.0%	100.0%	85.7%	96.9%	108.3%	90.0%	100.0%	150.0%	85.7%
85 - 90	123.2%	145.0%	114.3%	119.0%	133.3%	113.3%	123.1%	133.3%	110.0%	124.1%	140.0%	115.8%	114.3%	150.0%	120.0%
90+	202.2%	300.0%	174.3%	200.0%	300.0%	172.7%	207.7%	300.0%	181.8%	193.8%	300.0%	172.7%	250.0%	200.0%	150.0%

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt, 2023b (The calculation was made by the author)

Consequence of demography for the care sector

Due to this demographic situation, the continuous renewal of the labour force in the area of care in Eastern Saxony (DE), Lower Silesia (PL) and Liberec County (CZ) is no longer feasible from two sides.

On the one hand, a fierce struggle has begun among all economic actors for the potential next generation of school leavers. On the other hand, at the same time, society's need for nurses is growing in proportion to the increase in the elderly population. As a result, the annual 120 training places at the Görlitz Hospital Academy, which bundles professional nursing training for the entire county, would have to be increased considerably. In fact, however, the training places at the Görlitz Hospital Academy can no longer be filled by young people from eastern Saxony - as of 1 July 2023, there were only 32 applications for the 90 places for the winter semester from 1 September 2023 (Beutler, 2023), i.e. only one third of the available training places. Where will the missing two-thirds of trainees come from? (Other German training institutions are already advertising even higher training allowances as well as scholarships for flights, language courses and recognition abroad).

Since the demographic situation is similar in Poland, the Baltic States, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, the successor states of Yugoslavia, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Bulgaria, southern Italy, etc., and since all other parts of the European Union are much stronger economically and thus incomparably more attractive in terms of wages and other working conditions than the triple periphery of eastern Saxony, Lower Silesia and north-eastern Bohemia, there is no other way out in the medium term than extra-continental immigration from Africa, Asia and South America (Lessenich, 2016).

Before the Görlitz city council on 29.06.2023 and in the head lines Görlitz of the Sächsische Zeitung, the managing director of the municipal clinic, Ines Hofmann, stated: "Clinic director: Without nursing staff and doctors from abroad it won't work" (Sächsische Zeitung, 2023). But are the city of Görlitz and the district of Görlitz a favourable environment for immigration? How safe are foreigners in Görlitz compared to other German cities?

Görlitz as a safe environment for immigration?

In June 2023, we received news from Cameroon that parents of potential candidates had contacted the mayor of Bafoussam, in response to a call for applications for Görlitz care positions by the city of Bafoussam. The parents were worried because only devastatingly xenophobic statements could be found on the English-language internet—about East Germany in general, about Saxony in particular, and about East Saxony and Görlitz in specifically. The mayor then mobilised a film team to research a sober picture of reality and sent it to Görlitz from 13-16 June.

Authoritarianism Findings 2023 of the Else-Frenkel-Brunswik Institute at the University of Leipzig

The findings of the Cameroonian parents essentially coincide with the results of a representative survey conducted by the Else-Frenkel-Brunswik Institute at the University of Leipzig, which reported on 28 June 2023:

The clear majority of East Germans can identify with democracy as an idea, but less than half are satisfied with their everyday experience of democracy. This was the result of a representative survey conducted by the Else-Frenkel-Brunswik Institute of the University of Leipzig among 3,546 people from the eastern German states. [...] The study also found a high level of approval for right-wing extremist statements in the eastern German states. Chauvinistic and xenophobic statements were only rejected by a minority of the respondents, the project leaders emphasised. Elements of neo-NS ideology were not openly expressed to the same extent, but anti-Semitic and Social Darwinist statements also met with approval - one third of the population agreed with them completely or in part. The approval is pronounced in the federal states of Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt and Thuringia. Here, the potential for extreme-right and neo-Nazi parties to find voters is particularly high. Every second person wants a 'strong party' that embodies the 'national community' as a whole. Instead of pluralistic diversity of interests, a *völkische Gemeinschaft* is desired'. (Universität Leipzig, 2023).

Well, part of the questions cannot be topped in terms of suggestion, for example in the following three questions: (1) "In the national interest, a dictatorship is the better form of government under certain circumstances." (2) "What Germany needs now is a strong party that embodies the *Volksgemeinschaft* as a whole." (3) "We should have a leader who will rule Germany with a strong hand for the good of all." This then leads to approval ratings of (1) 8.6 % manifest and 22.1 % latent, (2) 26.3% and 24.9 %, (3) 14.0 % and 19.1 % (Universität Leipzig, 2023).

The questions used to identify xenophobia were similar: (1) "The foreigners only come here to take advantage of our welfare state." Agreement 41.3% manifest, 28.2% latent, together 69.5% or two thirds of respondents. (2) "When jobs become scarce, foreigners should be sent back home." Agree 29.8 % and 23.4 %, together 53.2 %. (3) "The Federal Republic is over-alienated to a dangerous degree by the many foreigners." Agreement 36.6 % and 24.8 %, together 61.4 % or almost two thirds of the East German population (Universität Leipzig, 2023).

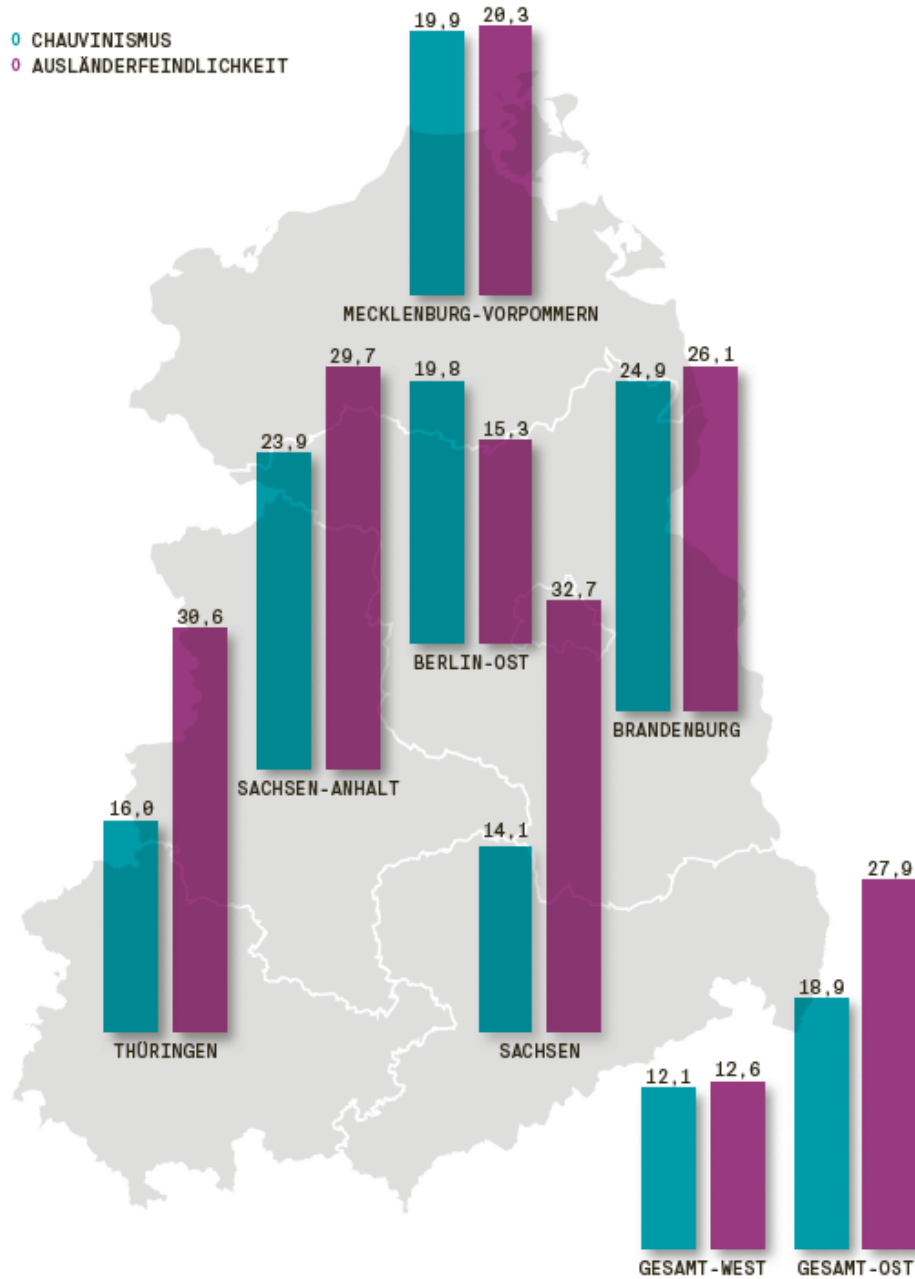
Fig. 10: Manifest-right attitudes in the dimensions of educational attainment; gender; age group; employment group; equivalised income; among party voters (in per cent)

Manifest-right attitudes per dimension (in %) Survey: Decker et al (2023). Depiction: Vogt (2023)			NEO-NS-IDEOLOGY				ETHNOCENTRISM	
			Advocacy Dictatorship	Anti-Semitism	Social Darwinism	Trivialisation of National Socialism	Chauvinism	Xenophobia
Educational level	with A-levels	(N = 999)	2,8	2,5	2,5	1,1	10,5	13,2
	without A-levels	(N = 2532)	7,9	6,8	5,4	2,4	22,3	33,5
Gender	Men	(N = 1713)	6,6	5,9	3,8	2,1	20,8	29,6
	Women	(N = 1830)	6,2	5,2	5,3	2	17,2	26,2
Age group	16 -30	(N = 513)	4,5	2,9	3,9	1	16,1	18,3
	31 - 60	(N = 1833)	7	6,5	4,7	2,7	18,8	30,8
	> 60	(N= 1200)	6,4	5,2	4,7	1,5	20,4	27,4
Employment group	Education / Military service	(N = 241)	4,2	3,7	4,1	1,7	17,9	12,5
	Employed	(N = 1991)	6,4	5,3	4,3	2,1	17,7	29,1
	Unemployed	(N = 169)	10,1	9,8	6	4,8	30,4	42,3
	Housewife / househusband	(N = 50)	14,3	8,3	14,3	2	28,6	42,9
	Retired	(N = 1067)	6,1	5,6	4,6	1,5	19,3	26,3
Equivalent income	under 1.000 €	(N =414)	8,5	9,7	8,5	3,9	24,3	36,4
	1.000 to 2.000 €	(N =1648)	7,5	6,1	3,8	1,6	18,9	33,3
	2.000 till 3.000 €	(N =920)	4,7	3,6	3,8	2,6	18,6	19,9
	more than 3.000 €	(N =486)	4,2	3,4	5	1,3	15,8	18,5
Among party voters	CDU / DSU		3,6	2,3	2,5	0,6	12,9	18,8
	SPD		2,7	5,2	3,8	0,3	15,3	22,3
	FDP		4,6	2,3	4,6	0	19,3	17,1
	Greens		1,2	1,6	1,2	0	5	15,9
	The Left		2	3	0	0	8	21,2
	AfD		22,3	14	8,4	8,5	50,2	59,1
	Non-voters		6,1	6,8	5,7	2,8	20	39,5
	Party choice uncertain		4,4	3,3	4,4	1,2	11,6	17,2
	Voter participation uncertain		7,7	7,9	8,3	3,2	23,2	31,2
	Rest		7,8	6,3	5,7	2,3	20,9	25,7

Source: Decker et al., 2023
(The depiction was created by the author)

In terms of chauvinism, Saxony ranks last among the East German states. In terms of xenophobia, Saxony ranks first. With 12.1 and 12.6 % respectively in the western German states, foreigners are obviously well advised to settle - if at all - rather in the west of Germany (Universität Leipzig, 2023). At least if one is to follow the Leipzig study.

Fig. 11: Right-wing extremist attitudes in the eastern German Länder, 2022 (in per cent) (Green: chauvinism, red: xenophobia)



Source: Decker et al., 2023; Reprinted with kind permission of the authors.

Outside their study (in an appendix after the bibliography which is hard to find and, as far as we can see, not cited by any of the media) Decker et al. (2023) add in Table 8 the “Distribution of disagreement and agreement with the statements of the right-wing extremism questionnaire (in percent)”. In the following table, which we have expanded, the highest agreement value in each case is marked in red. Overall, contrary to what the press release suggests, there is a clear picture of predominant rejection of the suggestive questions with a mostly multiple ratio between rejection and agreement (with the two exceptions of foreigners & the welfare state, and national sentiment).

Fig. 12: Distribution of disagreement and agreement with the statements of the right-wing extremism questionnaire (in per cent)

Distribution of disagreement and agreement with the statements of the right-wing extremism questionnaire (in %) Table 8 of the study Decker et al. (2023), in the appendix after the bibliography. Graph: Vogt 2023	Disagree completely	Disagree predominantly	Disagree manifestly and latently	Agree partly	Agree manifestly and latently	Agree mostly	Fully agree	Ratio of disagreement to agreement
Dictatorship is the better form of state	49,2	20,1	69,3	22,1	8,6	6,72	1,88	8,06
Without the extermination of the Jews, Hitler would be considered a	64,06	14,88	78,94	14,02	7,04	5,32	1,72	11,21
Germany needs a single strong party that embodies the	32,9	15,92	48,82	24,91	26,27	16,83	9,44	1,86
Führer who rules Germany with a strong hand for the good of all.	50,31	16,54	66,85	19,13	14,01	9,45	4,56	4,77
As in nature, the strongest should always prevail in society.	43,47	21,71	65,18	22,48	12,35	8,88	3,47	5,28
Foreigners come only to exploit our welfare state.	16,86	13,64	30,5	28,17	41,33	20,58	20,75	0,74
Even today, the influence of the Jews is too great.	46,37	19,87	66,24	22,61	11,16	6,95	4,21	5,94
Have the courage to have a strong national feeling.	23,27	12,26	35,53	27,72	36,74	21,91	14,83	0,97
Germans inherently superior to other peoples.	49,13	19,24	68,37	21,12	10,51	6,78	3,73	6,51
Send foreigners back when jobs are scarce.	28,46	18,33	46,79	23,39	29,82	14,37	15,45	1,57
Crimes of National Socialism exaggerated in historiography.	63,56	16,6	80,16	13,88	5,96	4,21	1,75	13,45
Hard and energetic assertion of German interests against foreign	27,05	14,66	41,71	30,75	27,53	18,08	9,45	1,52
Jews work more evil tricks than others.	53,81	18,04	71,85	19,23	8,91	5,89	3,02	8,06
Supreme aim of politics: to give Germany its rightful power and validity.	30,71	15,68	46,39	30,03	23,58	17,11	6,47	1,97
There are valuable and unvaluable lives.	60,45	11,89	72,34	17,98	9,69	6,03	3,66	7,47
The FRG is dangerously alienated by foreigners.	22,69	15,85	38,54	24,83	36,63	18,81	17,82	1,05
Jews have their own peculiarities and do not fit in with us.	55,55	15,78	71,33	19,79	8,89	5,46	3,43	8,02
National Socialism also had its good sides.	61,54	15,69	77,23	16,81	5,96	3,63	2,33	12,96

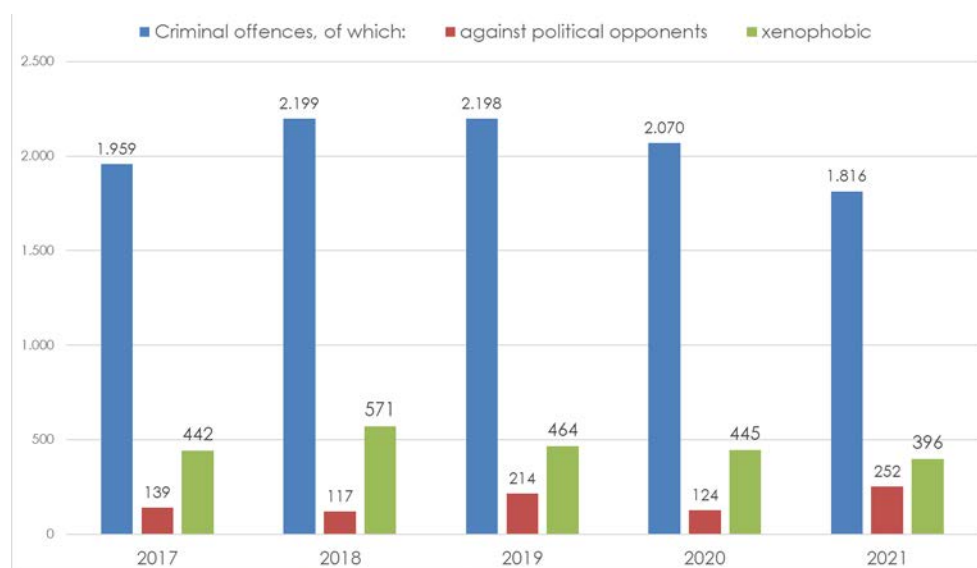
Source: Decker et al., 2023 (Table 8 in the appendix).
(The extension and the graph were created by the author)

The sober picture of the Saxon Report on the Protection of the Constitution and of the Federal Crime Statistics

But when and how often does the manifest xenophobia identified by the Leipzig researchers turn to crime? Regarding hate crime (Haßkriminalität) and politically motivated violent crime nationwide, the Federal Criminal Police Office lists 41,177 offences for 2019 (2,832 violent offences), of which 22,342 were right-wing extremist (986 violent offences) (Bundeskriminalamt, 2023).

For Saxony 2022, the Saxon Report on the Protection of the Constitution 2022 of 6 June 2023 cites a figure of 1,709 right-wing extremist offences in total (including 58 violent offences), of which 97 were against [left-wing extremist] political opponents (18 violent offences) and 394 xenophobic offences (33 violent offences) (Landesamt für Verfassungsschutz Sachsen, 2023). Compared to 2018, when there were 571 offences, the latter have decreased numerically by around a third (Landesamt für Verfassungsschutz Sachsen, 2023). The 96 violent offences included, however, “as particularly serious, two suspected politically motivated arson attacks on asylum seeker accommodation in Bautzen and Leipzig” (Landesamt für Verfassungsschutz Sachsen, 2023). The district of Görlitz accounted for 88 right-wing extremist offences, 1 act of violence against political opponents, 0 xenophobic acts of violence (Landesamt für Verfassungsschutz Sachsen, 2023).

Fig. 13: Right-wing extremist offences in Saxony 2017 - 2022



Source: SMI, 2023, p. 91. (The graph was created by the author)

On the other side of the political spectrum in Saxony were 742 left-wing extremist offences in total and 174 violent offences, of which 5 (0 violent offences) in the district of Görlitz (Landesamt für Verfassungsschutz Sachsen, 2023).

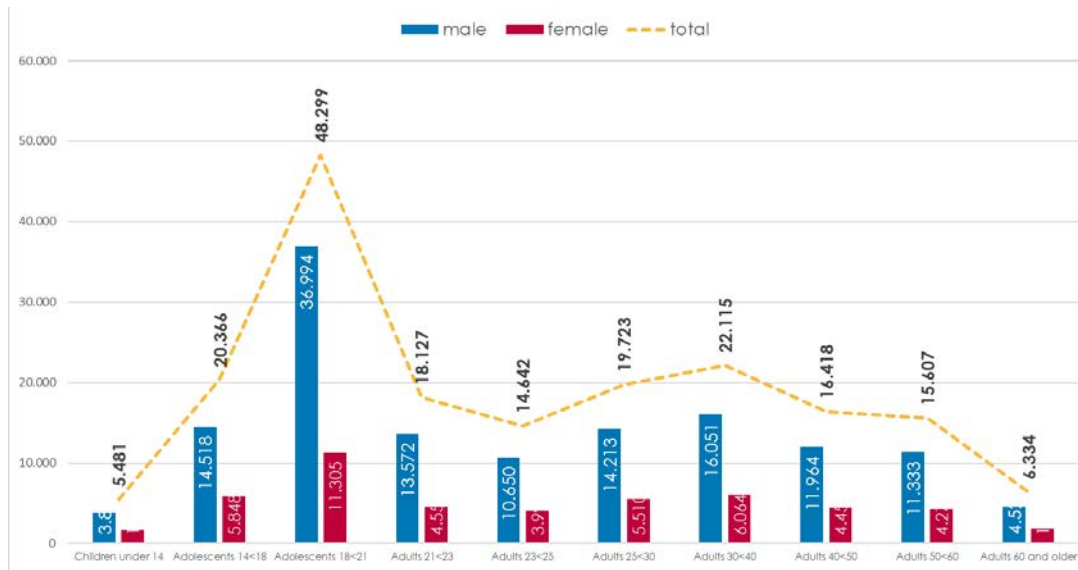
Islamism as well as “security-threatening and extremist aspirations of groups with a foreign connection” (Saxony 2022: 24 offences of foreign ideology, 4 violent offences of foreign ideology, 7 offences of religious ideology and 0 violent offences of religious ideology (Landesamt für Verfassungsschutz Sachsen 2023) were not noted by the Office for the Protection of the Constitution for the district of Görlitz.

Conversely, in the police crime statistics of the federal government there is a significantly higher proportion of foreign offenders than the proportion of foreigners in the resident population (13.1 %) (Bundeskriminalamt, 2023). Excluding the 222,021 offences under key 725000 (offences against the Residence Act, the Asylum Act and the Freedom of Movement Act/EU), which cannot be committed by German citizens (frequency figure 269 cases per 100,000 inhabitants), and only in relation to the further 1,921,553 suspects for the 5,402,755 recorded cases (frequency figure 6,432 cases per 100,000 inhabitants), the proportion of foreign criminals is 31.9 %. In several areas of crime it exceeds 70 % (Bundeskriminalamt, 2023).

A typical error in the German discussion on foreigner delinquency is the inadmissible transfer of the age-, gender-, and income-specific delinquency among the 1,108,127 German suspects to the 783,876 non-German suspects in Germany 2021 (Bundeskriminalamt, 2023). Among German suspects, there is a clear peak among adolescents 18-20 years of age with almost 50,000 suspects per cohort, and from 21 years of age onwards there is a continuity of 20,000 suspects per cohort until almost retirement age (Bundeskriminalamt, 2023).

Among the German suspects, women (with a population share of 50.7 %) make up 27.3 %, i.e. a good quarter. Among non-German suspects, women (with a population share of 47.3 %) make up 21.7 %, i.e. a good fifth or considerably less than among Germans (Bundeskriminalamt, 2023).

Fig. 14: Age- and gender-specific delinquency Germany 2021 among the 1,108,127 German suspects

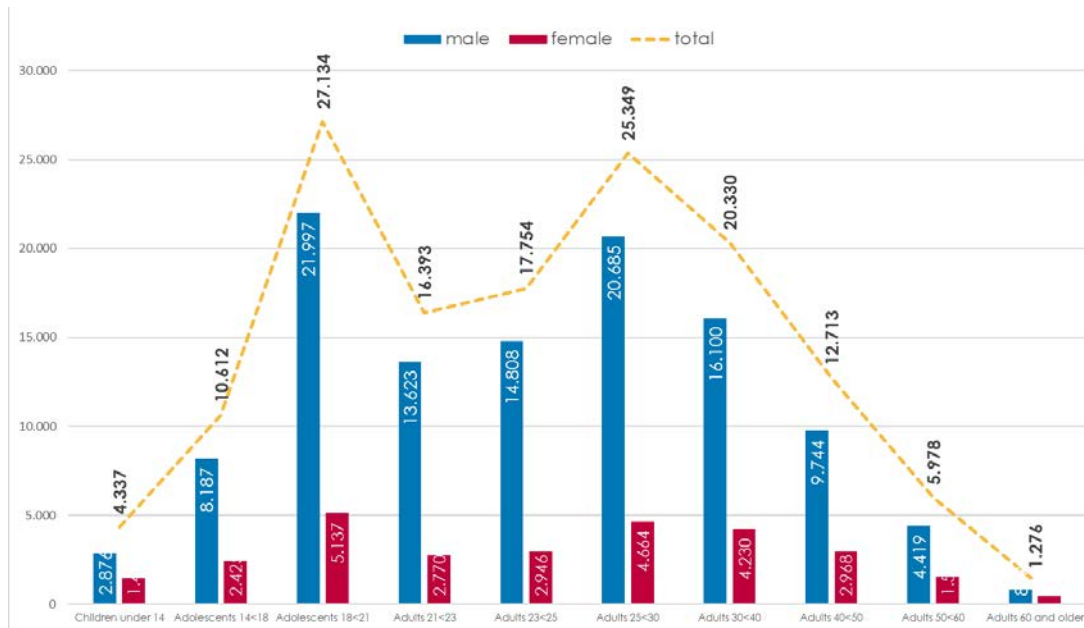


Source Data: Bundeskriminalamt, 2023
(The calculation and the graph were prepared by the author)

Among non-German suspects, there is a much less pronounced peak among adolescents 18-20 years of age with 27,000 suspects per year, but a second peak 25-29 years of age (Bundeskriminalamt, 2023). Above all, however, year after year the absolute numbers of cases from the age of 23 (here the sum is 619,389 from 23-59 or almost five times as much as juvenile crime) are almost on a par with the absolute numbers of cases among German suspects, despite a disproportionately smaller resident population¹ (Bundeskriminalamt, 2023). A much bigger problem than non-German juvenile delinquency is non-German adult delinquency by segments of the population that are not or not sufficiently integrated. Two problems overlap here. Firstly, large cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants account for only one third of the German resident population, but for 52.5 % of all suspects in the police statistics. Secondly, the large cities account for 70.6 % of all non-German suspects, and for women the figure is 90.0 % (Bundeskriminalamt, 2023). In terms of crime demographics, the living conditions in Germany's medium-sized and small towns are clearly different, and can be compared to those in the large cities only to a limited extent.

¹ Here the total is 738,312 from 23-59 years or three times as much as youth crime.

Fig. 15: Age- and gender-specific delinquency Germany 2021 among the 783,876 non-German suspects according to individual years summarised in age cohorts



Source: Bundeskriminalamt, 2023 (The graph was created by the author)

For the district of Görlitz 2022, the Federal Criminal Police Office reports a frequency ten times higher than the national average for violations of the Residence Act, the Asylum Act and the Freedom of Movement Act (frequency ratio 2,446 to 269), which is due to the border location (Bundeskriminalamt, 2023). For all other offence days, the frequency figure of 6,453 cases is exactly in line with the national average. However, as Anton Sterbling (2006) has repeatedly investigated, the “subjective security” of the citizens of Görlitz is below average; their complaints are manifest. In line with the comparatively low density of foreigners in the district, the proportion of non-German suspects is 25.7 %, i.e. below the national average.

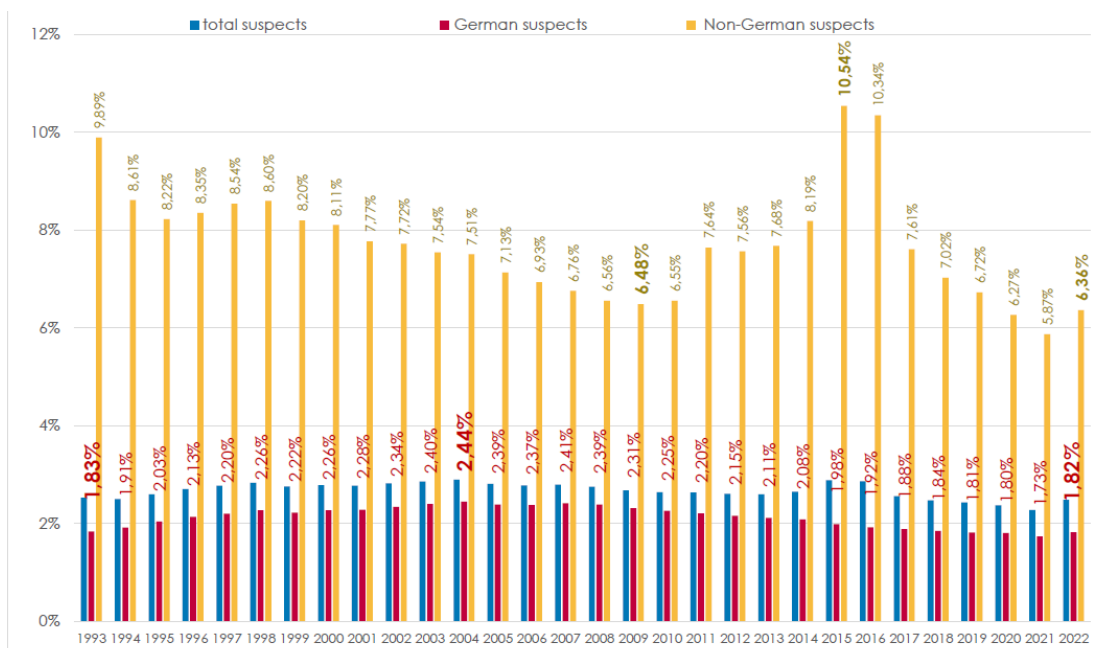
Many cases are strongly perceived by the media and in discussions. This is especially true for the 75.6 % share of foreigners among the suspects in car thefts and the 50 % in robberies in flats (Bundeskriminalamt, 2023). Right up to the formulation of the CDU mayor Octavian Ursu (after a night-time attack by a group of presumably twelve Syrian, Turkish, Iraqi and Lebanese men aged between 19 and 35 on 10.07.2023 on celebrating high school graduates, three of whom had to be admitted to the hospital emergency room): The attackers had “forfeited their right of hospitality with us.” (Sächsische Zeitung Görlitz, 2023).

Typical for Görlitz, however, is the reaction to a xenophobe statement by the department stores' investor Winfried Stöcker. In an interview, the entrepreneur spoke of “Africans who like to travel” and had cancelled a benefit concert at the construction site of his historic Art Nouveau department stores' with the reason: “I do not welcome so many foreign refugees” (Sächsische Zeitung, 2014). Already the following day, the city administration, trade unions, churches, associations, numerous citizens gathered in the neighbouring Frauenkirche for a committed protest that was noticed nationwide (Spiegel, 2014). In the same spirit, the city administration leads a decidedly foreigner-open “Welcome Alliance Görlitz”.

In sum, it should be noted that the 2022 crime statistics for Görlitz do not list a single assault against foreigners with xenophobic motives. The study by Decker et al. (2023) is important for many aspects. But it does not differentiate regionally in its socio-economic categories between large cities such as Leipzig, with its indeed high potential danger, and the comparatively tranquil situation in medium-sized towns such as Görlitz. It must always be borne in mind that the crime statistics are incomplete per se. There is the famous "dark field", which is an estimated number of unreported cases of xenophobic attacks, also in the city of Görlitz. However, these rarely lead to a report, partly because of mistrust of the police as an institution, partly because the perpetrators belong to the environment or are unknown, or simply because the effort for people with a migration background is connected with a high hurdle. The dark field cannot be recorded statistically; however, the incidents seem to be significantly smaller than in other Saxon cities.

The most important fact from the Police Statistic is a clear shrinking of Delinquency over the last three decades. As to the holders of German passports, delinquency started at the beginning of reunification statistic 1993 at 1.83 % share of pipublication suspected to have committed a crime. I was 2022 at 1.82 %. As to the holders of foreign passports, delinquency statistics started at 9,8 % in 1993, went down to 6.48 % in 2009, climbed to 10,5 % during the asylum seekers crisis 2015, and is now at 6.36 % (data compiled from Bundeskriminalamt, 2023 and Statistisches Bundesamt, 2023). Such a stability on deep level for the German side, and an important shrinking for the foreign side, is hardly communicated through politics and media. But communicating it would be important for the subjective security of citizens.

Fig. 16: Delinquency in relation to the size of the population group Germany 1993-2022



Source: Bundeskriminalamt, 2023; Statistisches Bundesamt, 2023
 (The calculation and the graph were prepared by the author)

Proportion of foreigners in the city of Görlitz

According to objective data, the city of Görlitz is the municipality in the Free State of Saxony with the highest proportion of foreigners, clearly ahead of the city of Leipzig. At the end of 2021 (currently the most recent official statistics), the proportion of non-German nationals was 12.3 % (Statistisches Landesamt Sachsen, 2023) they were distributed substantially among 21 official languages of origin (Stadt Görlitz, 2022).

Fig. 17: Population of Görlitz by official languages of countries of origin
2017 to 2021

	Official language		2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
		Total population	56.172	56.242	56.068	55.872	55.534
		non-German population	5.838	6.102	6.191	6.561	6.825
			10,39%	10,85%	11,04%	11,74%	12,29%
1	german	German population	50.334	50.140	49.877	49.311	48.709
	german	Austria	24	30	34	33	33
2	Euopa-EU	Poland	3.506	3.854	4.005	4.407	4.713
7	Euopa-EU	Czech Republic	96	94	69	83	74
8	Euopa-EU	Italy	62	59	62	65	71
11	Euopa-EU	Romania	129	113	81	75	67
12	Euopa-EU	Greece	39	37	40	44	40
13	Euopa-EU	Bulgaria	34	35	33	43	37
14	Euopa-EU	Hungary	25	28	33	32	35
16	Euopa-EU	Slovakia	29	30	30	29	27
18	Euopa-EU	France	28	33	23	22	22
5	Europe-Non-EU	Russian Federation	103	95	110	109	99
6	Europe-Non-EU	Ukraine	60	66	73	82	80
9	Europe-Non-EU	Turkey	50	59	62	61	69
17	Europe-Non-EU	Georgia	12	22	32	29	26
19	Europe-Non-EU	Albania	42	27	23	21	21
	Africa	Libya	34	42	49	49	30
20	Africa	Eritrea	9	18	20	22	11
	America	United States	25	26	35	30	30
	Asia	Syria, Arab Republic of	756	704	644	587	538
	Asia	Iraq	81	50	42	40	47
4	Asia	Afghanistan	131	114	128	132	130
10	Asia	Vietnam	61	64	66	67	68
	Asia	India	27	25	22	21	30
21	Asia	Japan	20	23	32	24	10
		Other countries of origin	455	454	443	454	517

Source: Stadt Görlitz, 2022 (The table was created by the author)

Just as the city of Görlitz was among the municipalities in Saxony, the county of Görlitz (Landkreis), for its part, was at the top of the Saxon counties and ahead of the state average in terms of the proportion of foreign population as of 31 December 2021 (Statistisches Landesamt Sachsen, 2023).

Fig. 18: Foreign population in the Free State of Saxony on 31 December 2021 by county-free cities and counties, and citizenship

County-free City County Country	Population	Foreign population	Share of foreign population in populatio	Europe as a whole	Europe: EU states	Europe: non-EU states	Africa	America	Asia	Australia/ Oceania, Other	Other countries of origin
Görlitz, City	55.534	6.825	12,29%	5.414	5.119	295	41	30	823	n.d.	517
Leipzig, City	601.866	63.335	10,52%	29.620	17.920	11.700	4.395	3.560	24.390	1.365	
Chemnitz, City	243.105	25.245	10,38%	10.495	6.550	3.940	1.615	740	11.825	570	
Dresden, City	555.351	50.950	9,17%	22.630	14.235	8.400	3.345	2.450	21.170	1.350	
Görlitz, County	248.273	17.825	7,18%	12.985	9.105	3.880	410	330	3.910	190	
Free State of Saxony	4.043.002	244.415	6,05%	124.955	82.575	42.380	15.065	9.605	89.805	4.985	
Nordsachsen, County	197.529	9.485	4,80%	6.240	4.835	1.410	500	185	2.395	165	
Vogtlandkreis, County	221.376	9.990	4,51%	5.710	4.190	1.520	615	235	3.245	180	
Zwickau, County	309.621	13.730	4,43%	7.200	5.285	1.910	775	305	5.200	250	
Saxon. Switzerland-	244.009	9.585	3,93%	5.835	3.270	2.565	485	260	2.875	140	
Mittelsachsen, county	299.329	11.505	3,84%	5.975	4.310	1.665	895	460	4.010	165	
Meißen, County	239.344	8.700	3,63%	5.085	3.780	1.305	465	300	2.680	170	
Leipzig, County	258.214	8.135	3,15%	4.555	3.115	1.440	545	300	2.590	145	
Bautzen, County	296.290	8.190	2,76%	4.825	3.485	1.340	380	245	2.610	130	
Erzgebirgskreis, County	328.695	7.740	2,35%	3.810	2.505	1.305	640	225	2.895	170	

Source: Statistisches Landesamt Sachsen, 2023 (The table was created by the author)

Only the proportion of African and American countries of origin within the foreigner cohorts was smaller than the Saxon average, significantly higher for the EU, the remaining European and the Asian cohorts.

Fig. 19: Foreign population Free State of Saxony, City of Görlitz, County of Görlitz on 31 December 2021 by nationality

	Total population	Total foreign population	Proportion of foreign population	Europe: total	Europe: EU states	Europe: non- EU states	Africa	America	Asia	Australia / Oceania, Other
1. Free State of Saxony	4043 002	244 415	6,05%	124 955	82 575	42 380	15 065	9 605	89 805	4 985
Shares according to continents		100,00%		51,12%	33,78%	17,34%	6,16%	3,93%	36,74%	2,04%
2. city of Görlitz	55 534	6 825	12,29%	5 414	5 119	295	41	30	823	n.d.
Shares by continent		100,00%		79,33%	75,00%	4,32%	0,60%	0,44%	12,06%	
Difference GR/SXN Shares by cont.				28,20%	41,22%	-13,02%	-5,56%	-3,49%	-24,68%	
City-GR shares in SXN	1,37%	2,79%		4,33%	6,20%	0,70%	0,27%	0,31%	0,92%	n.d.
Share foreign population according to	0,00%	1,42%		2,96%	4,83%	-0,68%	-1,10%	-1,06%	-0,46%	n.d.
3. County Görlitz	248 273	17 825	7,18%	12 985	9 105	3 880	410	330	3 910	190
Shares by continent		100,00%		72,85%	51,08%	21,77%	2,30%	1,85%	21,94%	1,07%
Difference county-GR/SXN Shares by cont.				40,73%	23,39%	6,95%	-4,23%	-6,46%	26,35%	-8,35%
Shares of population LK-GR in SXN	6,14%	7,29%		10,39%	11,03%	9,16%	2,72%	3,44%	4,35%	3,81%
Share foreign population according to	0,00%	1,15%		-40,73%	-22,76%	-8,18%	-3,44%	-0,49%	-32,39%	1,77%

Source: Statistisches Landesamt Sachsen 2023 (The calculation and the table were prepared by the author)

The Russian war of aggression on Ukraine on 24.02.2022 has greatly changed the situation. The two cities of Görlitz and Zgorzelec and particularly their populations provide cross-border assistance (Malzahn, 2022). Accordingly, the county of Görlitz is among the counties disproportionately involved in refugee issues, which are listed in the statistics of the Saxon State Ministry of the Interior forwarded to the Saxon State Parliament and published under Drs.-Nr. 7/12826 (Sächsischer Landtag, 2023).

Fig. 20: Refugees in the districts and independent cities
in the Free State of Saxony

Competent authority	Total persons covered by SMI statistics		Population		Difference between statistical share and population share	Persons in asylum procedure	Total
Saxony total (according to AZR)	116.733	100,00%	4.043.002	100,00%		12.602	
Leipzig, city	23.998	21,49%	601.866	14,89%	6,61%	1.212	16.767
Dresden, city	19.469	17,44%	555.351	13,74%	3,70%	1.438	14.764
Chemnitz, city	10.657	9,54%	243.105	6,01%	3,53%	749	6.589
Zwickau, county	8.069	7,23%	309.621	7,66%	-0,43%	792	4.264
Görlitz, county	6.077	5,44%	248.273	6,14%	-0,70%	683	1.270
Vogtlandkreis, County	6.040	5,41%	221.376	5,48%	-0,07%	603	3.413
Mittelsachsen, County	6.002	5,38%	299.329	7,40%	-2,03%	817	1.406
Bautzen, County	5.725	5,13%	296.290	7,33%	-2,20%	646	3.595
Meißen, County	5.673	5,08%	239.344	5,92%	-0,84%	572	3.462
Leipzig, County	5.260	4,71%	258.214	6,39%	-1,68%	569	3.133
Erzgebirgskreis, County	5.241	4,69%	328.695	8,13%	-3,44%	721	2.095
Sachs. Schweiz-Osterzgebirge County	5.240	4,69%	244.009	6,04%	-1,34%	642	2.969
North Saxony, County	4.207	3,77%	197.529	4,89%	-1,12%	407	2.061
Central Foreigners Authority Saxony Regional Directorate	4.456					2.745	15
not under the jurisdiction of Saxon foreigners authorities	619					6	1

Source: Sächsischer Landtag, 2023 (Editing: author)

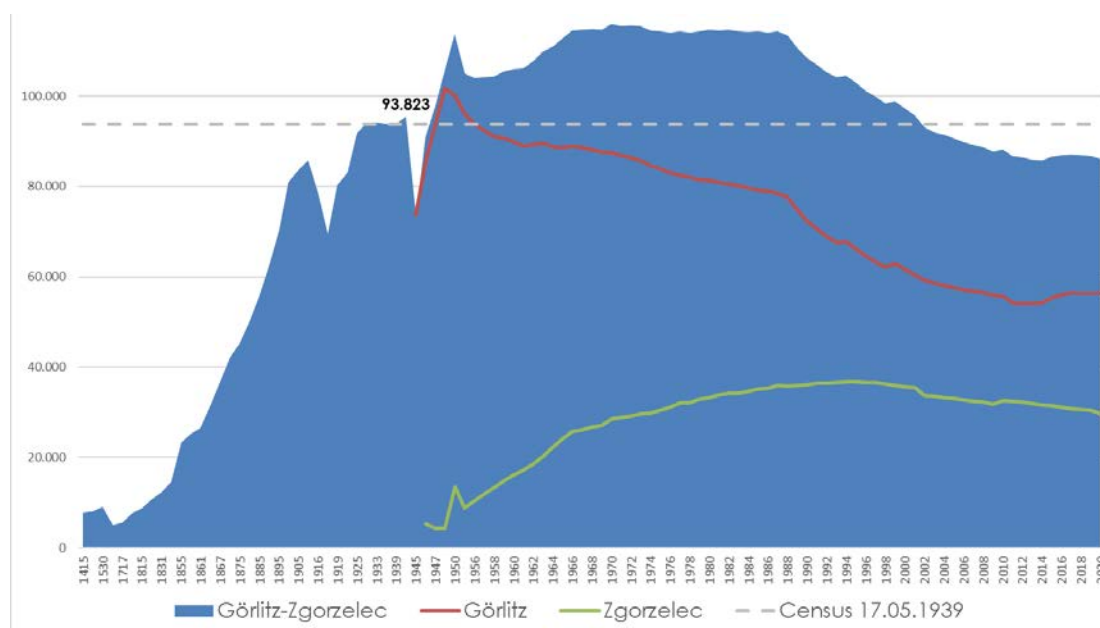
In the German-speaking and even more so in the non-German-speaking media image of the city of Görlitz, this high proportion of foreigners and this high willingness to help refugees have so far left hardly any traces, while the electoral successes of the AfD in East Saxony are strongly noted.

Summary of background research data

Görlitz-like all cities in this world-is not a paradise. However, according to the facts, it is excellently suited for the planned Voluntary Year of Care, as it is the city in Saxony with the highest number of foreigners, even before Leipzig. At the end of 2021 (currently the most recent official statistics), the proportion of non-German nationals was 12.29 % (Statistisches Landesamt Sachsen, 2023). They were distributed substantially among 21 official languages of origin (Stadt Görlitz, 2022). As the European City of Görlitz-Zgorzelec, the urban community is already bilingual in everyday life. Our study for the population proportions within the German part of the city (Vogt, 2021a) showed that the population could be divided (ironically exaggerated) into “Germans, Poles and foreigners”; for a reprint of our graph on the labour force in the hospital see Ritter in this volume.

The isolated view of shrinkage processes after 1950 within the German part of the city obscures the view of the simultaneous growth of Zgorzelec, which had begun to grow in 1945 with a population of almost zero. The German and Polish cities together reach almost 100,000 inhabitants and are thus statistically almost a de facto large-size city; the pre-war figure in the last census on both sides of the Neisse River was 93,823 inhabitants as of 1 May 1939 (Vogt, 2007; Vogt 2021a). This is also the order of magnitude today. Shortly before 8 May 1945, the German Wehrmacht blew up all the bridges over the Neisse, a symbolic anticipation of what happened at the end of the war: the city of Görlitz, which until then lay on both banks of the Neisse, was split into an eastern Polish and a western German part, into “Zgorzelec” and the now much smaller “Görlitz”.

Fig. 21: Demographic data Görlitz-Zgorzelec 1415–1939–2020



Source: Vogt 2007, p. 137; Vogt 2021a, p.174.

In integrating foreigners, Görlitz is exemplary in many respects - currently as the German 'capital' of Ukraine-friendliness (Malzahn, 2022). When citizenship, trade unions, politics, churches clearly agree on discrimination against xenophobia (cf. the Stöcker case 2014), this is to be understood as a normative act, which is characterised by responsibility for the external image and future of the city society, not by a historical-critical analysis. The historical development path of the city of Görlitz repeatedly experienced exclusions typical of the times; for example, the persecution of Jews in the late Middle Ages; the exclusion of Catholics from political participation since the Reformation, which was only stopped by Prussia in 1815; the Protestant defamation of the Croatian cavalry in the Thirty Years' War, which reverberated for centuries (Gustav Adolf of Sweden: "the devil's new nobility"; quoted after Guldescu, 1970); the "Polacks" and the "yellow peril" in the Empire. Ethnic and political exclusions reached their peak not only under National Socialism rule, but as well under SED rule. In this respect, Articles 1 to 19 of the Grundgesetz (German Constitution) represent a break with several recent lines of tradition in the city's history, which at the same time and for centuries has been characterised by a high degree of social welfare.

In turn, post-1990 emigration affected the mobile and educated classes in particular, as did post-1990 immigration. This is directly reflected in the at-risk-of-poverty rate of 12.5% (2019), measured against the national median in Saxony, and here again especially in the qualification level of the main income earner in the household: low (ISCED 0 to 2) 45.8%; medium (ISCED 3 and 4) 13.3%, high (ISCED 5 and higher) 5.0% (Statistisches Landesamt Sachsen, 2023). Those lagging behind and at risk of long-term unemployment and of poverty are especially the less educated with the corresponding resentment. Surprisingly, the Saxon Social Report 2022 shows significantly lower old-age poverty for the group of pensioners than in Germany as a whole, with 7.9 % in Görlitz (SMS, 2022). This does not

change the subjective transformation overload of considerable parts of the population, which is then countered on the one hand by the articulate citizens, trade unions, politics, and churches with their normative acts, and on the other hand is flattered populistically with homogeneity fantasies.

But Görlitz is also the city in the former GDR that was the only one to succeed in deposing the mayor and freeing the political prisoners during the popular uprising on 17 June 1953. The protagonists were the expellees from Silesia who had been denied integration and the vainly hoped-for return eight long years after the war. The refusal of integration by the old-established, even against equal speakers from other parts of the country, and the demands to endure the corresponding frictions, this is one of the constants of human history worldwide and requires constant attention. A typical example from Görlitz is a Romanian trumpet player who got a job at the Görlitz theatre, found his great love there in the choir, and gained recognition among the theatre staff by being elected chairman of the works council. After his successful work in the Saxon state parliament, all democratic forces and also the Left Party joined forces to elect him in the second ballot as the current Lord Mayor. However, a third of the CDU voters in the first ballot voted for the AfD candidate in the second; accordingly, the outcome was close (Statistisches Landesamt Sachsen, 2019). With 40 % population change after 1945 (the complete population exchange on the eastern bank in Zgorzelec combined with the large population exchange on the western bank in "Görlitz"), the European City of Görlitz-Zgorzelec is singular in the Federal Republic in successfully mastering the challenge of mediating between old residents and newcomers and creating a common new home through joint achievement.

Despite all the statistically relevant factors in favour of intercultural training of non-European care workers, the subjective resentments of local residents must be taken seriously and countered. Enduring verbal slips is part of everyday life in Saxony even for the not insignificant group of West Germans; there may be also some kind of 'intracontinental racism'. Only when such reservations can be overcome by people acting in everyday life will the project have a real chance on a small scale and the city have a future on a large scale.

It is the task of research, to soberly record the number of verbal and non-verbal attacks, to put them in relation to the situation in other German and European cities and to transport the results (socially) through the media). Whether the project "Managing difference" will succeed in working on the further opening of urban society with the means of artistic workshops and other forms, only time will tell. With its research volume "Ankommen in der deutschen Lebenswelt" (Vogt et al., 2016), the Saxonian Institute for Cultural Infrastructure has pointed out the enormous possibilities of a successful enculturation, which—unlike assimilation—enables the newcomers to gain a foothold in the new homeland without losing the old one from their hearts and minds.

Research to be carried out

Aim of the research

The objective of the research is, firstly, to establish a stable observatory for nursing care in Saxony-Lower Silesia-Northeast Bohemia, which can remain active beyond the project period and which provides the actors with forecasts for the respective

political, training, further education and communication needs in the field of nursing care via an uncomplicated reporting system. The quite different understanding of care as well as the quite different organisation of care in Germany, Poland, Czech Republic as well as in Cameroon and Mongolia offer the opportunity for fundamental investigations on the optimisation of the current care systems in Germany, Poland and Czech Republic, as well as in the regions of origin of the candidates.

Secondly, the aim of the research is to develop guidelines for the successful enculturation of foreign, in particular non-European, care workers into the care systems of Germany, Poland and the Czech Republic, which are already equipped with a sufficient evaluation system and can be used by the providers of care facilities.

The objective of the research is, thirdly, to develop a multilingual digital dictionary that can be consulted by doctors and nurses during work. The success of 'arriving' depends on the reliability of nursing protocols and intra-hospital reporting. The dictionary should include the three language levels respectively (a) medical lexis and jargon, (b) High German terms, (c) colloquial and dialectal terms, namely (1) for German, (2) French and (3) English, as well as (4) the language levels also from the regions of origin of the Görlitz trainees, among others Bamiliké (Cameroon), Mongolian, Polish.

The aim of the research on the theoretical level is to create recommendations and guidelines for the successful enculturation of foreign, especially non-European, skilled workers into the economic systems of Germany, Poland and the Czech Republic. To this end, a basic theory is to be developed on an international scale in continuation of the "Ankommen" study (Vogt et al. 2016).

Expectation management Locals

Based on a sentence by the former Africa envoy of the German Chancellor, Günter Nooke (Nooke et al. 2018), the three groups of people to be researched can be listed under the heading of "expectation management". A divergence between inflated expectations - whether among the incomers, the residents or within the work teams - and reality leads to frustration and conflicts.

It is the task of politics to make clear to the native population the consequences of demographic change for themselves and for their family members. It is known from dementia research that intra-family care lies mainly with the daughters, who in turn are affected to a large extent by caregiver stress syndrome (BfArM, 2020). A preliminary study presented by the Technical University of Liberec in June 2023 (Böhm, 2023) showed that a significant proportion of those who will have to be cared for in the future prefer to grow old in a home in order to spare their own family.

It is the task of the research to gather as empirically evident a picture as possible of the stereotypes of the locals and the possible process of change in this respect. When comparing the cohorts from Görlitz with the cohorts from Wrocław and Liberec, the studies on subjective security by Anton Sterbling et al. (2006) can be followed up. The instrument of artistic workshops for recording stereotypes is new in European migration research.

Expectation management Care teams

The crucial group for the success of the arrival as care workers are the care teams (so far consisting almost exclusively of locals). Here the first connections have already been made, so that there is a good chance that the nurses will actively participate in shaping the Intercultural Year of Nursing; the candidates will become their 'apprentices' and they themselves will become instructors for the enculturation of the candidates into the teams.

The task of research is to actively accompany these processes and to record the situation at the other clinics and homes in the study area within the framework of the observatory.

Research cannot by itself contribute to strengthening intercultural resilience. But it can contribute significantly to the public discussion by reflecting on risks and opportunities.

The care teams are particularly typical representatives of an urban society and in Görlitz have so far been almost entirely domestic, with only a few Poles (Vogt, 2021a). The extent to which the model project and the workshops 2024-2027 actually succeed or fail in achieving an appropriate "Managing differences" among them is a meaningful practical continuation of the theoretical-sociological studies.

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