

# Case Study on Segregation and Access to Housing Stuttgart

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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 a high economic growth and internal labour shortages led to a continuous and increasing recruitment of foreign 'guest workers' until 1973.<sup>1</sup> 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*<sup>2</sup>). 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.<sup>3</sup> 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%).

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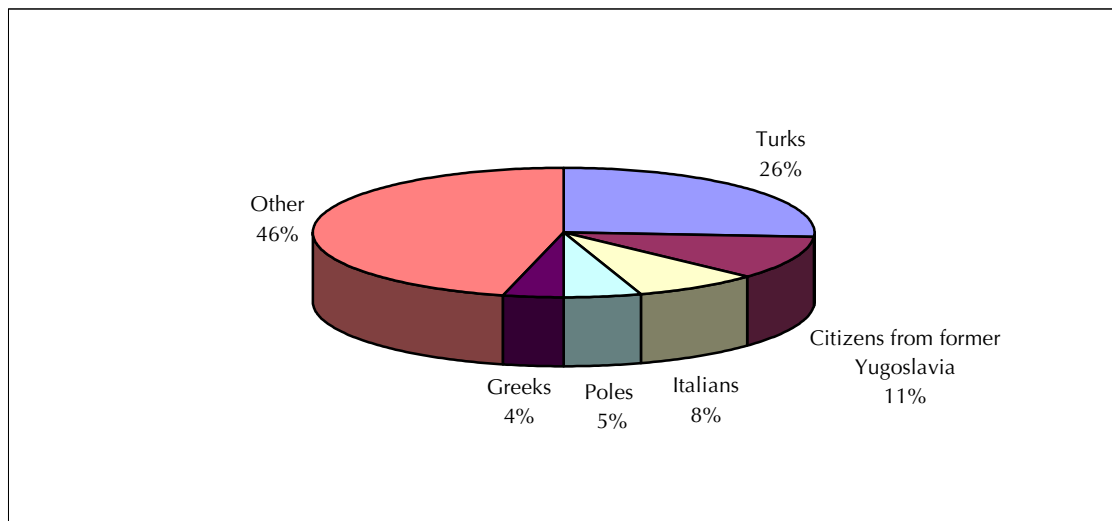
<sup>1</sup> The first contract on recruitment of guest workers was signed in 1955 with Italy. This was followed by agreements with Spain and Greece (1960), Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965) and Yugoslavia (1968). The GDR also recruited so-called *Contract Employees*, mainly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

<sup>2</sup> 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*.

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

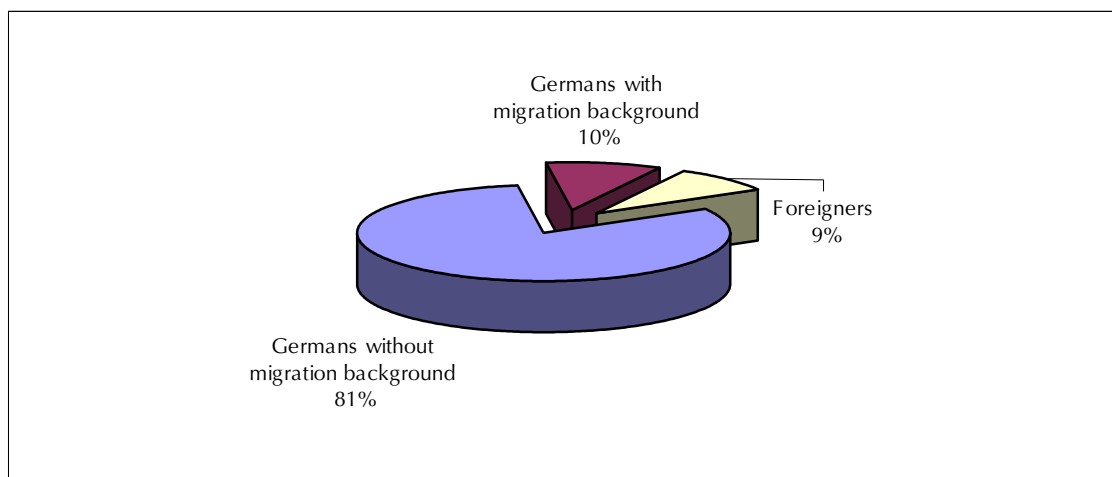


Graph 1: Foreigners by nationalities 2006



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

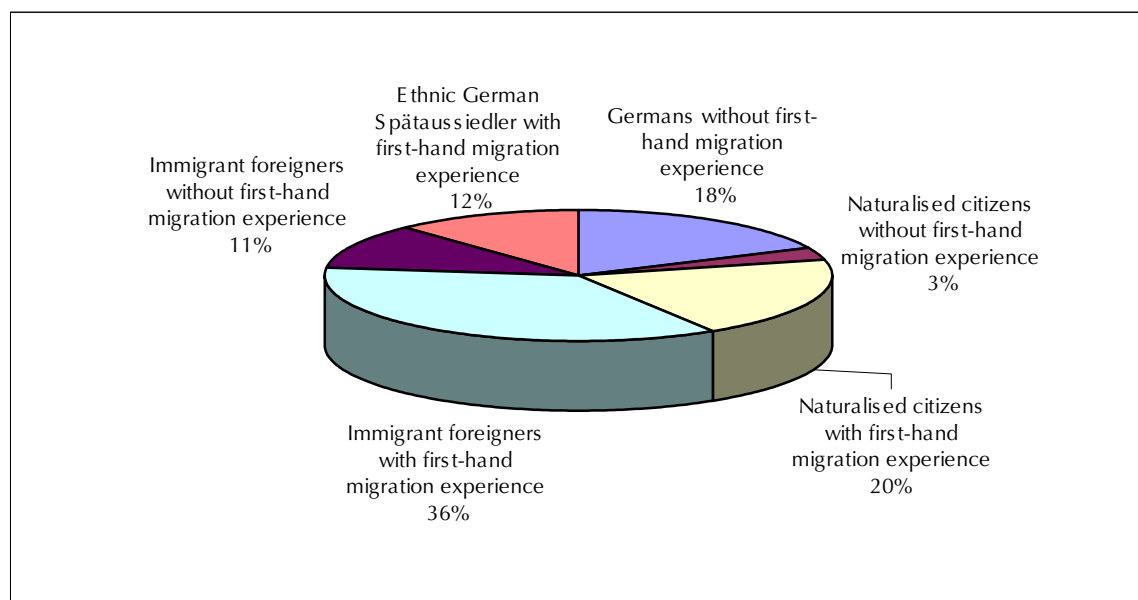


Of the people with a so-called migration background, two thirds have had first-hand migration experience; the other third was born in Germany and therefore has had no personal migration experience. A breakdown of persons with a migration background, focusing on first-hand experience, shows immigrant 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*.<sup>4</sup> 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

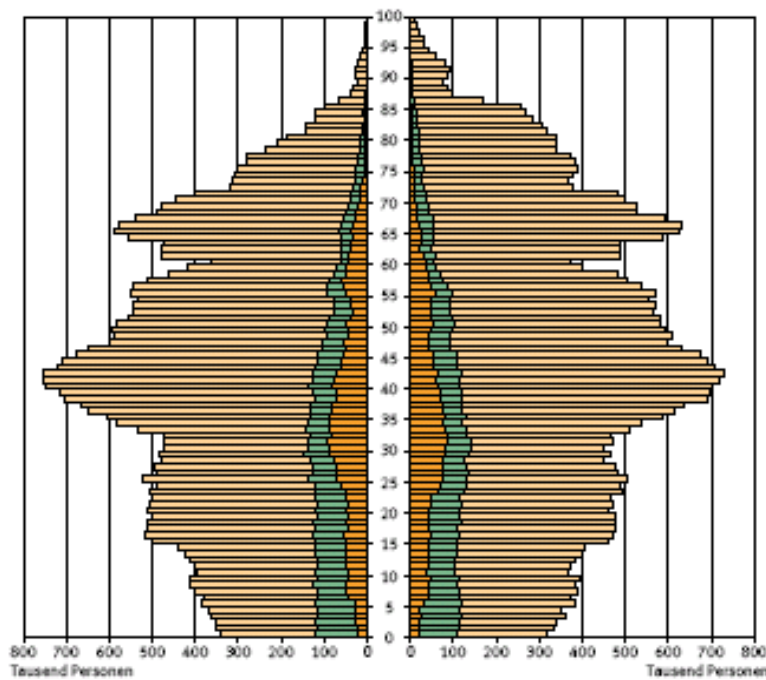


The graph below represents, in the form of an age pyramid, the population in 2005: men are found on the left side, women on the right. Foreigners are represented on the inside, in orange, Germans with a migration background in the middle, in green, and Germans without a migration background on the outside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

<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

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,

<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> 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<sup>7</sup> 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.

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

<sup>7</sup> 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

Stuttgart is located in the South of Germany and is the capital of the federal state Baden-Württemberg. It covers an area of approximately 250 km<sup>2</sup>. With 592,028 inhabitants at the end of 2005, Stuttgart is Germany's sixth largest city. At the beginning of the 1990s Stuttgart's population rose significantly, and in 1992 it reached its peak of 613,316 residents. After this peak the population began a steady fall. Since 2000 a slight rise in population has been documented.

Stuttgart is the centre of one of the strongest industrial regions in Germany. The city is a major location for the automotive industry, as well as for science and technology. Companies like Daimler-Chrysler, Porsche, Bosch, Hewlett-Packard and IBM all have settled in the Stuttgart region. In addition, almost 45% of Baden-Württemberg's research and development capacities<sup>8</sup> can be found in Stuttgart. Furthermore, Stuttgart is one of the federal republic's top educational locations. The region is also well-known for its wines.

The gross domestic product for market prices in 2003 was EUR 33,451 billion, or EUR 56,783 per capita. Although Stuttgart's portion of the regional G.D.P. accounted for approximately 36% of the total, only 23% of the region's discretionary income accounted for private households within the city, as a large amount of the income earned in the city benefited commuters. The discretionary per-capita income for 2003 was EUR 20,251.

In 2003, Stuttgart displayed a job density of 791 jobs per 1,000 residents, and employed 466,000 people, of which about three quarters (75%) were subject to social insurance contributions. Approximately 58% of these employees resided outside the city; in recent years, the number of commuters has risen. Of Stuttgart's gainfully employed, three quarters (75%) are employed in the service sector, and about 21% are employed in the manufacturing sector. Between 1990 and 2004, the unemployment rate in Stuttgart more than doubled to a rate of 8.1%. In recent years, the unemployment rate in Stuttgart has continued to rise, and in 2005, the rate was 10.3%.

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<sup>8</sup> among others: Max-Planck-Institut, Fraunhofer-Institut, Deutsche Forschungsanstalt für Luft und Raumfahrt

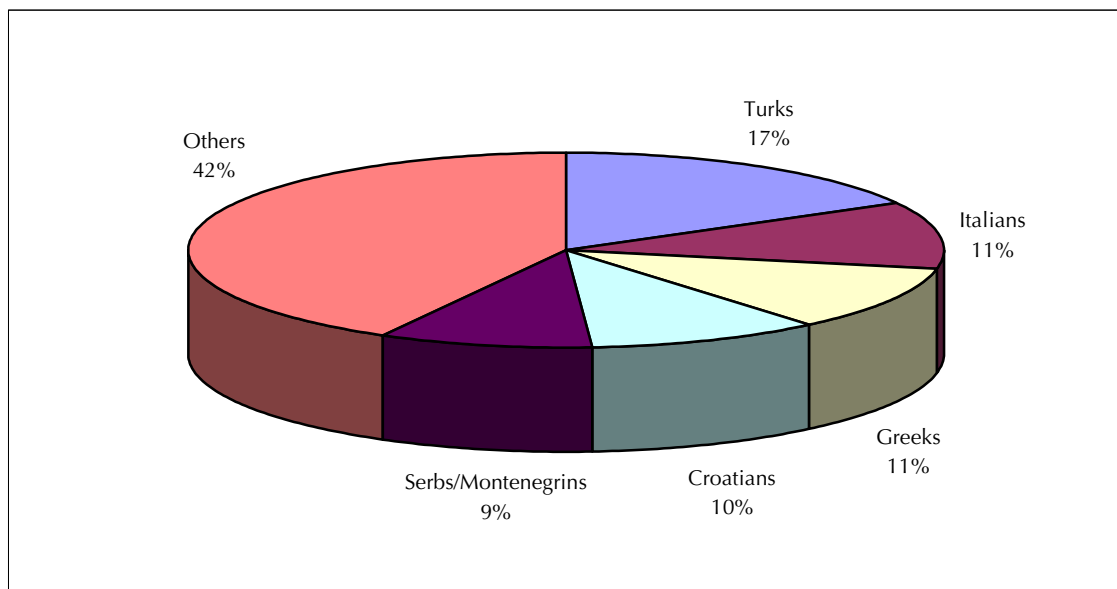


## 2.2 History of municipal migration and composition of migrant populations

The mid 1950s marked the start of the immigration of (primarily male) “guest workers” (*Gastarbeiter*) from southern European countries like Greece, Italy and Turkey to Stuttgart. It became apparent in the 1970s that Stuttgart’s migrant workers were not, as previously expected, going to return to their native countries, but were staying in Stuttgart and bringing their families to live with them. At the start of the war in the Balkans (early 1990s), refugees from that region also migrated to Stuttgart. In recent years, Stuttgart’s migrants had stronger economic reasons than political ones. In 2005, 17,287 migrants moved to Stuttgart, whereas 15,875 left the city. This means that the positive migration balance accounts for 1,412 people.

Today, nearly a quarter (22%) of the entire 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 40%. The population with a migration background is constantly increasing. However, since the municipal office for statistics has only recently begun collecting data concerning migration background, most of the following information refers to foreigners only (i.e. non-German citizens), not to migrants or people with a migration background in general.

Graph 5: Foreigners by nationalities



Altogether, people from over 170 countries live in Stuttgart. Turkish citizens, representing 17% of all foreigners, make up the largest migrant group. They are followed by citizens from Italy and Greece (11% each). Croatians and citizens of Serbia and Montenegro make up 10% and 9%, respectively. A significant number of



immigrants are German nationals, such as ethnic Germans from the former Soviet Union – *Spätaussiedler*. However, these migrants and their descendants are only comprehended in statistics concerning the German population with migration background, but not in general statistics on foreigners.

A large portion of Stuttgart's foreign population (39%) has lived in the city for 15 years or longer. Many migrants were born in Germany and belong to the second or third generation in migrant families.

When examining the age groups of Stuttgart's foreign population, it is apparent that the 18 to 30 years old, and the 35 to 45 years old age groups are the biggest (23% and 29%, respectively). The percentage of foreigners of 65 years and above is about 8%, and the proportion of minors is, in total, about 15%. For this reason, foreign children make up a large portion of Stuttgart's young population: In 2005, the percentage of non-German primary school pupils was 27%.

If one compares the educational situation of children with and without German citizenship, it is apparent that the average level of education is considerably higher among German children than among foreign children of the same age: 60% of German, and only 17% of non-German pupils transferred from primary school (*Grundschule*) to *Gymnasium* (highest level schools). In comparison, 12% of German pupils, and 59% of non-German pupils transferred from primary school to the *Hauptschule* (lowest level school). In 2004, the total percentage of non-German pupils in special needs schools was 58%.<sup>9</sup>

In 2004, 14% of Stuttgart's employees subject to social insurance contribution were of non-German citizenship. A considerable number of them (60%) were employed as labourers. For this reason, non-Germans accounted for 33% of all labourers, and 8% of office clerks in Stuttgart. A significant portion of gainfully employed non-Germans (especially women) is active in low-wage sectors.

Stuttgart has a total unemployment rate of 10.7% (as of January 2006). Non-Germans, with an unemployment rate of 18.6%, are more highly affected by unemployment than Germans. 3% of the foreign population receives subsistence aid, whereas the figure for German Stuttgarters is only 1.3%. Especially non-German women are affected by poverty that is passed on to the second and third generations in migrant families.

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<sup>9</sup> This discrepancy at *Realschulen* (middle level schools) is lower: 28% of German pupils and 25% of non-German pupils transferred to the *Realschule*.



## 2.3 Municipal integration policy

In the age of globalisation, the city of Stuttgart considers immigration to be normal, and also desirable for the development of the region. The large percentage of people with a migration background is seen by the city as an added value and resource. This high percentage should make Stuttgart, as an international city, more attractive than ever to foreign businesses. The result of this realisation and position was a re-orientation of Stuttgart's integration policy. Integration is thus becoming an important element of municipal policies, with a focus on social and cultural integration. Stuttgart understands social integration as equal opportunities in central areas like career, education and housing and recreation. Cultural integration is interpreted as participation in cultural processes, the internalisation of core societal values including political participation and the identification with a pluralist political system. To these ends, the goals of Stuttgart's integration policy are to promote opportunities for participation and to combat tendencies of social and cultural exclusion. Furthermore, integration is seen as "the creation of a common basis for mutual understanding". The precondition for this is not only the ability, but also the willingness of the immigrant and native populations to follow this course. In this respect, integration represents a two-way process. Integration measures are therefore not only aimed at migrants, but at the German majority society as well.

All of these items are part of the *Stuttgart Pact for Integration*, which was set up in 2001. The pact was established between the citizenry, the local economy, the city government and NGOs. Local integration policy is seen as a basic strategy applied to all facets of public life. The *Pact for Integration* made integration policy a top priority in Stuttgart: The department for integration policy is directly responsible to the mayor and has a central coordinating function. It supports and connects actors that carry out integration measures in their own responsibility. An International Committee (*Internationaler Ausschuss*) has been institutionalized which is a consulting committee to the Stuttgart municipal council, and is charged with counselling the municipal council and the administration concerning all matters of integration in the non-German population. The Committee is made up of 13 members of the municipal council and 12 informed residents chosen from suggestions made by the mayor.

Integration measures comprise 12 different areas: 1) Language training for newly arrived and established immigrants, 2) Language and education support in child-care facilities, 3) Equal opportunity in school and vocational training, 4) Career integration, 5) Intercultural orientation of the city administration, 6) Integration and participation in neighbourhoods and residential areas, 7) Urban planning and housing policies for integration, 8) Intercultural and international orientation, 9) Stuttgart Partnership for safety and security 10) Religious dialogue, 11) Political participation, and 12) Public relations.



Furthermore, the city of Stuttgart does not only focus on local measures that serve the successful integration of persons with a migration background. The city views migration in a global context. Migration could be successfully only if conditions on other continents improve. For this reason, the *Stuttgarter Partnerschaft eine Welt* (Stuttgart Partnership One World) was created in 2005. The goal of the partnership is, on the one hand, to better network Stuttgart's development projects, and, on the other hand, "to raise public awareness for the necessity of aid to the so-called 'third' and 'fourth' worlds". Additionally, Stuttgart, as the initiator of the CLIP project, has shown a great deal of interest in discussing questions of integration within a European framework, and in exchanging experiences with other European immigration cities.

Stuttgart's integration concept has found international recognition. In 2003 the city was awarded the "Cities for Peace Prize" by the UNESCO. One year later, in 2004, the European Council took key points of the "Pact for Integration" and adopted them as its official policy on integration. It has further become a model for the development of integration strategies in other communities. In addition Stuttgart's integration concept won the national "Successful integration" competition, which was sponsored by the Bertelsmann Foundation and the Department of the Interior of the Federal Government.

## 2.4 Inter-city cooperation

At the national level Stuttgart is a member of the *German City Council (Deutscher Städtetag)*, and the *Healthy Cities Network (Gesunde Städte Netzwerk)*. Stuttgart is currently the chair of the Initiative *European Metropolitan Regions in Germany (Initiativkreis Europäischer Metropolregionen in Deutschland)*. At the international level, Stuttgart is involved with the following networks: *Energie Cite, Network of European Metropolitan Regions and Areas (METREX), Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR), United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG), Cities for Mobility, Cities for Children und Council of Europe*.

In January 2007, Stuttgart organised the international congress "Integration through Sport". It addressed the issues of integration and participation of migrants in European municipalities. On the basis of examples of good practice, the congress provided an opportunity for participants to exchange ideas and information, to recognise sport as a bridge for integration, and to develop new projects for municipal integration.

In addition, the city of Stuttgart, together with the *Congress of Local and Regional Authorities, Council of Europe*, organised a convention on integration of migrants, in which over 400 experts from 30 countries took part. The result of this exchange was the *Stuttgart Declaration*, with recommendations concerning local integration policies.



### 3 Housing situation of the city

#### 3.1 Housing stock and housing market in general

Stuttgart's inner city is located in a basin surrounded by slopes on three sides. They open only toward the Neckar, in the northeast. This fact has significant impact on the housing market. Real estate prices and rents are, due to the topographical restrictions, very high. Good addresses are located near to the top of the slopes, especially in the south.

Graph 6: Stuttgart



Due to the afore-mentioned change in population development during the 1990s, the number of private households decreased. Since 2000, the number of households in Stuttgart has increased again. In 2004, Stuttgart numbered 301,108 private households. Simultaneously, Stuttgart's household structure changed. The percentage of private households with three or more persons has declined since 1992, whereas the percentage of single households has increased. In 2004, single households accounted for 50% of all households. The average size of Stuttgart's households is 1.9 persons per household.

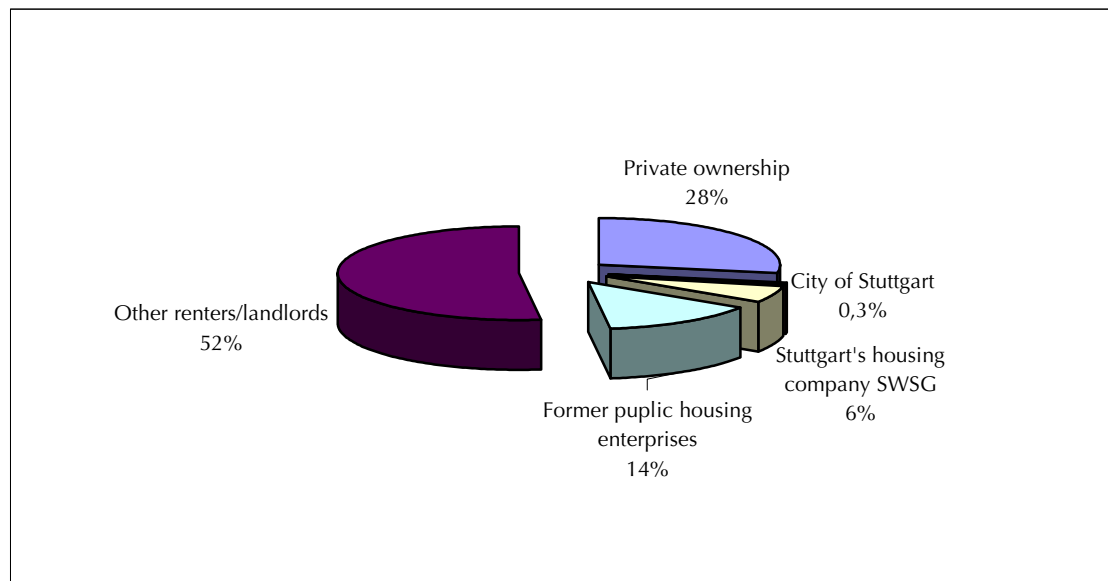
In 2004, Stuttgart had over 292,359 residences, of which 28% were proprietary and 72% were for rent. With that, Stuttgart had a higher quota of proprietary housing than comparable German cities (23%). Of all residences, 14% belong to former public utility housing enterprises, 6% to Stuttgart's housing society SWSG<sup>10</sup> and 0.3% belongs to the city itself.

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<sup>10</sup> SWSG stands for *Stuttgarter Wohnungs- und Städtebaugesellschaft* (Housing and Building Society of Stuttgart).



Graph 7: Housing stock in Stuttgart 2002 by ownership



Because of the cramped Stuttgart bowl, both construction and housing in Stuttgart are traditionally rather difficult. The persistent excess demand and the lack of real estate have led to premium prices; in comparison with other cities, Stuttgart is well within the upper third. While during the 1990s, an average of 2,400 homes was completed every year, this figure dropped in recent years (2001-2005) to 1,100 homes, of which 500 were subsidised. That made for only four newly completed homes for 1,000 in housing stock. The new residences were primarily built in the north and the south of the city, where the housing stock increased by 6%, in contrast to only 3% in the inner city. With new residences ownership is preferred. The rate was 90 % in 2004. The expansion of home ownership increased the value of the property in the area with the consequence that very few apartment buildings for rent were built.

The average number of rooms per person has changed noticeably since 1999: The disproportionate share of smaller residences with up to three rooms in 2000 remained stable at a high level, whereas the development of larger residences with six or more rooms kept increasing in a linear manner. The average size of housing is therefore steadily increasing. The statistical mean for 2004 was approximately 74 sq metres. With the increase in size, the per capita living space also increased. This can be ascribed to the remanence effect, as well as to an autonomous prosperity or cohort effect. Remanence connotes that the children moving out or the death of a life partner does not lead to relocation to a smaller home. Therefore, the per capita living space gets bigger with old age; this is especially true for homeowners. The autonomous prosperity or cohort effect implies that younger households occupy a larger living space than preceding generations of the same age category, i.e. the increase in wealth enables people to live in bigger residences today than in the past. Other reasons are



the shrinking population since the beginning of the 1990s and the ongoing construction of new residences. Mathematically speaking, every inhabitant of Stuttgart has 4 sq m more living space today than compared to 1992. In 2005, the per capita living space in all of Stuttgart was 37 sq m. Looking at the different city quarters, there is a perceivable north-south divide: Per capita living space in the northern city quarters (35 sq m) is noticeably smaller than in the inner city (38 sq m) and in the southern city quarters (39 sq m).

The median of Stuttgart's rents was EUR 6.70/sq m (according to the rent index 2005/06), i.e. half of all households pay more than that, the other half less. But over 80% of all rents fell between 6 and EUR 7.50/sq m.

In 2004, the residence deficit in Stuttgart, i.e. households in need of residence vs. housing stock amounted to 4,620 residences. This does not imply that those households are homeless, but that more than one household share a home.

Households unable, for various reasons (e.g. income or household size), to supply themselves with appropriate living space are eligible to register at the Office of Housing and Real Estate (*Amt für Wohnen und Liegenschaften*) to procure a residence. This procurement requires a housing authorisation permit (*Wohnberechtigungsschein*) and the applicant has to live or work in Stuttgart for at least 3 years. To cover the demand for homes the office has 17,300 apartments at its disposal (2005), this corresponds to 6% of the entire housing stock in the city. Stuttgart's housing companies receive allocation recommendations for empty apartments, from which they may choose future tenants. In 2005, 1,141 apartments were rented via this procedure. The municipal database encompasses, at the end of 2005, 3,015 households, of which 1,561 were urgent cases. The waiting period from the time of registration until finally receiving an apartment is 6 to 19 months.

During the Second World War over 60% of the building stock was destroyed. That led to an enormous construction boom in the 1950s. At that time, many large apartment buildings, especially in the periphery, were built. Today, half of all households live in houses older than 50 years. 60% of all households reside in buildings with six or more apartments. Despite their rather old age, the quality of the buildings is quite high: The majority of apartments feature three or four rooms (28% and 29%), and 60% have built-in kitchens. The majority also have carpet or parquet flooring; 57% have central heating. The main energy source is gas (60%); charcoal and wood are no longer used.

Satisfaction with housing conditions is very high and has been steadily rising for years. 84% are happy or very happy with their home; 77% with their surroundings. However, inhabitants of Stuttgart are highly unhappy with the housing market and the housing supply; only 42% were content with the market supply. Also, 60% of all surveyed complain that one of the biggest problems is the high cost of rent.



Despite the high level of satisfaction with their own homes, 39% of all households want to move. Reasons for moving are often the wish for a bigger (39%) or less expensive (31%) residence, the wish to live in the countryside (26%) or to change the neighbourhood (16%). 15% of households give job related reasons. Those wishes often cannot be fulfilled, due to the decreased construction activity. The number of moves within the city was almost 43,000 in 2004.

### **3.2 Housing situation of residents with migration background**

Few reliable data exist on the housing situation of people with a migration background. The Office of Statistics (*Statistisches Amt*) does not differentiate between nationalities or according to migration status.

Generally speaking, the housing quality in Stuttgart is very high. As to the migrants the percentage of non-German Stuttgarters satisfied with their dwellings is 70% (2005). This is high, but at the same time below the average value of the city as a whole (79%). One reason for this difference is probably the smaller housing size: On average, Stuttgart residents with migration background have less living space per capita at their disposal than usual. Due to the lack of official statistical data, the extent of that difference cannot be ascertained, but several indicators support the existence of this discrepancy: First, migrants have, on average, less income at their disposal to finance the expensive Stuttgart houses. 74% of non-Germans consider the level of rent costs to be a major problem. Secondly, migrants tend to concentrate in districts considered structurally handicapped, and where housing shortages occur (i.e. where several households have to share one housing unit). A third indicator is the qualitative survey of adolescents and women with migration background that the University of Stuttgart conducted within the framework of a study on socio-spatial dynamics. Those surveyed consistently complained about crowded living conditions and a lack of privacy.

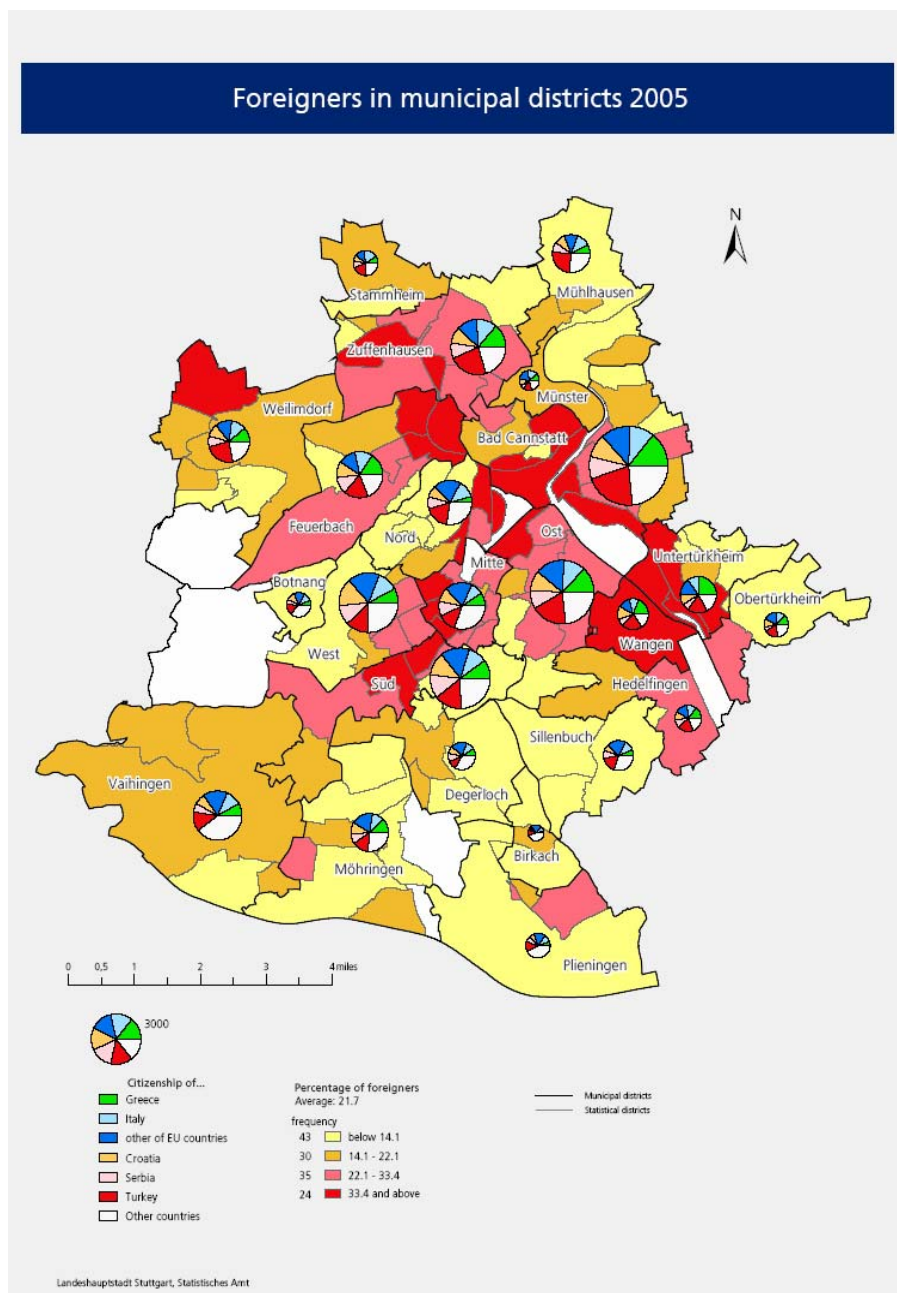
Those surveyed also criticised their districts for having unfavourable neighbourhoods that are characterised by drugs, criminality and bad physical infrastructure. They told about discrimination and stigmatisation of a city district with a negative image. At the same time, the interviewees identified themselves with their respective districts, mainly because of soft factors like youth services, contact with neighbours and their relationships to friends and family within the district.



### 3.3 Segregation: Spatial concentration of residents with migration background

The non-German population is spread across Stuttgart’s entire urban area. In the inner city and the outer northern and eastern districts, which are characterised by industry, the number of citizens without a German passport is higher than the overall city average and well above other district averages. The specific districts are Zuffenhausen and Feuerbach in the north and Bad Cannstatt in the northeast, Wangen and Untertürkheim in the eastern part of the city and the central districts of Mitte, Nord, Süd and Ost.

Graph 8: Foreigners in Stuttgart 2005





In these regions of the city, one can also find a higher concentration of economically disadvantaged German population groups. Several quarters in districts with a high percentage of foreigners are acutely affected by poverty: An above-average rate of people is on welfare.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, migration-specific segregation and poverty segregation correlate.

When analysing inner-city poverty segregation, the following becomes apparent: while the density of social welfare recipients within the German population in the districts on the outskirts as well as in the inner-city poverty areas is above average, the density of social welfare recipients within the foreign population is only well above average in the outlying regions. In the inner-city poverty areas, social welfare density is not higher than, or is only slightly higher than the city average. This signifies that the non-German population lives more often in areas with a higher density of social welfare recipients, but does not necessarily receive social benefits themselves. This might be because these areas' local economy acts as a stabilising element by offering formal and informal employment opportunities for low-qualified people.

Looking at segregation not on the level of city districts, but rather on the smaller scale of city blocks, a more differentiated picture appears. Mainly in the above-described districts in the north and northeast, but also in other parts of the city, there are city blocks and streets where the share of the foreign population is even higher than 50% – at the same time this percentage in the immediate vicinity of such neighbourhoods is often considerably lower. According to several interviewed experts, the percentage of Germans with migration background in these areas is also very high. This raises the quota of persons with, vs. persons without migration background even higher. In some of these quarters, the German population is also considerably older than the non-native groups. Therefore, some neighbourhoods consist of a mix of large numbers of young families with migration background and a small number of retired Germans. It is obvious that such a makeup harbours opportunities but also the potential for conflict.

Ethnic segregation of the proportionately prominent nationalities (citizens of the former Yugoslavia, Turks, Italians, and Greeks), according to the segregation index, has gone down since 1980. Hence, housing locations of the non-German population have slowly spread over the entire urban area. There is no concentration of single ethnic groups in Stuttgart, but a concentration of migrants; all nationalities are similarly distributed throughout the city quarters.

The socio-spatial concentration of social and ethnic population groups in certain areas is the result of a decades-long development, with few integration policy interventions.

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<sup>11</sup> Especially in Mitte, Ost, Nord, Bad Cannstatt, Zuffenhausen and Feuerbach.



Integration of foreigners was, until recently, confined to welfare policies, with no concern for demographic development or for the socio-spatial dimension of the integration process. It should be noted that ethnic segregation is also a consequence of German families with better income leaving the areas for better housing within Stuttgart or in the periphery. This is, on the one hand, due to the lack of affordable estates in Stuttgart. On the other hand, some concerned families feared that, should their children go to schools or day-care centres with a high percentage of foreigners, they would be at a disadvantage in their school and professional careers.

Altogether, the foreign population of Stuttgart is spread over the whole city, but is concentrated in certain housing quarters and streets. This small-scale social segregation and the – perceived or real – stigmatisation by others have negative implications for other aspects of life. Especially women and adolescents with migration background spend most of their spare time within their city quarter and within homogenous non-German networks. These conditions foster problems like “double semilingualism” (i.e. insufficient knowledge of both the native language, and German). Evaluation of aforementioned surveys leads can be summarised as an ambivalent mode of migrant integration: The deficient integration into the majority society and the city as a whole as opposed to a pronounced internal integration into the city quarter and into ethnic networks.

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

The housing market situation in Stuttgart is very tense. It is therefore more difficult in Stuttgart than in other comparable German cities to gain access to both high quality and affordable housing. This is true for all tenants in Stuttgart. 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 standards within the non-German population of Stuttgart 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 substandard and that therefore a major percentage of foreigners have difficulties gaining access to housing. It should be stressed at this point that, in particular, internationally active businesses in Stuttgart employ many highly qualified foreigners with no money-related access problems. As those foreigners are also included in the statistical data they improve the overall statistical picture. Statistics that would



describe the economic status of specific foreign population groups in more detail would therefore enable more accurate conclusions on the accessibility 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 Act<sup>12</sup>, 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.<sup>13</sup>

Finally, discrimination and prejudice on the side of proprietors can hamper migrant's access to housing. According to the experiences of several experts, persons with an (apparent) migration background have a difficult position on the housing market. Representatives of the international committee relate that when a foreign name is given over the phone, many newly advertised apartments often are "already let". The scope of discriminatory practices cannot be quantified within the framework of this document.

## 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 a strong impact on the housing situation. In the following, the most important municipal actors and their activities and responsibilities concerning housing will be presented.

One important actor is the Office of Housing and Real Estate (*Amt für Liegenschaften und Wohnen*). It regularly publishes real estate offers, and advertises building plots and buildings to let in order to spur on housing construction and to cover the demand for adequate housing. The office also provides information about financial aid for

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<sup>12</sup> § 44 I (1) AufenthG

<sup>13</sup> See 6.1 for further exploration of both possibilities.



ownership housing, renovation, and energy-saving measures. An important target group is young families. Additionally, the office is responsible for the allocation of subsidised social housing and rental units for persons with middle-range income. Further, the office acts as a broker for homes, for which the city has occupying rights. Finally, the office is, in legal matters, also responsible for rental price control.

Stuttgart's Public Housing and Urban Construction Company Ltd., *Stuttgarter Wohnungs- und Städtebaugesellschaft mbH (SWSG)*, is noteworthy in the context of housing. It owns approximately 18,300 rental housing and commercial units, which represent the homes of a good 55,000 Stuttgart residents. 50% of the units are rented to people with a foreign citizenship. These people and their families make up between 60 and 70% of all tenants. The proportion of tenants with a migration background is considerably higher. The professed goals of the SWSG are family-friendly policies, and "coexistence and cooperation of different cultures". For these reasons, the SWSG is particularly active in areas of child and youth counselling and conflict management.

Another important housing market actor is the Office of Statistics (*Statistisches Amt*), which, as a local supplier of data, supports the city's political and economic planning and decision-making. It regularly issues prognoses concerning the development of population size, households, and housing demand. The Office of Statistics carries out representative surveys related to, among other topics, the housing market and the level of rent prices. Questions concerning satisfaction with life in Stuttgart, and, from the public's point of view, the biggest problems in the city, serve as an important indicator of public opinion. Analyses and reports are also issued on outstanding, current issues so that not only administration and policy makers, but also the public and economists can use the statistical information.

The Office of Urban Planning and Renewal (*Amt für Stadtplanung und Stadterneuerung*) attends to all aspects of urban planning and urban development, and provides legal preconditions for adequate housing space and the realisation of important infrastructure projects. The main task, within the framework of urban development planning, is the development of strategies and planning concepts, as well as the coordination of dealing with the city's economic, ecological, social and urban needs. In this regard, issues like housing and social infrastructure (e.g. play grounds) have a high priority. Additionally, the office initiates, coordinates and conducts restoration and development measures, and thereby acts as a link between involved agencies, architects, investors, funding parties, and the citizens of the corresponding areas.

A further notable actor is the Office of Youth Services. It supports families, single parents, children and youths in social and economic need. The office provides information and counselling, arranges necessary aid, and offers temporary housing in



difficult situations. By supporting welfare organisations and non-profit associations the Office of Youth Services provides for a variety of social services with various value orientations, areas of expertise, methods and action forms. One of the major activities is a mobile form of youth service, which is also done in segregated and disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

Finally, the Department for Integration Policy (*Stabsabteilung für Integrationspolitik*), directly responsible to the mayor, although not primarily involved with the topic of housing, does concern itself with the peaceful living together of German and non-German residents of Stuttgart's neighbourhoods. The department strives for equal opportunity and against structural and individual discrimination. It also supports measures that promote intercultural dialogue and societal cohesion in the city's districts. For this reason, the Department for Integration cooperates with neighbourhood committees and other partners in the neighbourhoods.

The individual departments mentioned are mainly active within their defined premises; discussion, cooperation and the transfer of knowledge dealing with the topics housing and migration have hardly taken place. Hence, some experts as well as staff of the departments complained in interviews with the research team about the lack of collaboration among the different actors involved.

## **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**

As stated above, integration of foreigners was, until recently, confined to legal and welfare policies, with little concern for demographic developments or for the socio-spatial dimension of the integration process.

The integration concept *Pact for Integration*, developed by the city of Stuttgart in 2001, was the first to focus on integration and participation in neighbourhoods and residential areas. To this end, more integration measures in areas with a high migrant population should be initiated, for instance inter-religious projects, intercultural community centres or the mediation of intercultural neighbourhood conflicts through properly trained personnel.

From 2004 until 2006, the Office of Urban Planning and Renewal developed the Urban Development Concept (*Stadtentwicklungskonzept – STEK*). This introduced 12 goals that should act as guidelines for different fields of activity. One of those goals is the "Advancement of Social Togetherness" and Integration, based on mutual respect of



different cultures and participation of all groups in urban life. To this end, the city contributes socio-political and infrastructural measures: Besides social projects and projects in schools, particular cultural traditions are also to be considered in housing construction. By way of preventive measures like the improvement of housing environments (together with residents) or by offering better recreational and sport activities, the formation of social hotspots is to be avoided. Another goal is the establishment of a so-called 'green net' of recreational facilities, i.e. the development of large and small parks within the city and their connection to the landscape surrounding Stuttgart.

During the 4<sup>th</sup> European Mayors' Conference in Barcelona, March 2007, Stuttgart's Lord Mayor Dr. Schuster presented the 10 goals concerning urban planning and housing policies for integration. He emphasized that Stuttgart wants to avoid mono-ethnic quarters and neighbourhoods and does not allow gated communities. Therefore, the city is improving public spaces, housing quality and neighbourhoods. To make sure that there are no ghettos and degraded areas, the city tries to maintain a high quality of infrastructure (e.g. public transport, qualified schools and kindergartens, playgrounds and sports' facilities) in all areas of the city. Furthermore, Stuttgart subsidises private ownership of housing and controls and regulates the rental conditions. Finally, the overall city development concept should be used for a sustainable urban development: the city will promote a shared understanding for an integrated city development process under ecological, social and economic aspects.

To conclude, until recently there has not been any official vision concerning segregation and housing of migrants. For some years now, the city is aware of the fact that integration of migrants on a local level is an important factor for the social cohesion of the urban society. Therefore, social cohesion, intercultural living together, as well as a better socio-spatial integration of migrants are important goals in Stuttgart's integration strategy and city development concepts. Furthermore, the Lord Mayor has highlighted that segregation must be avoided and that the quality of houses, public spaces and infrastructure must be improved in all quarters of the city. To reach these ambitious goals, Stuttgart develops innovative concepts and implements a variety of measures.

However, until today, there is no overarching policy concerning the topics housing, segregation and integration of migrants developed in cooperation of the various actors involved.



## 5.2 Public discourse on housing, segregation and integration of migrants

In recent years, the concentration of migrants in certain quarters has been perceived by the public to be a political problem. Often, the migrants themselves are made responsible for this. They are said to have retreated into their parallel societies, not willing to integrate. The fact that segregation can happen unintentionally, is something not widely reflected.

# 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 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.

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 Stuttgart, the office responsible is the Housing and Real Estate Office (*Amt für Liegenschaften und Wohnen*). This housing allowance supports private households with the aim of providing decent housing by facilitating the access to accommodation. 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 Germany, 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.

The so-called social housing market is regulated by the Housing Assistance Act<sup>14</sup> (*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 can apply for a housing authorisation permit (*Wohnberechtigungsschein*) at Stuttgart's Housing and Real Estate Office. The procedure mirrors that of the housing allowance: whether a household (both German and non-German) is eligible for such a permit depends on its

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<sup>14</sup> § 27 II WoFG



income, the number of family members as well as on the residence status of the applicant who must live permanently in Germany.

To ease the housing market, the building of 600 new residences is subsidised by the means of four programmes: Two of these programmes ('Social Housing Construction', 'Rentals for People with moderate Income') subsidise the construction of apartments. Social apartment buildings are funded by low-interest loans via the state's living space development programme (*Landeswohnraumförderungsprogramm*), which is itself funded half by the state and half by the federal government. In addition, the city supports these buildings by way of price-reduced real estate, cheap loans and grants, and it subsidises rents for up to 20 years. Therefore the city improves chances for persons with low-income, regardless of migration background, to get affordable social housing. Should a family's income exceed the income limit and should that family not be able to claim social housing, it then has to provide for itself on the free housing market. This can be rather difficult – especially for families with low to middle income that are just slightly above the limit. The programme "Rentals for People with moderate Income" offers property developers low-priced real estate. In exchange, property developers have to commit themselves to not charging more than a certain rent price.<sup>15</sup> Altogether, 300 rentals are funded by this programme each year. Neither programme aims at migrants in particular. Nevertheless, a more relaxed housing market facilitates access to housing for migrants as well. For this reason they also indirectly profit from those housing programmes.

The other two support programmes help families with children purchase newly built dwellings. The 'Family Building Programme' offers families with children, whose income is below a certain limit, funding and low-interest loans when purchasing proprietary housing. Through the programme 'Affordable Proprietary Housing' (*Preiswertes Wohneigentum – PWE*) affordable freehold apartments are built on price-reduced municipal real estate and later sold to families with children. In addition, families can apply for low-interest loans to finance the acquisition of those apartments. The latter project is particularly attractive for families with migration background and often used. Between 2000 and 2004, 182 housing units were constructed in 'Am Lauchäcker' in the district auf Vaihingen. Of all applicants 57% were German, 13% Turkish, 5% Russian, and 4% Vietnamese; remaining applicants were of various other nationalities. In 2001, the applicants in the district of Zuffenhausen ('Im Raiser') had even more diverse backgrounds: One third of the applications came from residents of Stuttgart without migration background, and 23% had Turkish, and 12% Russian backgrounds.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> EUR 7,50/sq m/month; rent increases every 3 years max. EUR 0,25/sq m/month

<sup>16</sup> Which applicants did profit in the end, is not apparent in given data.



All of these regulations apply to all residents, and 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

Stuttgart wants to avoid mono-ethnic residential areas and segregation (see chapter 5). The most important means of preventing (i.e. breaking down) segregation is urban renewal. This is under the charge of, and coordinated by the Office of Urban Planning and Renewal (*Amt für Stadtplanung und Stadterneuerung*). In this way, the city invests in the quality of housing facilities, housing areas (including community centres and public areas), and infrastructure (e.g. schools, and public transport), in order to avoid the development of disadvantaged neighbourhoods, and to improve the image of problematic quarters. Since 1999, not only has the physical quality of an area been considered when deciding which areas to renovate, but also its socio-spatial development. Target areas for urban renewal are primarily the areas in which there is a disproportional number of underprivileged and inadequately integrated households. Quarters in which a disproportionately large number of migrants live are therefore notably taken into account.<sup>17</sup>

As described in chapter 5, the city produced the city development concept *STEK* (2004 to 2006), in which ten objectives for urban development were laid out. These include (among others) integration, sustainability, the design of open spaces, and the assurance of housing space. One of the leading projects is the revaluation of north Stuttgart. Many industrial companies are based in Stuttgart's northern quarters, where the housing quality tends to be rather low, and where the number of migrants is very high. If the projects are applied as planned and the goals of the urban development concept are reached, then *STEK* can prove itself to be a further foundation of anti-segregation policy.

A third measure for the reduction of segregation is the urban housing company SWSG's occupancy policy. When assigning their dwellings, they must meet certain quotas: 80% of tenants in a housing block should be from the EU, and a maximum of

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<sup>17</sup> The main areas for urgent urban construction promotion are concentrated around the so-called "Stuttgart T". This is an area situated around the Nesenbach and Neckar valleys, Feuerbach and Zuffenhausen, and includes areas on both sides of the main thoroughfares for traffic.



20% may be citizens of other countries.<sup>18</sup> This guideline is meant to prevent ethnic segregation and simultaneously promote a social mixture. Because 50% of the rental contracts (and 60-70% of actual tenants) are with non-German citizens (many are Turkish), it is, in practice, nearly impossible for the SWSG to follow this guideline; due to the tenant structure, the quotas cannot be fulfilled. Furthermore, although this guideline should prevent ethnic segregation, it does nothing to stop social segregation, which is considered to be significantly more problematic.

### 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 inter-group relations 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 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, 392 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 due also to the fact that the spatial segregation has become a core topic

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<sup>18</sup> The latter are primarily from Turkey, and the quota guideline is therefore informally known as the *Lex-Türkei*.



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.

Three Stuttgart quarters take part in the “Social City” project: Freiberg/Mönchfeld (since 2000), Fasanenhof (since 2003) and Rot (since 2003). In all three quarters, Stuttgart 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 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. The resident community and other local actors are thereby included. In 2005/2006, one of the main focuses for Stuttgart-Rot was the strengthened involvement of migrants in the project. For this reason, the following will present the “Social City” project as exemplified by the situation in Stuttgart-Rot.

Rot is located in the Zuffenhausen district in the north of Stuttgart, and has a population of approximately 10,000. Buildings were constructed in blocks (many after the Second World War, when there was an urgent need for housing space), flats are small, and the quality of public spaces is minimal. The neighbourhood is distinguished by its negative image; many young German families move away.

One of the first measures within the framework of the Social City was the common construction of a small football area. This was a measure that reached out to children and youths (many of which also had a migration background), and showed the local residents that their dedication can create change.

Another important measure for the neighbourhood is the purchase and renovation of a building that can serve as a community centre (*Bürgerhaus Rot*). The centre should be a place where – among many other uses – clubs and community societies can meet, youth clubs can be established, and where an affordable cafeteria can be set up. The cafeteria is directly connected to the outdoor area. This is meant to be made into an intercultural garden. As part of a language course, migrant women were approached about collectively creating a design for such a garden, in which all cultures represented in the neighbourhood can meet and feel at home. Since that time, a concept has been developed, and the project should begin taking shape in spring, 2007. Through this project, migrant women, who had previously had almost no involvement in Rot’s public matters, were “brought on board” and given the opportunity and encouragement to participate in the development of their neighbourhood.



Because many illiterate migrant women live in Rot, an adult reading course was set up. Aside from learning to read and write, German language training, integration into Rot's community, and the handling of practical topics (like health, diet, and the school system) were all important project goals.

Further projects include the annually held international neighbourhood festival (in which many foreign clubs participate), a youth film project, an educational project for migrant parents, and the training of pupils with migration background to be tutors for other children. Even though all of these projects have different approaches and different target groups, one thing that they have in common is that they promote migrants' skills and confidence, and thereby help them to better integrate themselves into the public affairs of their disadvantaged neighbourhood. In the long run, the quality of life should rise, and the neighbourhood image should improve.

### **Mobile Youth Services**

The Association for Mobile Youth Services (Gesellschaft für Mobile Jugendarbeit – GfMJ), as a non-profit association, unites various individual organisations in the field of neighbourhood youth services. It is responsible for the conceptual orientation of youth services, and provides financing for neighbourhood work. Local church congregations, the Stuttgart Registered Associations of Evangelical Association (*Fachverbände Evangelische Gesellschaft Stuttgart e.V.*), and the Catholic Caritas Association (*Caritasverband für Stuttgart e.V.*) are integrated into the Organisation for Youth Services.

The goal of the GfMJ is the sustained improvement of children's and youths' living conditions. Neighbourhood work consists of so-called street work as an approach to counselling. This means that social workers are regularly and reliably present at neighbourhood youth meeting places, in order to provide their services. Another approach is social group work, which is offered to single-gender and mixed-gender cliques, and is offered as a forum for learning social competence. This youth counselling takes place in obligatory groups over a long period of time, in order to enable young people to learn cooperation, responsibility and determination. By way of individual aid, young people are supported in development-specific assignments. In this way, individual counselling aimed at dealing with various problems (e.g. failure in school, searching for an apprenticeship, violence, crime, and addiction) takes place, and young people are helped on their search for identity and orientation.

Further GfMJ fields are school social services, counselling, guidance in the context of lowest-level German high schools (*Hauptschulen*), youth vocational aid, advice and guidance during the transfer from school to career. In these cases, assistance with



vocational orientation and CV writing, and mediation for problems in the work place can all be taken advantage of.

Mobile Youth Services Stuttgart works with children and youths aged 10 to 21 years (and in isolated cases up to 27 years) who are socially disadvantaged, and whose personal development is endangered. These services are not geared explicitly toward migrants, but are, to a great extent, used by them.

### **House 49**

House 49, founded in 1982, is an international neighbourhood centre with programmes and information for citizens of Stuttgart with various national and ethnic origins. It is sponsored by Caritas, and employs five full-time, and various other volunteer workers. Even though it is open to all Stuttgarters, it is used almost exclusively by people with a migration background.<sup>19</sup>

One main focus of the neighbourhood centre is children and youth services. A nursery school is offered for very young children. A daily homework supervision programme for some 70 children, including sport and play opportunities, is offered, in close cooperation with schools, by volunteer workers. Additional aspects of the programme are the provision of lunch, holiday camps, excursions, games and activities, and language instruction. The Adventure Playground North (*Erlebnisspielsplatz Nord*) project, which was conceived and organised by involved parents and children, is meant to provide children with the opportunity to develop a relationship with nature. Other aspects include street work, group services and individual aid.

House 49, within the field of school social services, promotes projects geared toward the support of a sense of school class community and improved cooperation and communication among children. These are offered by way of conflict mediation training for pupils. In addition to vocation preparation courses, House 49 also concentrates on health care and sex education in schools.

The neighbourhood centre is, however, not geared exclusively toward children and adolescents, but has an open, generation-spanning approach, and is therefore also a contact point for adults. Rooms are provided for German and non-German clubs and other groups, Turkish and Italian seniors' clubs are supported, and inter-religious contact is encouraged. By way of the "Education Party" project, the centre tries to raise involvement and participation of foreign parents in the education and upbringing

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<sup>19</sup> The reason given by the administration was that, in this neighbourhood, there are almost no persons under the age of 60 without a migration background



of their children: in the style of “Tupperware Parties”, 40 women met monthly for two years, in order to discuss topics of education and upbringing in an intimate environment. The range of recreational activities is also quite broad (cooking, dance, music), and additionally, language and qualification training courses are organised.

House 49, with its “open-door” policy, serves as an intercultural contact centre for many neighbourhood residents, and has an integrative effect on the multicultural population.

### **Intercultural mediation in city quarters**

Germans and non-Germans alike can turn to the Stuttgart Team for Intercultural Mediation (a part of the City Department of Integration Policy) in cases of conflict or rental issues. The intercultural team is made up of full-time and volunteer workers from various fields of social work. All of them have training in mediation and experience in working with people of varied origin. Team workers offer on-site aid for the resolution of conflicts, and support the involved persons in finding a solution that is fair for both sides. In this way, intercultural mediation promotes cooperative coexistence and understanding in an international city.

### **City and Police Crime prevention measures**

The Stuttgart police department and the city of Stuttgart collaborate in a so called ‘security partnership’ in order to prevent crime and assure security in the Stuttgart region. Based on the assumption that security is not solely a police matter, but of the community as a whole, the common initiative ‘Stuttgart’s security partnership of the police, city and the citizenry’ was created in 1997. The initiative is supported by the ‘Secure and clean Stuttgart’ association (founded in 1997). Since 1998, the partnership annually publishes goals, methods and results of their work in the ‘prevention report’.

The partnership focuses on preventing crime before it arises. Therefore, security advisory councils as well as specially trained ‘prevention police officers’ have been established in all districts of the city. The partnership carries out various juvenile delinquency programmes, such as violence and drug abuse prevention. Concerning immigrants and non-German citizens, the partnership assumes that successful crime prevention presupposes integration into the host society.

The partnership makes a concerted effort to involve Muslim citizens in their prevention activities. In 2005, the partnership succeeded in incorporating representatives of a mosque association into youth services in the Feuerbach district, and thus provided them with the opportunity to participate in the development of their neighbourhood. In cooperation with the Berlin and Essen police departments, as well



as the 'Federal Agency for Civic Education' and the 'Joint Federal and State Programme for Crime Prevention by the Police' a guideline for the support of the collaboration of the police and mosque associations was developed and presented in 2005 at the conference 'Police Stations and Mosque Associations: Prevention, Cooperation, Intercultural Competence' in Stuttgart. The guideline is meant to help various authorities with their crime prevention activities and support integrative processes in Stuttgart's city districts.

### **Social management of the SWSG**

A large portion of the city housing company SWSG's stock is located in rather segregated residential areas. Tenants with a migration background represent the majority of the population. In order to secure social peace and positive inter-group relations the SWSG has a special department for "Social and debt management". This department reacts to problems with the housing stock. Firstly, the department offers rent debtor counselling in order to help tenants with financial problems, prevent evictions, insure the payment of rents, and to establish new perspectives. Because a large number of tenants are unfamiliar with the banking system, the SWSG also has an account, into which these people can deposit their rent in cash. This monthly routine is used to come into contact with these, in most cases socially disadvantaged, tenants. Secondly, the SWSG, by way of conflict management and mediation, would like to improve housing satisfaction. A balance of interests among various tenant groups like families with children, senior citizens, or migrants, is meant to minimize rent-related conflict. In cases of larger problems, round table meetings are called. A third field of social work is geared toward relations with seniors and people with psychological and physical illness. These people and their relatives should be counselled in respect to the arrangement of their housing situations, and should, when necessary, be provided with specialised assistance, or care.

In order to avoid problems, the SWSG also pursues preventative social planning: activities include the support for voluntary associations among tenants and their activities. For this reason the group assigns rooms, organises and supports parties, and organises language courses and other integration measures. The SWSG cooperates with the city, social services and religious and cultural clubs.

## **7 Highlights and Failures: Learning for CLIP**

Stuttgart has about 600,000 inhabitants, of which nearly a quarter are foreigners and 40% have a migration background. It is the centre of one of the strongest industrial regions in Germany. Because it is such an economically prosperous city, integration of



migrants has primarily taken place by structural integration into the labour market. The socio-economic status of migrants has been quite good.

In addition, the city, following the German mode of integration, included the migrants in the general welfare state and social policy system. Concerning the housing market, this means that non-Germans have the same legal rights as Germans to application for housing assistance. The most important measures in Stuttgart for low-income households are council flats and the housing allowance (a top-up payment for the cost of housing). The city is further supporting affordable house ownership for families – a programme often used by migrants.

Due to topographical and market constraints, the housing market is very tense and rents are very high. Since the socio-economic status of non-Germans is lower than average, they suffer more under these prices. Thus, they have less per capita living space than Germans, and they often live in unfavourable neighbourhoods. Especially in the inner city and the north and east, the number of citizens without a German passport is well above other district averages. These segregation tendencies have been perceived by the public as problematic.

This spatial concentration of migrants in several districts is also due to the fact that there was no concern for the socio-spatial dimension of the integration process. However, for some years, the city is aware of the fact that integration of migrants on a local level is an important factor for the social cohesion of society. Therefore, Stuttgart developed the strategic integration concept *Pact for Integration* as well as the urban development concept *STEK*. Both concepts consider positive inter-group relations among all Stuttgarters, and social cohesion, as well as socio-spatial integration of migrants to be important goals.

In order to achieve these goals, Stuttgart is implementing a multitude of measures. The major task is the urban renewal of degraded and ethnically and socially segregated areas. The city makes an effort to improve the infrastructure (e.g. schools, public transport, public places) and to secure a good quality of housing in all quarters of the city.

Another important task is social work intervention at the quarter or neighbourhood level. Examples of good practice are the social management of the city-owned housing company *SWSG* (including mediation and debtor counselling) and the neighbourhood centre *House 49* with its open, multicultural and generation-spanning approach.



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