

Housing and segregation of migrants

Case study: Arnsberg, Germany





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About CLIP

In 2006, the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe, the city of Stuttgart and the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (Eurofound) established a 'European network of cities for local integration policies for migrants', henceforth termed CLIP. The network comprises a steering committee, a group of expert European research centres and a number of European cities. In the following two years, the cities of Vienna and Amsterdam joined the CLIP Steering Committee. The network is also supported by the Committee of the Regions (CoR) and the Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR), and has also formed a partnership with the European Network Against Racism (ENAR).

Through the medium of separate city reports (case studies) and workshops the network enables local authorities to learn from each other and to deliver a more effective integration policy. The unique character of the CLIP network is that it organises a shared learning process between the participating cities, between the cities and a group of expert European research centres as well as between policy makers at local and European level.

The CLIP network brings together more than 30 large and medium sized cities from all regions of Europe and includes Amsterdam (NL), Arnsberg (DE), Antwerp (BE), Athens (EL), Diputaciò de Barcelona (ES), Bologna (IT), Breda (NL), Brescia (IT), Budapest (HU), Copenhagen (DK), Dublin (IE), Frankfurt (DE), Helsinki (FI), Istanbul (TR), İzmir (TR), Kirklees (UK), Lisbon (PT), Liège (BE), City of Luxembourg (LU), Matarò (ES), Malmö (SE), Prague (CZ), Sefton (UK), Stuttgart (DE), Sundsvall (SE), Tallinn (EE), Terrassa (ES), Torino (IT), Turku (FI), Valencia (ES), Vienna (AT), Wolverhampton (UK), Wrocław (PL), Zagreb (HR) and Zurich (CH).

The cities in the network are supported in their shared learning by a group of expert European research centres:

Bamberg (european forum for migration studies (efms);

Vienna (Institute for Urban and Regional Research (IST);

Amsterdam (Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES);

FIERI (Forum of International and European Research on Immigration);

Wrocław (Institute of International Studies);

Swansea (Centre for Migration Policy Research).

There are four research modules in total. The first module was on housing – segregation of, access to, and quality and affordability for migrants – which has been identified as a major issue impacting on migrants' integration into host societies. The second module examined equality and diversity policies in relation to employment within city administrations and in the provision of services. The focus of the third module is intercultural policies and intergroup relations. The final module (2009–2010) will look at ethnic entrepreneurship.

The case studies on housing were carried out in 2007.

Background

Brief history of migration to Germany

Substantial migration has occurred in Germany since the end of the Second World War. Between 1945 and the beginning of the 1950s, about 12 million German refugees and expellees came to Germany. Prior to the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961, around 3.8 million people migrated from East to West Germany. Whereas migration in the late 1940s and early 1950s was closely related to the war and its consequences, migration from the late 1950s to the early 1970s was the result of labour market processes. The combination of high levels of economic growth and internal labour shortages led to a continuous and increasing recruitment of foreign 'guest workers' (*Gastarbeiter*) until 1973. At this time, four million foreigners lived in the country. In the 1970s, processes of family reunion were pursued on a large scale, and since then family reunion has become another major source of immigration to Germany. Nowadays, a second and third generation of these migrants live in Germany. The foreign population still consists mainly of citizens originating from the former sending countries.

At the end of the 1980s, a new phase of German migration history began with the fall of the Iron Curtain. A large number of immigrants from the eastern European countries came to Germany, among them many ethnic German migrants (*Aussiedler/Spätaussiedler*²). Between 1988 and 2004, a total of three million Spätaussiedler came to Germany. However, in more recent years, fewer *Spätaussiedler* have been arriving in the country: for instance, in 2005, only 35,500 *Spätaussiedler* immigrated. Another large group of immigrants are asylum seekers and refugees. In the 1990s, some 1.8 million people requested asylum in Germany. Over one million refugees lived in Germany in 2003.

By 2006, about 6.8 million foreigners – that is, persons without German citizenship – were living in Germany. Of these, 31% come from the European Union (EU), 47% from other regions in Europe, and 12% from Asia. Figure 1 shows that Turks, with 1.74 million persons (26% of foreigners), represent the largest foreign nationality, followed by citizens from the former Yugoslavia (11%), Italians (8%), Poles (5%) and Greeks (4%).

The first contract on recruitment of guest workers was signed in 1955 with Italy. This was followed by agreements with Spain and Greece (1960), Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965) and Yugoslavia (1968). The German Democratic Republic (GDR) – that is, East Germany – also recruited so-called contract employees, mainly from countries such as Vietnam. Immigration in the GDR was quantitatively considerably less than in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) – that is, West Germany.

The terms *Aussiedler* and *Spätaussiedler* refer mainly to the specific dates of immigration: prior to 1993 and from 1993 on, respectively. The term *Spätaussiedler* has, in everyday usage, become the common term used to describe ethnic Germans with a migration background. Therefore, it will be used in this case study to describe the entire group of Aussiedler and Spätaussiedler.

Others
46%

Greeks Poles Italians
4% 5% 8%

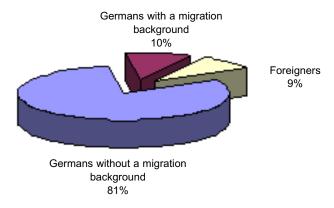
Citizens from former Yugoslavia
11%

Figure 1: Foreigners in Germany, by nationality, 2006 (%)

Source: Compiled by the European Forum for Migration Studies (EFMS) based on data from the Federal Statistical Office of Germany (Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland, Destatis), 2006

The proportion of people with a migration background is considerably higher. Foreigners, naturalised Germans and German citizens whose migration background is derived from the migration status of their parents are all included in this group. In 2005, foreigners (9%) and Germans with a migration background (10%) represented a total of 15.3 million people, or 19% of the population (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Migration background of population, 2005 (%)



Source: Compiled by EFMS based on data from Destatis, 2006, p. 75

Of the people with a migration background, two thirds have had first-hand migration experience; the remaining one third of people in this group comprises those who were born in Germany and therefore have had no personal migration experience. Focusing on the 15.3 million persons with a migration background (Figure 3), immigrant foreigners represent the largest group among them at 5.6 million persons or 36%, whereas the 1.7 million foreign nationals born in Germany comprise only 11% of this population. The ratio of foreigners with and without first-hand migration experience is therefore about three to one. The second-largest group of persons with a migration background are naturalised Germans (3.5 million people or 23%). Within this group, the naturalised citizens with first-hand experience of migration (three million persons or 20%) also outweigh those without first-hand experience (0.5 million persons or 3%) – at a ratio

of six to one. A further 1.8 million people or 12% of those with a migration background are ethnic German Spätaussiedler.³ Meanwhile, the 2.7 million Germans with a migration background but without first-hand migration experience represent 18% of all persons with such a background; this figure includes the 1.2 million children of migrant parents.

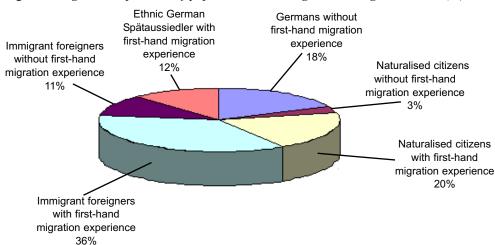


Figure 3: Migration experience of population with a migration background, 2005 (%)

Source: Compiled by EFMS based on data from Destatis, 2006, p. 75

Figure 4 represents, in the form of an age pyramid, the population in 2005, with the number of men on the left side and women on the right. The figure for the entire population suggests the typical mushroom shape of a shrinking population. People with a migration background are represented in the oldest age categories, but the proportion aged over 40 years decreases substantially compared with the younger age groups. On average, persons with a migration background are considerably younger than the German population without a migration background.

Official statistics represent only the Spätaussiedler who migrated after August 1999. The total numbers are, therefore, actually higher.

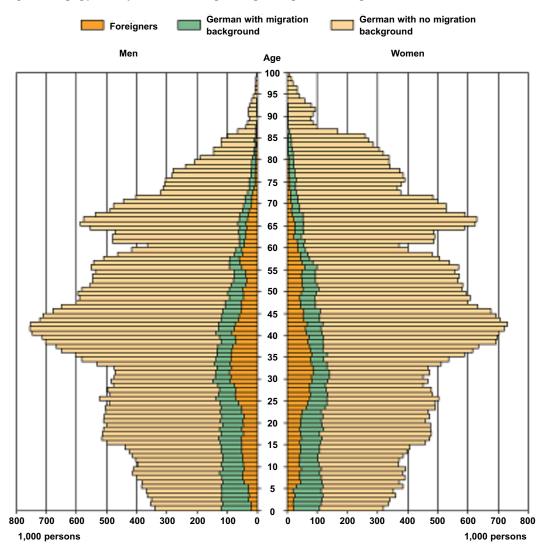


Figure 4: Age pyramid for 2005, corresponding to migration background

Source: Destatis, 2006, p. 77

Data concerning migration background have only been included in official national population statistics since 2005. For this reason, most of the following statistics represent only foreigners living in Germany, and not the complete group of people with a migration background.

National policy context

In Germany, the national integration policy is largely influenced by the societal definition of the immigration situation – that is, the understanding of the nature of the ongoing migration process by major political and societal actors. Throughout the entire migrant labour recruitment period, there was a consensus in society and in political circles that the

residence of 'guest workers' would only be temporary, and their integration only partial. Until 1998, the official governmental definition was that Germany was not an immigration country.⁴

However, this denial of the immigration situation cannot be equated with the lack of an integration policy. In 1978, the office of the Commissioner for the Promotion of Integration of Foreign Employees and their Families was institutionalised. The foundation of this office demonstrated that the integration of migrants was officially recognised and deemed necessary. The main feature of the German mode of integration has been to open core institutions – the labour market, self-employment, the education and training system, and housing – to immigrants, and to include them in the general welfare state and social policy system. Compared with this general integration policy, the numerous specific measures for the integration of immigrants have had much less relevance.

The overwhelming majority of services specific to migrants are implemented by Germany's six largest welfare organisations – namely, Catholic Caritas, Protestant Diakonie, the Central Jewish Welfare Agency (Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Juden in Deutschland, ZWST), the Workers' Welfare Institution (Arbeiterwohlfahrt, AWO), the non-partisan umbrella organisation the German Parity Charitable Association (Deutsche Paritätische Wohlfahrtsverband, DPWV) and the German Red Cross. These are private associations but receive public funds from the EU and from national, state, district and local government levels. Their work is relevant for all dimensions of integration and encompasses a large range of services. Although the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, BAMF) is now in charge of conceptualising and implementing integration measures, this office leaves the implementation to the local agencies.

In the past, the effects of welfare state inclusion on overall integration were somewhat counteracted by a lack of legal integration, since the naturalisation law was rather restrictive until 1999. This is due to the German ethnic nation concept, whereby the nation has been defined as a community of descent with a common culture and history. Hence, the inclusion of foreigners into the nation has been considered as an exception to the rule. However, welfare state integration without citizenship led to an ambivalence in integration policy in Germany that resulted in a lack of formal integration of migrants. In 2000, a new citizenship law was introduced that includes the *jus soli* of 'right of the territory' concept: in other words, children of foreigners born in Germany can now obtain German citizenship. This means that a new principle of belonging to the nation has been introduced: not only descent, but also living in the same society are recognised as rules of inclusion.

Over the years, a diverse and multi-layered system of programmes and projects supporting integration has been developed in Germany. In 2001, the Independent Commission on Migration to Germany described German integration management as a policy of 'pragmatic improvisation'. Therefore, the new Immigration Act of 2005 the (Act to control and restrict immigration and to regulate the residence and integration of EU citizens and foreigners) acknowledges the importance of a comprehensive integration strategy. The principal element of the new system is that migrants are entitled to participate in an integration course, consisting of language and orientation training to familiarise them with the German language, history, culture and legal system. Furthermore, since 2007, BAMF has been developing a nationwide integration programme to identify all existing migrant integration measures, compile information concerning such provisions and put forward recommendations on the further development of integration measures. The programme focuses on five core areas: language, education, integration into the labour market, social counselling and social integration.

⁴ In 1998, the newly elected Social Democratic and Green coalition government (**DE9811281F**) officially recognised 'that an irreversible immigration process has taken place'.

Profile of Arnsberg

Brief description of the city

The city of Arnsberg, located in the federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia in western Germany, is a fusion of 15 originally independent communities. The city's polycentric structure is characterised both by its concentration and urbanisation along the Ruhr Valley and the rural nature of the outlying settlements. The complete municipal area covers 195 square kilometres, of which over 60% is forested. At the end of 2006, a total of 80,772 people lived in Arnsberg.

The city is an important regional industrial centre and is famous for its lighting industry. The local economy is primarily made up of small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) operating in the wood and paper industry, metal processing, lighting industry and electronics. In addition, Arnsberg has been a regional centre since the 11th century, and has a long history as a regional centre for service-based industries. The regional government, state facilities, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, as well as numerous courts of law are all located in the city.

Over the last 10 years, the city has had to come to terms with a considerable shift in the economic structure. About 5,000 jobs – mainly requiring low or minimal qualifications – were outsourced as a result of globalisation. At the same time, the number of those employed in the services sector increased. However, this increase was not enough to compensate for the decline in the manufacturing sector. Slightly less than half of all employees are currently active in the manufacturing sector, and just over half are active in the services sector. The city of Arnsberg generally considers this development to be stable.

Job density in Arnsberg is 415 jobs per 1,000 residents. There are no official figures concerning the city's income per head of population; at the end of 2002, the figure for the entire administrative district was €18,282. The unemployment rate in Arnsberg amounts to 11%.

City's migrant population

As in most German cities, immigration to Arnsberg began with the recruitment of migrant workers in the 1960s, primarily from Italy, Portugal and Turkey. Following the end of this recruitment in 1973, most of the guest workers remained in the city and began bringing their families to join them in Germany. In the 1990s, immigrants to Arnsberg were primarily refugees from the former Yugoslavia and *Spätaussiedler* (ethnic Germans) from Poland and the former Soviet Union.

According to estimates of the municipal Office for Statistics, between 12% and 15% (between 10,000 and 12,000 persons) of the population of Arnsberg have a migration background (2006 data). About half of this group is made up of *Spätaussiedler*, and the other half comprises foreigners and naturalised persons. In 2006, the number of Arnsberg residents without a German passport was over 5,000 persons; that is, 6.7% of Arnsberg's population. Turks represented the largest percentage of this group (about 15%), followed by Portuguese (just under 14%), Italians and Serbs/Montenegrins (13% each), Poles (5%) and Greeks (just under 4%) (Figure 5). Altogether, people of over 100 nationalities live in Arnsberg.

At first for the county (*Grafschaft*) of Arnsberg, then for the duchy (*Herzogtum*) Westphalia and today for 3.8 million inhabitants within the administrative region (*Regierungsbezirk*) Arnsberg, which encompasses the Westphalia Ruhr area including Dortmund and Bochum as well as the region of South Westphalia.

More than 600 jobs were created in the services sector. However, the labour force in manufacturing has declined by 2,500 employees, in commerce by 500 employees, and there were also job losses in the construction sector as well as the closure of two Belgian army barracks.

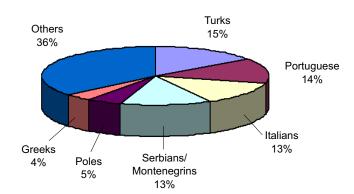


Figure 5: Foreigners in Arnsberg, by nationality, 2006 (%)

Source: Compiled by EFMS based on data from the Arnsberg Statistics Office

Compared with the overall German population in Arnsberg, the foreign population is quite young: the proportion of minors is similar for both groups (18% and 20%, respectively), but the proportion of adults between the ages of 18 and 39 years is considerably higher among foreigners (about 41%) than among the German population (26%). In contrast, only 6% of foreigners are 65 years and older, whereas this age group represents 21% of the German population. The gender ratio is relatively evenly balanced, even though slightly more foreign men than foreign women live in Arnsberg. The gender proportions of the elderly population in Arnsberg are striking: 59% of Germans aged over 65 years are women, whereas among non-Germans only 43% of this age group are women.

The average educational achievement of foreign pupils is lower than that of German pupils. Only 7% of foreign pupils were successful in completing their secondary education and obtaining the equivalent of A-level qualifications (*Abitur*), compared with the overall national average of 30%. Furthermore, compared with German pupils, almost twice as many foreign pupils (30%) graduate from the lowest level school (*Hauptschule*). It is also striking that more than one third of all special-needs pupils do not have German citizenship, and 20% of foreign pupils, compared with 6% of Germans, did not graduate from any kind of school.

The foreign population in Arnsberg is considerably more affected by unemployment than the rest of the population: although Arnsberg's overall unemployment rate is 11%, the rate among foreign citizens amounts to 29%.

Municipal integration policy

The roots of Arnsberg's current integration work date back to the early 1960s: in 1961, an Arnsberg woman began, on her own initiative, to offer assistance to guest workers to settle in their new home. In 1969, together with other dedicated citizens, the woman founded the Arnsberg International Working Group (*Internationaler Arbeitskreis Arnsberg*). In the same year, the first intercultural festival – *DIES Internationalis* – was held. The festival takes place annually and has become a significant regional event. In the years following the first festival, integration efforts were expanded quantitatively as well as qualitatively. The main areas of emphasis include support for children of preschool age, language tuition, and homework assistance for pupils. Today, the International Working Group has 50 members and other dedicated helpers, and is Arnsberg's largest provider in the field of language promotion.

The numbers differ substantially: in 2001, a third of foreign pupils had a school qualification, while only 10% had a qualification in 2002.

Since 1975, 10 ethnic organisations have been founded in Arnsberg. Their fundamental goals include fostering members' cultures and also dialogue with the native population. For its part, the municipality offers support to ethnic organisations by making meeting rooms and clubhouse facilities available for their use. The contact between ethnic organisations and the municipality is quite active. This close contact is particularly useful for finding direct, non-bureaucratic solutions to problems of intercultural communication and conflict.

Apart from the ethnic organisations, the Foreigners' Council (*Ausländerbeirat*) supports the interests of foreigners living in Arnsberg. The Arnsberg council comprises 13 members who are elected by the foreign community for a five-year period. This council may advise the community council and its various committees in all matters of local politics. On request, its proposals and positions must be considered. Furthermore, the advisory council may carry out its own activities.

Besides the activities of the International Working Group, ethnic organisations and foreign representatives, welfare organisations like the *Diakonisches Werk*, the *Caritas-Verband* and the AWO have been active in the field of integration. These groups primarily tend to concerns of people with uncertain residence status such as asylum seekers and refugees.

For a long time, there were relatively few city-organised measures specifically geared towards migrants. Integration was more often handled by state welfare institutions and broad measures dealing with socially disenfranchised groups, from which migrants also profited. Nonetheless, an Office for Immigration and Integration (*Büro für Zuwanderung und Integration*) has been set up, which migrants can turn to with all kinds of questions and problems concerning the municipality. It is an all-round service and could be referred to as a 'one-stop agency'.

In cooperation with ethnic organisations and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), the municipality developed an integration concept for the city in 2000. This integration concept is meant to be a foundation for integration programmes in Arnsberg. The concept, adopted by the city council in 2001, considers integration as a mutual process and the responsibility of both native Germans and migrants. It has formulated four main strategic goals:

- migrants should be enabled to be economically self-sustaining;
- migrants' adaptation to their new environment should be supported by the provision of information and training;
- migrants should be in a position to retain their own culture and identity, while at the same time learning about the democracy and values in Germany, as well as about opportunities for political participation;
- mutual cultural respect and intercultural understanding are goals for which the community should strive.

The operative implementation of these strategic goals is defined in the following six fields of activity (including about 25 more specific topics of focus): language promotion, education, social counselling, paid employment, housing and information.

In 2005, an additional Integration Steering Group (*Steuerungsgruppe Integration*), consisting of department supervisors of the integration commission and the Mayor of Arnsberg, was established. This group sets the goals of the integration process, updates the integration concept and formulates tasks. In addition to this strategic steering group, three working committees were established in the areas of 'kindergartens and schools', 'qualification, training and employment', and 'social and cultural integration'. In these groups, representatives of the International Working Group, the Foreigners' Council, the municipality, the various associations and the adult education centre (*Volkshochschule*) come together to set operative goals, and to initiate, conduct and evaluate activities. The achievements of these groups are published in an annual integration report.

The basic objective of Arnsberg's integration policy is to regard diversity as an added value for the community.

Inter-city cooperation

Arnsberg is, at the national level, a member of the German Association of Towns and Municipalities (*Deutscher Städte-und Gemeindebund*, DStGB) as well as of the Municipal Association for Administration Management (*Kommunale Gemeinschaftsstelle für Verwaltungsmanagement*, KGST). Additionally, almost all of Arnsberg's city schools are project partners in North Rhine-Westphalia's 'autonomous school' model scheme. The city also participates in various intercommunity projects sponsored by the Robert Bosch Foundation and the Bertelsmann Foundation. Arnsberg is among the cities participating in the national 'Successful integration is no coincidence' (*Erfolgreiche Integration ist kein Zufall*) competition, which was sponsored by the Bertelsmann Foundation and the Ministry of the Interior (*Bundesministerium des Innern*, BMI).

At the international level, Arnsberg is represented in the Committee of the Regions. The city is a project partner of the European network 'Monitoring growth and jobs', and is a member of the Lisbon Monitoring Platform and the European network of cities for local integration policies in Europe (CLIP).

The profit from participation in these networks and projects is a learning and exchange process, which is highly valued by the city administration. Within these network projects and their scientific evaluation, the city often benefits from concepts and ideas developed in this context. The municipality itself would not be able to finance larger scientific projects.

Housing situation

Housing stock and market

The Arnsberg housing market is characterised by the city's heterogeneous and polycentric structure: Arnsberg is not a single urban conurbation, but consists of 15 separate small towns and villages that are integrated into one municipality. The two largest districts of Neheim and Alt-Arnsberg – each housing a quarter of the city's population – as well as the districts of Hüsten and Oeventrop are definitely urban. The other settlement areas have a rather rural character. They differ considerably with regard to housing structure, housing environment and their dynamic.

Figure 6: Arnsberg



Source: City of Arnsberg, http://www.arnsberg.de

The population of Arnsberg has been declining since the 1970s. Because of increased migration during the 1990s, this decline was temporarily halted – even reversed – but later continued again. Since 2000, the population has been rather stable and amounts to 80,800 people.

The building and housing stock continually increased over the last 10 years by about 7% – especially in the more rural districts of Arnsberg. Therefore, the housing market is relatively relaxed. By the end of 2004, a total of 35,200 housing units existed in Arnsberg. Of these, about one quarter were single-family houses and about another quarter were housing units within buildings with a maximum of two apartments. Around half of the housing units were in apartment buildings with more than two housing units. The housing structure also influences the size of housing units: of the entire housing stock, a mere 1% were single-room housing units and 5% were housing units with two rooms; almost half of all housing units had five or more rooms. Living space per person was 46 square metres. According to housing experts, despite the generously-built housing, there are too few rental units for larger families in the housing market. However, there is an excess supply of housing with two or three rooms.

At least 1,050 housing units – about 3% of the housing stock – are officially unoccupied; however, experts estimate that an even higher number are unoccupied.

Overall, 28% of all buildings were constructed prior to 1949, 26% during the time of Germany's economic miracle (*Wirtschaftswunderzeit*) between 1949 and 1968, 23% between 1969 and 1987, and 13% between 1988 and 2004. This

is why a large proportion of buildings, even with some modernisation, no longer conform to today's demands and standards, particularly with regard to sanitary facilities or energy consumption.

The property ownership rate in Arnsberg is 58%, which is above the state average. As private owners conduct most of the construction of new housing, an increase in this ratio can be expected in the coming years.

In recent years, rents have only slightly increased. The rent without utilities for apartments with two to four rooms advertised in newspapers has been stable at about \in 4.50 per square metre since 2000. In addition to stable rents, the price for land has also remained stable; in 2005, the price of land per square metre lay between \in 75 and \in 175.

In general, German households that are unable to supply themselves adequately in the housing market have the option of procuring social housing from the city. In this regard, Arnsberg has at its disposal occupying rights for 3,300 apartments. These apartments make up 9.3% of the Arnsberg housing stock. However, at present, these occupying rights are rarely used, as even low-income households can, due to the low cost of rent, find affordable and good-quality housing on the free housing market. This explains the steady decrease in households looking for social housing since the mid 1990s. In 2005, a mere 72 households, comprising 153 people, were registered for social housing.

In 2005, about 2,200 persons moved to Arnsberg, while 2,500 people moved away from the city. Between 1998 and 2002, some 7,400 people moved house within the city each year. Since 2002, intra-city mobility has clearly declined: in 2005, a total of 6,200 moves were registered (representing 8% of the city population).

The city's influence on the housing market is rather small, as the city administration does not own housing itself. Public housing companies and cooperatives also play only a minor role. The public housing cooperative Arnsberg-Sundern (*Wohnungsgenossenschaft Arnsberg-Sundern eG*) owns about 1,700 housing units in Arnsberg or 5% of the total housing stock. The city of Arnsberg has a 5% share in this cooperative and has voting rights alongside eight other board members. The city is considered an important partner by the Arnsberg-Sundern housing cooperative; the interests of the city of Arnsberg and the urban planning approaches are taken into account.

A major result of the recent public survey 'Living in Arnsberg 2006' was that the majority of Arnsberg citizens are satisfied with their current home and their housing environment. On a scale from one (very satisfied) to six (very unsatisfied), respondents gave an average score of 1.7. The housing environment was rated at 1.85; but housing supply was rated at only 2.65.

Housing situation of residents with migration background

Because of the relaxed housing market and the high-quality fixtures of housing units in Arnsberg, the housing situation for all Arnsberg residents, regardless of migration background, is relatively good. In the 2006 survey, on a scale from one to six, migrants rated their housing units and housing environment at 1.85, and their housing at 1.9. This represents only a minor deviation from the average rates given by the total population (1.7 and 1.9, respectively).

However, there are some noticeable differences in the housing situation of migrants and Germans that are mainly the result of migrants' lower incomes.

Arnsberg residents with a migration background have comparatively less living space at their disposal than the rest of the population. No official statistics are available on the size of this difference, only indications: according to estimates from the Office for Immigration and Integration, a large proportion of Arnsberg migrants live in social housing where

the amount of living space per person is normally lower than the urban average. Furthermore, according to the housing cooperative Arnsberg-Sundern, lower income forces *Spätaussiedler* to move into smaller housing units after the household size decreases – for example, after children move out of the family home – while Germans tend to stay in their homes. The 2006 survey states that, on a per person average, migrants have 26 square metres of living space at their disposal compared with an average of 46 square metres for the total population. However, as only 39 migrants took part in the 2006 survey, these figures can only present an idea of the situation and cannot be considered as representative data.

The quality of some of the housing units of migrants is also comparatively lower than that of Germans. Some of the subsidised social housing units, which are mostly inhabited by migrants, are considered due for renovation. However, the furnishings of theses housing units are rather good: most have built-in kitchens, double-glazed windows and laminate floors

Fewer foreigners than Germans own their homes: the aforementioned survey yielded an ownership percentage of 41% among migrants, while housing experts estimate that only 10% of migrants in Arnsberg own their home. Again, this difference is probably a result of the low number of migrants surveyed.

Two trends are discernable in ownership acquisition of migrants: *Spätaussiedler* are especially interested in subsidised housing ownership programmes. They carry out construction work on new houses to a large extent by themselves. Former guest workers and their families prefer, according to the city administration, cheap real estate in need of renovation. Renovation is then often carried out with the assistance of the entire family.

Segregation

People with a migration background are spread throughout the entire city of Arnsberg. They tend to live in the rather urban city districts such as Neheim, Hüsten, Alt-Arnsberg and Oeventrop. In three areas of the city – namely Gierskämpen, Moosfelde and the vicinity of Hüsten train station – the proportion of migrants and the quota of social welfare recipients are above the Arnsberg average.

Gierskämpen is located in the south of Arnsberg and comprises only a few streets and 920 inhabitants. Due to its location on the outskirts of Arnsberg, and because of the adjacent forest, some homeowners enjoy living in this area. The majority of buildings however are larger apartment buildings of only average quality. These buildings were constructed just after the war, when large quantities of housing were urgently needed. Several of these buildings were used to house Belgian soldiers stationed in Arnsberg. In 1994, these army barracks were closed down. This coincided with the surge of newly arrived *Spätaussiedler* just a few years before, who at this time were housed in provisional housing units. After the soldiers' withdrawal, these *Spätaussiedler* were relocated into the vacated apartment buildings in Gierskämpen. Today, the proportion of foreigners in this area amounts to a mere 6%; however, the percentage of *Spätaussiedler* in this area, which is not apparent in the official statistics, is well above the city average. This, in addition to a high concentration of socially disadvantaged families, gave this quarter a rather bad reputation. As a result, a large proportion of the indigenous population is leaving the area, and housing has become very difficult to rent out.

Allocation criteria depend on family size. One-person households are eligible for 45 square metres with a kitchen and bathroom; for every additional person, another 15 square metres are added.

Similar conditions exist in Moosfelde, situated two kilometres north of Neheim. The Belgian army barracks Camp Loquet was located in Moosfelde, and after the withdrawal of the Belgian army it became a designated housing area. Apart from one-family-houses, several investors constructed publicly supported social housing, into which mainly *Spätaussiedler* moved. Of the 3,200 residents, about 15% are non-Germans and one third have a migration background. The percentage of unemployed *Aussiedler* in the Moosfelde area is also particularly high. The area has a negative image and some housing units are currently vacant. However, the fluctuation rate of residents in this area is not as high as in Gierskämpen, which is mainly due to its privately-owned houses and its attractive location on a hill side.

Figure 7: Arnsberg-Moosfelde



Source: City of Arnsberg, http://www.arnsberg.de

The third area showing a slight concentration of households with a migration background is in the vicinity of Hüsten train station – an area with old buildings and heavy traffic. The proportion of foreigners in this area is 20%.

In a ranking of city quarters according to socio demographic and urban planning criteria, all of the three abovementioned areas were considered problematic. However, compared with districts in similar-sized cities, those three areas have a low level of segregation.

Accessibility of housing market

The housing market situation in Arnsberg is quite relaxed. It is therefore not difficult to gain access to both high quality and affordable housing. Nonetheless, some population groups – especially migrants – have a slightly harder time finding a place to live.

Those with a lower socioeconomic status simply have less money to spend on adequate housing. Educational standards within the non-German population of Arnsberg are, on average, lower, and members of this group are more likely to become unemployed. Therefore, it can be assumed that their average financial situation is also worse and that, in some cases, foreigners might have some difficulties gaining access to housing.

In addition, legal rules can influence access to housing, particularly in the field of subsidised housing. An underlying concept of German integration policy is the inclusion of migrants in the German welfare system. In Germany, two public measures aim to support households identified by the government as being most affected by exclusion: housing

allowances and subsidised social housing. Foreigners have the same legal rights to apply for a housing allowance and social housing as Germans do, provided that they live legally and permanently in Germany, that the accommodation in question is located in Germany and that the occupant living in this accommodation pays the rent or cost of the accommodation on their own. According to Article 44, Paragraph I (1) of the 2004 Residence Act (*Aufenthaltsgesetz*, AufenthG), permanent residence is generally assumed if the foreigner is given a residence permit valid for more than one year or has held a residence permit for more than 18 months, unless the stay is of a temporary nature. This means that foreign students and seasonal workers could be excluded from social housing, whereas refugees and asylum seekers can be – with some reservations – placed in council flats.⁹

Finally, discrimination and prejudice on the side of proprietors can hamper migrants' access to housing. According to the judgements of several experts, persons with a migration background may sometimes have a difficult position in the housing market; in particular, owners of some apartments may prefer German tenants. However, due to vacancies in Arnsberg housing units, owners are normally more interested in renting out their property than in making particular distinctions about their choice of tenants.

See the chapter on interventions on housing and integration for a further exploration of both possibilities.

Institutional setting and relevant actors

In Germany, the housing situation is influenced by national policies aiming to improve support for households most affected by exclusion. However, due to Germany's strong municipal autonomy, local policies have the most significant impact on the housing situation. This section gives an overview of the most important municipal actors and their activities and responsibilities concerning housing.

The most important contact point for migrants is the Office for Immigration and Integration. This office is the starting point and a 'one-stop agency' for all migrants' concerns. At this office, migrants seeking housing find assistance for all housing-related matters, such as guidance concerning the search for housing, mediation assistance when confronted with intercultural conflicts with neighbours, information concerning legal regulations, and, if necessary, referral to other appropriate departments.

The Job Centre run by the Department of Social Affairs concerns itself with recipients of social assistance, and grants housing allowances (*Kosten der Unterkunft*, KdU). This department is also responsible for housing concerning people in need. However, because of its holistic approach, the Office for Immigration and Integration is also engaged in migrant housing affairs, and there is strong cooperation between the two offices. Joint staff meetings take place and personal contacts have been established between employees.

The third relevant actor within the city's administration is the 'Future Agency and Urban Development' department (*Zukunftsagentur und Stadtentwicklung*), organisationally responsible directly to the mayor. This department is engaged in strategic planning and realisation of urban development and housing projects. Among its activities is the publication of reports on the housing market and completion of surveys on the topic of housing. However, its main tasks include recording and analysing the city's strengths and weaknesses, as well as planning the city's future development and conceptualising urban development.

Because of certain segregation tendencies of particular ethnic groups in the 1990s, a group of housing experts was brought together by the city's administration in 1999. The assignment of this group was to counteract those segregation tendencies. The 'Roundtable on housing' included members of the city's administration, whose departments were in some way concerned with housing issues. Today, the round table does not meet regularly, but only when specific problems or inquiries require its input.

This brief summary of the relevant actors displays a prominent feature of Arnsberg's cooperation structure: the chief officers and members of the city administration know each other well and cooperate regularly, and even more often in times of acute necessity. Strategies and concepts are coordinated or even developed together. This productive collaboration functions not only internally, but also with actors outside the administration. For instance, city administration employees as well as the mayor are in close contact with the Foreigners' Council, ethnic organisations and the International Working Group. Furthermore, they maintain a constant exchange with housing experts – for example, the property managements of housing companies and the housing cooperative Arnsberg-Sundern – concerning the needs, problems and future developments in the housing market.

Housing policy

Vision, concepts and policy of administration

Within the framework of the Urban Development Concept (*Stadtentwicklungskonzept*, STEK), Arnsberg has been highly involved in the field of housing since the late 1990s. The prelude to a complete and comprehensive advancement was the completion of the study 'Future housing in Arnsberg'. After this study, the city has not only focused on the quantitative supply of housing, but has turned its efforts to the achievement of qualitative goals. Housing has become an asset in the context of competition among cities. For this reason, the city increasingly acts as a partner for all involved actors such as housing companies, banks and architects, as well as a moderator to initiate discussions and processes of change – for example, in urban marketing processes, establishing think-tanks with citizens and liaising with investors. In this context, the Arnsberg municipality published a report on the housing market. Furthermore, the municipality promotes alternative housing projects and inter-generational housing concepts.

The urban development policy aims to reach a balanced population structure in all city districts. The city council and urban planners therefore developed seven overarching goals – among these are the strengthening of social cohesion in city quarters, identification with the entire city, securing a decent living standard, as well as supporting and developing cooperation between the various quarters. Many projects have been initiated in order to realise these goals – for example, the improvement of particular quarters as well as social and cultural initiatives.

STEK focuses on improving the living and housing conditions of all Arnsberg residents, regardless of their country of origin. Therefore, a special policy geared towards the improvement of migrants' housing situations is not deemed necessary.

Concerning housing, segregation and integration, the city council and administration assume that proximity to residents with the same migration background offers migrants in a particular neighbourhood a feeling of security and safety, as well as the feeling of being close to 'a little piece of home'. This should enable migrants to adapt more easily to their foreign environment. This approach means, of course, that a certain amount of spatial segregation is not always considered counterproductive to the integration process. The important factor is to what extent – despite segregation – a willingness to participate in the community exists. The promotion of highly ethnically and socially segregated areas of the city should be avoided, but smaller migrant neighbourhoods should be possible.

Public discourse

Two Arnsberg districts are publicly perceived as socially and infrastructurally disadvantaged: Moosfelde and Gierskämpen. Both are spatially separated areas with some well-kept single-family homes, as well as housing blocks with a large proportion of socioeconomically disadvantaged residents, among them many *Spätaussiedler* (see the previous section on segregation). In both districts, not only the unemployment rate but also the quota of migrants is considerably higher than the overall city average. The two districts are not considered a significant problem; nevertheless, a large proportion of the long-established German and migrant population does not want to move to these districts. The self-image of these districts, however, is much better than the external image. For example, the residents of Moosfelde in particular like living in their district and are actively engaged in promoting the social cohesion, cleanliness and image of the Moosfelde area (see the next chapter on interventions on housing and integration). For Gierskämpen, the same is not necessarily true. Yet, some individual residents in the Gierskämpen area appreciate the proximity of their neighbourhood to the forest, and emphasise that the area is better than its reputation.

In the media, segregation, disadvantaged neighbourhoods and integration-relevant housing issues are not commonly discussed. Only Moosfelde was occasionally a topic of local media coverage, which was quite objective and of a supportive nature.

Interventions on housing and integration

Improving access to housing for migrants

Due to their lack of knowledge of language and municipal structures, newly arrived migrants can have a difficult time gaining access to living space. In Arnsberg, they have the assistance of the Office for Immigration and Integration. The office is a contact point for migrants with all kinds of questions; also in cases of house-hunting and related issues, migrants can seek assistance from employees of this office.

As outlined earlier, persons who lack the funds to secure adequate accommodation in the free housing market – including migrants – have the option of applying for a housing allowance or of registering for social housing.

The housing allowance is financed by federal and state governments and is paid to low-income households as a top-up payment for the cost of housing. In Arnsberg, the offices responsible are the Job Centre and, for migrants, the Office for Immigration and Integration. This housing allowance supports private households with the aim of providing decent housing for low-income households by facilitating access to accommodation at a low or average level of rent. Whether a household can apply for a housing allowance and how much it can apply for – to supplement either the rent or the mortgage in the case of homeowners – depends on the size of the household, the income level, and the rent or costs paid by the applicants. As already noted, foreigners have the same legal rights to apply for a housing allowance as Germans do, provided that they live legally and permanently in Germany (as explained earlier with regard to permanent residence under the 2004 Residence Act), that the flat in question is located in Germany and that the occupant living in this accommodation pays the rent or cost of the accommodation on their own. This regulation applies to all residents, and there is little statistical data available on the extent to which migrants benefit from this measure. However, the proportion of migrants belonging to the target groups – such as low-income households, families with children or inhabitants of disadvantaged neighbourhoods – is above average. Therefore, it can be assumed that migrants benefit disproportionately highly from these regulations.

Social housing is regulated by Article 27, Paragraph II of the Housing Assistance Act (*Wohnraumförderungsgesetz*, WoFG). This makes the construction of new buildings, the renovation of existing buildings and the acquisition of occupying rights (*Belegungsrechte*) eligible for public funding. It aims primarily to provide special target groups with suitable housing.

Households in need of assistance can, under this act, apply for a housing authorisation permit (Wohnberechtigungsschein) at the aforementioned offices. As set out in Article 9, Paragraph 2 of the WoFG, the income limit for a one-person household is epsilon12,000, the limit for a two-person household is epsilon18,000, while the limit for each additional household member is epsilon4,100. The procedure mirrors that of the housing allowance: whether a household – German or non-German – is eligible for such a permit depends on its income, the number of family members and the residence status of the applicant, who must live permanently in Germany. But because the Arnsberg housing market is very relaxed, this help is rarely requested and occupying rights are seldom used.

Compared with the situation today, the housing market was competitive in the 1990s, because of the immigration of *Spätaussiedler*. Therefore, according to the WoFG, the city supports the construction of social housing units and private-owned family homes. In 2004, the total publicly-funded housing stock in Arnsberg comprised about 3,300 housing units – 860 family homes and 2,440 apartments. *Spätaussiedler* are particularly interested in the funding for family homes, as seen in the comparatively high number of applications granted in 2006. As a result of the relaxed housing market in the lower price ranges, new applications for apartments are virtually non-existent, and even in the realm of family homes applications are decreasing.

Apart from the measures granted under the WoFG, Arnsberg maintains two projects that support asylum seekers and *Spätaussiedler* in gaining access to private living space.

- Asylum seekers' access to social housing is denied; they are, according to legal regulations, accommodated in communal housing units. Because the legal process of asylum, depending on individual circumstances, can last for a number of years, asylum seekers sometimes live in communal accommodation for a considerable length of time. The city of Arnsberg assumes that staying in this form of accommodation can be detrimental to the families' private sphere. It therefore houses families with long stays in their own private areas or even in their own apartments within these communal housing facilities.
- Spätaussiedler are, on arrival in Germany, housed in transitional housing quarters. Especially for families, a longer period of accommodation in such facilities is problematic. Alongside difficulties in the family system, long-term accommodation in such quarters can lead to stigmatisation which is detrimental to the further integration process. Hence, Arnsberg supports the rapid transition of Spätaussiedler into normal housing units. In addition, migrant employment is encouraged. To this end, employable migrants seeking work are provided with professional counselling and mentoring by the municipal Job Centre.

Local policies related to spatial segregation

Policies to reduce spatial segregation

Arnsberg makes important efforts to avoid ethnic segregation. Some of the city's initiatives are described below.

Urban development concept

One noteworthy measure aiming to combat segregation is the conscious organisation and use of the polycentric urban culture. Within the framework of the urban development concept STEK, all city quarters are to remain attractive residential areas, and at the same time, the strengths and distinctive features of each quarter should be highlighted and reinforced: whereas the historic old city in Alt-Arnsberg should be construed as a tourism and cultural centre, Neheim's qualities as a trade and service centre, and Hüsten's sport and recreational opportunities should be promoted. In order to achieve these goals, urban renewal programmes have been started, a water park has been built, neighbourhood offices have been developed and a marketing concept has been designed. Although this urban development programme focuses on multicultural and social living together, it is not a project aiming explicitly to improve migrant housing conditions. However, in light of the programme's conscious portrayal of a polycentric structure and social cohesion, it is effective in counteracting ethnic and social segregation tendencies.

Roundtable discussions on housing

As previously explained, because of increased immigration of Spätaussiedler in the 1990s, segregation tendencies and their negative effects on the housing environment in newly-built subsidised housing areas were observed. As a reaction to this, the city administration created a panel of experts charged with gathering expertise in the areas of social housing construction, construction and urban planning, as well as in areas such as youth, family, immigration and other social topics. This 'Roundtable on housing' (*Runder Tisch 'Wohnen'*) established criteria according to which future decisions on eligibility for new buildings can be made: only projects with a maximum of six to eight housing units can receive financial support, while construction on the outskirts of the city and the concentration of subsidised housing facilities are no longer allowed within this programme. Instead, empty spaces in existing, central housing areas have to be closed. Proximity to amenities like kindergartens and shopping centres is also a relevant aspect in matters of financing. Larger and more modern housing layouts have also been planned – such as a larger kitchen in place of a small kitchen combined with a separate dining room.

High-quality educational institutions in all quarters

Educational standards are seen as an important element for migrants' integration into society. For this reason, the city of Arnsberg emphasises the value of high-quality infant childcare facilities and schools in all city quarters. In this way, all children, regardless of their residential location, should receive the same quality of education and preparation for the start of a career. This goal appears to have been achieved in Arnsberg: all city schools have a good reputation and the demand for kindergartens and childcare facilities for children aged three years and older has been covered in all quarters. These measures not only raise the educational chances of migrant children, but also counteract segregation tendencies.

Ethnic organisations

The city mayor believes that the more migrants who are able to live according to their cultural and ethnic identity, the better their integration into German society will be. Additionally, ethnic organisations help to create migrant networks that, by way of reciprocal assistance, ease integration into society. Thus, Arnsberg supports the city's ethnic organisations by providing, among other things, meeting rooms for their use and maintaining close contact with these groups. The organisations also establish themselves as important contact points for the municipality: if, for example, residents in a particular neighbourhood complain about the behaviour of young foreigners, the city can usually solve these problems quickly and non-bureaucratically with the help of the ethnic organisations.

DIES Internationalis

DIES Internationalis is the city's international summer festival. The festival's main focus includes numerous culinary and cultural treats; the festival is not directly connected with the topic of housing. However, the city also considers it to be an important event in this context: it is organised by the International Working Group and the Foreigners' Council. Both of these organisations are supported by civil initiatives, the ethnic organisations, the city of Arnsberg and the local media. During an almost year-long event preparation, diverse groups with various ethnic, cultural and social backgrounds come together and have the chance to get to know and value each other. Through these cooperative activities, intercultural neighbourhood conflicts between Arnsberg residents of different nationalities can often be avoided.

Involvement of migrants in activities of housing cooperative

The housing cooperative Arnsberg-Sundern, in which the city of Arnsberg is a shareholder, owns about 1,700 housing units in the city area. Statistical data on the proportion of migrants occupying them is not available, although the management estimates the figure to be one sixth of migrants. To prevent segregation and related problems, the cooperative, when allocating residents, adheres to a socially and ethnically mixed tenant structure. Based on experience of conflicts between different ethnic groups, particular forms of ethnic housing patterns are to be avoided. This can be considered an informal quota policy.

The Arnsberg-Sundern cooperative noted that *Spätaussiedler* tend to use outdoor spaces more often, have a high interest in gardens, and look after and cultivate the grounds around their accommodation. This interest has been noted by the cooperative: persons were offered, in return for a small sum of money, the opportunity to officially take charge of caring for the outdoor spaces. The offer was well received by residents. The initiative led to a higher quality of the environment and gave these tenants the opportunity to earn some money. Furthermore, the *Spätaussiedler* gained more respect due to their new position and dedication to their surroundings.

Migrant involvement also takes place at the tenant assembly: altogether, 49 tenants are represented, six of whom have a migration background. Therefore, every constituency – generally correlating to the districts of Arnsberg – is represented by at least one person with a migration background.

Policies managing spatial segregation

The previous section described the ways in which the city is trying to avoid and reduce ethnic segregation. By referring to examples from several projects, this section will show how Arnsberg manages spatial segregation and improves coexistence of ethic groups and social cohesion in the city.

Housing environment improvement in Moosfelde

The preceding chapters described the negative image of Moosfelde and its heterogeneous socioeconomic population structure. In 2005, a dedicated female resident of this area was no longer willing to accept the condition and image of her area of residence. Together with her neighbours, the woman in question founded the grassroots initiative 'Citizens for Moosfelde'. This initiative began with a public survey: residents of the Moosfelde area were interviewed about why they liked living in the area and what they wished for their neighbourhood. In addition, a waste management initiative was organised.

At the same time, the city initiated a process to enhance and reform the area: together with housing companies and property management firms, the neighbourhood's strengths and weaknesses were discussed and approaches to remedying problems were developed.

In the winter of 2005, the city brought both initiatives together and a workshop for Housing Environment Improvement was held at the area's community centre Bürgerhaus Moosfelde. In total, 70 persons attended this workshop including citizens of Moosfelde, members of the city administration as well as housing companies and property management firms. The participants formed various working groups focusing on the 'centre' of the area, the 'image' of the neighbourhood, 'children and adolescents' and 'public spaces'. They then decided on future measures, timetables and financing possibilities, which have been in effect since that time: for instance, the centre of Moosfelde has been revitalised with the introduction of new shops, and buildings in the area have been renovated.

According to residents, property managers and the city, the housing quality as well as the image of the area have significantly improved. Ultimately, improving the housing environment may not only 'manage' segregation, but may also reduce it.

Youth clubs

The abovementioned initiatives have proved effective in the long run. The city also supports several youth clubs that deal with more immediate problems. These clubs are financed by the city in cooperation with associations or welfare organisations – such as *Internationaler Bund* – and partially rely on voluntary work. They offer a broad selection of recreational activities, including sports, theatre groups and handicrafts, and offer a time and place for adolescents to spend their spare time according to their own wishes. Roundtables – with the participation of young people, members of the youth action committee – and the police and social workers, are organised regularly. These meetings offer a forum for the discussion of current issues and projects and for the prevention of problems. The youth clubs in Gierskämpen and Moosfelde are visited daily by 30 young people, of whom many have a migration background (mainly *Spätaussiedler*).

Project 'Heinrich-Lübke Street': MISS

Another innovative project for the improvement of the housing situation has been the Multilingualism of Online Platforms for Urban Development and Planning (*Mehrsprachigkeit bei Internetangeboten zur Stadtentwicklung und Stadtplanung*, MISS) project in Heinrich-Lübke Street. This street, located in the Hüsten district, is a main street with heavy through traffic and up to 30% of lorry traffic. This is made worse by the closely-built buildings and the related noise from the street. About 2,000 people live in the area, about 300 of whom live directly in accommodation on Heinrich-Lübke Street. Almost 20% of these residents are foreigners, mainly from Turkey and Italy. The neighbourhood is certainly not ethnically segregated, but the proportion of non-Germans is nevertheless higher than the 7% city average.

In 2007, a bypass road was due to be completed, with the aim of reducing the heavy traffic in Heinrich-Lübke Street. The city has taken this opportunity to redesign the street and thereby improve its residential quality. The city has used innovative means to get foreign residents involved in this process: information about the construction of the bypass was presented online, while an internet survey was carried out concerning residents' wishes for the redesign of the street. This information was then translated by volunteers into the following languages – Turkish, Italian, Bosnian/Croation/Serbian and Russian. The MISS project received significant interest, but could not – due to a lack of internet connections – be used by foreign residents to the extent expected. For this reason, the project managers also used schools to make contact with children of migrant families and their parents: the project was discussed with pupils aged eight to 15 years whose wishes and ideas were collected by means of a questionnaire. Multilingual questionnaires were also distributed to parents as a form of 'homework' that pupils had to bring back completed. This second approach was much more successful.

The combination of these two paths of communication – school and internet – as well as the multilingual approach of the project are positive signs for future attempts to increase migrants' input and participation in urban planning projects.

Similar projects were conducted in the neighbouring cities of Gütersloh, Iserlohn and Solingen.

Key challenges and lessons for CLIP

Arnsberg is characterised by its heterogeneous and polycentric structure: the city is not one single urban space, but consists of 15 originally independent units of which some are urban while others have quite a rural character. About 80,800 people live in Arnsberg; almost 7% of the city's residents do not have a German passport. The majority of these foreigners are former so-called 'guest workers' and their families, who came to Germany between the 1960s and the 1980s. Most of them come from Turkey, Greece, Italy and the former Yugoslavia. Migrant integration in Arnsberg has primarily taken place by opening up the core institutions, such as the education system and the labour market, to migrants and by including the migrants in the national welfare system. With regard to the housing market, this means that non-Germans have the same legal rights as Germans to apply for housing assistance. The most important measures for low-income households have been the availability of council flats and the housing allowance – a top-up payment on the cost of housing. Socio-spatially, foreigners have been well integrated into city life.

After the fall of the Iron Curtain, a lot of *Spätaussiedler* – that is, ethnic German migrants from Poland and the former Soviet Union – came to Arnsberg. Due to the fact that they are German nationals, these migrants are not included in statistics on foreigners. Since there were not enough housing units for this number of new arrivals in the city, many *Spätaussiedler* were provisionally housed in specific housing units. In 1994, the Belgian army barracks in Arnsberg were closed down and a lot of *Spätaussiedler* relocated into the vacated soldiers' housing areas. In addition, council flats have been built in proximity to these areas. Today, due to this development in the early 1990s, a disproportionately high number of *Spätaussiedler* and socioeconomically disadvantaged persons live in slightly segregated areas of the city.

As these segregated areas are considered problematic by the city and the public, numerous concepts, measures and initiatives have been introduced to combat segregation. First, the municipal administration has set up an expert group to develop measures to counteract segregation tendencies: in this case, financial support for social housing is only given for buildings in non-segregated areas and for smaller housing units. Secondly, the housing cooperative Arnsberg-Sundern applies an informal quota policy concerning the number and ethnicity of its tenants. Furthermore, an urban development concept (STEK) has been developed to prevent segregation by improving social cohesion within the various city districts, which at the same time, takes advantage of Arnsberg's polycentric structure.

An effective project to improve the situation in a rather segregated city district is the renewal programme in Moosfelde, which is organised by the municipality in cooperation with a grassroots initiative: since citizens participate actively in the renewal process, it is ensured that their needs and wishes are considered. Another interesting approach to ameliorate a disadvantaged neighbourhood is the innovative MISS project, which should enhance foreigners' involvement in urban renewal processes by talking to school pupils, using the internet and offering multilingual information and participation platforms.

These measures to avoid and manage segregation in Arnsberg have been very successful. This is due to the coincidence of the currently relaxed housing market, the small number of migrants and the extraordinary commitment of all the actors involved.

To improve the access of migrants to affordable housing, the city offers a special service for migrants: the Office for Immigration and Integration is considered a 'one-stop agency'. Migrants can address all sorts of affairs to the office staff, including housing-related matters.

However, the remarkable factor of Arnsberg's socio-spatial integration policy is not only the type of measures the city is implementing, but the effective cooperation methods applied in the city: multiple actors like the mayor and the mayor's office, municipal administration, politicians, members of the community, police, ethnic organisations, citizen's grassroots initiatives or housing companies support each other and do not only coordinate their approaches and projects, but often develop them together.

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- Dräger-Möller, Bettina; City of Arnsberg (*Stadt Arnsberg*), Department for Urban Development and Housing (*Stadtentwicklung und Wohnen*)
- Ersöz, Ahmed; Former chair of the Turkish Association in Arnsberg
- Gerte, Guido; City of Arnsberg, Department for Urban Development and Housing
- Glingener, Karin; City of Arnsberg, Personal assistant to the mayor (Referentin des Bürgermeisters)
- Hahnwald, Erika; Honorary mayor; Chair of the Association for Arnsberg-Gierskämpen Youth Clubs (Vorsitzende des Trägervereins des Kinder- und Jugendtreffs Arnsberg-Gierskämpen)
- Herbst, Nathalie; Arnsberg-Gierskämpen Youth Club
- Josek, Peter; City of Arnsberg, Office for Immigration and Integration (Büro für Zuwanderung und Integration)
- Kuczkowski von, Esther; City of Arnsberg, Personal assistant to the mayor
- Markwart, Ekatherina; Moosfelde Cultural and Integration Centre (Kultur- und Integrationszentrum Hoffnung e.V.)
- Meyer, Wilhelm; Meyer and Partner Land and Estate Agents
- Röbke, Michaela; City of Arnsberg, Department for Urban Development and Housing
- Vogel, Hans-Josef; Mayor of the City of Arnsberg
- Unkrüer, Elvira; City of Arnsberg, Arnsberg-Moosfelde Youth Club

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