Polarizing Polarisierende Deutungen von Gesellschaft als Herausforderung für die Musikpädagogik (do \square \bigcirc 0 herausgegeben von Carmen Heß und Johann Honnens 0 901 0 0 ucation $\overline{0}$ \mathbb{S} $C \rightarrow$

> **FIONA STEVENS & SARA HUBRICH Can Music Interventions Influence Voting Intention?**

gefördert durch



Fiona Stevens & Sara Hubrich

Can Music Interventions Influence Voting Intention?

Western democracies are witnessing a rise in right-wing populism, the analysis of which has focused on hegemonies and on what divides rather than what can unite. An approach to music pedagogy informed by strategies to unite based on well-being research might be more inclusive and predicates understanding the noneconomic value of musicking (Small, 1998) as a creative process. A music pedagogy also conceived with particular regard for low-threshold accessibility, i.e., one that would enable active participation in a music-based creative project for any person regardless of their willingness to acquire musical expertise, might play a part in improving social cohesion even outside of the pedagogical context. If this were the case, it would require adding a political aspect and responsibility to the role of music pedagogues, who are not currently regarded as agents for political change.

To discover whether this route might have any relevance, we devised a small-scale pilot study at the Darmstadt University of Applied Sciences. Basing our approach on Self-Determination Theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985) combined with our own research (Hubrich, 2014; Stevens, 2017) and taken in the context of analytical work by Küpper, Schröter, and Zick (2019) and Fromm (1936, 1980), we devised musical interventions with the express intention of trying to measure whether these might encourage prosocial behavior and democratic values in a group situation. We devised interventions emphasizing creativity and embodiment and tested whether they influenced voting intention in the highly artificial context of an institute of higher education. We invited participants to imagine themselves as citizens of Zwickau (EU election 2019: 24.1 percent pro AfD¹) and asked them to vote on attribution of public funds. Following a series of music interventions they voted again with marginally different results. We appreciate that there were too many variables involved to be able to say that it was exclusively the musicking that influenced voting intention, but we have reason to believe it played an important part. We are optimistic that our modest results indicate that it would be worth reconsidering the role of music pedagogues as agents for social and political change and devising further larger scale research projects to investigate this.

1. Context

Leipzig University's ongoing longitudinal authoritarianism studies, run by the Competence Centre for Right-Wing Extremism and Democracy Research, has been documenting the rise of right-wing populism in Germany and its influence on the erosion of society's so-called

¹ https://www.bundeswahlleiter.de/europawahlen/2019/ergebnisse/bund-99/land-14/kreis-14524.html [22.05.2021].

democratic "core"² since 2002³. Its observations are further supported by the results of the EU parliament and federal state elections in 2019, in which the right-wing populist party Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) registered a record number of votes⁴.

Thirty years after Germany's reunification, the media reported that East Germans' hopes of a "new Germany", uniting the advantages of the German Democratic Republic with the German Federal Republic, have been disappointed⁵. Many former East Germans feel that they have been colonized by the West, and that any expertise they may have had has been ignored (Küpper, Schröter & Zick, 2019, p. 270). This suggests that the dissatisfaction caused is sociocultural rather than socioeconomic and explains why the AfD is gaining in popularity with the middle classes (Küpper et al., 2019, p. 266). And this in turn calls for a search for solutions in the sociocultural realm.

The attribution of lack of competence as experienced by East Germans can be considered in the context of Self-Determination Theory (SDT; Deci & Ryan, 1985), a behavioral theory of motivation that intends to specify necessary conditions for growth, integration, and well-being (Ryan & Deci, 2000, p. 336). SDT defines three basic intrinsic psychological needs: autonomy, relatedness, and competence. Autonomy refers to a person's degree of self-determination in life decisions; relatedness refers to a person's sense of belonging to a group; and competence refers to a person's feeling that they are able to do a job adequately (Deci & Ryan, 2000).

The fact that Germany experienced a rise of right-wing populist sympathy with disastrous results in the 1920s invites an examination of that sociohistorical context in the search for parallels and indications for possible solutions today.

The influence of an authoritarian upbringing that thwarted both autonomy and competence in late 1920s Germany was documented by Fromm (1936, 1980). This was possibly compounded by Haarer's influential baby-care manuals (Haarer, 1934), which recommended pointedly ignoring babies' needs in order to educate a class of children unable to form meaningful emotional bonds, causing them to suffer a relatedness deficit that would supposedly make them more susceptible to identifying with the Third Reich's aims.

An article by Kratzer (2018) discusses these developments in the light of research in behavioral science suggesting that deficits in emotional bonding are 80 percent likely to be passed on to following generations (Grossmann, Fremmer-Bombik, Rudolph & Grossmann, 1988; Verhage et al., 2016); that they are genetically coded in the form of abnormal stress hormone levels that can be passed on to the next generation (Hecker, Radtke, Hermenau, Papassotiropoulos & Elbert, 2016); and that they find their expression in a wider acceptance of violent behavior. Research by Gagné (2003) has shown that creating a context in which the three basic needs are fulfilled can lead to prosocial behavior and enhance social cohesion. Research by

² Society's democratic "core" can be defined as the group that endorses democratic principles, behaves in a democratic way, and opposes right-wing populist attitudes (Zick, 2019, p. 287). It can be regarded as a bastion of social cohesion.

³ https://www.kredo.uni-leipzig.de/die-leipziger-autoritarismus-studie/ [22.05.2021].

⁴ https://www.bundeswahlleiter.de/europawahlen/2019/ergebnisse/bund-99.html (Europawahl),

https://de.statista.com/infografik/18177/wahlsieger-europawahl-bundesland/ (Europawahl nach Bundesland), https://www.bundeswahlleiter.de/europawahlen/2019/ergebnisse/bund-99/land-16.html (Landtagswahl Thüringen) [22.05.2021].

⁵ https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/nov/09/german-leaders-mark-fall-of-berlin-wall-with-warning-about-democracy [22.05.2021].

Hubrich (2014, 2016) and Stevens (2017) suggests that music is well-placed to create such a context, particularly if interventions are devised that draw on expertise from both an artistic (conservatoire) education and social work (Hubrich & Stevens, 2019).

"Zukunftsmusik"—a word that literally means "music of the future", but as a figure of speech points to unrealistic dreams or aspirations—is the name we have given to a mind-set that calls into question the future of music in general and its role in society, and which seeks to find answers to questions that arise in this context. As an approach to music teaching and music interventions it addresses issues of accessibility and inclusion in music projects, intending to devise strategies for the inclusion in a creative process of populations that do not have musical expertise and do not wish or are unable to acquire any. The emphasis in this case is on creativity as a process, which can confer on the participants positive returns in terms of procedural utility (Frey, 2008, p. 109).

We hypothesize that by using a Zukunftsmusik approach, participants who do not necessarily share the same tastes in music can enter into a dialogue about music on equal footing, enabling a joint creative endeavor that incorporates all interests and fulfills the three basic needs according to SDT. We propose that using music interventions of this kind makes it possible to engender a space fostering the participants' subjective well-being, enhancing their prosocial behavior, motivating them to support democratic structures that promote social cohesion, and leading them to vote for democratic rather than populist parties.

2. Method

In the context of the winter semester 2019 project week at the Darmstadt University of Applied Sciences, we designed a ninety-minute workshop corresponding to the subject of the conference on right-wing populism and social work that took place at the end of the project week in the university's Department of Social Work. If one declared aim of the workshop was to educate with regard to possible reasons why Germany might be considered to have a problem with rising right-wing populism, an undeclared aim was to test in a modest context whether practical experience of a carefully constructed series of three music interventions might encourage prodemocratic behavior, and if so, how this might be measured. To this end the workshop was conceived with a role-play and two polls.

In this workshop, participants were invited to play the role of citizens of Zwickau, a city in Saxony in which 24.1 percent of votes in the EU elections in 2019 had been cast for the rightwing populist party Alternative für Deutschland (AfD)⁶. Zwickau also boasts a strong cultural heritage, being the birthplace of the composer Robert Schumann, whose childhood home now houses the Robert Schumann Haus museum dedicated to his memory.

The workshop began with a poll in which participants were invited to allocate funds to one of Zwickau's partial budgets. This was followed by a succession of short presentations on the

⁶ https://www.bundeswahlleiter.de/europawahlen/2019/ergebnisse/bund-99/land-14/kreis-14524.html [22.05.2021].

subject of the workshop, the academic context in which this was taking place, and three musical interventions. The poll was repeated at the end of the workshop, at which point the results from both the first and the second poll were counted and discussed with the participants. There was a change in voting behavior of 16.7 percent (two of twelve votes) between the two polls.

2.1 First poll

At the beginning of the workshop, participants were handed out a ballot paper, a short survey paper asking about their demographic background, and a pamphlet containing information about Zwickau's "Citizens' Budget 2021" and the poll requiring the attendees' participation. The demographic details collected were age, gender, and nationality, the latter differentiating only between "German" and "non-German". The pamphlet contained background information about Zwickau, including demographic information about Zwickau's residents, details regarding the city's budgeting of the partial budgets included in the poll, and "public opinion statements" on the three partial budgets, only one of which citizens were invited to choose for an allocation of €300,000.

Our poll was based on a government mechanism which does indeed take place in Zwickau⁷. In real life, citizens are asked for project ideas pertaining to a particular partial budget that has been determined by the city administration. We introduced a hypothetical step asking citizens to determine to which of three possible partial budgets money should be allocated: "public safety and order", "culture and science", and "social support/child, adolescent, and family support". Public spending for these partial budgets in 2019/2020 was detailed, and three public opinion statements were included to motivate voting behavior. We did not disclose where these statements came from until the end of the workshop. The statements about "public safety" and "social support" were direct quotes from the AfD's party manifesto which we felt reflected concerns citizens might have; the statement about "culture and science" was authored by the researchers.

Figure 1: "Public opinion statements"8

- **Safety and order:** "The police force is emaciated: years of so-called 'police reforms' have led to severe cuts in personnel. This has led in all areas to a deficiency that is intolerable and irresponsible."
- **Culture and science:** "Participation in cultural projects is indispensable for a society that wishes to be open, tolerant, and democratic. There should be more opportunities for inclusive participation."
- **Social support:** "Care work for older people by a professional service is remunerated more amply than care work undertaken by relatives. Relatives undertaking care work are often left unsupported in the face of organizational and financial challenges

⁷ https://www.zwickau.de/de/politik/verwaltung/aemter/dezernat1/finanzen/sg_haushalt/dienstleistungen/ Buergerhaushalt.php [22.05.2021]

⁸ For German originals please see the pamphlet included in the appendix.

... the possibility of welfare in their home environment for relatives with special needs should be strengthened."

We chose these partial budgets for specific reasons. We assumed that since the workshop was taking place in the university's Department of Social Work, participants might be particularly drawn to voting for "social support", and concomitantly less interested in voting for "public safety". We had no assumptions regarding the popularity of the option "culture and science". Participants filled out their ballot papers, which were anonymous, and handed these in. Votes were not counted until the very end of the workshop.

2.2 Music intervention 1

The first music intervention took place immediately after the poll and consisted of a warm-up including sound games and a balloon. Participants stood in a loose circle and each hummed a note of their choice, creating a sound cluster. Simultaneously they passed a balloon to each other by hitting it and propelling it in the air in the direction of another participant. The rules of the game required participants to keep the balloon in the air at all times and to change the note they were humming when they hit the balloon. A second balloon was introduced, and the act of hitting the balloon now required participants to introduce a rhythm to the sound they were humming. The game was played for several minutes and was characterized by concentration alternating with mirth.

This intervention was chosen because it is low-threshold. We have observed that many people have played a version of this game in childhood, which increases their willingness to participate. Adding the vocal element, which can be adjusted according to the abilities of the participants, anchors this game in the area of music, and extending the physical activity to encompass the voice activates the participants on a further level. We have observed that an intervention of this sort is effective as a team building exercise to promote a positive group identity.

2.2.1 Academic background 1

The first theoretical part introduced the subject of the workshop including the question "How can music interventions be implemented in order to strengthen society's 'core'?". A short presentation described the political background to this question, including the observation that the rise of right-wing populism can be considered a pan-German phenomenon and is not limited to the eastern federal states. A description of Johanna Haarer's possible influence on baby care in Germany from the 1930s to the present day was placed in the context of Self-Determination Theory to demonstrate implications for society with respect to populist tendencies.

2.3 Music intervention 2

In the second music intervention, participants were invited to learn the soprano and bass parts of Mendelssohn's chorale "Wirf Dein Anliegen auf den Herrn". The music was displayed as a PowerPoint slide without title, composer, or words. One of the researchers taught the participants their respective part by using only their voice and was supported by the other researcher playing the part on the violin. Participants sang all notes to the syllable "do". After rehearsing the two parts separately, it was possible to sing them together, with one researcher singing the top part and the other supporting the bass part by playing it on the violin. The name of the composer and identity of the piece were not disclosed.

This intervention built on the voice activation of the first intervention. The aim of this intervention was to actually make music as a group, and any type of community music approach might be appropriate for this step. Due to limited time, we could not offer a group decision process on which kind of music we might make together, but this would have been equally acceptable in a context with a more generous time frame. We chose the Mendelssohn chorale because it involved singing and because it tied in to Zwickau's cultural heritage, which is firmly rooted in German Romanticism. Based on our observation of the participants' abilities we were able to sing in two parts, but our main aim was to motivate participants to sing at all, and if only one part had been possible, this would have been perfectly acceptable. The focus at all times was on finding a balance between active participation in making music without asking too much of participants' abilities.

2.3.1 Academic background 2

The second academic section included a short presentation on embodiment in music and an introduction to *Zukunftsmusik* as an approach to music pedagogy and music interventions designed to be inclusive and accessible, and that is in fact taught as a module in the BA social work course at the university.

Central to the Zukunftsmusik approach is a belief that through music, fruitful and constructive dialogue can be achieved regardless of the participants' level of musical expertise or social background. In this context, the creative process of making music is extended in the sense of "musicking" (Small, 1998) to include any other activity that comes to be associated with the current creative process as part of that process, meaning that even participants unwilling to acquire musical expertise can be included in a creative music activity.

Embodiment is an important tool in this context and is defined as physical activities used creatively to express the content of the process. Employing embodiment can release creative energy that might otherwise be bound by convention (Hubrich, 2014, pp. 33-37), effecting, for participants and a possible audience alike, a situation in which the conditions for subjective well-being are met (Stevens, 2017, p. 258).

2.4 Music intervention 3

The third music intervention was a listening exercise that referenced Zwickau's cultural heritage: participants were invited to listen to a recording of Schumann's "Von fremden Ländern und Menschen" ("Of foreign lands and peoples") from the collection for piano "Kinderszenen". This piece was chosen because its title could be construed as making reference to the large number of refugees relocating to Germany in recent years, leading to recurring criticism of this policy by the AfD and to public acts of racial discrimination. Building on the second music intervention in terms of cultural heritage and the fostering of cultural identity, the choice of title also aimed to provoke discussion regarding inclusiveness and otherness, and whether this was reflected in the music. This intention was not expressed directly by us but left open, as participants were asked to share what they had thought or felt as they listened to the music. Their responses were displayed in shortened form on the blackboard and included a mixture of associations, one of which did pick up on the topic of togetherness⁹: our aim in this intervention was to provide a basis for exchange about music. This built on the first-hand physical experience of making music together in the second intervention, as in our experience the physical act of experiencing music-making facilitates being able to formulate impressions when merely listening without active participation.

2.5 Second Poll

Participants were then asked to spend two minutes discussing the three "public opinion statements" on the Zwickau pamphlet with the person sitting next to them, after which the poll was repeated.

3. Results

Eleven people were present for the first poll. During the course of the workshop, the group was joined by one latecomer who took part in the second poll, so that the total number of participants for this latter was twelve. As expected for an HE institute, participants were overwhelmingly aged between eighteen and twenty-five. All participants were German nationals, one participant also had a second nationality (unspecified). There were no people of color in the group and an equal number of participants identifying as male or female (see figures 2 to 4 below).

A unanimous decision was made to count the votes from both polls and discuss the results. Contrary to our expectations, "social support" was not the most popular option for the first poll, though it received 27 percent of the vote. "Culture and science" received 64 percent of the vote and "public safety" received 9 percent (figure 5 below). The marked change in the second poll was that "public safety" received no votes at all. "Culture and science" received 83 percent of the vote, and two people who had voted for "social support" in the first poll changed their voting behavior to reflect this, with "social support" only receiving 7 percent of the vote.

⁹ Associations were "field of flowers, relaxed, positive recollections of music lessons in school, nostalgia, happy, inquisitive, global walk, peace, outside, making mistakes is ok, everything keeps going, calmness, walk in the rain".

At this point we revealed the origin of the "public opinion statements". In our discussion of the workshop, one participant shared with us that they had changed their voting behavior to favor "culture and sport" because they had experienced at first hand the impact a music intervention can have in creating a supportive atmosphere: "We have experienced today that it is possible to achieve very much, even with very meagre resources"¹⁰.

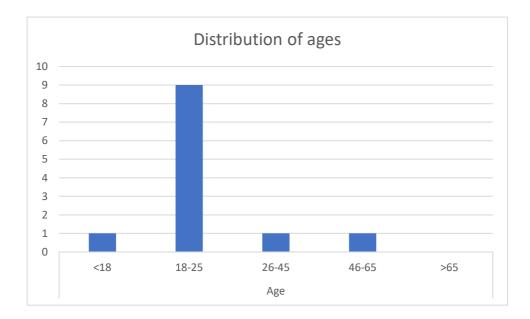


Figure 2: Demographic survey—ages (n=12)

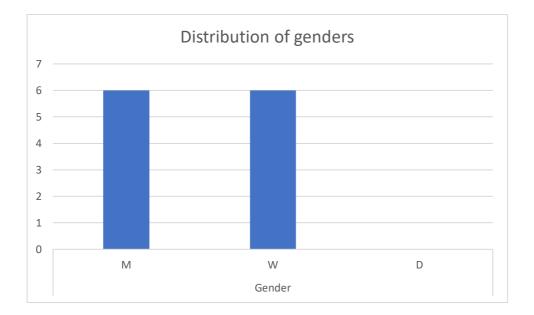


Figure 3: Demographic survey—genders (n=12)

¹⁰ "Wir haben heute erfahren, dass man mit quasi keinen Mitteln viel erreichen kann."

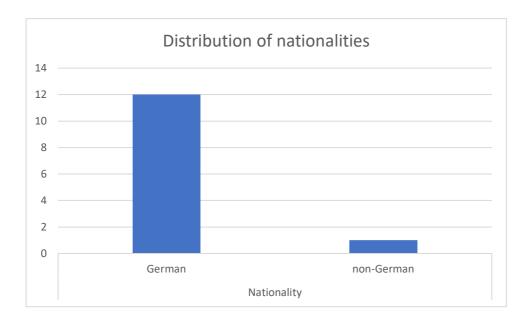


Figure 4: Demographic survey—nationalities (n=12)

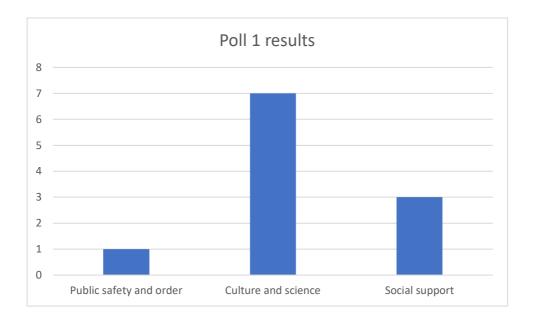


Figure 5: Results poll 1 (n=11)

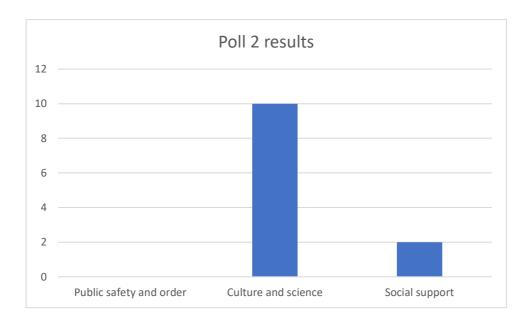


Figure 6: Results poll 2 (n=12)

4. Discussion

Our tentative exploration of the role music pedagogues might play in the context of a society divided by populist narratives is encouraging but nevertheless limited. We observed a change of voting behavior in the highly artificial context of an HE institute, which might have occurred for a number of reasons. Our population cannot be considered representative of reality in the field as it comprised solely white Germans in a narrow age range who, as students in HE, can be considered highly educated. Statistically speaking for the Darmstadt area¹¹, it might have been expected that some people would vote for "public safety", which is a central AfD concern, but in the actual context of a department of social work at HE level, this surprised us. Change of voting behavior away from this option may have been due to several factors that had nothing to do with the musical interventions: the people concerned came to the seminar with the expectation of changing their outlook as would be reasonable in an expressly educational context; they realized that voting for "public safety" did not align with the department's orientation and felt pressured to conform to this; or the academic insights gained were central to a change in outlook. We did, however, observe that after the musical interventions the atmosphere in the room increased in positivity which strengthened a positive group identity. We refer again to the one student who explained how they had been motivated to vote differently, not because they had understood the academic context, but because they had experienced at first hand the positive benefits of interventions emphasizing embodiment.

We understand our results as a positive indication that music interventions conceived in an inclusive and accessible fashion, coupled with discussion furthering political awareness, might

¹¹ In Darmstadt, the AfD received 6.5 percent of votes cast in the EU elections (<u>https://www.bundeswahlleiter.de/</u> europawahlen/2019/ergebnisse/bund-99/land-6/kreis-6411.html) and in Darmstadt-Dieburg, it received 9.3 percent (https://www.bundeswahlleiter.de/europawahlen/2019/ergebnisse/bund-99/land-6/kreis-6432.html) [22.05.2021].

indeed be able to change voting intention and strengthen society's democratic "core", although a more tightly structured experiment in the field would be necessary to investigate this more rigorously.

It seems that musical interventions devised in the spirit of *Zukunftsmusik* and coupled with an education process that established and clarified connections between political positions and their psychological ramifications could influence voting intention. We constructed musical interventions that were low-threshold, built on each other, connected to the cultural heritage of Zwickau, and included physical action. The interventions included all three possible levels of interaction with music—listening to music, making music, and talking about music. They were conceived in a specific order that intended to make access to the next task as easy for the participants as possible, moving from physical activity with sound, to actual singing, to reflection on musical impressions experienced while listening to music. At all times the focus was on finding a balance between proposing challenging musical activities without asking for too much. In the academic interludes we explained the context in which these interventions were taking place. This framework, which places more emphasis on creating a positive social context for the participants than on imparting musical expertise, might be a useful tool to promote positive and inclusive groups identities and effect societal change in favor of democratic values.

We draw attention to the danger inherent in implementing such a process for manipulative ends and further refer in this context to the literature pertaining to the social impact of musicmaking, in which Gielen and others argue that the European Union's neglect of culture has contributed significantly to causing both the economic and political crises of the past decades (De Bruyne & Gielen, 2011; Gielen, Braidotti & Reijnen, 2015; Dockx & Gielen, 2018). They criticize governments for investing in sociocultural projects in order to fill the gaps that neoliberal policies have engendered, instead of addressing the problem at its source. In Gielen's view, people engaging in sociocultural activities must regard themselves as political activists and address this in order to achieve a sustainable result at the structural level. This implicitly places music pedagogues in an activist context with the apparent ability to indeed effect change in the context of a society divided by populist ideologies. It concomitantly burdens them with the onus of taking responsibility for this and devising strategies within music pedagogy to pave the way for a more evidently democratic society.

We hope that our initial exploration of this topic, emphasizing low-threshold musicking opportunities, can contribute inspiration for further work intending to empower music pedagogues as agents for political change.

References

De Bruyne, P. & Gielen, P. (Eds.) (2011). Community Art. The Politics of Trespassing. Amsterdam: Valiz.

Deci, E. L. & Ryan, R. M. (1985). Intrinsic motivation and self-determination in human behavior. New York, NY: Plenum.

Deci, E. L. & Ryan, R. M. (2000). The 'What' and 'Why' of Goal Pursuits: Human Needs and the Self-Determination of Behavior. *Psychological Enquiry* 11(4), pp. 227-268.

Dockx, N. & Gielen, P. (2018). Commonism. A New Aesthetics of the Real. Amsterdam: Valiz.

Frey, B.S. (2008). Happiness: A Revolution in Economics. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Fromm, E. (1936). Studien über Autorität und Familie. Sozialpsychologischer Teil. In M. Horkheimer (Ed.), Schriften des Instituts für Sozialforschung Band V (pp. 77-135). Paris. Kindle Edition.

- Fromm, E. (1980). Arbeiter und Angestellte am Vorabend des Dritten Reiches. Eine sozialpsychologische Untersuchung. (original title: German Workers 1929 – a Survey, its Methods and Results). Revised and edited by W. Bonß. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt.
- Gagné, M. (2003). The Role of Autonomy Support and Autonomy Orientation in Prosocial Behavior Engagement. *Motivation and Emotion* 27(3), pp. 199-223.
- Gielen, P., Braidotti, R. & Reijnen, L. (Eds.) (2015). No Culture, No Europe: on the Foundation of Politics. Amsterdam: Valiz.
- Grossmann, K., Fremmer-Bombik, E., Rudolph, J. & Grossmann, K.E. (1988). Maternal attachment representations as related to patterns of infant-mother attachment and maternal care during the first year. In R. A. Hinde & J. Stevenson-Hinde (Eds.), *Relationships within families: mutual influences* (pp. 241-260). Oxford: Oxford Science Publications.
- Haarer, J. (1934). Die Deutsche Mutter und ihr erstes Kind. München: J. F. Lehmanns Verlag.
- Hecker, T., Radtke, K., Hermenau, K., Papassotiropoulos, A. & Elbert, T. (2016). Associations among child abuse, mental health, and epigenetic modifications in the proopiomelanocortin gene (POMC): A study with children in Tanzania. *Development and Psychopathology*. 28(4pt2), pp. 1401-1412.
- Hubrich, S. (2014). The Creative Embodiment of Music practice-based investigations into staged and embodied interpretations of classical music. PhD thesis Birmingham City University and Birmingham Conservatoire, UK.
- Hubrich, S. (2016). The performer's body in creative interpretations of repertoire music. Arts & Humanities in Higher Education 15(3-4), pp. 337-352.
- Hubrich, S. & Stevens, F. (2019). "Mit leuchtenden Augen. Angehende Musiker und Sozialarbeiter in NRW kooperieren bei Vermittlungsprojekten." Das Orchester 6/2019, pp. 28-31.
- Kratzer, A. (2018). Warum Hitler bis heute die Erziehung von Kindern beeinflusst. Zeit Online/Gehirn und Geist. https://www.zeit.de/wissen/geschichte/2018-07/ns_geschichte-mutter-kind-beziehungkindererziehung-nazizeit-adolf-hitler [22.05.2021].
- Küpper, B., Schröter, F., & Zick, A. (2019). Alles nur ein Problem der Ostdeutschen oder Einheit in Wut und Hass? Rechtsextreme und menschenfeindliche Einstellungen in Ost- und Westdeutschland. In F. Schröter (Ed.), Verlorene Mitte, feindselige Zustände. Rechtsextreme Einstellungen in Deutschland 2018/19 (pp. 243-282). Bonn: Dietz.
- Ryan, R. M. & Deci, E. L. (2000). The Darker and Brighter Sides of Human Existence: Basic Psychological Needs as a Unifying Concept. *Psychological Inquiry* 11(4), pp. 319-338.
- Schröter, F. (Ed.) (2019). Verlorene Mitte, feindselige Zustände. Rechtsextreme Einstellungen in Deutschland 2018/19. Bonn: Dietz.
- Small, C. (1998). *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening*. Hanover and London: Wesleyan University Press.
- Stevens, F. (2017). Why pay the piper? Free-lance Historically Informed Performers, motivation and non-economic value in Germany, 2011-2014. PhD thesis University of Southampton, UK.
- Verhage, M. L., Schuengel, C., Madigan, S., Pasco Fearon, R. M., Oosterman, M., Cassibba, R., Bakermans-Kranenburg, M. J. & van IJzendoorn, M. H. (2016). Narrowing the Transmission Gap: A synthesis of three decades of research on intergenerational transmission of attachment. *Psychological Bulletin* 142(4), pp. 337-366.
- Zick, A. (2019). Zusammenhalt durch Gleichwertigkeit, Zusammenhalt in Gleichwertigkeit Leitbilder der Mitte. In F. Schröter (Ed.), Verlorene Mitte, feindselige Zustände. Rechtsextreme Einstellungen in Deutschland 2018/19 (pp. 283-303). Bonn: Dietz.

Appendix

Pamphlet "Citizens' Poll Zwickau," English version and German original

City of Zwickau: Consultation on Citizens' Budget 2021

Analogous to the two-year budget 2019/2020, in the tax year 2021 a total of 300.000 Euro will be available for the Citizens' Budget. In 2019/2020 this sum was assigned to Partial Budget 8, "Nature and Environment". The following inquiry seeks to determine to which partial budget these funds should be assigned for the tax year 2021. A choice of one can be made from the following: Partial Budget 2 – Public Safety and Order Partial Budget 4 – Culture and Science Partial Budget 5 – Social support/child, adolescent, and family support

The City's total budget in these areas for 2021 will be similar to 2019/2020. The funds from the Citizens' Budget will be added to the these.

Division of total budget 2019/2020	according to respective partial budgets ¹
------------------------------------	--

Partial Budget	Expenditure 2019 (EUR)	Expenditure 2020 (EUR)
Partial Budget 2 – Public Safety and Order	21.814.000	22.039.000
Partial Budget 4 – Culture and Science	17.590.000	17.726.000
Partial Budget 5 – Social support/child, adolescent, and family support	45.031.000	47.438.000

In order to facilitate decision-making, we have included the following opinions on each of the partial budgets:

"The police force is emaciated: years of so-called 'police reforms' have led to severe cuts in personnel. This has led in all areas to a deficiency that is intolerable and irresponsible."

"Participation in cultural projects is indispensable for a society that wishes to be open, tolerant, and democratic. There should be more opportunities for inclusive participation."

"Care-work for older people by a professional service is remunerated more amply than care-work undertaken by relatives. Relatives undertaking care-work are often left unsupported in the face of organisational and financial challenges ... the possibility of welfare in their home environment for relatives with special needs should be strengthened."

Zwickau in numbers:

91.000 inhabitants (4,7% foreigners); slight population decline since 2011, decline in birth-rate since 2012; average age of inhabitants 47,6 years; €19959 average income per household in 2018

¹Source: https://www.zwickau.de/media/downloads/02_D2/03_finanzen/Haushaltsplan_2019_2020.pdf

Stadt Zwickau: Befragung zum Bürgerhaushalt 2021

Wie beim Doppelhaushalt 2019/2020 wird im Haushaltsjahr 2021 eine Aufwendung von 300.000 Euro für den Bürgerhaushalt zur Verfügung stehen. 2019/2020 wurden die Gelder dem Teilhaushalt 8 "Natur und Umwelt" zugeteilt. In der folgenden Befragung soll ermittelt werden, welcher Teilhaushalt für 2021 die Gelder zugesprochen bekommen soll. Es stehen zur Auswahl: Teilhaushalt 2 – Sicherheit und Ordnung Teilhaushalt 4 – Kultur und Wissenschaft Teilhaushalt 5 – Soziale Hilfen/Kinder-, Jugend- und Familienhilfe

Die Gesamtaufwendungen der Stadt für diese Bereiche werden sich 2021 in etwa dem gleichen Rahmen bewegen wie 2019/2020. Die Gelder vom Bürgerhaushalt werden zu diesen Aufwendungen hinzukommen.

Aufteilung der ordentlichen Gesamtaufwendungen 2019/2020 auf die einzelnen Teilhaushalte¹

Teilhaushalt		Aufwendungen 2020 (EUR)
Teilhaushalt 2 – Sicherheit und Ordnung	21.814.000	22.039.000
Teilhaushalt 4 – Kultur und Wissenschaft	17.590.000	17.726.000
Teilhaushalt 5 – Soziale Hilfen/Kinder-, Jugend- und Familienhilfe	45.031.000	47.438.000

Als Entscheidungshilfe haben wir einige Meinungen zu diesen Teilhaushalten hier wiedergegeben:

"Die Polizei ist ausgezehrt: Jahrelange so genannte "Polizeireformen" haben zu einem deutlichen Personalabbau geführt. Dies hat in allen Bereichen zu unzumutbaren und unverantwortlichen Mangelsituationen geführt."

"Teilhabe an kulturellen Projekten ist unabdingbar für eine Gesellschaft die offen, tolerant, und demokratisch ist. Es sollte mehr Möglichkeiten zur inklusiven Teilhabe geben."

"Die Pflege älterer Menschen durch einen Dienst oder durch ein Heim wird höher vergütet als die Pflege durch einen Angehörigen. Pflegende Angehörige werden oft mit organisatorischen und finanziellen Problemen alleingelassen... die Fürsorge für pflegebedürftige Familienangehörige in einer vertrauten familiären Umgebung sollte gestärkt werden."

Zwickau in Zahlen:

91.000 Einwohner (4,7% Ausländer); leichte Bevölkerungsabnahme seit 2011, Geburtendefizit seit 2012; Einwohner Durchschnittsalter 47,6 Jahre; €19959 Durchschnittseinkommen pro Haushalt in 2018

¹Quelle: <u>https://www.zwickau.de/media/downloads/02 D2/03 finanzen/Haushaltsplan 2019 2020.pdf</u>