

Case Study on Segregation and Access to Housing Arnsberg (Germany)

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1 Background information on the country

1.1 History of migration and composition of migrant populations

Enormous migration processes have occurred in Germany since the end of the Second World War. Between 1945 and the beginning of the 1950s about 12 million German refugees and expellees came to Germany. Prior to the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961 3.8 million people migrated from East to West Germany. Whereas migration in the late 1940s and early 1950s was closely related to the war and its consequences, migration from the late 1950 to the early 1970s was the result of labour market processes. The combination of high economic growth and internal labour shortages led to a continuous and increasing recruitment of foreign 'guest workers' until 1973.¹ At this time, 4 million foreigners lived in the country. In the 1970s, processes of family reunion pursued on a large scale, and since then family reunion has become another major source of immigration to Germany. Nowadays a second and third generation of these migrants live in Germany. The foreign population still consists mainly of citizens originating from the former sending countries.

At the end of the 1980s, a new phase of German migration history began with the fall of the Iron Curtain. A large number of immigrants from the Eastern European countries came to Germany, among them many ethnic Germans (*Aussiedler/ Spätaussiedler*²). Between 1988 and 2004, a total of 3 million *Spätaussiedler* came to Germany. But for the last several years, less and less *Spätaussiedler* have been arriving.³ Another large group of immigrants are asylum seekers and refugees. In the 1990s, 1.8 million people asked for asylum. Over one million refugees lived in Germany in 2003.

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

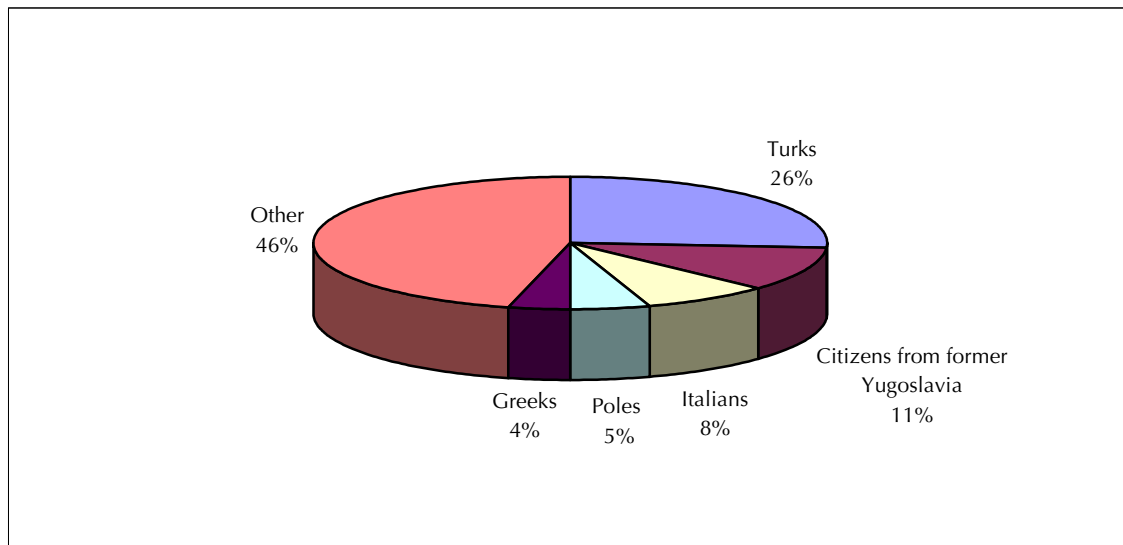
¹ The first contract on recruitment of guest workers was signed in 1955 with Italy. This was followed by agreements with Spain and Greece (1960), Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965) and Yugoslavia (1968). The GDR also recruited so-called *Contract Employees*, mainly from countries such as Vietnam. Immigration in the GDR was quantitatively considerably lower than in the FRG.

² The terms *Aussiedler* and *Spätaussiedler* refer mainly to the specific dates of immigration (prior to 12/31/1992 and beginning 1/1/1993, respectively). The term *Spätaussiedler* has, in everyday usage, become the common term used to describe ethnic Germans with a migration background. The term is therefore used in the following to describe the entire group of *Aussiedler* and *Spätaussiedler*.

³ In 2005 only 35,500 *Spätaussiedler* immigrated, compared with 46 in 2006.

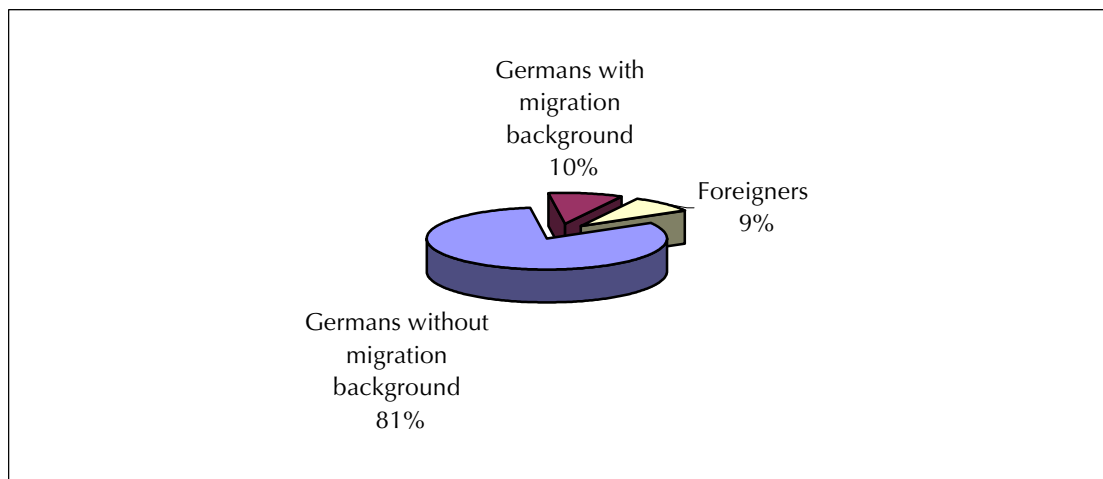


Graph 1: Foreigners by nationalities 2006



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

Graph 2: Migration background of population 2005

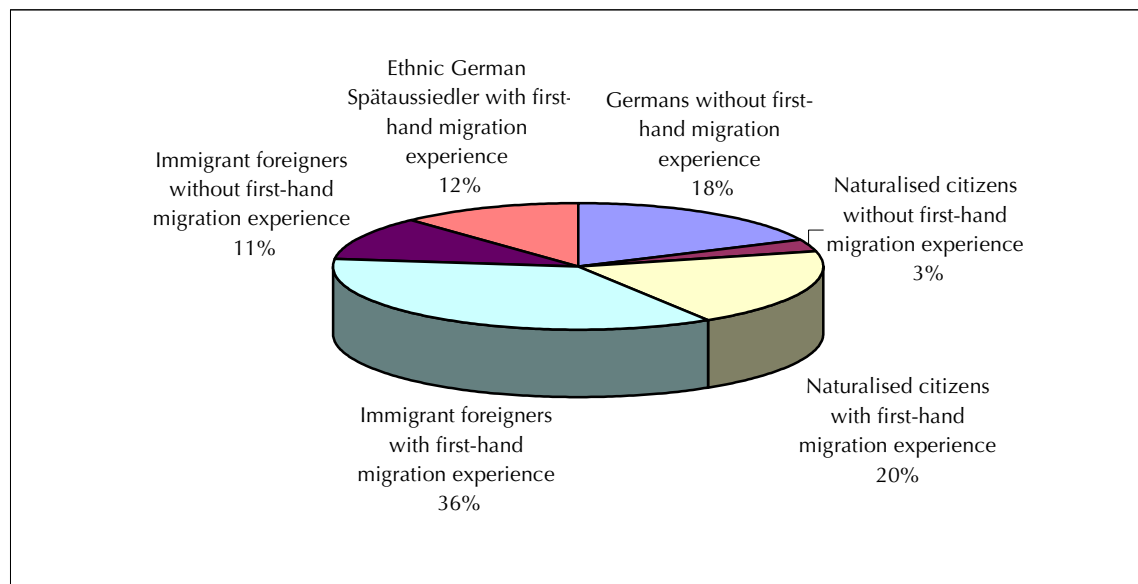


Of the people with a so-called migration background, two thirds have had first-hand migration experience; the other third was born in Germany and therefore has had no personal migration experience. A breakdown of persons with a migration background, focusing on first-hand experience, shows immigrant foreigners (5.6 million or 36%) to be the largest group among them, whereas the 1.7 million foreigners born in Germany make up only 11%. The ratio of foreigners with and without first-hand migration



experience is therefore three to one. The second-largest group of persons with a migration background are naturalised Germans (3.5 million or 23%). The naturalised citizens with first-hand experience (3 million or 20%) also outweigh those without first-hand experience (0.5 million or 3%) in this group. Here the ratio is six to one, respectively. 1.8 million people (12%) with a migration background are ethnic German Spätaussiedler.⁴ The 2.7 million Germans without first-hand migration experience represent 18% of all persons with a migration background; this figure includes the 1.2 million children of migrants. The following image presents the 15.3 million people with a migration background, divided according to their personal migration experiences.

Graph 3: Migration experience of population with migration background 2005

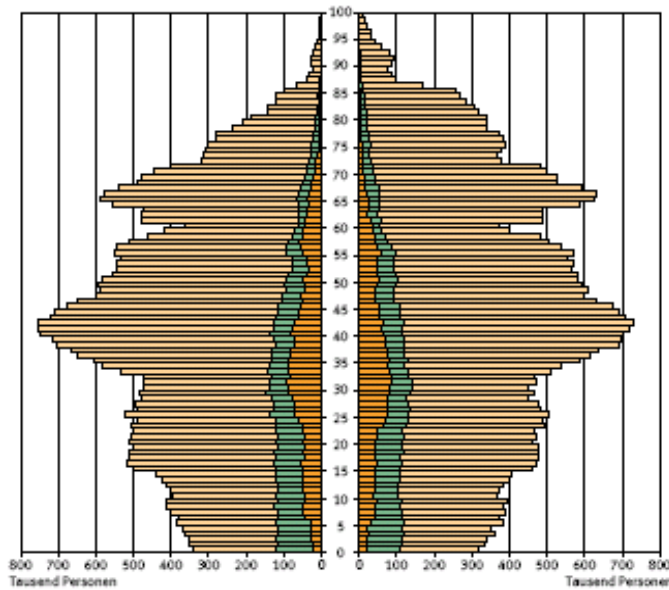


The graph below represents, in the form of an age pyramid, the population in 2005: men are found on the left side, women on the right. Foreigners are represented on the inside, in orange, Germans with a migration background in the middle, in green, and Germans without a migration background on the outside in beige. The graph for the entire population shows the typical mushroom shape of a shrinking population. People with a migration background are represented in the oldest age categories, but the percentage thereof over 40 years of age decreases dramatically for the corresponding total population. On average, they are considerably younger than the German population without a migration background.

⁴ Official statistics represent only the *Spätaussiedler* who migrated after 8/1/1999. The total numbers are, therefore, actually higher.



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



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

1.2 General national integration policy

In Germany, the national integration policy is largely influenced by the societal definition of the immigration situation, i.e. the understanding of the “nature” of the ongoing migration process by major political and societal actors. For the entire migrant labour recruitment period, there was a consensus in society and in political circles that the residence of the “guest workers” would only be temporary, and integration only partial. Until 1998, the official governmental definition was that Germany was not an immigration country.⁵

However, this denial of the immigration situation cannot be equated with the lack of an integration policy. In 1978, the office of the Commissioner for the Promotion of Integration of Foreign Employees and their Families was institutionalised. The foundation of this office demonstrated that the integration of migrants was officially recognised and deemed necessary. The main feature of the German mode of integration has been to open the institutions (labour market, self-employment, education and training system, housing) to the immigrants and to include them in the

⁵ The newly elected Socialdemocratic/ Green Government officially recognised “that an irreversible immigration process has taken place”.



general welfare state and social policy system. Compared to this general integration policy, the numerous specific measures for the integration of immigrants have had much less relevance.

The overwhelming majority of specific services to migrants is implemented by Germany's six largest welfare organisations.⁶ They are private associations but receive public funds from the EU and from national, state, district and local levels. Their work is relevant for all dimensions of integration and encompasses a large range of services. Although the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (*Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge – BAMF*) is now in charge of conceptualising and implementing integration measures, the office leaves the implementation to the local agencies.

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

Over the years a diverse and multi-layered system of programmes and projects supporting integration has been developed in Germany. In 2001, the Independent Commission on Migration to Germany described the German integration management as a policy of "pragmatic improvisation". Therefore, the new Immigration Act⁷ of 2005 acknowledges the importance of a comprehensive integration strategy. The core element of the new system is that migrants are entitled to participate in an integration course, consisting of language and orientation courses to familiarize migrants with the German language, history, culture and the legal system. Furthermore, the BAMF is currently (2007) developing a nationwide integration programme that will identify all existing migrant integration measures, compile informational material concerning such measures, and put forward recommendations on the further development of integration measures. The programme focuses on five core areas: language, education, integration into the labour market, social counselling and social integration.

⁶ Catholic Caritas, Protestant Diakonie, Jewish ZWST, the labour movement's AWO, the non partisan umbrella organisation, DPWV, and the German Red Cross

⁷ Act to Control and Restrict Immigration and to Regulate the Residence and Integration of EU Citizens and Foreigners



2 Background information on the city and its integration policy

2.1 General structural data of the city

The city of Arnsberg, located in North Rhine-Westphalia, in Western Germany, is a fusion of 15 originally independent communities. The city's polycentric structure is, on the one hand, characterised by the concentration and urbanisation along the Ruhr Valley, and, on the other hand, by the rural nature of the outlying settlements. The complete municipal area covers 195 sq km, of which over 60% is forested. At the end of 2006, 80,772 people lived in Arnsberg.

The city is an important regional industrial centre and is famous for its lighting industry. The local economy is primarily made up of small and medium-sized enterprises focusing on wood/paper industry, metal processing, lighting industry, and electronics. In addition, Arnsberg has been a regional centre since the 11th century, and has a long history as a regional centre for service-based industries.⁸ The regional government, state facilities, the chamber of commerce and industry, as well as numerous courts of law are all located in the city.

Over the last ten years, the city has had to come to terms with a considerable shift in the economic structure. Approximately 5,000 jobs – mainly of low- and minimal-qualification – were outsourced as a result of globalisation. At the same time, the number of those employed in the service sector increased. However, this increase was not enough to compensate for the decline in the manufacturing industry.⁹ Slightly less than half of all gainfully employed persons are currently active in the second sector, and just over half are active in the third (that is to say in the service sector). The city of Arnsberg generally considers this development to be stable.

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

⁸ At first for the *Grafschaft* (shire) Arnsberg, then for the *Herzogtum* (duchy) Westphalia and today for 3,8 mil. inhabitants within the *Regierungsbezirk* (administrative region) Arnsberg, which encompasses the Westphalia Ruhr Area including Dortmund and Bochum as well as the region of South Westphalia.

⁹ Production: -2.500 employees, commerce: -500 employees, also losses in the construction industry and the closing down of two barracks; but +600 in various service companies

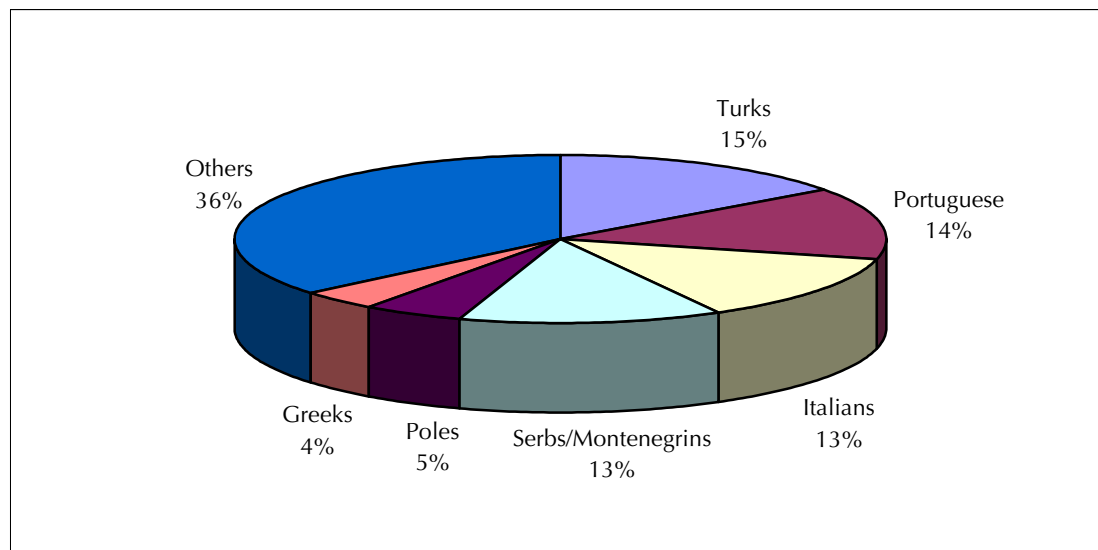


2.2 History of municipal migration and composition of migrant populations

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

According to estimates of the municipal office of statistics, between 12% and 15% (between 10.000 and 12.000 persons) of the population of Arnsberg have a migration background (2006). About half of this group is made up of *Spätaussiedler*, and the other half is made up of foreigners and naturalised persons. In 2006, the number of Arnsbergers without a German passport was over 5,000; that is 6.7% of Arnsberg's population. The largest group among them were Turks (with approximately 15%), followed by Portuguese (just under 14%), Italians and Serbs/Montenegrins (13% apiece), Poles (5%), and Greeks (just under 4%). Altogether, people of over 100 nationalities live in Arnsberg.

Graph 5: Composition of foreigners in Arnsberg 2006



Compared to the German population, the foreign population is quite young: the proportion of minors is similar for both groups (18% and 20%, respectively), but the proportion of adults between the ages of 18 and 39 is considerably higher for foreigners (approximately 41%) than for the German population (26%). In contrast, only 6% of foreigners are 65 years and older, whereas this age group represents 21% of the German population. The gender ratio is relatively balanced, even though slightly more foreign men than foreign women live in Arnsberg. The gender



proportions of the elderly population are striking: The over-65 age group is made up of 59% women among German Arnsbergers, whereas this age group comprise only 43% women among non-Germans.

The average educational achievement of foreign pupils is lower than that of German pupils. Only 7% of foreign pupils were successful in secondary education and got the *Abitur* (A-level), while the overall average is 30%. Furthermore, compared to German pupils, almost twice as many foreign pupils (30%) graduate from *Hauptschule* (lowest level school). It is also striking that more than one third of all special needs pupils do not have German citizenship, and 20% of foreign pupils¹⁰, compared to 6% of Germans, did not graduate from any kind of school.

The foreign population in Arnsberg is considerably more affected by unemployment than the entire population: although Arnsberg's overall unemployment rate is 11%, that of foreign citizens makes up 29%.

2.3 Municipal integration policy

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

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

¹⁰ The numbers differ heavily: 2001 they made up a third, 2002 however only 10%.



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

Besides the activities of the *Internationaler Arbeitskreis Arnsberg*, ethnic organisations and foreign representatives, welfare organisations like the *Diakonisches Werk*, the *Caritas-Verband* and the *Arbeiterwohlfahrt (AWO)* have been active in the field of integration. These groups primarily tend to concerns of people with uncertain residence status (i.e. asylum seekers and refugees).

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

In cooperation with ethnic organisations and NGOs, the municipality developed a concept of integration for the city in 2000. This integration concept is meant to be a foundation for integration programmes in Arnsberg. The concept, adopted by the city council in 2001, sees integration as a mutual process and the responsibility of both natives and migrants. It has formulated four main strategic goals: 1) Migrants should be enabled to be economically self-sustaining. 2) The adaptation to the new environment should be supported by information and training. 3) The migrants should be in a position to keep their own culture and identity, while at the same time learning about the democracy and values in Germany, as well as about opportunities for political participation. 4) Mutual cultural respect and intercultural understanding are goals for which the community should strive.

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

In 2005, an additional Integration Steering Group (*Steuerungsgruppe Integration*), consisting of department supervisors of the integration commission, and the mayor of Arnsberg, was established. This group lays down goals of the integration process, updates the integration concept and formulates tasks. In addition to this strategic



steering group, three working committees were established concerning 'kindergarten and school', 'qualification, training and employment', and 'social and cultural integration'. In these groups, representatives of the *Internationaler Arbeitskreis*, the Foreigners' Council, the municipality, the associations and the adult education centre (*Volkshochschule*) come together to set operative goals, and to initiate, conduct, and evaluate activities. The achievements of these groups are published in an annual integration report.

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

2.4 Inter-city cooperation

Arnsberg is, at the national level, a member of the *Städte- und Gemeindebund Deutschland* as well as of the *Kommunale Gemeinschaftsstelle für Verwaltungsmanagement (KGST)*. Additionally, almost all of Arnsberg's city schools are project partners in North Rhine Westphalia's "autonomous school" model scheme. The city also participates in various inter-community projects sponsored by the *Robert Bosch Foundation* and the *Bertelsmann Foundation*. Arnsberg is among the cities participating in the national "Successful Integration is no Coincidence" (*Erfolgreiche Integration ist kein Zufall*) competition, which was sponsored by the *Bertelsmann Foundation* and the Department of the Interior.

At the international level, Arnsberg is represented in the Committee of the Regions; it is a project partner of the European network "Monitoring Growth & Jobs", and member of the "Lisbon Monitoring Platform", and the CLIP network ("Cities for Local Integration Policies in Europe").

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



3 Housing situation of the city

3.1 Housing stock and housing market in general

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

Graph 6: Arnsberg



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

The building and housing stock continually increased over the last 10 years by approximately 7% – especially in the more rural districts. Therefore, the housing market is very relaxed. By the end of 2004, 35,200 housing units existed in Arnsberg. Of these, about one quarter were single-family houses and another good quarter were housing units within buildings with a maximum of two apartments. Roughly half of the



housing units were in apartment buildings with more than two housing units. The housing structure also influences the size of housing units: of the entire housing stock, a mere 1% were single-room housing units and 5% were housing units with two rooms; almost half had five or more rooms. The per capita living space was 46 sq m. According to housing experts, despite the generously-built housing there are too few rental units for larger families on the housing market. However, there is an excess supply of housing with two or three rooms.

At least 1,050 housing units (around 3% of the housing stock) are officially unoccupied; experts assume an even higher number.

28% of all buildings were constructed prior to 1949, 26% during the time of the *Wirtschaftswunderzeit* (Germany's economic miracle between 1949 and 1968), 23% between 1969 and 1987, and 13% between 1988 and 2004. This is why a large fraction, even when considering modernisation, no longer conforms to today's demands and standards (e.g. sanitary facilities or energy consumption).

The ownership rate is 58%, thus above the state average. As private owners conduct most of the construction of new housing, one can assume an increase of this ratio for the coming years.

Over the last years, rents have only slightly increased. The rent without utilities for apartments with 2 to 4 rooms advertised in newspapers was about EUR 4.50 per sq m. This rent level has been stable since 2000. Besides rents, the price for land is also stable; in 2005 the price per sq m lay between EUR 75 and EUR 175.

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

In 2005, approximately 2,200 persons moved to Arnsberg; 2,500 moved away. Between 1998 and 2002, 7,400 moved within the city per year; since 2002, inner city mobility has clearly decreased: in 2005, 6,200 moves were registered (8% of the population).

The city's influence on the housing market is rather small, as the city does not own housing itself. Public housing companies and cooperatives also play only a minor role. The public housing cooperative *Wohnungsgenossenschaft Arnsberg + Sundern eG* owns approximately 1,700 housing units (5% of the total housing stock). Arnsberg has



a share of 5% of this cooperative and has voting rights alongside eight other board members. The city is considered an important partner by this housing cooperative; the interests of Arnsberg and the urban planning approaches are taken into account.

A major result of the recent public survey “Living in Arnsberg 2006” was that the majority of the citizens are satisfied with their current home and their housing environment. On a scale from 1 (very satisfied) to 6 (very unsatisfied) an average of 1.7 was determined. The housing environment was rated 1.85; but housing supply was rated only with 2.65.

3.2 Housing situation of residents with migration background

Because of the relaxed housing market and the high-quality fixtures of housing units in Arnsberg, the housing situation for all Arnsbergers, regardless of migration background, is very good. In the 2006 survey, migrants rated their housing units and housing environment at 1.8, and their housing at 1.9. This is only a very minor deviation from the ratings of the total population (1.7 and 1.9, respectively).

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

Arnsbergers with migration background have comparatively less living space at their disposal than the rest of the population. There are no official figures available on the size of this difference, only indications: according to estimates from the Office for Integration and Immigration, a large amount of Arnsberg migrants lives in social housing where the per capita living space is normally lower than the urban average.¹¹ Furthermore, according to the *housing cooperative Arnsberg + Sundern*, lower income forces *Spätaussiedler* to move into smaller housing units after household decreases in size (e.g. after children move out) while Germans tend to stay in their homes. The 2006 survey states that, on a per capita average, migrants have 26 sq m of living space at their disposal (total population: 46 sq m). But because only 39 migrants took part in that survey, these figures can only give an impression and cannot be considered as representative data.

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

¹¹ Allocation criteria depend on family size. Singles are eligible for 45 sq m + kitchen and bath; for every additional person another 15 sq m are added.



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

Two trends are discernable in ownership acquisition of migrants: *Spätaussiedler* are especially interested in subsidised ownership housing programmes. They build the new houses to a large extent by own construction activities. Former guest workers and their families prefer, according to the city, cheap real estate in need of renovation. The renovation is often done with the aid of the entire family.

3.3 Segregation: Spatial concentration of residents with migration background

People with a migration background are scattered across the entire city of Arnsberg. They tend to live in the rather urban city districts (*Neheim, Hüsten, Alt-Arnsberg* and *Oeventrop*). In three quarters, the proportion of migrants and the quota of social welfare recipients are above the Arnsberg average. These are *Gierskämphen, Moosfelde* and the vicinity of the *Hüsten* train station.

Gierskämphen is located in the south of Arnsberg and is comprised of only a few streets and 920 inhabitants. Due to its location on the outskirts of Arnsberg, and because of the adjacent forest, some homeowners enjoy living in this area. The majority of buildings however are larger apartment buildings of a mediocre quality. They were constructed just after the war, when large quantities of housing space were an urgent need. Several of them were used by Belgian Soldiers stationed in Arnsberg. In 1994, the barracks were closed down. This coincided with the rush of newly arrived *Spätaussiedler* just a few years before, who at this time were housed in provisional housing containers. After the soldiers' withdrawal, these *Spätaussiedler* were relocated into the vacated apartment buildings. Today, the proportion of foreigners is a mere 6%; however, the percentage of *Spätaussiedler*, which is not apparent in the official statistics, is well over the citywide average. This, in addition to a high concentration of socially disadvantaged families, gave this quarter a rather bad reputation. A large portion of the autochthonous population is leaving, and housing is very difficult to rent out.

Similar conditions exist in *Moosfelde*, situated 2 km north of *Neheim*. The Belgian barrack (*Camp Loquet*) was located here, and, after the withdrawal, it became a designated housing area. Besides one-family-houses, several investors constructed publicly supported social housing, into which mainly *Spätaussiedler* moved. Of the 3,200 residents, about 15% are non-Germans; one third has a migration background.



The percentage of unemployed *Aussiedler* is also very high. The area has a negative image and some housing units are vacant. But the area's fluctuation rate is – by virtue of its privately owned houses and its exceedingly beautiful location on a slope side – not as high as in *Gierskämpen*.

Graph 7: Arnsberg-Moosfelde



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

In a ranking of quarters according to socio-demographic and urban planning criteria, all three areas were considered problematic. But compared to districts in similar-sized cities, those three quarters are hardly segregated.

3.4 Accessibility of the housing market system for people with migration background

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

Those with lower socio-economic status simply have less money to spend on housing. Because educational standards within the non-German population of Arnsberg are, on average, lower, and because members of this group are more likely to become unemployed, it is safe to assume that their average financial situation is also below average and that in some cases, foreigners might have some difficulties gaining access to housing.

In addition, legal rules can influence the access to housing, in particular in the field of subsidised housing. An underlying concept of German integration policy is the



inclusion of migrants into the German system of welfare. In Germany, two public measures exist that aim at supporting those households identified by the government as most affected by exclusion: housing allowances and subsidised social housing. Foreigners have the same legal rights to apply for housing allowance and social housing as Germans do, provided they live legally and permanently in Germany, the apartment in question is situated in Germany and the occupant living in this accommodation pays the rent or cost of his accommodation on his/her own. According to the new Residence Act¹², permanent residence is generally assumed if the foreigner is given a residence permit valid for more than one year or has held a residence permit for more than 18 months, unless the stay is of a temporary nature. This means, foreign students and seasonal workers could be excluded from social housing, whereas refugees and asylum seekers can be (with some reservations) placed in council flats.¹³

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

4 Institutional setting and relevant actors

In Germany, the housing situation is influenced by national policies which aim at improving support for households most affected by exclusion. However, due to Germany's strong municipal autonomy, municipal policies have the most impact on the housing situation. In the following, the most important municipal actors and their activities and responsibilities concerning housing will be presented.

The most important contact point for migrants is the Office of Immigration and Integration (*Büro für Zuwanderung und Integration*). This office is the starting point and a 'One-Stop-Agency' for all migrants' concerns. Here, migrants seeking housing find assistance for all housing-related matters, e.g. guidance concerning the search for housing, mediation aid when confronted with intercultural conflicts with neighbours, information concerning legal regulations, and, if necessary, referral to other appropriate departments.

¹² § 44 I (1) AufenthG

¹³ See 6.1 for further exploration of both possibilities.



The Jobcentre/Social Affairs department concerns itself with recipients of social aid, and grants housing allowances (*Kosten der Unterkunft – KdU*). This department is also responsible for housing concerning people in need. However, because of its holistic approach, the Office of Immigration and Integration is also engaged in migrant housing affairs, and there is a strong cooperation between the two offices. There are joint staff meetings and personal contacts between employees.

The third relevant actor within the city's administration is the "Future Agency and City Development" department (*Zukunftsagentur und Stadtentwicklung*), organisationally responsible directly to the mayor. This department is engaged in strategic planning and realisation of urban development and housing projects. Among its activities is the issue of reports regarding the housing market and the carrying out of surveys on the topic of housing. However, its main task is the recording and analysis of the city's strengths and weaknesses, as well as the planning of the city's future development and the conceptualisation of the urban development.

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

This brief summary of the relevant actors displays a prominent feature of Arnsberg's cooperation structure: the chief officers and members of administration know each other well and cooperate regularly, and even more often in times of acute necessity. Strategies and concepts are coordinated or even developed together. This productive collaboration functions not only internally, but also with actors outside the administration: City employees as well as the mayor are in close contact with the Foreigners' Council (*Ausländerbeirat*), ethnic organisations and the *Internationaler Arbeitskreis*. Furthermore, they are in constant exchange with housing experts (e.g. the property managements of housing companies and the housing cooperative *Arnsberg + Sundern*) concerning the needs, problems and future developments on the housing market.



5 Discourse, concepts and policy concerning housing

5.1 Vision, concepts and policy of administration and Local Council on the issue of housing, segregation and integration of migrants

Within the framework of the *STEP* urban development concept, Arnsberg has been highly involved in the field of housing since the late 1990s. The prelude to a complete and comprehensive advancement was the “Future Housing in Arnsberg” analysis. After this study, the city has not only focused on the quantitative supply of housing, but has turned its efforts to the achievement of qualitative goals. Housing has become an asset in the context of competition among cities. That is why the city increasingly acts as a partner for all involved actors (housing companies, banks, architects etc.), as well as a moderator that initiates discussions and processes of change (in urban marketing processes, think tanks with citizens, investors etc.). In this context, Arnsberg published a report on the housing market. Furthermore, the municipality promotes alternative housing projects and inter-generational housing concepts.

The goal of the urban development policy is to reach a balanced population structure in all quarters. The city council and urban planners therefore developed seven overarching goals; among them are the strengthening of social cohesion in city quarters, identification with the entire city, securing a decent living standard, and the support and development of cooperation among the quarters. Many projects have been started in order to realise these goals, e.g. the improvement of particular quarters and social and cultural initiatives.

The urban development concept is meant to improve the living and housing conditions of all Arnsbergers, regardless of their country of origin. Therefore, a special policy geared towards the improvement of *migrants’* housing situations is not deemed necessary.

Concerning housing, segregation and integration, the city council and administration assume that proximity to residents with the same migration background offers migrants in a particular neighbourhood a feeling of security and safety, and also the import of “a little piece of home”. This should enable migrants to accommodate faster to a foreign country. This approach means of course that a certain amount of spatial segregation is not always seen as counterproductive to the integration process. The important factor is to what extent – in spite of segregation – a willingness to participate in the community exists. Highly ethnically and socially segregated quarters should be avoided, but smaller migrant neighbourhoods should be possible.



5.2 Public discourse on housing, segregation and integration of migrants

There are two Arnsberg districts that are publicly perceived as socially and infrastructurally disadvantaged: *Moosfelde* and *Gierskämpen*. Both are spatially separated areas with some well-kept single family homes, as well as housing blocks with a large proportion of socio-economically disadvantaged residents, among them many *Spätaussiedler* (cf. chapter 3.3). In both districts not only the unemployment rate but also the quota of migrants is considerably higher than the city-average. The two districts are not considered a big problem, nevertheless a large portion of the long-established German and migrant population does not want to move there. The self-image of these districts, however, is much better than the outside image. Especially the residents of *Moosfelde* like their district and are very engaged in promoting the social cohesion, cleanliness and image of “their *Moosfelde*” (cf. chapter 6). For *Gierskämpen*, the same is not necessarily true. Yet there are individual residents, who appreciate the proximity to the forest, and who stress that the area is better than its reputation.

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

6 Interventions on housing and integration: measures and projects

6.1 Interventions to improve access to housing for migrants

Due to their lack of knowledge concerning language and municipal structures, newly arrived migrants can have a hard time gaining access to living space. In Arnsberg, they find help at the Office for Immigration and Integration (*Büro für Zuwanderung und Integration*). The office is a contact point for migrants with all kinds of questions – also in cases of house-hunting and related issues, migrants can turn to the employees of the office for help.

Chapter 3.4 (accessibility of the housing market) already mentioned that persons who lack the funds to supply themselves adequately on the free housing market, have the option of applying for a housing allowance or of applying for the so-called social housing market (*sozialer Wohnungsmarkt*).

The housing allowance is financed by federal and state governments and is paid to low-income households as a top-up payment for the cost of housing. In Arnsberg, the offices responsible are the *Job Centre* and, for migrants, the *Office of Immigration and*



Integration. This housing allowance supports private households with the aim of providing decent housing for low-income households by facilitating the access to accommodation at a low or average level of rent. Whether a household can apply for housing allowance and how much it can apply for as a subsidy to either the rent or the mortgage (for house owners), depends on the size of the household, the income and the rent or costs paid by the applicants. Foreigners have the same legal rights to housing allowance application as Germans do, provided they live legally and permanently in Germany¹⁴, the flat in question is situated in Germany and the occupant living in this accommodation pays the rent or cost of his accommodation on his/her own. This regulation applies to all residents, and there is hardly any statistical data on the extent to which migrants benefit from this measure. However, the proportion of migrants belonging to the target groups (i.e. low-income households, families with children, inhabitants of disadvantaged neighbourhoods) is above average. Therefore, it can be assumed that migrants benefit disproportionately high from these regulations.

The so-called social housing market is regulated by the Housing Assistance Act¹⁵ (*Wohnraumförderungsgesetz*). This makes the construction of new buildings, the renovation of existing buildings and the acquisition of occupying rights (*Belegungsrechte*) eligible for public funding. It aims primarily at providing special target groups with housing (see above).

Households in need can, due to this act, apply for a housing authorisation permit (*Wohnberechtigungsschein*) at the aforementioned offices.¹⁶ The procedure mirrors that of the housing allowance: whether a household (either German or non-German) is eligible for such a permit depends on its income, the number of family members, and on the residence status of the applicant who must live permanently in Germany. But because the Arnsberg housing market is very relaxed, this help is rarely requested and occupying rights are seldom used.

Contrary to today, the housing market was very tense in the 1990s, because of the immigration of *Spätaussiedler*. Therefore, according to the Housing Assistance Act, the city supports the construction of social housing units and family homes (privately owned). In 2004, the total publicly-funded housing stock of Arnsberg comprised

¹⁴ As written above, according to the new Residence Act (§ 44 I (1) AufenthG) permanent residence is generally to be assumed if the foreigner is given a residence permit valid for more than one year or has held a residence permit for more than 18 months, unless the stay is of a temporary nature. This means students and seasonal workers could be excluded from social housing whereas refugees and asylum seekers can be (with reservations) placed in council flats.

¹⁵ § 27 II WoFG

¹⁶ Income boundaries: one-person household: EUR 12,000, two-person household: EUR 18,000, each further household member: EUR 4,100 (WoFG, Abschnitt 2, § 9 Einkommensgrenzen)



approximately 3,300 housing units (860 family homes and 2,440 apartments). *Spätaussiedler* are particularly interested in family homes funding, as seen in the comparatively high amount of granted applications in 2006. As a result of the relaxed housing market in the lower price ranges, new applications for apartments are virtually non-existent, and even in the realm of family homes applications are decreasing.

Besides the measures granted by way of the Housing Assistance Act, Arnsberg maintains two projects that support asylum-seekers and *Spätaussiedler* in gaining access to private living space:

Asylum-seekers' access to the social housing market is denied; they are, according to legal regulations, accommodated in communal housing units. Because the legal process of asylum, depending on the circumstances, can last for years, asylum seekers sometimes live in these accommodations for a considerable length of time. The city of Arnsberg assumes that staying in these accommodations can be detrimental to the families' private sphere. It therefore houses families with long sojourns in their own private areas or even in their own apartments within these communal facilities.

Spätaussiedler are, upon their arrival in Germany, housed in transitional housing quarters. Especially for families, longer accommodation in such facilities is problematic. Besides difficulties in the family system, long-time accommodation can lead to stigmatisation detrimental to the further integration process. Hence, Arnsberg supports the rapid transition into normal housing units. In addition, migrant employment is encouraged. To this end, employable migrants seeking work are provided with professional counselling and mentoring by the municipal Job Centre.

6.2 Local policies related to spatial segregation

6.2.1 Policies to reduce spatial segregation

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

Urban Development Concept

One noteworthy measure aiming at fighting segregation is the conscious organisation and use of the polycentric urban culture. Within the framework of the Urban Development Concept (*Stadtentwicklungskonzept – STEP*), all quarters are to remain attractive residential areas, and at the same time, the strengths and distinctive features of each quarter should be stressed and strengthened: whereas the historic old city in



Alt-Arnsberg should be construed as a tourism and cultural centre, Neheim's qualities as a trade and service centre, and Hüsten's sport and recreational opportunities should be highlighted. In order to achieve these goals, urban renewal programmes have been started, a water park has been built, neighbourhood offices have been developed, and a marketing concept has been designed. Although this urban development programme focuses on multicultural and social living together, it is not a project aimed explicitly at improving migrant housing conditions. But thanks to the programme's conscious portrayal of polycentric structure *and* cohesion, it is effective in counteracting ethnic and social segregation tendencies.

Round table: Housing (*Runder Tisch Wohnen*)

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

High quality educational institutions in all quarters

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



Ethnic organisations

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

DIES Internationalis

The DIES Internationalis is the city's international summer festival. The main focuses of the festival are numerous culinary and cultural treats – the festival is not directly connected with the topic of housing. However, the city also considers it to be an important event in this context: it is organised by the *Internationaler Arbeitskreis* and the Foreigners' Council; these are supported by civil initiatives, the ethnic organisations, the city of Arnsberg, and the local media. During an almost yearlong event preparation, diverse groups with various ethnic, cultural and social roots come together and have the chance to get to know and value each other. By way of these cooperative activities, intercultural neighbourhood conflicts between Arnsbergers of different nationalities can be prevented before they occur.

Involvement of migrants into activities of the housing cooperative

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

The cooperative noted that *Spätaussiedler* tend to use the outdoors more often, have a great interest in gardens, and refurbish and cultivate the grounds. This interest is taken up by the cooperative: persons were offered, for pocket money, the opportunity to officially become in charge of taking care of the outdoors. The offer was very well-



received. It led to a higher quality of the environment and gave these tenants the opportunity to earn some money. Furthermore, the *Spätaussiedler* gained more respect due to their new position and dedication.

Migrant involvement also takes place at the tenant assembly: altogether, 49 tenants, of which six have a migration background, are represented. Therefore, every constituency (that correlates roughly to the districts of Arnsberg) is represented by at least one person with a migration background.

6.2.2 Policies managing spatial segregation

The ways in which the city is trying to avoid and reduce ethnic segregation were described in the previous chapter. By using examples from several projects, the following chapter will show how Arnsberg handles spatial segregation and improves living together and social cohesion in the city.

Housing environment improvement Moosfelde

In the preceding chapters, the negative image of *Moosfelde* and its heterogeneous socio-economic population structure has already been mentioned. In 2005, a dedicated inhabitant was no longer willing to put up with the condition and image of her quarter. Together with her neighbours she founded the grass roots initiative “Citizens for Moosfelde”. They started out with a public survey: the initiative interviewed inhabitants as to why they like living in *Moosfelde* and what they wish for their quarter. In addition, a garbage drive was organised.

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

In winter 2005, the city brought both initiatives together and a workshop for Housing Environment Improvement was held at the community centre *Bürgerhaus Moosfelde*. 70 persons attended this workshop: citizens of *Moosfelde*, members of the city as well as the housing companies and property management firms. They formed the working groups ‘centre’, ‘image’, ‘children & adolescents’, and ‘public space’ and decided on future measures, timetables, and financing possibilities, that have been in effect since that time: for instance, the centre has been revitalised by new shops and buildings have been renovated.



According to residents, property managers, and the city, the housing quality as well as the image have significantly improved. In the end, the housing environment improvement will probably not only 'manage' segregation, but may also reduce it.

Youth clubs

The above-mentioned initiatives are very effective in the long run. The city also supports several youth clubs that deal with more immediate problems. These clubs are financed by the city in cooperation with associations or welfare organisations (e.g. *Internationaler Bund*) and partially rely on voluntary work. They offer a broad selection of recreational activities, including sports, theatre groups, and handicrafts, and offer a time and place for adolescents to spend their spare time according to their own wishes. Roundtables, with the participation of children and adolescents, members of the action committee, the police and social workers, are organised regularly. They offer a forum for the discussion of current issues and projects and for the prevention of problems. The youth clubs in *Gierskämper* and *Moosfelde* are visited daily by 30 children and adolescents, of which a considerable proportion has a migration background (mainly *Spätaussiedler*).

Project 'Heinrich-Lübke Street': MISS

Another innovative project for the improvement of the housing situation is *MISS* in the *Heinrich-Lübke Street*. This street, located in the Hüsten district, is a federal road with heavy traffic and a proportion of lorry traffic of up to 30%. This is made worse by the closely-built buildings and the related noise from the street. About 2,000 people live in the area, and of these, approximately 300 live directly in the *Heinrich-Lübke Street*. Almost 20% of these residents are foreigners, mainly from Turkey and Italy. The quarter is certainly not ethnically segregated, but the proportion of non-Germans is nevertheless higher than the 7% city average.

In 2007, a bypass, meant to reduce the heavy traffic in the *Heinrich-Lübke Street*, should be finished. The city is using this opportunity to remodel the street and thereby improve its residential quality. The city has used innovative means of getting foreign residents involved in this process: information about the construction of the bypass was presented online, and an internet survey concerning residents' wishes for the remodelling of the street was carried out. This information was then translated into four other languages (Turkish, Italian, Serbo-Croatian, and Russian) by volunteers. The so-called *MISS* project (*Mehrsprachigkeit bei Internetangeboten zur Stadtentwicklung*



und Stadtplanung, or Multilingualism in Internet Offers concerning Urban Development and Planning)¹⁷ received a great deal of interest, but could not – due to lack of internet connections – be used by foreign residents to the hoped-for extent. For this reason, the project managers also used schools to get into contact with children and their parents: the project was discussed with pupils aged 8 to 15 whose wishes and ideas were collected by way of a questionnaire. Multilingual questionnaires were also distributed to parents as a sort of “homework” that pupils were to bring back completed. This second approach was much more successful.

The combination of these two channels of communication (school and internet), as well as the multi-lingual approach of the project are good signs for future attempts at increasing migrants’ input and participation in urban planning projects.

7 Highlights and Failures: Learning for CLIP

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

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

¹⁷ Similar projects were conducted in the neighbouring cities Gütersloh, Iserlohn and Solingen.



Since this has been seen as problematic by the city and the public, a lot of concepts, measures and initiatives have been introduced. First, the municipal administration has installed an expert group that developed measures to counteract segregation tendencies: financial support for social housing is only given for buildings in non-segregated areas and for smaller housing units. Second, the housing cooperative Arnsberg + Sundern applies an informal quota policy concerning the number and ethnicity of its tenants. Furthermore, an urban development concept (STEP) has been developed that prevents segregation by improving social cohesion within the various districts and, at the same time, utilises the advantages of Arnsberg's polycentric structure.

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

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

To improve the access of migrants to affordable housing, the city offers a special service for migrants: The Office for Integration and Immigration is a 'One-Stop-Agency'. The migrants can address all sorts of affairs, including housing-related matters, to the officers.

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



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- ▶ Röbbke, Michaela; Stadt Arnsberg, Stadtentwicklung und Wohnen
- ▶ Vogel, Hans-Josef; Bürgermeister der Stadt Arnsberg
- ▶ Unkrüer, Elvira; Stadt Arnsberg, Jugendtreff Arnsberg-Moosfelde