



Housing and segregation of migrants

Case study: Frankfurt, Germany



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About CLIP

In 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 (Eurofound) established a 'European network of cities for local integration policies for migrants', henceforth termed CLIP. The network comprises a steering committee, a group of expert European research centres and a number of European cities. In the following two years, the cities of Vienna and Amsterdam joined the CLIP Steering Committee. The network is also supported by the Committee of the Regions (CoR) and the Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR), and has also formed a partnership with the European Network Against Racism (ENAR).

Through the medium of separate city reports (case studies) and workshops the network enables local authorities to learn from each other and to deliver a more effective integration policy. The unique character of the CLIP network is that it organises a shared learning process between the participating cities, between the cities and a group of expert European research centres as well as between policy makers at local and European level.

The CLIP network brings together more than 30 large and medium sized cities from all regions of Europe and includes Amsterdam (NL), Arnsberg (DE), Antwerp (BE), Athens (EL), Diputació de Barcelona (ES), Bologna (IT), Breda (NL), Brescia (IT), Budapest (HU), Copenhagen (DK), Dublin (IE), Frankfurt (DE), Helsinki (FI), Istanbul (TR), İzmir (TR), Kirkcaldy (UK), Lisbon (PT), Liège (BE), City of Luxembourg (LU), Matarò (ES), Malmö (SE), Prague (CZ), Sefton (UK), Stuttgart (DE), Sundsvall (SE), Tallinn (EE), Terrassa (ES), Torino (IT), Turku (FI), Valencia (ES), Vienna (AT), Wolverhampton (UK), Wrocław (PL), Zagreb (HR) and Zurich (CH).

The cities in the network are supported in their shared learning by a group of expert European research centres:

Bamberg (European Forum for Migration Studies (efms));

Vienna (Institute for Urban and Regional Research (IST));

Amsterdam (Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES));

FIERI (Forum of International and European Research on Immigration);

Wrocław (Institute of International Studies);

Swansea (Centre for Migration Policy Research).

There are four research modules in total. The first module was on housing – segregation of, access to, and quality and affordability for migrants – which has been identified as a major issue impacting on migrants' integration into host societies. The second module examined equality and diversity policies in relation to employment within city administrations and in the provision of services. The focus of the third module is intercultural policies and intergroup relations. The final module (2009–2010) will look at ethnic entrepreneurship.

The case studies on housing were carried out in 2007.

Brief history of migration to Germany

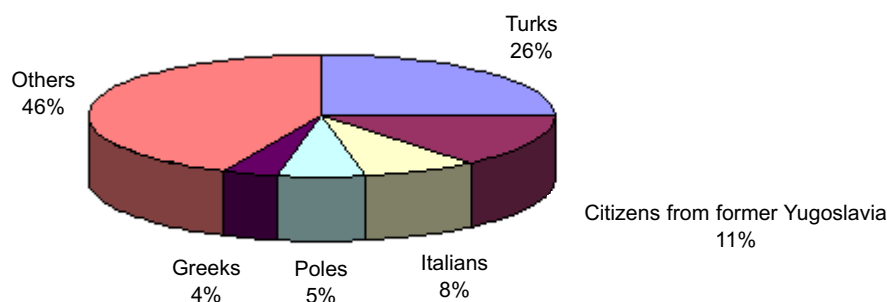
Substantial migration has occurred in Germany since the end of the Second World War. Between 1945 and the beginning of the 1950s, about 12 million German refugees and expellees came to Germany. Prior to the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961, around 3.8 million people migrated from East to West Germany.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

At the end of the 1980s, a new phase of German migration history began with the fall of the Iron Curtain. A large number of immigrants from the eastern European countries came to Germany, among them many ethnic German migrants (*Aussiedler/Spätaussiedler*²). Between 1988 and 2004, a total of three million *Spätaussiedler* came to Germany. However, in more recent years, fewer *Spätaussiedler* have been arriving in the country: for instance, in 2005, only 35,500 *Spätaussiedler* immigrated. Another large group of immigrants are asylum seekers and refugees. In the 1990s, some 1.8 million people requested asylum in Germany. Over one million refugees lived in Germany in 2003.

By 2006, about 6.8 million foreigners – that is, persons without German citizenship – were living in Germany. Of these, 31% come from the European Union (EU), 47% from other regions in Europe, and 12% from Asia. Figure 1 shows that Turks, with 1.74 million persons (26% of foreigners), represent the largest foreign nationality, followed by citizens from the former Yugoslavia (11%), Italians (8%), Poles (5%) and Greeks (4%).

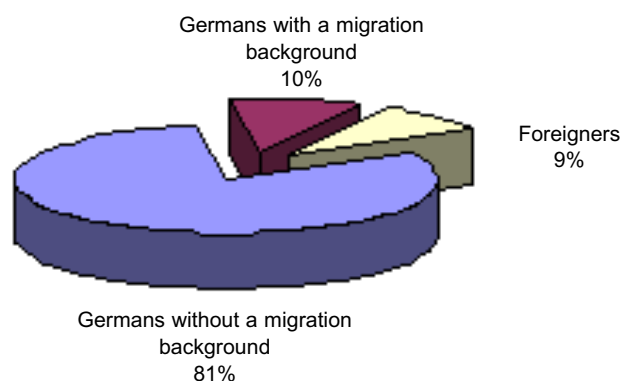
¹ The first contract on recruitment of guest workers was signed in 1955 with Italy. This was followed by agreements with Spain and Greece (1960), Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965) and Yugoslavia (1968). The German Democratic Republic (GDR) – that is, East Germany – also recruited so-called contract employees, mainly from countries such as Vietnam. Immigration in the GDR was quantitatively considerably less than in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) – that is, West Germany.

² The terms *Aussiedler* and *Spätaussiedler* refer mainly to the specific dates of immigration: prior to 1993 and from 1993 on, respectively. The term *Spätaussiedler* has, in everyday usage, become the common term used to describe ethnic Germans with a migration background. Therefore, it will be used in this case study to describe the entire group of *Aussiedler* and *Spätaussiedler*.

Figure 1: *Foreigners in Germany, by nationality, 2006 (%)*

Source: Compiled by the European Forum for Migration Studies (EFMS) based on data from the Federal Statistical Office of Germany (Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland, Destatis), 2006

The proportion of people with a migration background is considerably higher. Foreigners, naturalised Germans and German citizens whose migration background is derived from the migration status of their parents are all included in this group. In 2005, foreigners (9%) and Germans with a migration background (10%) represented a total of 15.3 million people, or 19% of the population (Figure 2).

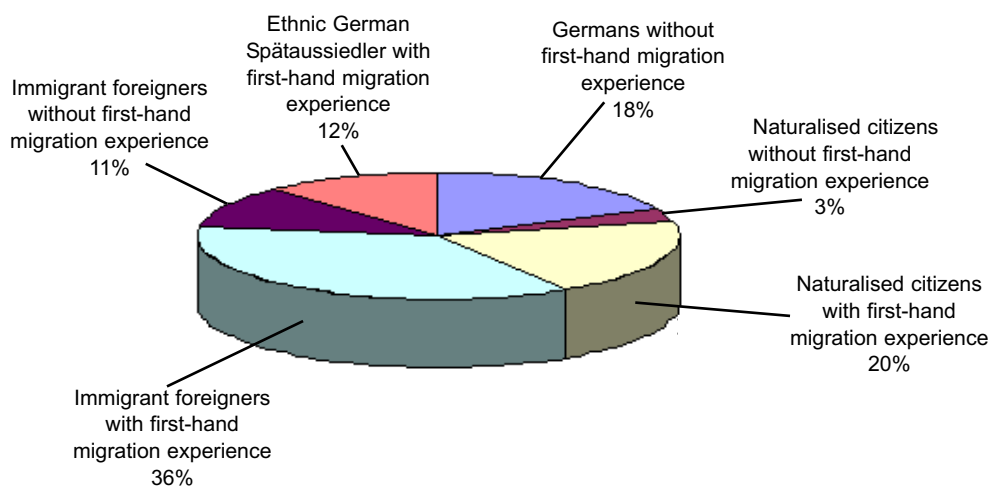
Figure 2: *Migration background of population, 2005 (%)*

Source: Compiled by EFMS based on data from Destatis, 2006, p. 75

Of the people with a migration background, two thirds have had first-hand migration experience; the remaining one third of people in this group comprises those who were born in Germany and therefore have had no personal migration experience. Focusing on the 15.3 million persons with a migration background (Figure 3), immigrant foreigners represent the largest group among them at 5.6 million persons or 36%, whereas the 1.7 million foreign nationals born in Germany comprise only 11% of this population. The ratio of foreigners with and without first-hand migration experience is therefore about three to one. The second-largest group of persons with a migration background are naturalised Germans (3.5 million people or 23%). Within this group, the naturalised citizens with first-hand experience of migration (three million persons or 20%) also outweigh those without first-hand experience (0.5 million persons or 3%) – at a ratio

of six to one. A further 1.8 million people or 12% of those with a migration background are ethnic German Spätaussiedler.³ Meanwhile, the 2.7 million Germans with a migration background but without first-hand migration experience represent 18% of all persons with such a background; this figure includes the 1.2 million children of migrant parents.

Figure 3: *Migration experience of population with a migration background, 2005 (%)*

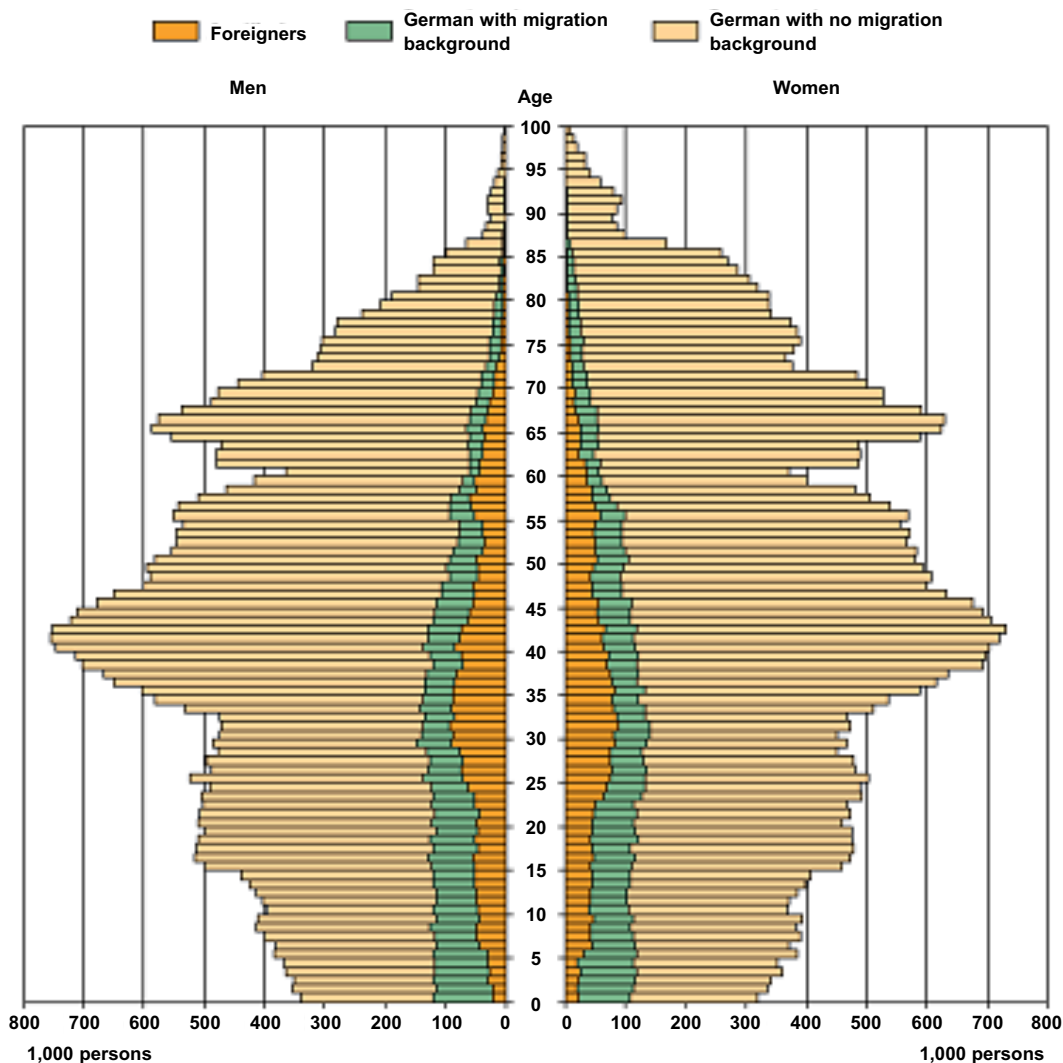


Source: Compiled by EFMS based on data from Destatis, 2006, p. 75

Figure 4 represents, in the form of an age pyramid, the population in 2005, with the number of men on the left side and women on the right. The figure for the entire population suggests the typical mushroom shape of a shrinking population. People with a migration background are represented in the oldest age categories, but the proportion aged over 40 years decreases substantially compared with the younger age groups. On average, persons with a migration background are considerably younger than the German population without a migration background.

³ Official statistics represent only the *Spätaussiedler* who migrated after 1 August 1999. The total numbers are, therefore, actually higher.

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



Source: Destatis, 2006, p. 77

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

National policy context

In Germany, the national integration policy is largely influenced by the societal definition of the immigration situation – that is, the understanding of the nature of the ongoing migration process by major political and societal actors. Throughout the entire migrant labour recruitment period, there was a consensus in society and in political circles that the

residence of ‘guest workers’ would only be temporary, and their integration only partial. Until 1998, the official governmental definition was that Germany was not an immigration country.⁴

However, this denial of the immigration situation cannot be equated with the lack of an integration policy. In 1978, the office of the Commissioner for the Promotion of Integration of Foreign Employees and their Families was institutionalised. The foundation of this office demonstrated that the integration of migrants was officially recognised and deemed necessary. The main feature of the German mode of integration has been to open core institutions – the labour market, self-employment, the education and training system, and housing – to immigrants, and to include them in the general welfare state and social policy system. Compared with this general integration policy, the numerous specific measures for the integration of immigrants have had much less relevance.

The overwhelming majority of services specific to migrants are implemented by Germany’s six largest welfare organisations – namely, Catholic Caritas, Protestant Diakonie, the Central Jewish Welfare Agency (*Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Juden in Deutschland*, ZWST), the Workers’ Welfare Institution (*Arbeiterwohlfahrt*, AWO), the non-partisan umbrella organisation the German Parity Charitable Association (*Deutsche Paritätische Wohlfahrtsverband*, DPWV) and the German Red Cross. These are private associations but receive public funds from the EU and from national, state, district and local government levels. Their work is relevant for all dimensions of integration and encompasses a large range of services. Although the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (*Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge*, BAMF) is now in charge of conceptualising and implementing integration measures, this office leaves the implementation to the local agencies.

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

Over the years, a diverse and multi-layered system of programmes and projects supporting integration has been developed in Germany. In 2001, the Independent Commission on Migration to Germany described German integration management as a policy of ‘pragmatic improvisation’. Therefore, the new Immigration Act of 2005 (the Act to control and restrict immigration and to regulate the residence and integration of EU citizens and foreigners) acknowledges the importance of a comprehensive integration strategy. The principal element of the new system is that migrants are entitled to participate in an integration course, consisting of language and orientation training to familiarise them with the German language, history, culture and legal system. Furthermore, since 2007, BAMF has been developing a nationwide integration programme to identify all existing migrant integration measures, compile information concerning such provisions and put forward recommendations on the further development of integration measures. The programme focuses on five core areas: language, education, integration into the labour market, social counselling and social integration.

⁴ In 1998, the newly elected Social Democratic and Green coalition government ([DE9811281F](#)) officially recognised ‘that an irreversible immigration process has taken place’.

Profile of Frankfurt

Brief description of the city

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

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

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

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

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

City's migrant population

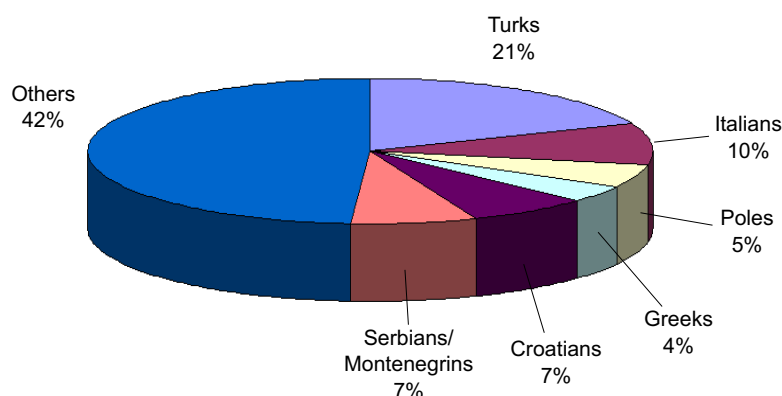
Frankfurt has a long tradition of immigration. From the 1960s to the early 1970s, the city was one of the most important destinations for guest workers in Germany. The labour migrants primarily came from Greece, Italy, Spain, Turkey and former Yugoslavia. After the 1973 ban on recruitment, guest worker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

In December 2005, around a quarter (168,146 persons) of Frankfurt's whole population were foreigners – that is, persons without a German passport. The percentage of people with a migration background – namely, those with non-German citizenship, with dual citizenship, naturalised Germans and people born abroad – was much higher at 38%. The

population with a migration background is constantly increasing – among children born in Frankfurt, two thirds have a migration background.

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

Figure 5: *Proportion of foreigners, by nationality, 2006 (%)*



Source: Compiled by EFMS based on data from City of Frankfurt – Citizens' Office, *Statistics and Elections (Stadt Frankfurt am Main – Bürgeramt, Statistik und Wahlen)*, 2006a, p. 24

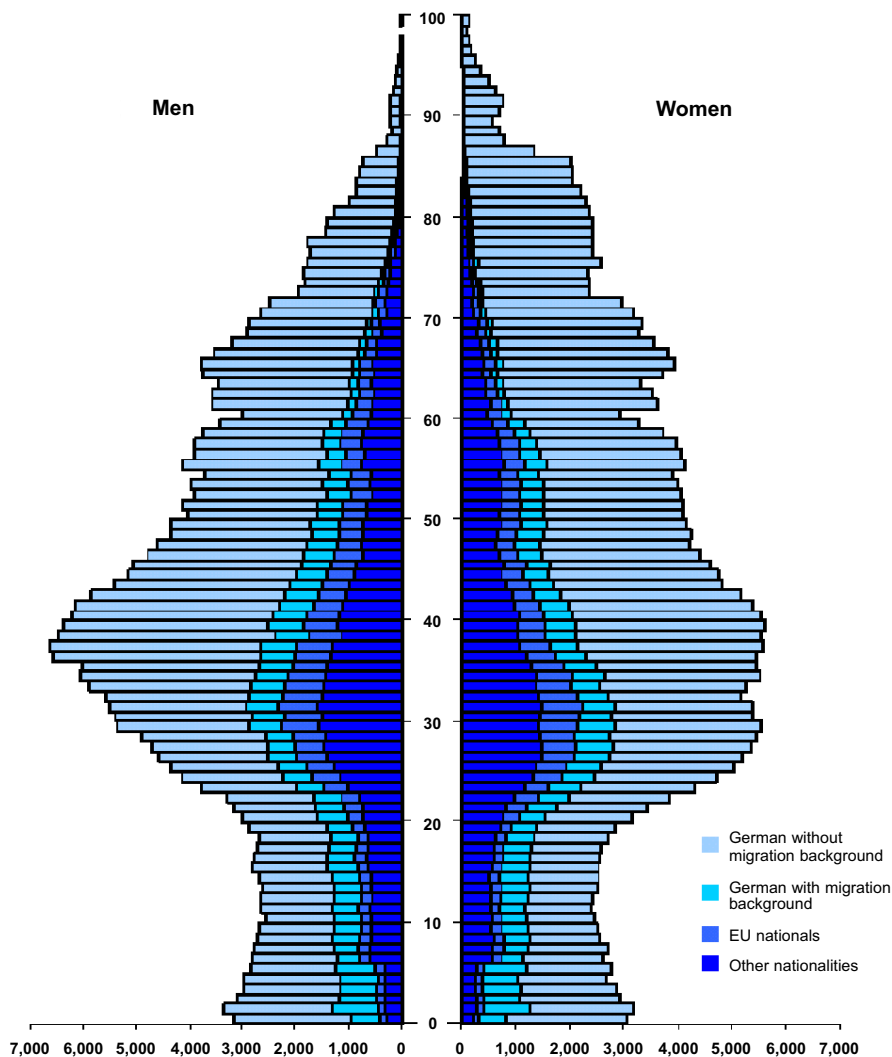
The city's composition of foreigners is characterised by a high diversity of ethnic groups and nationalities, stemming from 175 different countries. Turkish citizens make up the largest group of immigrants, representing 19% of Frankfurt's foreign population (Figure 5). They are followed by citizens from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

Many foreigners have lived in Frankfurt for a considerable length of time. Over one third of the city's immigrant population older than 18 years of age has lived in the city for more than 15 years. A high percentage of 'long-term Frankfurter' can particularly be found among migrants from Croatia and Turkey, at 62% and 54%, respectively.

Due to changing immigration motives, the gender and age composition of immigrants in Frankfurt have changed significantly since the 1970s. For instance, an increase in the percentage of female immigrants is evident, rising from 33% in 1970 to 48% in 2004. In terms of age, 15% of the foreign population are under 18 years, while only 7.5% are over 65 years. More than half of the foreigners are between 18 and 45 years old.

Figure 6 shows an age pyramid for the Frankfurt population in December 2005, with the proportion of men on the left side, and women on the right.

Figure 6: Age pyramid for Frankfurt population with a migration background, 2005



Source: Dobroschke, 2006a, p. 75

Concerning the educational situation of foreigners in Frankfurt, almost one third (30%) of all students attending general schools in 2005 were foreigners. Regarding the 2005 distribution of foreign pupils according to different school types (excluding primary schools), the percentage of those attending the lowest school level (*Hauptschule*) was much higher (22%) than the proportion of German pupils (8%). In contrast, only 30% of the foreign students were attending the highest level school (*Gymnasium*), whereas the majority of German pupils (60%) attend this school type. The final school exams also reflect the disparities between Germans and foreigners, with German students achieving higher qualifications. Moreover, a significantly higher proportion of Germans (45%) than foreigners (14%) obtain A-level qualifications (*Abitur*). The percentage of foreign students leaving school without graduating is higher than the share among Germans, at 9% and 4%, respectively. Nevertheless, the percentage of young foreign students who complete their A-levels is above the average in the country. Of course, these figures do not represent the educational achievement of young people with a migration background who became naturalised.

Municipal integration policy

Frankfurt has a relatively long immigration history, as well as a great diversity of ethnic groups and nationalities. In comparison with other cities, the city government realised the effectiveness of and need for integration measures quite early. Thus, in 1989, the city parliament and city government (*Magistrat*) created the Department of Multicultural Affairs, later renamed the Department of Integration in 2001, with the affiliated Office for Multicultural Affairs (*Amt für multikulturelle Angelegenheiten*, AmkA). This department was assigned the task of promoting intergroup relations among people of different national, social, ethnic and cultural backgrounds. These municipal institutions have been unique to Germany for many years.

In addition to the Department of Integration and the AmkA, a commission for equal rights and integration was founded in 1995 to provide advice to the city government on migration matters.

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

Both the AmkA and the KAV are attached to the Department of Integration. The department's main function is to provide the political framework for the municipal integration policy. In addition, the AmkA acts on a conceptual as well as an operative level. Its central functions are to generate, monitor and control integration measures. The AmkA views integration as a mutual process. Therefore, its integration measures do not only refer to migrants, but also to German citizens. The aim is to involve the indigenous population in integration programmes; thus, the AmkA implements public relations activities in order to bolster support in the native population. Another principle of Frankfurt's integration policy is the 'intercultural opening up' of institutions: employees are trained to deal productively with diversity. Among its initiatives, the AmkA also involves organisations outside of the municipal administration.

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

Inter-city cooperation

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

At international level, Frankfurt is also a member of the following networks: the Airport Regions Conference (ARC), Cities for Cohesion, Sister Cities Going Gender, Energie Cité, Eurocities, the Network of European Metropolitan Regions and Areas (METREX), and the Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR). In addition, Frankfurt, along with six other European cities, participates in the project Migration and Prevention – a training manual for local actors. The European Forum for Urban Safety (EFUS), Paris, is in charge of this project. The project examines relations between migrants and community administrations, particularly the police authorities. The goal is to develop a model of continuing education for the employees of public authorities, which will improve dealings with migrants. At the same time, special measures aimed at reducing migrants' heightened risk of becoming involved in criminal activities are proposed. The results of this project will be published in the form of a document. Frankfurt views its cooperation with other cities as an opportunity to share experiences and to learn from each another.

Housing situation

Housing stock and market in general

For many years, Frankfurt's housing situation has been characterised by high rents and an insufficient supply of accommodation. Due to the aforementioned temporary population growth between 1990 and 1996, the number of households significantly increased. Subsequently, the population development changed and the number of households decreased until 1999. Since then, the number of households has slightly increased again. In 2005, Frankfurt had 370,000 private households. At the same time, the housing structure changed, with a greater proliferation of small households. In 2005, more than 52% of households consisted of just one person, while only 2% were larger households with five or more persons. The average size of Frankfurt's households is 1.8 persons.

By the end of 2005, Frankfurt counted 351,024 housing units, the majority of which were buildings with three or more apartments. Nearly 84% of housing units are rentals, while only 16% of units are used by their owners. The quota of home ownership in Frankfurt is lower than that in other German cities of comparable size, at 23%.

The rents in Frankfurt are among the highest in Germany. In 2002, the gross rent without heating amounted to, on average, €7.85 per square metre of living space. Frankfurt also has some of the highest real estate prices among the German cities.

The housing market in the city is characterised by a lack of supply, as reflected by several indicators. One of the first indicators used to assess housing supply is the housing supply quota – that is, the household to housing ratio. The actual quota should be over 100%; statistically, however, there were only 95 housing units for every 100 households in Frankfurt in 2002. This was below average for German cities. Another indicator is the living space per person and per household: in 2005, the average living space totalled 37 square meters per person and 69 square metres per household.

The average living space per person does not indicate how many households are housed in cramped conditions. For this purpose, a third indicator is used – namely, the ratio correlating the living space of one household to normative predetermined square footage. A benchmark commonly used in Germany is the so-called Cologne Recommendations (*Kölner Empfehlungen*). This measure lists recommended minimum square footage for households, depending on household size and the age of household members. For instance, the recommended minimum square footage for one adult is 37 square metres, while the recommended living space for two adults and two children is 71 square metres. Based on these standards, in 2002, some 20% of all households were inadequately supplied. The percentage of households that were undersupplied in terms of space grew with increased household size: while only 12% of single households had inadequate living space, the undersupply quota for households with five or more persons was 66%. Tenant households with five or more persons had a particularly high undersupply quota: these households were twice as often affected by inadequate space than similarly sized homeowner households were.

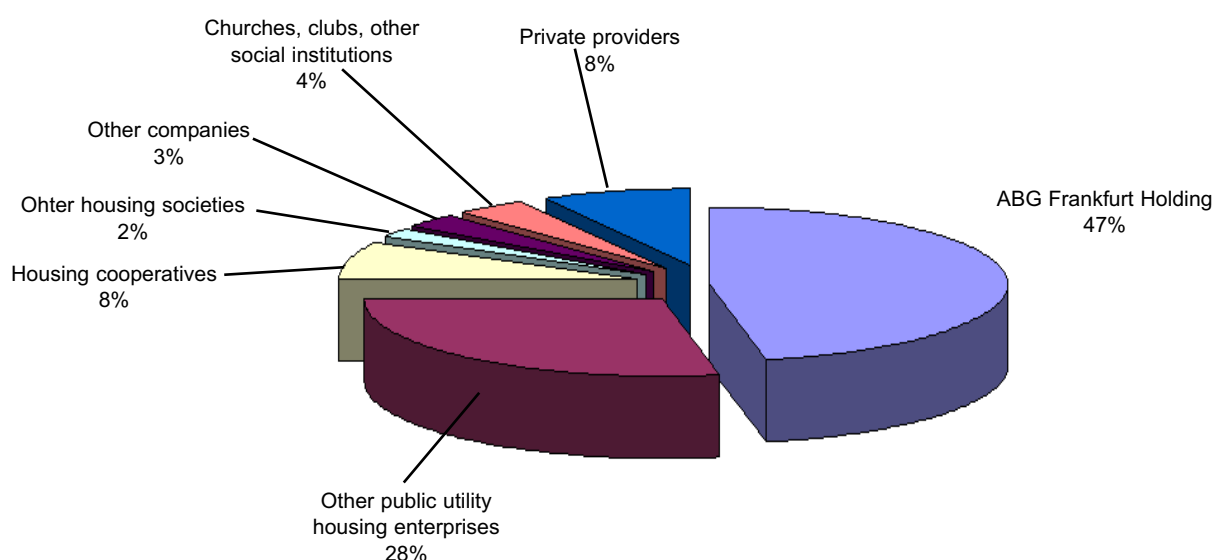
In order to improve the situation, more than 2,000 housing units were built in Frankfurt over the last 20 years. This is equivalent to 64 housing units per 10,000 units in housing stock; in other comparable cities, the quota is higher at 70 housing units per 10,000 units. Thus, the overall housing stock grew by 10% over the last 20 years.

Despite the new buildings, the structure of Frankfurt's housing stock is shaped by an above average amount of older buildings. Almost 37% of housing units were built before 1949. Over half of the housing stock was built between 1949 and 1978, and only 13% after 1979. Because of the difficult housing market situation, even so-called 'substandard' housing – for instance, accommodation with a cold-burning stove, mildew or simple-glazed windows – was easy to rent out. However, through modernisation, the percentage of such housing units was heavily reduced over the course of the last decade, and only rarely are such housing units advertised on the free housing market. The overall quality of

accommodation is high: one bath and one kitchen/kitchenette are a standard provision; single or multi-room heating ovens have become uncommon and more than 90% of all housing units have central heating.

Households that are – for different reasons like income or household size – unable to source adequate housing, can register with the Housing Office (*Amt für Wohnungswesen*) as ‘seeking housing’; the city will then procure housing for them. To satisfy this need in housing, the office has occupying rights to 37,165 housing units (2005), which amounts to about 10% of the city’s housing stock. These so-called social housing units are scattered throughout the whole municipal area. Nearly 47% of these residences belong to the city’s housing company – the *ABG Frankfurt Holding* (Figure 7); a further 28% of the stock belongs to other housing associations, 8% to housing cooperatives, and the remaining 17% to companies, churches, clubs, other social institutions and private providers.

Figure 7: *Housing stock in Frankfurt, by ownership, 2003 (%)*



Source: Sautter, 2004, p. 49

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

No verified data exists on the number of people without housing. Of the registered 7,134 households seeking housing in 2005, about 1,003 did not live in their own home but rather in asylum tenements, shelters for women who are victims of physical abuse, with friends or in a similar setting; a further 154 households were registered as being homeless. The total number of homeless persons is unknown, but is most likely to be considerably higher.

Since 1993, citizens of Frankfurt are regularly surveyed in order to measure their satisfaction with urban living areas. Overall, the inhabitants are very pleased with their city: 59% are ‘very satisfied’ or ‘satisfied’ with ‘the city as a whole’; four out of five respondents indicated that they ‘like living in Frankfurt’. No significant discrepancies are evident in this respect between Germans and foreigners. The inhabitants’ satisfaction with the housing market is, on the other hand, noticeably lower: 40% of the population are dissatisfied with the housing advertised, while only 19% are satisfied.

These figures are reflected in the findings concerning inner city mobility and reasons for moving: each year, 145,000 relocations are recorded at the Register of Residents (*Melderegister*); some 45,000 residents moved away from Frankfurt

and 50,000 relocated within, or moved to Frankfurt. A total of 30% of all relocations within the city took place in one city district. Most of the new inhabitants move to the city for work-related reasons. For those leaving Frankfurt, the change of workplace is significant; the price/performance ratio of the housing market, as well as housing quality, are also crucial. The desire for clean air, to 'live in the country', and for a quieter, neater neighbourhood were the main reasons given for moving to the periphery. Relocations within the city are mainly motivated by the fact that former residences became too small and/or expensive.

Housing situation of residents with migration background

Difficulties in the housing market affect migrants more than Germans, as their economic status is often lower and because a significantly lower proportion of foreigners are homeowners: in 2002, about 19% of Germans but only 8% of foreign households lived in their own homes. In addition, non-German inhabitants of Frankfurt often live in bigger households, for which appropriate housing is particularly hard to find. Although the size of an average foreign household has continually shrunk since the end of the 1990s, with 2.2 persons per household, it is still higher than the average for German households (1.7 persons per household).

The shortage of housing poses a big problem, especially for migrants. Based on the Cologne Recommendations in 2002, nearly a third of foreigners from the 'older' 15 EU Member States (EU15) and a half of all other foreigners lived in housing units that were too small; this compares with only 16% of German households. Although this disparity is related to the size of foreigners' households, when compared with other similar-sized households, foreigners still tend to live in smaller housing units. In Frankfurt, Germans have an average of 40.5 square metres per person, while foreigners have 27.2 square metres per person at their disposal.

Overall, inhabitants of Frankfurt without German citizenship are clearly less satisfied with the housing market: while 20% of Germans are 'satisfied' with the housing offered, only 15% of foreigners are. On the other hand, 37% of Germans but 48% of foreigners are dissatisfied with the housing provided.

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

Living quality is also partly determined by the quality of the housing environment. It is difficult to determine how this is assessed and to what extent the environment differs between the housing of Germans and migrants. In a public survey from 2005, the majority of citizens, regardless of nationality, were satisfied with the city as a whole, including with the municipal parks, public transport and cultural activities and events. In relation to some aspects, more foreigners than Germans expressed their dissatisfaction – for example, with parks (24% versus 16%), children's playgrounds (30% versus 26%) and crèches (30% versus 21%).

The quality of the living environment is also influenced by the availability of medical facilities. In Frankfurt as a whole, this availability can be considered to be good or very good. In the aforementioned survey, the vast majority of respondents rated it positively, although a higher percentage of foreigners (20%) than Germans (7%) were dissatisfied with this aspect. It is difficult to determine the extent to which this higher dissatisfaction with certain aspects of

infrastructure is related to different needs or the fact that these people live in qualitatively inferior areas. However, the latter explanation is possibly more likely.

The negative image and stigmatisation of some housing areas – which are mainly inhabited by foreigners, such as the areas of Ahornstraße and Ben-Gurion-Ring – has, according to experts, a detrimental effect on job market prospects. Even with good performance and qualifications, inhabitants of certain areas have more difficulties gaining access to apprenticeships or work.

The extent to which migrants are affected by homelessness remains unknown, as mentioned. Statistics are only available in relation to the number of people who are threatened by homelessness and who therefore seek city support. Of these, non-German persons accounted for 43% of the total in 1999 and therefore a considerably larger proportion than the percentage of foreign citizens represented in the overall population. Regarding the percentage of children, the gap is even more visible: in 1999, two thirds (632) of all children threatened by homelessness had a non-German nationality. According to the city, in most cases, the threat of homelessness is triggered by accumulated unpaid rent.

With respect to inner-city mobility, Frankfurt's foreign population is evidently more mobile than the German population: in 2005, 12% of foreigners compared with nearly 7% of Germans relocated. Both groups also frequently changed their city district, although a slightly higher proportion of foreigners (74%) than Germans (69%) did so.

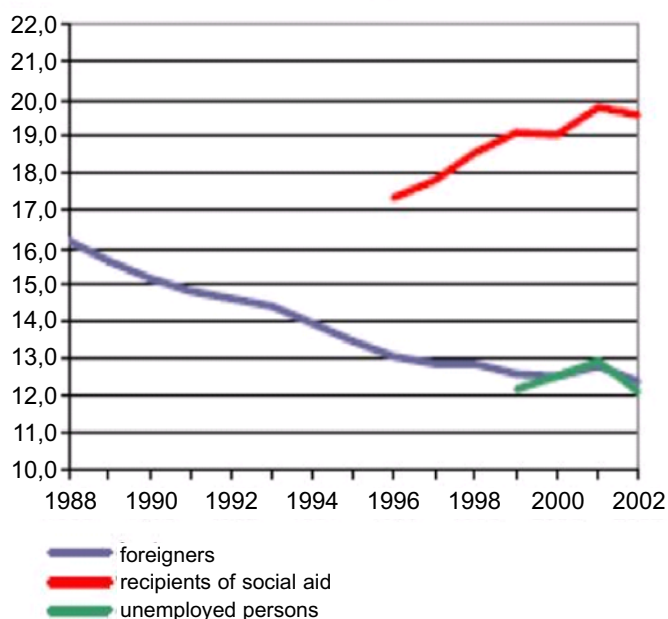
Segregation

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

To measure socio-spatial segregation, Frankfurt uses the index of segregation (IS)⁵, which measures the extent to which a certain group is spread over the different areas of a city compared with the other population groups. Ethnic segregation therefore refers to the inner city distribution of the non-German population in relation to the German population. The evaluation of the IS shows that ethnic segregation continually decreased between 1988 and 2000 in Frankfurt: in 1988, the IS was 16, while in 2002 it was only 12 (Figure 8). This ratio is very low for cities in western Germany and is related to the high percentage of foreigners in the city.

⁵ Often in sociology, the segregation indices – namely, the Index of Segregation (IS) and the Index of Dissimilarity (ID) coined by Duncan and Duncan – are used. The ratio of said indices goes from 0 (no segregation or equal distribution) to 100 (complete segregation or dissimilarity).

Figure 8: *Development of social and ethnic segregation in Frankfurt, 1988–2002*

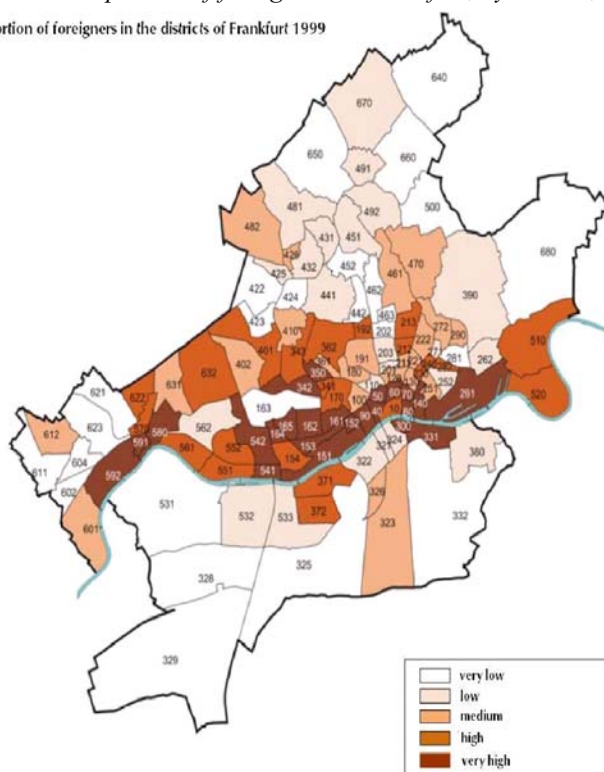


Source: Sautter, 2004, p. 62

The generally favourable socio-spatial development of Frankfurt should not hide the fact that some districts have a high concentration of foreigners. In 1999, the highest concentration of foreigners was found in inner city districts, which were characterised by a high proportion of old buildings, comparably low housing status and many small businesses. The districts that are situated north of the Main river in Frankfurt registered the highest proportions of foreigners – namely, Bahnhofsviertel (69%), Gutleutviertel (55%), Innenstadt and Gallusviertel (both 48%).

Figure 9: *Proportion of foreigners in Frankfurt, by district, 1999*

Proportion of foreigners in the districts of Frankfurt 1999



Source: Jacobs, 2002, p. 113

An analysis of segregation based on the nationality of foreign inhabitants shows that, on average, the socio-spatial segregation in city districts has declined. The lowest segregation numbers were found for persons from neighbouring EU countries, as well as for inhabitants from other highly developed countries. In their choice of housing locations, foreign inhabitants differ only slightly from the German population. Nonetheless, several population groups concentrate in certain areas. For example, in 2004, half of the city's Turkish, Moroccan and former Yugoslavian citizens lived in the 11 city quarters with the highest population figures of each group, while the other 50% were spread over the other 36 quarters. Among these, the Gallusviertel district is worth highlighting, as it houses 7% of Turks, 8% of Moroccans and, together with Ostend, 17% of former Yugoslavians.

Besides a high percentage of foreign citizens, another potential factor posing a threat to the social stability of a district is the percentage of welfare recipients. In areas with a high percentage of social housing, the percentage of foreigners has risen over recent years. However, the proportion of foreigners in these districts is still below the city average. Therefore, there does not appear to be a high concentration of foreigners in areas of Frankfurt with a high percentage of social housing.

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

When evaluating segregation, heterogeneity within individual city areas has to be considered. Overall figures may hide the findings in relation to small streets with a high concentration of socially and economically disadvantaged population groups. In addition to a high percentage of foreigners, a significant proportion of welfare-dependant citizens is evident in certain housing areas. In 1999, some 45 problem housing areas were identified, based on findings of city hall experts and a study of socio-cultural data, including the percentage of foreigners, people on welfare and unemployed persons. Within 30 of these areas, the percentage of foreigners was above average and, in 20 of them, by more than 25%. Moreover, the proportion of welfare recipients was far above the city-wide average. In 2002, city districts were analysed on the basis of a concentration index that incorporates the proportion of foreigners, welfare recipients and unemployed persons. This identified three areas within the inner-city district of Gallusviertel that showed a high concentration of all three criteria.

Accessibility of housing market

Frankfurt's housing market situation is quite complex and problematic. It is therefore more difficult in Frankfurt than in other comparable German cities to gain access to both high quality and affordable housing. This is true for all tenants in Frankfurt. Nonetheless, some population groups experience greater difficulties than others, especially migrants.

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

Access to housing is further complicated if no adequate living space for households or families of a certain size exists. In this respect, Frankfurt simply lacks large housing units. Due to the disparity in the housing market and the fact that foreign families living in Frankfurt are, on average, bigger, migrants have to wait longer for appropriate sized housing. As a result, they have to live longer in smaller residences. The city reacted to this problem by merging old housing units, and by building larger new buildings. However, both of these processes take time.

In addition, administrative rules can influence access to housing, particularly in the field of subsidised housing. An underlying concept of German integration policy is the inclusion of migrants in the German welfare system. In Germany, two public measures exist that aim to support the households identified by the government as being most affected by exclusion: namely, housing allowances and subsidised social housing. Foreigners have the same legal rights to apply for housing allowance and social housing as Germans do, provided that they live legally and permanently in Germany, that the accommodation in question is situated in Germany and that the occupant living in this accommodation pays the rent or cost of their accommodation on their own. Under the new Residence Act (*Aufenthaltsgesetz*) (Section 44 I (1)), permanent residence is generally assumed if the foreigner is granted a residence permit valid for more than one year or has held a residence permit for more than 18 months, unless the stay is of a temporary nature. This means that foreign students and seasonal workers could be excluded from social housing, whereas refugees and asylum seekers can be (with some reservations) placed in council flats (see Chapter 6 for more details).

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

Institutional setting and relevant actors

In Germany, the housing situation is influenced by national policies, which seek to improve the support for households most affected by exclusion. However, due to Germany's strong municipal autonomy, municipal policies have the most impact on the housing situation. This section gives an overview of the most important municipal actors and their activities and responsibilities concerning housing.

The Housing Office is responsible for questions and guidance concerning all matters dealing with rented housing, lack of buildings and flats, and the control of the costs of rent. It also gives advice to persons seeking subsidised housing and acts as an agent for social housing. The Housing Office is therefore also responsible for changes of residence and housing allowances.

The Office for Urban Planning (*Stadtplanungsamt*) is responsible for the planning of land use, landscaping, regional traffic and transport planning, the promotion of housing construction, and urban renewal. The need for urban renewal and integrated neighbourhood planning can, according to the office, occur in areas where buildings are clearly in need of modernisation, where residential infrastructure such as crèches or shopping centres are lacking, where problems are evident concerning the living environment and public places, for example in relation to too few parks and playgrounds for children or problematic transport situations, or where social conflicts have arisen. The goals of the Office for Urban Planning are urban renewal, social stabilisation, and the promotion of the local economy, as well as the strengthening of residents' identification with their neighbourhoods. In order to achieve these objectives, the office uses various instruments, such as the formal legal designation of a redevelopment area, the introduction of the state/federal programme 'Social City', and the launch of municipal programmes.

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

Elsewhere, the AmkA provides information and guidance and, at the same time, develops and supports equal opportunity policies. For this reason, it serves as a contact point for questions concerning migrant housing issues. The AmkA also performs networking tasks in areas dealing with integration; in order to jointly plan and combine integration measures at the municipal level, it maintains constant contact with other offices, institutions and housing societies. Furthermore, one of its employees has been designated responsibility for neighbourhood conflict management and mediation.

Other important actors are the local housing construction societies (*Wohnungsbaugesellschaften*), which either completely or partially belong to the city. Each company signed the so-called 'Frankfurt Contract' (*Frankfurter Vertrag*), which aims to promote a socially and ethnically balanced demographic structure. Furthermore, they are involved in various initiatives aimed at supporting intergroup relations among residents.

One of the largest of these housing construction bodies – *ABG Frankfurt Holding Wohnungsbau- und Beteiligungsgesellschaft mbH* – belongs to the city of Frankfurt and constitutes a union of several housing societies.⁶ Altogether, these societies own about 50,000 housing units. In addition, they own commercial units and other rental units such as dormitories, facilities for young and elderly people, storage spaces and garages. The ABG is also engaged in other activities such as social work, consultation and intercultural mediation.

⁶ ABG housing societies: Hellerhof GmbH, Frankfurter Aufbau AG (FAAG), MIBAU GmbH and Wohnheim GmbH

Another of these housing bodies – *Nassauische Heimstätte Wohnungs- und Entwicklungsgesellschaft mbH* – owns about 16,000 housing units in Frankfurt. The company belongs to the state of Hesse, the city of Frankfurt and several other Hessian cities as well as counties. Following the motto, ‘Vitalise neighbourhoods, promote individual initiative’, Nassauische Heimstätte is involved in combating social tension in its housing estates, and promotes tenants’ identification with their housing environment: it takes part in tenants’ celebrations, mediates in conflicts within the residential communities, offers guidance to rent debtors, and supports child and youth counselling, along with employment and involvement projects. The group therefore cooperates with public as well as private partners.

The third largest housing company – *Gemeinnützige Wohnungsgesellschaft mbH Hessen* (GWH) – has approximately 12,500 apartments and belongs to the state of Hesse, the city of Frankfurt, and to several other cities and counties. The group supports various social projects: these include large-scale projects that affect a wider public, such as an annual flower festival that draws thousands of visitors; its activities also include short-term social projects that deal with housing. At the same time, the GWH promotes clubs within its own housing constituencies that follow a social and communicative approach – such as sports clubs or clubs geared towards the integration of foreign citizens.

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

Housing policy

Vision, concepts and policy of administration

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

The major importance of housing is asserted in these guidelines. Accordingly, housing is an existential commodity to which every member is entitled. The home is the place where every person spends most of their time and it satisfies people’s basic needs. Living conditions are important factors for the development of one’s personality.

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

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

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

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

Public discourse

The socio-spatial integration of migrants is currently not a controversial issue in Frankfurt. In 2005, only 2% of the population rated the lack of foreigners’ integration as the biggest problem in the city (although 9% of the respondents also believed that there are too many foreigners living in Frankfurt). Nonetheless, some of the neighbourhoods with a disproportionately high percentage of foreigners are being judged negatively and are being depicted as problematic in the local media.

For a long time, the Gallus quarter – which has the highest proportion of foreigners in the city – had a very negative image. In this case, the media's attention was primarily focused on the integration deficits in the population. Within the framework of an evaluation of integration processes in Frankfurt, almost all interviewees from the neighbourhood complained of the unrecognised qualities of the Gallus quarter and of problem-focused news coverage. In the opinion of the district ombudsman, the area's biggest challenge is its stigmatisation as a 'problem neighbourhood'. The bad image was 'not created at home, but applied from the outside'. The negative news coverage strengthens segregation tendencies, as it prevents a large proportion of the population from moving to the Gallus. Notwithstanding this, the news coverage has improved over the last year. This is due, among other things, to successful and effective multicultural initiatives such as the 'Kids World Cup' project (see next chapter).

Similar processes have benefited the residents of the Ginnheim area, where one third of the citizens are foreigners. After the withdrawal of American soldiers in the 1990s, dwellings for approximately 4,000 people became available on the barracks grounds. About 40% of these dwellings were offered on the free housing market, while 60% were assigned by the Housing Office as social housing. Even before the assignment was finished, the so-called 'housing areas' were already known to be a 'social hotspot' – mainly due to initiatives of long-time resident neighbours and the media coverage. Today, the majority of the population are satisfied with the neighbourhood, and more than three quarters of them would move into these housing areas again. Nevertheless, they are also aware that their neighbourhood is still perceived more negatively from the outside than by themselves, which is a source of significant annoyance to them.

Interventions in housing and integration

Improving access to housing for migrants

As outlined earlier, people who lack the funds to secure adequate accommodation in the free housing market – including migrants – have the option of applying for a housing allowance or to register for social housing. The housing allowance is financed by federal and state governments and is paid to low-income households as a top-up payment for the cost of housing. In Frankfurt, the Housing Office is responsible for this allowance. The allowance aims to provide decent housing for low-income households by facilitating their access to accommodation. Whether a household can apply for a housing allowance and the amount it can apply for, either to supplement the rent or the mortgage in the case of house owners, depends on the size of the household, the level of income and the rent or costs paid by the applicants. Foreigners have the same legal rights to apply for a housing allowance as Germans do.

The so-called social housing market is regulated by the Housing Assistance Act (*Wohnraumförderungsgesetz*). This makes the construction of new buildings, the renovation of existing buildings and the acquisition of occupying rights (*Belegungsrechte*) eligible for public funding. Its primary objective is to provide special target groups with housing. Under this act, households in need can apply for a housing authorisation permit (*Wohnberechtigungsschein*) at the Frankfurt Housing Office. The procedure mirrors that of the housing allowance: whether a household (both German and non-German) is eligible for such a permit depends on the income level, the number of family members, as well as the residence status of the applicant, who has to be living permanently in Germany.

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

These regulations apply to all residents. Virtually no statistical data exist on the extent to which migrants benefit from these measures. However, the proportion of migrants belonging to the target groups – that is, low-income households, families with children, or inhabitants of disadvantaged neighbourhoods – is above average. Therefore, it can be assumed that migrants benefit disproportionately more from these regulations.

Local policies related to spatial segregation

As already outlined, ethnic segregation in Frankfurt is comparatively low and, for a number of years, it has been diminishing. However, because of the weak concentration of migrants in particular neighbourhoods, a number of measures have sought to actively reduce segregation. The city is more concerned with lowering the level of urban segregation.

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

For years, provisions have been made concerning the assignment of registered households to German and foreign applicants; households where one spouse has German citizenship, as well as applicants who have lived in Germany for at least 15 years continuously, are considered to be 'German'. It is assumed that these groups have a sufficient level of

social and cultural integration. The classification of these groups as ‘German’ lowers the number of foreigners, relative to the whole population, from 53% to 26%. Even so, the number of registered foreigners seeking housing (starting with two-person households) is still, relative to the total, higher than the percentage of foreigners in Frankfurt. Moreover, especially with regard to larger dwellings, as the number of German families with children registered as seeking housing is quite low, and the number of foreign families seeking housing is rather high, the 30% quota for foreigners has clearly been exceeded in particular buildings and settlements. Considering the problematic backgrounds and living conditions of registered persons, as well as the pressing nature of clientele placement, achieving a balanced population structure has become increasingly difficult. Due to these regulations, foreigners must wait longer than Germans for adequate housing. The Frankfurt Contract is considered highly controversial, as it limits access to the housing market and can therefore be interpreted by the public as discriminatory. Nevertheless, at the same time, the contract is effective in helping to counteract segregation tendencies.

Social City

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

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

The quarters Unterliederbach, Engelsruhe and Gallus have been participating in the programme since 1999 and 2001, respectively. The total duration of the project is 10 years, and the Office of Urban Planning is responsible for the project. Through this programme, Frankfurt follows an integrative approach with the goal of renewing and socially stabilising urban areas, as well as promoting local identity and intercultural integration, and strengthening the local economy. It is expected that this approach will yield indirect and preventative effects. Ultimately, the project aims to lead to the enduring renewal and stabilisation of city quarters by combining housing industry and urban construction tasks with social and job market policy effects. Therefore, the resident community and other local actors are included.

Neighbourhood offices housing local management and project administration were also set up as part of the initiative. In 2004, additional neighbourhood Social City advisory councils were founded. These advisory councils meet about six times each year and attend to various matters concerning neighbourhood development. The councils' main role is the development of integrated operational concepts for the shaping of tasks and measures for each neighbourhood. The councils involve neighbourhood residents and institutions in the project planning of the social city. In the course of this programme, playgrounds and meeting places have been renewed, while improvements have been made to the housing environment in cooperation with ABG Frankfurt Holding. Generous recreation areas have also been opened and a resident-adequate structuring of the neighbourhood has been initiated.

Frankfurt – Social City – New Neighbourhoods

In late 1999, the city representatives' assembly decided to introduce a purely locally financed programme called 'Frankfurt – Social City – New Neighbourhoods' (*Frankfurt – Soziale Stadt – Neue Nachbarschaften*). The project is coordinated by the city's Youth and Social Services Department. Five goals were postulated for the project as follows: improving housing and living conditions; enhancing the social and cultural life; improving employment and vocational qualifications; ensuring equal opportunities for residents; and encouraging the mobilisation of residents. These goals ultimately aim to strengthen the sense of belonging in the neighbourhoods, as well as to generate the development of sustainable structures.

The programme currently operates in four neighbourhoods. In each one, a neighbourhood management has been established, which functions as an information and advisory office. In addition, the management initiates, coordinates and implements projects, as well as cooperating with residents, clubs, city agencies and housing construction enterprises. In each case, the supporting organisation is a public utility institution, such as Caritas, Diakonie, AWO or Internationaler Bund. As a result of the project's success, two further neighbourhoods were due to be included in the project in 2007.

Concrete measures dealing with the renovation of buildings and matters concerning the housing environment, such as playground design and the maintenance of landscaped areas, are carried out in the neighbourhoods. At the same time, projects are meant to be supported for and by residents, while employment measures and qualification opportunities for young and unemployed people are set to be improved. Thus, the goal of the initiative is not only the improvement of urban construction, but also the initiation and strengthening of capacities and potential that already exist in these quarters. In order to demonstrate the value of multifaceted approaches for improving neighbourly coexistence, a neighbourhood prize is awarded annually. The prize categories are awarded: namely, a prize for group and individual activities that can exhibit positive results; and a prize for group activities that are still in the planning phase. The first and second place winners are awarded €750 and €500 respectively for each category. In this way, the activities and involvement of residents in the neighbourhood can be highlighted and encouraged.

Measures of housing societies

The activities of the municipal housing societies were mentioned earlier in the report. All of the societies are sensitive to issues regarding intergroup relations and focus on socially mixed populations. The housing societies seek to create a peaceful housing environment for all tenants, especially in those areas that have a proportionally high migrant share, despite the Frankfurt Contract.

In this respect, ABG Frankfurt Holding has provided social workers to improve inter-ethnic relations within the districts. These social workers offer advice and guidance to help solve intercultural neighbourhood conflicts. In 2006, this service was called on in more than 100 cases. In collaboration with other advice centres and city agencies, counselling on personal issues is also offered. Besides this housing-related work, ABG is also involved in community work. Its social

workers are involved in local networks and maintain contacts with the advisory councils and neighbourhood coordinators of the Social City project. Together with the local authorities, police and voluntary organisations, they have organised roundtable meetings in areas where conflicts have arisen between young people and the community.

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

District mediation

Constructive problem solving in socio-spatial areas has become increasingly important for maintaining social peace within the neighbourhoods. In 1996, the AmkA developed a project for mediation within multi-ethnic communities. The project is based on the direct input of engaged community members, who are asked to find solutions for potential as well as immediate conflict situations. Their task is to create conflict analyses, to bring together those involved in the conflicts and to mediate the discussions. For this reason, community members with various language and professional backgrounds are trained to become voluntary mediators. When a need arises, they are assigned free of charge. Depending on the kind of conflict, the mediator is elected from among a mediator pool. In 2000, there were approximately 50 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. Conflicts reported by individuals or institutions are dealt with in close cooperation with the appropriate authorities, such as the police, housing companies, social welfare committees, regional committees and the local mayors. Between 1996 and 2000, more than 400 conflicts were taken up, most of which occurred between natives and people with a migrant background. The conflicts were mainly related to noise disturbances, rubbish and internal house rules.

The project has not only contributed to preventing the incidence of conflicts, but has also helped the police and local authorities. At the same time, it has empowered local community members through accountability in conflict situations, by making use of resources and networks of existing institutions. The project has already been copied on several occasions: it is a vital element of the Social City initiative, and housing societies such as the ABG are now taking on mediation tasks following the example of the AmkA.

Police and migrants in dialogue

Since 1997, the AmkA has been running a project called 'Police and migrants in dialogue'. The initiative arose from a long-lasting collaboration between the AmkA, the police headquarters of Frankfurt and the Wiesbaden Police academy. The project aims to create a better understanding between immigrants and the police and to counteract mutual stereotypes. On the one hand, the police should receive support through effective knowledge of the different national groups living in Frankfurt. On the other hand, the foreign participants should become familiar with the structures and tasks of the German police and, in conflict situations, should be able to communicate to their fellow citizens the information necessary for clarifying potential problems. Representatives of the local authorities and of different organisations are also included in the workshops with the police – more specifically, in several preparation seminars with immigrants of different backgrounds, as well as in educational seminars of both groups. The workshops are being continued within the different organisations and religious centres and through discussion forums that can be organised by one of the collaborating partners. In addition, a social gathering called 'police and migrants' has become an important element of the project.

Kids World Cup

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

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

The Kids World Cup initiative primarily sought to intensify and improve intercultural collaboration. Some 80% of the volunteers recruited by the project leadership – which contributed to the development, creation, organisation and success of the Kids World Cup – were people with a migration background. Altogether, more than 30 district organisations, societies and institutions were involved in the development of the project, and over 1,000 people visited the games and the intercultural district festival. The project provided more opportunities for children living in the district to get involved. The central concept of ‘intercultural fantasy countries’ helped to show the children how isolation and racist conflicts can be overcome in football and in daily life. At the same time, the children’s ability to deal with conflict was specifically promoted through their established tolerance and fairness rules. The positive press coverage, mainly from German and Turkish media, led to a positive change in the image of the entire district.

The project received an award from the ‘Stand up Speak up’ programme for its anti-racist focus, and was also granted financial aid of about €77,000 from the German Children and Youth Trust and the King Baudouin Trust. The state of Hesse, the AmKA and the Youth and Social Welfare authorities also contributed to the financial aid. Due to its success, the project also received the 2006 integration prize awarded by the city of Frankfurt, and is receiving continued support through the succession project ‘The ball is round, the Gallus is colourful’ (*Der Ball ist rund, Gallus ist bunt*).

EQ – Exchange

As mentioned, young people from the Gallus district are often disadvantaged when searching for apprenticeship opportunities because of their place of residence. Against this background, a second project was developed in the context of the World Cup in Germany to help manage the consequences of urban district segregation. Under the so-called ‘World Cup EQ – Exchange’, companies that were involved in the World Cup – such as catering, marketing and tourism companies – offered six to twelve-month long internships so that young people could gain entrance qualifications (EQ). As a result of the internships, nine young people were offered apprenticeship contracts.

Key challenges and lessons for CLIP

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

As early as the 1960s, due to its industrial facilities, Frankfurt became one of the first main destinations for guest workers. Even after the cessation of guest worker recruitment, immigration did not cease: the unification of guest workers and their families accounted for the continued immigration. Today, almost 161,000 foreigners from 130 countries live in Frankfurt, accounting for one quarter of the city's population. The proportion of people with a migration background currently stands at 38% of the city's total population.

Frankfurt's housing market, particularly in the lower price ranges, is extremely competitive. As a result of the (on average) low income level of Frankfurt's migrants, they frequently have less housing space than inhabitants without a migration background – at an average of 27 square metres versus 41 square metres per person.

Migrants also tend to live in neighbourhoods with comparatively bad housing environments, a large proportion of migrants, and less favourable reputations. However, in general, ethnic segregation is relatively low owing to the efforts of the Housing Office and housing companies to actively prevent segregation over a long period of time. Since 1999, the so-called Frankfurt Contract – a contract between the city council and housing enterprises – has set quotas for the number of foreigners who must be assigned housing. However, the contract has proved controversial and, due to the large number of foreigners seeking housing, it often cannot be upheld. In spite of this, the contract should be seen as a successful measure towards the prevention of segregation.

One reason for the relatively good socio-spatial integration of migrants in Frankfurt is that immigration and, even more importantly, the integration of immigrants in the city has been an issue for a long time. The city government realised early on the importance of and need for integration measures. The creation of the Department of Multicultural Affairs – renamed the Department of Integration in 2001 – and the affiliated AmkA marked an important step in the city administration. At community level, the AmkA focuses on migrants' needs and multicultural coexistence and is an important contact for all inhabitants of Frankfurt. The overall integration concept, as can be seen in the range of AmkA services, is by no means solely concerned with housing.

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

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

A further initiative is the Kids World Cup project, which won the city's integration prize due to its success. The project's organisers demonstrated how sports and cooperation at neighbourhood level can help to enhance migrants' identification

with their neighbourhoods, as well as to promote more social and tolerant behaviour. A less publicised, but nevertheless effective means for promoting harmonious intergroup relations is the District Mediation project, in which dedicated volunteers act as mediators in intercultural conflicts.

The initiatives described here are applicable to other European cities, at least in terms of their conceptual design. Adapting the measures to the respective local characteristics is, of course, a precondition for the success of such initiatives. In addition, several of the projects require substantial financial resources and organisational effort. However, their success is primarily attributed to the dedication and creativity of the citizens of Frankfurt. The city of Frankfurt is a good example of how decades of integration policy have led to the development of a local integration culture, which represents an important foundation for the effective implementation of integration measures.

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