



European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions

CLIP Project

Policy Recommendations to Improve Local Policies on Housing and Segregation of Migrants

CLIP European Research Group



The following institutes and researchers from the CLIP European Research Group contributed to this report:

CEDEM, University of Liège

Marco Martiniello

Sonia Gsir

COMPAS, University of Oxford

Steve Vertovec

Sarah Spencer

Alessio Cangiano

Christiane Wirth Forsberg

Zoe Davis–Heaney

Claire Perriton

efms, University of Bamberg

Friedrich Heckmann

Doris Lüken–Klassen

Wolfgang Bosswick

European Foundation, Dublin

Hubert Krieger

IMES, University of Amsterdam

Rinus Penninx

Anja van Heelsum

ISR, Austrian Academy of Sciences Vienna

Heinz Fassmann

Josef Kohlbacher

Peter Görgl

1 Introduction

1.1 Purpose

Many European cities, in particular the metropolitan areas with strong economies, have experienced since decades 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. Many cities collected a rich experience and often became centres of competence in developing and implementing strategies for integration and improved participation of immigrants and ethnic minorities. At the same time, cities and municipalities are also directly facing the costs for failing integration processes. For this reason, cities and municipalities have a genuine interest in successful local integration practices in order to avoid costs and to mobilise the potentials of their population with migratory background.

Housing of migrants as being a central issue of life quality 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 taken as an important indicator for the state of structural integration in the receiving society. On the other, 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 migrants' integration, the CLIP network started its activities with a first module on housing. This module aims at providing an overview and an expert analysis of relevant housing policies and measures in Europe at the local level as well as indicators for evaluating their outcome. The CLIP project in general aims at triggering and supporting a structured process of mutual exchange of experiences among the participating European cities. This approach applies a bottom-up research design and involves the participating cities as actors of the ongoing CLIP project.

1.2 Policy context

In spring 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 (Dublin) created a European network of 'Cities for Local Integration Policies for Migrants' (CLIP). In the course of the CLIP project's work, the City of Vienna joined the CLIP network's steering committee, both supporting the CLIP project's activities by linking to 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 DG Justice, Freedom and Security and from DG Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities cooperated with the CLIP project. In the 2005 Green Paper on economic migration and even more in its Communication on integration of migrants from September 2005, the EU

Commission already stated a need at the 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 tackled within the Communication from September 2005 and by a chapter in the second edition of the EU Handbook for Integration published by the EU Commission in spring 2007. Also the discussion among the EU member states on emerging “parallel societies” of migrants and social unrest with migrant communities (e.g. in the banlieu of several French cities) illustrates the increasing relevance of integration issues at the EU level. This discussion is strongly related to segregation of migrants and minorities in European cities, an issue which is a major topic of this overview report. Last but not least, the emerging debate on the increasing demographic and labour supply challenge for Europe recognises the importance of a successful economic migration and social integration policy for migrants and their descendents for the Lisbon strategy of the European Union.

As far as the future activities of the CLIP network are concerned, the second module in 2007/2008 will be on diversity dealing with a core issue of the 2007 European Year of Equal Opportunities. It looks in particular at personnel management of local authorities as regards employees with a migrant background and social service provisions on the local level for migrants. The third module (2008/2009) will focus on intercultural and inter-religious dialogue with Muslim communities on the local level, whereas the fourth module (2009/2010) will deal with various aspects of ethnic entrepreneurship and the role of local authorities.

1.3 Research questions

The activities of the first 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 (no elite or upper class migrants), and the aspect of local policies of the municipalities. It focuses on the situation of vulnerable groups with migratory or minority background (migrants, asylum seekers, ethnic minorities, single-parent households, large multi-children households, low-income and unemployed people). Of course, not all migrants do belong to these vulnerable groups and suffering 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.

Guiding research questions of the module on housing are:

Segregation: What are the experiences of the cities related to the segregation of migrants and minorities? What do we know about the consequences of segregation on the integration of migrants in the metropolises? What segregation-related policies and measures are 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 minorities?

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 (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 minorities in particular?

Social environment: What are the experiences of CLIP cities regarding the results of local public policies on housing, in particular measures for the integration of migrants and the social cohesion of neighbourhoods? What social policy measures related to housing issues are implemented (accompanying physical improvement programmes or targeting the social situation of vulnerable neighbourhoods)?

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

There is much need to understand housing as an integral part of the integration processes of migrants in the urban context, and to analyse the housing situation of migrants as an important indicator for integration processes and the state of integration in the urban context.

1.4 CLIP network

This study has been compiled by the CLIP network which began its activities beginning of 2006. 20 European cities and five research institutes from the European IMISCOE network of excellence participated in the first module on housing. Cities participating actively have been 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 are CEDEM at the university of Liege (Prof. Martiniello), COMPAS at Oxford university (Prof. Vertovec), efms at the university of Bamberg (Prof. Heckmann), IMES at the university of Amsterdam (Prof. Penninx) and ISR at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna (Prof. Fassmann). 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 subsequent modules is concerned the network has been extended to 25 cities participating actively. The overall network encompasses just under 30 cities.

1.5 Method

The work cycle of each module applies the following steps:

Choice of subject: The choice of the module theme in the CLIP project is made upon discussion with the participating cities, considering recommendations from the steering committee and the research group.

Concept Paper: Based on a state of the art analysis, experts from the research group compile a concept paper for the module's theme which discusses existing knowledge, provides an analytical framework to the module's research and renders proposals for the methods of the case studies on the local level.

Common Reporting Scheme (CRS): Based on the concept paper, experts from the research group develop a reporting scheme for collecting relevant data from the cities participating in the case studies of the module. Based on the Concept Paper and the CRS, a joint structure for the case studies is compiled to facilitate a comparative analysis across the cities.

First project conference: The concept paper as well as the CRS is presented and discussed with the experts from the cities at a two days project conference.

Data collection: Experts from the cities complete the CRS reporting in a semi-standardized manner upon local policies and measures, including information on the specific legal, political and historical background being relevant for the module's theme.

Field visit: Based on the information from the CRS, the research group team carried out field visits in the participating cities for collecting more detailed data and information for the case studies. During the field visits, the researchers interviewed experts from relevant municipal departments as well as non governmental organisations, organisations of the social partners and of local media; in addition, respective neighbourhoods have been visited

Case Study: For each participating city, a case study is compiled by the research team being responsible for the city. Draft case studies are discussed with the experts from the city and are finalised by the research team.

Overview Report: Experts from the research team compile an overview report which summarises the most relevant information from the case studies and analyses the experiences of the cities with regard to local policies and measures.

'Conclusions for National and European Policymakers' and 'Recommendations for Local Policymakers': As a final step of the module's work cycle, experts from the research group compile two brief recommendation papers, one for practitioners at the city level, and another one for policy makers at the national and European level.

Second project conference: The experts from the cities, the researchers and other European experts discussed the case studies, the draft overview report and the two draft recommendation papers at a two day project conference.

Methods used for compiling the case studies are document analysis, expert interviews, participant observation and secondary analysis of data provided by the cities.

The implementation of the CLIP case studies is realised within an approach of institutionalized communication between the partners from the participating European countries as well as between the relevant domains of practitioners, administration, policy and research.

The approach of the CLIP project envisions a focus on the research demand and practical relevance at the municipal level, *involving the partner cities as subjects and actors in the research process*, while the research institutions primarily are in charge to facilitate the research and to ensure standards of scientific quality. The European

Foundation as project manager links these activities to the European policy debate ensuring a policy relevant selection of research issues, high quality outputs, timely delivery and the introduction of the research results of CLIP in the local, national and European policy debate on the integration of migrants. Thus, the project has its centres of gravity at the local municipal level in comparative European perspective.

2 Conclusions and Recommendations

From the perspective of individuals, decent and affordable housing holds 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 satisfactory family life, living in adequate accommodation is seen as the most necessary prerequisite for a good and satisfactory quality of life. This general observation holds also true for residents with a migratory or minority background.

2.1 General observations

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

Migrant groups are often in a vulnerable position on the local housing markets, often occupying sectors which are shared with autochthonous vulnerable groups (weak socio-economic position, welfare-dependency, large families), possibly resulting in competition for scarce resources. These developments entail the risk of 'ethnicisation' of such competition settings, possibly resulting in serious conflicts that may threaten social cohesion. Thus, housing policies for migrants and minorities are of utmost importance not only for the targeted groups themselves, but also for the housing quality of the general population of the areas in question and the local society as a whole. Social cohesion and the prevention of conflicts in residential areas is an important factor for the quality of housing specifically, and the quality of life in general.

Though housing policies may tend to affect 3rdcountry nationals more than EU citizens resident in another EU member state, because the former group has a higher share of vulnerable individuals and families, it does not take away the relevance of housing for mobility within the EU (and the realisation of the freedom of movement within the European Union). The recent reports on the problematic housing situation of migrants from the 12 new accession states in some of the old EU15 states, among other the UK and the Netherlands, testifies to that.

The empirical data collected in 20 cities from all over Europe has made it abundantly clear that both the situations that should be addressed in policies and the local policies themselves are immensely diverse. This diversity derives basically from two sources.

The first is that the institutional settings in the cities concerned are extremely diverse: local housing markets differ in terms of the age of buildings, ownership, location and quality, but also in degree of scarcity of (certain) housing and 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, partly due to national regulations for building, improvement and allocation of housing and partly due to choices made at the local level.

The second source of diversity comes from the immigrants/minorities themselves: their characteristics – demographic, socio-economic, linguistic, cultural and religious – are by no means uniform (although selective perception makes the migrants that conform to the (problematic) migrant image more visible). Such differences within the category of immigrants has immediate consequences for the question as to whether they fit in easily or not within the existing system of housing and it may possibly have consequences for the dynamics of living together and social cohesion in residential areas where they settle.

Even if we tried to distinguish certain patterns in cities as to the aforementioned institutional characteristics, or related to characteristics of migrant residents themselves, the diversity remains striking. And still more specificity may arise out of the dynamics after primary access to housing: when the residential concentration of certain groups of immigrants comes to coincide 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 is therefore that any policy based on the principle of 'one size fits all' is bound to fail. Tailor-made solutions, based on a clear diagnosis of the local situation and taking these specifics into account, is what is needed. It is primarily the cities and local communities which face the task of developing these tailor-made solutions.

2.2 Recommendations for local policymakers

The following recommendations for local policy makers assemble specific experiences made in various cities as well as innovative ideas invented in several cities of the network. In general, they are applicable to every European city. For the actual implementation of a measure or policy, the appropriate adaptation to respective local characteristics is, of course, a precondition for the success of the initiative.

2.2.1 Migrant integration and local housing policies: The need for partnership and cross-departmental cooperation

Decent and affordable housing can be seen 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 background. However, the housing situation of migrants differs from those of autochthonous ones: on average, migrants and ethnic minorities belong to the more vulnerable groups on the housing market. Of course, not all migrants do belong to these vulnerable groups and suffering 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 are reduced

command of the language of the receiving country, lower socio-economic status, social exclusion, lack of knowledge on housing-related rights and responsibilities, as well as discrimination and exploitation on the housing market. Thus, municipal housing policies have to deal with the specific situation of migrants. This should neither be done solely within the scope of general housing policies nor organised as a policy that is only directed towards migrants. Given the complex interrelation of housing issues, the integration of migrants and other municipal policy areas, an integrated, cross-departmental approach is strongly recommended. This regular interdisciplinary collaboration within the municipal administration should be accompanied by cooperation and partnerships with local NGOs and welfare organisations, churches, local chamber of commerce, local unions, landlords' and tenants' associations.. The integrated approach should be reflected in the organisational structure of the city administration and be supported by provisions for a structured and efficient cooperation among the multiple actors involved:

Regular internal working groups between relevant departments of the local administration such as housing, urban planning, social affairs and welfare, health, youth, integration and diversity matters, education, and law enforcement institutions

Regular round tables and meetings with external experts and representatives of civil society with housing and migrants' integration issues

Central coordination of integration policy of migrants within the local administration with respective competences (information by all departments, participation in programme 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 are expensive. However, in the end, such investments avoid substantial costs caused by integration problems.

2.2.2 Planning for the people: Sufficient information and intelligence as a challenge for local policy

In order to plan and implement reasonable local integration policies in general and in relation to housing and segregation in particular, local policy makers 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 number of migrants, age structure of migrant population and typical household sizes, migrants' national and ethnic background as well as legal status. A city should not only deal with 'foreigners', but consider also persons with a 'migration background' as second and third generation migrants.

Of special interest for local housing policies are, secondly, information on housing conditions and spatial distribution of migrants. Such data are both the basis for adequate measures and indispensable for the development of a preventive and sustainable housing policy. Cities are therefore asked:

- to develop indicators to evaluate migrants' housing situation (like square meter per person, quality of building) and systematically monitor it
- to establish indicators to evaluate migrants' access to housing (like waiting period for social housing of migrants versus those of autochthonous groups) and systematically monitor it
- to set-up indicators to evaluate the spatial distribution of migrants in the city (like segregation indices) and systematically monitor it
- to collect and survey the dynamics of migrant movement in the city through flow data and use a low level of spatial breakdown (consideration of neighbourhoods or streets instead of districts only) since this deliver deeper and more reliable insights
- to integrate the monitoring on housing conditions into an overall monitoring of quality of life of migrants in their local community
- to establish a specialist unit for migrants' housing data in the statistical office.

The data collection may use various sources like general population surveys, local population data, scientific studies as well as opinion surveys. In case that existing data do not refer to migrant status 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. Even if a strong collaboration of different departments and organisations is recommended, social work, information gathering and enforcement tasks should be clearly separated.

2.2.3 Social housing under public influence: A prime mean for local policymakers

Various migrant households are unable to supply themselves with adequate housing. To ensure decent housing for these low income groups, the supply and provision of access to affordable social housing under public influence is an important means for most CLIP cities.

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

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

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 spread of social housing dwellings across the city are of relevance for the integration processes of migrants allocated in social housing.

Due to undersupply of social housing and strong competition between native and migrant low income earners, access to social housing is often a major issue for local policy makers. To enhance adequate access to social housing for everyone in need and also secure socio-economically and ethnic mixed neighbourhoods, a city may consider

- to define requirements and regulations for getting access to social housing (such as maximum family income, waiting period, children or elderly family members in need of care in the household), establishing a ranking list and emergency provisions enabling to jump the queue in case of urgency. It has to be considered that access criteria like waiting lists and years of residence may discriminate indirectly against certain groups of migrants

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

- to support mixed neighbourhoods. This can be achieved by defining explicit or implicit quota for migrants to social housing in general or in certain locations and open up access to social housing for middle class income earners or sale single units in social housing areas

- to check quotas regarding their legality and efficiency

- to discuss whether the opening up of access to social housing for middle income earners may contradict one of the basis 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.

2.2.4 Housing cooperatives: A help for migrants

Most what has been said for access to social housing holds also true for housing associations, in which the associates are the owners. Competition between native and migrant tenants (owners) seems to be even stronger. At the same time the influence of the local authorities on the allocation of housing to migrants is lower. Options for concrete measures are:

- to provide municipal ground to housing associations in exchange for controlled rents and a certain quota of apartments the city has the right to assign tenants

- to coordinate the provision of housing for migrants among housing associations by establishing a round table

- to critically assess and if possible abolish formal regulations or informal practices discriminating migrants in place among the housing associations (i.e. waiting lists requiring a long period of residence or providing for inheriting residence rights).

2.2.5 Support the access to the local housing market: importance of better information and discrimination monitoring

Due to challenges like missing 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, migrants' have more difficulties to find appropriate housing. This is particularly important for newly arriving migrants. Cities

may hence consider supporting the access to the housing market via better information and discrimination monitoring:

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

- provision of information documents in different languages, linking to volunteer mentors or migrant associations of the same language group

- establishment of a low-threshold office collecting complaints (ombudsman) and systematic monitoring of discrimination of migrants on the housing market.

2.2.6 Privately rented housing: Measures against overcrowding

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

- national governments need to review the powers and resources that local authorities have to deal with this issue (eg a licensing system for private landlords with properties in multiple occupation which is sufficiently resourced so that landlords cannot operate without a license and local authorities inspect conditions before renewing it)

- local authorities consider working in partnership with other agencies that have powers of entry into such properties so that they share information on properties where conditions are unacceptable and take joint action to address it.

2.2.7 Privately rented housing: Ideas for public-private partnership

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 social requirements of migrants. Instead of acting against market dynamics, market opportunities should be used. For doing so, cities may consider innovative public-private partnerships in order to improve access and affordability for migrants to privately rented housing. The city can

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

- provide municipal ground at below market price to private builders or developers, who in turn have to offer a share of the apartments at reduced rents to target groups like families with children

- act as mediator for contracts between tenants with migration background and (autochthonous) owners and guarantees the owner for instance the reparation of potential damages caused by the tenant, charging the tenant for the damage

target discrimination of migrants in the private housing market: an approach to protect the interests of migrants without alienating private house owners as a whole.

2.2.8 Affordable home ownership for migrants: Just a dream?

While the publicly owned or privately owned rented accommodation is dominating the housing market in some European cities, housing markets of others 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 socio-economically disadvantaged situation than the autochthonous population and have more difficulties to afford home ownership.

However, home ownership often improves the housing conditions of respective families and can be seen as a major step of integration into the receiving society – it should therefore actively be promoted. The following measures can be taken by local authorities to support home ownership of migrants:

- provision of subsidies or tax reductions to low income families (including migrants) for constructing houses as well as for the purchase or renovation of occupied housing
- provision of municipal land at a subsidised price to low income families who build houses on the ground
- support in access to mortgages at reduced interest rates in cooperation with local banks, e.g. via providing a guarantee for default by private organisations to the banks or other guarantees by the local authority
- provision of municipal land at a subsidised price to private developers, who in turn have to sell housing units below market price to target groups
- enable migrants to contribute to the buildings of their house by their own labour
- support for migrants' involvement in housing cooperatives of home owners.

2.2.9 Improving personal security: An important challenge

Most European cities have some neighbourhoods with poor infrastructure, an above-average proportion of residents with low socio-economic status and a high proportion of migrants. In such neighbourhoods, the actual and the felt personal security cannot always be ensured. However, since personal security is an exceedingly important component of quality of life, a city should improve it. As a first step, urban renewal measures such as more lightning can ameliorate the situation, but on the long term, policies involving the respective residents are indispensable. In the CLIP project, the following measures have been identified as good practice examples to improve both the objective and personal security in a district:

- Neighbourhood police officers
- Establishment of a structured and continuous dialogue between police and migrants, e.g. by involving migrants' representatives in police training courses for inter-cultural competences

Home and security guards in the neighbourhoods with strong participation of migrants, e.g. 'neighbourhood fathers' moderating youngsters from migrant families and preventing provocative acts and petty crime by local youth gangs

Communication strategies for involving residents for a safety concept for the area

Regular cooperation between schools, police and social services to reduce crime

Low-threshold provisions for reporting of hate crime against migrants and provision of an independent place separate from the police station where people can report these crimes, to overcome the problem of migrants being too fearful to go to the police station.

These security measures and surveillance have regularly to be evaluated with regard to their prevention capacity versus only shifting the problems to other urban areas.

2.2.10 Soft urban renewal: An alternative

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 for a rehabilitation of deprived areas with a high concentration of migrants and low income autochthonous population. 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. This practice includes the following activities:

Re-conversion and up-grading instead of demolition of housing stock, combined with the construction or modernisation of public spaces as venues of interaction

Involvement of residents in planning and implementation of renewal measures, e.g. by information places and 'planning pubs' for information display and public discussion, by support for residents' organisations and the transfer of certain competences to them, small-scale renewal in old housing stock using resources of residents

Allocation of public institutions and services like libraries, municipal offices and university buildings into these neighbourhoods

Improving employment and economic opportunities for low income/unemployed citizens, including the promotion of local ethnic entrepreneurship

Increasing the attractiveness of renewed neighbourhoods for middle class families.

The soft urban renewal is an auspicious approach for both rehabilitation of the area and involvement and participation of all residents – and hence also for a successful integration of migrants. However, due to increased attractiveness of neighbourhoods, rents and prices will under normal circumstances increase, too. Cities have to consider how to combine the attraction of new middle class families to the area with the retention of long-term residents some of them with a migrant background.

2.2.11 Anti-segregation policy: Ways to achieve more balanced neighbourhoods

All CLIP cities assume that high degrees of concentration of migrants, and in particular of one ethnic group of migrants, should be avoided, as they endanger an effective integration of migrants. However, cities are also aware of the fact that some extent of concentration in smaller spatial units cannot be avoided. In general, a mix of different types of housing and different ethnic groups with the native population seems to be advisable. Also a balanced socio-economic and demographic composition of the population is regarded as an important aspect of anti-segregation policy. Local policy should consider that a higher birth rate of migrants is one of the major factors of an increasing concentration of migrants, when at the same time middle class families with small children leave the area. The following measures are recommended to prevent or reduce segregation:

Spreading of social housing around the city seems to be of great importance to avoid spatial concentration of low income earners in general and migrants in particular

Building of smaller social housing units

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

Using of formal or informal quotas to avoid a high concentration of migrants seems to be problematic or even unlawful in certain countries. As a matter of fact, quota has carefully to be checked regarding their fairness, effectiveness and lawfulness regarding the EU Directive against racial discrimination. Local authorities may consider that voluntary measures may sometimes prove more effective than involuntary measures like quota

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

Allocation of public institutions and services (e.g. child care, schools, 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 get socio-economically mixed neighbourhoods (instead of only controlling the inflow of migrants)

Improve the neighbourhood image in the media and the general public using an effective communication strategy and organising cultural or sports events.

2.2.12 Small ethnic colonies on the neighbourhood level: Support for integration

In general, the promotion of socio-economically and ethnically balanced neighbourhoods is recommended. However, the CLIP network is also aware that some extent of concentration of distinctive (ethnic) groups cannot be avoided – and does not have to be. Ethnic networks on a neighbourhood basis may have a positive

function for the well-being of the migrant residents and for their integration process: Especially for newly arriving migrants that 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 on a neighbourhood level and stay in ongoing contact with them

- consider, if small migrant neighbourhoods may provide cost-effective opportunities for the first phase of the integration process of newcomer migrants
- integrate such neighbourhoods as far as possible into the city as a whole by provision of infrastructure, services and by a positive discourse in the media as a colourful and culturally active part of the city

- monitor intra-city mobility of migrant and autochthonous groups carefully to avoid unwanted levels of concentration of migrants

2.2.13 Community relations, participation and empowerment: Importance of soft measures of housing integration

'Soft' measures of improving housing conditions and segregation are given by many observers a great importance for a successful integration of migrants. Firstly, good community relations (inter-group relations) are an important factor for the quality of housing both for migrants as well as for autochthonous 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 of native citizens and migrants by sharing responsibility. The following measures may be considered:

- Effective and early participation in the planning process of measures and projects

- Transfer of certain competences to groups of citizens

- Establishment of neighbourhood action groups

- Good support for local associations and their activities

- Support for involvement of migrants into owners associations

- Involvement of students as role models to support the socialisation of migrants in segregated neighbourhoods

