Housing and integration of migrants in Europe

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The European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions is an autonomous body of the European Union, created to assist in the formulation of future policy on social and work-related matters.

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Printed at the Council of Europe

Foreword

In the spring of 2006, the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe, the City of Stuttgart and the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (hereafter 'the Foundation') came together to form a 'European network of *Cities for Local Integration Policies for Migrants*' (CLIP). They were subsequently joined by the City of Vienna. The CLIP network, which was officially launched in Dublin in September 2006, brings together 25 large European cities in a joint learning process over several years; the network seeks to support the social and economic integration of migrants, combat social inequalities and discrimination, and to help migrants to preserve their cultural identity. With this joint initiative, the partners involved continue their longstanding work in the field of social inclusion.

European cities and in particular the larger cities with strong economies attract migrants from all over the world. These cities already have considerable experience in integrating a highly diverse and culturally rich immigrant population into the local community. They can use this experience to develop and implement strategies on how best to integrate migrants and ethnic minority groups and encourage their participation in society. However, simultaneously, cities and municipalities often have to pay the price for failed integration processes, although they are not in control of migration flows and have to depend on national legislation in all immigration-related issues. For this reason, cities and municipalities have a genuine interest in following successful local integration practices.

As the first research module of the CLIP network, this report examines segregation, access to, as well as quality and affordability of housing for migrants in the 20 cities involved in this phase of the project. The report aims to present and analyse innovative policies and their successful implementation at the local level. It also provides an exchange of experience between cities to help encourage a learning process within the network. Moreover, the analysis assesses the role of companies, social partners, religious organisations, non-governmental organisations and voluntary organisations at local level in supporting and developing more successful migrant integration policies.

The report also provides an objective assessment of current practices and initiatives in the cities participating in the CLIP network and discusses their transferability. In doing so, it looks at measures of good practice in the various

cities participating in the network, while at the same time it investigates the development of guidelines for good practice to help cities to cope more effectively with the challenge of integrating migrants into the local community.

As housing represents a central issue in terms of quality of life, and against a background of ongoing EU enlargement, we trust that the analyses drawn in this module of the research will support the emerging European policy debate with innovative concepts of integration policy on the local level. Furthermore, we hope that it will communicate the policy-relevant experiences and outputs of the CLIP network to policymakers.

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Introduction

Purpose of research project

For decades, many European cities, in particular those with strong economies, have been experiencing substantial immigration, often changing the composition of the local population to a large extent. These developments raised challenges of integrating a highly heterogeneous and culturally diverse population into the local community. In this regard, many cities collected a rich experience and often became centres of competence in developing and implementing strategies for the integration and improved participation of immigrants and ethnic minorities in the local community. At the same time, cities and municipalities are also directly affected by high costs as a result of failing integration processes. For this reason, cities and municipalities have a genuine interest in successful local integration practices in order to avoid unnecessary costs and to mobilise the potential of their population with a migratory background.

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

Given the relevance of housing for the integration of migrants, the European network of 'Cities for Local Integration Policies for Migrants' (CLIP), which involves about 30 EU and non-EU cities in the project's initial phase, began its research activities with a first module on housing. This module seeks to provide an overview and expert analysis of relevant housing policies and measures in Europe at the local level, as well as indicators for evaluating their outcome. Overall, the CLIP project aims to trigger and support a structured process of mutual exchange of experiences among the participating cities. Such an approach requires a bottom-up research design and involves the participating cities as actors of the ongoing CLIP project. More on the general CLIP research methodology can be found on the Foundation website at www.eurofound.europa.eu/areas/populationandsociety/clip.htm

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Policy context

In the spring of 2006, the Congress of local and regional authorities of the Council of Europe, the City of Stuttgart and the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (hereafter 'the Foundation') created the CLIP network. In the course of the project, the City of Vienna joined the CLIP network's steering committee, both supporting the project's activities by establishing links with their networks, as well as preparing the valorisation and distribution of its results. Already during the first module, the Committee of the Regions, the Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR), as well as officers from the European Commission's Directorate-General (DG) for Justice, Freedom and Security and from the DG for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities cooperated with the CLIP project. In the 2005 Green Paper on an EU approach to managing economic migration and even more in its Communication on the integration of third-country nationals in the European Union issued in September 2005, the Commission already stated a need at EU level to foster the better integration of present and future immigrants into the host societies. The issue of housing for migrants has also been addressed in the September Communication from the Commission and by a chapter in the second edition of the *European handbook on integration for policymakers and practitioners* published by the Commission in May 2007. Moreover, the discussion among the EU Member States on emerging 'parallel societies' of migrants and social unrest within migrant communities – for example, in the troubled suburban communities (*banlieues*) of several French cities – illustrates the increasing relevance of integration issues at EU level. This discussion is strongly related to the segregation of migrants and minority groups in European cities, which is a major topic of this report. Finally, the emerging debate on Europe's increasing demographic and labour supply challenge recognises the importance of a successful economic migration and social integration policy for migrants and their descendents for the EU's Lisbon strategy.

As far as the future activities of the CLIP network are concerned, the second research module in 2007–2008 will focus on diversity policy, dealing with a core issue of the 2007 European Year of Equal Opportunities. In particular, the diversity module will examine personnel management of local authorities in relation to employees with a migrant background and social service provisions at local level for migrants. The project's third module in 2008–2009 will focus on intercultural and inter-religious dialogue with Muslim

communities at the local level, whereas the fourth module in 2009–2010 will deal with various aspects of ethnic entrepreneurship and the role of local authorities.

Research questions

The activities of the project's first research module on housing focus on a systematic analysis of the residential segregation or concentration of migrant or ethnic minority groups in European cities and on the access of migrants to affordable and decent housing. The project's approach considers primarily low-income groups with a migrant background – therefore no elite or upper class migrants are included in the analysis – and the aspect of local policies in the municipalities. The research focuses on the situation of vulnerable groups with a migrant or minority background, such as migrants, asylum seekers, ethnic minorities, single-parent households, large households with several children, low-income groups and unemployed people. Of course, not all migrants belong to these vulnerable groups and face poor housing conditions. Thus, migrants should not generally be seen as mere victims who are unable to develop positive strategies, individually or collectively, to improve their housing situation.

Guiding research questions of the module on housing cover the following aspects:

■ Segregation: What are the experiences of the cities in terms of the segregation of migrants and minority groups? What information is available about the consequences of segregation on the integration of migrants in the metropolises? What segregation-related policies and measures have been implemented, and what are the results?

■ Access – To what extent do migrants have access to decent housing, and what policies and measures are cities implementing to improve the accessibility of decent housing for migrants and minority groups?

■ Affordability and supply – What are the municipal policies on affordability and supply of decent housing for migrants within the framework of national and regional policies? How does the local housing system – including institutions and relevant actors, their agenda, resources and legal framework – function to ensure affordability?

- Physical conditions – What are the typical housing conditions for migrants in the specific urban context and how have they developed over time? What measures are implemented by cities to improve the physical quality of housing in general and in neighbourhoods predominantly inhabited by migrants and minority groups in particular?

- Social environment – What are the experiences of CLIP cities regarding the results of local public policies on housing, particularly with regard to measures promoting the integration of migrants and social cohesion within neighbourhoods? What social policy measures related to housing issues are implemented to accompany physical improvement programmes or target the social situation of vulnerable neighbourhoods?

- Governance – How do cities plan, organise and implement their local integration policy related to housing issues?

Housing must be considered as an integral part of the integration processes of migrants in the urban context, and analysis must be carried out on the housing situation of migrants based on the fact that it is an important indicator for integration processes and the state of integration in the urban context. A detailed discussion of the research concept and the key analytical dimensions can be found in Annex 1.

CLIP network

This study on housing has been compiled by the CLIP network which commenced its activities in early 2006. In all, 20 European cities and five research institutes from the EU-funded International Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion (IMISCOE) network of excellence participated in the first module on housing. Cities that actively participate in the research include Amsterdam, Antwerp, Arnsberg, Breda, Brescia, Budapest, Copenhagen, Dublin, Frankfurt am Main, Izmir, Liège, Luxembourg, Marseille, Prague, Sefton, Stuttgart, Terrassa, Turku, Vienna and Zagreb. The five research institutions implementing the research include the Centre for Ethnic and Migration Studies (CEDEM) at the University of Liège, the Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS) at the University of Oxford, the European Forum for Migration Studies (efms) at the University of Bamberg, the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES) at the University of Amsterdam and the Institute for Urban and Regional Research (ISR) at the Austrian Academy of Sciences. The research group is coordinated by the efms.

A total of 16 academic researchers from these institutions conducted the project's research activities.

As far as the implementation of the second and subsequent research modules is concerned, the network has been extended to 25 cities with active participation in the CLIP network. The overall network encompasses just under 30 cities.

Policy rationale to improve migrant integration through local housing policies

Integration research makes the distinction between general measures and policies targeting the overall population including migrants on the one hand, and specific policies that are particularly designed for migrants on the other hand. Empirical evidence from the CLIP case studies suggests that the majority of practices which are important for migrants are in fact more general measures.

Therefore, local policies on segregation and housing for migrants can in many cases be considered as a particular aspect of general social policy and city development measures. Local policies in this area are often based on a paradigmatic approach and show a certain path-dependency trend – the influence of past policies and decisions on current ones. The spectrum of such approaches may range from neoliberal and radically market-oriented interpretations of the role of municipal governments to welfare-state oriented perceptions of local governments as being responsible for the realisation of compensatory social policy measures.

The first type of approach looks at cities as mere service providers on local markets. It assumes optimisation of local services by market mechanisms, promoting the transfer of concepts and management methods from the private industry to public institutions, as well as outsourcing of services and functions to private companies which are supposed to deliver such services in a more cost-effective way. Within this approach, government intervention and regulation is believed to be crippling the self-regulating capacity of the markets, and the resulting overall rationale for local policies in the field of housing is to do nothing – in other words, seeing non-policy as a policy.

The second approach regards city governments as relevant actors within a civil society which have to ensure social cohesion within the local community

through regulations and redistributive transfers. Under this approach, the local government is in charge of improving the quality of life of vulnerable groups and individuals by introducing social policy measures and sustaining an institutional infrastructure for the implementation of such measures. This approach may result in a preference for social policy measures explicitly targeting migrants, but may also opt for defining other criteria such as 'vulnerable groups' for defining its targets, or may implement general measures which in fact cover migrants as beneficiaries to a large extent.

A third type of local policy in the context of globalisation and increased competition among cities for investments and economically active residents is the entrepreneurial approach of 'competitive cities' (see, for example, Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), 2006 and 2007). In its studies, OECD argues for a holistic and long-term approach which aims to create visible links between communities in order to improve the quality of life for the community as a whole. This type of approach requires an inclusive process of implementation aimed at gaining citizens' support, as well as investments in information to enhance market transparencies, in particular in such relevant markets as housing which is notorious for lacking transparency for the demand side. Such an approach of local policy emphasises the importance of liveable cities with a high-quality infrastructure, green spaces, inner city residential areas and public projects for economic success, as well as a proactive counteraction of social exclusion tendencies.

When dealing with migrants and minority groups, local policy has not only to consider the challenges posed by an increased diversity of the population in terms of language acquisition and cognitive integration. It has also to take into account the risk of ethnicisation of conflicts for scarce resources. This risk is relevant for the formation of highly segregated parts of the city which become stigmatised as a result of public opinion.

The framework for housing policy in each country and city area is shaped by both the local housing market structures and legal regulations. Integration processes for migrants are promoted at local level in cities, districts and neighbourhoods. Each city differs in relation to specific opportunities, challenges and barriers; hence, general objectives concerning access to housing for vulnerable groups have to be implemented differently in order to be effective.

For solving the complex problems of migrants' housing, a systematic analysis of housing needs, as well as strategic urban planning and coordinating housing policy with other policies, are absolutely necessary. No single policy instrument exists that can solve all problems in relation to the housing of migrants in the local context. Instead, a wide range of potentially useful instruments and combinations of policies are more suitable to be used in different situations and various local contexts. Cities must adapt their housing policy to the specific local situations and must also integrate this policy into their wider socioeconomic development objectives.

By presenting the case study findings in this report, the CLIP project aims to provide a contribution to the task of the European cities which are facing challenges in their housing policies regarding migrants and minority groups.

1 – Challenges, policies and measures

Housing is one of the most important aspects concerning integration of people with a migrant background. It can be seen as an effective instrument of the integration process, as well as a central indicator of integration status and ongoing integration processes in the urban or regional context. In general, housing is not only an essential sphere of people's everyday life but also a means for different life chances. A certain location is connected with any dwelling and a particular socioeconomic status, image and infrastructure is associated with that location. Migrants can be shifted or move to areas within the city where they are cut off from information, infrastructure and opportunities, or they can live in areas where they are an integral part of society.

This chapter presents the results from the 20 case studies carried out as part of the first CLIP module on housing. It is structured along the key dimensions of local housing policies for the integration of migrants and minority groups. First, the challenges faced by the participating cities are investigated, followed by an overview of policy approaches found in the empirical case studies. Finally, the chapter highlights selected measures which have been implemented by the participating cities and the related experiences of the cities.

Challenges discussed in this report are perceived challenges: in other words, when a perceived reality is regarded as problematic and should be changed. The perceived challenges with regard to housing are the challenges faced by local authorities and representatives of migrants. Thus, they are part of an individual or collective actor's definition of the situation on the basis of a perceived reality and certain standards on which this reality is evaluated. These standards can be political goals and interests, human rights and obligations, as well as the idea of the modern welfare state. Moreover, cities differ significantly in terms of what they regard as challenges; in some cases, the internal development of municipal policies leads to a changing definition of the situation in cities and resulting policy changes. A perceived challenge by definition has a strong subjective component: where municipalities feel strongly about the issue – the mayor or the council for instance declare

integration issues as one of their priorities – cities tend to be more objective than in cities where this is not the case.

Policies are considered as officially formulated goals and strategic decisions of a common character with regard to housing in general and the housing of migrants and minority groups in particular. They are reflected in council decisions, policy declarations, as well as official housing or urban development plans. Policies may implement the national and regional framework for these particular fields, may use opportunities and funding provided by these, may act independently or may even constitute an opposition to national and regional policies. Usually, local policies are formulated by the municipal governments in reaction to perceived challenges, but they may also emerge from other contexts such as a national or European discourse on the integration of migrants. Such policies may also result from a preventive approach taken which anticipates potential future problems. A non-policy approach – the lack of a policy on issues which some actors consider as a challenge – can also be regarded as a policy strategy.

Finally, measures are defined as the concrete implementation of general policies in the cities through initiatives, projects and programmes for migrants and minority groups. Such measures may be a direct result of official policy filtering down from national level; however, participating cities may also implement new approaches and concepts developed pragmatically from lower levels to deal with imminent challenges. Moreover, measures introduced by the cities may represent a way to involve the various relevant actors at local level, of whom many can only be influenced indirectly by municipal policy, which cannot directly control all of the actors involved.

This overview focuses on concrete measures implemented by the participating cities, which are grouped according to the key dimensions of integration processes (see Annex 1), that is structural, cognitive, social and identificatory integration. Most measures show aspects that belong to more than one dimension, sometimes relating to several dimensions. In these cases, the various measures have been discussed under the dimension which is predominant for the measure's orientation.

Segregation

Challenges and policies

Most CLIP cities perceive a segregation challenge and try to address the issue. Segregation exists as spatial segregation, such as physical distance and social structure in space, and as social segregation which reflects social distance in society. Both forms of segregation can be further differentiated into three relevant basic dimensions: demographic segregation, social (class) segregation and ethnic segregation. When reflecting the cities' policies, it should be remembered that these three dimensions exist in parallel and that it is difficult to describe or analyse them independently from each other. Many similarities exist between 'ethnic' and 'social' segregation since migrant or ethnic minority groups are usually not homogeneous communities in terms of social or economical aspects. Thus, it is difficult to distinguish between mere class segregation and ethnic segregation and its effects. In reality, these dimensions are often closely related:

■ for members of lower classes and/or ethnic minority groups, spatial segregation represents limited access to goods and services. The spatial distance to the infrastructure of the receiving society is usually seen as a disadvantage, but segregated communities often provide compensation in establishing alternative internal structures different to those of the receiving society;

■ limited access to goods, services and institutions also deepens social segregation. One aspect resulting from social distance is a lack of communication and intercultural exchange between minority groups and the receiving society.

When discussing segregation, it should also be considered that segregation has two basic elements: the process and the structure.

By relating segregation to the key dimensions of integration processes – structural, cultural, social and identificatory integration – the following effects of segregation on integration processes can be expected:

■ segregation negatively affects cultural and social integration, particularly language competence and the formation of social networks with the receiving society; in brief, segregation has a negative influence on the formation of cultural and social capital in terms of competing successfully in central institutions in society;

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- through its negative effects on the formation of cultural and social capital, segregation hinders structural integration. For instance, segregation is also an invitation to fall into the 'ethnic mobility trap' which is associated with seeking a limited 'career' within the ethnic colony only;

- segregation negatively affects identificatory integration, particularly with the country of choice for migrants, but not so much with the city.

These challenges exist, no matter how municipalities, politicians or researchers judge the feasibility of avoiding segregation or of decreasing existing segregation. Researchers like those of the German 'Schader foundation' project, who believe that the segregation of migrants in cities cannot be changed and are willing to accept it, do not have different opinions regarding the negative effects of segregation as those stated above; they believe, however, that the negative effects are to some degree balanced out by positive effects and can be further counterbalanced by improving living conditions and institutions in the segregated housing areas.

Social, ethnic and residential segregation are controversially discussed topics of municipal integration policies. In this regard, the main question emerging relates to whether segregation constrains or, on the contrary, facilitates the integration of urban immigrant populations. Segregation research proves that segregation is an ambivalent phenomenon that generally produces negative as well as positive effects for cities. In both scientific research and politics, a traditional controversy can be identified about the right balance and about possibilities to control these effects. The CLIP cities also take different stances regarding the best approaches for dealing with segregation.

The essence of most municipalities' attitudes towards segregation in the CLIP network are associated with the fact that living in neighbourhoods with a high proportion of migrant population leads almost automatically to less integration in the receiving society, and it further reduces life chances for migrants in the host society in general. However, the effects of residential segregation strongly depend on specific local structures, regulations and institutions such as welfare systems, and in particular on the housing market, as well as their historical context of development. As a result of this, the effects of segregation vary from one CLIP city to the other and between different migrant groups in the same city. This explains the variety of measures that have been implemented in individual CLIP cities.

One of the main problems concerning policies aiming to reduce segregation is that anti-segregation policies would actually need to address the structural features of the entire city in order to reduce segregation efficiently. It is not possible to solve segregation problems if the focus is only on segregated areas since it is in fact a structural phenomenon. In this case, it is necessary to focus on the urban society as a whole. Measures are necessary that will aim to reduce socioeconomic differences in the society at large through general policy measures. If the municipal policy of a city decides to follow the goal of curbing segregation substantially, such a policy must be complemented by a number of other measures such as those related to the labour market, income distribution and welfare policy. Approaches taken towards such a 'grand' or 'general' strategy can be found only in some of the CLIP cities, including Amsterdam, Vienna, Arnsberg, Frankfurt, Stuttgart and Breda.

> **Amsterdam: Diversity policy in housing**
> Agreements between the Amsterdam authorities, city district authorities, housing corporations and project developers target an 'undivided city', without concentrations of lower class, social housing or ethnic groups. Diversity will be a way of curbing segregation and will promote a better quality of life in different neighbourhoods. Although the word 'segregation' is often used in documents, and the proportion of ethnic groups present in the city is one of the criteria that shape the policies of bigger cities, no direct measure exists to prevent ethnic segregation. Income desegregation is the main starting point, and is a measure that should also lead to ethnic desegregation.

General perception of segregation

Segregation can be observed to varying degrees in every city. An obvious relation between immigration and segregation can be found: to a certain extent, the process of socio-spatial segregation between immigrants and the indigenous population, as well as between different migrant groups, seems to be a more or less indispensable consequence of urban development even if segregation is not yet a relevant issue for local policies in cases of quite recent immigration. However, the case studies reveal that – with no exemption – only ethnic segregation in poorer neighbourhoods is perceived as a challenge to local policy, whereas middle- and upper middle-class social and ethnic segregation is not considered a problem.

Another issue relevant for the perception of segregation in the case studies is the selectivity of instruments for and the frame for measurements of segregation: in most cases, the segregation-related problem definition is based on a simple dichotomy of 'natives versus all non-natives' or 'natives versus a specific category of target groups of policies' such as 'vulnerable groups'. This results in the designation of segregated areas of non-natives, while these areas are in fact often relatively mixed from the point of view of their inhabitants, and show considerable diversity among their non-native population. Such neighbourhoods perceived as being segregated by local policies are quite different from areas where specific immigrant groups are located, forming communities with a certain degree of homogeneity and institutional completeness.

When distinguishing between migrant groups and natives, different patterns of segregation become apparent. In almost every CLIP city, at least one group of people with a migrant background can be identified as living in a more segregated fashion than other migrant groups; for example, the Roma group in Zagreb, Croatia, the Chinese in Budapest, Hungary, and the Moluccans in Breda, the Netherlands. This fact highly relates to the local context of immigration history, economic development, labour and housing market structures in each city. These are important determinants of the recent patterns of segregation. Cultural factors of ethnic choice do not play a decisive role in the explanation of the segregation patterns in any of the CLIP cities, but other factors like the availability of housing and allocation procedures within the labour and housing markets are predominant.

Regional differences in segregation

- *Benelux countries[1] and Germany:* With the exception of a few solitary quarters with a high segregation index, ethnic segregation is at a comparatively low level in the German CLIP Cities of Frankfurt, Stuttgart and Arnsberg. In the Dutch cities of Amsterdam and Breda, segregation patterns are usually moderate as a consequence of many different state and municipal intervention and consensus-building measures. But relatively few larger urban areas exist which are dominated by one ethnic group in quantitative as well as qualitative terms; two rare examples of such dominance can be found in the Amsterdam districts of Zuidoost and Bos en Lommer, which are dominated by Moroccans and Surinamese.

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[1] The Benelux countries comprise Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands.

■ *Central and eastern Europe (CEE):* In the central and eastern European cities of Budapest, Prague and Zagreb, the situation is still different from CLIP partners in western European countries. Whereas in times of socialism the housing market was controlled by the national administrations, it has been almost completely deregulated after the fall of the 'iron curtain'. Due to the fact that immigration to eastern European cities is relatively moderate to date, most urban areas still have an acceptable social and ethnic mixture. However, a considerable ethnic segregation of Roma minorities exists for instance in Budapest and Zagreb, as does a socio-spatial segregation of war refugees in Zagreb.

■ *Southern Europe:* CLIP cities in southern Europe are characterised by distinctive types of segregation of ethnic as well as of social groups. Reasons for this can be found in the structure of the local housing market and its specific quotas and regulations, for example, in Brescia in northern Italy. In Spain, local authorities have almost no possibilities to be influential in the dominating private housing sector. Immigrants dominate neighbourhoods with low quality housing since these areas offer cheaper rents. In view of immigrants moving in, Spanish owners started to move out of these particular areas. This was the case in the city of Terrassa in eastern Spain.

■ *Western Europe:* In the CLIP cities of Sefton in northwest England and Dublin in Ireland, the segregation indices seem to be low compared with other CLIP and major UK cities. Thus, in these cities, segregation is not a major issue yet as is the case in Sefton or discussions on ethnic clustering are just starting as is now happening in Dublin. Due to the ethnic minority policy in the UK, spatial concentration of ethnic groups is often considered as unproblematic. However, some UK cities are particularly concerned about segregation.

■ *Northern Europe:* In cities of Northern Europe, such as Copenhagen in Denmark and Turku in Finland, residential segregation of the migrant populations can be observed in certain districts, but these concentrations are modest compared with other CLIP cities. In the case of both these cities, segregation is induced by a combination of strong interventionist policies for certain groups of the population and concentrated social housing available for such intervention.

Many differences exist between the CLIP cities in terms of segregation patterns, areas of ethnic concentration, the composition of immigrant groups and

segregation-related municipal policy measures. In most cases, the discussion does not focus on the contribution of the native population to segregation processes – for example, middle-class families leaving neighbourhoods with a rising migrant population – or effects of demographic developments – elderly tenants in a neighbourhood leaving to enter retirement homes and being replaced by migrant families.

A common phenomenon in the cities in the CLIP network is the existence of segregation and the spatial concentration of immigrant populations to a varying extent. In all of the participating cities, social exclusion has a spatial dimension.

Measures

The CLIP studies show that the cities' room for manoeuvre or scope for change differs from one case to another and even varies between cities in the same country. Few examples exist of monitoring systems which allow for preventive measures to be implemented at early stages of segregation processes, which is the case in Amsterdam. The extent to which local authorities are able to influence or even prevent segregation effectively needs to be monitored continuously for a sufficient period of time, a condition which is present only in relatively few cities. However, indications from the case studies suggest that a well-developed anti-segregation policy does make a significant difference.

In principle, two main categories of political strategies with a greater number of sub-types can be found in the various CLIP cities: these include explicit and implicit measures against segregation tendencies. In most of the cases, a mix of both strategies has been applied and therefore it is not possible to classify such combinations of measures as 'purely' explicit or implicit.

Measures of an explicit anti-segregation character

Political decisions and statements against segregation are documented in a number of city case studies such as those relating to Vienna, Antwerp, Stuttgart and Frankfurt. However, the presence of general anti-segregation concepts and their long-term transformation is still lacking in many anti-segregation approaches of the CLIP cities. From the data gathered, it is not always clear whether this longitudinal perspective is really pursued by the municipalities. Some information is available, for example, in the case of Antwerp, Liège, Breda and Arnsberg. In Turku, the city-controlled housing associations and

city officials made some explicit statements that the scheme of internal relocation should be a long-term strategy. Urban renewal in Vienna which already started during the 1980s explicitly has a long-term perspective, and the urban renewal activities in Budapest and Stuttgart also have a long-term and sustainable perspective. The following 'good practice examples' have been identified in the case studies:

Quota system

In many CLIP cities – for example, Antwerp, Budapest, Copenhagen, Dublin, Frankfurt, Izmir, Sefton and Stuttgart – 'straight' anti-segregation visions are pursued through quotas for specific groups of non-natives or 'vulnerable groups' in certain housing areas. This anti-segregation approach is based on the conviction that immigrants will integrate into society more easily when they are able to live among the native population rather than in segregated areas. In Frankfurt and Stuttgart, for instance, the association between housing integration policies and the goal of achieving a certain level of ethnic mixing is obvious. Quotas for non-German households are the basis of this policy.

> **Stuttgart: Segregation reduction through quota**
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> The occupancy policy of the urban housing company Stuttgarter Wohnungs- und Städtebaugesellschaft (SWSG) assigns dwellings applying certain quotas: 80% of tenants in a housing block should be from the EU, and a maximum of 20% may be citizens of third countries.

In particular, the Frankfurt Contract should be highlighted. This contract is rather controversial, as it limits access to the housing market and can therefore be interpreted by the public as discriminatory. At the same time, the Contract does effectively counteract segregation tendencies. According to German law, quotas for social housing assignment are legal although they directly contradict the EU Race Directive, while being considered as illegal in some other EU Member States. Implementation of Council Directive 2000/43/EC on the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial or ethnic origin into German anti-discrimination law is likely to be challenged in this respect.

Frankfurt: Contract implementing a quota system

The so-called 'Frankfurt Contract' between the municipality and the housing companies sets a system of quotas for social housing assignment. A proportion of foreigners (30%), welfare recipients (15%) and ethnic German migrants – *Spätaussiedler* (10%) should not be exceeded in a given housing area. In order to organise this quota arrangement, information on the housing areas is collected by the Housing Office, and, together with proprietors' guidelines, considered when selecting applicants for housing. Households in which one spouse has German citizenship and applicants who have permanently lived in Germany for at least 15 years are considered to be 'German' since it is assumed that these groups have attained a sufficient level of social and cultural integration.

In addition, an essential problem of anti-segregation measures is that local municipalities have to choose not only appropriate anti-segregation measures, but they also have to define the 'appropriate' level of racial integration at neighbourhood level. In all case studies, the question of 'acceptable', 'good' or 'intended' ethnic and/or social mixing remains unanswered. This leads to the conclusion that 'mixing' ethnic groups strongly depends on local decision-makers in the municipality or in housing associations and the overall cultural imprints of different urban societies.

Interethnic housing projects

An essential part of recent long-term oriented anti-segregation strategies are sustainable allocation policies under integrative aspects and aims, symbolised by interethnic housing projects. In recent years, ambitious housing projects have been set up in Amsterdam and Vienna. These new residential projects explicitly pursue a strategy of diversification regarding an ethnic and socioeconomic mixture of the inhabitants as well as different house ownership and rental structures. Such projects provide good examples of how former highly segregated quarters of the city with critical socioeconomic and ethnic patterns can be transformed into a socially sustainable housing environment.

Vienna: Interethnic neighbourhood

In Vienna, residents from 17 countries – about 60% are migrants – live in an interethnic housing project which consists of 141 dwellings. A common roof garden and common rooms are included, as well as a sauna, a Turkish bath and a laundry room. This 'global courtyard' (Globaler Hof) has been in existence since 2000 and is situated in the 23rd district of the city which is not a typical district for migrants.

Resettlement

Resettlement projects like the Uzundere project in Izmir can be seen as one of the most direct and intricate strategies to fight socio-spatial segregation. In the new Uzundere housing area, the dwellings are allocated by a lottery system. This approach aims to prevent conflicts on the distribution of the dwellings which carry varying levels of attractiveness; for example, a nice view over the Izmir bay versus looking out onto the mountain side in a lower storey. However, the Uzundere project also aims indirectly to reduce social segregation among the various clans within the resettled Kadifekale neighbourhood by dispersing these micro-neighbourhoods across the new housing area and by mixing them with residents from other resettlement areas. This approach may have unintended side-effects since the social network in the micro-neighbourhood usually is an important resource for the economically weak population, and such dispersal may endanger the positive aspects of the networks already existing in the old settlement such as neighbourhood help and women's networks. The effect of dispersal on criminal networks may also prove to be ineffective.

Spreading social housing and creating smaller units

Spreading of public housing around the city is of great importance to avoid spatial concentration of low-wage earners in general and migrants in particular. In addition, smaller social housing units will reduce small-scale segregation. One example of an effective strategy to reach this goal is the interdisciplinary roundtable established in Arnsberg. If the social housing units are already built in a concentrated way, single units can be sold and the access to social housing be opened for middle-class income earners.

Arnsberg: Smaller units of social housing

The Roundtable Housing project in Arnsberg established criteria according to which future decisions on eligibility for new social housing schemes should be made. As a reaction to negative experiences, the municipality created a panel of municipal as well as external experts, gathering expertise in the areas of social housing, construction and urban planning, as well as youth, family and immigration issues. The regulations for the construction of social housing state that only projects with a maximum of six to eight housing units can receive financial support. Furthermore, construction on the outskirts of the city and the concentration of subsidised housing facilities are no longer allowed in the city. Proximity to infrastructure like childcare facilities and shopping centres is also a relevant aspect in matters of financing.

Measures of an implicit anti-segregation character

Among the CLIP studies, quite a number of measures can be found that have an implicit anti-segregation character. As implicit measures often aim to create social cohesion in deprived and segregated areas, they clearly focus on issues at local level. Based on the case studies, some measures and strategies have been compiled that can be considered examples of a best practice in relation to implicit measures.

Gentrification

Promoting gentrification is one of the indirect – but sometimes also direct – measures against segregation. Gentrification means at first the improvement of the physical structure of run-down areas, mostly in the inner city districts or in areas of old industries. As a consequence of the physical improvement of these dilapidated areas, the increase of attractiveness to middle-class people and the aspired return of investment to the areas, rents are rising and low-income groups are pushed out. This measure is useful to bring middle-class society back into the inner city as is the case in Antwerp and to achieve a better social mix. Although gentrification processes may reduce segregation in target areas, they bear the risk of increased segregation in peripheral areas to which the former residents of the gentrified area, such as low-income groups of migrants, are moving.

Amsterdam: Segregation prevention

The most relevant anti-segregation method used in Amsterdam is indirect and positive: the aim is to attract middle-class people into a district instead of trying to impose a ceiling for certain groups. In this case, dilapidated houses are demolished and replaced by a mixture of expensive rental, inhabitant owned and social housing, which attracts a mixture of socioeconomic classes of inhabitants.

'Hard' and 'soft' urban renewal

Urban renewal, generally defined as the physical rehabilitation of impoverished urban neighbourhoods by renovation and (re)construction of housing and public infrastructure, is a successful approach to ameliorate the physical living conditions in run-down areas of a city. Indirectly, urban renewal also aims to reduce segregation since middle-class groups will remain in areas formerly associated with low-wage earners. To encourage this trend, all CLIP cities are organising renewal activities. In addition, some of the city councils

are convinced that such a 'hard approach' is not sufficient for the rehabilitation of deprived areas with a high concentration of migrants and low-income native groups of the population. Hence, they developed a more innovative 'soft' urban renewal approach to transform segregated and disadvantaged neighbourhoods into more attractive and diversified residential areas. In contrast to resettlement, gentrification or purely 'hard' urban renewal projects, 'soft' urban renewal programmes are orientated towards the specific needs of the local population; in this way, physical urban development is combined with social development. This includes, for example, an open planning process with the full participation of the citizens concerned, the retention of the local population in particular areas and the integration of housing, educational, cultural and labour market initiatives. The Magdolna district in Budapest is a good practice example of such attempts; in Frankfurt, Stuttgart and Vienna, successful general strategies of soft urban renewal can also be found.

Improving the image of a city district

The municipality of Amsterdam tries to improve the image of a formerly deprived city district through the media, political parties and other organisations, in order to attract more middle-class households to the area and to ensure social stability in the long term. The future development of a district strongly depends on the perceived image of it.

> **Amsterdam: Festivals and projects to improve the image of city areas**
>
> The so-called 'Waterfall Festival' in the park area around Sloterplas Lake in Amsterdam, first held in 2004 and co-funded with Wij Amsterdammers, has a multi-cultural theme. It is directed at Turks and Moroccans, but also remains attractive for the general Amsterdam population.
>
> **Frankfurt: Festivals and projects to improve the image of city areas**
>
> The three-month project 'Kids World Cup of the 32 fantasy countries' was a football competition in a district with a high percentage of migrants. The concept helped to show how isolation and racist conflicts can be overcome in football and in daily life; the children's ability to deal with conflicts was promoted by establishing tolerance and fairness rules. About 500 children and 30 district migrant organisations participated in this project. The positive press coverage led to a positive change of the entire district image.

Information measures for migrants

'Welcome services' such as information packages in different languages and institutionalised contact points for newly arrived migrants are a very important first element of orientation and, beyond this, an important step to encourage migrants not only to focus on making contact with people from their own ethnic group when trying to find accommodation. The cities of Arnsberg and Terrassa implemented low-threshold offices for newcomers which offer counselling and support services covering a broad scope of needs including housing affairs.

Allocation and improvement of public institutions

Another auspicious indirect anti-segregation measure is the allocation and improvement of public institutions and services like libraries, municipal offices and university buildings to segregated areas, as is the case in Brescia. Attractive local schools and childcare facilities – so-called 'magnet schools' – providing a high quality service also play a crucial role. Such measures will enhance the integration of various areas into the city as a whole, improve the quality of life within the respective areas, motivate middle-class families to stay or even move into the respective areas, and hence reduce segregation patterns. Innovative measures in cities like Budapest, Izmir, Stuttgart and Zagreb concerning children's education, vocational training or the implementation of minority-orientated education in schools are also important and should be emphasised in this context

Concluding remarks on segregation

Even if it may seem trivial, the case studies show that every CLIP city has to deal with segregation. Comparing the case studies, it is evident that local segregation levels are estimated or described very differently. This is, on the one hand, due to different circumstances in the cities, and, on the other hand, due to different segregation indices used – an 'ideal quota' or 'ideal mix' can neither scientifically nor empirically be justified.

Another problem seems to be the negative connotation of the term 'segregation' itself. In some cases, it seems to be easier for the municipalities to refer to 'integration' rather than talk about segregation. Thus, in contrast to the actual spatial situation, the term 'segregation' can sometimes not be found in official documents or statements. However, discussing socio-spatial or ethnic concentration in affected urban areas is the first step for encountering segregation tendencies. A number of other conclusions can also be drawn from the case studies.

- Only in a few cases, combating segregation tendencies is a preventive measure. Monitoring systems which would allow for such preventive measures seem to be lacking in the large majority of the CLIP cities. The municipalities have to deal with already existing segregation problems. This may be the result of a generally delayed awareness of segregation and migration as a challenge for urban development.

- In cities like Dublin, Prague, Sefton and Zagreb, ethnic and socioeconomic segregation seems to be still at a relatively low level and is not considered an urgent immigration and integration-related problem by the municipalities. These cities can learn from the great variety of either successful or failed anti-segregation measures of other cities. It is recommended that these cities monitor the clustering of relevant groups in the city and consider implementing adequate preventive measures immediately as they are at an early stage of dealing with segregation processes.

- Concerning perception and estimation of segregation processes in general, it is important to bear in mind that socioeconomic and ethnic segregation are often closely related but not the same. In this case, anti-segregation strategies always have to include measures targeting all socially disadvantaged people, combined with measures responding to the specific situation and cultural needs of migrants.

- Anti-segregation strategies should always be a combination of different – implicit and explicit – measures on different scales. Combined infrastructural and social measures like soft urban renewal programmes is the most promising way of combating segregation.

- Voluntary segregation of some ethnic groups will always occur and, to a certain degree, this kind of concentration can be the basis for a vivid ethnic and social mix in urban quarters of cities.

- The focus of local anti-segregation policy is often too much on the prevention of inward mobility of migrants into segregated areas. It neglects therefore other policies preventing or reducing the outward mobility of middle-class indigenous families.

- Local anti-segregation policies also have to consider the higher birth rates of migrants and thus the long-term effect on a self-perpetuation segregation process.

Access to housing

Challenges and policies

Housing is a scarce good and thus the general housing situation in a city and the situation in different market segments depend to a significant degree on the overall supply-demand function on the housing market. All city authorities seem to be highly conscious of this interrelation.

In general, access to housing and particularly to decent and affordable housing is more difficult for vulnerable groups on the urban housing market. Many migrants in the CLIP cities are part of these vulnerable groups.

Apart from the issue of housing supply and the dimension of affordability, which are both discussed in the next section, the weak position of migrants on the housing market is constituted primarily by:

■ problems of market transparency, including access to information;

■ problems of discrimination and exclusion.

Information for migrants about the local housing market is part of the challenge of providing access to the market. This process is currently being considered by several CLIP cities. In tackling this challenge, low-threshold counselling services are required, employing people with appropriate language skills to effectively reach the migrant population and answering their queries.

Discrimination is illegitimate unequal treatment, as opposed to legitimate equal treatment, for instance on the basis of certain qualifications. Unequal treatment and unequal opportunities on the housing market on the basis of certain social class characteristics in capitalistic market societies is usually not regarded as illegitimate. Discrimination of migrants thus refers to unequal illegitimate treatment on the basis of ethnic prejudice. Ethnic discrimination, as well as discrimination of migrants on the housing market, is a widespread phenomenon, but these forms of discrimination are difficult to measure and prove.

Exclusion can come in two forms – direct or indirect. Direct exclusions have not been reported in the current case studies. However, direct exclusions had been reported until recently, for example, in Vienna, where non-nationals were excluded from the city-owned social housing scheme until 2002, and had to rely on the private rental housing market only. A rigid application of the anti-

segregation quota may also result in individual cases of direct exclusion; for instance, in Stuttgart, it has been reported that the allocation of social housing to migrant families can be delayed since the housing units available could not be assigned to them due to the quota regulations. In these cases, the families have been bypassed on the waiting list until an apartment became vacant in a block with a lower proportion of third country nationals already in residence. Such direct exclusion may come into effect, even if the national and regional legislation on access to social housing in principle does not differentiate between nationals and foreign citizens like in Germany.

Indirect exclusion is reported in some case studies. On the private rental market, tenants with a migrant background are often excluded since the landlords fear a possible decrease of the building's or neighbourhood's real estate value due to a growing percentage of residents with a migrant background taking up residence. Other motives for exclusion of migrants include the fear of bad maintenance of the property, non-payment of rent and a sudden decision among migrant tenants to move out of the dwelling. However, indirect exclusion is reported from housing associations such as the Vienna Gemeindebau where housing rights may be inherited, resulting in a closed shop tendency for newcomers. A similar effect may result from waiting lists for housing associations which have very long waiting periods like in Copenhagen or which are using the duration of residence in the city as critical criterion as in Luxembourg, thus excluding newcomers from these housing market sectors. Such regulations may even be imposed at regional level, contradicting the integrative policy of the city, which is what happened in Brescia. In this case, the restrictive regulations can only be overcome by applying other relevant criteria, such as family size which, in practice, may even render access easier for migrant families due to the typically larger family size compared with native families.

No monitoring system has thus far been introduced for reported exclusions in relation to the private housing market; as a result, the relevance and extent of this problem is largely unknown.

Measures
Mediating agencies
In Terrassa, the city administration has implemented an interesting initiative to overcome the exclusion tendencies of landlords. The municipality has set up a service functioning as a mediator between the property owner and potential

tenants by signing a contract with the house owner, guaranteeing the good maintenance of the apartment, while the tenant signs a contract with the mediator agreeing to ask for help when technical problems occur with the property.

Terrassa: Mediating agencies

The public company 'Sociedad Municipal d'Habitage de Terrassa S.A.' (SOMUHATESA), being part of the municipality holding, functions as a mediator between owners and tenants for promoting the rental of private property. Owners were reluctant to rent out their property as they were afraid of possible damage to the property or bad maintenance by tenants. The SOMUHATESA general mediating service does not focus only on migrants but is open to all Terrassa residents. However, the reluctance of owners to rent their property has often been related to immigrants in particular. Under the mediating service, the municipal company signs a contract with the house owner agreeing to keep the property in good condition, and then cooperates with the tenant.

Access provisions for specific groups

In several cities, notably those in the Scandinavian countries, specific legal provisions are in place for asylum seekers and refugees who get access to social housing independently from the regular scheme.

For example, Copenhagen has the right to set aside one third of all vacant dwellings from housing corporations for categories of people that need housing for social reasons, such as elderly people, disabled individuals or those with a drug addiction. Refugees and immigrants allocated by national regulation to the city of Copenhagen are also placed in these housing units by the Department of Social Affairs. In Turku, access to social housing for migrants is predominantly narrowed down to a particular group, namely newcomers with a refugee or asylum background and returnees from the former Soviet Union. This follows national categorisations and related obligations of the local institutions. Other cities apply a broader category of vulnerable groups which receive priority in the allocation of social housing. In Amsterdam, for example, special programmes for the most vulnerable migrant groups on the housing market have been implemented; these groups include recent immigrants, older people, women, unaccompanied young migrants, Roma and other non-migrant ethnic minority groups, as well as asylum seekers.

> **Amsterdam: Housing for vulnerable groups**
>
> A reception/welcome office for newcomers, in cooperation with the Refugee Council, takes care of refugees in Amsterdam. The housing corporations arrange for refugees to get accommodation by omitting the general waiting list. For unaccompanied young asylum seekers under the age of 18 years, specific centres have been set up and follow-up group-housing schemes put in place, with each of these centres having a supervisor from the Refugee Council assigned. Special programmes have been introduced for the most vulnerable migrant groups on the housing market, including recent immigrants, older people, women, unaccompanied young migrants, Roma and other non-migrant ethnic minority groups, as well as asylum seekers. Homes for elderly people have also been established targeting specific groups; for example, in Amsterdam, three homes have been set up one each for Hindus, Moroccans and Chinese.

Migrants who have recently arrived in a country, notably single migrant workers, often face difficulties accessing the housing market. In Luxembourg, for example, for this group of migrants, a local foundation – *Fondation maison de la porte ouverte* – in cooperation with the city of Luxembourg and the Luxembourg Government Commission for Foreigners manage community houses for immigrants (*foyers pour immigrés*), which offer accommodation at a reasonable rate for migrant workers with an employment contract in Luxembourg.

Information provision for access to housing

An important factor for migrants in terms of access to housing is how to get relevant information. Municipalities have organised special housing information services for migrants. These differ as to the range of information and services they render. In Vienna, for instance, the '*Wohndrehscheibe*' project provides a wide range of specific services, from basic information to advice on all kinds of housing-related issues. The city of Arnsberg also has a helpful information service for migrants: a one-stop agency where migrants can get all kinds of municipal information has been set up. Similar services are found in Terrassa in north-eastern Spain, where a central office provides counsel to new migrants including on housing issues.

> **Arnsberg: One-stop agency**
>
> Due to their lack of knowledge concerning language and municipal structures in their arrival country, newly arrived migrants can have great difficulties gaining access to living space. In Arnsberg, migrants are offered help at the Office for Immigration and Integration. The office is a contact point for migrants with various concerns such as finding affordable housing and related issues.

Concluding remarks on access to housing

Although timely measures are in place in some cities to deal with ensuring equal access of migrants to decent and affordable housing, the lack of monitoring systems examining the situation of migrants on the housing market is striking. To date, a lack of knowledge exists about the extent of discrimination and exclusion of migrants on the rented housing market.

The same holds true for the practices in the banking sector in terms of access to mortgages for migrants, a crucial aspect for home ownership.

Services as regards access to housing exist only in the field of information provision and counselling. The provision of a wider range of services is an exception for specific groups such as refugees or other noticeably vulnerable groups of migrants.

The realisation of the EU Race Directive through the introduction of anti-discrimination legislation in all Member States will most likely be changed in the coming years combined making provision for effective complaints and enforcements procedures on the local level. However, the prevention of exclusion of migrants on the private rental market is difficult to implement.

Thus, a sufficient stock of social housing controlled by the city or non-profit housing with certain assignment rights for the city seems still to be the most viable approach to ensuring access to affordable and decent housing for migrants. However, this approach requires regulations and practices which do not discriminate directly or indirectly against migrants.

As an alternative, measures focusing on other market sectors, especially facilitating access to home ownership should be considered.

Affordability and housing supply

Challenges and policies

Affordable housing could be defined as housing with a price that households with low or middle incomes could manage to pay for. A reasonable housing price in different market segments depends to a significant degree on the overall supply-demand function on the local housing market. For migrant integration, the supply of housing is not only relevant as an overall aggregated figure, but as supply in particular segments of the market: for instance, supply of affordable rented housing, supply of social housing and supply of affordable privately-owned housing. A large variation exists in the importance of these segments between the CLIP cities.

The challenge for each of the cities is to ensure a sufficient supply of affordable housing. Affordability can be measured by the share of total household expenses used for rent or mortgage payments. As a rule, this proportion should not exceed one third of the total household expenses.

A sufficient supply of affordable housing can be achieved by increasing the supply in the relevant housing market sector, by supporting the demand side by introducing rent subsidies for instance, and by regulating the price level. Each approach can have unintended side-effects: increasing the supply of housing may fail to address the target groups in need; supporting the demand side may result in the level of subsidies being added onto the rent or real estate price, and price regulation may result in a supply decrease. Such policies have to be carefully developed and adapted to the local situation and its historical as well as institutional development.

To address the problem of inadequate supplies of affordable housing, many cities have implemented policies to increase the housing supply. The scope for the provision of such policies varies considerably among the CLIP cities. One end of the spectrum is marked by Austria, where a federal tax earmarked for housing purposes provides substantial funds for regions and cities as is the case in Vienna, thus allowing for long-term programmes for social housing and renovation of existing housing stocks owned by the city. On the other end of the scale, some cities such as Terrassa in Spain have only very limited financial means for interventions in the housing market, and have to rely on negotiations with private investors. The national framework for housing, taxation and subsidies plays an important role in this respect.

> **Vienna: Long-term funds for housing promotion**
>
> Public funds for affordable housing promotion have an old tradition in Austria and are fed by a share of income and corporation tax. Public grants are not restricted to the rental sector, but also apply to owner-occupied dwellings as well as to homeowners.
>
> Non-profit housing is particularly important. As Austria's largest property owner, the city of Vienna owns about 220,000 rental apartments. Still, in recent years, the majority of new social housing has been carried out by non-profit housing associations under varying legal conditions. Non-profit housing associations can avail of tax exemptions and have to reinvest profits back into housing. Rents in general are strictly regulated.

An interesting alternative measure for maintaining a certain degree of control on the housing market has been introduced by the city of Amsterdam: this involves the leasing of land and the co-financing of building projects. In 1986, Amsterdam stopped selling land for the purpose of building homes, offices and other buildings and began to lease only municipal ground. This policy along with investment by the city in specific projects provides a considerable steering capacity for the city authorities.

Measures

The CLIP cities have designed a considerable number of measures or have implemented measures initiated at national or regional level. Among these measures, most of them do not specifically focus on migrants or people with a migrant background. Nevertheless, it is often the case that an important proportion of the population with a migrant background belong to the groups targeted by these measures such as low-income households and families with children. Moreover, some measures are particularly developed in areas or neighbourhoods with a substantial concentration of migrants or people with a migrant background. Therefore, it can be assumed that a section of the population with a migrant background can benefit consequently from these measures.

Gains in affordability can result from different types of measures: first, measures directed at the demand side, namely households with low or middle income level; secondly, measures directed at the supply side; and thirdly, mixed measures taking into account simultaneously the situation of the target groups and housing suppliers.

Measures regarding demand side

These measures aim to increase the renting or purchasing capacities of the target households. Under several preconditions such as income, size of the household and age, some cities provide financial support to several target groups in order to help them to rent or buy a dwelling. In Stuttgart, for example, families may receive low-interest loans and public land for less than the market price in order to build a house.

Usually, households receiving support have to meet certain criteria in order to benefit from the support such as living for a minimum period in the dwelling or, in case of a purchase, not selling it before a certain period of time. Financial support may be offered as premiums or subsidies, reductions in mortgage payments, free loans or reductions in borrowing costs. In several cases, the cities, but also the regions and the states, try to encourage home ownership by offering financial support to new buyers. One way to do this is to provide direct financial support as in the case of the city of Marseille where first-time buyers are offered a 'first housing cheque' of €7,000 and in the case of Brescia where a subsidy of €5,000 is provided by the region of Lombardia. As far as migrants are concerned, this measure is also important for integration. Another key measure in several cities – usually based on national or regional regulations – is rent allowances which often represent a high amount of money for households which come under the low-income bracket.

Frankfurt and Stuttgart: Housing allowances

In German cities, the federal and state governments subsidise a housing allowance for rent or mortgage payments in the case of purchasing a house; this subsidy is paid to low-income households as a top-up payment for the cost of housing. It supports households according to their size, income level and the rent or mortgage paid by the applicants. Migrants have the same legal rights to claim such housing allowances as native Germans do, provided they live legally and permanently in Germany.

Stuttgart: Family programme

The Family Building Programme in Stuttgart offers families with children, whose income is below a certain limit, funding and low-interest loans when purchasing their own house.

Marseille: First housing cheque, supporting agreements

For new buyers, the city of Marseille provides a 'first housing cheque', with which the new homeowner receives a premium of about €7,500. Marseille has developed innovative partnerships that are operational through various agreements between the city and other stakeholders, such as the agreement with several banks that add an additional bonus of €4,500 to the city premium of €3,000 or with the National Federation of Property Developers and Builders (*Fédération des promoteurs-constructeurs de France*, FPC). The latter is bound to deliver 20% of housing with controlled costs as part of every housing programme.

Measures regarding supply side

Supply side measures aim to increase the offer of affordable housing in the CLIP cities. As city administrations own part of the housing market, they try to increase their stock of affordable housing. Alternatively, they develop measures such as subsidies to promote the creation of this type of housing in certain neighbourhoods.

The City of Vienna administration, for example, owns and manages about 136,000 city apartments, and even the majority of owner-occupied apartments have been built within the subsidised housing programme. These owner-occupied apartments are therefore also subject to certain limitations concerning the income per household and the later sale of the apartments. Rents are strictly regulated, based on a cost-related rent calculation covering financing, running costs of the apartment and value-added tax or consumer tax at 10%. In Vienna, low-income households are entitled to low-interest public loans or even to apartments without making a down-payment. All subsidised apartments are subject to certain income limits at the time of completion; for instance, high-income households are excluded from such housing programmes.

Terrassa presents an interesting case of where a city administration has limited financial means to influence the supply of housing. In this case, the city administration has been negotiating with investors and began immediately to implement new regulations of the Catalan government which allow for the provision of a certain percentage of the planned apartments for buyers with a

lower income, who cannot afford to buy at regular market prices, at a price significantly below market value.

Terrassa: Mixed calculation

When a building project is planned, the housing department needs to cooperate with project investors, since the municipality lacks the financial means to do this. A number of the new apartments are sold or rented at below-market prices to facilitate the access of residents to an apartment. Under Catalan law, 30% of the apartments have to be sold at a cheaper rate, while 70% can be sold commercially at market prices. In Terrassa, 10% of the land owned by the municipality and 20% of all building projects are reserved for the construction of such cheaper housing. This so called 'protected' housing is sold at a cheaper rate. However, this programme does not target low-income groups but middle-class families who cannot afford to buy a dwelling at market value.

Stuttgart: Incentives for social housing construction

Social apartment buildings are funded by low-interest loans through the German state's housing programme (*Landeswohnraum-förderungsprogramm*), which is co-funded by the state and the federal government. The city supports the construction of these buildings by providing lower-priced public land, loans at reduced rates and grants, as well as subsidising rent payments for up to 20 years.

The resettlement programmes in Izmir in Turkey also apply a cross-financing scheme. In this case, the Turkish government's Housing Development Administration which is currently building new housing blocks for resettled inhabitants of *gecekondu*[2] areas is also active in the commercial housing market and uses its commercial gains to subsidise the non-profit sector.

An alternative approach includes that in which companies owned by the city, like AG Vespa in Antwerp, act as professional developers aiming to implement city policies, but by working on a non-profit basis.

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[2] Gecekondu – meaning 'house built over night' – refers to unauthorised settlements on the outskirts of large cities in Turkey. In general, low-cost apartment buildings or houses – shanty or squatter's houses – are constructed in an area within a very short time frame without proper permissions by people migrating from rural areas to the outskirts of larger cities as a result of rural unemployment and poverty.

Mixed measures

Mixed measures support access to affordable housing in a different way to either direct financial support or increasing the affordable housing supply. Such measures are termed as 'mixed' as they aim simultaneously to support the demand side – households – while taking into account the situation of the supply side. Within this framework, both household and market needs are addressed.

Rents in the lower market segments usually exceed the ratio of rent to quality and size of accommodation in middle and higher segments. Apart from exploitation of high demand for low-cost housing, this is often due to a higher risk for the landlord in the lower market segments caused by non-payment of rent and bad maintenance of premises; these risks are thus included in the price of rent in the lower market segments. Municipal institutions acting as intermediaries between the two sides can try to decrease these rental implications and can help in particular households targeted by discrimination practices such as migrants.

Antwerp: Rolling fund purchases
In Antwerp, the autonomous city company for real estate and city projects, AG Vespa, handles the real estate transactions of the city administration, develops its own estates and manages the city properties. AG Vespa implements city policies, focusing on 'rolling fund purchases'. These refer to the acquisition and renovation of vacant and slum sites in deprived areas and the introduction of renovated premises to the sales/rental market. AG Vespa has succeeded in building up and renovating slum dwellings and has been able to sell them off as high-quality family homes, thereby contributing to the increased availability of affordable housing.

Antwerp: Sub-leasing by municipal mediator
Social housing agencies in Antwerp and other Belgian cities act as sub-leasers between tenants and landlords. They serve the interests of the tenant by offering affordable quality housing and of the landlord by guaranteeing the payment of a regular rent which is less than the normal market level. However, the lower rent is compensated by a guarantee of payment and by the provision of services such as carrying out small maintenance jobs and mediating where conflict occurs.

Dublin: Rental Accommodation Scheme

Under the Rental Accommodation Scheme introduced in 2005, Dublin's local authorities act as intermediaries between tenants and landlords, helping residents with a low and middle-range income to obtain affordable housing. The councils guarantee rent payments in exchange for a promise from the landlord that if the property is vacant it can be allocated to another tenant.

Conclusions on affordability and supply of housing

In some European cities, publicly or privately-owned rented accommodation dominates the housing market, and rent levels are controlled or subsidised either on the supply side or in the form of rent allowances received by tenants. In other European cities, the housing markets are dominated by owner-occupied housing or by related systems such as cooperative housing where the inhabitant owns a share of the cooperative. The latter structures often leave migrant families, who want to stay for a longer period of time, with no other choice than to buy a house in order to find appropriate accommodation to suit their needs. Since migrants often find themselves in a socioeconomically disadvantaged situation compared with the native population and face discrimination more frequently, they tend to find it more difficult to afford to buy their own home. In some cities, the provision of municipal land at a subsidised price to low-income families who decide to build their own house on that land or subsidies for the purchase of old dwellings in need of renovation by the owners are options that are also available to migrants. The possibility of home ownership for migrants should be considered an important step in the integration process and should not be neglected by municipal policies.

In the social housing and non-profit sector, particularly in relation to cooperative housing schemes, the access to affordable housing for migrants is a critical aspect as discussed in the previous chapter in relation to the long waiting lists for housing. Only a few cities, taking Brescia as an example, actively try to counteract exclusion or discrimination patterns resulting from regulations already in place on access to affordable housing. This is another dimension that should also not be neglected.

Physical housing conditions

Challenges and policies

The physical condition or quality of housing refers to the size of a house in relation to the number of people living in it, the physical or material quality of the building itself, the technical standard of installations and the quality of the housing environment which takes the lack of a green area, noise and air pollution into consideration. Overcrowding, often found in immigrant housing, is an important aspect of the quality challenge. Research findings and CLIP city reports reveal that migrants and particularly new migrants are often placed into housing of the lowest quality. Lack of affordability of housing, discrimination and strategies of speculators on the housing market are responsible for such situations.

The various administrations in many of the CLIP cities are aware of these problems and accept them as a challenge. Numerous urban renewal projects are evidence of this attitude. A major social policy challenge of urban renewal projects is to avoid driving out vulnerable groups once houses in a particularly run-down area have been renovated as part of an urban renewal project or gentrification process.

However, not only the poor physical conditions of housing may pose a challenge to the cities. In its extreme, security issues may be raised in relation to the physical condition of a house such as the risk of collapse. This issue was raised in relation to the Izmir's Kadifekale neighbourhood, an area located on a steep slope on the city's outskirts which turned out to be unstable, already leading to the collapse of several buildings.

Bad physical housing conditions may also be attributed to the 'sins of the past'. For instance, severe crises on the housing market after World War II, as well as trends in architecture and city planning in many countries led to the construction of huge, homogenous 'housing machines' and settlements for the lower and middle income classes. Such developments were considered the only solution at that time to the challenges of destroyed homes. At present, building monotonous areas with only social housing is regarded as a development to be avoided. As a result, the building of the Bijlmermeer – a large housing area in southeast Amsterdam – is today considered to have been a mistake right from the beginning, even though it suited the architectural tradition of the time. The challenge for many cities now is to reconstruct these

settlements which are characterised by a concentration of social housing, unemployment, poverty, social problems and a large share of immigrant inhabitants.

Policies related exclusively to the physical aspects of housing and housing quality are in place in only a few CLIP cities. In Izmir, for example, run-down neighbourhoods, which initially developed as gecekondus or unauthorised settlements and were later legalised, are currently the subject of large-scale resettlement programmes. Under such programmes, rather similar high-rise buildings have been built on the outskirts of the city, and the residents of the run-down neighbourhoods which have since been demolished have settled in these new housing areas. A specific aspect of these resettlement programmes is that the planning, construction and financing of the housing area is solely up to the national Housing Development Administration (HDA), and all accompanying social policy measures as well as the provision of necessary local infrastructure is decided on by the municipality. This strict division of responsibilities tends to cause friction in the coordination of the resettlement process. The municipality's scope for change in influencing critical developments in these projects seems to be rather limited.

In most cases, policies promoting the physical improvement of housing are not limited to the physical aspects; instead, such policies follow the general idea that physical improvements should always be accompanied by measures to improve the social environment, by supporting a sustainable restructuring of the neighbourhood in question. This is especially the case with soft urban renewal programmes which have a strong physical improvement component, but consider also the social environment. Measures and policies in which the social environment is of prime concern in housing-related approaches will be discussed in the next chapter on housing and social environment.

Measures

Among the measures introduced to improve the physical quality of housing, the implementation of urban renewal programmes are the most prominent. The soft urban renewal approach includes support activities such as interdisciplinary cooperation and the active involvement of citizens.

Urban renewal

Urban renewal is generally defined as the rehabilitation of impoverished urban neighbourhoods through large-scale renovation or reconstruction of housing and public works. Urban renewal measures tackle the physical aspects of the housing situation, the infrastructure of the neighbourhoods, but often also the social aspects in an integrated approach. Besides a 'harder approach' which is characterised by a 'top-down' planning process by city planners, excluding the residents to a large extent and not involving much interdisciplinary cooperation, a 'softer approach' is now becoming more popular. As part of this softer approach, social, economic and cultural demands are taken into consideration and the opinion of residents is considered in the planning process.

> **Budapest: Hard urban renewal – Gentrification of the Joséfváros neighbourhood**
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> In Budapest, a non-profit organisation called Rev8 was established with responsibility for most tasks associated with urban regeneration. The organisation is responsible for preparatory tasks, physical renovation and development of urban spaces. Rev8 implemented the 'Corvin promenade project', involving large-scale demolition in order to create better quality urban spaces with pedestrian zones and better quality housing in a formerly run-down area. The explicit goal of the measure has been to gentrify the neighbourhood in order to expand the economically active city centre into this adjacent area. Although the project involved displacing the former residents of this area to the outskirts of the city, this negative effect has been accepted due to the positive developments for the city as a whole.

The target areas for regeneration often include the older parts of a town, especially in towns where renovation is a recent activity. However, in the case studies relating to this report, it seems that high-rise areas build in the 1960s and 1970s have become so problematic that urban renewal is now considered the only solution to the problems in these areas. Urban renewal often does not target migrants in particular, but the run-down areas chosen for regeneration are often areas in which many migrants live. Renewal measures usually also affect issues relevant for the segregation of migrants and minority groups by making previously run-down neighbourhoods more attractive for natives and better-off residents, as well as preventing further segregation. In the case of

Izmir, the residents affected are to a large extent internal migrants from other Turkish regions, some of whom come from Kurdish or Arab-speaking areas. The Konak-Uzundere resettlement project for the Kadifekale neighbourhood in Izmir tackles one of the oldest unauthorised settlements near a historical site on a hill top just south of the city centre. In particular, the larger southern part of the neighbourhood is strongly affected by landslides which cause structural damage to buildings, having already resulted in the collapse of several buildings. Due to this high risk for inhabitants of the gecekondu, this neighbourhood has priority for regeneration of all gecekondu resettlement projects. A total of 3,080 housing units exist in the Uzundere area. All units will be sold as private property. A small part of the Uzundere housing area will be sold on the private real estate market, but the largest share is reserved for the resettlement of residents from a nearby scattered neighbourhood affected by flood risks, and primarily for the resettlement of residents from the Kadifekale gecekondu. Residents who resettle receive compensation for their expropriated housing, and they are also offered cheaper mortgages to enable them to purchase the new dwellings.

Another large-scale renewal project which includes demolition is the Bijlmermeer integrated regeneration scheme in Amsterdam. Different to the hard urban renewal practices, this project follows an interdisciplinary and integrated approach.

Amsterdam: Integrated urban renewal – Bijlmermeer

About half of the 12,500 apartments in the Bijlmermeer area have been demolished and 6,000 have been renovated. The Amsterdam municipality developed a financial plan, drawing money from a national fund for this purpose and cooperating with two large housing corporations to spend €451 million to carry out the demolition work, restructuring and investments. On the ground floor of the buildings, storerooms have been replaced by social services offices and workspaces for artists to make the ground level livelier. New entrances were created, removing the possibility of having to walk through the entire building, so that a limited number of people are responsible for their own part of the corridors and stairs. At least 7,200 new houses will be built to replace the 6,500 that were demolished: of this number, 30% will be for social housing, 40% will be allocated for medium segment private property and 30% will be expensive properties or part of the commercial rental sector. In the end, half of the available housing will be social housing. Increased

lighting, fewer dark passages, more privately maintained green areas, strips of green areas instead of the enormous park-like area, all of these aspects are important measures for improving the local environment. In this case, metro stations have been repainted and refurnished to increase visibility.

Soft urban renewal

Among the CLIP cities, a tendency exists to move from harder towards softer urban renewal measures. The soft measures have the advantage of offering a more comprehensive view. These measures address interrelated problems at once and they avoid the effect that takes place when problematic inhabitants move out of the urban renewal area to the second cheapest neighbourhood, which then becomes the problem area of the future. The soft urban renewal approach has been explicitly developed in Vienna. It is considered a challenge, where social, economic, cultural, aesthetic and ecological demands must be taken into consideration within a holistic and multi-faceted approach.

Urban renewal requires future-oriented, strategic continuing development, which reflects the possibilities for the city as an evolving system. Soft urban renewal policies aim to link affordable housing with the economic use of resources, mixed use, and adaptation to existing infrastructure. In this context, reconversion and upgrading of existing urban structures are preferred measures, compared with demolition and new buildings. The Viennese model of 'soft' urban policy places residents in the foreground so as to minimise the repression frequently induced by improvement activities. Owners and residents are involved in the progress through the process of information and coordination meetings. The main emphasis is placed on a so-called 'base improvement' that focuses on maintaining, improving and modernising existing housing structures in coordination with residents.

Liège: Soft urban renewal of Saint-Leonard
The main goal of the project in Liège approved in 1998 is 'valuing the neighbourhood as a living environment'. This project is implemented in various ways: (1) Opening up the neighbourhood, through improving the access from other neighbourhoods, creating green hillsides, introducing rail transportation and creating new

> access routes to the river. (2) Revaluing the perception of the neighbourhood by promoting the identity and the feeling of belonging among residents through establishing new economic activities and developing a welcome infrastructure for services enterprises; encouraging artist establishments and arts enterprises; developing sport facilities; developing innovative experiences regarding urban life and citizenship. (3) Improving the living environment and community facilities through the clearing of ruins and the cleaning up of deserted sites. (4) Creation of conditions welcoming economic activities by creating urban activity areas to welcome services enterprises and small businesses.

The city of Antwerp also decided to apply a soft urban renewal approach. The municipal housing service is trying to improve the housing quality in the Schipperskwartier neighbourhood. Issues such as quality of the houses and environment are addressed. Special attention is paid to retain the typical mix of residents in this neighbourhood. The aims of the project include: a strategic city renewal process; an improvement of the quality of housing, including private rental houses; creating a better image for the neighbourhood; a community and integration project that provides for affordable housing in a multicultural neighbourhood; and implementing a mixed and high quality housing project with a broad social mix.

> **Turku: Varissuo and Halinen neighbourhood**
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> In Turku, the buildings of two social housing neighbourhoods were refurbished and the problems dealt with in the complex such as antisocial behaviour by alcoholics and crime were addressed by social workers. After the renewal project, housing advisors were employed for the Varissuo and Halinen neighbourhoods. This advisory service revealed that conflict took place between the native-born population and immigrants, and the advisor acted as mediator.

In 1999, the city of Frankfurt piloted a locally financed programme entitled 'Frankfurt – Social city – New neighbourhoods' which proved to be quite successful and which is still running. The city's youth and social services department coordinates the programme, which is based on five objectives: improvement of housing and living conditions, improvement of social and cultural life, improvement of employment and vocational qualifications, as well as equal opportunities for and mobilisation of residents. The programme's

activities include the renovation of buildings and of the environment – for example, playgrounds and green areas – as well as employment measures and qualification opportunities for young and unemployed people in the form of training and job-creation measures (*Arbeitsbeschaffungsmaßnahme*, ABM). The goal is also to initiate and strengthen the capacities and potential which already exist in the neighbourhoods by the introduction of specific measures developed for, and by the active involvement of, the residents. A neighbourhood management office, functioning as an information and advisory body, was set up. The office initiates, coordinates and implements projects, and cooperates with residents, social clubs, city agencies, as well as housing construction enterprises.

Two aspects characterise the soft urban renewal approach: first, local partnership and cooperation and secondly, citizen involvement.

Brescia: EQUAL-Koinè project in the Carmine neighbourhood

The Brescia EQUAL-Koinè project includes the reconstruction of the historical quarter of Carmine, as well as the renewal of impoverished urban areas. The project also aims to improve the living standards of the migrant population in the area and to reduce segregation. The project aims to improve the area through the introduction or relocation of a number of institutions and general services of the city into the Carmine neighbourhood. This relates to some departments of the university, a library, a nursery school, a police station and student housing. Through the additional improvement of public spaces, the project aims to overcome the situation of urban deterioration which previously characterised the area.

Local partnership and cooperation

The challenge to develop a holistic and multi-faceted approach to urban renewal can best be met by creating effective local partnerships and cooperation among all relevant local actors and their organisations. In this regard, not only architects and city planners work on the urban renewal plan, but also employers, trade unions, teachers, social workers, the local police force, as well as representatives of sports clubs, local NGOs and churches.

One particularly relevant group within a partnership approach includes the small ethnic business and service providers which employ young people from the local community and provide vocational training.

> **Breda: Liveability**
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> The Breda development plan focuses on two issues: working together and liveability. Three housing corporations and the municipality cooperate with an association that sets up smaller rental associations and works in favour of better housing quality and neighbourhoods (Stichting Woonconsumenten Organisatie Breda). As much as possible, the plan will be discussed with the local residents and modified according to their wishes. The plan combines infrastructure and social aspects.

A partnership approach can lead to unexpected cooperation, for instance between small business owners and social workers that try to deal with young people who hang around city squares.

That the interests of immigrants might be different from the interests of the native population is evident within this approach, and social provisions for immigrants are considered. The overall environment of a neighbourhood is assessed and improved, and the chance increases that problems associated with liveability – which often have more to do with the living situation of the residents than with the physical conditions of the buildings – are addressed.

For this reason, a combined approach has been taken in many CLIP cities towards renovation and social work in the target urban renewal areas instead of merely focusing on the physical aspects of urban renewal.

> **Luxembourg: Grund neighbourhood renewal**
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> The inhabitants as well as the local authorities of Luxembourg have foreseen gentrification risks involved with the renewal of the impoverished central neighbourhood of Grund. Private investors and the state, the city and the inhabitants argued about the Grund project for several years. When it was finally put in place, the positive aspects of the measure have been that inhabitants could stay in their neighbourhoods despite the substantial public and private investments made. The general state of the area has been improved and has become a more attractive area of the city again.

Direct involvement of citizens

The second type of measure that is characteristic of the soft urban renewal approach is the direct involvement of citizens. Several examples of getting

inhabitants involved exist among the CLIP cities. Carrying out interviews, either by telephone, post or over the internet, on the preferences of inhabitants has taken place in Amsterdam, Arnsberg and Luxembourg. A project applying innovative means has been the MISS project in Arnsberg. This latter project led to the renewal of a neighbourhood as a result of a main street being freed of through traffic due to the construction of a bypass road. Information about the construction of the bypass was provided online, while an internet survey was carried out concerning residents' wishes for the remodelling of the street. This information was translated by volunteers into four languages, including Turkish, Italian, Croatian and Russian. The MISS project (*Mehrsprachigkeit bei Internetangeboten zur Stadtentwicklung und Stadtplanung*) received a lot of interest, but could not – due to a lack of internet connections – be used by foreign residents to the extent expected. Thus, the project managers also encouraged schools to make contact with children of migrant families and their parents: the project was discussed with pupils aged eight to 15 years whose wishes and ideas were collected by means of a questionnaire. Multilingual questionnaires were also distributed to parents as a form of homework that pupils had to bring back completed. This second approach was much more successful. However, the mobilisation of the migrant community in relation to the project remained below that of the project organisers' expectations.

In many CLIP cities, the residents of neighbourhoods to undergo regeneration have the possibility to come to meetings and have a say on the plans for their area. In some cases, such as in the city of Breda, finances are made available for the creation of citizens' plans to improve the neighbourhood. Of course, all these measures to involve inhabitants reach native residents more easily than immigrants, but translation of questionnaires is one way of being able to also approach the latter group of the population.

Concluding remarks on urban renewal

Most of the cities in this study have carried out some form of urban renewal. A number of factors determine the manner in which this process is executed. The following factors vary considerably between cities and countries, and influence the implementation of urban renewal plans:

- The state of the housing stock and earlier attempts to renovate or improve areas. Several cities have only recently started to carry out urban renewal plans in the oldest parts of town, as is the case in Budapest. Usually, the city centre gets attention first, and after the centre starts to look better the

surrounding neighbourhoods are then examined. In the cities of the former Eastern Bloc, a period of time has lapsed in which little maintenance took place, because of the sale of state property to private individuals who cannot afford maintenance. Some Mediterranean cities, like Izmir, are in the early stages of introducing urban renewal measures. These cities are starting off with the planning process, often with limited means. On the other hand, in cities that have been improving their neighbourhoods and housing stock for the last 30 years, the quality of the buildings is less of a problem and urban renewal has moved to another level.

■ The structure and concentration of the local housing market within a city. In some of the CLIP cities, the scale of urban renewal areas is large. For instance, in Amsterdam, a complete city district has been restructured, during which 12,500 apartments have been renovated or demolished. These kinds of measures are only possible when there is a limited number of homeowners and these owners work in close corporation with the municipality, like for instance through housing associations. In cities with mixed neighbourhoods in terms of home ownership – some private homeowners, real estate owners and social housing companies – the scale of projects is inevitably smaller. Under these circumstances, the urban renewal plans for a particular neighbourhood have to be implemented on a step-by-step basis, as sometimes owners have to be bought out or supported financially. This can mean that some parts remain in a poorer state for much longer. It is clear that the realisation of such plans takes much more time.

■ National support for urban renewal or the lack of it as another important factor. In some countries, national support and consequently financial support is strong, whereas in other countries the cities have more or less to act on their own and to raise finances themselves. In countries like the United Kingdom, where a constant number of neighbourhoods or city areas are targeted for housing market renewal by the national government, it is easier for the municipalities to operate. In countries like Spain where the finances are more limited, the city depends on public–private partnerships and large-scale urban renewal is nearly impossible.

■ The areas that are actually chosen for urban renewal are often not only physically the most run-down areas, but also the ones with a concentration of vulnerable groups of inhabitants in terms of work, income and education. The image of the neighbourhood and attitudes and worries of citizens and

the government about neighbourhoods that seem to deteriorate determine which areas are chosen for renewal. Certain neighbourhoods are the centre of attention, because of the worries and complaints put forward by citizens. This may happen because of an increased crime rate but also when the percentage of immigrants is rising above a certain critical percentage. Although urban renewal often does not target migrants in particular, it is carried out in areas where there is an over-representation of migrants.

Housing and quality of social environment

Challenges and policies

EU Member States have often been slow to recognise the connection between housing and migrant integration at community level, with the exception of problems resulting from segregation. The case studies derived from the CLIP project confirm that, with important exceptions, the relationship between migrant housing and broader issues of integration remain underemphasised. While promising changes have occurred both in terms of developing more integrative housing and encouraging stronger neighbourhood and community cohesion, the two issues are frequently treated as separate policy areas.

The quality of the social environment in a housing area is strongly related to the quality of community relations. The so-called 'community relations challenge' refers to the quality of relations among groups at the local level. In many cities, specific groups of migrants or minority groups form communities and represent their interests collectively. This is often the case in UK cities, but also a possibility in other European cities. Examples of such communities include the Moluccan community in Breda, or Roma communities in Budapest, Izmir and Zagreb. The relations between the ethnic communities and with the majority society are an important factor of the urban social 'climate' and of social cohesion.

Personal security is another important aspect of the quality of the social environment. The presence of migrants in communities raises three important issues as regards personal security. First, migrants are often suspected of being prone to negative behaviour such as violence and crime. Available evidence, however, suggests that migrants bring no special criminal propensities to a community but they have no special law abiding principles either. Secondly, many migrant communities fear reciprocal violence against them, including hate crimes. Such fears are particularly acute in the wake of recent terrorist

attacks and scares – for example, Scotland Yard reported a 600% percent increase in UK faith-hate crimes following the July 2005 bombings in London. Finally, the relationship between migrants and police can often be tenuous. On the one hand, police perceptions of migrants' criminality may influence decisions on detention and probation. On the other hand, migrants – and particularly those who feel targeted or mistreated in some way – may be reluctant to report crimes or criminal behaviour to police. Feelings of anxiety among migrants may lead to poor communication channels between police and migrants which need to be tackled by the city administrations.

Note that these challenges are clearly interrelated; for example, assumed migrant criminality can affect police treatment, and such treatment can in turn have an impact on the relationship between law enforcement and migrant communities.

Differing from the community relations dimension, human relations deal with the interaction of individuals. The quality of housing not only depends on the physical or material quality of the dwelling and its size, but also on the quality of relations with neighbours. Conflicts that occur are mostly over noise, dirt, not adhering to rules or unfamiliar forms of behaviour. All of these are 'normal' forms of conflict. What makes such conflicts different when they occur with immigrant neighbours is that they tend to become ethnicised and thus loaded with a particular emotional and intense conflict potential. Hence, the challenge consists of avoiding the ethnicisation and intensification of normal neighbourhood conflicts over noise, rubbish or parking. Evidence that cities perceive this finding as a human relations challenge can be proven by the training and institutionalisation of mediators for housing areas with sizable migrant inhabitants. Frankfurt, for instance, has a long history of experience with such trained mediators and volunteers with a migrant background for preventing the escalation of conflicts, mostly typical issues of living together in a neighbourhood.

Measures

Measures related to the social situation and the respective housing environment are usually in the realm of general social and integration policies of the city; given the importance of the housing situation for integration processes, some of these general measures are implemented in close connection with the local housing situation.

Community relations

In most CLIP cities, the improvement of community relations is an important activity implemented in various fields. However, in the UK, for example in Sefton, cities have a legal duty to promote good relations between people from different ethnic groups, defining a responsibility on the authority in this regard rather than an optional activity.

Neighbourhood regeneration

Neighbourhood regeneration projects are not only a way of preventing segregation, but they also help to reverse the cycle of disadvantage which plagues some migrant communities – they thus have a significant impact on community relations. Some of the municipalities have encouraged the direct participation of residents in these regeneration initiatives. For example, Amsterdam's Bijlmermeer project was significantly reformed following the establishment of the '*Zwart Beraad*' (Black Assembly) in 1995, a cross-party alliance of 12 councillors with a migrant background, officials and other socially active persons pushing for a minority say in the area's regeneration process. Some of the consequences of their activism were the setting up of the Foundation for Educational Services and Training (STIDA) to undertake projects on liveability in the area, security was improved and the waste management systems were reformed. Similarly, Arnsberg instigated its grassroots involvement with the initiative 'Citizens for Moosfelde'. This project included a survey to determine the strengths and weaknesses of the neighbourhood and to develop a list of priorities for future policies. The Moosfelde regeneration project then worked together with housing companies and property management companies to remedy the suggested problems. According to residents of the area, property managers, and the city of Arnsberg, the quality of housing as well as the image of the neighbourhood have significantly improved as a result of these changes, reducing segregation and encouraging interaction between various members of the communities.

Budapest: Regeneration of the 'Magdolna quarter'

This regeneration project aims to create sustainable interventions and to keep the present residents living in the neighbourhood. Due to the high share of migrants and members of national minority groups, the project has a particularly relevant connection with socially sustainable urban renewal. Many of the 12,000 people living in the Magdolna quarter are from the Roma minority group. Their

socioeconomic situation is rather diverse. This part of the 8th district had always been one of the poorest parts of Budapest and therefore a project aiming to create sustainable social renewal had been necessary. Under the management of the NGO Rev8, some special programmes for tenants had been developed, including a programme for creating communities, a public space development and safety programme and an educational programme.

Intercultural relations among young people

Efforts to reduce disadvantages among certain communities and to encourage community cohesion have often specifically targeted young people. Arnsberg supports several youth clubs, many attendees of which come from a migrant background. Roundtables, whose participants include young children and adolescents, members of the action committee, the police and social workers, are frequently organised in a forum for the discussion of current issues and projects, as well as for the prevention of future problems. Stuttgart's 'House 49', a community centre, is used almost exclusively by people with a migrant background. While House 49 carries out many traditional community services, it also promotes projects geared towards supporting school and class communities, to improve cooperation and communication among young children and teenagers. In addition to conflict mediation, training for pupils and vocational preparation courses, House 49 provides healthcare options and sex education for these young people.

Stuttgart: Haus 49

House 49, founded in 1982, is an international community centre offering programmes and information for citizens of Stuttgart with various national and ethnic origins. It is sponsored by Caritas and employs five full-time staff as well as various other volunteer workers. Even though it is open to all citizens of Stuttgart, it is used almost exclusively by people with a migrant background. The main focus of the neighbourhood centre is to provide children and youth services. As part of the project, a nursery school has been set up for very young children. A daily homework supervision programme for some 70 children, including sport and play opportunities, is offered by volunteer workers, in close cooperation with schools. The programme organises lunch, holiday camps, excursions, games and activities, in addition to language instruction. Sports associations and a Muslim group also use the centre's premises, as do local senior citizens for family festivities.

There are a number of other ways, in addition to community centres, in which CLIP participant cities have attempted to promote intercultural relationships among young people. Several communities have developed youth-oriented activities to encourage interaction among young people of all ethnic and migrant backgrounds. The Kids World Cup in Frankfurt was a football competition held for children representing fictional countries. In all, 80% of the volunteers for the project, which also aimed to improve intercultural collaboration, came from a migrant background. Since schools are often a site for the formation of positive intercultural relationships, segregation in schools has also been considered a problem for some neighbourhoods. The city of Breda decided to merge two schools, one with a high percentage of migrant pupils, forming a new school which will also host a music programme, an internet café and other cultural activities for its pupils.

Encouraging participation in community affairs

Another way in which cities can improve migrant housing and community relations is by encouraging migrant participation and input into neighbourhood policies. On the one hand, migrants have first-hand experience with the most problematic aspects of city housing, whether it is quality, access, the local environment, or segregation. On the other hand, providing opportunities for migrants to express their opinions directly creates a forum in which they interact with others, thus encouraging stronger intercommunity relationships. Such projects have taken place in CLIP cities on different levels. In some cases, individuals have been engaged for a particular project proposed by the city. For example, in Amsterdam and Breda, groups of eight to 15 inhabitants from different ethnic backgrounds in a certain neighbourhood – so-called 'housing ateliers' – met for four to 10 sessions to discuss community renewal. One outcome of such consultations has been the recognition that migrants often have different priorities for regeneration than native residents; for example, in the borough of Zuidoost in Amsterdam, one housing block has been built in the form of a compound – a square with a central play area – because Surinamese and African inhabitants in the area expressed their preference to live in this way. Such localised efforts have also improved the knowledge of city administrations about the ways in which they might or might not reach out to migrants. An innovative neighbourhood renewal project in Arnsberg, which involved an internet survey seeking residents' opinions on the regeneration project, was less successful than anticipated because migrants often had no internet access.

More permanent bodies for migrant participation have also been set up. Terrassa, for example, has convened a 'New Migrations Roundtable,' the participants of which include migrant representatives, NGOs, neighbourhood associations, political groups with democratic representation in the City Council and council departments. The combination of these actors allows for policy responses to be more thorough and taken more quickly. In Antwerp's City Neighbourhood Dialogue programme, 13 teams are allocated to various districts within the city. The teams operate a two-way communications approach. On the one hand, they inform citizen-stakeholders about recent policy decisions and their implications from a top-down perspective; on the other hand, the teams gather suggestions and opinions of citizens in order to inform the municipality from a bottom-up perspective. Breda offers an innovative annual prize competition in the Heuvel area, in which residents are asked to present plans for the neighbourhood; the best plan is selected through a process of neighbourhood election and is granted funding of up to €10,000. Among other initiatives, a teahouse organised by Turkish and Moroccan women to serve meals once a month for the inhabitants of the neighbourhood has been awarded funding. The appeal of such programmes is that they simultaneously encourage both improved living conditions and community relations.

Support for citizens' activities

In addition to encouraging the participation of citizens in various projects, some cities also provide more direct support for neighbourhoods to encourage improved living conditions. Migrants in Arnsberg, for example, were offered paid jobs to help upkeep green areas. In Antwerp, the more formalised Neighbourhood Action Service pays special attention to areas characterised greatly by ethno-cultural diversity. The city has 50 neighbourhood supervisors who provide a street presence and an opportunity for residents to express their needs.

> **Antwerp: Neighbourhood Action Service**
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> The Neighbourhood Action Service in Antwerp carries out a series of activities: (1) support for volunteers who supervise cleaning of the neighbourhoods, organise street parties, and encourage the creation of clubs and associations; (2) 50 neighbourhood supervisors with daily presence on the streets and a willingness to listen to residents. These individuals help to create a situation in which residents feel responsible for where they live; (3) three meeting centres provide

low-threshold meeting opportunities for residents; (4) the city square development department offers children and young adults opportunities to take part in sports and games at various squares throughout the city; (5) four canvassing programmes accompany large infrastructure works in the city; (6) seven projects in different neighbourhoods work on improving community relations; (7) coordinating external partners.

Intercultural events and festivities

These types of event have also been established to help encourage better community relations. Amsterdam has initiated the multicultural 'Waterfall Festival' in the park area around Sloterplas Lake; in 2006, the celebrations included an open-air Turkish film festival and a Moroccan dance party. The 'Kwakoe Festival' in the Bijlmermeer area of Amsterdam is another example of such a project.

Amsterdam: Kwakoe Festival

Cultural activities in the Bijlmermeer district of Amsterdam in the past often had a multicultural character. Of these, the Kwakoe Festival is the most famous. The festival was first held in 1975 as a football competition for boys who did not go on holiday during the six weeks of the summer holiday period. As it attracted people from the neighbourhood, the festival has always had a multicultural and particularly Surinamese character. The football competition was accompanied by a festival atmosphere with tropical food stands and music, and thus the festival began to grow every year. In 2006, about one million visitors attended the festival in the Bijlmerpark over the six weeks of its duration. It is a colourful, exciting, informative and relaxed event offering a lot of fun activities.

Dublin City has also established an intercultural unit within the City Council. Its initiatives include educational demonstrations, developing cultural skills, and encouraging an understanding of history; activities range from a Senegalese/Irish storytelling and tradition-sharing project to a Volunteer English Language Training (VELT) programme. On 21 May, Dublin celebrates the international day for dialogue and interculturalism.

Intercultural housing

In communities with high levels of segregation, some cities have attempted to pursue integrative housing projects. These efforts are similar to what is known as 'mixed-income housing', but focus on diversifying neighbourhoods by ethnic or migrant background, rather than by income. Such 'intercultural housing' projects usually involve middle-class people from both the native population and established members of the migrant population.

> **Amsterdam: Intercultural housing**
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> In the Zuidoost and Nieuw West quarters of Amsterdam, attempts were made to adapt building plans specifically to certain ethnic groups. In addition, Dutch families were interested in moving into such buildings. In Zuidoost, one housing block is built in the form of a compound, as Surinamese and African inhabitants showed a preference to live like this.

Although the project size and impact is quite limited, they may still fulfil a relevant function for influencing the discourse on community relations in the city via the media and public events, representing a positive role model. For example, the '*Interkulturelles Wohnen*' Satzingerweg in the 21st district of Vienna contains 51 apartments and about 40% of these are occupied by households with a migrant background. The objective of such a model is to encourage integration by allowing migrants to develop strong community relationships with native Austrians. The project also received a significant amount of coverage in the local media.

Mediation of housing-related conflicts

Particularly in countries where no strong segregation exists and the municipal housing policy aims to allocate migrants among its social housing units, conflicts in relation to housing affairs such as the proper handling of rubbish, cleaning of communal facilities, noise and other typical neighbourhood conflicts often escalate if one party is of a migrant background. In order to prevent trouble in their housing units, the municipality, housing associations and housing companies employ mediators who could intervene in such situations. This is the case in areas of Frankfurt.

Frankfurt: Mediator pool

The Frankfurt Office for Multicultural Affairs (*Amt für multikulturelle Angelegenheiten*, AmkA) developed in 1996 a project to promote mediation within multi-ethnic quarters. The project is based on the direct input of members of the community who get involved and whose job it is to find solutions to 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, members of the community with various language and professional backgrounds are trained to become voluntary mediators. When the need arises, they are assigned as mediators free of charge. Depending on the kind of conflict, the mediator is chosen from a mediator pool. In 2000, about 50 members of the community had become active district mediators. The mediators are supported by the mediation centre within the AmkA, which is responsible for technical organisation, the processing of requests and the involvement of local authorities and institutions.

In Copenhagen and Stuttgart, the housing corporations employ experienced social workers and place them in an office next to the housing area for the purpose of carrying out community social work and taking charge of mediation activities. In Stuttgart, these social workers have a support team for intercultural mediation from the City Department of Integration Policy in cases of conflict or rental problems. Both Germans and non-Germans may address their problems to this team of individuals. The intercultural team comprises full-time and volunteer workers from various fields of social work. All of the volunteers have training in mediation and experience in working with people of different ethnic origin. The team members offer on-site assistance in the resolution of conflicts, and support the involved persons in finding a solution that is fair to both sides. In this way, intercultural mediation promotes cooperative coexistence and understanding in an international city.

Housing and personal security

Neighbourhood-oriented safety measures

On the one hand, some cities consider migrant-specific security issues as part of the general range of problems which law enforcement must address. On the other hand, many cities have initiated policies particularly designed to prevent criminal activity among migrant communities. Some cities have reacted to

perceived problematic neighbourhoods by increasing law enforcement, either through technology or human resources.

In Budapest, closed-circuit television (CCTV) cameras were installed in its problematic Estate Havana in the 18th district of the city, covering 95% of its territory. Although the subjective feeling of higher personal security in the estate has increased – in notable contrast to the observed effect of such a development in Antwerp – it is too early to tell whether the technology has had a noticeable effect on crime rates, and whether it has primarily shifted the problems to unwatched areas.

In the Osdorp district of Amsterdam, security efforts have focused on increasing the number and improving the training of police officers. Greater cooperation has been developed between the neighbourhood safety coordinator (a police officer designated specifically for this neighbourhood), caretakers in the new complex, and some social workers for young people. This measure has helped to keep anti-social behaviour under control. Another example of the neighbourhood police officer can be found in the case of Breda.

> **Breda: Neighbourhood police officer**
> The role of a specific neighbourhood police officer in Breda has been extended in recent years. The work of the police officer is more preventive and social than it traditionally was. The officer spends a lot more time on the streets, often on a bicycle, and has to have good contacts with inhabitants and organisations, both formal and informal. In this way, the police officer gets to know the people of the neighbourhood and vice versa. The officer can provide information to citizens when required, but should also intervene if necessary in more serious situations. Within the neighbourhood, meetings take place between schools, the police, the municipality and social workers to discuss problems and possible solutions.

Community-oriented safety measures
Other cities have attempted to take more community-oriented approaches to discouraging criminality. SSP Copenhagen is a local policy initiative uniting schools, social services and the police with the aim of preventing juvenile crime. More than 270 teachers, youth club workers, police officers, social workers, librarians and employees from other cultural institutions are organised in 15 local groups in the municipality of Copenhagen, each with an individual coordinating committee. The police not only visit schools in order

to build trusting relations with students, but also make home visits to families with troubled youths. The prize-winning Moroccan 'neighbourhood fathers' project run by the Al Mawadda Foundation in Amsterdam has also helped to reduce crime and anti-social behaviour in troubled areas of the city. Moroccan fathers from these neighbourhoods supervise town squares frequented by young Moroccan troublemakers; where necessary, the fathers use strong language to discourage criminal behaviour.

Improving the relationship with the police

The second aspect of policy efforts involves the relationship between migrant communities and the police. Several cities have established coordinated efforts between city officials, law enforcement officers and migrants to improve relationships. For example, local police officers have been designated to operate in some neighbourhoods of Turku; the programme not only aims to increase the sense of security for inhabitants of these areas, but also aims to ensure that there is no conflict between the efforts to improve safety and the city's wider integration programmes.

Turku: Policing of neighbourhoods

In some neighbourhoods of Turku, a 'local police force' has been instated that operates specifically in one neighbourhood and should build good relations with the residents. This initiative is carried out within the framework of the city's safety campaign which aims to increase a sense of security among inhabitants. One of the target areas for this project is the Halinen neighbourhood. Clashes between the safety campaign and the integration programme can be avoided through careful planning.

In Frankfurt, a project called 'Police and migrants in dialogue' aims to improve the level of understanding between immigrants and the police, thus breaking down mutual stereotypes. Workshops and organised discussions have helped the police to acquire knowledge of the various migrant groups in the city, and have opened new communication channels for migrants to express their concerns to police.

Frankfurt: Police and migrants in dialogue

Since 1997, the AmkA in Frankfurt has been running a project called 'Police and migrants in dialogue'. This project arose from a long-lasting collaboration between the AmkA, Frankfurt's police headquarters and the Wiesbaden Police Academy, and aims to create 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. Moreover, foreign participants should get to know the structures and tasks of the German police. In this way, in conflict situations, individuals should be able to communicate to individuals of the same nationality information necessary for clarifying potential problems.

A common theme in these types of programmes is the acknowledgment that personal security is not solely a police matter, but affects the community as a whole. The initiative 'Stuttgart's partnership for safety and security of police, the municipality and the citizens' was created in 1997 as a crime prevention mechanism. In addition to training 'prevention police officers' and engaging in juvenile delinquency programmes, the initiative has made a concerted effort to incorporate Muslims into these activities. The 'Joint Federal and State Programme for Crime Prevention by the Police' provides guidelines to encourage cooperation between the police and mosque directors. Some cities have also made an effort to ensure that migrant populations themselves feel secure. In Sefton, a system for hate crime reporting has been established through the city's Equality Partnership, with over 50 reporting centres as well as online facilities available. The partnership has taken an expansive approach to defining hate crimes, going beyond traditional criteria to include race, disability crimes and bullying.

Integrated measures for personal security

Finally, several cities have adopted more integrated approaches to improving personal security. Antwerp's Neighbourhood Direction programme identifies neighbourhoods with anti-social behaviour problems, taking account of a variety of potential sources of insecurity from nuisance behaviour to intercultural relations problems. Relying on networking and coordination systems of the relevant actors, neighbourhood directors design programmes, projects and initiatives to target the particular problems identified in the neighbourhood. In areas of Frankfurt with frequent neighbourhood conflicts,

several housing associations have endeavoured to reduce the level of tension. In addition to making social workers and counsellors available, as well as encouraging community cooperation, the associations have cooperated with police and voluntary organisations to organise roundtable discussions in areas of conflict. Security officers have also been hired, a third of whom come from the migrant community itself.

Empowerment measures

Empowerment measures refer to initiatives which aim to mobilise and empower residents in a specific neighbourhood. Such measures support socialisation processes of children and young people, improving people's health, assisting in attaining qualifications and enabling them to participate in the social and political process of the urban society.

General neighbourhood-based empowerment measures

The city of Breda, for example, implements a measure which motivates residents of problematic neighbourhoods to get involved in programmes to help the community. The intention is to take care of all kinds of small improvements and repairs in the neighbourhood and to encourage unemployed inhabitants to do socially productive work. Unemployed residents are invited to the project office on the square beside the shopping mall in an effort to draw up an individual plan. Common problems faced by unemployed people in the Noordoost area of Breda are language proficiency, single motherhood, low levels of education, problems with raising children, as well as financial and health problems. According to the project leader, a 'culture of welfare' exists among some groups. These immigrant groups attained this culture of receiving welfare from lower-class Dutch people living in the neighbourhood. The project office tries to identify individuals' problems and encourages them to do something to improve their life. If knowledge of the Dutch language is limited, language training is offered.

Breda: Project proposal contest
In the Heuvel neighbourhood of Breda, the participation of the inhabitants is encouraged by asking them to present plans for the neighbourhood. The best plan is selected in a neighbourhood election that takes place in one of the public squares and is granted a subsidy of maximum €10,000. This initiative has been going on for a number of years and the result is that many plans have been

implemented, for instance a teahouse organised by Turkish and Moroccan ladies serving meals once a month to inhabitants of the neighbourhood. Among the migrant community, the women in Heuvel have turned out to be the driving force in neighbourhood participation. A stable group of individuals has developed that is willing to talk and cooperate with housing corporations and local administration on neighbourhood development. Since these individuals are in contact with less active Turkish and Moroccan women, involvement in the initiative is increasing.

Breda offers migrants the possibility of further training. In a situation where the lack of childcare options is stopping women from getting or keeping a job, an affordable solution is sought. Besides the direct usefulness of work, the social aspects are also considered important. For instance, the number of people who get to know each other in the neighbourhood increases, the feeling of responsibility and the social coherence increases, and the number of inhabitants feeling isolated and excluded decreases.

In Terrassa, an interesting integration approach has been developed within the civil society: local associations of property owners have become relatively active in relation to various measures. All apartment buildings have an owners' association which is an important part of the social capital of the Spanish city; these owners' associations are mandatory by state law and have often considerable influence in a neighbourhood, sometimes being relevant also in terms of aspects affecting the district or the city as a whole. A large percentage of the houses in Terrassa are privately owned, and since immigrants have also started to buy homes, an unexpected development among the associations occurred. These associations play a relevant role in communicating with immigrants who own dwellings in their property. In apartment buildings owned by housing companies, such owners' associations would not be necessary, and all the exchange of communication on how to live together would not take place. An advantage that should not be underestimated in this case is that such associations take care of many of the integration issues, which would otherwise never be discussed. Owners know each other and tend to interfere when their interests are at risk. Owners' associations not only take care of common repairs to the buildings they own, but also organise social events which immigrants become involved in as a result of expanding relations.

Specific empowerment measures targeting vulnerable groups

Target groups of empowerment measures found in the CLIP city case studies have been children and women. For example, in Izmir, the 'Sister, Brother and Young Children' initiative is an ambitious volunteer project with several hundred participants: 500 students – so-called 'sisters' and 'brothers' – will regularly meet 300 young children from a disadvantaged socioeconomic background, among them Turkish children of Roma or Kurdish ethnicity from certain neighbourhoods. The sessions with the children will take place in the children's neighbourhood: several 'leader families' with or without own children open their private house for the 'sisters, brothers and young children'. The children in need as well as the leader families were found through a process of recommendation and mediation by 95 mukhtars – elected heads of a neighbourhood – involved in the project as well as by activities of local associations and clubs such as women's or Roma organisations. The core idea behind the project is to have the students acting as role models for language, behaviour, hygiene as well as concerning education, training and literacy. The aim of this project is twofold: on the one hand, it aims to improve the situation of socioeconomically disadvantaged children. On the other hand, it aims to make students more sensitive to the living conditions and problems of disadvantaged groups within the city of Izmir and hence to raise their consciousness and awareness of the city and its population as a whole.

Vienna: Empowerment Schoepfwerk

The Viennese project 'Empowerment Schoepfwerk' has been developed with residents to find ways of directly improving their quality of life. In the course of the project, the persons concerned learned to take their own initiative. As a result, specific tasks were defined: (1) transferring competencies from administration to residents – downsizing of democracy; (2) overcoming residents' passivity and frustration – residents assume responsibility; (3) improving the estate's image. The groups involved in the initiative used several of the following methods to achieve their goals: moderation, mediation, interviews with experts, media, group work, campaigns, supervision and documentation. Residents were put in charge of solving their problems with the help of educational measures, contacts with experts and decision-makers on the political level, and were supported in finding necessary resources such as premises, consultancy services or media contacts, all of which empowered them to become active on their own. Most of the work was carried out by the residents who worked on a voluntary basis.

> **Amsterdam: Centre for migrant women**
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> Amsterdam's urban district of Bos and Lommer has set up a Mother and Child Centre in the Kolenkit neighbourhood, which is the poorest area of Amsterdam. Nearly half of the children in this neighbourhood grow up in minimum income families. It is a region full of newly-arrived Turkish and Moroccan women. The centre gives Dutch language training and offers childcare facilities for immigrant women. According to the organisers of the project, 400 women – mainly Turkish and Moroccan – visit the centre every week, with nearly half of this number attending language courses. A smaller group of women have taken things one step further by becoming active as a volunteer in the centre or in one of the primary schools in the area. The most ambitious women have become part of a counselling group helping people to find a job.

Concluding remarks

Within the various types of measures improving the social environment of housing areas, those which aim to improve community relations, in particular among migrants and minority groups, seem to have the broadest potential effects for the city in general.

With regard to security-related measures, a wide variety of personal security programmes have been enacted in CLIP member cities to help improve the security of native-born citizens and migrants alike, and on the whole their effects appear to be positive. Many cities have begun to encourage direct migrant participation in these efforts. It should be noted that, at least in terms of the data available here (and admittedly this was not a point focused on in the surveys administered to cities), most CLIP cities have not implemented policies to address hate crimes and violence against migrants. It is hoped that the reason for the non-implementation of these policies is due to the fact that such violence is rare; however, if this is not the case, hate crime prevention may be an area worthy of further consideration by the cities.

In the field of human relations and mediation, many CLIP cities supported housing-related mediation programmes, either organised by a municipal institution, or often implemented by specific services of housing associations. An important aspect of those programmes which seem to be successful is the involvement of migrants, as well as highly relevant and adequate training, supervision and institutional support for these mediators. Such programmes

usually have to be built up over a considerable period of time in order to be effective and sustainable. In its ideal form, cities will develop a pool of trained and experienced mediators like the AmkA in Frankfurt.

Cities should also consider that migrants have their own resources and strengths which could be mobilised by empowerment initiatives. These measures may counterbalance tendencies to view migrants and minority groups primarily as recipients of welfare benefits and other services.

Housing and governance issues

Challenges and policies

Governance issues in cities relate to the kind and quality of administration of urban affairs and the quality of political leadership. An important governance challenge is the administration of information and planning for municipal governments. Some of the CLIP cities have a long history of immigration and integration issues, while other cities have only been dealing with quite recent immigration. The former group of cities tends to have data and information systems on the integration of migrants set up as a result of their own municipal statistics and special studies commissioned from research institutes. The cities dealing with more recent immigration trends tend to lack basic information on migration and the situation of their migrants. These cities do not have the vital information necessary for any kind of integration and, in particular, housing policies: no data is available on how many migrants are in the city, where they come from, where they live, how they live and if they have brought their families with them.

Sefton is an example of a city in this situation; it is a local authority area in the UK which covers two major cities. Although being part of a country with a long history of immigration, Sefton has only recently experienced immigration. The city authorities report that 'now officials are faced with a situation that is to a large extent based on anecdotal evidence. It is difficult to build a housing strategy on such grounds…the council is entering new territory and many things have to be thought through and done for the first time with few resources and partial experience to draw on'.

A situation like this can be characterised as an information-planning challenge. An information-planning challenge is defined by a lack of essential data on the immigration situation which could form the basis for a policy intervention.

However, there is also another governance challenge related to the organisational structure of the municipal administration. The integration of migrants can be considered as a cross-cutting task which involves many administrative departments, including those dealing with housing issues. Traditionally, horizontal cooperation among departments within a city administration is often limited, and the coordination of integration measures across several of the departments involved may constitute a challenge in itself. Unless the small size of the city, in Arnsberg for instance, allows for an informal functioning of such coordination, organisational provisions will be necessary for effective cross-departmental cooperation in the integration of migrants.

The CLIP cities have developed various policies to deal with both governance challenges. Large cities with a long tradition of integration policies acknowledged the importance of data collection, analysis and monitoring by creating groups within their statistical departments to draw information from findings of external expertise as in the case of Amsterdam. Cities that do not yet have such resources at hand are starting to systematically collect information on integration-related issues.

Another aspect of governance is related to the degree to which the political leaders, the city administration and parts of the civil society are motivated in relation to migrant integration. In some cities such as Sefton and Terrassa, the integration of migrants became a new topic on the local agenda. As a result, this challenge engaged members of the administration or encouraged citizens to initiate support activities. This bottom-up route of mobilisation is often the starting point for a more systematic development of local integration policies in general and in the area of housing in particular. This process may also happen from the higher ranks of administration down to the level of citizens. In Stuttgart, for example, the Lord Mayor of the city decided to make local integration policies a priority. The mayor's decision to put the issue on the municipal agenda, to promote activities in this field and to set up a Department of Integration Policy started a mobilisation process within the municipal administration and among cooperating NGOs, offering opportunities and approving the activities of committed individuals.

Regarding the administrative structures, the policies introduced vary considerably. Some cities, as is the case in Stuttgart, assigned to a group of staff reporting to the Lord Mayor the task of defining policies, while other cities created their own departments for migrant integration. One alternative to such

structures is to organise inter-departmental coordination workgroups on integration. Each of the three types of administrative structure has its advantages and disadvantages.

■ A group of staff answering to the Lord Mayor usually is sufficiently legitimate and has the political backing to perform its function. However, the group's activities may be hampered by the lack of established working relations with the various departments responsible for general aspects of the areas relevant to migrant integration, ranging from housing, city planning, social affairs, economic planning, youth, education and enforcement to staff management. As it is not part of the regular administrative structure, members of the group may be perceived as outsiders and may find it difficult to build up sufficient cooperation within the administration.

■ A department for integration affairs can have sufficient resources and a clear political mandate, and be on the same level as other departments in the city administration. The latter aspect makes cooperation with other departments easier since integration policies become part of the established administrative structure. For the functioning of such cooperation, however, all administrative departments are formally obliged to suitably inform and to involve this department in matters which may affect integration-related issues.

■ Horizontal working groups have the advantage that their participants already work in the respective administrative departments and usually have a good command of knowledge about the functioning and the administrative processes in their field of work. Although the various departments have officers committed to local integration policies, the workgroup may encounter problems when introducing its proceedings and findings to their department due to a lack of support from superiors. Since this approach is more dependent on individual commitments, relevant departments may not be represented on the workgroup or staff changes may hamper the sustainability of this approach.

Another aspect of governance is related to the external relations of the city administration. Since the issue of housing is to a large extent influenced by external actors on the housing market, coordination and joint project activities with these actors present another governance challenge that will have a significant influence on the success of housing policies. In this regard, external

actors include housing associations, homeowners, migrant associations, construction and real estate development companies, as well as regional and national organisations relevant to the local housing market.

Measures

Data gathering and monitoring

In cities with a young immigration trend such as those in southern or central Europe, administrative official statistics on the integration of migrants for policy planning are not available. In these cities, local studies are implemented or commissioned in order to enable good governance in this policy field. An example from a western European country is the social plan project in Luxembourg. The social plan of the city of Luxembourg is a project that began in January 2007 and is funded by the city. It aims to establish a kind of social atlas of the city. It is put into practice in close cooperation with the National Youth Service in Luxembourg. The University of Trier, the Centre for Population, Poverty and Socioeconomic Policy Studies (*Centre d'Études de Populations, de Pauvreté et de Politiques Socio-Economiques*)/International Networks for Studies in Technology, Environment, Alternatives, Development (CEPS/INSTEAD), the FOREG Institute for Social Research (*Institut für Regionale Sozialforschung*) and a regional office for social planning are in charge of the project. The project aims to define the situation of inhabitants and in particular of families in the city with children, and to identify the problems particularly related to housing. In effect, through the social plan, policy recommendations for city can be defined. The project has a three-level approach which includes research, expert interviews and a youth forum. This study could be a starting point for better integration and housing policies at the local level since, as a general measure, it also covers the resident population with a migrant background.

> **Zagreb: Study on the Roma community**
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> The Zagreb city government established a committee for the implementation of a city programme for the improvement of an area inhabited by a Roma population. The committee needs to coordinate activities for the preparation, construction and evaluation of feasibility studies, to find suitable locations for temporary housing and to create a plan and programme for the emergency communal arrangement of particular locations according to the city programme. For that purpose, the study carried out on the Roma minority group

in 2004–2005 will be reissued. The results of the new study shall provide the basis of concrete measures for enhancing the integration of Roma people in the city. In consideration of the fundamental problems the Roma minority has to deal with, conceivable measures would have to follow a comprehensive strategy.

Institutional and structural provisions

Integration of migrants is a cross-cutting policy field, which requires good cooperation and coordination among various actors within the municipal administration. With regard to the housing and integration of migrants, cooperation is required between the various departments responsible for municipal real estate and housing, social affairs, youth and families, justice and enforcement, and social work. In many cities, a small group of staff reporting to the mayor of the city is in charge of coordinating efforts of cooperation among these actors; other cities set up a specific department within the administration dedicated to the integration of migrants with a cross-cutting responsibility, as happened in Frankfurt.

Dublin: Ethnic and cultural diversity in housing

The Irish Centre for Housing Research developed guidelines for regeneration, which list a number of potential social problems, including crime, health, and education; however minority and migrant-specific issues are not yet acknowledged. In 2007, the centre undertook a programme entitled 'Housing ethnic and cultural diversity', commissioned by the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (NCCRI). This programme involves consultative research on the possible implications of greater cultural and ethnic diversity for housing, including all social and private housing. A report will be compiled contrasting urban examples such as Dublin City with rural areas such as Ennis in County Clare in southwestern Ireland. This will act as more of a scoping document, which will aim to instigate further research on the topic. A Social Inclusion Unit is also in the middle of a type of 'neighbourhood audit'; this audit will involve visits to each of the five areas of Dublin City and investigations into which kind of cultural groups are present, and whether or not migrant issues are prominent. The overall objective is to support Dublin City in better integrating these groups into broader city initiatives.

Amsterdam provides an example of the involvement of internal expertise as well as external experts in governing procedures. In this case, the data available on housing developments for migrants are of high quality and have been gathered for a long time. The statistical office of Amsterdam (*Dienst Onderzoek en Statistiek*, O+S), monitors all developments in relation to the population and the housing availability. O+S publishes a lot of information related to migrants and local integration in the yearly publication 'Amsterdam in figures'. The central council of Amsterdam has been advised since 2004 by the Diversity and Integration Advisory Board (*Adviesraad Diversiteit en Integratie*). This board is chaired by a member of the board of the University of Amsterdam and brings together nine experts from different fields. The board publishes four documents a year, some of which are produced at the request of the city councillor who may ask for advice on a certain topic or are based on a topic that the board itself considers important. The board also carries out investigative work, for instance by gathering school directors or mothers together to find out how primary schools function.

A good example of cooperation with external actors is found in the case of Marseille as several policies are already in place like those relating to the city contracts or the large city projects (*grands projets de ville*). The city contract is a seven-year agreement between the state and local authorities. Each partner has to implement concrete and concerted measures that improve the daily life of the inhabitants of deprived neighbourhoods and that prevent the risk of social or urban exclusion. The measures can be implemented at the city or neighbourhood level, or between several associated municipalities.

Marseille: Ethnic and cultural diversity in housing

The OPAH (*Opérations Programmées d'Amélioration de l'Habitat*) project is an incentive process for the rehabilitation of old run-down private housing units. The project is based on the voluntary participation of landlords who can benefit from financial incentives for the renovation of these buildings. It is organised in partnership with the city administration, the state, the National Agency for the Improvement of Housing (*Agence Nationale pour l'Amélioration de l'Habitat*, ANAH) and other partners such as the regional administration or the respective national government department.

Comprehensive approach

Copenhagen's approach to housing is driven by a desire to combat social, ethnic and discriminatory segregation, although it is expressed in socioeconomic terms rather than in relation to migrants and minority groups. Measures to prevent the intensification of segregation have already been taken in the early planning stages. These measures are a mix of strategies which are not merely segregation-oriented but also aim to: create work opportunities; to improve communication between minority groups as well as participation and opportunities for interaction; to improve the attractiveness of segregated areas; and to support social networks.

> **Copenhagen: Comprehensive approach**
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> The housing corporation in Copenhagen employs an experienced social worker located in an office situated close to the neighbourhood for the purpose of carrying out social work in the neighbourhood. The social worker's tasks include: (1) contacting and cooperating with various organisations within the wider community; (2) activating, organising and assisting young people living in the particular housing area; (3) mediation work with employers to find jobs for residents; (4) monitoring and activating internal organisation in the area.

Concluding remarks on governance

In many CLIP cities, statistical and administrative departments are not yet considering migration and integration data as relevant for targeting planning and governance. Although the demand for such data seems to be clearly realised in most cities, the development of feasible and valid indicators for the areas of migration and integration is a difficult task, which requires considerable effort and expertise. A good approach would be to involve external experts on these issues to begin cooperating at an early stage with statistical specialists of the municipal administration. Even cities with a reporting system in place and those with a lot of experience in migration issues such as Amsterdam seem to find this approach necessary. Another possibility for tackling housing-related problems, on which the municipality has only limited influence, is improving cooperation with other agencies at local level such as fire, health or gas authorities in sharing information and taking joint action in relation to initiatives.

The choice of administrative structures for the governance of local integration affairs is strongly path dependent. It has to consider the local political power structure, administrative traditions and regional and national financial or legal frameworks. Thus, the further development of governance in local integration policies cannot follow a general recommendation, but has to be carefully designed considering these specific factors. For the area of housing in particular, local governance has to involve various other actors outside the municipal administration in its projects and measures to be able to generate effective results.

One striking finding to emerge from the analysis of the CLIP city case studies is the frequent lack of monitoring and evaluation provisions. In a few cases, systematic information has been made available about the efficiency and the outcome of the measures defined and implemented. Overall, very few measures have been evaluated, and monitoring provisions for integration processes are also usually non-existent. For most measures, it has been difficult to gather data on their actual significance in terms of numbers and effects on the target group, not to mention data about cost–benefit relations. Such information could play an important role in the selection of measures for local policies, avoid the risk of introducing mere symbolic policies in this field, and contribute to the necessary political support for long-term engagement in this area, which is becoming increasingly critical in terms of the social cohesion and economic development of Europe's cities.

2 – Quantitative overview of local policies and measures

For the analysis of the case studies, a differentiation was made between the city's housing policies and the concrete measures introduced. Although it has been possible in many case studies to identify general challenges, no detailed information on perceived challenges in the cities has been collected.

With regard to measures, it should be considered when interpreting the quantitative data that the quantitative distribution among the various types of measures does not provide any information about the significance and the extent of the measure. The quantitative distribution across the categories neither expresses the quality of the measure, nor does it reflect the resources mobilised for it. A quantitative analysis for the significance of the categories would have required a systematic weighting of each case and the computing of indices. Within the CLIP project, such methodology would have substantially exceeded the given scope of the applied research. The computation of frequencies of policies and measures thus allows only for a superficial overview.

Local policies

Policies are understood as officially formulated goals and strategic decisions of a general character with regard to housing in general and the housing of migrants and minority groups in particular. Local policies are reflected in council decisions, policy declarations and official housing or urban development plans. Moreover, they may implement the national and regional framework for these policy fields, use opportunities and funding provided by these levels, may act independently or may constitute a distancing from or opposition to national and regional policies.

With regard to the quantitative distribution of local policies, 36 specifically formulated policies were counted within the 20 case studies of the CLIP project. Table 2 outlines the distribution across the case studies of the six main dimensions chosen for the analysis of the CLIP case studies.

Table 2: Distribution of policies across dimensions used in case study analyses

Target dimension of the policy	Frequency among 20 case studies
Segregation	10
Affordability and supply of housing	7
Physical condition of housing	6
Social environment of housing	6
Access to housing	4
Governance issues of housing and migrant integration	3

Source: Case studies from CLIP housing project, 2007

It is not surprising therefore, when considering the public discourse on housing and integration, that most policies deal with segregation-related issues in an effort to reduce the extent of segregation and/or to reduce its negative effects. These policies are followed by other policies to improve the affordability and supply of housing, and to enhance the physical conditions and the social environment of housing. In comparison with the previous four policy dimensions, local policies that improve access to affordable and decent housing and governance issues seem to be of less quantitative importance.

About two thirds (64%) of the official policies are universal policies, affecting both migrants and the general population, while only about one third are policies targeting migrant or minority groups within the city. The wider use of universal policies seems to indicate the interest of many local policymakers in avoiding an advantage for low-income migrant groups in comparison with the low-income native population. The scarcity of affordable and good quality housing in many cities creates significant competition between migrant and native low-income groups, which should not be exacerbated from the point of view of many local policymakers.

Measures implemented

Measures introduced are understood as the concrete implementation of general policies in the cities through initiatives and projects. These measures may directly result from official policies, but they may also and often do implement new approaches and concepts developed pragmatically, taking a bottom-up

approach to deal with imminent challenges arising in growing cities. Finally, they may constitute a compromise for involving the various relevant actors at local level, of which many can be influenced only indirectly by municipal policy.

The measures identified in the case studies were analysed and grouped according to their main dimension and specific approach. A considerable proportion of measures, however, relates to two or more approaches and goals simultaneously. These measures will be described under their main category.

Table 3 shows the distribution of a total of 164 measures that could be identified within the CLIP project on housing.

Table 3: Distribution of measures identified in case study analyses

Type of measure	Frequency among 20 case studies
Urban renewal	25
Community relations	21
Affordability and supply of housing	18
Empowerment approaches	17
Neighbourhood safety	13
Mediation and human relations	12
Reducing segregation	12
Counselling	11
Improving quality of housing	10
Improving access to housing	9
Improvement of the neighbourhood image	5
Information gathering	5
Coordination	2
Improvement of the local environment	2

Source: Case studies from CLIP housing project, 2007

Activities related to urban renewal are the most important single policy measure within the 20 cities involved in the CLIP research on housing. First,

this reflects the combined importance of the objectives to reduce spatial segregation and to improve the physical conditions of housing. Secondly, it seems to indicate the preference of local policymakers for using a more integrated approach. The next prominent category, 'community relations' with a frequency of 21, may also be understood as measures to reduce negative effects of existing segregation, but the measures consider the segregation aspect only in a peripheral manner as previously discussed. Explicit policy measures to reduce the negative effects of segregation have a medium-sized frequency of 12.

Targeted initiatives to improve the social integration and interaction via specific local measures are not top of the list of local policymakers, although these are relatively prominent. 'Improving community relations' takes second place, while 'measures of empowerment' appear as the fourth most popular measure with a frequency of 17, followed by activities related to mediation and human relations in sixth position with a frequency of 12 and counselling services around housing issues taking eighth place with a frequency of 11.

Governance issues, however, are considered less important according to the quantitative CLIP results. Two categories of measures have been identified that are highly relevant for the improvement of the housing situation of migrants and minority groups: 'information gathering' with a frequency of 5 through studies and data collection, as well as 'coordination measures' with a low frequency of 2.

Measures to improve personal safety in the neighbourhood fall into fifth position with a frequency of 13. This is not surprising considering the strength of public opinion on this issue.

A majority of 70% of the initiatives are general measures, addressed to the neighbourhood or city population in general, and do not consider migration or minority status in particular. They may, however, target certain sectors or groups of the population such as low-income groups and unemployed people, or families with children. About 30% of the measures target specific groups defined by their migration or minority status such as newcomers, resident migrants, refugees or members of the Roma community.

3 – Conclusions and recommendations

From an individual's perspective, decent and affordable housing is a high priority for people in European societies. Research results prove that having satisfactory accommodation is generally regarded as one of the most important human needs. Together with having a good job and a satisfactory family life, living in adequate accommodation is regarded as the most necessary prerequisite for a good and reasonable quality of life. This general observation also holds true for residents with a migrant or ethnic minority background.

From the wider perspective of the society or community at large, housing for residents with a migrant background is an important area of action and policy, since their housing is a crucial factor for the structural integration of individuals and groups.

However, migrant groups are often in a vulnerable position on the local housing market, often occupying areas of the city which are shared with indigenous but vulnerable groups such as households with a weak socioeconomic position, a dependency on welfare payments or with large families, possibly resulting in competition among these groups for scarce resources. These developments entail the risk of the 'ethnicisation' of such competition, possibly resulting in serious conflicts that may threaten social cohesion. Thus, housing policies for migrants and minority groups are of vital importance not only for the target groups themselves, but also in relation to the quality of housing for the general population of the areas in question and the local society as a whole. Social cohesion and the prevention of conflict in residential areas is an important factor for the quality of housing in particular, and quality of life in general.

Housing policies may tend to affect third-country nationals more than EU citizens resident in another EU Member State, because the former group has a higher proportion of vulnerable individuals and families. However, housing policies are still important for supporting a higher level of mobility within the EU and make freedom of movement a reality. This premise is confirmed in the recent reports on the problematic housing situation of migrants, who came from the 12 new Member States that joined the EU in 2004 and 2007 to live in some of the former EU15 Member States, such as the Netherlands and the UK.

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The empirical data collected in the 20 cities involved in the housing module have made it clear that the situations that should be addressed in both national policies and in local policies are very diverse. On the whole, this difference derives from two sources.

First, the institutional settings in the cities concerned are extremely diverse: local housing markets differ in terms of the age of buildings, home ownership, location and quality, but also in accordance with the degree of scarcity of certain types of housing and the competition for it; the instruments available to local policymakers for building, allocation and improvement of housing also differ markedly, partly due to the given structural characteristics of markets, to national regulations for building, improvement and allocation of housing, as well as to choices made at local level.

The second source of diversity is associated with immigrants or minority groups themselves, in terms of demographics, socioeconomic situation, linguistic skills, culture and religion. Although, in this regard, selective perception makes the migrants that conform to the problematic migrant image more visible. Such differences among immigrants have immediate consequences in terms of whether or not they fit in easily within the existing housing system; they may also influence the dynamics of living together and social cohesion in residential areas where they settle.

Even if an attempt is made to distinguish certain patterns in cities as to the aforementioned institutional characteristics, or patterns related to the characteristics of migrant residents themselves, the level of diversity remains striking. Further diversity may emerge after migrant groups have gained initial access to housing: this may happen in a situation where the residential concentration of certain groups of immigrants coincides with social segregation, or with already existing general tendencies of decline in certain sectors of the housing market or in certain areas.

A general conclusion therefore is that any policy based on the principle of 'one size fits all' is bound to fail. Tailor-made solutions are required, based on a clear analysis of the local situation and taking specific aspects into account. It is primarily the cities and local communities which face the task of developing these tailor-made solutions. The EU and its Member States can and should offer support for this task in those areas listed below.

Recommendations to European policymakers

Although the EU has no formal competence in housing under the EU Treaty, its competence for policies related to the free movement of persons and the prevention of discrimination should be applied in the area of housing. The Council of Europe has also been contributing to the discussion on housing policies in Europe and should continue to do so. The following sections discuss specific recommendations to policymakers at the European level.

Support networking among cities and dialogue with European policymakers

The EU and the Council of Europe should support the networking of cities at European level and should also include municipal administrations as stakeholders in the further development of European policies on housing and the integration of migrants. It is recommended that these bodies:

- continue activities like the creation of a Social Platform on Cities and Social Cohesion by the Directorate-General (DG) responsible for science, research and development;

- develop further the cooperation of the DG Justice, Freedom and Security with Eurocities through the organisation of an annual conference on local experience on the integration of migrants in cities;

- provide adequate participation of representatives of European cities in the European Commission's planned European Integration Forum;

- continue activities on the integration of migrants and housing in the remit of the European Economic and Social Committee (EESC) and the Committee of the Regions. A recent example is the EESC's own initiative opinion on 'Immigration in the EU and integration policies: cooperation between regional and local governments and civil society organisations';

- support the maintenance of existing city networks initiated by agencies of the European Union, such as the City network against Racism of the Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA) and the Foundation's CLIP network;

- continue the dialogue of the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities in the Council of Europe with European cities on social inclusion issues and the role of good practice of integrating migrants into the local housing market.

Initiate and finance relevant research programmes

Another important area of activities for European organisations is to initiate relevant research programmes on the integration of migrants and housing. In relation to these issues, it is suggested to:

■ continue research programmes with DG Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities in the area of social exclusion and poverty with the objective of enhancing social cohesion. A good example in this respect is the recent research report on housing conditions of migrants;

■ initiate new research programmes on housing and migrants within the remit of activities of EU agencies such as the FRA and the Foundation.

Support cities as active bodies and stakeholders in the implementation of European programmes on integration of migrants

Integration of migrants is primarily related to integration into a local context. Thus, European policymakers should consider cities as active bodies and stakeholders in primary policy and thus stimulate and facilitate them to develop and implement policies. It is recommended to:

■ consider the use of the new Integration Fund for third-country migrants and encourage cities to apply for funds;

■ use the new PROGRESS programme of DG Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities and to mainstream the development of innovative programmes on the integration of migrants at the local level into the programme;

■ include the integration of migrants in general and integration into the local housing market in particular into the National Action Plans (NAP) for social inclusion;

■ raise and promote the awareness of regional and local policymakers for the relevance of local housing policies for the integration of migrants into European societies.

Reduce limitations on use of Structural Funds for renewal projects

The present limitation of European Structural Funds for housing to special target areas should be opened up if a direct link between the renewal project and the provision of decent and affordable housing for migrants is made plausible. In addition, existing infrastructure programmes at urban level – such

as the URBAN II project – should be continued or revised with a focus on the relevance of infrastructural improvements for the housing of migrants.

Integrate social housing into EU cohesion policy

The Council of Ministers of the European Union has given priority to combating social exclusion related to housing and for the first time has made social housing eligible in the new Member States for the 2007–2013 cohesion policy. The European Parliament has adopted a report on 'Housing policy and cohesion', committing itself to a 'European Declaration on Housing' based on the 'European Housing Charter' proposed by 65 members of the European Parliament (MEPs) within its intergroup on 'Urban Housing'. On this basis, it is recommended that available funds for social housing be used to improve the situation of low-wage earners including low-income groups of migrants.

Monitor the EU directive against racial discrimination

The effectiveness of the implementation of the EU Race Directive is under discussion in several Member States. It is suggested that the European Commission monitor whether this directive is being implemented effectively to protect migrants from discrimination on the grounds of their race in terms of access to housing. This may be an appropriate matter to be referred to the FRA by the Commission.

Recommendations to EU Member States

A policy of integration that offers perspectives

A local policy for integrating immigrants into the housing market must be integrated into a general policy of migration and integration. This national policy should clearly define the conditions for residence and, at an early stage, offer the prospect of residence to those immigrants entitled to stay on a long-term basis. Experience shows that uncertain situations of this kind lead to behaviour in which investment is divided: a relatively small amount is invested in accommodation in the receiving country and only accommodation of limited use is acquired in the country of origin. This situation is harmful as it deprives immigrants of badly needed financial resources. In this case, the Member States are called upon to:

■ continue the Tampere process that offers long-standing third-country nationals legal and social provisions and to consistently implement this process in the Member States;

■ offer prospects for residence to long-standing third-country nationals whose return to their home country is no longer likely or no longer possible; for example, in the case of tolerated asylum seekers.

Strengthening municipal scope of action

Measures to encourage integration that are related to the housing market need cities and communities to be financially empowered. Integration cannot be achieved without incurring costs since the integration of the migrant population into the housing market requires investment from public sources in one form or another. In this case, cities and communities should be allocated sufficient resources. National housing programmes should provide cities with more latitude to act in ways they deem appropriate to their local circumstances.

Systems of financial redistribution between the regions are of central importance for a financially empowered local level. Areas of urban agglomeration increasingly differ and frequently, financially secure middle and upper-class households are moving out of the city centres to the outskirts and beyond. It is there that they employ their spending power and the suburban communities then profit from this specific form of internal migration either directly via taxes and social contributions or indirectly via the flourishing economy. As a result, city centres are left with a growing catalogue of socio-political tasks and tend to have less financial means at their disposal. The EU Member States are thus called upon to:

■ create or strengthen a system of inter-regional (municipal) financial redistribution;

■ honour specific socio-political tasks of the cities in the case of financial redistribution, especially with regard to contributing to the integration of immigrants;

■ support applications by municipalities for financing housing-related projects within the framework of the structural funds or the European Integration Fund.

Establishing framework conditions for the long-term provision of housing

Housing markets are special markets: they 'trade' in 'goods', the production of which requires long phases of planning and construction, which are very durable and, for many people, the acquisition of which represents an important life decision. The power relationships in these markets are also asymmetrical.

People searching for accommodation outweigh the considerably smaller number of landlords and property sales agents. The behaviour of both groups in the market is also influenced by a different degree of urgency: those seeking housing need a roof over their heads while the landlords or sales agents can usually wait to sell or rent out their properties. Due to this asymmetrical relationship, it is advisable for public bodies to maintain their own controlled amount of accommodation alongside the free housing market. In this way, particularly vulnerable groups can be helped in finding accommodation. It is thus recommended to EU Member States to:

■ create legal framework conditions that allow the cities and communities to take an active role in the housing market, for example, as building contractors, landlords or property owners;

■ establish legal framework conditions that allow the cities and communities to introduce forms of rent control if this seems desirable from the perspective of urban planning, social considerations or economic concerns;

■ foster research into examples of good practice within the field of social housing and establish generic national guidelines for the functioning and management of social housing in the communities;

■ organise conditions for access to publicly-supported and organised housing in such a way that the prerequisites do not indirectly discriminate against migrants.

Supporting affordability

Measures to encourage integration related to the housing market should be based on a balanced mixture of offering subsidies for buildings and providing subsidies directly to people that result in reduced housing costs for vulnerable groups of the population or in specific parts of a city, thus increasing affordability of housing. Offering subsidies for buildings aims to reduce the market price for housing; this can be achieved by direct support for building contractors, for example, who have to be prepared to enter into certain obligations such as limiting the selling price or rent, or passing on distribution rights to public bodies. Subsidies allocated to individual buyers are aimed directly at the households seeking accommodation and involve measures such as monthly rent allowances, tax benefits or awarding a fixed subsidy amount.

A system of offering subsidies must in principle be aimed at both low-income indigenous and migrant groups. It would be counterproductive for the

integrative aims of a comprehensive housing policy if the system were directed solely at immigrants; nor would it promote general acceptance of such a policy. By establishing income limits, the measures could focus on the more vulnerable members of society. The status of 'migrant' or 'non-migrant' should be irrelevant. The national and local governments should ensure that the measures are formulated and agreed upon neutrally with respect to migration status. The EU Member States are called upon to:

- create legal provisions for offering subsidies for building work and subsidies going directly to households; however, accuracy in reaching the appropriate social group is critical in this process. Setting high income limits in the case of direct financial transfers or tax relief for investments aiming to create or preserve housing always result in a transfer effect from low-earners to those who earn more;

- use repayable funding such as low-interest loans within the framework of a closed circle of financing to buy new property or to renovate an existing property. This increases the robustness of such financing systems, even in times when public funds are scarce;

- link the provision of subsidies for buildings to social, ecological and planning objectives. Objects particularly worthy of support could be low or zero emissions houses, accommodation that is made available in a neglected or strongly segregated district, or inter-ethnic housing projects that encourage different migrant groups to live together;

- consider increased personal contributions as well as opportunities for financial support to be repaid in the form of unpaid work. Particularly for immigrants, who are often over-proportionally employed in the construction industry, this could be a way of increasing affordability of housing.

Curbing urban and local processes of devaluation

Housing has a strong impact on local social structures. The CLIP project provides some indications that the presence of affordable housing promotes the migration of foreign population groups who do not have the financial means at their disposal to afford other housing or locations. The concentration of immigrant population groups in relatively cheap districts of cities has, in turn, the self-perpetuating effect of property devaluation in these areas. The influx of migrants is accompanied by an exodus of native middle-class households. This leads to a loss in spending power, to low investment in the physical

structure of the city and thus to more devaluation. To prevent this devaluation requires a significant amount of publicly funded measures and investment to undertake countermeasures, whereby the effort and expenditure will be all the greater.

In concrete terms, the Member States are called upon to:

■ monitor systematically the socioeconomic development in regions, cities and districts in order to be able to implement countermeasures in time such as urban renewal projects;

■ act on urban renewal not against but with the market. Public funding should be used to initiate processes and encourage private investors to become involved by means of grants and increasing the attractiveness of the location; such financial incentives should however, be withdrawn if urban renewal takes place of its own accord;

■ accompany urban renewal and gentrification processes with state funding in such a way that they do not lead to cyclical 'overshooting', as this would lead to the local population being displaced and an increase in segregation. The social mix of the population should be acknowledged and preserved as a special quality.

Providing support for research and model projects

National policies should set out to facilitate general frameworks and guidelines. One of the primary aims of such policies should be to make instruments and resources available that legitimise and facilitate local policies and active bodies in their efforts to improve the housing of immigrants and ensure integration. For this, an increase is necessary in systematic and comparative research on the relative efficiency and effectiveness of policies and programmes relating to housing policy and their effects on integration processes. National and also European research programmes should devote increased attention to these questions, establish appropriate programmes and instigate model projects. In particular, model projects offer real opportunities on the local political level in relation to how integration policies with regard to housing can be implemented. The EU and its Member States are called upon to:

■ support systematic and comparative research on policies and programmes relating to housing policy and their effects on integration processes. National institutions should provide study and research results accessible to local policymakers, and should also ensure the proper consideration of

data and indicators relevant to migration and their integration in statistics and reports from national institutions;

■ support the development of local indicator systems to measure the actual extent of integration and the effectiveness and efficiency of local policies and programmes on housing conditions and segregation of migrants;

■ introduce national renewal programmes such as the '*Soziale Stadt*' in Germany or the '*Politique de la Ville*' in France, which develop ideas and assist local governments in implementing innovative measures;

■ provide national and European support for existing city networks that instigate systematically and scientifically controlled learning processes and exchange examples of best practice.

Improving 'good practice' in local governance

National policy frameworks and legislation in relation to housing are highly relevant to the implementation of local housing policies and measures – sometimes in a positive sense in that they stimulate and enable local policymakers to take action and sometimes in a negative sense in that they inhibit and delimit such local action. Nonetheless, it should be ensured that local governance structures are improved with respect to the participation of the groups of stakeholders and to their efficiency. Demands should be made for the following in particular:

■ national policy should promote the intercultural opening and diversity policies of national and local institutions. National policy should promote the improvement of cooperation and partnerships with local NGOs and welfare organisations, churches, local chambers of commerce, local trade unions, landlords' and tenants' associations, especially in the areas of housing, education and labour market access;

■ provide scope in national programmes for flexibility and spontaneity in local implementation; in this case, national programmes for housing improvement should avoid complex bureaucratic requirements and allow for flexible customisation to local needs. Efficiency should be ensured by carrying out evaluations instead of implementing rigid regulations;

■ support for preventive measures: in this regard, central government initiatives should promote preventive measures with regard to the

segregation of migrants. This includes support for the development of early warning systems of social and spatial indicators;

■ support for a culture of evaluation: national policy should encourage and support the evaluation of integration measures in general, and the effects of local housing policies on the integration of migrants and minority groups in particular;

■ support for anti-discrimination measures and monitoring. National policy should provide support and criteria for the effective monitoring of discrimination in the local housing markets and should support the implementation of anti-discrimination measures to improve matters.

Recommendations for local policymakers

The following recommendations for local policymakers bring together specific experiences made in various cities, as well as innovative ideas put forward in several cities within the CLIP network. In general, these recommendations are applicable to every European city. For the actual implementation of a measure or policy, the appropriate adaptation to local characteristics is, of course, a precondition for the success of an initiative.

The need for partnership and cross-departmental cooperation

Decent and affordable housing can be considered as one of the most important human needs and a prerequisite for a satisfactory quality of life. This observation holds also true for residents with migration or minority backgrounds. However, the housing situation of migrants differs from that of the national population: on average, migrants and ethnic minorities belong to the more vulnerable groups on the housing market. Of course, not all migrants belong to such vulnerable groups who suffer from poor housing conditions. Thus, migrants should not generally be seen as mere victims, who are unable to develop positive strategies, individually or collectively, to improve their housing situation. Typical challenges for migrants include a limited command of the language of the receiving country, a lower socioeconomic status, social exclusion, lack of knowledge of housing-related rights and responsibilities, as well as discrimination and exploitation on the housing market. Therefore, municipal housing policies must deal with the specific situation of migrants. This should neither be done solely within the scope of general housing policies nor be organised as a policy that is only directed towards migrants. Given the complex interrelation of policies targeting housing issues, the integration of

migrants and other municipal areas, an integrated, cross-departmental approach is strongly recommended. Such a regular interdisciplinary collaboration within the municipal administration should be accompanied by cooperation and partnerships with local bodies, such as NGOs, welfare organisations, churches, chamber of commerce, unions and associations representing landlords and tenants. The integrated approach should be reflected in the organisational structure of a city administration and be supported by provisions for a structured and efficient cooperation among the multiple actors involved, such as:

■ regular internal working groups between relevant departments of the local administration, including institutions dealing with issues in relation to housing, urban planning, social affairs and welfare, health, youth, integration and diversity, education and law enforcement;

■ regular round tables and meetings with external experts and representatives of civil society tackling housing and migrants' integration issues;

■ a central coordination unit within the local administration for an integration policy of migrants, consisting of staff with relevant competences; such a central coordination unit would be responsible for informing and being informed by all departments, participating in integration programmes and decision preparations;

■ development of a long-term local integration policy with a strong emphasis on an integrated and holistic approach to housing matters.

Measures for structural integration and the establishment of regular cooperation between the actors involved are expensive. Nevertheless, in the end, such investments do help to avoid substantial costs which may arise due to integration problems.

Obtain adequate information for planning
In order to plan and implement reasonable local integration policies in general and in relation to housing and segregation in particular, local policymakers and administrators need reliable, comprehensive and up-to-date information. As a rule of thumb, the scope and depth of local statistics should go beyond national statistics. Of particular interest is general information on migrants living in the city, such as the number of migrants, the age structure of the migrant population and typical household sizes, migrants' national and ethnic background, as well as their legal status. A city should not only deal with

foreign persons, but also consider individuals with a 'migrant background' as second- and third-generation migrants.

Furthermore, information on housing conditions and the spatial distribution of migrants is of special interest regarding local housing policies. Such data constitute the basis for adequate measures and are indispensable for the development of a preventive and sustainable housing policy. For that reason, city administrations are requested to:

■ develop indicators to evaluate the housing situation of migrants, including information on square metres available per person and the quality of buildings, and systematically monitor the situation;

■ establish indicators to evaluate migrants' access to housing, such as the waiting period for social housing of migrants versus that of indigenous population groups, and systematically monitor it;

■ determine indicators to evaluate the spatial distribution of migrants in the city (such as segregation indices) and systematically monitor the situation;

■ collect information on and survey the dynamics of migrants' movements in a city through flow data and by using a low level of spatial breakdown that considers neighbourhoods or streets instead of districts only; this will provide deeper and more reliable insights into migrant movements;

■ integrate the monitoring of housing conditions into an overall monitoring of the quality of life of migrants in their local community;

■ establish a specialist unit in the statistical office for compiling migrants' housing data.

The data collection may use various sources such as general population surveys, local population data, scientific studies, and opinion surveys. If existing data do not refer to the status of migrants or are not sufficient, own data collections or the compilation of indices and estimations should be organised. This can be done in cooperation with NGOs, churches, local research groups and volunteers. Although a strong collaboration of different departments and organisations is recommended, social work, information gathering and enforcement tasks should be clearly separated.

Social housing under public influence

Various migrant households are unable to supply themselves with adequate housing. Providing access to and supplying affordable social housing under public influence is an important means for most CLIP cities of ensuring decent housing for migrants.

Since the construction and maintenance of social housing is very expensive, local authorities have to take a strategic decision on whether they wish to keep their social housing stock, privatise or even increase it. Such decisions are influenced by the general rationale of redistribution policy in a local community. As far as the integration of migrants is concerned, local authorities should consider the specific market position of migrants with regard to supply, access and affordability of housing, as well as the degree of spatial segregation and the extent of discrimination.

The more the private housing market is unbalanced, the greater is the need for public housing supply: it is evident from the CLIP case studies that a large social housing stock under public responsibility expands the room for manoeuvre and steering capacity of local authorities for housing policies, urban planning and integration of migrants.

When implementing local social housing projects, the degree of spatial concentration of social housing units should also be considered: small units of social housing and the distribution of social housing dwellings across the city are of relevance for the integration processes of migrants allocated in social housing.

Due to an undersupply of social housing and strong competition between native and migrant low-income earners, access to social housing often represents a major issue for local policymakers. To enhance adequate access to social housing for everyone in need while also securing neighbourhoods that are socioeconomically and ethnically mixed, a city may consider the following aspects:

■ defining requirements and regulations for getting access to social housing, such as maximum family income, waiting period, and children or elderly family members in need of care in the household, as well as establishing a ranking list and emergency provisions enabling people waiting for social housing to jump the queue in case of urgency. It has to be considered that

access criteria such as waiting lists and years of residence may discriminate indirectly against certain groups of migrants;

■ facilitating access for migrants, based on the provision of up-to-date and relevant information on available social housing, if necessary in foreign languages;

■ supporting mixed neighbourhoods, which can be achieved by defining explicit or implicit quotas for migrants to social housing in general or in certain locations, and by opening up access to social housing for middle-class income earners or by selling single units in social housing areas;

■ checking quotas regarding their legality and efficiency;

■ discussing whether or not allowing access to social housing for middle-class income earners may contradict one of the basic rationales of the provision of affordable social housing. In general, social housing is seen as a part of social policy intervention to provide a rent subsidy to low-income earners.

Facilitate housing cooperatives

Most of what has been said regarding access to social housing also holds true for housing associations, in which the associates are the owners. Competition between native and migrant tenants or owners seems to be even stronger. At the same time, the local authorities' influence on the allocation of housing to migrants is lower. In light of this, authorities have the following options in terms of concrete measures:

■ providing municipal land to housing associations in exchange for a controlled level of rents and a certain quota of apartments for which the city has the right to assign tenants;

■ coordinating the provision of housing for migrants among housing associations by establishing a round table;

■ critically assessing and, if possible, abolishing existing formal regulations or informal practices in housing associations, which discriminate against migrants in favour of indigenous population groups – for example, waiting lists requiring a long period of residence or provisions for inheriting residence rights.

Support access to the local housing markets

Due to several challenges faced by migrants – that is, a lack of command of the receiving country's language, lack of knowledge on housing-related rights and responsibilities, as well as discrimination and exploitation on the housing market – they have more difficulties in finding appropriate housing. This is particularly important for migrants who have just arrived in a country. Therefore, city administrations may consider supporting access to the housing market through improved provision of information and discrimination monitoring:

■ supporting low-threshold 'one-stop' citizens advice centres where migrants obtain counselling services on different segments of the local housing market, help in intercultural conflicts, as well as information on financial and legal issues, such as rent payment, rent index, extortion, rent-related debts, legal period of notice, and other obligations and rights;

■ providing information documents in different languages, linking to volunteer mentors or migrant associations of the same language group;

■ establishing a low-threshold office collecting complaints in the form of an ombudsman, for example, and systematic monitoring discrimination against migrants on the housing market.

Privately rented housing: measures to deal with overcrowding

Several cities report that exploitation of migrants by private landlords and the problem of voluntary overcrowding to keep down the rents as a serious challenge for migrants. To tackle this challenge, it is suggested that:

■ national governments need to review the control mechanisms and resources available to local authorities to deal with this issue; for example, a licensing system for private landlords with properties in multiple occupation. The system must be sufficiently resourced, so that landlords cannot operate without a license and local authorities are in a position to inspect housing conditions before renewing a license;

■ local authorities consider working in partnership with other agencies which have the authority to enter such properties, so that they share information on properties where conditions are unacceptable and take joint action to address the situation.

Privately rented housing: ideas for public-private partnerships

Beyond traditional approaches, such as social housing or rent subsidies for low-income earners, local authorities often find intelligent ways of combining the flexibility and adaptability of the private housing market with the social requirements of migrants. Instead of acting against market dynamics, market opportunities should be used: city administrations may thus consider innovative public-private partnerships (PPPs), in order to improve access and affordability for migrants to privately rented housing. In doing so, a city administration has several options, namely to:

■ act as contractor by renting private property below market price and subletting these low-priced apartments to migrants. Private owners generally accept a lower rent in exchange for a rent guarantee over several years and a guarantee to preserve the quality of the accommodation;

■ provide municipal land at below market price to private builders or developers, who in turn have to offer a certain percentage of the apartments at reduced rents to target groups like families with children;

■ act as mediator for contracts between tenants with a migrant background and owners who may be nationals, while providing the guarantee to the owner that, for instance, potential damages caused by the tenant will be repaired; the local authority will subsequently charge the tenant for the damage;

■ target discrimination against migrants in the private housing market, by taking an approach that protects the interests of migrants without alienating private house owners as a whole.

Affordable home ownership for migrants

While publicly-owned or privately-owned rented accommodation dominates the housing market in some European cities, some housing markets in Europe are dominated by owner-occupied housing. This structure leaves migrant families, who want to stay for a longer period of time, often no other choice than to buy a house in order to find appropriate accommodation. In both cases, migrants are more often in a socioeconomically disadvantaged situation than the indigenous population, and they also have more difficulties in affording home ownership.

However, home ownership often improves the housing conditions of migrant families and can be considered as a major step towards integration into the

receiving society – it should therefore actively be promoted. The following measures can be taken by local authorities to support home ownership by migrants:

- providing subsidies or tax reductions to low-income families, including migrants, for building houses, as well as for purchasing or renovating occupied housing;

- providing municipal land at a subsidised price to low-income families who build houses on that land;

- supporting access to mortgages at reduced interest rates in cooperation with local banks, for example, by providing a guarantee for default by private organisations to the bank, or other guarantees by the local authority;

- providing municipal land at a subsidised price to private developers, who in turn have to sell housing units below market price to target groups;

- enabling migrants to contribute to the construction of their house through their own labour;

- supporting migrants' involvement in housing cooperatives of homeowners.

Improving personal security

Most European cities have some neighbourhoods characterised by a poor infrastructure, an above-average proportion of residents with low socioeconomic status and a high proportion of migrants. In such neighbourhoods, personal security in terms of both actual and perceived security levels cannot always be ensured. However, since personal security is an exceedingly important component of quality of life, a city administration should aim to improve the level of personal security. As a first step, urban renewal measures such as more lightning can ameliorate the situation; nonetheless, from a long-term perspective, policies involving the residents are indispensable. In the CLIP project, the following measures have been identified as examples of good practice for improving both the objective and personal security in a district:

- providing neighbourhood police officers;

- establishing a structured and continuous dialogue between police and migrants – for instance, by involving migrants' representatives in police training courses on intercultural competencies;

■ ensuring strong participation by migrants in security services in troubled neighbourhoods, for example, by having 'neighbourhood fathers' who moderate the behaviour of youngsters from migrant families and thus help prevent anti-social acts and petty crime by local youth gangs;

■ putting in place communication strategies that involve residents in order to develop a safety concept for the area;

■ maintaining regular cooperation between schools, police and social services to reduce crime;

■ setting up low-threshold provisions for reporting of hate crime against migrants, and providing an independent place separate from the police station where people can report such crimes, in order to overcome the problem of migrants being too fearful to go to the police station.

Such security measures and surveillance instruments must regularly be evaluated with regard to their preventive capacity versus only shifting the problems to other urban areas.

Soft urban renewal

Urban renewal is generally defined as the physical rehabilitation of impoverished urban neighbourhoods by renovation and (re)construction of housing and public infrastructure. This 'hard approach', however, is often not sufficient to rehabilitate deprived areas with a high concentration of migrants and low-income indigenous population groups. Hence, some CLIP cities have developed a more innovative approach: beyond physical renovation measures, 'soft urban renewal' takes social, economic and cultural demands into consideration, and the planning and implementation process is influenced by the residents. A soft urban renewal process includes the following activities:

■ the re-conversion and upgrading, rather than the demolition, of existing housing stock, combined with the construction or modernisation of public spaces as venues of interaction;

■ residents' involvement in planning and implementing such renewal measures, for example, through information offices and 'planning pubs' to display relevant aspects and progress of the renewal measure and facilitate their public discussion, and through supporting residents' organisations and the transfer of certain competencies to residents, such as small-scale renewal of old housing stock using resources available among residents;

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■ allocation of public institutions and services like libraries, municipal offices and university buildings into these neighbourhoods;

■ improving employment and economic opportunities for low-income and unemployed citizens, including the promotion of local ethnic entrepreneurship;

■ increasing the attractiveness of renewed neighbourhoods for middle-class families.

The soft urban renewal represents a promising approach in terms of both rehabilitation of disadvantaged areas and involvement and participation of all residents; in this respect, it is also a promising approach for a successful integration of migrants. However, due to the increased attractiveness of such renovated neighbourhoods, rents and prices will under normal circumstances increase as well. City administrations must consider how to the attract new middle-class families to such areas while retaining the long-term residents, of whom some will have a migrant background.

Anti-segregation policy: ways to achieve more balanced neighbourhoods

All city administrations participating in the CLIP project believe that high degrees of concentration of migrants and particularly of one ethnic group of migrants should be avoided, since this situation endangers an effective integration of migrants. However, the city administrations are also aware of the fact that the concentration of migrants in smaller spatial units is to some extent unavoidable. In general, it is advisable to aim for a mix of different types of housing and different ethnic groups. Moreover, the balanced socioeconomic and demographic composition of a neighbourhood population is regarded as constituting an important aspect of any anti-segregation policy. Local policy should take into account that a higher birth rate among migrants is one of the major factors leading to an increasing concentration of migrants in an area, when at the same time middle-class families with small children tend to leave the area. The following measures are recommended to prevent or reduce segregation:

■ spreading social housing around the city seems to be of great importance in avoiding the spatial concentration of low-income earners in general and migrants in particular;

■ building smaller social housing units;

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■ if the social housing units are already built in a concentrated way, single units should be sold and the access to social housing be opened for middle-class income earners;

■ the use of formal or informal quotas to avoid a high concentration of migrants seems to be problematic or even unlawful in certain countries. Quota regulations must be carefully checked in terms of fairness, effectiveness and lawfulness with regard to the Directive against racial discrimination. Local authorities may consider that voluntary measures may sometimes prove more effective than involuntary measures such as quota regulations;

■ local policy often puts too much emphasis on measures to control the inflow of migrants into certain areas instead of positively influencing the retention of the middle-class native population in areas with higher concentration of migrants;

■ allocation of public institutions and services, such as childcare services, schools and sports facilities, into segregated areas will enhance the integration of this area into the city as a whole and hence reduce segregation patterns;

■ urban renewal programmes and other incentives for (native) middle-class people to move into, or to remain in, areas with a high concentration of low-income or migrant groups can help to achieve socioeconomically mixed neighbourhoods;

■ improving the neighbourhood's image in the media and among the general public, by using an effective communication strategy and organising cultural or sports events.

Small ethnic colonies at neighbourhood level: support for integration
In general, the promotion of socioeconomically and ethnically balanced neighbourhoods is recommended. However, the CLIP network is also aware that some extent of concentration of distinctive groups, who may be ethnic communities, cannot and need not be avoided. Ethnic networks on a neighbourhood basis may have a positive function for the well-being of the migrant residents and for their integration. In particular, for newly arriving migrants who are unfamiliar with the local conditions, local ethnic networks or 'ethnic colonies' can provide social support and act as a bridge into the

receiving society. To promote such ethnic colonies without promoting large-scale segregation, a city should:

■ support migrant organisations at neighbourhood level and maintain regular contact with these organisations;

■ consider whether or not small migrant neighbourhoods may provide cost-effective opportunities for the first phase of the integration of newcomer migrants;

■ integrate such neighbourhoods as far as possible into the city as a whole, by providing infrastructure and services, and by having a positive discourse in the media describing such neighbourhoods as colourful and culturally active parts of the city;

■ monitor carefully the intra-city mobility of migrant and native population groups to avoid undesirable levels of concentration of migrants in parts of the city.

Community relations, participation and empowerment

'Soft' measures aimed at improving housing conditions and segregation are given by many observers a great importance for the successful integration of migrants. First, good community relations – that is relations between groups in a community – represent an important factor regarding the quality of housing for both migrants and indigenous residents in an area. The participation and involvement of local residents into activities and projects may contribute strongly to good community relations. A critical factor is the mobilisation of local residents: strategies for empowerment aim at overcoming passivity and frustration on the part of native citizens and migrants by sharing responsibility. With regard to such empowerment, the following measures may be considered:

■ effective and early participation in the planning process for measures and projects;

■ transfer of certain competencies to groups of citizens;

■ establishment of neighbourhood action groups;

■ good support for local associations and their activities;

■ support for the involvement of migrants in owners' associations;

■ involvement of students as role models to support the socialisation of migrants in segregated neighbourhoods.

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Annex 1: Research concept

Key analytical dimensions

The main focus of the CLIP project is integration and the development of integration policy. In this case, the focus is on what 'integration' means in this context. A lot of ambiguity can be found in the way in which integration is defined. Different socioeconomic, legal, political and cultural dimensions of the integration process are relevant and the term 'integration' is thus used in different contexts and meanings. A cross-national comparison indicates that the term has been given numerous different meanings with diverging political implications. The following ideal types of integration discourses can be described:

■ integration as the promotion of diversity in a multicultural society;

■ integration as a process of assimilation and acculturation into the social class value system;

■ integration as a two-way process of realisation of rights and adoption of obligations.

However, at least in academic literature, some consensus has been reached concerning the analytical definition of integration and its different dimensions. Relevant to this project on housing and the integration of migrants are the following dimensions:

■ *structural integration* (placement) refers to an individual's acquisition and occupation of relevant positions in society – for example, in the educational and economic system, the labour market, occupational hierarchies, as well as the housing market. Structural integration is associated with the acquisition of certain rights that belong to particular positions and with the opportunity to establish relevant social relations and to win cultural, social and economic capital;

■ *cognitive integration* (culturation or socialisation) refers to the acquisition of knowledge, cultural standards and competences by an individual, which are necessary for successfully interacting in a given society;

■ *social integration* (interaction) refers to the formation of networks and social relations, the establishment of friendships, and love or marriage relationships across group boundaries. Segregated housing is likely to have

an impact on social relations, but existing networks and social relations may also contribute to segregation processes and vice versa.

■ *identificatory integration* means that individuals see themselves as an element of a collective body. Identification has cognitive and emotional aspects and results in a 'we' feeling among a group or collective.

These dimensions of integration are affected in different ways by the housing situation of groups with an ethnic or migrant background. Within the CLIP network, it is assumed that the housing situation of migrants affects the structural dimension of integration. For instance, long commuting distances to workplaces have a negative impact on labour market integration and ethnic concentrations usually influence the opportunities afforded to migrant children at school. It is also assumed that the cognitive dimension – the acquisition of knowledge about cultural standards of the receiving society – is negatively influenced by a spatial concentration of migrants. A high degree of spatial segregation along ethnic lines decreases opportunities for initiating contact between different groups of society. As a result, the learning processes of migrants, as well as of the indigenous population, are affected.

Finally, the housing situation has consequences for the possibilities and extent of social interaction and relations between migrants and their new communities, as the opportunities for interethnic interaction are sharply reduced in highly segregated areas. Thus, residential segregation also influences the long-term process of migrants' identification with the receiving society.

Local conditions and their effects on migrant integration

Segregation

In the discussion relating to the linkage of housing and segregation, it is often implied that segregation has only negative effects on the integration processes. But research proves that segregation is an ambivalent phenomenon, which always produces both negative and positive effects. In scientific research, as well as in politics, traditional controversy emerges in terms of balancing these effects.

The positive effects of segregation may include:

■ the availability of local social networks and their active support of new immigrants;

- a good social setting within minority groups, creating a feeling of belonging to and of safety in the neighbourhood;

- advantages in relation to the formation of ethnic associations;

- the establishment of an ethnic economy consisting of a local ethnic labour market and ethnic shops.

The negative effects of segregation, which can have a damaging impact on educational opportunities, the labour market and integration processes, are:

- fewer contacts with the local population, which creates a barrier to learning the values and habits of the receiving country;

- limited acquisition of language competencies;

- spatial segregation as an ethnic mobility trap;

- a lack of opportunities in relation to the education system with the consequence of reduced chances of the successful integration of migrant workers into the local labour market;

- a high level of internal social control within the ethnic group and the possible establishment of a 'parallel society'.

Other relevant aspects of segregation include the fact that:

- while large scale segregation is in most cases seen as a problem, small-area segregation is considered a fascinating mosaic of different groups;

- segregation can be the product of voluntarily decisions of where to live in the city or the results of socioeconomic constraints;

- involuntary allocation of space to any group is undesirable in a democratic society; therefore, high and involuntary segregation is in most cases seen as a problem;

- the dynamics of segregation are not recorded. Stock data such as the percentage of migrants in a particular neighbourhood may be grossly misleading when no data flows about the inward and outward mobility of migrants to and from this neighbourhood are considered;

- segregation is considered an unavoidable and quasi-automatic by-product of a new immigration flow. Traditional theories emphasise the necessity and value of the segregated neighbourhoods for the incoming migrants,

providing institutions of transit for the individual integration careers. Segregated ethnic communities offer work, housing, information and shelter in the local area; this may provide an important resource for newcomers;

■ for evaluating the effects of segregated neighbourhoods on the structural, social and identificatory integration of migrants, the level of mobility into other areas of the city and an analysis of specific cohorts of immigrants are crucial.

Housing access

Accessibility of all or of particularly selected segments of the housing market is an important aspect for the integration of migrants. Housing policies and integration strategies often ignore housing access and do little to assist legal migrants in their access to the housing market. In fact, access to housing for migrants takes place in the context of a predominantly privately organised housing market and during an era in which social housing throughout Europe is becoming more market-oriented. Even if migrants have the financial means to enter the local housing market, discriminating regulations and practices may exclude migrants from certain sectors of the housing market. Since migrants are often in a weak socioeconomic position, such exclusion practices are even more relevant and may be visible only after careful analysis of regulations and practices such as, for example, relatively long waiting lists for access to social housing, which primarily applies the duration of a person's stay in the city as a criterion and thus excludes newcomers. This holds true especially if migrants are generally not entitled to social housing by national legislation or local regulation and have to rely solely on the private housing market.

Housing affordability and supply

Affordability is another important factor in the broader context of housing problems in European cities. Affordability is influenced by the overall supply-demand curve relating to housing, by the supply-demand curve in the market segment for low-income groups, by the price of rent and mortgages and by the income development of vulnerable groups.

Most countries observe a decline in the publicly and privately rented cheap housing sector – the segment on which migrants mainly depend. The decrease of these housing market segments, which the municipality can directly or

indirectly influence to some extent, seriously diminishes the options of a city for an effective social housing policy at the local level.

Direct subvention of rents and the supply of housing cannot replace a long-term policy for the development of sufficient housing at affordable prices. Opportunities for a successful structural integration in the local society have to rely to a large extent on a sufficient supply of affordable housing. This aspect is highly relevant for social and identificatory integration; it is also crucial for the social cohesion of the urban society and thus for the mobilisation and realisation of a city's economic and cultural potential.

Physical conditions

Besides adequate space for each person, four basic amenities – running water, adequate (flush) toilet facilities, a bath or shower and sufficient heating – have become common patterns of housing standards in the EU Member States. However, housing conditions for many immigrants are problematic, particularly as a large number of one or two-room apartments have no central heating, warm water or even an inside toilet.

As migrant populations have a younger age structure, their households are often larger and involve extended families. For these reasons, overcrowding is frequently an issue, solving which requires larger dwellings at modest rents. The introduction of political solutions to this problem must be sensitive to the different causes of larger or extended households. In the context of recent immigration patterns, overcrowding can also be caused by migrant tenants subletting their rented space to save rent without the landlord's knowledge or due to landlords putting as many tenants as possible into their property in order to maximise profits. In the latter cases, municipalities generally have quite limited capacities to address such problems in the private housing market.

Bad physical housing conditions directly affect structural integration processes, in particular those of children and young people in the education system. For example, in overcrowded houses, young people have no space for doing homework and receive less support from family members in terms of their educational attainment. By contributing to the stigmatisation of neighbourhoods, bad physical housing conditions also strongly affect the processes of social integration.

Housing and social environment

The quality of the external environment, including various aspects of personal security is a key criterion for social integration. In many European cities, increasing awareness of that particular dimension of urban, social and cultural life is being reflected in innovative planning and urban renewal projects. Deprived urban neighbourhoods throughout Europe are characterised by poor housing and a poor external environment. The local vulnerable populations are suffering primarily from the impact of heavy traffic, which includes a high exposure to noise pollution and toxic fumes, as well as higher accident rates. Further problems partially affecting quality of life are limited outdoor facilities, pollution, litter, graffiti, vandalism, prostitution and the lack of good services. Additional challenges to be addressed include increased crime levels and reduced personal security.

Housing and local governance

All the topics listed above are considered by the research group to be the most important aspects to investigate in analysing the housing situation of migrant groups. These topics are addressed in various publications and help people to understand the urban challenges associated with housing.

However, a further important aspect at a more comprehensive level should be considered: the local governance of housing policies for migrants and minority groups within the city administration and in the wider context of relevant local institutions and actors.

In this case, local governance includes:

- assessing the situation and setting an agenda for local policies;

- planning such policies in terms of data acquisition, analysis and visions;

- introducing administrative provisions such as the allocation of competences and responsibilities;

- adopting methods and practices of implementation including assessments and evaluations.

These issues are relevant for applying integration policies in the field of housing for migrants in an effective and integrated manner, and are likely to affect the outcomes of policies and measures related to all five aspects affecting housing discussed above.

Such governance issues and, in particular, a long-term policy implementing them are highly relevant for the success of particular measures and initiatives. In the best case example, a local integration culture can be created, which assembles the relevant local actors and institutions in a cumulative synergy for a prosperous and peaceful urban society.

Annex 2: CLIP European research group

The following institutes and researchers from the CLIP European research group contributed to this overview report on housing of migrants.

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European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions

Housing and integration of migrants in Europe

2007 – VI, 107 p. – 16 x 24 cm

European cities, particularly those with strong economies, attract migrants from all over the world, raising the challenge of integrating people from very different backgrounds. One central aspect in this respect is housing. This is a fundamental issue that affects the quality of life of citizens as well as being an important indicator of the degree of integration. Successful housing policies also play an important role in shaping social policymaking at the local level, affecting the future integration of migrants and their descendants. This report, published jointly with the Council of Europe, presents successful practices and strategies from 20 cities participating in the first module of the European Network of Cities for Local Integration Policies for Migrants (CLIP).