

Case Study on Segregation and Access to Housing

Frankfurt am Main

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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%).

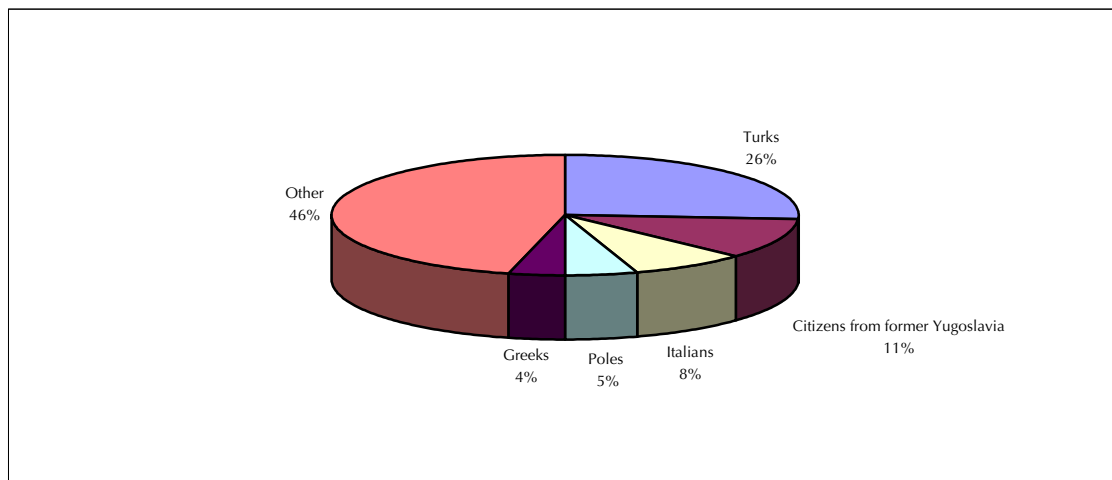
¹ The first contract on recruitment of guest workers was signed in 1955 with Italy. This was followed by agreements with Spain and Greece (1960), Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965) and Yugoslavia (1968). The GDR also recruited so-called Contract Employees, mainly from countries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

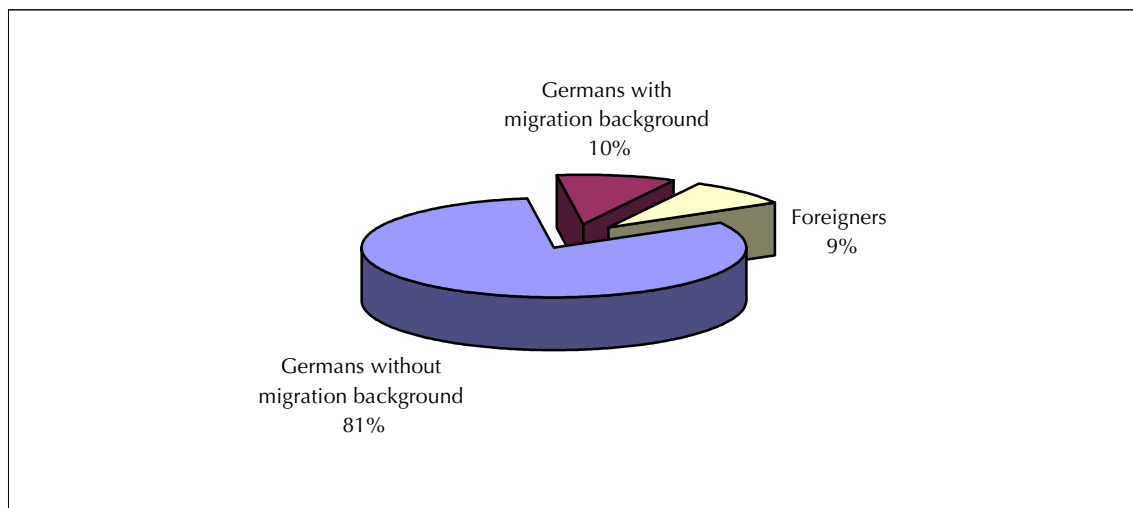


Graph 1: Foreigners by nationalities 2006



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

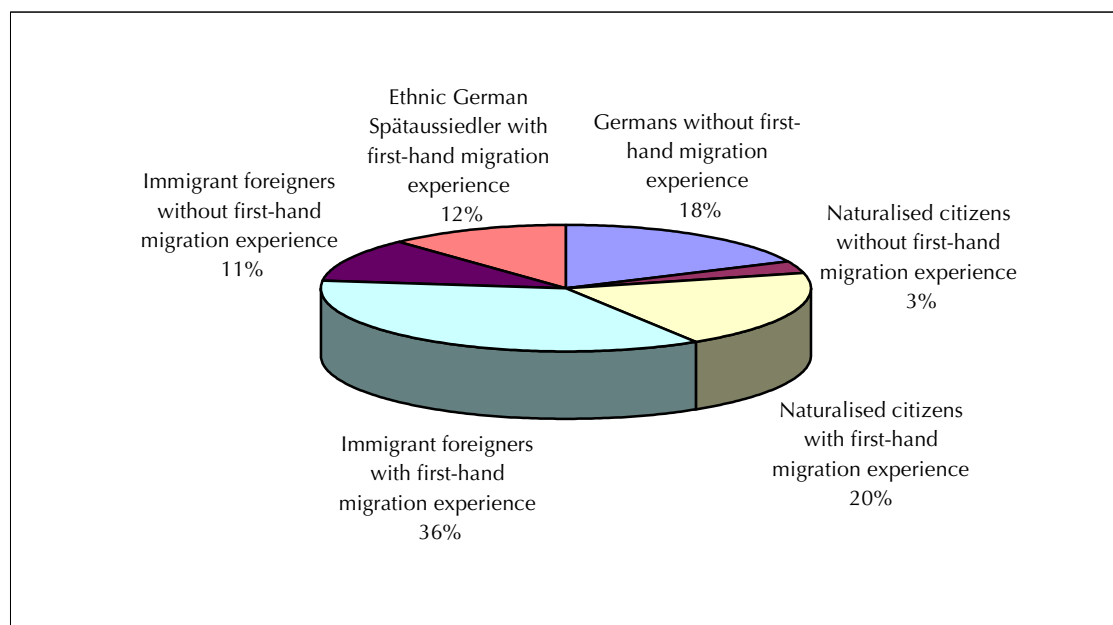


Of the people with a so-called migration background, two thirds have had first-hand migration experience; the other third was born in Germany and therefore has had no personal migration experience. A breakdown of persons with a migration background, focusing on first-hand experience, shows immigrant 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 (0.5million 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

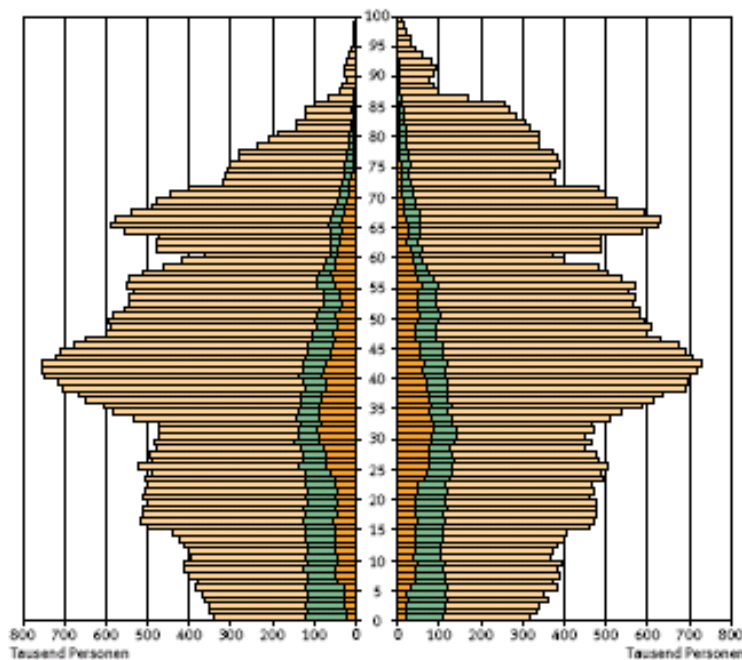


The graph below represents, in the form of an age pyramid, the population in 2005: men are found on the left side, women on the right. Foreigners are represented on the inside, in orange, Germans with a migration background in the middle, in green, and Germans without a migration background on the outside 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 core institutions (labour market, self-employment,

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



education and training system, housing) to the immigrants and to include them in the 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 Act 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



2 Background information on the city and its integration policy

2.1 General structural data of the city

Frankfurt am Main is located in the West of Germany and extends over 250 km². With 651,583 inhabitants at the end of 2005, the city is Germany's fifth largest in terms of population. Due to immigration from Eastern Europe and Yugoslavia, the population grew significantly at the beginning of the 1990s. However, population decreased some years later and has stagnated since 1997.

Frankfurt is Germany's leading financial centre. More than 300 national and international banks, for instance the *European Central Bank* and the *German Bundesbank*, are located in Frankfurt. The city is also among the leading locations for companies in Europe, benefiting from a highly developed infrastructure, including Europe's largest airport. Furthermore, the city has the third largest exhibition area in the world.

The gross domestic product for 2004 market prices was EUR 47,825 billion; this was EUR 81,329 per gainfully employed person. Despite its exceptional position as Germany's leading financial centre, compared with the level of residents' income of other German cities, Frankfurt does not occupy the top position. The available income per resident in 2004 (EUR 16,349) was not higher than the German average, as a large amount of income earned in Frankfurt benefits professionals who commute to the city.

Frankfurt has the highest density of jobs in Germany: 918 jobs to 1,000 residents. This high concentration of jobs can be attributed to the aforementioned number of commuting professionals. In 2002, more than two thirds (65%) of all people employed in Frankfurt resided outside the city. Of Frankfurt's 2005 resident population, almost half (48%) are gainfully employed. 62% are white collar, 18% are blue collar workers, 15% are self-employed, and 5% are government officials. The unemployment rate has increased over the last years; in 2005, the rate was 11.8%.

As a result of structural change and the shift toward a service-based economy, the number of jobs in the third sector has risen. Additionally, the amount of employment opportunities in the areas of basic services and security has also increased. On the opposite side, many well-paying jobs for technological specialists have been lost due to the decline of the industrial sector. This development has led to a polarisation of the employee qualification structure: the number of employed academics, as well as the number of minimally-qualified employees, rose considerably between 1990 and 2000. In comparison, the number of qualified employees without academic training fell to an exceptionally low level.



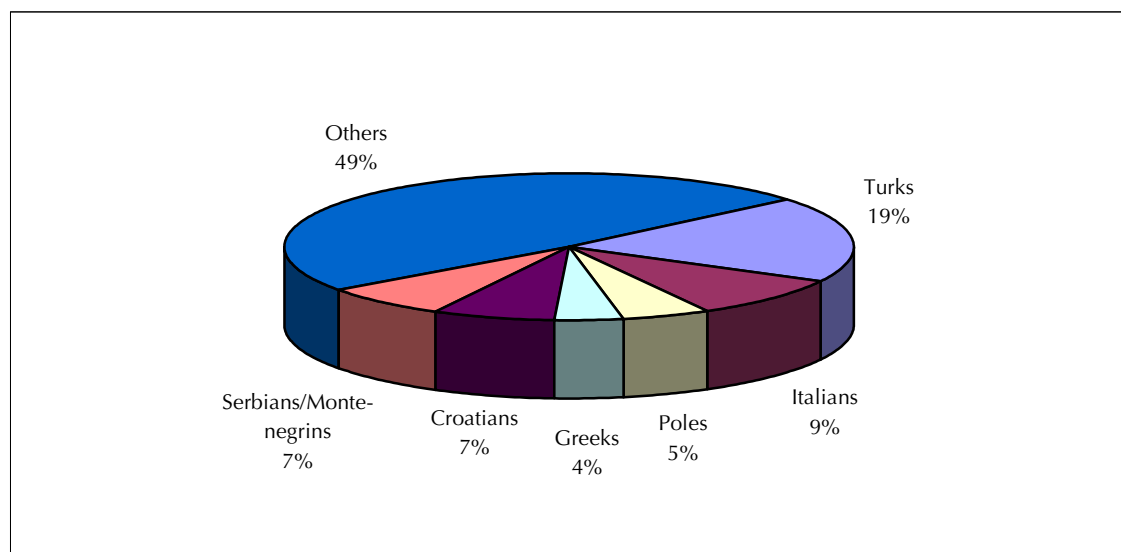
2.2 History of municipal migration and composition of migrant populations

Frankfurt looks back on a long tradition of immigration. From the 1960s to the early 1970s, the city was one of the most important destinations for guest workers in Germany. The labour migrants came primarily from Italy, Spain, Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey. After the 1973 ban on recruitment, guest worker migration to Frankfurt stopped and more and more guest workers who had arrived before decided to settle down in Frankfurt and started bringing in their families. Family reunion became the most important source of migration to the city. In the 1990s, immigrants from the former Soviet Union, war refugees from the former Yugoslavia and asylum seekers were the three major groups of immigrants. In 2004, 24,988 foreigners moved to the city, whereas 24,321 left Frankfurt. 40% of those who came directly from abroad emigrated from European Union member states. All in all, the positive net migration was only 667 persons in 2004.

In December 2005, a good quarter (168,146) of the whole population are foreigners, i.e. people without a German passport. The percentage of people with a migration background, i.e. people with a non-German citizenship, with dual citizenship, naturalized Germans and people born abroad, is much higher, namely 38%. The population with a migration background is constantly increasing – among children born in Frankfurt two thirds have a migration background.

However, because the municipal Office for Statistics has only recently begun to collect data concerning migration backgrounds, most of the following information still refers to foreigners (i.e. non-German citizens), and not to migrants in general.

Graph 5: Foreigners by nationalities 2006

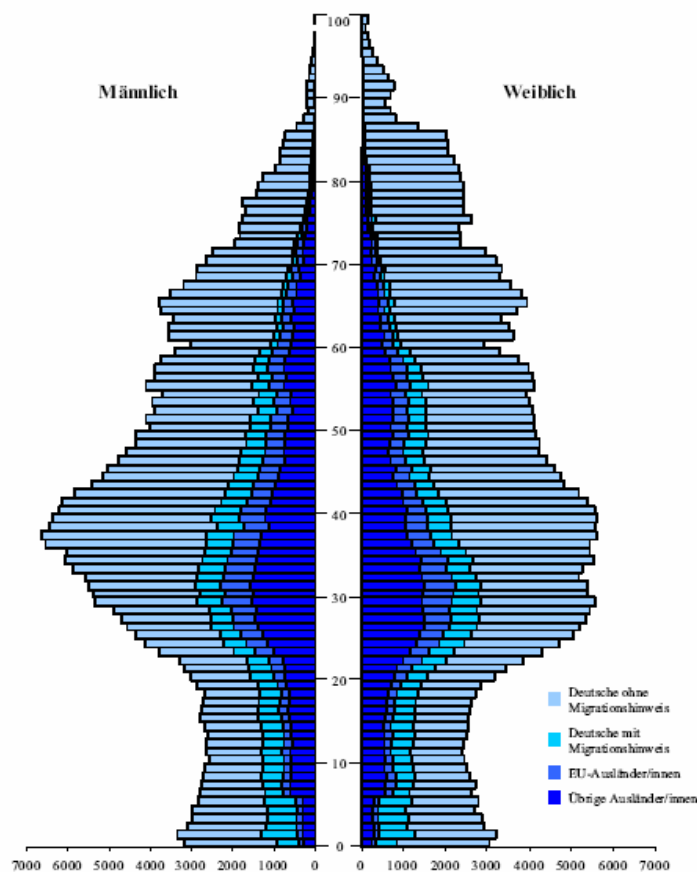




The city's composition of foreigners is characterized by a high diversity of ethnic groups and nationalities. The foreigners living in Frankfurt stem from 175 different countries. Turkish citizens, with 19% of the foreign population of Frankfurt, make up the largest group of immigrants. They are followed by citizens from Italy (9%), Croatia and Serbia/Montenegro (7% each), Poland (5%) and Greeks (4%). A significant number of immigrants are ethnic Germans from the former Soviet Union or Poland (*Spätaussiedler*). Since they are German citizens, these migrants and their descendants are only represented in statistics concerning the German population with a migration background, but not in general statistics dealing with foreigners.

Many foreigners have lived in Frankfurt for a considerable length of time. Over one third of the city's immigrant population older than 18 years of age has lived in the city for more than 15 years. Especially among migrants from Croatia and Turkey, there is a high percentage of 'long term Frankfurter' (62% and 54%, respectively).

Due to changing immigration motives, gender and age composition among immigrants in Frankfurt have changed significantly since the 1970s. One can state an increase in the percentage of women from 33% in 1970 to 48% in 2004. 15% of the foreign population are under 18 years; only 7.5% are over 65 years. More than half of the foreigners are between 18 and 45 years old.



The graph shows an age pyramid of the Frankfurt population in December 2005: men are found on the left side, women on the right.

Third-country foreigners are represented in the middle (in dark blue), followed by EU-foreigners and, secondly, by Germans with a migration background.

Germans without a migration background are shown on the outside in light blue.

Graph 6: Age pyramid (2005)



Concerning the educational situation of foreigners in Frankfurt, almost one third (30%) of all pupils attending general schools in 2005 were foreigners. Regarding the 2005 distribution of foreign pupils according to different school types⁷, the percentage of those attending the *Hauptschule* (lowest level school) was much higher (22%) than the percentage of German pupils (8%). In contrast, only 30% of the foreign pupils take classes in the *Gymnasium* (highest level school) whereas the majority of German pupils (60%) attend this school type. The final school exams also reflect the disparities between Germans and foreigners: German pupils achieve higher qualifications. Regarding those leaving with A-level, Germans (45%) outscore foreigners (14%) by far. The percentage of foreign pupils leaving school without graduation is higher than among Germans (9% and 4%, respectively). Still, the percentage of foreign youth getting A-levels (*Abitur*) is quite above the average in the country. Of course, these figures do not represent the educational achievement of those youth with a migration background that got naturalized.

2.3 Municipal integration policy

The migration process to Frankfurt is characterized by a relatively long immigration history as well as by a great diversity of ethnic groups and nationalities. In comparison to other cities, the city government realized the effectiveness and necessity of integration measures quite early. Thus, in 1989, the city parliament and the city government (*Magistrat*) created the Department of Multicultural Affairs (in 2001 it was renamed the Department of Integration) with the affiliated Office for Multicultural Affairs – the so-called AmkA⁸. Its task was defined as promoting inter-group relations among people of different national, social, ethnic and cultural background. These municipal institutions have been unique in Germany for many years.

In addition to the Integration Department and the AmkA, a commission for equal rights and integration that advises the *Magistrat* concerning migration matters was founded in 1995.

Another important body is the foreigners' council. As in all Hessian municipalities with over 1,000 foreign residents, the foreign population of Frankfurt elects a political representation (*Kommunale Ausländervetretung – KAV*). Its main function is to contribute to the improvement of the foreigners' situation.

Both the AmkA and the KAV are subject to the department of integration. The integration department's main function is to provide the political framework for the

⁷ Primary schools are excluded.

⁸ AmkA stands for *Amt für multikulturelle Angelegenheiten*.



municipal integration policy. In addition, the AmkA acts on a conceptual as well as an operative level. Its central functions are the inspiration, moderation and controlling of integration measures. The AmkA understands integration as a mutual process. Therefore, its integration measures do not only refer to migrants, but also to German citizens. The aim is to involve the autochthonous population in integration programmes; the AmkA implements public relation activities in order to bolster support in the native population. Another principle of Frankfurt's integration policy is the 'intercultural opening up' of institutions: employees are trained to deal productively with diversity. Among its initiatives, the AmkA also involves organizations outside the municipal administration.

According to the AmkA, measures in the fields of education, employment and family have the most important impact on social integration. A successful integration in these fields influences the integration process in other fields. Therefore, most integration measures target those areas with a special focus on the improvement of education and language skills. For instance, the AmkA coordinates the integration courses in Frankfurt and provides counselling for language training programmes for kindergartens and primary schools, which comprise social and cultural aspects that target the whole family. Another example is intercultural work with young migrants and their parents to improve vocational training opportunities and the immersion in the labour market. To these ends, the AmkA cooperates with teachers, social workers, the labour office, the local chamber of commerce and employers' associations. Furthermore, the AmkA's activities encompass various fields of integration, empowerment of and cooperation with migrant organisations, improvement of the intercultural dialogue (such as between the police and Muslim organisations), anti-discrimination work and conflict management.

2.4 Inter-city cooperation

At the national level, Frankfurt is a member of the German City Council, the Innovative circle of European Metropolitan Regions in Germany, and the Healthy Cities Network. Frankfurt further participates in the Schader Foundation's project Immigrants in the City. The goal of this project is to systematise, complete, and reposition the research dealing with the topic of socio-spatial integration of migrants in order to develop, employ and test differentiated approaches to the socio-spatial integration of migrants in Germany.

At the international level, Frankfurt is a member of the following networks: *Regions Conference Airport*, *Cities for cohesion*, *Sister Cities Going Gender*, *Energie Cite*, *Eurocities*, *METREX* (Network of European Metropolitan Regions and Areas), *CEMR*



(Council of European Municipalities and Regions). Additionally, Frankfurt, along with six other European cities, participates in the project *Migration and Prevention – a training manual for local actors*. The *European Forum for Urban Safety*, Paris, is in charge of this project. The project typifies relations between migrants and community administrations, particularly police authorities. The goal is to develop a model of continuing education for the employees of public authorities, which will improve dealings with migrants. In addition to this, special measures, aimed at reducing migrants' heightened risk of becoming involved in criminal activities, should be presented. The results of this project will be published in the form of a document.

Frankfurt views the cooperation with other cities as an opportunity to share experiences, and to learn from one another.

3 Housing situation of the city

3.1 Housing stock and housing market in general

For years now, the housing situation in Frankfurt has been characterised by high rents and an insufficient supply. Due to the aforementioned temporary population growth between 1990 and 1996, the number of households significantly increased. Following that, the population development changed and the number of households decreased until 1999. Since then, the number of households has slightly increased again. In 2005, Frankfurt numbered 370,000 private households. Simultaneously, their structure changed: there are more and more small households. In 2005, more than 52% consisted of one person, and only 2% were larger households with five or more persons. The average size of Frankfurt's households is 1.8 persons.

By the end of 2005, 351,024 housing units existed in Frankfurt, almost all of them in buildings with three or more apartments. Nearly 84% of housing units are rentals; only 16% are used by their owners. The quota of homeownership is lower than in other German cities of comparable size (23%).

The rents in Frankfurt are among the highest in Germany. In 2002, the gross rent without heating was, on average, EUR 7.85 per sq m of living space. Not only with respect to rents, but also in terms of real estate prices, Frankfurt is one of the front-runners among German cities.

The housing market is characterised by a lack of supply, made obvious by several indicators. One of the first indicators used to assess housing supply is the housing supply quota, i.e. the household to housing ratio. The aspired quota should be over 100%. Statistically speaking, there were only 95 housing units for 100 households in



Frankfurt in 2002. This was below average for German cities. Another indicator is the living space per capita and per household: in 2005 it was 37 and 69 sq m, respectively.

Average living space per capita does not indicate how many households are housed in cramped conditions. For this purpose, a third indicator has to be used, namely ratios correlating the living space of one household to normative predetermined square footage. A benchmark commonly used in Germany are the so-called Cologne Recommendations (*Kölner Empfehlungen*). It lists recommended minimum square footage for households, depending on household size and on the age of household members.⁹ According to those standards, in 2002, 20% of all households were inadequately supplied. The percentage of households which were undersupplied in terms of space grew with increased household size: while only 12% of single households were undersupplied with living space, the undersupply quota for households of five persons and more was 66%. Tenant households with five or more persons had a particularly high undersupply quota; they were twice as often affected by space-wise undersupply than similarly sized homeowner households were.

In order to improve the situation, more than 2,000 housing units were built in Frankfurt over the last 20 years; this equals 64 housing units per 10,000 units in housing stock (other comparable cities: 70); so the overall housing stock grew by 10% over the last 20 years.

Despite the new buildings, the structure of the housing stock is shaped by an above-average amount of older buildings. Almost 37% of housing units were built before 1949. Over half of the housing stock was built between 1949 and 1978, and only 13% after 1979. Because of the tense housing market situation, even so-called “substandard” housing¹⁰ was easy to rent out. Through modernisation, the percentage of such housing units was heavily reduced over the course of the last decade, and only rarely are such housing units advertised on the free housing market. The overall quality is high: one bath and one kitchen/kitchenette are standard; single or multi-room heating ovens have become uncommon and more than 90% of all housing units have central heating.

Households that are – for different reasons like income or household size – unable to supply themselves with adequate housing, can register at the Housing Office (*Amt für Wohnungswesen*) as “seeking housing”, and can have the city procure housing. To satisfy this need in housing, the office has occupying rights to 37,165 housing units

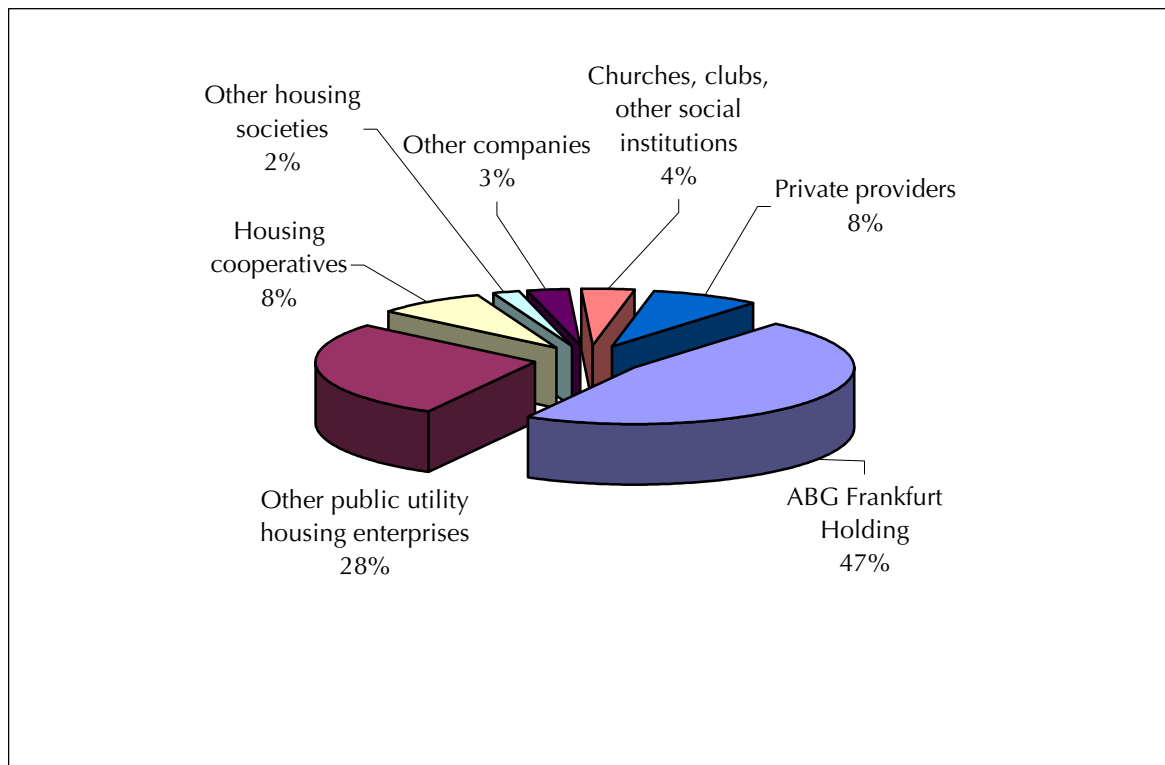
⁹ 1 adult: 37 sq m; 1 adult, 1 child: 51 sq m; 2 adults: 57 sq m; 2 adults, 1 child: 66 sq m; 2 adults, 2, 3 or 4 children: 71, 97 or 107 sq m respectively, etc.

¹⁰ For instance with coal-burning stove, mildew, simple-glazed windows



(2005), which equals approximately 10% of the city's housing stock. These so-called social housing units are scattered over the whole municipal area. Nearly 47% of these residences belong to the city's housing company *ABG Frankfurt Holding*, 28% to other housing associations, 8% to housing cooperatives, the other 17% of the stock to companies, churches, clubs, other social institutions and private providers.

Graph 7: Ownership of social housing stock 2003



At the end of 2005, 7,134 households were registered at the Housing Office as seeking housing. In the same year, 2,401 households were placed in housing units; the supply quota covers around 50%. 36% of households seeking housing could be supplied with housing within the first year after registration.

No verified data exists concerning the number of people without housing. Of the registered 7,134 households seeking housing in the year 2005, 1,003 did not live in their own home, but rather lived in asylum tenements, battered women's shelters, with friends or in a similar way; 154 were registered homeless. The total number of homeless persons is unknown, but is most likely considerably higher.

Since 1993, citizens of Frankfurt are regularly surveyed in order to measure their satisfaction with urban living areas. Overall, the citizens of Frankfurt are very pleased with their city: 59% are "very satisfied" or "satisfied" with "the city as a whole"; four of five indicated they "like living in Frankfurt". There is no large discrepancy between



Germans and foreigners. The satisfaction with the housing market is, on the other hand, noticeably lower: 40% of the population are unsatisfied with the housing advertised, and only 19% were satisfied.

These figures are reflected in inner city mobility and in reasons for moving: each year, 145,000 relocations are recorded at the Register of Residents (*Melderegister*); some 45,000 moved away from Frankfurt and 50,000 relocated within, or moved to Frankfurt, respectively. 30% of all relocations within the city took place within one city district. Most new Frankfurters move to the city for work-related reasons. When leaving Frankfurt, the change of workplace is important – here, the price/performance ratio of the housing market, as well as housing quality are crucial: the wish for clean air, the wish to “live in the country”, in addition to a quieter, neater neighbourhood were the main reasons given for moving to the periphery. Relocations within the city are mainly motivated by the fact that former residences became too small and/or expensive.

3.2 Housing situation of residents with migration background

The tense housing market affects migrants more than Germans, as their economic status is often lower (cf. chapter 2.2) and because they do not own housing as frequently as Germans do: in 2002, around 19% of Germans, but only 8% of foreign households lived in their own homes. In addition, non-German Frankfurters often live in bigger households, for which appropriate housing is particularly hard to find. Although the size of an average foreign household has continually shrunk since the end of the 1990s, with 2.2 persons per household, it is still higher than that of German households (1.7).

The housing supply shortage poses a big problem, especially for migrants. Compared to the Cologne Recommendations in 2002, nearly a third of EU-15-foreigners and half of all other foreigners, but only 16% of German households lived in housing units that were too small. This big disparity also has to do with the size of foreigners' households – but when compared with other similar-sized households, foreigners tend to live in smaller housing units. In Frankfurt, Germans, on average, have 40.5 sq m per capita, while foreigners have 27.2 sq m per capita at their disposal.

All-in-all, the population of Frankfurt without German citizenship is clearly less content with the housing market: while 20% of Germans are “satisfied” with the housing offered, only 15% of foreigners are. On the other hand, 37% of Germans, but 48% of foreigners are unsatisfied.



Overall housing quality in Frankfurt, due to the modernisation surge in recent years, can be considered good. Nonetheless, there are also residences in severe need of renovation, which are often rented out at high prices – especially to people with a migration background that cannot find or afford, for various reasons (e.g. residence status, discrimination, income) other housing. The percentage of such residences, and the extent to which such practices have spread, cannot be estimated. Frankfurt experts (of German and non-German nationality) confirmed on inquiry the existence of such dwellings, but did not consider it a big problem. The quality of living depends primarily on the economic status. With respect to the illegal aliens in Frankfurt, one can assume that they are forced to rely on the substandard housing mentioned above more often than other population groups.

Part of living quality is also the quality of the housing environment. It is difficult to measure how this is appraised and to what extent the environment differs between the housing of Germans and migrants. In a public survey from 2005, the majority of citizens, regardless of nationality, were satisfied with the city as a whole, with the municipal parks, public transportation and cultural activities and events. With some aspects, more foreigners than Germans are dissatisfied, for example with parks (24% vs. 16%), children's playgrounds (30% vs. 26%) and kindergartens (30% vs. 21%).

The quality of the living environment is also influenced by the availability of medical facilities. In Frankfurt, as a whole, this availability can be considered good to very good; in the survey, the vast majority rated it positive as well. The group of dissatisfied foreigners (20%) is bigger though than that of dissatisfied Germans (7%). To what extent this higher dissatisfaction with certain aspects of infrastructure rests upon different needs or on the fact that they live in qualitatively inferior areas is hard to assess. The latter of the possible reasons is, however, more likely.

The negative image and stigmatisation of some housing areas, mainly inhabited by foreigners (e.g. Ahornstraße, Ben-Gurion-Ring) has, according to expert opinions, a detrimental effect on job market prospects. Even with good performance, inhabitants of said areas have more difficulties gaining access to apprenticeship or work.

How often migrants are affected by homelessness, remains, as hinted above, unknown. There are only statistics concerning the number of people threatened by homelessness, who seek out the city for support. Of those, the percentage of non-German persons was 43% (1999) and therefore is considerably larger than the percentage of foreign citizens represented in the total population. Regarding the percentage of children, the gap is even more visible: In 1999, two thirds (632) of all children threatened by homelessness had a non-German nationality. According to the city, in almost all cases, the threat of homelessness is triggered by accumulated unpaid rent.



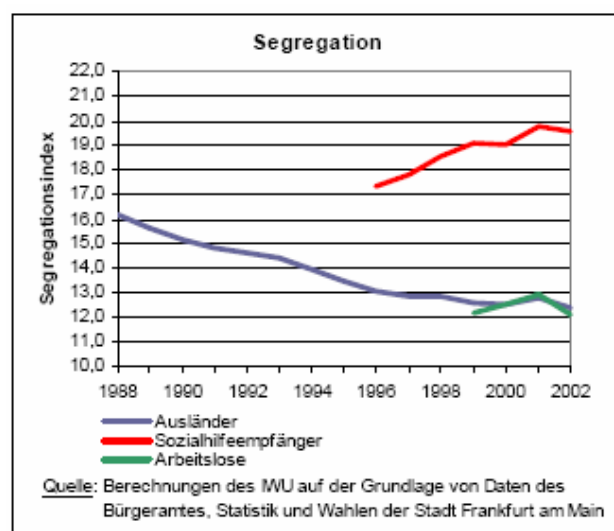
With respect to inner-city mobility, it is noticeable that the foreign population of Frankfurt is more mobile than the German population: In 2005, nearly 7% of Germans, but 12% of foreigners relocated. Both groups often changed their city district as well; with 74% of foreigners, the number is a bit higher than Germans (69%).

3.3 Segregation: Spatial concentration of residents with migration background

Besides a sufficient supply of housing for all population groups, the social stability of living quarters is an important goal of Frankfurt's housing and urban development policy. It depends on the interaction of many factors. Among these factors are housing quality, housing environment and nearby infrastructure as well as the social and ethnic composition of the district's population. Although a homogenous population is not a necessity for the social stability of housing quarters, there is no doubt that a high spatial concentration of marginalised, welfare-dependant households can endanger the stability of living quarters. This can lead to stigmatisation and discrimination, and can therefore further increase the impact of exclusion.

To measure socio-spatial segregation, Frankfurt uses the segregation index IS¹¹, that measures the extent to which a certain group is spread over the different areas of the city compared to the other population groups. Ethnic segregation therefore refers to the inner city distribution of the non-German population in relation to the German population. The evaluation of the IS shows that ethnic segregation continually decreased between 1988 and 2000. While in 1988 the IS was 16, in 2002 it was only 12 (see graph beside). This ratio is very low for cities in Western Germany, and has to do with a high percentage of foreigners in the city.

Graph 8: Development of social and ethnical segregation in Frankfurt, 1988 to 2002

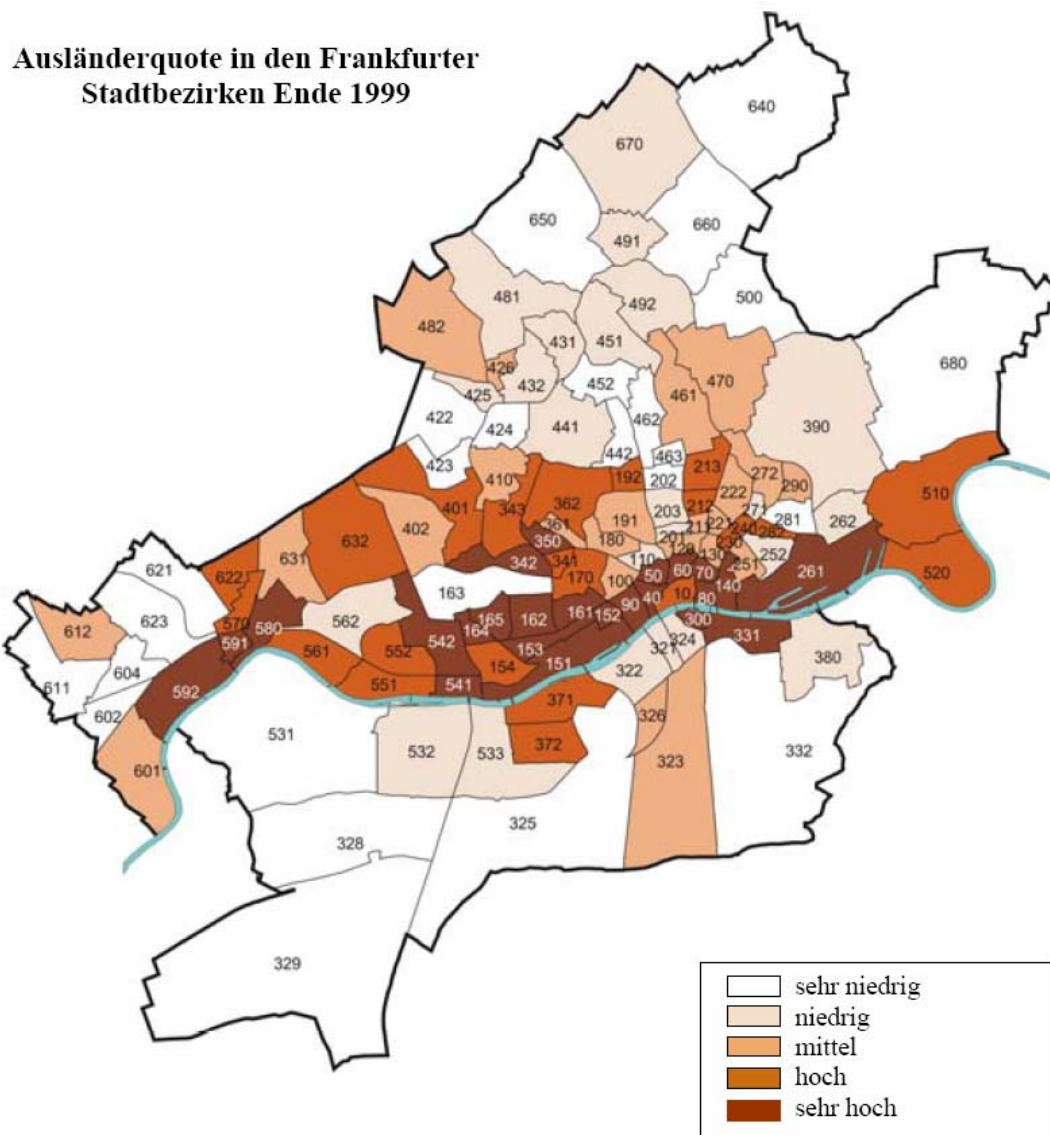


¹¹ Often in sociology, the segregation indices (Index of Segregation IS and Index of Dissimilarity ID) coined by Duncan and Duncan are used. The ratio of said indices goes from 0 (no segregation or equal distribution) to 100 (complete segregation or dissimilarity).



The overall favourable socio-spatial development of Frankfurt should not hide the fact that there are some districts with a high concentration of foreigners. In 1999, the highest concentration was found in inner city districts, with old buildings, comparably low housing status and small businesses. The districts north of the Main river – *Bahnhofsviertel* (69% foreigners), *Gutleutviertel* (55%), *Innenstadt* and *Gallusviertel* (both 48%) – registered the highest ratings.

Graph 9: Proportion of foreigners in the districts of Frankfurt 1999



The differentiation of the segregation analysis, with respect to the nationality of foreign inhabitants, showed that, on average, the socio-spatial segregation in city districts has declined. The lowest segregation numbers were determined for persons from neighbouring EU countries as well as for other highly developed countries. In their choice of housing locations, they differ only slightly from the German population. Nonetheless, several population groups concentrate in certain areas. In 2004, half of



each the Turkish, Moroccan and former Yugoslavian citizens lived in the 11 city quarters with the highest population figures of each group, while the other 50% were spread over the other 36 quarters.¹²

If not only the percentage of foreign citizens is high, but also the percentage of welfare recipients, the social stability of a district is in particular danger. In areas with a high percentage of social housing, the percentage of foreigners has risen over the last years. However, the proportion of foreigners in those districts is still below the city average. There is therefore no reason to talk about a high concentration of foreigners in areas of Frankfurt with a high percentage of social housing.

Development in city districts with a large proportion of old buildings follows this trend: if, over the course of the last decades, an above-average number of foreigners has lived in areas with a high percentage of old buildings, the number of foreigners in these areas has also dropped disproportionately. Meanwhile, the number of foreigners in those areas is only slightly above the citywide average. The reasons for this are, among others, rent-raising modernisation and renewal measures for old buildings.

When evaluating segregation, heterogeneity within individual city quarters has to be considered: Behind inconspicuous key numbers, small streets with a high concentration of socially and economically disadvantaged population groups may be hidden. In addition to a high percentage of foreigners, there is a high number of welfare-dependant citizens in certain housing areas. In 1999, 45 housing areas were identified¹³, that were burdened with problems. Within 30 of these areas, the percentage of foreigners was above-average, within 20 by even more than 25%. The percentage of welfare recipients was far above the city-wide average. In 2002, city districts were analysed on the basis of a concentration index that incorporates the contingent of foreigners, welfare recipients and unemployed persons. This identified three areas in the inner-city *Gallusviertel* that showed a high concentration of all three criteria.

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

The housing market situation of Frankfurt is very tense. It is therefore more difficult in Frankfurt than in other comparable German cities to gain access to both high quality

¹² The *Gallusviertel* is worth highlighting, as it houses 7% of Turks, 8% of Moroccans and together with *Ostend*, 17% of former Yugoslavians.

¹³ According to city hall experts and a study of socio-cultural data (i.e. percentages of foreigners, people on welfare and unemployed)



and affordable housing. This is true for all tenants in Frankfurt. Nonetheless, some population groups, especially migrants, suffer more under the consequences than others do.

Those with lower socio-economic status simply have less money to spend on adequate housing. Because educational levels within the non-German population of Frankfurt are, on average, lower, and because members of this group are more likely to become unemployed, it is safe to assume that their financial situation is also substandard and that therefore a major percentage of foreigners have difficulties gaining access to housing. However, the foreign population of Frankfurt is very diverse. Frankfurt, known as ‘Global City’ and as a formidable service industry location, offers employment for many highly qualified foreigners – this population group should not have problems gaining access to housing. Figures that describe the economic status of specific foreign population groups in more detail, and would therefore enable more accurate conclusions on the accessibility to housing, cannot be construed from official statistics.

Access to housing is further complicated if no adequate living space for households or families of a certain size exists. Frankfurt simply lacks large housing units. Due to the disparity in the housing market and the fact that families of foreign Frankfurters are, on average, bigger, migrants have to wait longer for appropriate-sized housing. Hence, they have to live longer in rather small residences. The city reacted to this problem by combining old housing units, and by having new buildings built larger. However, both developments take time.

In addition, administrative rules can influence the access to housing, particularly 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 for applying 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 Act¹⁴, 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

¹⁴ § 44 I (1) AufenthG



housing, whereas refugees and asylum seekers can be (with some reservations) placed in council flats.¹⁵

Finally, discrimination and prejudice on the proprietor's side can hamper migrants' access to housing. According to Frankfurt officials, it is "not uncommon" for families with migration background to encounter reservations from proprietors and neighbours. Consulted experts share this assessment: irrespective of passport, foreign looks and a foreign name make it harder to get available housing. In order to counter this problem, Frankfurt has established an anti-discrimination department in the AmkA, to which victims of discrimination can turn to file a complaint or to gain support. The AmkA does not register how many complaints refer to the housing market, so it is impossible to tell how widespread housing discrimination is. All consulted experts have confirmed the occurrence of discrimination and prejudice, but, at the same time, none of these experts have deemed the issue to be a major problem in Frankfurt.

4 Institutional setting and relevant actors

In Germany, the housing situation is influenced by national policies, which aim at improving the support of 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 Housing Office (*Amt für Wohnungswesen*) is responsible for questions and guidance concerning all matters dealing with rental units, lack of buildings and flats, and the control of the costs of rent. It also counsels persons seeking subsidised housing, and acts as an agent for social housing: It is therefore also responsible for changes of residence and housing allowances.

The Office for Urban Planning (*Stadtplanungsamt*) is responsible for the planning of land use, landscaping, regional traffic and transport planning, the promotion of housing construction, and urban renewal. The need for urban renewal and integrated neighbourhood planning, can, according to the Office, occur in areas where buildings exhibit a great deficit of modernisation, in areas lacking in residential infrastructure (e.g. kindergartens, or shopping centres), in areas with problems concerning living environment and public places (e.g. too few parks and playgrounds for children, or problematic transport situations) or in areas with social conflicts. The Office goals are urban renewal, social stabilisation, and the promotion of the local economy, as well as the strengthening of residents' identification with their neighbourhoods. In order to

¹⁵ See 6.1 for further exploration of both possibilities.



achieve these goals; the Office for Urban Planning uses various instruments, such as the formal legal designation of a redevelopment area, the state/federal programme “Social City”, and municipal programmes.

In selected urban areas in Frankfurt the Youth and Social Services Department (*Jugend- und Sozialamt*) is operating the “Frankfurt – Social City – New Neighbourhoods” programme. This programme is designed to contribute to the strengthening of social cohesion, the improvement of residential and living conditions, and the renovation of the residential environment.

The AmkA is an information and guidance institution and, at the same time, develops and supports equal opportunity policies. For this reason, it serves as a contact point for questions dealing with housing issues for migrants. The AmkA also performs networking tasks in areas dealing with integration, and, in order to jointly plan and combine integration measures at the municipal level, it is in constant contact with other offices, institutions, and housing societies. Furthermore, one employee is specifically responsible for neighbourhood conflict management and mediation.

Other important actors are the local housing construction societies (*Wohnungsbaugesellschaften*), which either completely or partially belong to the city. Each company signed the so-called “Frankfurt Contract”. The goal of this contract is a socially and ethnically balanced demographic structure. Furthermore, they are involved in various initiatives meant to support inter-group relations among residents. In the following, the three largest housing companies will be introduced.

The *ABG Frankfurt Holding Wohnungsbau- und Beteiligungsgesellschaft mbH* belongs to the city of Frankfurt and is a union of several housing societies.¹⁶ Together they own about 50,000 housing units. In addition, they also own commercial units and other rental units like dormitories, facilities for the young and the elderly, storage spaces and garages. The *ABG* is also engaged in social work, provides consultation, offers intercultural mediation etc.

The *Nassauische Heimstätte Wohnungs- und Entwicklungsgesellschaft mbH* owns about 16,000 housing units in Frankfurt. The company belongs to the state of Hesse, the city of Frankfurt and several other Hessian cities as well as counties. Following the motto, “Vitalise neighbourhoods, promote individual initiative”, the *Nassauische Heimstätte* concerns itself with fighting social tension in its housing estates, and promotes tenants’ identification with their housing environment: it takes part in tenants’ celebrations, mediates in conflicts within the residential communities, offers council for rent debtors, and supports child and youth counselling, and employment

¹⁶ Hellerhof GmbH, Frankfurter Aufbau AG (FAAG), MIBAU GmbH, Wohnheim GmbH



and involvement projects. The group therefore cooperates with public as well as private partners.

The *Gemeinnützige Wohnungsgesellschaft mbH Hessen, GWH*, the third-largest housing company (with approximately 12,500 apartments), belongs to the state of Hesse, the city of Frankfurt, and to several other cities and counties. The group supports various social projects: not only large-scale projects that affect a wider public (such as an annual flower festival, that draws thousands of visitors), but also short-term social projects that deal with housing. The *GWH* promotes, for example, clubs within its own housing constituencies, which follow a social and communicative approach (e.g. sport clubs or clubs geared toward the integration of foreign citizens).

Initially, cooperation between various actors was established informally, and in 2005, it was codified by housing regulations issued by the city. A continuing exchange of information concerning demographic structure, particularities of different housing areas, the number and structure of people seeking housing, and the composition of available housing takes place between the agencies – mainly the Housing Office, the Office of Urban Planning and housing contractors. They also coordinate planned measures dealing with the improvement of the housing environment, social stabilisation, rent development, and the promotion of new building projects. Agency heads and company managers have claimed in interviews that the transfer of knowledge concerning individual activities does not yet run perfectly, but that the cooperative work, on the whole, functions very well.

5 Discourse, concepts and policy concerning housing

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

Frankfurt has had official 'housing policy regulations' (*Wohnungspolitische Leitlinien*) since 2005. These were compiled by an advisory council made up of experts from the fields of housing economy, tenant and property owner interest groups, charities, economics and from the Investment Bank of Hesse (*Investitionsbank Hessen*).

The major importance of housing accommodation is asserted in these guidelines: Housing is an existential commodity to which every member of company is entitled. Home is the place every person spends most of his/her time, and it serves as the satisfaction of basic needs. Living conditions are important factors for the development of personality.



The central goal of urban housing policy is the sufficient and adequate provision of housing for all population groups, by way of a broad and enduring housing supply in all sub-segments. Migrants are not named explicitly, but Frankfurt should be an “attractive residential location for various population strata, generations and cultures”.

In order to be able to guarantee adequate and affordable housing for all Frankfurters, the city wants to continue its involvement with housing construction companies that provide many migrants with housing space. It has been stipulated that these companies may only raise rent prices by a maximum of 15%. Because the continuous creation of housing space is deemed essential, building lots are made available to local housing construction societies at affordable conditions. In addition to conventional housing construction, self-help projects and cooperatively organised models are also promoted.

The improvement of the housing environment and the provision of sufficient infrastructure to all city quarters are also specified as important goals. The investments of the housing construction companies should, in addition to the continuation of renovation and modernisation measures, increasingly dedicate themselves to the improvement of the housing environment. In order to accommodate the needs of individual population groups, tenants should also be included in the planning of these measures.

Furthermore, the promotion of social stability within an urban area is an important goal of Frankfurt’s housing policy, because stable living quarters promote residents’ identification with their neighbourhood, and therefore significantly contribute to their housing satisfaction. In order to be able to guarantee social stability, the city aims to avoid the concentration of population groups made up of one particular class or nationality. The population structure of an urban area should be balanced and socially diverse. The city supports this idea with the argument that residential areas in which certain social or ethnic groups are disproportionately represented can be stable, however the social strain caused by, for example, a high rate of welfare recipients also represents risks. Other arguments for social diversity are the opportunity to experience other ways of life, and to “practice tolerance by encountering different people”, and the prevention of the negative labelling of a neighbourhood. The city therefore wants to counteract “unwanted segregation tendencies” and to improve the socio-spatial integration of migrants.



5.2 Public discourse on housing, segregation and integration of migrants

The socio-spatial integration of migrants is currently not a controversial issue in Frankfurt. In 2005, only 2% of the population rated the lacking integration of foreigners as the biggest problem in the city.¹⁷ At the same time though, some of the neighbourhoods with a disproportionately high percentage of foreigners are being judged negatively and are being depicted as problematic in the local media.

For a long time, the Gallus quarter, with the highest proportion of foreigners in the city, had a very negative image. In this case, the attention of the media was primarily turned to the integration deficits in the population. Within the framework of an evaluation of integration processes in Frankfurt, almost all interviewees from the neighbourhood complained of the unrecognised qualities of the Gallus quarter and about problem focused news coverage. In the opinion of the district ombudsman, the biggest problem of the Gallus is its stigmatisation as a “problem neighbourhood”. The bad image was “not created at home, but applied from the outside”. The negative news coverage strengthens segregation tendencies, because it causes a large portion of the population not to want to move to the Gallus. The news coverage has gotten better over the last year. This is due, among other things, to successful and effective multicultural initiatives like the *Kids World Cup* (cf. chapter 6).

Similar processes benefited the residents in the Ginnheim area, of which one third are foreign citizens: After the withdrawal of American soldiers in the 1990s, dwellings for approximately 4,000 people became available on the barracks grounds. 40% of these were offered on the free housing market, and 60% were assigned by the Housing Office (*Amt für Wohnungswesen*) as social housing. Even before assignment was finished, the so-called “housing areas” were already known to be a ‘social hotspot’ – mainly due to initiatives of long-time resident neighbours and the media coverage. Today, the majority of the population is satisfied with the neighbourhood, and more than three quarters of them would move into the “housing areas” again. But at the same time, they also live with the awareness that their neighbourhood is still perceived worse from the outside than by themselves, and they suffer from this discrepancy of self-perception and the way they are perceived by others.

¹⁷ Admittedly, 9% of the population thinks that there are too many foreigners living in Frankfurt, but do not perceive their lack of integration to be a problem.



6 Interventions on housing and integration: measures and projects

6.1 Interventions to improve access to housing for migrants

Chapter 3.4 (accessibility of the housing market) already mentioned that persons, including migrants, who lack the funds to supply themselves adequately on the free housing market, have the option of applying for housing allowance or to register for the so-called social housing market. 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 Frankfurt, the office responsible here is the Housing Office (*Amt für Wohnungswesen*). The housing allowance supports private households aiming at providing decent housing for low-income households by facilitating the access to accommodation. Whether a household can apply for housing allowance and how much it can apply for as a subsidy, either to the rent or to 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 (cf. chapter 3.4).

The so-called social housing market is regulated by the Housing Assistance Act (*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). Because of said act, households in need can apply for a housing authorisation permit (*Wohnberechtigungsschein*) at the Frankfurt Office of Housing. The procedure mirrors that of housing allowance: Whether a household (both German and non-German) is eligible for such a permit depends on its income, the number of family members as well as on the residence status of the applicant who has to live permanently in Germany.

The service centre of the Housing Office provides legal counselling and support concerning all rent-related issues, housing allowance and the procurement of social housing. It is responsible for all residents of Frankfurt and is regularly called upon by migrants.

These regulations apply to all residents. There is hardly any statistical data on the extent to which migrants benefit from these measures. 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.



6.2 Local policies related to spatial segregation

6.2.1 Policies to reduce spatial segregation

As described in chapter 3.3, ethnic segregation in Frankfurt is at a comparatively low level. For a number of years it has been going down. Because of the weak concentration of migrants in particular neighbourhoods, there are few measures that actively aim to reduce segregation. The city is more concerned with keeping the level of urban segregation low.

The most important measure, negotiated by the city and housing companies, is the so-called Frankfurt Contract: The professed goal of this contract is to create or establish ethnically diverse population structures within the individual city quarters. It therefore contains a system of quotas for the assignment of social housing. The proportion of foreign residents, welfare recipients, and *Spätaussiedler* in individual buildings or housing developments should not exceed 30%, 15%, and 10%, respectively. In order to organise this quota arrangement, information concerning housing areas is collected by the Housing Office, and, together with proprietors' guidelines, considered when selecting applicants.

For years, provisions have been made concerning the assignment of registered households to German and foreign applicants: households in which one spouse has German citizenship, as well as applicants who have lived in Germany for at least 15 years without cease are considered to be "German". It is assumed that these groups have a sufficient level of social and cultural integration. The classification of these groups as "German" lowers the number of foreigners, relative to the whole, from 53% to 26%. Even so, the number of registered foreigners seeking housing (starting with 2-person households) is still, relative to the total, higher than the percentage of foreigners in Frankfurt. And due to the fact that, especially concerning larger dwellings, the number of German families with children registered as seeking housing is quite low, and the number of foreign families seeking housing is rather high, the 30% quota for foreigners has clearly been exceeded in particular buildings and settlements. Considering the problematic backgrounds and living conditions of registered persons, as well as the pressing nature of clientele placement, achieving a balanced population structure has become more and more difficult. Due to these regulations, foreigners must wait longer than Germans for adequate housing. The Frankfurt Contract is very controversial, as it limits access to the housing market, and can therefore be interpreted by the public as discriminatory. But at the same time, the Contract does effectively counteract segregation tendencies.



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 the city handles spatial segregation and improves coexistence in segregated city quarters.

Social City

The joint federal and state programme 'Social City' (*Soziale Stadt*) was established in 1999 with the aim of combating increasing poverty and inequality, connected with the emergence of particularly disadvantaged neighbourhoods, in German cities. The programme areas are selected in accordance with criteria such as the unemployment rate, the proportion of recipients of social welfare and of foreigners in a specific neighbourhood. Between 1999 and 2004, the Federal Government provided more than 400 million Euros of financial aid. Together with the funding from the federal States and municipalities, supported areas received EUR 1.2 billion. For the year 2005, the Federal Government allotted EUR 71.4 million for projects and measures within the framework of the Social City programme. By the end of 2005, nearly 400 areas in 267 municipalities were being supported. The programme 'Social City' was further institutionalised in 2004, when it was incorporated into the Federal Building Code on Special Urban Development Law (*Baugesetzbuch zum besonderen Städtebaurecht*).

Generally speaking, projects in the programme areas aim at improving the living conditions regarding both these areas' concrete housing and living conditions, and their social situation (education and employment). In the beginning, most projects did not focus on migrants as their main target group. But practical work in the neighbourhoods has shown that migrants require specific and explicit approaches. Therefore, and also due to the fact that the spatial segregation has become a core topic in the public debate on integration of migrants, projects with an explicit focus on migrants increased between 2000 and 2005. In 2005, the integration of migrants officially became an explicit focus of the programme. It should be emphasised that 'Social City' projects do not aim directly at combating segregation, but at improving the socio-spatial integration of migrants.

The quarters *Unterriederbach Engelsruhe* and *Gallus* have been participating in the programme since 1999 and 2001, respectively. The total duration of the project is 10 years. The Office of Urban Planning is responsible for the project. Through this programme, Frankfurt follows an integrative approach with the goal of renewing and socially stabilising urban areas, promoting local identity and intercultural integration, and strengthening the local economy. The expectation of indirect and preventative



effects is connected with this approach. The intent of the project is the enduring renewal and stabilisation of city quarters by combining housing industry and urban construction tasks with social and job market policy effects. Thereby the resident community and other local actors are included.

Neighbourhood offices housing local management and project administration were also set up. In 2004, additional neighbourhood *Social City* advisory councils were founded. These advisory councils convene approximately six times each year, and attend to various matters of neighbourhood development. The council's main task was the development of integrated operational concepts for the shaping of tasks and measures for each neighbourhood. This committee involves neighbourhood residents and institutions in the project planning of the social city. In the course of this programme, there have been renewed playgrounds and meeting places, housing environment improvements (in cooperation with *ABG Frankfurt Holding*). Generous recreation areas have been opened and a resident-adequate structuring of the neighbourhood has been initiated.

Frankfurt – Social City – New Neighbourhoods

In late 1999, the city representatives assembly resolved to introduce a purely locally financed programme titled "Frankfurt – Social City – New Neighbourhoods" (*Frankfurt – Soziale Stadt – Neue Nachbarschaften*). The project is coordinated by the Youth and Social Services Department. Five goals were postulated for the project: improvement of housing and living conditions, improvement of social and cultural life, improvement of employment and vocational qualification, and also equal opportunity for, and mobilisation of residents. These goals are meant to strengthen the feeling of belonging in the neighbourhoods, as well as to generate the development of sustainable structures.

The programme currently exists in four neighbourhoods. In each, a neighbourhood management, with functioning as an information and advice office, was set up. Additionally, the management initiates, coordinates and implements projects, and cooperates with residents, clubs, city agencies, and housing construction enterprises. In each case, the supporting organisation is a public utility institution (*Caritas, Diakonie, AWO, Internationaler Bund*). By virtue of the success of the project, the admittance of two further neighbourhoods has been announced for 2007.

Concrete measures dealing with the renovation of buildings and matters of housing environment, like playground design and the upkeep of landscaped areas, are carried out in the neighbourhoods. Additionally, projects are meant to be supported for and by residents, and employment measures and qualification opportunities for young and



unemployed people are going to be improved. Thus, the goal is not only the improvement of urban construction, but more importantly the initiation and strengthening of capacities and potential that already exist in these quarters. In order to demonstrate the value of multifaceted approaches to better neighbourly coexistence, a neighbourhood prize is awarded annually. In this way, the activities and the involvement of neighbourhood residents can be announced and promoted.¹⁸

Measures of Housing Societies

Activities of municipal housing societies were already mentioned in chapters 4 and 5. All societies are sensitive to issues regarding inter-group relations and all focus on socially mixed populations. The housing societies concentrate on creating a peaceful housing environment for all tenants, especially in those areas which, despite the Frankfurt Contract, have a proportionally high migrant share.

As a result, the *AGB* has provided social workers to improve inter-ethnic relations within the districts. They offer advice and guidance for the solving of (intercultural) neighbourhood conflicts. In 2006, this service was called upon in more than 100 cases. In collaboration with other advice centres and city agencies, there is also the opportunity to receive counselling on personal issues. Besides this housing-related work, the *AGB* is also involved in community work. The social workers of the *AGB* are involved in local networks and keep contacts with the advisory councils and neighbourhood coordinators of the Social City project. Together with local authorities, police and voluntary organisations they have organised roundtable meetings in areas where there have been conflicts between young people and the community.

The *Nassauische Heimstätte* has contributed to the improvement of the housing environment and has employed so-called home and security guards. A third of these employees are migrants. They maintain the buildings, clean outdoor facilities and provide small maintenance tasks to ensure cleanliness, security and order, and are also important contact persons for tenants.

District mediation

Constructive problem solving in socio-spatial areas has become more and more important for maintaining social peace within neighbourhoods. In 1996, a project for mediation within multi-ethnic communities was developed in the AmkA: The project

¹⁸ The prize is awarded in two categories, namely for group and individual activities that can exhibit positive results, and also for group activities that are still in the planning structuring phases. The first and second place winners are honoured with EUR 750 and EUR 500 for each category.



is based on the direct input of engaged community members, whose job it is to find solutions in potential as well as immediate conflict situations. Their task is to create conflict analyses, to bring together those involved in the conflicts and to mediate the discussions. For this reason, community members with various language and professional backgrounds are trained to become voluntary mediators. When a need arises, they are assigned, free of charge. Depending on the kind of conflict, the mediator is elected from among a mediator pool. In the year 2000, there were approximately 50 active district mediators. They are supported by the mediation centre within the *AmkA*, which is responsible for the technical organisation, the processing of requests and the involvement of local authorities and institutions. Conflicts reported by individuals or institutions are approached in close cooperation with appropriate authorities, like the police, housing companies, social welfare committees, regional committees and the local mayors. Between 1996 and 2000, more than 400 conflicts have been taken up, most of which occurred between people with a migrant background and natives. These kinds of conflicts were most often related to noise disturbances, rubbish and house-internal rules.

The project has not only contributed to preventing the outbreak of conflicts, but has also relieved police and local authorities as well as empowered local community members through accountability in conflict situations by making use of resources and networks of existing institutions. This project has already been copied several times: it is a vital element of the “Social City”, and housing societies such as the *AGB* now take on mediation tasks following the example of the *AmkA*.

Police and migrants in dialogue

Since 1997, the *AmkA* has been running a project called “Police and migrants in dialogue”. It arose from a long lasting collaboration between the *AmkA*, the police headquarters of Frankfurt and the Wiesbaden Police academy, and is aimed at creating a better understanding between immigrants and the police and to break down mutual stereotypes: the police should receive support through effective knowledge of the different national groups living in Frankfurt. The foreign participants should get to know the structures and tasks of the German police and, in conflict situations, they should be able to communicate to their countrymen information necessary for clarifying potential problems. Representatives of local authorities and of different organisations were also included in the workshops with the police; in several preparation seminars with immigrants of different backgrounds as well as in educational seminars of both groups. Continuation of the workshops takes place within the different organisations and religious centres themselves and through discussion forums which can be organised by one of the collaborating partners.



Additionally, there is a social gathering called “police and migrants”, which has become an important element of the project.

Kids World Cup of the 32 fantasy countries

In 2006 the project ‘Kids World Cup of the 32 fantasy countries’ was inspired by the football World Cup and founded by the Sports Club Frankfurt e.V. in cooperation with different culture, migrant and sport societies in the Gallus district. The Gallus is characterised by a high percentage of migrant residents, a high unemployment rate and strong urban district segregation.

The Kids World Cup was a football competition held for children of the ages of 10 to 14 who were representing fictional countries. By way of their own initiative, the support of volunteers, and various workshops held over the course of the three-month project, the young people trained for the football competition, created their own flags, logos and cheers for the supporters of the different teams. Over 500 children participated in the organisation and team building of 32 different football teams, a third of which were made up of both boys and girls. The main cooperation partners conducted workshops for team coaches, referees, team supervisors and participating youth in order to reach a consensus on democratic decision making and the definition of rules.

The Kids World Cup aimed primarily at intensifying and improving intercultural collaboration. 80% of volunteers recruited by the project leadership, who contributed to the development, creation, organisation and accomplishment of the Kids World Cup, were people with a migration background. Altogether, more than 30 district organisations, societies and institutions were involved with the development and accomplishment of the project, and more than 1,000 people visited the Cup and its intercultural district festival. The project provided more opportunities for children of the district to get involved. The concept of the intercultural fantasy countries helped to show the children how isolation and racist conflicts can be overcome in football and in daily life. The children’s ability to deal with conflict was specifically promoted by their established tolerance and fairness rules. The positive press coverage, mainly from German and Turkish media, led to a positive change of the entire district image.

The project received an award from the “Stand up Speak up” programme for its anti-racism focus, and also received financial aid, of approximately EUR 77.000, from the German Children and Youth Trust and the King Baudouin Trust. The state of Hesse, the AmkA and the Youth and Social Welfare authorities also contributed to the financial aid. Because of its success, the project also received the 2006 Integration prize awarded by the city of Frankfurt, and will receive continued support by the



succession project 'The Ball is round, the Gallus is colourful' (*'Der Ball ist rund, Gallus ist bunt'*).

EQ – Exchange

As mentioned above, young people from Gallus are often disadvantaged when searching for apprenticeship opportunities because of their place of residence. This was the reason for the development of a second project in the context of the World Cup in Germany which also aims at the management of consequences of urban district segregation: In the so-called World Cup EQ-Exchange, companies, whose work was related to the World Cup (i.e. catering, marketing, tourism), offered six to twelve-month long internships so that young people could gain entrance qualifications (EQ). As a result of the internships, nine young people were offered apprenticeship contracts.

7 Highlights and Failures: Learning for CLIP

Frankfurt is Germany's leading financial city with a population of approximately 650,000, it is the fifth-largest city in Germany. The city is a European financial centre, and many large companies are based there. The highly-developed infrastructure, including the Frankfurt airport, makes the city attractive to companies, as well as to trade fairs and exhibitions. The job density also accounts for a large number of commuters.

As early as the 1960s, due to its industrial facilities, the city was one of the first main destinations for guest workers. Even after the halting of guest worker recruitment, immigration did not cease: unification of guest workers and their families account for the continued immigration. Today, almost 161,000 foreigners from 130 nations live in Frankfurt. Foreigners make up one quarter of the population of Frankfurt. The proportion of population groups with migration background is currently 38% of the total population of the city.

The housing market, particularly in the lower price ranges, is extremely tense. As a result of the (on average) low income level of Frankfurt's migrants, they frequently have less housing space available than Frankfurters without a migration background (27 vs. 41 sq m per capita).

Migrants also tend to live in neighbourhoods with comparatively bad housing environments, a large proportion of migrants, and with worse reputations. However,



ethnic segregation, on the whole, is relatively low, because the Housing Office (*Amt für Wohnungswesen*) and housing companies have been making an effort to actively avoid segregation over a long period of time. Since 1999, the so-called Frankfurt Contract (*Frankfurter Vertrag*), which exists between the city council and housing enterprises, has set quotas for the number of foreigners that must be assigned housing. However, the Contract is disputed, and due to the large number of foreigners seeking housing, it often cannot be upheld. In spite of this, the contract should be seen as a successful measure toward the prevention of segregation.

One reason for the relatively good socio-spatial integration of migrants in Frankfurt is that immigration and, even more importantly, the integration of immigrants in the city has been an issue for a long time. The city government realised very early the effectiveness and necessity of integration measures. The creation of the Department of Multicultural Affairs (in 2001 renamed the Department of Integration) and the affiliated Office for Multicultural Affairs (AmkA) marked an important step in city administration. On the community side, the AmkA concerns itself with migrants' needs and with multicultural coexistence and is an important contact for all Frankfurters. The overall integration concept, as can be seen in the range of AmkA services, is by no means concerned only with housing.

In addition to anti-segregation measures, other successful housing projects can be found in the realm of housing environment. The two "Social City" projects (the federal/ state financed one as well as the municipal financed programme) promote the social stability of neighbourhoods and improve the housing environment. By way of neighbourhood management, projects are initiated, implemented, and incorporated with the most important institutions and actors. The Social City approach has been successful. The municipal funded project has been extended for a second term, in order to be able to adequately support further neighbourhoods.

The 'Police and Migrants in Dialogue' project, which is based on the long-standing cooperation between the AmkA and the Wiesbaden police academy, also deals with social stability. The cooperative work covers multiple areas of integration promotion and is carried out quite successfully in smaller areas of the housing environment. Reciprocal knowledge is considered to be the foundation for appropriate interactivity and cooperation. For this reason, the project acts as a bridge between the two groups.

A further Frankfurt highlight is the Kids World Cup, which also won the integration prize. The organizers impressively demonstrated that with dedication, sport and neighbourhood-level cooperation, migrants' identification with their neighbourhoods can be enhanced and social and tolerant behaviour can also be promoted. A less publicised, but nevertheless very effective means for promoting harmonious inter-



group relations is the District Mediation project, in which dedicated volunteers mediate intercultural conflicts.

The initiatives described above are, as far as conceptual design is concerned, applicable to other European cities. The appropriate adaptation to respective local characteristics is, of course, a precondition for the success of the initiatives. Additionally, several of the projects require substantial financial resources and organisational effort. However, their success is primarily due to the dedication and creativity of the citizens of Frankfurt. The city of Frankfurt is a good example of how decades of integration policy have developed a local integration culture that represents an important foundation for the effective implementation of integration measures.



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