

efms paper 2009-1

Positioning of Migrants into the Housing Market: Structural Conditions and Urban Policies

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This paper has been written for the IMISCOE NoE,
work package 62, delivery D175
with support by the 6th EU framework programme.

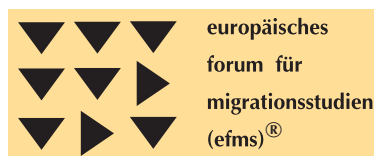




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1 Introduction

In times of ongoing immigration to industrial countries - due to humanitarian reasons and a serious need for immigrant workers resulting from an over-aging of Western societies - integration of immigrants and their offspring is a crucial issue nation states are obliged to cope with. Additional to migrants' positioning in various spheres of society, such as the labour market and the educational system, integration in the housing market is a major aspect of both the quality of migrants' life and their successful integration into the host society. Residence is connected with life chances and social mobility because of access to institutions of education, employment and health care, which are locally provided. Social facilities and the composition of a neighbourhood also affect the integration process of migrants and especially their children. Theoretically and empirically migration studies assume that migrants settle into 'immigration quarters' during the first stage of immigration¹. These quarters are typically characterised by housing of poor structural quality, a lack of institutional infrastructure and a high concentration of lower stratum native people, as well as migrants (Heckmann 2005). For newly arrived migrants, these quarters provide accessible and affordable housing and offer spatial proximity to other members of their own respective migrant community, facilitating the initial phase in the new country. Over time and generations, when migrants acculturate and gain socio-economic status, they leave these quarters and usually desegregate ethnically (Park/Burgess 1925, Heckmann 1992).

In contrast, it can be observed that sometimes second and third generation migrants remain in disadvantaged housing areas: this is usually combined with poor integration into other spheres of society such as the employment sector and the education system and is considered an indicator of failed housing market integration. Whereas the emergence of a 'parallel society' is perceived as a problem by the media social researchers allude to the creation of a European 'urban underclass' (Wilson 1987) or new "marginal groups" (Rudolph-Cleff 1996), characterised by housing areas in which ethnic and social stratification coincide.

Therefore, this paper investigates which conditions promote successful migrant integration into the housing market and to what extent projects and programmes may support them. The research for this article has been done within the framework of the IMISCOE network (www.imiscoe.org) and the European network "Cities for Local Integration Policies for Migrants" (CLIP). CLIP was founded in 2006 and did its first module on housing policies (www.eurofound.europa.eu). According to theoretical assumptions, and on the basis of the CLIP study on housing, integration was investigated within the following dimensions:

¹ See the concept of the *Chicago school* (Park/Burgess 1925) and the concept of the *ethnic colony* (Heckmann 1992).



- ▶ Access to housing
- ▶ Affordability of housing
- ▶ Quality of housing
- ▶ Quality of the social housing environment
- ▶ Subjective residential satisfaction
- ▶ Ethnic residential segregation

In the following it will be argued that, depending on the specific welfare regime and housing market structure nation states may intervene in varying degrees in order to improve the housing integration of migrants.

2 Theorising housing integration

The theoretical approach chosen for this study works with a set of six different factors, each of them either supporting or hindering successful housing integration.

Successful housing integration is defined as the assimilation of migrants housing patterns to that of the native population. This concedes that the dispersion of migrants over different segments of the housing market resembles that of native residents (Eichener 1988, Esser 2000, Kecskes 2004).

Within the concept of migrant integration into host societies by ESSER, housing integration falls into the category of structural assimilation as migrants' positioning in different systems of the host society such as the employment market, the educational system, the political system and the housing market, thus acquiring certain rights and duties. In order to cope with the challenges of integration a certain degree of cultural assimilation is required, which encompasses a good command of the host society's language and knowledge about prevailing values and norms. Additionally, social assimilation describes the interaction between migrants and native people and emotional assimilation leads to the development of identification with the host society (Esser 2000).

It is apparent that these assimilation processes require interethnic contacts and communication with members of the host society in order to be successful. If a society is too "closed" to migrants, blocking – by either legal restrictions or discrimination - positioning in important social, political and economical systems, migrants can hardly integrate into society.

The successful positioning of migrants and their offspring in the housing markets is such an important aspect of integration because one's place of residence is directly connected with access to employment, education and health care. The quality of interethnic contacts is shaped by physical and social conditions of the neighbourhood. The emergence of housing areas with a wretched physical structure, poor institutional infrastructure and a lack of social cohesion, in which many migrants, together with low income classes of the native population, concentrate, is a long discussed problem in both scientific literature, as well as the



broader media. In the 1980s, WILSON conducted some studies analysing the situation of housing areas in European cities. He summarised his results as the emergence of an “urban underclass” (Willems 2005). RUDOLPH-CLEFF alludes to the development of “new marginal groups” in European cities, which are concentrated in the most undesirable city quarters (Rudolph-Cleff 1996). KRUMMACHER, in particular, points out that in most cities migrants are strongly overrepresented in these disadvantaged housing areas (Krummacher 2002). In this regard, their integration process occurs against a background of unemployment, poverty, crime and delinquency and a lack of social cohesion. Besides lowering life chances, poor housing also impedes the integration chances of migrants due to a reduced opportunity to acquire language skills, integrate in education and employment and develop identification with the host society. How societal structures in general, and housing market structures in specific need to be shaped to enable successful integration will be analysed in the following chapters. In addition, successful interventions aimed at improving housing integration are discussed in relation to their dependence on a nation state’s welfare regime².

2.1 Access to housing

The assimilation of housing patterns assumes that migrants are granted the same access to all segments of the housing market as native residents. Access to housing as the first dimension of successful housing integration may be impeded by an information deficit on how to gain access to decent housing. Not only that, housing market discrimination may also block access.

It is assumed that many migrants face problems finding adequate housing due to a language deficit and unawareness of how the local housing market functions (European Commission 2005). Even for natives, housing markets are hardly opaque. Some migrants may not know how to use newspaper announcements and internet sides to search for a house. An additional hardship is that the cost of hiring a real estate agent is too expensive for migrants with low incomes (Ryter 2003). Furthermore, during the apartment viewing migrants may not know how to behave adequately; for example, disclosing their incomes in front of the landlord (Ryter 2003). Although many migrants are eligible for housing allowances due to their

² Welfare regimes determine the supply and quality of public housing and the institutional infrastructure in city quarters, as well as interventions in the private housing market by national or regional authorities with means of subsidies, allowances and tax reductions. According to ESPING-ANDERSEN welfare regimes are differentiated into three types of welfare states: *liberal welfare states* – mainly Anglo-Saxon countries with low expenses for social security – *social democratic welfare states* – mainly Scandinavian countries with high expenses for social security – and into *conservative welfare states* – primarily continental Europe with intermediate expenses for social security (Esping-Andersen 1999). It should be noted that housing policies may deviate from this broad categorisation such as the case of the Netherlands which has a high housing expenditure (Ball 2006). Therefore, in order to analyse the intervention opportunities of a specific country, one requires a detailed investigation of the country’s welfare and housing expenses, which cannot be discussed within the framework of this article.



low income, they may experience problems gaining information about how to obtain this support. If the local or regional authorities granting the subsidies do not offer bilingual information they may not reach parts of their target audience due to language problems of many migrants.

The second factor impeding access to housing is housing market discrimination. Similar to integration in other spheres of society, integration into the housing market not only depends on migrants' will to integrate, but also depends on the host societies' willingness to grant migrants full participation (Eichener 1988). In this regard, discrimination is a social-closing mechanism, which, to a certain extent, is connected to the development and application of prejudices against a social minority. According to DOVIDIO and GAERTNER, discrimination is a symptom of denial of equal behaviour towards a certain group of people or individuals who differ in certain characteristics from the majority of people (Dovidio/Gaertner 1989). Concerning the housing market, YINGER summarises the concrete pattern of prejudice and discrimination as follows:

„Racial prejudice is an attitude. In the housing market, it appears as an aversion toward living with or near members of some racial group. Racial discrimination in housing is any type of behaviour by people or their agents who sell or rent housing that denies one racial group the same access to housing given to the other group.” (Yinger 1987: 44)

Common prejudices stipulate that the settlement of migrants in the neighbourhood diminishes the value of houses because native people move out, refusing to live in a multi-ethnic neighbourhood (Yinger 1987). This occurrence is known as the “white flight”. Moreover, a widespread perception is that migrants, due to their large household sizes and their “traditional, less disciplined way of living”, damage apartments, buildings and outside facilities faster than native households (Eichener 1988).

Discriminative activities manifest in the denial of renting or selling an apartment to migrants. Cases are known in which migrants pay relatively higher rents in comparison to native people – a form of rental price discrimination (Kain/Quickley 1975, Bremer 2000). KAIN and QUICKLEY argue that migrants and ethnic minorities generally have to also cope with higher search costs for housing: they have to make more contacts, pay higher brokers' charges and simply search longer until they find a residence because of being turned down more often by landlords and sellers (Kain/Quickley 1975).

2.2 Affordability of housing

The affordability of decent housing forms the second dimension of analysis. The assimilation of migrants' housing patterns requires that migrants are able to afford housing in different segments of the housing market.



Affordability of housing is defined by MILLIGAN as “a function of the costs of producing and financing housing and of household income levels or [...] purchasing power.” (Milligan 2003: 57) Migrants dominantly belong to low income groups; only a minority of them achieve social mobility to a higher social stratum or belong to the group of “elite migrants” (Krummacher 2002, Charitas 2006). Additionally, migrants tend to live in larger households with more dependent household members such as children and elderly, hence the demanding for larger dwellings with more rooms (Charitas 2006). MILLIGAN argues that although an expansion of home ownership can be observed worldwide; there are also income groups which cannot afford home ownership and are forced to remain renting (Milligan 2003).

Depending on the welfare regime of a nation state, households can be supported with subsidies, housing allowances and tax reductions for renting or purchasing houses.

The public housing sector is a valuable political instrument with which authorities may influence the supply side of the housing market. Public housing construction, and the way it is organised, varies quite significantly among the investigated countries. It can broadly be defined as housing for relatively low income groups that is leased below the standard/average market price and constructed from public funding (Lux 2001:3). By regulating the public financing of housing the expulsion of low income groups into the least desirable segments of the private housing market may be prevented. Moreover, public housing is an instrument by which access to housing, quality of housing and the variation of housing types (size, quality, price value and attractiveness) can be controlled. Depending on public funding the public housing sector is comprised of either low quality dwellings, which are only inhabited by the most disadvantaged households – a so-called residualisation of the housing sector – or comprised of decent housing for low and middle class families. Successful housing integration of migrants, however, requires that this population group spread over several segments of the housing market in the same way that natives do. In this regard, a strong concentration of migrants in the public housing sector, even when it is of good quality, does not represent successful housing market integration.

Concerning public and private housing as well as rented and proprietary housing, a large housing supply and a small housing demand usually have a positive impact on the affordability of housing and decrease competition among tenants.

2.3 Quality of housing

This analytical dimension refers to the physical quality of housing. Quality is measured as the size of the dwelling in relation to the number of people living in it (living density). Additional important considerations are the material quality and the technical standard of insulation and sanitation. Concerning the housing environment, the institutional infrastructure (schools, health institutions, youth clubs etc.), the transport infrastructure (busses, metro,



etc.), green spaces, playgrounds for kids, pure air and little pollution are all important factors of housing quality.

Successful housing integration of migrants requires, by definition, that migrants live in homes of varying quality and attractiveness similar to the variations exhibited by native residents. Diverse studies and reports indicate that in most western countries almost the opposite is true (compare for example EUMC 2005, Schill et al. 1998). Although there exist differences between the living conditions of different groups of migrant and migrants of different national origin, a recent “Charitas report” discovered that generally the majority of migrants live in dilapidated housing areas, which are characterised by a poor infrastructure, poor quality construction, a monotonous architecture style (known as “living machines”), a lack of green spaces, excess noise and pollution (Charitas 2006). It should be noted that a poor transport infrastructure hinders residents’ employment opportunities in other parts of the city; hence the high unemployment rate in these dilapidated housing quarters and the residents’ subsequent isolation from economical and social urban dynamics.

Many cities impose different measures and projects in order to stop the dilapidation of these described housing areas, and to inversely rehabilitate them. The urban renewal³ approach promotes the restructure, restoration and renovation of buildings and the improvement of the infrastructure (CLIP 2007). The rehabilitation of housing areas is always accompanied with the risk of causing gentrification. Gentrification describes a process in which regeneration measures increase the attractiveness of former impoverished housing areas and subsequently higher income groups and investors are attracted to move in (Bremer 2000). As a consequence of the rising rents, the original residents are unable to afford housing in the regenerated areas and are forced to move into cheaper (not as yet regenerated) housing areas. If gentrification takes place the former residents of these dilapidated areas will not profit from the housing areas improvement. One very extreme measure with which to improve housing quality is to resettle residents. In this case, housing areas are demolished and residents move to other areas, which should ideally offer better housing. Due to the enormous associated costs of projects, and the possible refusal of residents to leave their neighbourhood, resettlement projects are rarely launched.

2.4 Quality of the social housing environment

This dimension analyses the quality of the social housing environment comprised of a specific netting of social institutions. These institutions create the social setting in which resi-

³ In the *hard urban renewal* approach, as it is known, all decisions about various measures of the regeneration process are made (“top-down”) by city officials and city planners, whereas *soft urban renewal* is characterised by the involvement and engagement of the residents in a “bottom-up” approach (CLIP 2007).



dents' experience – over the general course of living - the process of integration. The social environment is formed by formal social institutions run by the state, churches or NGOs, such as facilities of education, health care, schools, welfare services, social services and the police. Informal social institutions such as neighbourhood networks and community relations also have an important impact on the quality of the social environment and influence the cohabitation of specific groups in a living area.

Both formal as well as informal social institutions are important factors, contributing to the socialisation and integration of young children of both the native and migrant population. Furthermore, the quality of both institution types has a major impact on the living satisfaction of residents in a local area and the liveability of a neighbourhood.

Typically migrants live in housing areas with poor institutional facilities. Especially in regard to the educational system, literature and media regularly report on schools where the bulk of pupils stem from migrant families and subsequently language and value acquisition are hampered. Additional to that a lack of social cohesion in the neighbourhoods can cause "urban isolation". Neighbours tend to separate into ethnic groups to avoid interaction with each other. Compounding the situation even more so, neighbourhoods may be disrupted by fights between neighbours over noise, rubbish and deviant behaviour, resulting in serious ethnic conflicts.

The quality of the social environment is also influenced by the level of personal security in an area. Violence, criminality and other forms of anti-social behaviour may occur among neighbours as a result of tensions in the community or residing gangs and criminal youth (Madanipour 2003).

Various approaches for the improvement of the social environment at a local level can be found in the analysed cities discussed in this paper. Simply put, these measures advocate the improvement and expansion of social institutions, police and security reinforcement and projects to improve the communication and interaction among different (ethnic) groups to overcome isolation and alienation between neighbours. Furthermore, specific measures, such as providing a mediator, may be implemented to prevent or solve neighbourhood conflicts. Especially in relation to young people, the establishment of youth clubs, the employment of social workers and additional educational projects may improve the life and integration chances of these youngsters and reduce deviant behaviour.

2.5 Residential satisfaction

The fifth dimension of housing integration is subjective residential satisfaction. Achieving integration presumes that migrants demonstrate satisfaction levels equal to that of natives.

In the media, and sometimes even in research literature, it is often argued that migrants have lower housing demands than natives and, therefore, are easier to satisfy. This is assumed



because some migrants intend to eventually return to their home country and to buy a house there (Bremer 2000). There is also the perception that migrants originating from poorer countries are more accustomed to lower housing standards.

Residential satisfaction is extremely difficult to measure. A phenomenon called satisfaction paradox may occur, which is when tenants do not compare their housing standards to the society at large, but rather to their own social group (Häußermann/Siebel 2000). According to EICHENER, tenants in interviews about housing satisfaction sometimes modify their answers to conform to their expectation of what they assume is a “socially desired” response. Moreover, some seem to lower their housing expectations, because they feel that a higher housing standard is an unrealistic expectation for them (Eichener 1988).

Nevertheless, residential satisfaction is very important because it is a contributing factor to a migrant’s quality of life in their host country. The housing situation may be interpreted by tenants as representing their status in society; if they are unsatisfied this might interfere with a migrant’s evaluation of their host country (Esser 2000).

Generally it can be assumed that poor quality housing caused by a lack of access, affordability and residential choice lowers subjective residential satisfaction; inversely the opportunity to choose or design housing according to subjective expectations increases residential satisfaction. The influence of ethnic residential segregation will be discussed below.

Measures which improve residential satisfaction need to target the various aspects that affect housing situations.

2.6 Ethnic residential segregation

The occurrence of ethnic residential segregation was chosen as the last category of analyses because it is caused partly by problems of access to housing, lack of affordability and housing market discrimination; and partly by the choice of individuals to live in spatial proximity to members of the same ethnic or social group.

In scientific literature as well as in the media the term segregation is used with varying permeations which is why an accurate definition is needed to categorise it for analysis. Firstly, segregation defines certain groups of people that are spread disproportionately over a city, whereas housing integration requires an equal dispersion of every social and ethnic group among all housing market sectors of a city. The term social segregation usually refers to the unequal dispersion of social groups within a city and ethnic segregation refers to the unequal dispersion of ethnic groups. Concerning ethnic segregation, it is very important to differentiate whether various groups of migrants and ethnic minorities live segregated from natives or whether one ethnic group clearly dominates a housing area – known as **hyper segregation**.



Usually ethnic segregation coincides with social segregation when migrants (mainly from low income groups) live in the same housing areas as natives from a lower social stratum (Heckmann 2005). Due to the accumulation in these housing areas of social problems such as unemployment, drug abuse, crime, violence, conflicts and poor physical, infrastructural and social living conditions, this type of segregation is detrimental to the life chances of its inhabitants and the integration opportunities of migrant inhabitants. The segregation of ethnic groups may also occur in higher income groups, when members choose to live in an “ethnic neighbourhood”. Consequently the usually already achieved social and economical integration of these residents suggests that ethnic segregation occurs on a voluntary basis and hence must not be intervened with by the state (Heckmann 2005).

In theory, the most prominent explanation of the emergence of ethnic residential segregation was conducted by the Chicago school. The researchers BURGESS and PARK assumed that Chicago’s immigrant quarters such as “Little Italy” or “China Town” had developed because the spatial proximity to members of the same respective migrant group was advantageous in the initial phase of immigration. Dwellings in these city quarters are cheap and, with the help of fellow ethnic members, easy to access. An existing ethnic network in these quarters may support migrants with financial resources, offer advice on how to organise daily life in the new country and ease feelings of alienation.

Also HECKMANN, in his approach on the ethnic colony, assumes that ethnic residential segregation positively effects integration in the very first phase of immigration. The colony institutionalises resources to overcome the material and social/psychological uncertainty of migration. The author, therefore, describes this function of residential segregation as “new-comer aid”. Along with acculturation and socio-economic upward mobility migrants, in theory, strive to leave the colony because it cannot continue to fulfil their growing needs. This also indicates possible integration into higher segments of the housing market, usually involving ethnic desegregation. It is only if host societies do not allow integration or if the colony provides benefits which cannot be granted by the host society that migrants remain in the colony (Heckmann 1992).⁴

How to hinder the development of segregation or dissolve already existing segregation is a controversially discussed issue among social researchers and city planners. Attempts to desegregate housing areas in Western Europe reach back to the 1970s when some cities imposed regulations on how many members of specific ethnic groups were eligible to move into city quarters that were at risk of becoming over populated by migrants: “move-in-bans”. The use of these measures is rather seldom as city officials and researchers cannot come to a

⁴ According to WILEY, remaining in the colony may lead migrants into a “mobility trap”. In this instance, upward social mobility is limited to the scope of the ethnic network, which usually does not attain the same level (prestige, income etc.) of social status as those in the host society (Wiley 1970).



consensus about an optimal population mix and move-in-bans may lead to an unprecedented concentration of banned residents in other city quarters.

Another approach aims at improving the physical and social quality of segregated housing areas. This strategy is often based on the assumption that the segregation of ethnic groups has to be accepted because it is unavoidable (Schader-Stiftung 2005). Therefore, the disadvantages associated with living in a segregated area need to be counteracted by state intervention.

3 Applied methodology

For this article a specific methodology was developed to analyse conditions of the successful housing integration of migrants: a secondary analysis of recent research literature in the respective research field, and of housing project evaluations, was conducted.

The empirical material was sourced from the internet and the library. Due to the fact that only English and German material could be examined, the number of investigated countries was limited to material published in either of those languages. Consequently a compilatory study was completed which acknowledges its limited scope in a scientific setting. Rather, the study at hand shows different national or regional examples of integration processes and uncovers successful examples of state intervention to improve integration. This methodological approach was chosen because it offered the prospect of comparing integration policies and measurements across a wide range of different national and local contexts.

The concrete research methodology was developed on the basis of Philipp MAYRING's qualitative content analysis (Mayring 1990 and 2000). This approach generated analytical categories for every dimension of housing integration, evaluating the potential of housing projects and measures. The categories are defined according to theoretical assumptions on housing integration as outlined in the theoretical part of the paper. Every project was evaluated with respect to three general categories:

- ▶ Successfulness of the project according to project contractors: Do initiators and contractors of the project, as well as the secondary literature, rate the project as successful? Do they hint at problems or inadequacies?
- ▶ Transferability of the project concept: To what degree is the concept of the project transferable to other local contexts? Under which institutional, financial and social circumstances is the project concept applicable to other states, cities or regions? Is the project transferable to a migrant group which deviates from the project's target group?
- ▶ Sustainability of the project: Will the project lead to a constant improvement of the housing integration of migrants even after it has ended? Or will the project need to be indefinitely retained to improve housing integration?



Furthermore, housing projects were evaluated using specific categories for every analytical dimension. An overview of these categories can be found in annex 1.

Overall, positive and negative examples of housing projects and undertaken measures were included in the secondary analysis, and together with research findings, consolidated the generation of 13 hypotheses on conditions of successful housing integration of migrants under varying national, institutional, economical and social circumstances.

4 Empirical results

4.1 Empirical results on access to housing

Within the dimension of access to housing the investigation of research literature and project evaluations uncovered that different housing market structures within host countries generate different but also common access barriers.

Firstly, there are “structural” barriers, eligibility criteria which directly exclude specific population groups from access to public housing. This was the case in Austria up until 2006, leading to a concentration of non-citizens in the cheapest sector of the private housing market (Fassmann/Kohlbacher 2007). Similarly, during the 1970s in some European cities such as Frankfurt and Berlin the imposition of “access quotas”⁵ for migrants to specific city quarters could not impede residential segregation but led to the displacement of migrant concentrations in the accessible city quarters (Mochow 2006). In the case of public housing, access is impeded if authorities enforce quotas that demand the composition of neighbourhoods along certain ethnic categories.

Besides these barriers migrants in all investigated countries are hindered by a lack of information and housing market discrimination during their integration process (e.g. Andersen 2006, Europäische Kommission 2005, Caritas Europa 2006). Several studies show that both of these access factors may vary significantly among different migrant groups. In 2007, Carlos TEIXERA published his study which discovered that Portuguese immigrants in Canada commonly make use of “ethnic information sources” due to their poor language skills and social proximity to ethnic estate agents. This often results in ethnic segregation because ethnic networks do not possess information on housing or have difficulty accessing housing in areas which are dominated by natives (Teixera 2007).

Inversely, the case study of Zhou YU focusing on Taiwanese immigrants in the US who are known to be quick at integrating suggests that this immigrant group is well-informed about local housing markets, even before immigrating and that these migrants settle less often in

⁵ “Access quotas” operate in the same way as “move-in-bans”.



immigrant quarters than other migrants (Yu 2003). In this instance, a poor command of the host language does not impede housing assimilation.

In order to improve the information deficit different projects can be launched by nation states, cities and communities.

The “Wiener Wohndrehscheibe” was founded in 1997 by the aid organisation “Volkshilfe Österreich” in Vienna, Austria; against a background of an extremely bad migrant housing situation at the time. The Wohndrehscheibe service provides general information about the housing market and individual advice for residents on how to find a dwelling according to specific needs and then how to finance it. Furthermore, social workers may accompany clients to apartment showings and attend the concluding rental agreement meeting. According to the organisation, approximately 75% of the clients have a migration background. Within the last 10 years, more than 8000 households from more than 100 nations were supported in gaining access to housing by the Wohndrehscheibe and 1550 dwellings for more than 5000 individuals were arranged in that time (Volkshilfe Österreich 2007). As a result of the organisation’s success the Wohndrehscheibe has become the central contact point for housing problems in Vienna. All social institutions send clients there when they need counselling for access to housing. Reflecting their achievements, the Wohndrehscheibe has received the “best practice project” award several times, for example for their UN Settlements Programme in 2004.

The second project investigated was “Zuwanderer Integrieren” – founded in 2004 by the German city Münster. The project aimed to improve access to housing for newly arrived migrants. “Integration pilots” advised participants about housing and accompanied them to apartment showings. In order to reduce residential segregation of ethnic minorities participants had to agree not to move into a city quarter with a high percentage of migrant inhabitants (Michalowski et al. 2006). The project was evaluated in 2004 and 2006, the main results indicating that the project’s participants settled less often in quarters with a high percentage of migrants than the control group (Severker et al. 2007).

The “Antidiskriminierungsprojekt im Wohnbereich” ran between 1997 and 1999 in the German city of Dortmund, coordinated by the „Planerladen e.V. Dortmund”. Based on systematic scientific analysis of the migrants’ housing situation in the city, the project executed campaigns and broadcast information that simultaneously promoted migrants as tenants while also aiming to improve the migrant’s knowledge of how to gain access to decent housing. The project did not offer individual counselling, instead working with road shows (Planerladen e.V. 1999).

**Table 1: Investigated projects against the information deficit of migrants**

Projects against information deficit							
Projects	Success of the project according to project contractors	Transferability of the project concept	Sustainability	Information on every housing market segment	Bilingual service of the project	Attendance at apartment showings	Social and ethnic desegregation
Wohndrehscheibe	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no
Zuwanderer Int.	yes	limited	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Anti-d. Project	?	yes	yes	limited	yes	no	no

By appraising the research findings from the above mentioned projects it can be stipulated that projects which aim at reducing the migrants' lack of information should adopt the function of the ethnic colony by providing information in the migrants' respective mother tongue. Hence, projects should consider providing information in several languages and employing staff members with a migration background. They could counsel migrants in their mother tongue and possibly appear more trustworthy due to a common cultural background.

Moreover, it should be anticipated that many migrants, who may benefit from housing projects, belong to a lower income group and live in rather large households. Nevertheless, successful housing integration requires that these projects do not limit their counselling services to solely cater for affordable public or private housing, but to also additionally help those migrants who can afford more expensive housing and subsequently help them to gain access to middle class housing areas. If information is restricted to public housing this may lead to an overrepresentation of migrants in this housing market sector, which does not entirely reflect the demand and financial power of all of these households. A concentration of migrants in public housing may, in fact, lead to an undesirable ethnic segmentation of the housing market, in opposition to successful housing market integration. Projects which, therefore, counsel migrants individually in finding access to appropriate housing in all housing market sectors, are highly recommendable.



Moreover, when counselling for access to housing also encourages housing areas without ethnic residential concentration, projects contribute to desegregation. With regard to the sustainable nature of these introduced projects it is hard to confirm whether information continues to spread within the ethnic networks. As new immigrants continue to arrive, projects should continue to support the housing integration of these migrants, beginning with their initial arrival.

The three investigated projects employed measures which also work against housing market discrimination. In the *Wohndrehscheibe* and *Zuwanderer Integrieren* staff members accompanied migrants to apartment showings, where they could also act as a guarantor and mediator if landlords are reluctant to rent to migrants. The presence of a third person may also raise the inhibition threshold for discrimination. The *Antidiskriminierungsprojekt im Wohnbereich* aimed at reducing discrimination by raising awareness of migrants' struggle with access to housing and promoting them as valuable tenants in campaigns and road shows. The success of this strategy is extremely difficult to measure. Another anti-discrimination project investigated stems from the Spanish city Terrassa. Founded by the public company "Sociedad Municipal d'Habitatge de Terrassa" (SOMUHATESA) the project functions as a mediator between migrant tenants and owners. SOMUHATESA signs a contract with the home owner, agreeing to assist tenants in keeping the property in a good condition, reducing the likelihood of a refusal to rent dwellings to migrants (CLIP 2007). This kind of quality assurance also guarantees that migrants live in decent housing. It is unlikely, however, that such as project could be launched for a large target group due to its prohibitive costs.

Research findings lend themselves to the conclusion that housing market discrimination against migrants and ethnic minorities is a complex phenomenon which emerges from social dynamics and, therefore, changes with the current social and economic state of society. Monitoring and sanctioning housing market discrimination is extremely difficult and it seems that measures like the ones introduced can only prevent individual cases but are holistically ineffective at tackling the larger problem.

Nation states with a large public housing sector possess a valuable instrument with which to control the housing situation of a large share of the population. As opposed to the private housing market, this condition more easily allows for the dispersion of housing information and equal access for all ethnic groups; that is if authorities organise the allocation process of public housing appropriately (for example monitor responsible civil servants).

**Table 2: Investigated anti-discrimination projects**

Projects against discrimination						
Projects	Success of project according to project contractors	Transferability	Sustainability	Reduction of prejudices	Attendance at apartment showings	Quality assurance
Wohndrehscheibe	yes	yes	yes	indirectly	yes	no
Zuwanderer Int.	yes	integration pilots	yes	indirectly	yes	no
Anti-d. Project	?	yes	yes	yes	no	no
SOMUHATESA	no information	?	?	indirectly	yes	yes

Nation states with a small public housing sector have a reduced capacity in which to intervene directly in housing dynamics. In this case, spreading information about access to different sectors of the housing market and the promotion of anti-discrimination may be beneficial.

Crucial to the success of these projects is being able to offer the services free of charge to both migrants and natives. Projects need to be either government funded - which is achievable for states with a high tax rate - or privately sponsored.

4.2 Empirical results on housing affordability

Concerning housing affordability, the integration of migrants in the employment sector is crucial for the accumulation of financial capital required to afford housing integration. Authorities may support lower income groups with subsidies, allowances and tax reductions.

In respect to the supply and demand side of the housing market, a large supply of housing is generally advantageous for low income households because this decreases competition in the housing market and restricts a rise in prices (Kohlbacher/Schwab 2002).

A well developed public housing sector is particularly evident in the Netherlands. Approximately 36% of the housing market is publicly managed and, in addition, rent subsidies are granted generously. Public dwellings are spread over the city and occupied by lower and



middle income households (Bolt/Kempen 1997). The advantages of this housing policy are summarized by BOLT and KEMPEN as follows:

„Especially in a country such as the Netherlands, the welfare state pervades many aspects of life, including housing. The large number of relatively good-quality, affordable social-housing units is one of the main manifestations of the welfare state. Moreover, rent subsidies make it possible for people to live in types of housing that they could not otherwise afford. Allocation procedures are important in deciding “who gets what and where”. It should be clear that a retreating welfare state might very well have a negative influence on the housing market opportunities of (especially) low-income households.” (Bolt/Kempen 1997:379)

A large supply of public housing, exemplified in the Netherlands, proves to be a valuable political instrument for influencing the dispersion of specific types of housing over the city, and controlling housing quality as well as access and allocation for a large part of the city's population (European Commission 2005). Avoiding residualisation, Dutch public housing provides a foundation for social and ethnic desegregation by granting access and affordability to low income groups in different segments of the housing market.

Within the analytical dimension of housing affordability, four different projects were evaluated in a secondary analysis.

The American project “Low Income Housing Tax Credit Program” (LITHC) was founded in 1987 to deconcentrate poverty. The project aims at improving housing affordability on the supply side of the housing market. Under LITHC the construction of affordable dwellings in neighbourhoods with a low poverty rate is publicly funded. These dwellings may be rented exclusively to households with low incomes - many with a migration background or belonging to an ethnic minority. This tactic opened the city quarters of intermediate income classes to low income households (Varady/Wang 2007).

The American “Section 8 Program” (Housing Choice Voucher Program) was launched in 1974 and aims at supporting affordability on the demand side of the housing market: housing subsidies, known as “housing vouchers”, are distributed to low income households to help them participate in the better quality housing market sectors (Basolo/Nguyen 2005). Research literature reports that the success of this programme varies significantly among cities and city quarters. In some cases, households do not use subsidies to improve their housing situation but rather invest them in other avenues. Despite the project's objectives, it cannot prevent discrimination, which sometimes impedes access to certain housing, especially for ethnic minorities. In other instances, households successfully relocated to decent city quarters, entailing improved education and employment, as well as indicating high levels of subjective housing satisfaction (Basolo/ Nguyen 2005, Varady/Wang 2007).

The “Gautreaux Assisted Housing Programme” in the city of Chicago was launched in 1976, ran until 1998, and was restarted in 2002. It provides housing vouchers to black minority households, under the condition that these households move to white middle class city



quarters (Wissmann/Feitosa 2006, Ducan/Zuberi 2006). Although controversially discussed, the programme is acknowledged as being successful (Wissmann/Feitosa 2006).

The project “Preiswertes Wohnen” was founded in 2000 in the German city of Stuttgart. The city of Stuttgart offers families with children, whose income is under a certain limit, funding and low-interest loans when purchasing their own home (Lüken-Klaßen 2007a). No evaluations were available.

The evaluation of the American projects - which are based on a voucher system that offers subsidised rents for the private housing market - showed that the spending power of low income groups can be increased in this way, however, reduced access resulting from discrimination may still hinder target households from moving to more attractive housing areas. Measures which aim at reducing ethnic and social segregation by increasing housing affordability for segregated households neglect to address the fact that segregation is not a mono-causal phenomenon and cannot be fought without mitigating discrimination and exclusion.

Contrary to this approach, some nations and cities prefer to launch projects that increase the supply of affordable housing (which is generally public housing and occasionally non-profit private housing). Subsequently, authorities may structure housing areas heterogeneously according to quality and price in order to attract different income groups. Authorities need to possess enough funding and need to have adequate control of available land if they want to launch such a strategy.

This strategy, however, depends on the willingness of target groups to move into these housing areas. Phenomena such as the “white flight” – the moving out of native inhabitants when migrants move in – may occur.

The secondary evaluation showed that conditions of housing integration for migrants differ between nation states insofar as migrants do not have equal access and affordability of housing in all housing market segments, everywhere.

**Table 3: Investigated projects to increase affordability**

Projects to increase affordability					
Projects	Success of project according to project contractors	Transferability	Sustainability	Increase of affordability	Social and ethnic desegregation
Section 8	yes	yes	limited	yes	limited
Gautreux	limited	yes	yes	yes	yes
“Preiswertes Wohneigentum”	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes

Depending on the local integration deficit, it is necessary that specific measures are imposed to support housing affordability. In the case of Germany, the distinct underrepresentation of migrants in homeownership must be fought⁶. Stuttgart’s project Preiswertes Wohneigentum is a good approach to address this problem.

4.3 Empirical results on the quality of housing

Determined by factors of unequal access to housing and poor housing affordability, many migrants are concentrated in physically and socially disadvantaged housing areas. Although differences in the housing situation between host countries and migrant groups exist, it can be conceded that migrants are generally one of those inhabiting groups who benefit from measures of urban renewal. Although gentrification, as a by-product of renewal activities, carries the risk of displacing lower income groups to other housing areas (due to increased housing prices) there is no alternative to urban renewal if action is needed to prevent the decay of housing areas (Shaw 2005).

Within this dimension three different projects were analysed in relation to the improvement of migrants’ quality of housing.

In the following discussion, various projects launched in the Netherlands were analysed collectively under the category “Dutch urban renewal”, because each exhibited similar tactics, and for some, limited evaluation data was available. Dutch urban renewal is mainly characterised as an approach to diversify quarters’ population by improving the quality of

⁶ See also the study of Grandt and Hanhörster in the next chapter.



housing (Kloostermann 1998). Additional to several physical improvements, social regeneration means are employed. In Amsterdam's Bijlmermeer quarter, sometimes large housing blocks were demolished or reconstructed in order to diversify the supply (Lüken-Klaßen CLIP 2007). Together with a revaluation of the housing environment, specific dwellings to attract middle income families were created. In order to diminish the risk of gentrification, individual housing subsidies were paid to low income households to assist with increasing rents (Kloostermann 1998). Overall, the Dutch renewal strategy is highly valued in research literature (compare for example Kloostermann 1998, Smets 2005, CLIP 2007). It leads to high levels of sustainability in the residential population mix and integrates migrants as well as native low income households into local housing markets. Transferability of the Dutch urban renewal concept is very limited primarily because cities in the Netherlands own a high percentage of the housing supply. A thorough reconstruction of quarters may only be accomplished if authorities are in charge of a large share of housing. Housing markets with a dominant private housing supply are, therefore, much more difficult to reconstruct comprehensively. Furthermore, to prevent that gentrification displaces low income households from renewed quarters', public money for rent subsidies needs to be provided. This is another reason why such a strategy may only be accomplished by nation states with developed welfare systems.

One of the most ambitious and highly funded housing programmes in American history is "HOPE VI" (Homeownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere). After the National Commission on Severely Distressed Housing discovered that public housing does not provide sufficient housing quality for its residents, a renewal programme was launched in 1992 and funded with 5 billion US dollars (Brooks et al. 2005). The programme is based on a dual strategy. Firstly, dilapidated public housing areas were demolished and reconstructed in a mixture of housing types to attract middle class households. Secondly, housing vouchers were distributed to those residents from the dilapidated housing areas who wished to rent a dwelling in the private housing sector. Subsequently, residents could choose if they wanted to return to their former housing areas, settle into another public housing area or move into private housing. The success of HOPE VI is controversially discussed in both research literature and publicly. The project's objectives result in the resettlement of some of the residents because fewer dwellings were constructed than were demolished. Similar to the Dutch projects, a comprehensive renewal scheme needs to be based on the acquisition of large housing areas provided by public housing or housing societies. On top of that, sufficient and long-term funding needs to be granted by regional or national authorities. HOPE VI does not endorse any social renewal measures.

The third investigated renewal project "Wohneigentumsbildung in Dinslaken-Lohberg und Duisburg-Marxloh" displays a different approach to the improvement of housing. The German cities Dinslaken-Lohberg and Duisburg-Marxloh privatised dilapidated public housing and house-building companies. As outlined in a study conducted by GRANDT and HAN-



HÖRSTER, these dwellings were mainly sold to migrants who had lived in the target areas before or had since moved there.

In particular Turkish immigrants in Germany possess decent financial resources but own fewer homes than their native counterparts of the same income group (Grandt/Hanhörster 2003); therefore, the project responded to an existing demand for proprietary. After buying economically priced homes most households had since carried out restoration and renovation according to their own housing aspirations. Apparently this project concept diminishes the influence of authorities on renewal measures, while simultaneously enabling residents to construct their homes individually. The success of such a strategy depends on the demand for this type of housing in a specific target area. In order to lower the risk of gentrification GRANDT and HANHÖRSTER propose imposing the right to refuse by the original residents (Grandt/Hanhörster 2003). Additionally subsidies may be provided by authorities.

The investigated research literature and the projects investigated suggest that successful and sustainable housing politics need to launch strategies of urban renewal without displacing the original inhabitants of these renewed housing quarters. A stable mixture of different housing types, which belong partly to the public housing sector and partly to the private sector, and are attractive to different income groups, seems to be the most promising solution for creating a sustainable population mix of social and ethnic groups in various housing areas.

According to Dutch housing politics, it might be very useful to accompany urban renewal with additional housing allowances and subsidies for low income inhabitants in order to improve their competitiveness if housing costs rise, facilitating the preservation of the social heterogeneity of renewed areas.

In general, it can be concluded that the housing quality for the most vulnerable groups of the housing market always depends on the current physical state of the most affordable housing in a city. If nation states, cities and communities have a large public housing sector at their disposal it is easier to control the quality of a large part of the housing market as opposed to states with a dominant private housing sector. This does not necessarily mean that the public housing sector per se is of better quality - it depends on the available funding and the political intent to improve housing.

**Table 4: Investigated projects which aim to improve housing quality**

Projects which aim to improve housing quality						
Projects	Success of project according to project contractors	Transferability	Sustainability	Quality	Gentrification	Social and ethnic desegregation
Dutch u.r.	yes	depends on housing market structures	yes	yes	limited	yes
HOPE VI	yes		limited	yes	limited	limited
D.L/D.M. ⁷	yes		yes	yes	no information	no information

4.4 Empirical results on the quality of the social housing environment

A poor social housing environment is caused by a lack of social facilities and institutions such as schools, health care, police and welfare services, to name a few. Moreover, multi-ethnic city quarters often suffer from poor social cohesion and conflicts between neighbours. Such a social setting impedes the life chances of the inhabitants and does not offer many means to support the migrants' integration into various spheres of the host society.

Particularly in European cities, an approach called "quarter management" has prevailed in order to cope with a deficient social housing environment. Diverse measures belonging to the social work field are linked to a physical and infrastructural improvement of disadvantaged quarters, characterised by an accumulation of several housing problems (Kuhlmann/Mirbach 2001). According to current research findings, certain objectives are very conducive to the success of such measures; if an approach aims at integrating vulnerable groups into several spheres of society such as the housing market, the educational system and the employment market by involving different social and non-profit parties being engaged with these issues (Petendra 2005, Lukkarinen 2004). Strategies should, therefore, be launched on the basis of a comprehensive concept which aims at improving the general

⁷ Abbreviation stands for the project launched in Dinslaken-Lohberg and Duisburg-Marxloh.



participation of the target group in various spheres of society. In the majority of cases integration in the employment sector is regarded as the starting point to resist social exclusion.

Welfare states with a well developed system of social institutions, such as employment centres and social welfare offices, can offer comprehensive care and counselling for vulnerable groups. Inversely, states without strong welfare services require the help of commercial or charitable actors to initiate such measures. It can be assumed that in the latter a link to several integration measures is more difficult to ascertain.

Within this dimension of housing integration two relatively similar projects were analysed: the Swedish programme "Local Development Agreements" (LDA) and the German programme "Soziale Stadt". Both projects advocate a collection of different social objectives in the fields of education, vocational qualification and employment. In conjunction, activities for the improvement of social cohesion in multi-ethnic neighbourhoods and the reduction of crime and delinquency were launched. Whereas Soziale Stadt has not yet been evaluated in detail⁸, the Swedish programme was thoroughly investigated by the researcher LUKKARINEN. The author states that the project's success can be assessed in relation to the decline of the unemployment rate and an increased dependence on welfare subsidies in the target areas (Lukkarinen 2004). Transferability of the project concept is rather limited according to LUKKARINEN, because the programme is tailored solely to the parameters of the Swedish welfare state, which encourages very high amounts of social spending and a well developed institutional structure to coordinate and link activities of different social interventions (Lukkarinen 2004).

The above-mentioned German project Antidiskriminierungsprojekt im Wohnbereich organised a "neighbourhood forum". The forum regularly invited neighbours to discuss the problems and conflicts of the housing area. The discussion was translated for migrants and disputes were mediated by social workers. Project contractors presumed that this measure was successful in resolving the isolation of neighbours and in reducing prejudices (Planerladen e.V. 1999).

A second group of social projects, which was analysed within the dimension of the social housing environment, deals with "intercultural housing projects": the "HABITAT" in Hannover, Germany and the "Interethnische Nachbarschaft" in Vienna, Austria. These projects aim to integrate migrants and native residents of low and middle income groups in a housing estate. It should be noted that these projects are well funded. The constructed housing estates show an above average quality and residents are selected before they move in (Hansen 2005, Ludl 2003). Therefore, these projects cannot be transferred to a broader population; however, it uncovers some interesting findings concerning multi-ethnic cohabitation.

⁸ Project contractors expect long-term success (Aehnelt et al. 2004).



„Habitat aims at practically implementing the normality of the every-day coexistence of immigrants and the receiving society; simultaneously, it seeks to put forward for discussion small, inconspicuous integration aids (illustrating good practices) in the very important every-day life of housing. International coexistence has long become a social reality, which no one can escape from. Nevertheless, so much fails here; nevertheless, so many people from the receiving society miss out on enrichment through immigration and their cultures; nevertheless, there is so much discrimination against and prejudices towards migrants also and unfortunately particularly in Germany. Habitat wants to have an effect through non-ideological, practical and natural living together and neighbourhood (Hansen 2005: 1, own translation)

Project evaluations showed that conflicts between neighbours (migrants and natives) generally do not arise from cultural differences as is portrayed in the media and perceived by the public. Rather, they have other reasons such as age differences, household sizes or generally different life styles (Brech 2003b). A good social cohesion in a neighbourhood may be created if neighbours meet regularly at organised events and communicate with each other (Ludl 2003, Schader-Stiftung 2004, Hansen 2005). These findings are important indicators on how social measures of quarter management - the cohabitation in urban neighbourhoods - can be improved.

Table 5: Investigated projects which aim to improve the social housing environment

Projects which aim to improve the social housing environment							
Projects	Success of the project according to project contractors	Transferability	Sustainability	Social and material improvement	Neighbourhood relations	Security	Social and ethnic desegregation
LDA	yes	difficult	yes	yes	yes	yes	no
Soziale Stadt	limited	limited	?	yes	yes	?	no
Anti-Disk.proj.	yes	yes	yes	neighbourhood forum	yes	no	no

Due to their overrepresentation in many disadvantaged housing areas, migrants have become an important target group for quarter management; they may profit from these activities, gaining support, such as language training, for the integration process into the host society. Despite these measures, desegregation may not be explicitly achieved because of the



geographical limitations of certain housing areas. Irrespective of these measures the integration of migrants into the entire society depends on factors which exceed the spatial scope of quarter management – namely the exclusion of discrimination.

4.5 Empirical results on residential satisfaction

If successfully integrated into the housing market migrants should show a similar residential satisfaction to that of their respective native neighbours. In research literature almost no investigations can be identified concerning the residential satisfaction of migrants so far. Research covering residential satisfaction of native people compared to migrants needs to be conducted with reservation, and should solely be used as an indicator to outline the possible satisfaction of migrants.

Clearly there are no housing projects which are able to improve residential satisfaction without changing the social or material conditions of the housing. Therefore, within this dimension of housing integration, no separate projects could be analysed; results from projects from the other dimensions concerning residential satisfaction are explained in the following.

Several studies clearly oppose the assumption that migrants have lower housing needs than native people due to their intention to return to their home country. Also, it is falsely supposed that migrants are accustomed to generally lower housing standards in their home country (Franz 2004, Häußermann/Siebel 2000, Eichener 1988). On the contrary, soon after immigration the housing aspirations and needs of migrants assimilate with native expectations; preferring, like the majority of natives, to live in an independent owner occupied home (Häußermann/Siebel 2000). If migrants show alternative housing aspirations and desires this mostly results from a different composition of the household and stems less often from cultural housing practices (Häußermann/Siebel 2000, Wolff 2004, Eichener 1988).

According to the studies available some factors can be identified which usually lower the residential satisfaction of inhabitants in general and especially affect migrants due to their relatively worse housing situation in the host country. Firstly, living in large homogeneous housing developments – where often migrants are settled in these “housing machines” - is generally not very satisfying (Shaw 1994, Dekker et al. 2007). Secondly, residents who cannot freely choose their residence, due to economic or other constraints, show a lower housing satisfaction than residents who could choose where to live (Van der Laan Bouma-Doff/Van der Land 2007). This assumption is supported by the evaluation results of the American “voucher projects”, which indicate that residential satisfaction is increased by the opportunity of residential choice (Basolo/Nguyen 2005). Lack of affordability and access of many migrants threaten residential choice and, hence, lower residential satisfaction.

Moreover, it becomes apparent that home ownership is the most prestigious housing situation in many countries. This is an additional factor as to why residents usually strive to pur-



chase their own home (Elsinga/Hoekstra 2005, Teixeira 2007). In comparison to rental housing, privately owned homes can easily be designed individually, which is very advantageous if the composition of the household differs from the norm or if residents have cultural-specific housing requirements⁹.

4.6 Empirical results on ethnic residential segregation

The analytical dimension of ethnic residential segregation accumulates findings from the other dimensions. Ethnic residential segregation is a multi-causal phenomenon determined by migrants' lack of access and affordability of middle class housing; and their tendency to live in spatial proximity to migrants from the same ethnic group, leading to a concentration in city quarters of poor physical, infrastructural and social quality alongside native lower income group households.

The investigated research literature confirms that migrants generally integrate in the housing market over time and generations, while acculturating and improving their socio-economic status; as is indicated by the Chicago school and the ethnic colony. Moreover, this assumption can be confirmed by the ZDROJEWSKI and SCHIRMER study, which analysed the moving in and out movements of migrants in immigration quarters in Nuremberg, Germany (Zdrojewski/Schirmer 2005). The authors discovered that desegregation develops as a process over the course of a migrant's integration, whereas segregation exists as a permanent structure of the city – maintained by the move-in of newly arrived migrants. The American study of ELLIS and WRIGHT, moreover, shows that desegregation increases from one migrant generation to the next – being of even more importance than the effect of income. Households that possess second or third generation migrants live less ethnically segregated than first generation households. Even if first generation households possess high incomes, second and third generation households with lower incomes are more desegregated (Ellis/Wright 2005). Evidently, however, the factor of economic integration should not be neglected; in a study conducted by Kempen and Bolt on Turkish migrants in the Netherlands it demonstrated a failure to integrate into the private housing sector due to a lack of affordability (Kempen/Bolt 1997).

Concerning migrants' desire to live in spatial proximity to migrants from the same ethnic group, Ceri PEACH delivered an important study in 2007. He observed that immigrants in Britain do not integrate equally into society. Whereas Caribbean migrants tended to assimilate quickly in every sphere of society, and show high levels of intermarriage, migrants from South Asian countries tended to assimilate only in some spheres of society. The latter are economically well integrated in their host country, but social contacts are mostly limited to

⁹ In countries such as Germany, where migrants possess less proprietary than natives, an improved integration into the housing sector might positively influence residential satisfaction. This could also be interpreted as symbolising identification and satisfaction with the host country.



members of the same ethnic group. PEACH assumes that reasons are the common Muslim religious affiliation between Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, as well as the organisation in extended families (*biraderi*). "Unlike the Caribbean population, the South Asian groups, by keeping family close and having larger families, have tended to reinforce existing centres of settlement rather than hollow them out, as the Caribbean population has done" (Peach 2007: 30). In addition, gender segregation (*purdah*) may also be an obstacle to integration in the host society (Peach 2007).

Several other recently published studies uncovered that the tendency to live in close proximity to migrants from the same ethnic group differs between immigrant groups. For example, SOUTH et al. hint at a stronger residential segregation of Cuban immigrants in comparison to Mexican immigrants in the US. The authors assume that Cubans, due to their darker skin colour, face a higher degree of discrimination in the host society (South et al. 2005). Similarly, ANDERSEN reveals that the ethnic segregation of migrants may be caused by the desire to live close to family and friends rather than random migrants from the same ethnic group (Andersen 2006).

Another case study was conducted to investigate the relatively quick integration of Taiwanese immigrants in the US. Zhou YU reveals that these migrants integrate into the housing market by buying property in middle class areas before they have acculturated and assimilated in the host country. YU attributes this to the Taiwanese's ability to inform themselves about living conditions in the US before immigrating and to aim at directly settling into middle class housing (YU 2003). No tendency to live in spatial proximity to the same ethnic group could be discovered here.

Contrarily, both TEIXERA and CLARK reveal in their studies the phenomenon of re-segregation. In this instance, some migrant groups, especially in the US, integrate into higher segments of the housing market without desegregating ethnically (Teixera 2007, Clark 2001). Ethnic suburbs, as it is known, are developed, concentrating middle class household of a specific ethnic minority. Since their inhabitants are economically integrated, and the housing and social quality of these areas is decent, there is no need to intervene politically (Heckmann 2005).

To summarise these results, housing integration of migrants requires an equal spread of migrants over several segments of the housing market and ethnic desegregation. How fast the integration process is executed depends, on the one hand, on (financial and social) resources, housing desires and needs of migrants and, on the other hand, on the general integration conditions in the host society, which may unequally affect the integration of specific migrant groups. Besides the linear assimilation in the housing market, cases of segmented assimilation may occur, representing different methods of integration: socio-economic upward mobility with or without ethnic desegregation, as well as social downward mobility with integration in the lower classes of society and their housing areas (South et al. 2005).



Within this dimension only successful projects on ethnic segregation could be found, which at the same time do improve other dimensions of housing and were therefore explained above.

Table 6: Investigated projects of ethnic desegregation

Projects of ethnic desegregation			
Projects	Ethnic desegregation	Transferability	Sustainability
Quotas/Move-in-bans	risk of expulsion	controversially discussed approach	only if measure continues
Zuw. Integrieren	yes	limited	limited
Section 8	limited	yes	yes
Gautreaux	yes	yes	yes
Diversification of supply (Urban Renewal)	yes	control over large supply is needed	yes

The imposition of move-in-bans and quotas regulating the population mix in a neighbourhood, which explicitly aim to impede the development of ethnic segregation, are not possible in democratic states because they interfere with the freedom of residential choice.

Objectives which achieve social and ethnic desegregation by improving access and affordability of decent housing, without linking financial support to a certain housing area (and thereby determining the residence) may supposedly be less efficient, yet are also less discriminating. This category encompasses projects such the American programme Section 8, whereas Zuwanderer Integrieren and Gautreaux both work with a limitation on residential choice.

Most strategies of urban renewal aspire to a heterogeneous mix of housing types as is achieved in the Dutch public housing sector, Such a strategy seems to be a valuable foundation for the social and ethnic population mix, creating beneficial conditions for the successful integration of migrants and other vulnerable groups. However, it should not be assumed that spatial proximity between different social and ethnic groups necessarily leads to communication and interaction between these groups.



5 The generation of hypotheses

The investigation of the empirical material showed that housing integration processes vary among migrant groups as well as the national or local contexts in which they take place. Nevertheless, regularities or systematic discrepancies could be revealed, allowing the generation of hypotheses about the conditions of successful housing integration of migrants.

Usually all integration begins with the settlement of migrants in affordable and accessible housing areas next to members of the same ethnic or national group. Depending on the welfare regime of the host country, and the segmentation of its housing market, these housing areas consist of either public housing or affordable private housing. Typically migrants mix with the native population's lower stratum group in these areas, which show a poor physical and social quality.

Hypothesis 1: The housing integration of migrants starts with the settlement in housing areas which are typically the least attractive, most affordable and accessible areas of the city. The inhabitants belong to lower stratum groups of the native population and ethnic minorities. In these areas social and ethnic segregation coincide.

Living conditions in these housing areas are the result, on the one hand, of historically developed structures of the housing market. On the other hand, they are the outcome of long term public and/or private housing market interventions or lack thereof. Generally speaking, the construction of large homogenous housing areas creates a foundation for a homogenous population. Constructing a heterogeneous housing supply is a precondition for a population mix of income groups and household types.

The physical quality, the infrastructural and institutional setting and the social climate in housing areas are crucial for the life chances of all inhabitants, as well as the integration chances of migrants. Against the background of these structures migrants have to manage acquiring the language and culture of the host society, integration into the educational system and the labour market, developing interethnic contacts and, finally, identifying with the host country. By employing means of urban renewal and quarter management, diverse aspects of living conditions in city quarters at risk may be improved, hence facilitating the integration of its inhabitants.

Hypothesis 2: Living conditions and opportunity structures of migrants are especially determined by the general physical, infrastructural and social conditions of the immigrant quarters of a city. Nation states, cities and communities are responsible for shaping these conditions in a way which enables migrants to integrate thoroughly into the host society.

It can be assumed that migrants strive for integration in all sectors of the housing market according to their individual resources, aspirations and needs. The process of housing inte-



gration, therefore, is usually accompanied by an improvement in housing quality and ethnic and social desegregation.

Although only very few studies have been conducted on the housing aspirations of migrants, research findings point out that migrants' housing aspirations adapt soon after their initial immigration to mirror those of the native population. Deviant housing aspirations for cultural reasons rarely occur and often different housing patterns can be explained by a different composition of migrant households. If migrants permanently remain in the unattractive quarters of their first settlement this should, therefore, be understood as a failure of housing integration.

Hypothesis 3: The permanent occupation of migrants in the physically and socially disadvantaged housing areas, where social and ethnic segregation coincide, represents a failure of housing integration, also impeding the integration into other spheres of society.

Migrants strive for integration in diverse sectors of the housing market. As a precondition they need to be informed about access and affordability of housing in these specific housing market sectors. Ethnic sources¹⁰ of information may hinder integration because they are likely to be limited to housing in immigrant quarters. Crucial to participating in information of the host society is a good command of the host language. The authorities may support migrants by providing information in their mother tongue.

Hypothesis 4: The integration into the housing market depends on migrants' access to necessary information. In order to participate in information systems of the host society, the acquisition of the local language is crucial. Migrants' networks are an additional or alternative source of information.

Moreover, integration in diverse sectors of the housing market depends on the affordability of housing. The opportunities to accumulate financial capital mainly depend on the integration in the labour market of the host society. In regard to the welfare regime, affordability of housing for migrants may be supported by providing either public housing or granting rent or purchasing subsidies.

Hypothesis 5: The affordability of specific housing is a precondition of integration into diverse sectors of the housing market. Affordability depends on opportunities to accumulate financial capital – primarily sustained by successfully integrating into the labour market. With regard to the welfare system of a nation state, affordability may be supported by providing public housing or rent subsidies.

¹⁰ Information spread in ethnic networks.



Generally migrants tend to belong to lower income groups and often live in large households with many children and elderly. They benefit from public financial support for housing as much as native households with the same socio-economical status.

According to investigated research literature, the freedom to choose residence is of high importance for residential satisfaction for every group of people, regardless of income or ethnic background. If the housing market is under tension because there is an undersupply of housing and an oversupply of applicants, and, hence, an increase in housing prices, stigmatised groups of people are more likely to be threatened by discrimination than in the case of a housing surplus. By promoting and facilitating the construction of decent but affordable housing cities and communities can intervene and support vulnerable groups.

Hypothesis 6: A large supply of housing affects the housing integration of migrants positively because it usually leads to a decrease in housing costs and lowers competition in the housing market.

In comparison to other countries, the segmentation of the housing market in the Netherlands seems to provide a good foundation for the integration of migrants and natives from the lower social stratum. The Dutch housing market differs from others by providing a heterogeneous housing supply in regard to size, price and quality of housing in the same city quarter. A high amount of housing is publically provided or supplied by non-profit housing companies; and occupied by lower as well as middle income preventing the social segregation of housing areas. Moreover, public housing is a valuable instrument with which nation states and cities may regulate the quality of housing and protect citizens from housing market discrimination; by monitoring housing allocation compared with the private housing market. Also, the dispersion of information is easier to launch in the public housing sector.

Although a large supply of public housing may be interpreted as positively affecting the housing integration of migrants, it has to be noted that, overall, successful integration requires the settlement of migrants in every sector of the housing market.

Hypothesis 7: A large, qualitatively decent supply of public housing, constructed differently in terms of size, price and quality, positively influences the housing integration of migrants and of native people from lower and middle income groups.

Hypothesis 8: Public housing may be used by authorities as an instrument to regulate the physical quality of homes and reduce access barriers by monitoring discrimination and providing information. This broad strategy of housing politics requires consolidating political intent and sufficient funding.

Urban renewal measures and programmes which upgrade the physical and social quality of disadvantaged housing quarters also improve the living conditions of its inhabitants - among them a large percentage of migrants. From a long term perspective there is no alternative to urban renewal if stopping the decay of at-risk city quarters is a priority. The poor quality of



housing of migrants and native lower class groups, which is a severe problem in many of these quarters, may be improved by the renovation and restoration of buildings and infrastructure. Strategies of urban renewal also contribute to the influx of middle income groups as the attractiveness of the area increases. The resulting population mix is generally seen as beneficial to the integration of lower class natives and migrants.

Hypothesis 9: The continuous social and physical renewal of disadvantaged housing improves the problematic housing situation of its inhabitants; - migrants a large percentage among them. A mixture of inhabitants according to social and ethnic categories presupposes that the renewal does not lead to a homogenisation of the housing supply, but rather creates affordable as well as marketable dwellings.

Housing market discrimination impedes the housing integration of migrants even if information about access to decent housing and financial aid are provided. In the private housing market sector discrimination is very difficult to monitor and to sanction.

As studies have discovered, not all migrant groups suffer from discrimination equally¹¹. Up until now, no effective measures and programmes combating housing market discrimination in the private sector have been detected in the analysed countries.

Hypothesis 10: Discrimination as a social mechanism of exclusion may impede the housing integration of migrants, even if they themselves strive for integration, are informed about access to different sectors of the housing market and possess sufficient financial resources. Up until now, no effective preventative measures against discrimination in the private housing market have been found. Effective monitoring remains a measure which may be imposed in the public housing sector.

The emergence of ethnic segregation, in combination with social stratification in poor physical and social housing quarters, is a multi-causal phenomenon. It is rooted in factors such as the choice to live in spatial proximity to members of one's own ethnic group, a lack of information about other sectors of the housing market, limited affordability and housing market discrimination. While reviewing research literature and housing integration projects no approach could be detected that totally eliminates the emergence of residential concentrations based on ethnic categories; while at the same time being in accordance with the rule of law. Therefore, legal and viable measures are limited to the support offered to migrants for housing integration; for example, by increasing their financial power, providing information and counselling, and improving living conditions in disadvantaged housing quarters.

¹¹ Whether there actually are stronger prejudices against "visible" minorities, as is often assumed, or whether the degree of rejection covariates with visible characteristics of migrants for other reasons could not be clarified yet and needs further research (Kowalski et al. 2006).



Hypothesis 11: Ethnic and social segregation is an imminent feature of the urban housing market structure. While segregated areas persist, migrants integrate into the housing market and leave segregated immigration quarters over time. By reducing different integration barriers authorities may support and facilitate the integration process.

According to HECKMANN's approach of the ethnic colony, the desire to settle in spatial proximity to one's own ethnic group during the initial integration phase into a host society – linear housing assimilation - decreases. Despite this, especially in the North American context, cases of segmented housing assimilation are evident; some migrant groups integrate in the housing market by improving their housing quality without desegregating ethnically. Thus, migrants move from low quality immigration quarters to decent housing in ethnic suburbs. Some studies stipulate that migrants would rather live in spatial proximity to their family and friends (who usually belong to the same ethnic group) than to live next to other unfamiliar ethnic groups.

Hypothesis 12: Among all residents a tendency persists to live in spatial proximity to members of one's own ethnic group or to family and friends. Therefore the integration in more attractive segments of the housing market may go along with the configuration of "ethnic" housing patterns on every level of housing quality.

A diversification of integration patterns occurs if some migrants achieve socio-economic upward mobility and integrate into housing areas of middle and upper class natives, whereas other economically successful migrants prefer to live in ethnic housing areas of decent quality. Due to the successful integration of these migrants into their host society there is no need for authorities to intervene. The third type of housing integration is comprised of those migrants who remain in the unattractive and disadvantaged immigration quarters alongside natives from the lower social stratum. This is an instance of failed housing integration and is usually accompanied by poor integration into other spheres of society. Reasons may be attributed to limited resources and preconditions of migrants to accomplish integration as well as the incapability or unwillingness of nation states, cities and communities to support the integration process of migrants.

The emergence of ethnic and social segregation is a threat to the wellbeing of migrants and natives from lower class groups due to their limited life and integration chances. In turn, the marginalisation of social groups occurs and becomes a threat to the integration of the society as a whole.

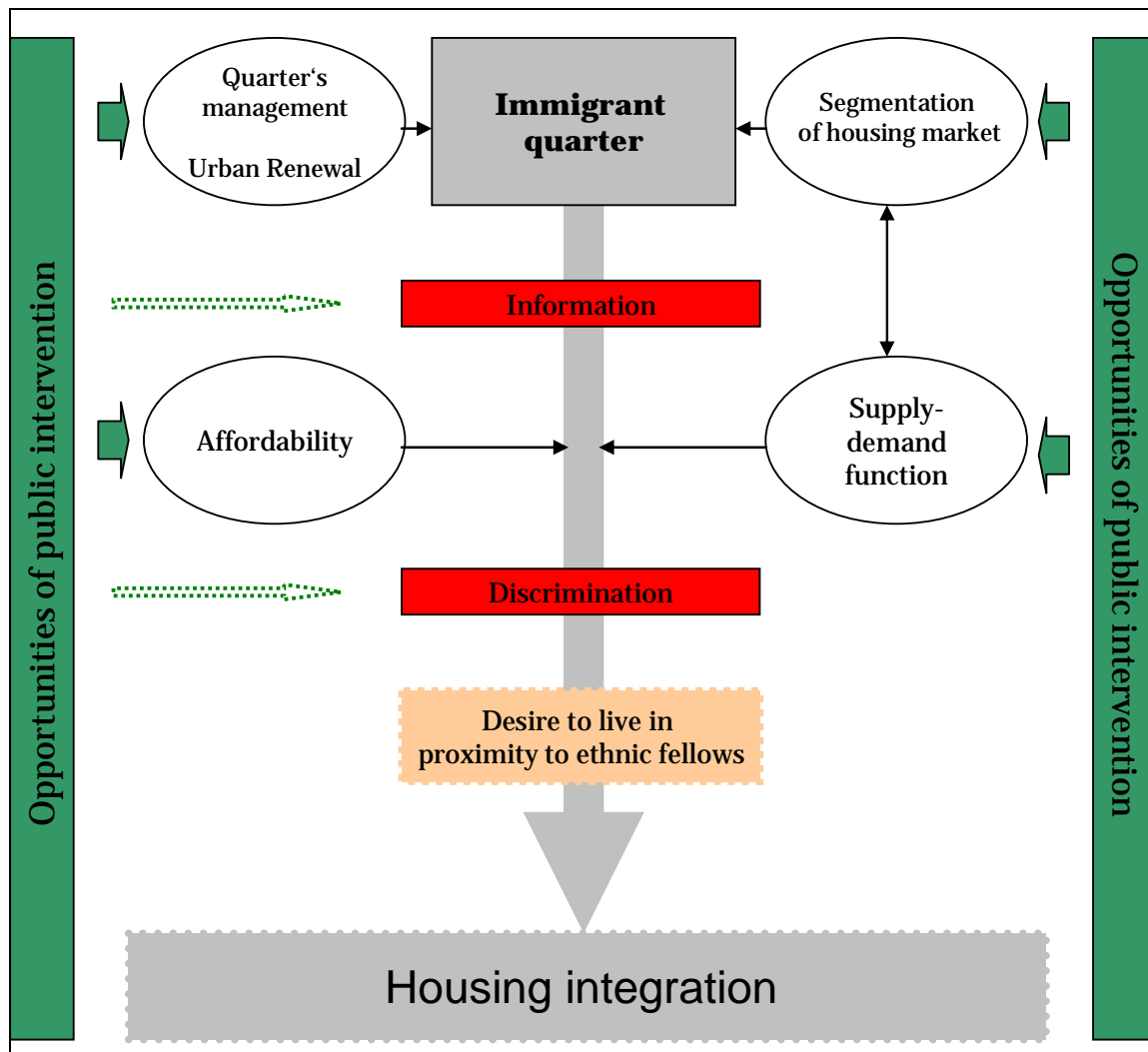
Hypothesis 13: The diversification of migrants' integration patterns may lead to firstly the integration into the middle and upper social stratum of the host society with ethnic desegregation, secondly to the integration into the middle and upper social stratum of the host society without ethnic desegregation, or thirdly to remaining in the lower social stratum and associated housing areas. Only the latter case marks a challenge to the host country.



The following figure shows the process of housing integration. Barriers which migrants have to overcome, as well as opportunities of public intervention, are indicated. After acculturating and successful positioning in the social structure of the host society, migrant's individual residential choice for living in an ethnic or native neighbourhood is influenced by the actual desire to live in spatial proximity to members of the own ethnic group.



Figure 1: Conditions of the housing integration of migrants



6 Conclusion

Industrial countries' structural dependence on a foreign workforce requires the acceptance of continuous immigration as a reality of the 21st century. It can be assumed that the integration process slows down or is incomplete if migrants are confronted with poor living conditions in their host country; for example, a tense labour and housing market and severe discrimination. The "newcomer support" of the ethnic colony may help in the first phase of immigration, but ethnic resources in the ethnic colony always remain limited to ethnic networks.

Western states, which evidently depend on immigration, should facilitate activating conditions for a successful integration of immigrants by imposing adequate measures and pro-



jects. With regard to the housing market, this means that residential segregation cannot, and should not, be totally restricted because these housing areas function as affordable living spaces and provide proximity to - and aid - by fellow immigrants.

Living conditions and opportunities resulting from decent physical and social conditions of housing quarters should be maintained by employing strategies of urban renewal and quarter management. Nation states with a high amount of welfare expenditure should be able to impose such measures. In particular, public housing proves to be a valuable instrument in which public authorities may intervene to support the housing market integration of migrants. In addition, subsidies for rent or home ownership can be used to improve the financial power of vulnerable groups in the housing market.

Government objectives which construct ethnically and socially mixed housing areas, and a well developed institutional infrastructure (especially schools and kindergartens) create "avenues of opportunity" for interethnic contacts. Spatial proximity between ethnic groups does not necessarily lead to social proximity, but it offers the chance to reduce prejudices and discrimination.

Immigration quarters need to remain a stepping stone in the process of migrant integration, without remaining a "dead end". In order to realise this measures are necessary which support the integration of migrants into several spheres of society – education and labour initiatives, intercultural mediation and communication and empowerment initiatives. Successful housing integration reflects the successful positioning of migrants in the host society while simultaneously being one of its basic conditions.



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Annex 1

Categories for the evaluation of housing projects

Dimensions	General Categories	Specific Categories
Access (Information)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Success of the project according to project contractors and secondary literature • Transferability • Sustainability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presentation of information about the private housing sector, public housing and housing subsidies • Multilinguality of information • Assistance by visiting apartment showings and conclusion of contract • Arranged housing shows a certain qualitative minimum standard • Positive influence of measures to ethnic and social desegregation
Access (Discrimination)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Success of the project according to project contractors and secondary literature • Transferability • Sustainability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduction of prejudices against migrant tenants of private and public landlords • Counselling and assistance of house hunting until conclusion of contract and mediation in a situation of discrimination •
Affordability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Success of the project according to project contractors and secondary literature • Transferability • Sustainability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improvement of affordability of vulnerable groups • Positive influence on ethnic and social desegregation
Housing Quality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Success of the project according to project contractors and secondary literature • Transferability • Sustainability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improvement of the housing quality with regard to housing density, the technical state of housing and the quality of the housing environment • Control of gentrification and protection of access and affordability of the original quarter's population <p>Obtainment of social and ethnical desegregation</p>



<p>Social Housing Environ- ment</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Success of the project according to project contractors and secondary literature • Transferability • Sustainability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improvement of the material and social conditions in the housing environment for example by an expansion of social institutions etc. • Improvement of neighbourhood relations and social cohesion especially with regard to inter-ethnic relations • Improvement of security • Support of social and ethnic desegregation
<p>Subjective Residential Satisfaction</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No separate projects, because satisfaction cannot be increased without improving access, affordability or housing quality 	
<p>Ethnic Residential Segregation</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Success of the project according to project contractors and secondary literature • Transferability Sustainability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Obtainment of ethnic desegregation

Source: author's own



Annex 2

List of studies analysed

Employed studies and scientific publications	Information	Discrimination	Affordability	Quality	Social Environment	Satisfaction	Segregation
Andersen (2006): Moving to and from enclaves. Housing choices of ethnic minorities in Denmark	X	X					X
Europäische Kommission (2005): Policy measures to ensure access to decent housing for migrants and ethnic minorities.	X	X	X				
Michalowski et al. (2006): Zuwanderer integrieren. Eine vergleichende Evaluation lokaler Programme in Münster und Enschede.	X	X					
Seveker et al. (2007): Wie optimieren wir Integration? Innovative Konzepte der Integrationsförderung in Münster und Enschede.	X	X					
Teixera (2007): Residential Experiences and the Culture of Suburbanization: A Case Study of Portuguese Homebuyers in Mississauga	X		X			X	X
Yu (2003): Housing Tenure Choice of Taiwanese Immigrants: A Different Path to Residential Assimilation	X						X
Ahmed/Hammarstedt (2007): Discrimination in the rental housing market - a field experiment on the internet		X					
South et al. (2005): Migration And Spatial Assimilation Among U.S. Latinos: Classical Versus Segmented Trajectories		X	X				X
Kowalski et al. (2005): Die Wohnungs-		X					



Employed studies and scientific publications	Information	Discrimination	Affordability	Quality	Social Environment	Satisfaction	Segregation
suche als Alltagsproblem von Menschen nicht-deutscher Herkunft? Eine empirische Untersuchung am Beispiel Köln							
Kempen/Bolt (1997): Turks in the Netherlands. Urban Segregation and Neighborhood Choice		X	X				X
Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (1997): Politik-Dossier Wohnungspolitik			X				
Hoppenstedt (1998): Entmischung im Sozialwohnungsbestand, und was man dagegen tun kann - Steuerungsmöglichkeiten am Beispiel Hamburg aus der Sicht eines Wohnungsunternehmens			X				
Varady/Wang (2007): The U.S. Low Income Housing Tax Credit Program As A Poverty Deconcentration Device: A realistic Perspective			X				
Kohlbacher/Schwab (2002): Ausländer auf dem Wiener Wohnungsmarkt – Strukturen, Probleme und aktuelle Entwicklungen			X				
Duncan/Zuberi (2006): Mobility lessons from Gautreaux und Moving to Opportunity			X				
Wissmann/Feitosa (2006): Social-mix policy approaches to urban segregation in Europe and the United States			X	X			X
Amann/Rischaneck (2003): Integration passiert in den Köpfen			X	X			
Karsten et al. (2006): Choosing Segregation or Integration? The Extent and Effects of Ethnic Segregation in Dutch			X				



Employed studies and scientific publications	Information	Discrimination	Affordability	Quality	Social Environment	Satisfaction	Segregation
Cities							
Murdie/Teixera (2004): Housing Issues Facing Immigrants and Refugees in Greater Toronto: Initial Findings from the Jamaican, Polish and Somali Communities			X				
Cortie/Kesteloot (1998): Housing Turks and Moroccans in Brussels and Amsterdam: The Difference between Private and Public Markets			X				
Myers/Lee (1998): Immigrant Trajectories into Homeownership: A Temporal Analysis of Residential Assimilation			X				X
Ellis/Wright (2005): Assimilation and differences between the settlement patterns of individual immigrants and immigrant households			X				X
Brooks et al. (2005): Resident Perception of Housing, Neighbourhood, and Economic Conditions after Relocation From Public Housing Undergoing HOPE VI Redevelopment				X			
Fosburg et al. (1996): An Historical and Baseline Assessment of HOPE VI. Volume I. Cross-site Report				X			
Grandt/Hanhörster (2003): Potentiale der Wohneigentumsbildung von Migrantinnen und Migranten in benachteiligten Stadtteilen				X			
SORA(2005): Wohnzufriedenheit und Wohnqualität in Wien. Eine Sonderauswertung von „Leben und Lebensqualität in Wien II“				X			
Virtanen (2007): Housing Choices and				X		X	



Employed studies and scientific publications	Information	Discrimination	Affordability	Quality	Social Environment	Satisfaction	Segregation
Preferences of Somali Immigrants in the Helsinki Metropolitan Area							
EUMC (2005): Migrants, Minorities And Housing: Exclusion, Discrimination And Anti-Discrimination In 15 Member States Of The European Union		X		X			
Diskin/Dutton (2006): Gentrification – It ain't what you think				X			
Levy et al. (2006): In the Face of Gentrification.				X			
Shaw (2005): Local limits to gentrification: implications for a new urban policy				X			
Kloostermann (1998): Migration in the Netherlands and the emerging post-industrial social divide in urban areas				X			
Smets (2005): Living apart or together? Multiculturalism at a neighbourhood level				X			
Kuhlmann/Mirbach (2001): Lokale Partnerschaften und Quartiersmanagement zur Bekämpfung sozialer Ausgrenzung					X		
Lukkarinen (2004): Lokale Entwicklungsvereinbarungen als Instrument gegen Segregation in gefährdeten Großstädten.					X		
Aehnelt et al. (2004): Zwischenevaluierung des Bund-Länder-Programms „Förderung von Stadtteilen mit besonderem Entwicklungsbedarf – die soziale Stadt					X		
Hansen (2005): Habitat – Ein Beispiel						X	



Employed studies and scientific publications	Information	Discrimination	Affordability	Quality	Social Environment	Satisfaction	Segregation
für internationales Stadtleben							
Brech (2003a): Das Leben im globalen Hof.					X	X	
Brech (2003b): „Es geht doch“ – die Botschaft eines Modellprojektes					X	X	
Petendra (2005): Sozialräumliche Integration von Zuwanderern. Best-practice-Projekte.					X		
Elsinga/Hoestra (2005): Homeownership and housing satisfaction						X	
V.d.L. Bouma-Doff/V.D. Land (2007): Little to Choose, Much to Lose: Freedom of Choice and Residential Satisfaction						X	
Basolo/Nguyen (2005): Does Mobility Matter? The Neighbourhood Conditions of Housing Voucher Holders by Race and Ethnicity.			X			X	
Dekker et al. (2007): Explaining differentials in housing and neighbourhood satisfaction in post-WWII large housing estates in European cities						X	
Zdrojewski/Schirmer (2005): Segregation und Integration. Entwicklungstendenzen der Wohn- und Lebenssituation von Türken und Spätaussiedlern in der Stadt Nürnberg							X
Peach (2007): Sleepwalking into Ghettoisation? The British Debate over Segregation							X
Clark (2001): Residential Segregation Trends							X



<p style="text-align: center;">Employed studies and scientific publications</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Information</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Discrimination</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Affordability</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Quality</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Social Environment</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Satisfaction</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Segregation</p>
<p>Musterd et al. (1998): Multi-Ethnic Metropolis: Patterns and Policies</p>							<p style="text-align: center;">X</p>