



Housing and segregation of migrants

Case study: Stuttgart, Germany



[Click for contents](#)



Contents

About CLIP	1
Background	2
Profile of Stuttgart	7
Housing situation	11
Institutional setting and relevant actors	17
Housing policy	19
Interventions on housing and integration	20
Key challenges and lessons for CLIP	26
Bibliography	27
List of persons contacted	31

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 known as 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 (GR), Diputació de Barcelona (ES), Bologna (IT), Breda (NL), Brescia (IT), Budapest (HU), Copenhagen (DK), Dublin (IE), Frankfurt (DE), Helsinki (FI), Istanbul (TR), Izmir (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), Zurich (CH).

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

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, access to, 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 processes have occurred in Germany since the end of the Second World War. Between 1945 and the beginning of the 1950s, about 12 million German refugees and expellees came to Germany. Prior to the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961, 3.8 million people migrated from East to West Germany. Whereas migration in the late 1940s and early 1950s was closely related to the war and its consequences, migration from the late 1950s to the early 1970s was the result of labour market processes. The combination of high economic growth and internal labour shortages led to a continuous and increasing recruitment of foreign 'guest workers' (*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.³ Another large group of immigrants are asylum seekers and refugees. In the 1990s, 1.8 million people requested asylum. Over one million refugees lived in Germany in 2003.

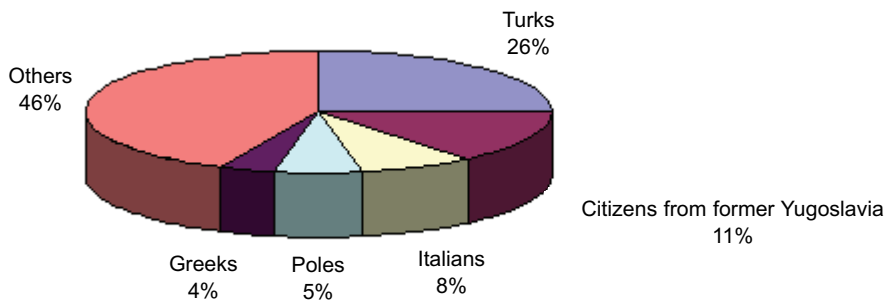
By 2006, about 6.8 million foreigners – that is, persons without German citizenship – were living in Germany. Of these, 31% come from the EU, 47% from other regions in Europe, and 12% from Asia. Figure 1 shows that Turks, with 1.74 million persons (26%), represent the largest foreign nationality, followed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

¹ The first contract on the 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 lower than in 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 latter term 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*.

³ In 2005, 35,500 Spätaussiedler arrived in Germany.

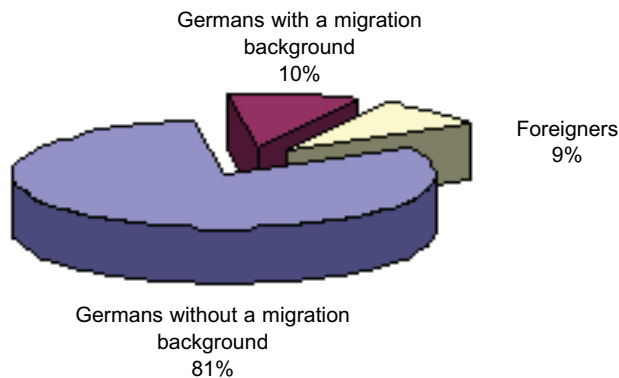
Figure 1: *Foreigners in Germany, by nationality, 2006 (%)*



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

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 (%)*

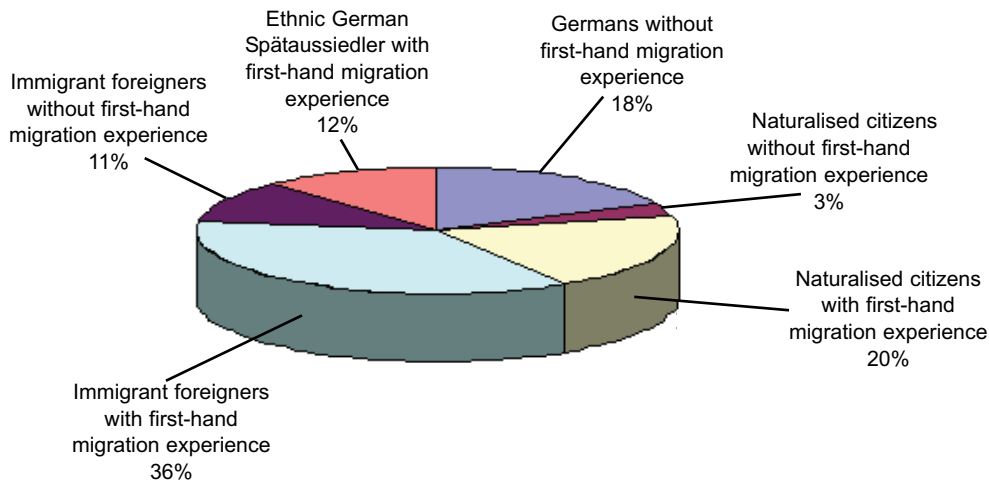


Source: *Compiled by EFMS based on data from the Federal Statistical Office (Statistisches Bundesamt), 2006, p. 75*

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

six to one, respectively. A further 1.8 million people (12%) with a migration background are ethnic German Spätaussiedler.⁴ 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 migrants.

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

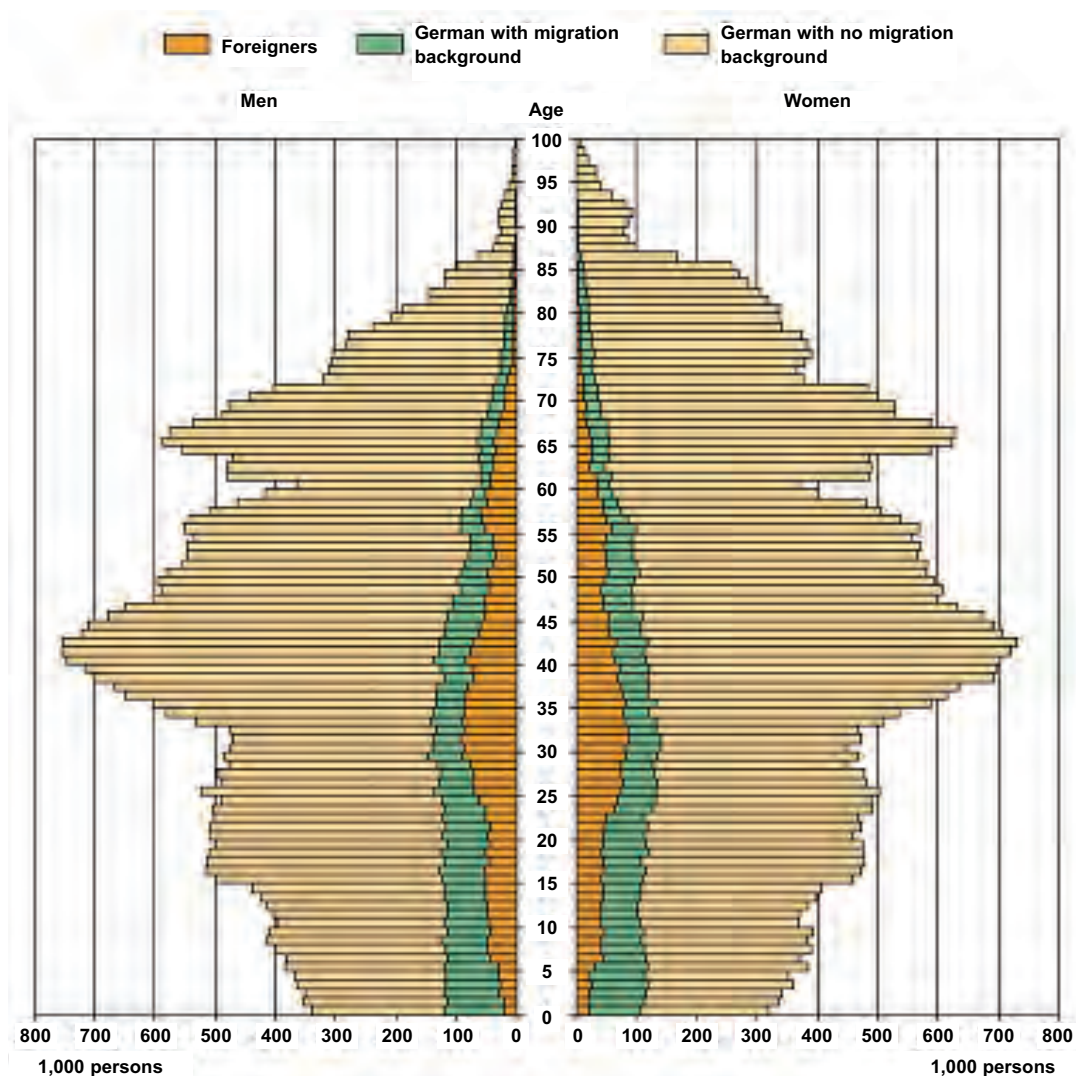


Source: Compiled by EFMS based on data from the Federal Statistical Office, 2006, p. 75

Figure 4 represents, in the form of an age pyramid, the population with a migration background in 2005, per thousand persons: men are found on the left side, women on the right. Foreigners are represented in orange on the inside, Germans with a migration background in green in the middle and Germans without a migration background in beige on the outside. The graph 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.

⁴ 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



Notes: Men are displayed on the left side and women on the right, per thousand persons. Orange = proportion of foreigners; green = share of Germans with a migration background; beige = proportion of Germans without a migration background. Ages are shown in the central vertical column.

Source: Federal Statistical Office, 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 only represent 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. For the entire migrant labour recruitment period, there was a consensus in society and in political circles that the residence of

the ‘guest workers’ would only be temporary, and integration only partial. Until 1998, the official governmental definition was that Germany was not an immigration country.⁵

However, this denial of the immigration situation cannot be equated with the lack of an integration policy. In 1978, the office of the Commissioner for the Promotion of Integration of Foreign Employees and their Families was institutionalised. The foundation of this office demonstrated that the integration of migrants was officially recognised and deemed necessary. The main feature of the German mode of integration has been to open core institutions – the labour market, self-employment, the education and training system, and housing – to the 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 specific services to migrants are implemented by Germany’s six largest welfare organisations.⁶ They are private associations but receive public funds from the European Union (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. 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 gave integration policy in Germany an ambivalence that resulted in a lack of formal integration of migrants. In 2000, a new citizenship law was introduced that includes the *jus soli* or ‘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 – entitled 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 modules to familiarise migrants with the German language, history, culture and legal system. Furthermore, in 2007, BAMF was developing a nationwide integration programme to identify all existing migrant integration measures, compile informational material concerning such provisions and propose 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.

⁵ In 1998, the newly elected Social Democratic and Green coalition government (**DE9811281F**) officially recognised ‘that an irreversible immigration process has taken place’.

⁶ These six organisations are the Catholic Caritas, Protestant Diakonie and Jewish Central Welfare Agency (*Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle*, ZWST), as well as the labour movement’s National Labour Welfare Association (*Arbeiterwohlfahrt Bundesverband*, AWO), the non-partisan umbrella organisation the Parity Charitable Association (*Der Paritätische Wohlfahrtsverband* – now *Der Paritätische Gesamtverband*, DPWV) and the German Red Cross.

Profile of Stuttgart

Brief description of the city

Stuttgart is located in the south of Germany and is the capital of the federal state Baden-Württemberg. It covers an area of about 250 square kilometres. With 592,028 inhabitants at the end of 2005, Stuttgart is Germany's sixth largest city. At the beginning of the 1990s, Stuttgart's population increased significantly and, in 1992, it reached its peak of 613,316 residents. After this peak, the population began a steady decline; however, since 2000, a slight rise in population has been documented.

Stuttgart is the centre of one of the strongest industrial regions in Germany. The city is a major location for the automotive industry, as well as for science and technology. Companies like the car manufacturers Daimler-Chrysler and Porsche, the electrical appliances manufacturer Bosch, and the information technology corporations Hewlett-Packard and IBM have all settled in the Stuttgart region. In addition, almost 45% of Baden-Württemberg's research and development (R&D) capacities can be found in Stuttgart, including the Max-Planck Institute, the Fraunhofer Institute and the German Aerospace Centre (*Deutsches Zentrum für Luft- und Raumfahrt*). Furthermore, Stuttgart is one of the federal republic's top educational locations. The region is also well known for its wines.

The gross domestic product (GDP) for market prices in 2003 was €33,451 billion, or €56,783 per head of population. Although Stuttgart's proportion of the regional GDP represented about 36% of the total, only 23% of the region's discretionary income went to private households within the city, as a large amount of the income earned in the city benefited commuters. The discretionary income per head of population in Stuttgart for 2003 was €20,251.

In 2003, Stuttgart reported a job density of 791 jobs per 1,000 residents, and employed 466,000 people, about 75% of whom were subject to social insurance contributions. Some 58% of these employees resided outside the city; in recent years, the number of commuters has increased. Of Stuttgart's population in paid employment, 75% are employed in the services sector and about 21% are employed in the manufacturing sector. Between 1990 and 2004, the unemployment rate in Stuttgart more than doubled, to a rate of 8.1%. In recent years, the unemployment rate in Stuttgart has continued to rise and, in 2005, the rate was 10.3%.

City's migrant population

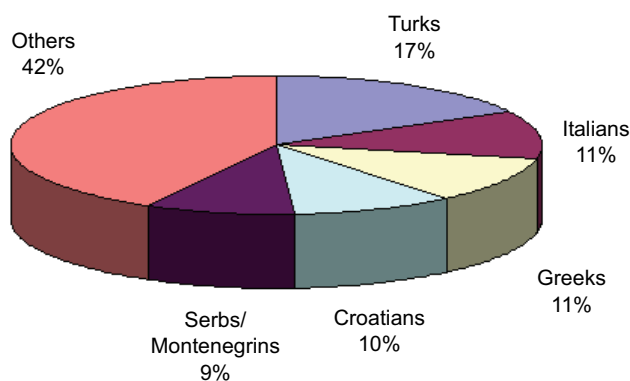
The mid 1950s marked the start of the immigration to Stuttgart of primarily male 'guest workers' from southern European countries such as Greece, Italy and Turkey. It became apparent in the 1970s that Stuttgart's migrant workers were not, as previously expected, going to return to their native countries,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

In 2007, almost a quarter (22%) of the entire population comprised foreigners – that is, people without a German passport. The proportion of people with a migration background – that is, people with non-German citizenship, with dual citizenship, naturalised Germans and people born abroad – is much higher, at 40%. In fact, the population with a migration background is constantly increasing. However, since the municipal statistics office has only recently begun collecting data concerning migration background, most of the following information refers to foreigners only – that is, non-German citizens – and not to migrants or people with a migration background in general.

Altogether, people from over 170 countries live in Stuttgart. Turkish citizens, representing 17% of all foreigners, make up the largest migrant group (Figure 5). They are followed by citizens from Greece and Italy (11% each). Croatians and

citizens of Serbia and Montenegro make up 10% and 9%, respectively. A significant number of immigrants are German nationals, such as Spätaussiedler arriving from the former Soviet Union. However, these migrants and their descendants are only included in statistics concerning the German population with a migration background, and not in general statistics on foreigners.

Figure 5: *Foreigners in Stuttgart, by nationality (%)*



Source: *Compiled by EFMS based on data from the Stuttgart Statistics Office*

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

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

Comparing the educational situation of children with and without German citizenship, it emerges that the average level of education is considerably higher among German children than among foreign children of the same age: 60% of German pupils, compared with only 17% of non-German pupils, transferred from primary school (*Grundschule*) to the highest level school (*Gymnasium*). In contrast, 12% of German pupils and 59% of non-German pupils continued from primary school to the lowest level school (*Hauptschule*).⁷ In 2004, the total proportion of non-German pupils in special needs schools was 58%.

In 2004, 14% of Stuttgart's employees subject to social insurance contributions were of non-German citizenship. A considerable proportion of them (60%) were employed as labourers. In fact, non-Germans accounted for 33% of all labourers and 8% of office clerks in Stuttgart. A significant proportion of non-Germans in paid employment – especially women – are active in low-wage sectors of the economy.

Stuttgart had a total unemployment rate of 10.7% in January 2006. Non-Germans, with an unemployment rate of 18.6%, are more highly affected by unemployment than Germans. Some 3% of the foreign population receives subsistence aid, whereas the figure for German citizens in Stuttgart is only 1.3%. Non-German women in particular are affected by poverty, which can be passed on to the second and third generations in migrant families.

⁷ This discrepancy is lower in middle level schools (*Realschulen*): 28% of German pupils and 25% of non-German pupils went on to the *Realschule*.

Municipal integration policy

In the age of globalisation, the city of Stuttgart considers immigration to be a standard practice, and also desirable for the development of the region. The city regards the large share of people with a migration background as an added value and resource; for example, this feature should make Stuttgart, as an international city, more attractive to foreign companies. The result of this awareness and perspective was a re-orientation of Stuttgart's integration policy. Integration is thus becoming an important element of municipal policies, with a focus on social and cultural integration. Stuttgart understands social integration as meaning equal opportunities in core areas such as the labour market, education, and housing and recreation. Cultural integration is interpreted as participation in cultural processes, the acceptance of core societal values, including political participation, and identification with a pluralist political system. To these ends, the goals of Stuttgart's integration policy are to promote opportunities for participation and to combat tendencies of social and cultural exclusion. Furthermore, integration is considered as 'the creation of a common basis for mutual understanding'. The precondition for this is not only the ability but also the willingness of the immigrant and native populations to follow this course. Thus, integration represents a two-way process. Integration measures are therefore not only aimed at migrants, but also at the indigenous population.

All of these aspects are part of the 'Stuttgart Pact for Integration', which was set up in 2001. The pact was established between the citizenry, the local economy, the city government and non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Local integration policy is considered as a basic strategy applied to all facets of public life. The Pact for Integration made this policy a top priority in Stuttgart: the Department for Integration Policy (*Stabsabteilung für Integrationspolitik*) is directly responsible to the mayor and has a central coordinating function. It supports and connects actors that carry out integration measures as part of their responsibilities. An international committee (*Internationaler Ausschuss*) has been institutionalised, which is an advisory body to the Stuttgart municipal council and is responsible for advising the council and administration concerning all matters of integration among the non-German population. The committee comprises 13 members of the municipal council and 12 informed residents selected from nominations proposed by the mayor.

Integration measures consist of 12 different areas: 1) support for newly arrived and established immigrants; 2) language and education support in childcare facilities; 3) equal opportunities in school and vocational training; 4) integration in the workplace; 5) intercultural orientation of the city administration; 6) integration and participation in neighbourhoods and residential areas; 7) urban planning and housing policies for integration; 8) intercultural and international orientation; 9) the Stuttgart Partnership for safety and security; 10) inter-religious dialogue; 11) political participation; and 12) public awareness.

Furthermore, the city of Stuttgart does not only focus on local measures that serve the successful integration of persons with a migration background. The city views migration in a global context, arguing that living and working conditions on other continents must improve. For this reason, the Stuttgart Partnership One World (*Stuttgarter Partnerschaft eine Welt*) was created in 2005. The goal of the partnership is, on the one hand, to establish a better network of Stuttgart's development projects and, on the other hand, 'to raise public awareness for the necessity of aid to the so-called "third" and "fourth" worlds'; the latter refers to marginalised people or nations. Moreover, Stuttgart – as the initiator of the European network of cities for local integration policies (CLIP) project – has shown considerable interest in discussing integration issues within a European framework, and in exchanging experiences with other European immigration cities.

Stuttgart's integration concept has found international recognition. In 2003, the city was awarded the 'Cities for Peace Prize' by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). One year later, in 2004, the Council of Europe took key points of the 'Stuttgart Pact for Integration' and adopted them as its official policy on integration. The pact has become a model for the development of integration strategies in other communities. In addition, Stuttgart's integration concept won the national 'Successful integration' competition, which was sponsored by the Bertelsmann Foundation and the Federal Ministry of the Interior (*Bundesministerium des Innern*, BMI).

Inter-city cooperation

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

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

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

Housing situation

Housing stock and market

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

Figure 6: *The Stuttgart 'bowl'*

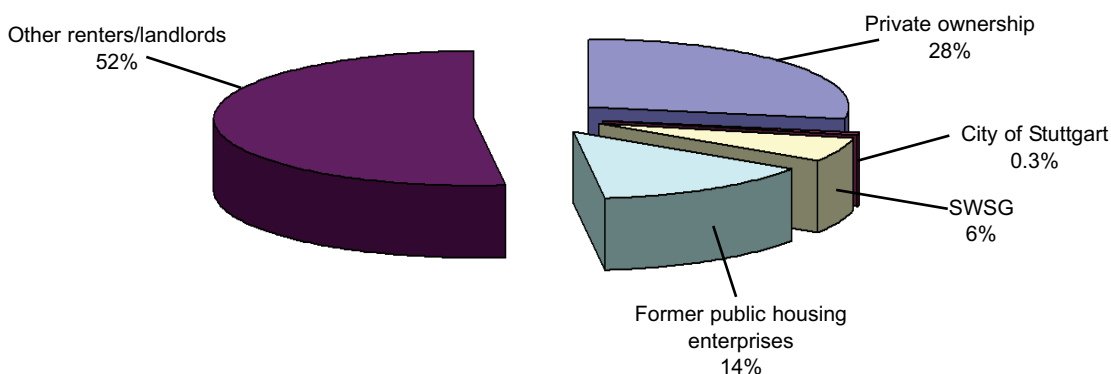


Source: *State Capital Stuttgart (Landeshauptstadt Stuttgart), Office of Urban Planning and Renewal (Amt für Stadtplanung und Stadterneuerung), 2004, p. 62*

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

In 2004, Stuttgart had over 292,359 residences, 28% of which were owner-occupied while 72% were for rent. Thus, Stuttgart had a higher quota of proprietary housing than comparable German cities (23%). Of all residences, 14% belong to former public housing enterprises, 6% to the Stuttgart Public Housing and Urban Construction Company Ltd (*Stuttgarter Wohnungs- und Städtebaugesellschaft mbH, SWSG*) and 0.3% to the city itself (Figure 7).

Figure 7: *Housing stock in Stuttgart, by ownership, 2002 (%)*



Source: *Compiled by EFMS based on data from State Capital Stuttgart, Office for Housing and Real Estate (Amt für Liegenschaften und Wohnen), 2006, p. 84*

Because of the cramped Stuttgart 'bowl', both construction and housing in Stuttgart are traditionally rather difficult. Persistent excess demand and the lack of real estate have led to premium prices; in comparison with other cities, Stuttgart is well within the upper third price range. During the 1990s, 2,400 homes were completed every year on average; however, this figure declined in 2001–2005 to 1,100 homes a year, 500 of which were subsidised. That total amounted to only four newly completed homes for every 1,000 in housing stock. The new residences were primarily built in the north and south of the city, where the housing stock increased by 6% compared with only 3% in the inner city. With new residences, ownership is preferred: the rate was 90% in 2004. The expansion of homeownership increased the value of property in the area, with the consequence that few rental apartment buildings were built.

The average number of rooms per person has changed noticeably since 1999. The disproportionate share of smaller residences with up to three rooms in 2000 remained stable at a high level, whereas the development of larger residences with six or more rooms continued to increase in a linear manner. The average size of housing is therefore steadily increasing. The statistical mean for 2004 was about 74 square metres. With the increase in size, the living space per person also increased. This can be ascribed to the 'remanence' effect, as well as to an autonomous prosperity or cohort effect. Remanence connotes that the children moving out, or the death of a life partner, does not lead to relocation to a smaller home. Therefore, the living space per person increases with old age; this is especially true for homeowners. The autonomous prosperity or cohort effect implies that younger households occupy a larger living space than preceding generations of the same age group; in other words, the increase in wealth enables people to live in larger residences today than in the past. Other reasons for the increase in living space are the shrinking population since the beginning of the 1990s and the ongoing construction of new residences. Mathematically speaking, every inhabitant of Stuttgart has four square metres more living space today than in 1992. In 2005, the living space per person in all of Stuttgart was 37 square metres. However, looking at the different city quarters, a notable north–south divide emerges: living space per person in the northern city quarters (35 square metres) is smaller than in the inner city (38 square metres) and in the southern city quarters (39 square metres).

The median of Stuttgart's rents was €6.70 per square metre, according to the rent index for 2005–2006; in other words, half of all households pay more than that while the other half pay less. Nevertheless, over 80% of all rents amounted to between €6 and €7.50 per square metre.

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

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

During the Second World War, over 60% of the building stock was destroyed. That led to an enormous construction boom in the 1950s. At that time, many large apartment buildings were built, especially in the suburbs. Today, half of all households live in dwellings older than 50 years. Some 60% of all households reside in buildings with six or more apartments. Despite their rather old age, the quality of the buildings is quite high: the majority of apartments feature three

or four rooms (28% and 29% respectively), and 60% have built-in kitchens. The majority also have carpet or parquet flooring; 57% have central heating. The main energy source is gas (60%); charcoal and wood are no longer used.

Satisfaction with housing conditions is very high and has been steadily increasing for years. A total of 84% of residents are happy or very happy with their home, while 77% report these feelings regarding their surroundings. However, inhabitants of Stuttgart are unhappy with the housing market and housing supply; only 42% were satisfied with the market supply. Moreover, 60% of all those surveyed complain that one of the biggest problems is the high cost of rent.

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

Housing situation of residents with migration background

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

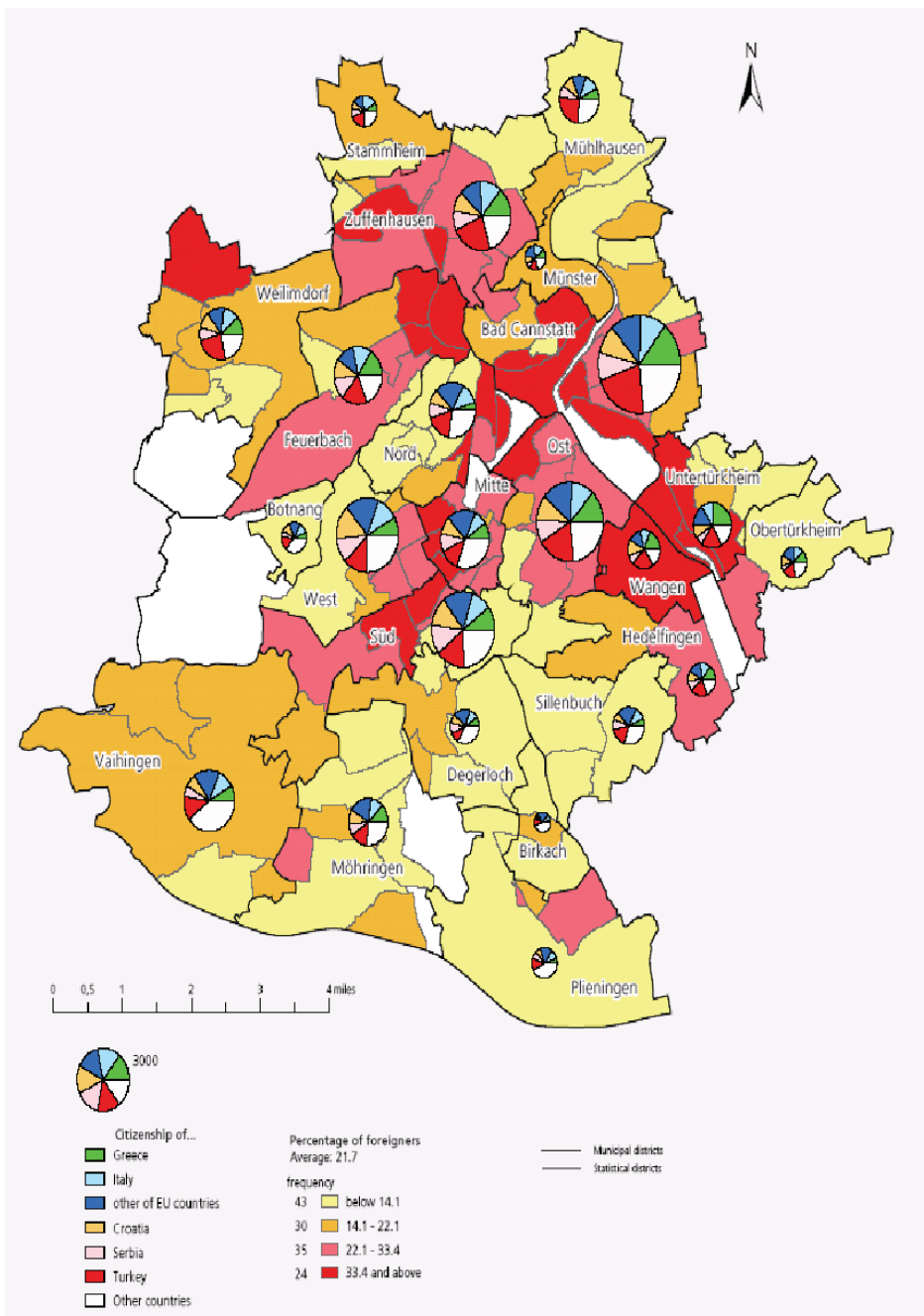
Generally speaking, the housing quality in Stuttgart is high. Regarding migrants, in 2005, 70% of non-German Stuttgart residents were satisfied with their dwellings. This proportion is high, but below that for the city as a whole (79%). One reason for this difference is probably the smaller housing size: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

The survey respondents also criticised their districts for having unfavourable neighbourhoods that are characterised by drugs, criminality and poor physical infrastructure. They cited discrimination and stigmatisation of a city district with a negative image. At the same time, the interviewees identified themselves with their respective districts, mainly because of 'soft' social factors such as youth services, contact with neighbours, and their relationships with friends and family within the district.

Segregation

The non-German population is spread across Stuttgart's entire urban area. In the inner city and the outer northern and eastern districts, which are characterised by industry, the number of citizens without a German passport is higher than the overall city average and well above other district averages. The specific districts are Zuffenhausen and Feuerbach in the north and Bad Cannstatt in the northeast, Wangen and Untertürkheim in the eastern part of the city and the central districts of Mitte, Nord, Süd and Ost (Figure 8).

Figure 8: *Foreigners in Stuttgart, 2005*



Source: *Stuttgart Statistics Office*

A higher concentration of economically disadvantaged German population groups are also living in these regions of the city. Several quarters in districts with a high proportion of foreigners are acutely affected by poverty, and an above-average rate of people are on welfare.⁸ Therefore, migration-specific segregation and poverty segregation correlate.

⁸ Especially in Mitte, Ost, Nord, Bad Cannstatt, Zuffenhausen and Feuerbach.

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

Looking at segregation at the smaller scale of city blocks, rather than districts, a more differentiated picture emerges. Mainly in the above-mentioned districts in the north and northeast, but also in other parts of the city, certain city blocks and streets have a foreign population that is sometimes even higher than 50% of the total. At the same time, this proportion in the immediate vicinity of such neighbourhoods is often considerably lower. According to several experts interviewed for this study, the proportion of Germans with a migration background in these areas is also very high. This raises the quota of persons with such a background, compared with those without a migration background, even higher. In some of these quarters, the German population is also considerably older than the non-native groups. Therefore, some neighbourhoods consist of a mix of large numbers of young families with a migration background and a small number of retired Germans. It is obvious that such a profile harbours opportunities, but also the potential for conflict.

Ethnic segregation of the proportionately prominent nationalities – citizens of the former Yugoslavia, Turks, Italians and Greeks – according to the segregation index, has declined since 1980. Hence, housing locations of the non-German population have slowly spread over the entire urban area. No concentration of single ethnic groups exists in Stuttgart; instead, there is a concentration of migrants in general. All of the foreign nationalities are similarly distributed throughout the city quarters.

The socio-spatial concentration of social and ethnic population groups in certain areas is the result of a development over many decades, with few integration policy interventions. Integration of foreigners was, until recently, confined to welfare policies, with no concern for demographic development or for the socio-spatial dimension of the integration process. It should be noted that ethnic segregation is also a consequence of German families with higher income leaving particular areas for better housing within Stuttgart or in the suburbs. This is, on the one hand, due to the lack of affordable real estate in Stuttgart. On the other hand, some families feared that, should their children go to schools or day-care centres with a high proportion of foreigners, they would be at a disadvantage in their school and professional careers.

Overall, the foreign population of Stuttgart is spread throughout the city, but is concentrated in certain housing quarters and streets. This small-scale social segregation and the – perceived or real – stigmatisation by others have negative implications for other aspects of life. Women and adolescents in particular with a migration background tend to spend most of their spare time within their city quarter and within homogenous non-German networks. These conditions foster problems like ‘double semilingualism’, that is, insufficient knowledge of both the native language and German. Through an evaluation of surveys, the situation can be summarised as an ambivalent mode of migrant integration: a deficient integration into the majority society and the city as a whole, as opposed to a pronounced internal integration into the city quarter and into ethnic networks.

Accessibility of housing market

The housing market situation in Stuttgart is tight. It is therefore more difficult in Stuttgart than in other comparable German cities to gain access to both high quality and affordable housing. This is true for all tenants in Stuttgart. Nonetheless, some population groups – especially migrants – suffer more in this regard than others do.

Those with lower socioeconomic status simply have less money to spend on adequate housing. Educational standards within the non-German population of Stuttgart are, on average, lower, and members of this group are more likely to become unemployed. Therefore, it is safe to assume that their average financial situation is also substandard and that a major proportion of foreigners have difficulties gaining access to housing. It should be emphasised at this point that, in particular, internationally active companies in Stuttgart employ many highly qualified foreigners with no money-related access problems. As these foreign nationals are also included in the data, they improve the overall statistical picture. Statistics describing the economic status of specific foreign population groups in more detail would therefore enable more accurate conclusions on the accessibility of housing.

In addition, legal 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 into the German system of welfare. In Germany, two public measures aim to support households identified by the government as most affected by exclusion: housing allowances and subsidised social housing. Foreigners have the same legal rights to apply for a housing allowance and social housing as Germans do, provided that they live legally and permanently in Germany, that the apartment in question is located in Germany and that the occupant living in this accommodation pays the rent or cost of the accommodation on their own. According to Section 44, Article I (1) of the 2004 Residence Act (*Aufenthaltsgesetz, AufenthG*), permanent residence is generally assumed if the foreigner is given a residence permit valid for more than one year or has held a residence permit for more than 18 months, unless the stay is of a temporary nature. This means 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.

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

Institutional setting and relevant actors

In Germany, the housing situation is influenced by national policies aiming to improve the support of households most affected by exclusion. However, due to Germany's strong municipal autonomy, local policies have a significant impact on the housing situation. This chapter will present the most important municipal actors and their activities and responsibilities concerning housing.

One important actor is the Office for Housing and Real Estate (*Amt für Liegenschaften und Wohnen*). It regularly publishes real estate offers, and advertises building plots and buildings to let in order to encourage housing construction and cover the demand for adequate housing. The office also provides information about financial aid for ownership housing, renovation and energy-saving measures. An important target group is young families. In addition, the office is responsible for the allocation of subsidised social housing and rental units for middle-income groups. Furthermore, the office acts as an agent for homes for which the city has occupying rights. Finally, the office is, in legal matters, also responsible for rental price control.

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

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

The Office of Urban Planning and Renewal (*Amt für Stadtplanung und Stadterneuerung*) attends to all aspects of urban planning and development, and provides legal preconditions for adequate housing space and the realisation of important infrastructural projects. The main task, within the framework of urban development planning, is the development of strategies and planning concepts, as well as coordinating a response to the city's economic, ecological, social and urban needs. In this regard, issues such as housing and social infrastructure – playgrounds, for example – have a high priority. Additionally, the office initiates, coordinates and conducts restoration and development measures, including acting as a link between the agencies, architects, investors and funding parties, and the citizens of the corresponding areas.

A further notable actor is the Office of Youth Services (*Jugendamt Stuttgart*). It supports families, single parents, children and young people in social and economic need. The office provides information and counselling, arranges necessary aid and offers temporary housing in difficult situations. By supporting welfare organisations and non-profit associations, the Office of Youth Services provides for a variety of social services with various value orientations, areas of expertise, methods and forms of action. One of the major activities is a mobile form of youth service (see below), which is also offered in segregated and disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

Finally, the Department for Integration Policy (*Stabsabteilung für Integrationspolitik*), which is directly responsible to the mayor, concerns itself with the peaceful living together of German and non-German residents of Stuttgart's neighbourhoods. The department strives for equal opportunity and against structural and individual discrimination. It

also supports measures that promote intercultural dialogue and societal cohesion in the city's districts. For this reason, the Department for Integration Policy cooperates with neighbourhood committees and other partners in the neighbourhoods.

The individual departments mentioned are mainly active within their defined areas; discussion, cooperation and the transfer of knowledge on housing and migration do not often take place. Hence, during interviews carried out as part of this study, some experts as well as staff of the departments complained about the lack of collaboration among the different actors involved.

Housing policy

Vision, concepts and administration policy

As stated above, the integration of foreigners was, until recently, confined to legal and welfare policies, with little concern for demographic developments or for the socio-spatial dimension of the integration process. The integration concept 'Pact for Integration', developed by the city of Stuttgart in 2001, was the first to focus on integration and participation in neighbourhoods and residential areas. To this end, more integration measures in areas with a high migrant population should be initiated – for instance, inter-religious projects, intercultural community centres or the mediation of intercultural neighbourhood conflicts by properly trained personnel.

From 2004 until 2006, the Office of Urban Planning and Renewal developed the Urban Development Concept (*Stadtentwicklungskonzept*, STEK). This introduced 10 goals that should act as guidelines for different fields of activity. One of these objectives is the 'advancement of social togetherness' and integration, based on mutual respect for different cultures and the participation of all groups in urban life. In this context, the city contributes socio-political and infrastructural measures: besides social projects and projects in schools, particular cultural traditions are also to be considered in housing construction. The formation of socially problematic areas is to be avoided through preventive measures such as improving housing environments, in liaison with the residents, or by offering better recreational and sports activities. Another goal is the establishment of a so-called 'green net' of recreational facilities – that is, the development of large and small parks within the city and a connection to the landscape surrounding Stuttgart.

During the fourth European Mayors' Conference in Barcelona, in March 2007, Stuttgart's Lord Mayor Wolfgang Schuster presented the 10 goals concerning urban planning and housing policies for integration. He emphasised that Stuttgart wants to avoid mono-ethnic quarters and neighbourhoods, and does not allow gated communities. Therefore, the city is improving public spaces, housing quality and neighbourhoods. To ensure that no ghettos and degraded areas emerge, the city tries to maintain a high quality of infrastructure in all parts of the city, for example with regard to public transport, qualified schools and kindergartens, playgrounds and sports facilities. Furthermore, Stuttgart subsidises private homeownership, and controls and regulates rental conditions. Finally, the overall city development concept should be used towards a sustainable urban development: the city will promote a shared understanding for an integrated city development process under ecological, social and economic aspects.

Until recently, no official vision had been set out concerning segregation and the housing of migrants. For some years, the city has been aware that the integration of migrants at local level is an important factor for the social cohesion of an urban society. Therefore, social cohesion, intercultural living together and better socio-spatial integration of migrants are important goals in Stuttgart's integration strategy and city development concepts. Furthermore, the Lord Mayor has highlighted that segregation must be avoided and that the quality of houses, public spaces and infrastructure must be improved in all quarters of the city. To reach these ambitious targets, Stuttgart develops innovative concepts and implements a variety of measures.

However, up until now, no overarching policy concerning the topics of housing, segregation and the integration of migrants has been developed in cooperation with the various actors involved.

Public discourse

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

Interventions on housing and integration

Improving access to housing for migrants

It has already been noted that people who lack the funds to supply themselves adequately in the free housing market can apply for a housing allowance or 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 Stuttgart, the office responsible is the Office for Housing and Real Estate. This housing allowance supports private households with the aim of providing decent housing by facilitating access to accommodation. Whether a household can apply for a housing allowance and how much it can apply for – as a subsidy to either the rent or the mortgage – depends on the size of the household, the income, and the rent or costs paid by the applicants. As noted earlier, foreigners have the same legal rights to a housing allowance application as Germans do, provided that they live legally and permanently in Germany, that the flat in question is located in Germany and that the occupant living in this accommodation pays the rent or cost of the accommodation on their own.

Social housing is regulated by Section 27, Article II of the Housing Assistance Act (*Wohnraumförderungsgesetz, WoFG*). This makes the construction of new buildings, the renovation of existing buildings and the acquisition of occupying rights (*Belegungsrechte*) eligible for public funding. It aims primarily to provide special target groups with housing (see above). Further to this act, households can apply for a housing authorisation permit at Stuttgart's Office for Housing and Real Estate. The procedure mirrors that of the housing allowance: whether a household – German or non-German – is eligible for such a permit depends on its income, the number of family members and the residence status of the applicant, who must live permanently in Germany.

To ease the housing market, the building of 600 new residences is subsidised by the means of four programmes; two of these programmes – 'Social housing construction' and 'Rentals for people with moderate income' – subsidise the construction of apartments. Social apartment buildings are funded by low-interest loans through the state's living space development programme (*Landeswohnraumförderungsprogramm*), which is 50% financed by the state and 50% by the federal government. In addition, the city supports these buildings by way of price-reduced real estate, cheap loans and grants, and it subsidises rents for up to 20 years. Therefore, the city improves the chances for persons with low income, regardless of migration background, to obtain affordable social housing.

Should a family's income exceed the income limit and should that family not be able to claim social housing, it then has to provide for itself in the free housing market. This can be rather difficult – especially for families with low to middle incomes that are just slightly above the limit. The 'Rentals for people with moderate income' programme offers property developers low-priced real estate. In exchange, property developers have to commit themselves to not charging more than a certain rent price.⁹ Altogether, 300 rentals are funded by this programme each year. Neither programme targets migrants in particular. Nevertheless, a more relaxed housing market facilitates access to housing for migrants as well. Thus, they indirectly profit from these housing programmes.

The other two support programmes help families with children to purchase newly built dwellings. The 'Family building programme' offers families with children, whose income is below a certain limit, funding and low-interest loans when purchasing proprietary housing. Through the programme 'Affordable proprietary housing' (*Preiswertes Wohneigentum, PWE*), affordable freehold apartments are built on price-reduced municipal real estate and later sold to families with

⁹ At the time of writing, this ceiling was €7.50 per square metre per month; rent increases every three years by a maximum of €0.25 per square metre per month.

children. In addition, families can apply for low-interest loans to finance the acquisition of these apartments. The latter project is particularly attractive for families with a migration background and is often used. Between 2000 and 2004, 182 housing units were constructed in 'Am Lauchäcker' in the southwestern district of Vaihingen. Of all applicants, 57% were German, 13% were Turkish, 5% were Russian and 4% were Vietnamese; the remaining applicants were of various other nationalities. In 2001, applicants in the district of Zuffenhausen ('Im Raiser') had even more diverse backgrounds: one third of the applications came from residents of Stuttgart without a migration background, while 23% had Turkish and 12% had Russian backgrounds.¹⁰

All of these regulations apply to all residents, and little statistical data are available 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 and inhabitants of disadvantaged neighbourhoods – is above average. Therefore, it can be assumed that migrants benefit significantly from the regulations.

Local policies related to spatial segregation

Policies to reduce spatial segregation

As noted, Stuttgart wants to avoid mono-ethnic residential areas and segregation. The most important means of preventing or reducing segregation is urban renewal. This task is the responsibility of, and coordinated by, the Office of Urban Planning and Renewal. In this way, the city invests in the quality of housing facilities, housing areas, including community centres and public areas, and infrastructure, such as schools and public transport, in order to avoid the development of disadvantaged neighbourhoods, and to improve the image of problematic quarters. Since 1999, not only has the physical quality of an area been considered when deciding which areas to renovate, but also its socio-spatial development. Target areas for urban renewal are primarily the areas in which a disproportionate number of underprivileged and inadequately integrated households are living. Quarters in which a disproportionately large number of migrants live are therefore notably taken into account.¹¹

As described in the previous chapter, the city produced the city development concept STEK for 2004 to 2006, in which 10 goals for urban development were set out. These include integration, sustainability, the design of open spaces and the assurance of housing space. One of the leading projects is the revaluation of north Stuttgart. Many industrial companies are based in Stuttgart's northern quarters, where the housing quality tends to be rather low and where the number of migrants is very high. If the projects are applied as planned and the objectives of the urban development concept are reached, then STEK can prove itself to be a further foundation of anti-segregation policy.

A third measure for the reduction of segregation is the urban housing company SWSG's occupancy policy. When assigning dwellings, the SWSG must meet certain quotas: 80% of tenants in a housing block should be from the EU and a maximum of 20% may be citizens of other countries.¹² This guideline is meant to prevent ethnic segregation and simultaneously promote a social mixture. However, as noted earlier, 50% of the rental contracts are with non-German citizens – many are Turkish – and between 60% and 70% of actual tenants are non-Germans. Therefore, in practice, it is nearly impossible for the SWSG to follow this guideline; due to the tenant structure, the quotas cannot be fulfilled. Furthermore, although this guideline should prevent ethnic segregation, it does nothing to stop social segregation, which is considered to be significantly more problematic.

¹⁰ The data supplied do not indicate which applicants were successful.

¹¹ The main areas for promoting urgent urban construction are concentrated around the so-called 'Stuttgart T'. This is an area situated around the Neesenbach and Neckar valleys, Feuerbach and Zuffenhausen, and includes areas on both sides of the main thoroughfares for traffic.

¹² The latter are primarily from Turkey, and the quota guideline is therefore informally known as the *Lex-Türkei*.

Policies managing spatial segregation

The ways in which the city is trying to avoid and reduce ethnic segregation have already been outlined. By using examples from several projects, this section will show how the city manages spatial segregation and improves inter-group relations in segregated city quarters.

Social city

The joint federal and state programme ‘Social city’ (*Soziale Stadt*) was established in 1999 with the aim of combating increasing poverty and inequality, connected with the emergence of particularly disadvantaged neighbourhoods, in German cities. The programme areas are selected in accordance with criteria such as unemployment rate, the proportion of recipients of social welfare and 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, supported areas received €1.2 billion. For 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, 392 areas in 267 municipalities were being supported. The social city programme was further institutionalised in 2004, when it was incorporated into the Federal Building Code on Special Urban Development Law (*Baugesetzbuch zum besonderen Städtebaurecht*).

Generally speaking, projects in the programme areas aim to improve the housing and living conditions, as well as the social situation with regard to 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 due also to the fact that spatial segregation has become a core topic in the public debate on the integration of migrants, projects with a focus on migrants increased between 2000 and 2005. In 2005, the integration of migrants officially became an explicit focus of the programme. It should be emphasised that social city projects do not aim directly to combat segregation but to improve the socio-spatial integration of migrants.

A total of three Stuttgart quarters are taking part in the social city project: Freiberg/Mönchfeld since 2000, Fasanenhof since 2003 and Rot also since 2003. In these three quarters, Stuttgart follows an integrative approach with the goal of renewing and socially stabilising urban areas, promoting local identity and intercultural integration, and strengthening the local economy. The project aims towards the enduring renewal and stabilisation of city quarters by combining housing industry and urban construction tasks with social and labour market policy effects. The resident community and other local actors are thereby included. In 2005–2006, one of the main focuses for Stuttgart-Rot was the strengthened involvement of migrants in the project. Therefore, the following example will present the social city project as exemplified by the situation in Stuttgart-Rot.

Rot is located in the Zuffenhausen district in the north of Stuttgart and has a population of about 10,000 persons. Buildings were constructed in blocks – many after the Second World War, when housing was urgently needed – the flats are small and the quality of public spaces is minimal. The neighbourhood is distinguished by its negative image, and many young German families move away.

One of the first measures within the framework of the social city programme was the common construction of a small football field. This was a measure that reached out to children and young people, many of whom had a migration background, and showed the local residents that their dedication can create change.

Another important measure for the neighbourhood is the purchase and renovation of a building that can serve as a community centre (*Bürgerhaus Rot*). The centre should be a place where – among many other uses – clubs and community groups can meet, youth clubs can be established, and where an affordable cafeteria can be set up. The

cafeteria is directly connected to the outdoor area. This is meant to be designed as an intercultural garden. As part of a language course, migrant women were approached about collectively creating a design for such a garden, in which all cultures represented in the neighbourhood can meet and feel at home. Since that time, a concept has been developed, and the project was expected to begin taking shape in the spring of 2007. Through this project, migrant women who had previously had almost no involvement in Rot's public matters were brought on board and given the opportunity and encouragement to participate in the development of their neighbourhood.

Because many illiterate migrant women live in Rot, an adult reading course was set up. In addition to learning to read and write, important project goals included German language training, integration into Rot's community, and the handling of practical topics such as health, diet and the school system.

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

Mobile youth services

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

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

Further GfMJ fields are school social services, counselling, guidance in the context of lowest level German high schools (*Hauptschulen*), youth vocational aid, advice and guidance during the transfer from school to career. In these cases, the young people can avail of assistance with vocational orientation and writing a curriculum vitae (CV), as well as mediation for problems in the workplace.

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

House 49

House 49, founded in 1982, is an international neighbourhood centre with programmes and information for citizens of Stuttgart with various national and ethnic origins. It is sponsored by Caritas, and employs five full-time and various other volunteer workers. Although it is open to all Stuttgart citizens, it is used almost exclusively by people with a migration background.¹³

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

House 49, within the field of school social services, promotes projects aimed towards supporting a sense of school class community and improving cooperation and communication among children. These are offered by way of conflict mediation training for pupils. In addition to vocational preparation courses, House 49 also concentrates on healthcare and sex education in schools.

The neighbourhood centre is, however, not geared exclusively towards children and adolescents; it has an open, generation-spanning approach, and is therefore also a contact point for adults. Rooms are provided for German and non-German clubs, and other groups – such as Turkish and Italian seniors' clubs – are supported; furthermore, inter-religious contact is encouraged. Through an 'Education Party' project, the centre tries to raise the involvement and participation of foreign parents in the education and upbringing of their children. In the style of 'tupperware parties', 40 women met on a monthly basis over two years in order to discuss topics of education and upbringing in an intimate environment. The range of recreational activities is quite broad, including cooking, dance and music; in addition, language and qualification training courses are organised.

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

Intercultural mediation

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

¹³ The reason given by the administration was that, in this neighbourhood, almost all persons under the age of 60 years have such a background.

Crime prevention measures

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

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

The partnership makes a concerted effort to involve Muslim citizens in their prevention activities. In 2005, the partnership succeeded in incorporating representatives of a mosque association into youth services in the Feuerbach district, and thus provided them with the opportunity to participate in the development of their neighbourhood. Moreover, a guideline for supporting cooperation between the police and mosque associations was developed and presented in 2005 at the conference 'Police stations and mosque associations: Prevention, cooperation, intercultural competence' in Stuttgart. This guideline was developed in cooperation with the police departments in Berlin and the western city of Essen, as well as the Federal Agency for Civic Education and the 'Joint federal and state programme for crime prevention by the police'. The guideline is meant to help various authorities with their crime prevention activities and to support integrative processes in Stuttgart's city districts.

Social management of SWSG

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

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

Key challenges and lessons for CLIP

Stuttgart has about 600,000 inhabitants, almost a quarter of whom are foreigners and 40% have a migration background. It is the centre of one of the strongest industrial regions in Germany. Because it is such an economically prosperous city, the integration of migrants has primarily taken place through structural integration into the labour market. The socioeconomic status of migrants has been relatively strong.

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

Due to topographical and market constraints, the housing market is tight and rents are high. Since the socioeconomic status of non-Germans is lower than average, they suffer more under these prices. Thus, they have less living space per person than Germans do, and they often live in unfavourable neighbourhoods. In the inner city and the north and east suburbs in particular, the number of citizens without a German passport is well above other district averages. The public perceives these segregation tendencies as problematic.

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

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

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

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EF/09/49/EN 4