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The CLIP Module on Housing and Segregation
Discussion Paper on Methods

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1 Introduction

Housing of migrants is a highly relevant aspect of the process of integration of migrants. On the one hand, the situation of migrants in a city with regard to their housing situation can be taken as an important indicator for the state of structural integration in the receiving society. On the other, housing policies are an important part of general social policy at the local level, with a strong impact on future processes of integration of migrants and their descendants.

The activities of the CLIP project module on housing focused on a systematic analysis of the residential segregation or concentration of migrant or ethnic minority groups in European cities and on the access of migrants to affordable and decent housing. The project's approach considered primarily low income groups with a migrant background (no elite or upper class migrants), and the aspect of local policies of the municipalities. It focused on the situation of vulnerable groups with migratory or minority background (migrants, asylum seekers, ethnic minorities, single-parent households, large multi-children households, low-income and unemployed people). Of course, not all migrants do belong to these vulnerable groups and suffering from poor housing conditions. Thus, migrants should not generally be seen as mere victims, who are unable to develop positive strategies, individually or collectively, to improve their housing situation.

2 Research questions

In general, the guiding research questions for the module on housing have been: *How does the local housing system* (institutions and relevant actors, their agenda, resources and legal framework) *function for the specific target groups? What is the general policy and what specific interventions are made? What are the results and experiences from these policies and interventions? Which factors (local/specific versus general/transferable) have been relevant for the outcomes?*

These general research questions have been addressed by analysing concrete dimensions of housing of migrants in the local case studies. In this regard, the following dimensions have been considered:

- *Segregation:* What are the experiences of the cities related to the segregation of migrants and minorities? What do we know about the consequences of segregation on the integration of migrants in the metropolises? What segregation-related policies and measures are implemented, and what are the results?

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- *Access:* To what extent do migrants have access to decent housing, and what policies and measures are cities implementing to improve the accessibility of decent housing for migrants and minorities?
- *Affordability and supply:* What are the municipal policies on affordability and supply of decent housing for migrants within the framework of national and regional policies? How does the local housing system (institutions and relevant actors, their agenda, resources and legal framework) function to ensure affordability?
- *Physical conditions:* What are the typical housing conditions for migrants in the specific urban context and how have they developed over time? What measures are implemented by cities to improve the physical quality of housing in general and in neighbourhoods predominantly inhabited by migrants and minorities in particular?
- *Social environment:* What are the experiences of CLIP cities regarding the results of local public policies on housing, in particular measures for the integration of migrants and the social cohesion of neighbourhoods? What social policy measures related to housing issues are implemented (accompanying physical improvement programmes or targeting the social situation of vulnerable neighbourhoods).
- *Governance:* How do cities plan, organise and implement their local integration policy related to housing issues?

Housing is an instrument of the integration processes of groups with migratory background as well as the housing situation of migrants can serve as an indicator for the status of integration and ongoing integration processes in the municipal context. Household of immigrants which are integrated into the employment system successfully earn enough money to finance their socially adequate housing. With the dwelling a certain location within the city is connected and with the locations a certain access to infrastructure and workplaces. Housing is not only an essential sphere of people's everyday life but also a device for different life chances in the city.

Quite often, migrants and ethnic minorities face barriers on the housing market in terms of a lack of social and financial opportunities, discrimination, etc. “Migrants and settled minorities do generally appear to suffer higher levels of homelessness, poorer quality housing conditions, poorer residential neighbourhoods […], and comparatively greater vulnerability and insecurity in their housing status” (Harrison et al., 2005: 59). It is a fact that immigrants face a greater risk of exclusion from and discrimination on the housing market than the native population. Migrants and ethnic minorities are more likely to settle in deprived areas and in over-crowded, poor quality housing and often have to pay a higher proportion of their income for that housing. This fact creates a risk for social cohesion and the integration of migrants into the urban community.

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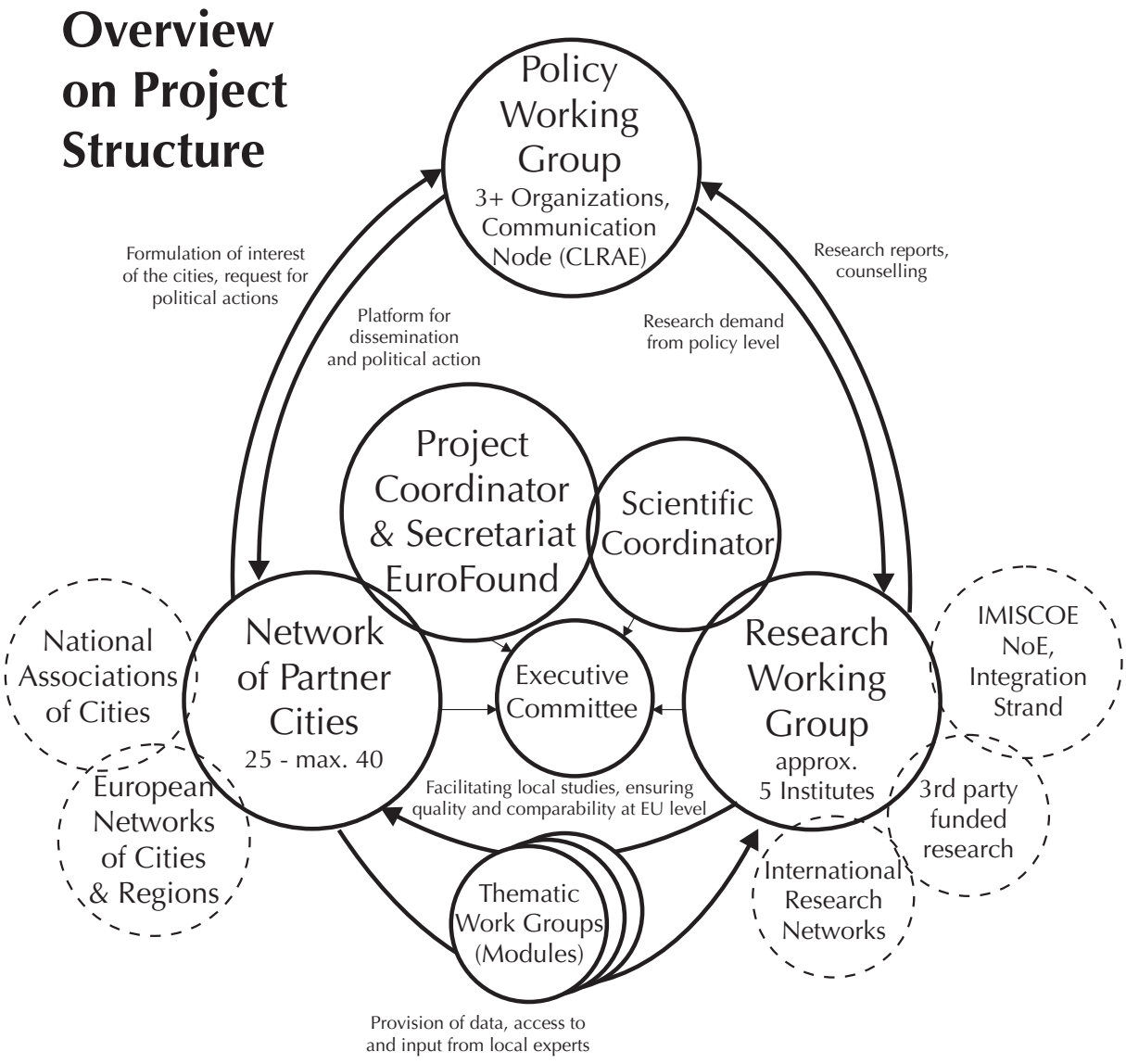
3 Project design

The project and its network depend on a sustained motivation and commitment of its partners. This required common interests, well organized communication among its partners, a well defined consultation and decision making structure and a clear division of tasks and responsibilities. The graphic below gives an overview on the CLIP project structure. Project members and activities are draw with continuous lines, external links are draw in dashed lines.



This project network design envisioned a focus on the research demand and practical relevance at the municipal level, involving the partner cities as subjects and actors in the research process, while the research institutions primarily were in charge to facilitate the research, to ensure standards of scientific quality and to link these activities to the European level by ensuring the comparability of the project's activities. Thus, the project network

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design has its centres of gravity at the local municipal level and on the European level, mediated and facilitated by the research institutions.

Strengths	*Weaknesses*
▶ Scientific excellence ▶ Existing scientific and municipal network cooperations ▶ Coordinated and facilitated bottom-up field research ▶ Education of local actors in the research course ▶ Direct field and data access for research ▶ Bottom-up generation of research questions, high relevance for practice and policy ▶ Validation of findings by practical implementation and local experts	▶ Increased efforts necessary for mediation between science and practice ▶ Bottom-up concept and theory building necessary, no unified research design possible ▶ Large number of project participants from diverse domains, increased coordination requirements ▶ No sanctions on the level of cities possible, high motivation requirements ▶ Risk of drop-outs ▶ Long learning curve for accessing project members ▶ Language problem for local actors
Opportunities	*Threats*
▶ Legitimacy of results both on an international as well as on local and national policy-making level ▶ Expansion of project activities into national and regional context ▶ Complementary third party funding on local and national level ▶ High demand for pragmatic, but well elaborated solutions and methods ▶ Long-term continuation of project activities on a service provision basis ▶ Contribution to a European competence for migrants' integration	▶ Highly politicized subject (integration /assimilation/identity/power relations) ▶ Potential conflicts among portfolios (social affairs/labour/interior/justice) ▶ Potential conflicts between municipal and national integration policy ▶ Potential conflicts between national and European integration policy ▶ High degree of diversity in the field, dissemination has to consider transfer problems from "internally socialized" project participants to outsiders ▶ Scarce resources and only short-term funding commitments

Weaknesses of this design had been the high degree of diversity among the project partners and the resulting efforts for communication and coordination. Concepts and methodology had to be developed bottom-up in a hermeneutical circle, and each new partner had to follow a considerable learning curve to be able to both implement the local studies as well as to participate in the network activities. This process caused drop-outs and time-

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consuming internal communication requirements. In addition, many local actors had difficulties to communicate effectively within the project in English at the beginning.

The coordination of the network could not rely on sanctions on the level of the cities but had to gain cooperation by motivation and visible benefits for the participating cities, applying open methods of coordination. However, this could also be converted into an opportunity since there has been a high demand for pragmatic and reliable solutions in the field of integration at the municipal level.

The experts from the cities cooperated directly among each other, facilitated by the expertise of the researchers' group. This peer-group process of horizontal cooperation across Europe has been complemented by a vertical process of involvement with political institutions at the European level, raising the opportunity for the cities to contribute actively to an emerging European policy on integration of migrants. Thus, the CLIP project module complemented both the top-down development of the creation of a European framework of good-practice for integration policies of migrants and the bottom-up activity of exchange within cities by focusing on the actual implementation and practical relevance of policies in certain fields of integration. It supported the participating cities effectively in the exchange of experiences, which have been analysed regarding their potential transferability.

4 Implementation

The project has been centred around a systematic analysis of the interrelations between the access of migrants to affordable and decent housing (= the non-spatial aspect) and residential segregation or concentration of migrant or ethnic minority groups (= the spatial aspect) on the one side and the four dimensions of integration (structural integration, socialisation, interaction, and identification) into the receiving society on the other side.

The activities of the project module on housing and segregation focused on a systematic analysis of the residential segregation or concentration of migrant or ethnic minority groups in European cities and on the access of migrants to affordable and decent housing. The project's approach considered low income groups with a migrant background only (no elite or middle class migrants), and the aspect of local policies of the municipalities. It focused on the situation of vulnerable groups with migratory or minority background (migrants, asylum-seekers, ethnic minorities, single-parent households, large multi-children households, low-income, unemployed and disabled people, persons addicted to alcohol or drugs, and in Eastern European cities the "poor owners" in former social housing). Of course, not all migrants do belong to these vulnerable groups and suffering from poor housing conditions. Thus, migrants should not generally be seen as mere victims, who are unable to develop positive strategies, individually or collectively, to improve their housing situation.

The work cycle of the module on housing applied the following steps:

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- *Concept Paper:* Based on a state of the art analysis, experts from the research group compiled a concept paper for the module's theme which discussed existing knowledge, provides an analytical framework to the module's research and rendered proposals for the methods of the case studies on the local level.
- *Common Reporting Scheme (CRS):* Based on the concept paper, experts from the research group developed a reporting scheme for collecting relevant data from the cities participating in the case studies of the module. Based on the Concept Paper and the CRS, a joint structure for the case studies has been compiled to facilitate a comparative analysis across the cities.
- *First project conference:* The concept paper as well as the CRS has been presented and discussed with the experts from the cities at a two days project conference.
- *Data collection:* Experts from the cities completed the CRS reporting in a semi-standardized manner upon local policies and measures, including information on the specific legal, political and historical background being relevant for the module's theme.
- *Field visit:* Based on the information from the CRS, the research group team carried out field visits in the participating cities for collecting more detailed data and information for the case studies. During the field visits, the researchers interviewed experts from relevant municipal departments as well as non governmental organisations, organisations of the social partners and of local media; in addition, respective neighbourhoods have been visited
- *Case Study:* For each participating city, a case study has been compiled by the research team being responsible for the city. Draft case studies have been discussed with the experts from the city and have been finalised by the research team.
- *Overview Report:* Experts from the research team compiled an overview report which summarised the most relevant information from the case studies and analysed the experiences of the cities with regard to local policies and measures.

5 Method: Interactive and integrated case study approach

CLIP adopted an innovative process of direct cooperation among experts and practitioners. The experts from the cities cooperated directly among each other, facilitated by the expertise of the researchers' group. This peer-group process of horizontal cooperation across Europe has been complemented by a vertical process of involvement with political institutions at the European level, raising the opportunity for the cities to contribute actively to an emerging European policy on integration of migrants. The analysis of the case studies within the CLIP project applied an explorative approach. It aimed at analysing the integration situation and its perception by the policy both national and local. It implemented research

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into processes, policy interventions and outcomes, and aimed at analyzing adopted evaluation criteria at the local level. The data collection has been limited to existing data at the local level and did thus not provide for a systematic comparative approach in the strict sense. It also considered estimations and judgements by local experts. The aim has been to provide a viable basis for a process of mutual learning, structured exchange of experiences and building up a knowledge base providing data relevant for local as well as European policy in a pragmatic approach.

The approach of the CLIP project envisioned a focus on the research demand and practical relevance at the municipal level, involving the partner cities as subjects and actors in the research process, while the research institutions primarily were in charge to facilitate the research, to ensure standards of scientific quality and to link these activities to the European level by ensuring the comparability of the project's activities. Thus, the project had its centres of gravity at the local municipal level and on the European level, mediated and facilitated by the research institutions.

This bottom-up generation of research questions which are structured and adapted for comparability by experienced research institutions supported a high relevance of the results for practice and policy making; the dissemination has been prepared already in the research process and relied on existing networks at various levels. The cooperation between the local municipalities and the facilitating research institutions allowed for good access to the field and to relevant data, and enabled the project to build expert validity also from municipal experts.

Based on theoretical as well as empirical knowledge on housing and integration of migrants, a conceptual paper has been written, and a common reporting scheme with guidelines has been constructed for the case studies.

The common reporting scheme covered among others the following tentative dimensions:

- *Municipal policy on housing*

  Political setting of the city government; general awareness by municipal integration policy of the housing issue; political discourse on housing and related phenomena such as segregation, infrastructure, neighbourhood development, safety, housing market; existence, extent and approach of concepts for integration-relevant housing policies and measures; allocation of responsibilities within the municipal administration, cross-departmental cooperation and provisions.

- *Institutional setting*

  National and regional framework for municipal housing policies; legal or practiced regulations for admission to or allocation of housing, handling of migrant families by public housing authorities; cost structures, availability and distribution of subsidized housing; private and corporate housing supply, demand structure, market functions;

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infrastructure: schools and kindergarten, public transportation, health, safety, labour market, shops, recreation.

- *Empirical data on the housing situation*

  Segregation, its relevant unit (district, quartier, block, building) and its development over time, trends (indicated by proportion of immigrant households); homogeneity of segregated housing units (in ethnic, cultural, political and socio-economic terms); statistical indicators related to segregation and homogeneity of segregated units (age, marriage status, household and family size, duration of residence, housing density, education, employment, income, consumer potential, migration and admission status); community relations between migrants and their neighbours; levels of community safety (racist attacks, street crime); mobility within the municipality (moving to other parts of the city, allocation of newcomers), development over time, trends and processes of concentration, dispersion and succession; indicators for housing quality: building stock (age, renovation status, density), quality of local infrastructure, time distance to important public infrastructure using public transportation, educational, cultural and administrative institutions.

Part of the reporting scheme has been to ask the cities on experiences and – if existing - systematic evaluations of measures realised by the cities in the past such as:

- Regulations for housing allocation (i.e. for public housing) and their improvements, implementation of access restrictions to certain areas (i.e. for newcomers) and abolishment of exclusions (i.e. from cooperative or subsidized housing)
- Quartier improvement and modernization programmes (housing renovation, infrastructure improvements, safety for women in the public sphere and the perception of neighbourhood safety in general)
- Development programmes (urban planning, mixture of housing and labour opportunities/small business, application of architectural concepts for *convivencia* of various social groups in the neighbourhood, home ownership promotion)
- Improvement of the competences and services of public and private providers of services related to the housing sector (intercultural competence, communication skills, officers/employees with migratory background)
- Neighbourhood identification, cultural programmes for migrants and autochthonous neighbourhood residents, PR for the improvement of the public image of the neighbourhood (integration despite of a certain segregation)
- Promotion programmes and counselling for migrant entrepreneurship in the neighbourhood
- Neighbourhood-centred network programmes (counselling infrastructure, linking of life-course relevant institutions (kindergarten – school- vocational training).

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6 Methodological approach of the case studies

The analysis of the case studies within the CLIP project applied an explorative approach and did not aim at hypothesis-testing based on previous assumptions. It aimed at analysing the local integration situation, its perception by the local policy, as well as processes, policy interventions and outcomes at the local level. The data collection has been primarily limited to existing data at the local level and did thus not provide information for a systematic comparative approach in the strict sense. It also considered estimations and judgements by local experts. The aim have been to provide a viable basis for a process of mutual learning, structured exchange of experiences and building up of a knowledge base providing data relevant for local as well as European policy. This approach focused on the following principal points:

- The field of exchange and cooperation were *concrete integration measures*.
- The content of exchange has been the creation of an *inventory of measures concerning housing*.
- *Evaluations* of measures – if existing - have been considered.
- The results of integration measures in different local contexts have been analyzed: Is a particular measure successful only in one or several contexts or has it some "universal" effect and value?

These principal points have been considered for the analysis of results of the case studies. For this analysis, key data and information from the case studies were extracted into a data base which allowed for easy retrieval and selection, and which provided hyperlinks to the respective locations in the full text case studies. Policies and measures recognised in the case studies were coded according to their specific dimension and approach.

The following information and data have been collected in the module's course:

- General data on city structure and development
- General data on migration, its trends and structure
- General data on past and present integration measures
- Specific data for the first module on housing
- Information on possible evaluation of measures by the individual cities

The analysis of the case studies resulted in the identification of conditions of success or failure of applied measures and policies.

Considering context and background information from the case studies, the local policies and measures identified have been analysed with regard to their approach, conditions relevant for their success or failure, and potential transferability into the different context of

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another city. Cases representing typical approaches were briefly presented to provide examples illustrating the analytical discussion of the findings from the case studies.

The final step of the case study analysis has been to analyze conditions for success or failure of housing policies with regard to their effects on the integration of migrants in the municipal context. This analysis served as a basis for the comparative report on the case studies.

This *bottom-up generation of research questions* which are structured and adapted for comparability by experienced research institutions supported a high relevance of the results for practice and policy making; the dissemination has been prepared already in the research process and relied on existing networks at various levels. The cooperation between the local municipalities and the facilitating research institutions allowed for good access to the field and to relevant data, and enabled the project to build expert validity also from municipal experts.

The reflections on the state of the art of research on the integration of migrants and the relation of housing and segregation as well as questions of practical feasibility lead to the following recommendations for the studies implemented in the module on housing:

- *Target groups*

The studies researched primarily into *resident population with a migratory background. Migratory background* means that children of international migrants (i.e. 2nd and 3rd generation) are considered. It also includes EU nationals and naturalized migrants, asylum seekers as well as migrants with irregular status. Specific needs and measures for these groups have been considered.

It secondly included also residents *belonging to national ethnic minorities*, which could be also internal rural-city migrants, if local policy considered an integration problem for these groups requiring action and if their integration has consequently been a subject of social policy measures. Although these groups were relevant only in some of the network's cities, thus rendering a comparison across the cities very problematic, the results on these groups from the respective case studies nevertheless contributed relevant experiences.

The studies have been limited to individuals who are resident in the city since more than 3 months, and who have their centre of live in the city irrespective of the intention of their settlement.

The studies, however, focused on those groups who either were *numerically significant and in need of integration measures*, as well as on groups which were subject to a *major specific integration measure due to specific needs*. The studies did not try to explore the need for integration measures but encompassed those groups *which were considered as being in need* by local policy. The background for this consideration by local policy, however, has been reflected in the studies.

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- *Time frame*

The studies focused primarily on *recent objectives and measures*, and included past developments and actions as far as it seemed necessary to understand the present situation.

The studies focused on the relevance of housing for the integration of migrants. This relation is a circular one: housing has a varying degree of impact on integration dimensions such as education, health, social relations, labour market involvement and segregation, civic involvement, safety and criminality. However, these factors of integration also have an effect onto the housing situation and its development. Thus, path dependency, mutual interdependence, as well as circular feed-backs had to be taken into account.

- *Segregation*

Spatial segregation has *not been considered as a problem per se* by the studies, only *insofar as segregation has been causing integration-related problems*. Negative effects of segregation can be a damaging impact on opportunities in education, professional training, labour market and income. Positive effects can be good social embedding within minority groups, availability of local social networks and their support, and the opportunities for an ethnic economy.

Problematic may be the criteria for segregation: "ethnic" segregation often does not overlap with nationality, so the role of naturalized migrants may be underestimated as well as the ethnic differences within a group of joint nationality (e.g. Turkish nationals of Turkish and Kurdish ethnicity). Thus, when analyzing segregation, the data should not refer to nationality only (i.e. percentage of foreigners), but should consider also the ethnic or cultural composition of residents living in segregated areas.

In addition, it has been very difficult to distinguish between class segregation and ethnic/migrants segregation and its effects. Ethnic groups or migrants are not homogenous, within the same group, "social climbers" as well as marginalized may be found. Thus, the studies are likely to deal with members of a migrant group or ethnic minority with the least resources (underclass), because usually only these groups are segregated sharply, only for these social interactions and networks are restricted to the neighbourhood and only these are reliant on the local community.

7 Methodological discussion: Segregation

Urban space is always a socially defined space. The socio-spatial structure of the city can be read like a map recording the structure of society. Segregation is the projection of social structure onto space. It describes the empirical fact that social groups are not evenly distributed throughout the territory of a city but concentrate in certain areas and at certain times. Segregation is also a relational term: one group per se cannot be segregated since that assumes that the group we are comparing with is segregated as well. Each social group has

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its typical places of residence, work, and leisure. By this definition, segregation is a universal phenomenon and is as old as the city itself. Segregation exists in all cities all over Europe. Although this might sound as a platitude, it is important to start with this conclusion (Häussermann & Siebel, 2001).

From the scientific point of view it is *not justified to consider segregation* automatically *as a socio-spatial or integration problem*. It represents a constant aspect of the spatial organisation of metropolises which gained increasing importance in the context of inclusion of migrants into urban housing markets. The central question is: *Does segregation interfere with, or, on the contrary, facilitate the urban integration of immigrant populations?*

The evaluation of residential segregation is one of the most controversially discussed topics of urban housing and integration policies in the context of immigration. In the core of this issue the relationship between residential environment on the one hand and social structure, social interactions and individual behaviour on the other hand has to be investigated. The residential environment can be seen as an opportunity structure, as a structuring context of social interactions, or those that focus on interactions between neighbourhoods and their external environments (see Schönwälder 2007).

The residential environment as opportunity structure means that residents are exposed to a different infrastructure, different job opportunities or different educational environment. The residential environment also structures the social contacts and networks, and also the transfer of norms, values and behavioural patterns. Finally the environmental effects are important due to the interactions with external environments. "Particularly, it is assumed that a stigmatization of a neighbourhood and its inhabitants decreases, for example, their chances in the labour market." (Schönwälder 2007, p. 93)

It is obvious that the effects of segregation depend on the "scale", which means the size of the spatial unit. The most frequently used measures for segregation are the Index of Dissimilarity (ID) and the Index of Segregation (IS). The sizes of the ID and IS are dependent on the size of the areas used in the calculation of these indices. The larger the area in terms of population (and the fewer the number of areas), the smaller the chance for an ID or IS with a high value. This means that cities where the calculation is based on a large number of small areas have a higher chance for a high value of the ID or IS than metropolises where the calculations are based on only a small number of relatively large areas. This limitation impedes comparability between cities within a country and between countries. Comparisons over time in the same cities are relatively unproblematic.

The causes of large-scale segregation may be quite different from those of small-scale segregation. For example, factors such as the spatial location of public amenities that draw primarily on pedestrian traffic and local residents (e.g., elementary schools, playgrounds, shopping areas, etc.), and households' residential preferences play a role in shaping small-scale segregation patterns. In contrast, large-scale segregation patterns might be caused

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more by labour markets and other economic features of regions, jurisdictional structures (e.g., municipalities, school districts, service districts), income inequality, housing segregation (Yinger, 1995), and historical settlement patterns.

Likewise, the consequences of segregation may also depend on the scale of segregation patterns. Local segregation is likely to affect contact patterns. Large-scale segregation, however, may be more likely to affect the spatial distribution of economic, institutional, and political resources. In addition, the consequences of segregation may depend differently on scale for different populations. For children, who stay relatively close to home in the course of a day (attending local child care, or elementary schools), patterns of local segregation are likely to be influential. For adults, in contrast, who are more mobile, large-scale segregation patterns linked to employment opportunities and social and institutional resources may be more relevant (see Reardon et al., 2006).

A basic question in segregation research is: Which spatial level is the most appropriate to investigate patterns of spatial segregation? This question is not easily answered, because it depends on the aim of the analysis. When the purpose is to find out the relation between neighbourly contacts and patterns of segregation, it is useful to work with figures on street or block level (the smallest spatial level) which arise the problem that these figures are almost never available (Musterd & Deurloo, 2002).

Figures on a neighbourhood level (areas with about 2,000–10,000 dwellings) are more often used. In this case figures still refer to the more or less direct living environment of an individual or household. Daily shopping often takes place in the neighbourhood and young children go to kindergarten and primary school there. In other words, this level of analysis is appropriate to find out the relation between more or less routine daily activities and patterns of segregation (Van Kempen, 2003: 3). Figures on a district level (larger areas, with maybe even between 20,000 and 100,000 people) are in general not very relevant, because these figures often hide enormous differentiations within areas.

A drawback of most methods of measuring segregation is that census tracts or blocks are treated as independent neighbourhoods. The consequence is that they cannot detect patterns of segregation that occur at scales larger or smaller than tracts/blocks. Jargowsky & Kim (2004), and Reardon & O'Sullivan (2004) have developed approaches that yield scalable measures of residential segregation. Giffinger (1998), for example, has shown three values of the indices of segregation for Turks in Vienna on different spatial scales. For census districts (the largest areas) the value of the IS was 41.7, for census areas it was 50.8 and for housing blocks (the smallest areas) 62.9. Giffinger concluded that this might mean that the spatial separation of Turkish migrants is more evident at the disaggregated spatial level of housing blocks. For many European cities these comparative figures are not possible, because data are only available for some bigger spatial levels.

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A lot of literature exists on the various aspects of segregation processes as well as on special analysis on segregation patterns in certain European cities. Many of these studies suffer from one or both of the following drawbacks (see Van Kempen & Özüekren, 1997: 3): They are often merely descriptive and make only little attempt to explain the causal factors of ethnic residential segregation. Many studies are carried out in one city only. International comparisons were rare until the 1990s. Recently more attempts are made to compare segregation for example in U.S and European cities or between metropolises in different European states.

The majority of analyses about segregation belong to one of the following three categories: a comparison between different groups in certain cities; a comparison of segregation indices and patterns between cities in the same country or in different states, a comparison of segregation through time. The analysis show a range of factors dependent on the concrete national, urban and local spatial context which can be made responsible for specific urban segregation patterns: General factors like economic trends, reduced social welfare, urban and physical planning, housing market related factors (housing market structures, rent regulation, social housing), financial and other limitation of migrant groups and discrimination and preferences.

A broad investigation in social exclusion and its spatial manifestations in European Cities was made by Madanipour et al. (1998). Van Kempen & Özuekren (1998) compared ethnic segregation in a big number of European cities. A further study by the same authors (Özuekren & van Kempen, 1997b) was dedicated to housing and urban segregation of Turkish migrants all over Europe. Body-Gendrot & Martiniello (2000) studied the dynamics of social integration and social exclusion at the neighbourhood level. Musterd & Ostendorf (1998) presented a detailed overview about the impact of the welfare state upon urban segregation. Fortuijn et al. (1998) investigated many aspects of international migration and ethnic segregation and their impact on urban areas in Europe. Ethnic segregation in European cities tends to occur more on the level of houses and blocks; it more seldom occurs at the scale of city districts (White, 1987; Kohlbacher & Reeger, 2003). As Wessel (2000a, b) points out the potential for ethnic segregation now is larger in most EU countries than some decades ago. A comparative analysis of segregation in UK, Sweden and the Netherlands will be edited by Schönwälder (2007).

Van Kempen (2003) made a detailed comparative survey of segregation in Amsterdam, The Hague, Brussels, London, Birmingham, Cologne, Frankfurt, Düsseldorf, Berlin and Vienna. He came to the following important conclusions: In the course of time the values of the ID do not always decline. In some cases they even (slightly) increase (for example for the Turks and Moroccans in Amsterdam). In many cases they remain more or less on the same level (see for example the Turks and Yugoslavs in Cologne). Big differences exist between the same groups in different countries (compare for example the Turks in The Hague, Vienna and Cologne). This might be a strong indication of the fact that cultural variables (ethnic

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choice) do not play a decisive role in the explanation of patterns of segregation, but that other factors (like the availability of housing and allocation procedures) are more important. There are differences between different groups within cities (for example between Turks and Poles in Vienna, between Bangladeshis and Indians in London and Birmingham, between Southern Europeans and Moroccans in the Dutch cities). Although Southern Europeans do generally show a lower segregation than more recent immigrants (but see Cologne for an exception), it is dangerous to conclude that it is just a matter of time, before segregation starts to decline. While considerable differences exist between countries and groups, equal (or sometimes even larger) differences exist between cities within one country. Of course this can be the result of using different area sizes, but the differences indicate that even for one single category (e.g.Turks) different spatial patterns may emerge.

In Great Britain subsequent to riots in some Northern UK cities the claimed existence of communities living parallel lives was seen as a failure of communities and social policy (Cantle, 2001; Ouseley, 2001). Simpson (2004) analysed settlement patterns in UK northern cities as racially segregated and postulated that social policy must address the dynamics of residential location, rather than describe simply the existence of segregation at any point in time. Byrne (1998) presented an analysis of the role of ethnicity in complex cities with Leicester and Bradford as examples. Rees et al. (1995) too compared the socio-economic geography of ethnic groups in Northern British cities. Phillips (1998) made an analysis of black minority ethnic concentration, segregation and dispersal in Britain. Peach (1998) provided an account of how structural economic change in Britain resulted in patterns of immigration and location of ethnic groups. According to Phillips (2002) migrants of Indian origin are most likely to have moved to suburbs outside the main concentrations of populations of recent immigrant origin. For the case of Glasgow compare Aarflot, 2001 and Romice, 2001. Ratcliffe (2000) and Phillips (2002) found that many South Asians, would like to move to areas outside the ethnic neighbourhoods. Perchinig (2002) investigated the socio-spatial segregation in Birmingham in the wider context of race-relations politics. Johnston et al. (2002) found little spatial segregation of ethnic minority groups in London compared to New York.

Typical for Scandinavia was that for a long time the issue of residential segregation remained a “non-issue” as it was anticipated that social mobility would level out the differences through time (Holt-Jensen, 2004: 6). There are concentrations of foreign-born people in the cities of these countries, but these concentrations hardly suggest an ethnic cohabitation of the kind suggested in British cities (Lithman, 2004; Holt-Jensen, 2002: 9). In Norway housing policies aim at reducing segregation in cities (Wessel, 2000a, b). Blom (1999) investigated residential segregation in Oslo, who concluded that there is no evidence of increasing socio-spatial polarization. The immigrant housing patterns in Sweden were investigated by Andersson (1998). Hansson (1998) prepared an analysis of ethnic spatial housing segregation in a suburb of Stockholm.

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Finland can be seen as an exception to the general European urban trend of segregation. Though the majority of people belonging to ethnic minority groups live in the biggest cities, half of them in the Helsinki metropolitan area, urban ethnic segregation is almost non-existing in Finland. However, due to the high unemployment rate among immigrants, a risk of ethnic segregation is embedded within the process of social segregation.

In Germany there exist studies of ethnic segregation of a big number of metropolises. Friedrichs (1998a, b) investigated segregation in Cologne and Hamburg. An analysis of segregation and integration was made by Leggewie (2000). A survey of housing and segregation of Turks in German metropolises was prepared by Glebe (1997). Thieme & Laux (1996) investigated residential patterns of the foreign population in the Ruhr Conurbation. The same did Freund (1998) for Frankfurt and Hart et al. (1998) for metropolises in former Eastern Germany. Hanhörster (2001) explored ethnic diversity and segregation in German cities. A recent study about the effects of segregation on children and adolescents was presented by Oberwittler (2006). In Germany more multi-ethnic mixed quarters can be found than ethnically dominated structures. For Germany very little reliable data is available about the extent of segregation (AKI-Newsletter 2006: 1–2), though Häussermann & Siebel (2001) postulate that in German cities, socio-spatial segregation is intensifying.

In Austria patterns of segregation in Vienna were analyzed by Dangschat (2000), Giffinger & Wimmer (2002) and Fassmann & Hatz (2004, 2006). Peleman (2002) for Belgium stressed the positive impact of segregation for social support. Some analyses about residential segregation in Brussels have to be cited (Kesteloot & Van der Haegen, 1997; Kesteloot & Meert, 2000; Kesteloot et al., 2001).

The Netherlands are an example for a well-functioning welfare state, where inequalities are moderated by state intervention and political consensus-building. An analysis about the settlement patterns in Amsterdam was made by Perchinig (2003a). Musterd & Ostendorf (1996) investigated segregation patterns of immigrants in Amsterdam. Musterd & Deurloo (2002) analysed spatial segregation and integration of newcoming migrants in Amsterdam.

In France, an analysis of the patterns of residential concentration and segregation of foreigners in the Paris agglomeration was made by Guillon & Noin (1996). Simon (2000, 2001) studied the cohabitation between ethnic groups in diverse French cities and in Paris. Ethnic segregation in the “banlieus” was examined by Merlin (1999), and Stébé (1999) for example.

Southern European cities are characterized by a distinctive type of suburbanisation of the low and middle-low income groups, based upon a small scale of housing production (Allen, 2000; Fonseca et al., 2002). A comprehensive study of housing in Southern Europe is included in Allen et al. (2004). For the investigation of segregation in Southern European metropolises, Malheiros (2002) and Arbaci (2002, 2004) have to be cited. The case of Athens was also investigated by Emmanuel (2002) and Maloutas (2004). Malheiros’ (2001)

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framed a model of ethnic spatial segregation for Southern European cities. He explains the distinctiveness of ethnic segregation in the South of the EU determined by four features: (1) poorer housing conditions; (2) high levels of informality; (3) lower levels of segregation associated with more complex patterns of residential distribution; and (4) a higher degree of suburbanisation. The scale of these conditions diverges greatly between the cities in the North and those in the South of the European Union.

In the new Member States in East Central and Eastern Europe the situation is quite different from Western Europe. In most post-socialist cities there were and still are neighbourhoods with concentration of Roma population which are similar to ghettos. For example in Hungary the rapid decline of housing estates into slums represents the 'time bomb' of urban development (Enyedi, 1998: 33). Segregation-related research focuses on the privatisation of the stock. In the market economy segregation processes that had been suppressed under communism, gathered headway. Indeed immigration to the new EU member states is still moderate, thus most housing estates in the urban agglomerations still have a considerable degree of social mix (Holt-Jensen, 2002: 12). Nevertheless residential segregation gained increasing importance in the metropolises of Eastern Europe (Andrusz et al., 1996, Sailer-Fliege, 1999; Vesselinov, 2004).

8 Conclusion

The CLIP project approach focused on the following principal points:

1. The area of exchange and cooperation were **concrete integration measures**.
2. The content of exchange has been: **creating an inventory of measures** in housing and integration of migrants.
3. The **evaluation of measures** has been considered. Have they been evaluated at all? If yes, with what methods? What are the results of the evaluation? Is it possible to transfer the results to other cities? What are the costs of the measure?
4. The **results of integration measures in different local contexts** have been analyzed. Questions are: Is a particular measure successful only in one or several contexts, or has it some "universal" effect and value?
5. The CLIP project aimed at **learning from past and existing initiatives** and at a **transfer of results and experiences** from these single projects to the CLIP network as a whole.
6. The approach of the CLIP network aimed at an **innovative cooperation of actors** from the research, practice and policy domain. The specific expertise of the actors from the three domains in a joint venture contributed to the quality, practical relevance and effectiveness of the project's results. This cooperation served to build up a **sound basis of mutual trust, continuity and cooperation experience**.

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The comparative analysis of the case studies within the module considered also the *potential of new trends* which had been observed in the US:

- Urban gateway neighbourhoods which function as residential area for new immigrants while more established migrants move to other areas,
- sub-urbanization of migrants forming segregated residential areas at the periphery of the cities,
- rural industrialization creating pockets with rapid growth of migrant population in previously homogeneous small towns,
- boom-towns attracting transient work force of migrants by increased availability of low-paid jobs combined with expensive rents.

The CLIP project module on housing and segregation could complement both the top-down development of the creation of a European framework of good-practice for integration policies of migrants, as well as the bottom-up activity of exchange within cities by focusing on the actual implementation and practical relevance of policies in certain fields of integration. It succeeded in supporting the participating cities effectively in the exchange of experiences, which have been analysed for their transferability. And it created up-to-date resources for decision-making and policy implementation for municipal authorities, local housing institutions and practitioners.

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