



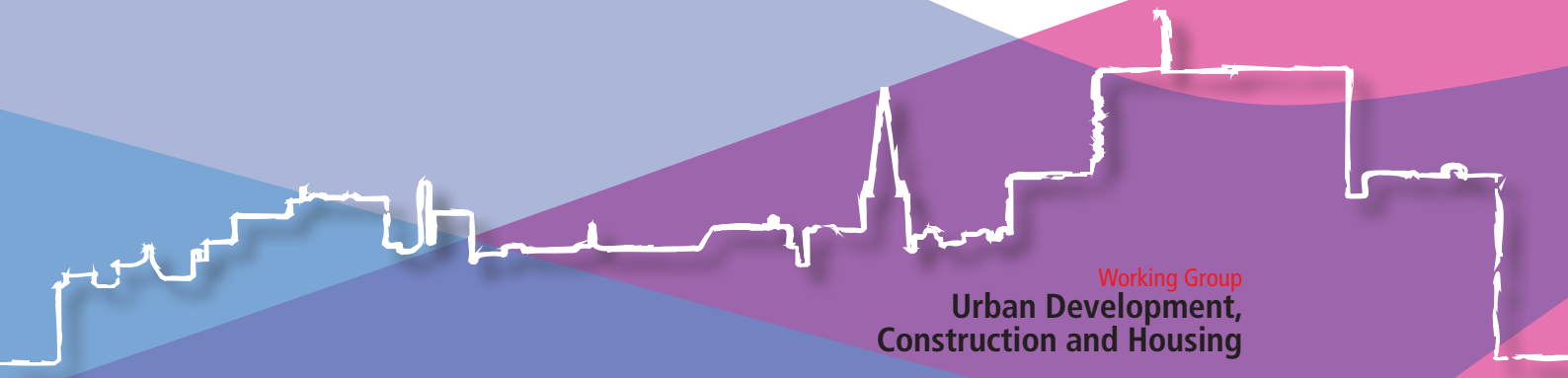
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Diskurs

The Social City Programme

Wise urban development for
the future of our cities



Working Group
Urban Development,
Construction and Housing

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Frank Bielka
Ingke Brodersen
Lutz Freitag
Achim Grossmann
Bernd Hunger
Muhammed Haşim Inam
Folkert Kiepe
Ulrich Pfeiffer
Franz-Georg Rips
Peter Runkel
Klaus Peter Strohmeier

Table of Contents

Foreword	3
<i>Dr. Peter Runkel / Folkert Kiepe</i> The Institutional Framework of the Social City Funding Programme and the Need to Extend It	5
<i>Lutz Freitag / Dr. Bernd Hunger</i> Factors for Success in Developing Social Neighbourhoods – Housing Industry as Actor and Partner	16
<i>Ulrich Pfeiffer</i> Integrative urban development: relevance, complexity and risks	24
<i>Frank Bielka</i> Social City: responsibility for the neighbourhoods	35
<i>Dr. Franz-Georg Rips</i> The Social City from the Tenant's point of view	44
<i>Achim Grossmann</i> Culture and the Social City Programme	51
<i>Prof. Klaus Peter Strohmeier</i> Social Segregation: Urban Challenge in the 21st Century	58
<i>Muhammed Haşim Inam</i> Tension between ethnic and social segregation in the city	75
<i>Ingke Brodersen</i> The children of segregation: A plea for intervention	91
The authors	100

Foreword

The story of the past two centuries isn't only one of rapid industrialization, displacing agriculture as the preeminent economic activity of societies across the world, but also of relentless urbanization. Since 2014 more people are living in cities than in rural areas, marking a decisive shift in the makeup of human civilization. In 2014, according to the United Nations (UN), 54% of the world's population lived in urban areas, a proportion that is expected to move up to 66% by 2050, adding a gigantic 2.5 billion people to urban population, with 90% of it concentrated in Asia and Africa. Largest urban growth is expected to take place in the large, developing countries of China, India, Nigeria and Indonesia, collectively responsible for 37% of project urban population growth in the coming decades until the mid of the 21st century, with India expected to add 404 million new urban dwellers, followed by China (292 million) and Nigeria (212 million). In fact, across the world, what we see today are not only cities, but "mega-cities" with populations comparable to small-size countries. Greater Jakarta (Jabodetabek) has a population of 28 million, Greater Shanghai 24 million people, followed by Karachi (23 million), Beijing (21 million), Tianjin (15 million) and Istanbul (14 million) -- all in developing countries. Like never before, the bulk of the world's population, economic activity and modernization is taking place within urban centers.

The rapid increase in the proportion of the urban population as well as the explosive expansion in the global urban population in recent decades has gone hand in hand with ballooning concerns over affordable housing, education, health, energy, water and transportation, waste management, access to other public goods, social and ethnic segregation, the digitalization of daily life, pollution, crime, energy shortage as well as traffic gridlock. Urban centers, which are now the dominant point of concentration for the world population, are a micro-cosmos of global developments and challenges. National socio-economic

and demographic changes as well as different cultures are reflected in the development of urban areas. Livable, attractive, functional and socially balanced cities, towns and neighborhoods are more and more becoming the foundations for the social cohesion of a whole society. The neighborhood is a determining factor for the quality of life as well as opportunities in life for families and individuals. However socially balanced cities, towns and neighborhoods are more and more jeopardized, while in other cities there is still potential for improvement. To strive for socially and ecologically balanced urban development is therefore of utmost significance for industrialized as well as for rapidly developing countries like in Asia, Africa or Latin-America.

The concept/program "Social City" has been introduced in 1999 as one cornerstone of urban development planning in Germany. Under the jurisdiction of the federal government - coordinated by the German federal ministry for the environment, nature conservation, building and nuclear safety - it is now implemented through various ministries and municipal governments. The program supports less developed urban areas to prevent a social downward spiral of poverty, neglect and infrastructure decay by providing investments in urban regeneration in an integrative, inclusive and social way. Rising real estate and energy as well as transportation prices require a sustainable and socially fair urban development plan. A drifting apart from rich and poor neighborhoods needs to be prevented. The focus of the concept is therefore to consolidate and upgrade structurally, economically and socially disadvantaged cities, towns and neighborhoods. Investment in the urban environment, in the neighboring infrastructure the overall quality of housing as well as in participatory decision-making processes as part of the neighborhood management intends to guarantee more intergenerational justice, equal distribution, social mobility, the emergence of citizenship, family friendliness in the neighborhood

and therefore to improve the chance of equal opportunities in life. The arrangement of cities along these lines determines opportunities of life, the quality of life, citizens' involvement as well as the overall standard of citizenship and democracy. At the same time, the preservation of a social "potpourri" strengthens tolerance across social strata and cultures.

In 2014 the Social City concept became even the guiding concept for all urban development planning in Germany, while the budget has been tripled accordingly to 150 Million Euro per year. So far 390 cities and 700 neighborhoods in Germany received assistance under the umbrella of the Social City program/concept. The overall feedback is quite positive; on the one hand through related investments the ownership of neighborhood management usually improved and activated the citizens to assume more responsibility and ownership for their living environment. On the other hand inter-ministerial and inter-stakeholder cooperation within the city administration and on federal level as well as with the housing industry changed also for the better. Recently the integration of refugees and migrants is gaining more importance within the Social City program in Germany, so that new instruments have to be developed. But also in spite of

the current migration influx cities are already growing in Germany, so that urban administrations need to find new solution for the upcoming challenges. The program was fortunately designed as an evolving and learning process; - which is why the scientific monitoring as well as the continuous exchange between practitioners is necessary.

Since there are also many concepts of urban development in Asia, Africa or Latin-America, while the challenges in urban areas are similar worldwide, an exchange between German urban development experts with their counterparts in other parts of the world might create additional and new impulses in both directions. Against this background the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in 2016 decided to translate this publication – that has been originally published in German in 2010 as a basic work on the Social City concept under the title: "Das Programm Soziale Stadt": <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/wiso/07498.pdf> - into English. It consists of articles written by Political Decision makers, representatives of Housing and Real Estate Associations, German Tenants as well as German Town and Cities Associations, Urban development planners, Intercultural and social experts.

René Bormann

Head of the Working Groups:
City Planning, Building and Housing Policy
Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Bonn, Germany
Department of Social and Economic Policy (WISO)

Bonn, June 2016

Sergio Grassi

Country Director
Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung
Indonesia Office, Jakarta

Jakarta, June 2016

Dr. Peter Runkel / Folkert Kiepe

The Institutional Framework of the Social City Funding Programme and the Need to Extend It

1. Ten Years of the Social City programme

In 1999, the federal government and the laender launched the initiative dedicated to neighbourhoods with particular environment-related social problems. It was the first special urban development programme. Experience with this approach had already been gathered in individual laender such as Berlin (sparing urban regeneration), North Rhine-Westphalia (city neighbourhoods in urgent need of regeneration), Hamburg (anti-poverty programme) and Bremen (Living in Neighbourhoods). Ten years later, in early 2009, at a commemorative ceremony the Ministers of Building in the years of the launch and the jubilee – Franz Müntefering und Wolfgang Tiefensee – were able to draw a positive balance. After a panel discussion that included building policy spokespersons of all the political parties in the Federal German Parliament, Achim Großmann, who as responsible parliamentary secretary of state oversaw the programme for the entire period, could announce with satisfaction that the initiative had the full support not only of all laender and associations of municipalities, but also of all parties in the Federal German parliament.¹

This broad basic consensus on the necessity of the Social City programme should not distract us from the fact that not only have important, ongoing developments in the programme structure taken place in these first ten years, but that others are pending in the coming years. After all, the participants have all

spoken with pride about a learning programme that is open to new developments and willing to draw the consequences and conclusions from experience.

2. The programme's basics

The Social City Initiative began purely as an investment funding programme of the Federal Government in accordance with Art. 104a para. 4 Basic Law in the version valid up to the first federalism reform (Federal Reform I). In accordance with this regulation, the Federation could grant the laender financial support for particularly important investments by local authorities. Such cases included investments required to prevent a disruption of the overall economic equilibrium, to balance differences in economic performance within Germany or to promote economic growth. The measures were chosen solely by laender within the purpose specified by the Federal Government. Although this was a form of financing appropriate for urban development as practised between the federal, regional and local authorities since 1971, it contained restrictions that hindered the proper fulfilment of the responsibilities.

2.1 *Not a social programme, but urban development investment programme*

The most important bottleneck factor in Federal government support under Art. 104a para. 4 Basic

¹ Bundesministerium für Verkehr, Bau und Stadtentwicklung (2009): Jubiläumskongress 10 Jahre Soziale Stadt, Berlin.

Law is the fact that it is limited to investments. Even if the concept of investment is not clearly defined in the Basic Law, it is obvious that it does not cover all the measures that it would be sensible to support in areas of the Social City. Hence, the social problems of disadvantaged neighbourhoods should be tackled not as a social funding programme, but as an urban construction investment programme. In 25 years of general urban development it had already recognised that federal government funding could support pre-investment measures, such as preliminary studies and drafting the municipality's neighbourhood-based, integrated development concept with the participation of the persons affected and the public services providers. Eventually, this was expanded to include the costs of a coordination centre to provide ongoing advice and support for the persons involved – the future neighbourhood managers.

Hence, beyond the funding through the programme itself there were all kinds of necessary measures of a non-investment nature that could not be directly assigned to the respective investments. The intention was to close this gap though bundling with other specialised policy areas. Reserves for measures funded and supported through other legislation should be allocated under the respective budget legislation in such a way that the measures can be put into effect in the context of the urban development programme.² Thus, from the start the German funding system for the Social City was more narrowly defined than European Union support for the URBAN Community Initiative, for example, or sustainable urban development through the structural funds, which always allowed for a harmonised mix of investment and non-investment measures.³

2.2 Distribution of federal resources between the laender in accordance with the particular problem complex

The allocation of financial resources is further restricted by the circumstance that although the socio-

environmental concentration of problem groups in individual neighbourhoods is found in all laender in Germany, manifestation and density vary considerably. In consequence, determining an appropriate allocation formula for the problem required lengthy negotiations with the laender. As per § 164a para. 1 of the Federal Building Code (BauGB), financial assistance for urban development may be granted to the laender on the basis of a consistent, general and appropriate standard. Given that the federal government wanted to support neighbourhoods in particular need of development, as a first step it would have been sensible to reach some agreement with the laender about the indicators used to characterise these neighbourhoods, and then to determine how many such neighbourhoods of what size and population there are in each land. The resultant benchmark could have served as the basis for the allocation of the federal financial resources between the laender. However, the negotiations between the laender did not follow this practical, logical path, because the small-area data necessary for a national register of neighbourhoods in particular need of development were lacking. The actual procedure was more pragmatic: the allocation key was a mix of general indicators such as population share, assigned a weighting of two thirds, and problem-oriented indicators such as the unemployment rate, assigned a weighting of one third, as they referred to each land. While this made it possible to achieve consensus on the allocation of the federal financial resources, this key reflected the actual needs of the individual laender for federal aid to deal with problems of the Social City only to a limited extent.

2.3 The municipality's own contribution, regardless of the municipality's financial capacity

The municipality's own contribution to the financing is determined in a similar way. In urban development it is normal for the federal, regional and local governments to each provide one third of the financing.

² See § 164a para. 1 Federal Building Code.

³ Göddecke-Stellmann, Jürgen (2009): Soziale Kohäsion in europäischen Städten, in: Informationen zur Raumentwicklung, p. 369 with further references.

Thus, a municipality in a budget crisis with several neighbourhoods in need of development must contribute an equal percentage of its budget as a wealthy community with just one such neighbourhood. Although the laender can compensate for this by correspondingly raising or lowering their share – for the federal government all that counts is that two thirds of the eligible costs are raised by the land and the municipality together. Given that many of the municipalities with budget crises lie in laender with budgets under similarly severe strain, only a few laender make use of this option. Moreover, on account of the population's general income level and the list of underfinanced public functions and services, few municipalities take advantage of the possibility of substitution private resources for part of their own contribution.

3. Statutory anchoring of the assignment

An important step towards consolidation of the programme was the anchoring of the functions in the Federal Building Code. Although Art. 104a para 4 of the Basic Law permits agreements on financial aid between different authorities only on the basis of corresponding authorisations in the Federal budget law, the statutory specification of Social City in Section 171 e of the Federal Building Code signifies both an expansion of the content of the federal government's urban planning legislation as well as a giving more definite expression to the programme itself. Regarding urban planning legislation, the novel aspect of this provision was the fact that socio-environmental points of view are not only taken into consideration in building measures, but can also justify extensive autonomous measures of both an investment and non-investment nature if in the public interest. In this way the social and political dimension – *civitas* – was incorporated into urban planning legislation alongside the building dimension – *urbs*.

The provision means a consolidation of the support programme insofar as it defines minimum stan-

dards and goals for measures.⁴ First, it determines what may be regarded Social City urban development measures. These are initiatives that can stabilise and upgrade both neighbourhoods disadvantaged by social deprivation and other areas of the municipality with a particular need for development. Social deprivation is particularly prevalent when an area is considerably disadvantaged on account of the composition and the economic situation of the people who live and work in it. A particular need for development exists in respect of disadvantaged neighbourhoods in or close to the inner city or dense residential and mixed-use areas in which a bundle of coordinated investment and other measures are required. To translate the German legalese: Social City measures in such neighbourhoods are in the public interest and thus can be funded if, on account of the social problems of the inhabitants, the area can no longer be expected to stabilise by its own efforts and a bundled package of measures is needed to counter the downward spiral of poverty, vandalism, crime, and physical decay.

3.1 *Municipal resolution defining the neighbourhood*

Before the measures can be put into effect the law requires two things of the municipality. First, a municipal resolution must define the boundaries of the area in which the measures are to be implemented. By doing so, the council and administration of the respective municipality recognise that this area's particular need for development is part of its public responsibility (a local government function). At the same time, council and administration define the measure in terms of socio-environmental criteria. Preliminary studies of the area in question, like those mandatory for urban planning redevelopment measures, are not required. Nor need the council's resolution be in the form of a statute. A simple decision is sufficient. In both cases this is due to the fact that, as a rule, no provision is made for structural alterations in Social City neighbourhoods. Nevertheless, where this is the case, these areas must also be designated as urban

4 Lühr, Rolf-Peter (2008): Soziale Stadt – ein neuer Ansatz in der Stadtentwicklung und im Städtebaurecht in: Festschrift Krautzberger, Munich, p. 295.

planning redevelopment or restructuring zones and the procedural steps specified for this purpose complied with.

3.2 Drawing up an integrated development concept

The second prerequisite is a development concept. The concept must state the goals and measures for the area in question. In particular it must contain measures that serve to improve housing conditions and working conditions and to create and maintenance of socially stable population structures. This is explicitly not an urban development project, but a general development approach that brings together, coordinates and integrates planned urban development and other measures. The legislator knowingly accepts that not all measures of this integrated concept can be funded through the Social City project; hence, this will require bundling with other programmes.

The law mandates the municipality with involving the affected population and the public service providers in an appropriate form and encouraging them to participate. Meant are owners, tenants, leaseholders and all other people affected. Hence, the object of municipality's mandate is twofold. On the one hand, the people in the neighbourhood have to be activated to contribute to the concept by expressing what measures they think are necessary. On the other hand the local, regional and other government services have to be convinced to actively bring in their own measures. This requires both overcoming departmental egoisms and creating a new culture of horizontal cooperation.

3.3 Citizen participation and neighbourhood management

Finally, the law requires intensive citizen participation and committed neighbourhood management in implementing and updating the development concept. Thus, the Social City programme is a bottom-up project. This requires the inhabitants of the

neighbourhood to develop ideas and accept responsibility – which is sometimes more difficult than organising protests. In practice, successful neighbourhood management works at three levels. First, there is the neighbourhood level at which the individuals are approached, activated, motivated to participate and trained. Second, there is an intermediate level at which actors that play an important neighbourhood role in local administration, politics, business and the social field consult and take decisions or prepare decisions for the council. Finally, at the municipal level the administrative areas defined as part of the integrated concept cooperate on the basis of the concept as drawn up; the best solution is to make them directly answerable to the head of the administration.

4. Monitoring and evaluating

The Social City funding programme was not only extensively prepared on a solid footing, but from the beginning also scientifically monitored. Under the budget law the federal government is authorised to earmark up to 0.2 per cent of financial aid for this purpose. Initially, the German Institute of Urban Affairs served as recruitment, advisory and information agency, and subsequently also as a national contact point. Decentralised events, an internet forum, several surveys of the communities participating in the programme and on-site support by one model community per land ensured a fruitful overview and greater insights into individual neighbourhoods and problems. Apart from this accompanying evaluation, in 2003-04 an interim evaluation of the programme was carried out using a three-column analysis. A coordination group of experts was responsible for conceptual preparation and advisory support. An external research institute chosen through a competition applied process and implementation analysis to examine the Social City programme at both the political and administrative levels and in respect of its results at the neighbourhood level. The third column consisted of an on-going transfer of results in the context of dialogues with the professional public.⁵

4.1 Successes

The results of the national interim evaluation demonstrate the necessity of the Social City programme and the correctness of its fundamental orientation. It offers the cities a range of instruments that go beyond classic urban development and facilitate integrated approaches to neighbourhood policies. The programme cannot on its own solve the economic and social problems in the affected neighbourhoods. That said, reports from the municipalities all agreed that wherever the programme had been deployed it was evident that something started to change. The cities developed new forms of interdepartmental cooperation and networking and of participation and activation on the part of locals. According to the evaluators, the neighbourhood managements played a substantial and indispensable role; their work should be perpetuated. Moreover, improvements were achieved in both the residential environment and the social infrastructure, which had positive – and simultaneous – effects on image and self-perception in the neighbourhoods. A lot changed for the better in the areas in the programme. This is especially true of the neighbourhood population's awareness of their situation.

4.2 Shortcomings

The evaluators established shortcomings in the implementation of the integrated approach in the fields of schools and education, integration of immigrants and the local economy and employment. Despite positive examples,⁶ wish and reality diverged considerably. This confirmed that there is a correlation between an integrated approach and the need for coordination. The greater the number of fields included in such a concept, the more complex the task of coordination becomes. This requires not only changes in administrative structures, but also greater political clout. Hence, Social City measures are particularly successful where the mayor makes them a personal priority. Where the councillor responsible for urban develop-

ment only has to perform an additional coordinating function, he is more likely to meet with disinterest on the part of powerful specialist administrative departments, such as the education and labour departments. The "matter for the boss" administrative model, in turn, functions best in small to medium-sized cities with manageable structures.

4.3 Bottom-up evaluation in the future

Although the interim evaluation of the Social City programme testified to the success of the programme as a whole and in the individual neighbourhoods assisted, and at the same time highlighted the need for ongoing development, it would be desirable if future evaluations adopted a bottom-up approach, ideally based on a monitoring system that applied the same or comparable indicators to all cities, towns and neighbourhoods. This, in turn, would be followed by an evaluation of each land, upon which the evaluation of the federal programme could build. On the whole it must be said that after some initial hesitation the Länder, cities and towns and local authorities took a surprisingly positive view of the instrument of evaluation. In this regard, it was important that the emphasis was not on control and criticism, but on the common objective of better and more efficient implementation of the legal mandate. The emphasis from the start was on learning together from the initial experiences. As this process was transparent, the conclusions of the evaluation, even when critical, were generally accepted.

5. The changes resulting from the first stage of the reform of the federal system (Federal Reform I)

From the beginning politicians and academics have regarded the practice of mixed financing in federal financial support as a foreign body in the fiscal constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany and criticised it sharply – although at the European level

5 Institut für Stadtforschung und Strukturpolitik GmbH (2004): Die Soziale Stadt. Ergebnisse der Zwischenevaluierung, Berlin.

6 Bundesamt für Bauwesen und Raumordnung / Gemeinschaftsbearbeitung der Fachkommission Städtebau der Bauministerkonferenz (2008): Integrierte Stadtentwicklung – Praxis vor Ort; gute Beispiele zu Vernetzung und Bündelung im Programm Soziale Stadt, Bonn.

this practice is much more pervasive in the structural funds. Federal Reform I offered an opportunity to examine this form of funding. The complaint was that in the interim financial support had become a permanent instrument, raising the danger of structural perpetuation. Mixed financing as it existed was seen to integrate duties and spending responsibilities. It was alleged that it narrowed the scope of both levels of government to autonomously perform their duties, while at the same time increasing the influence of the federal government in laender matters, with a concomitant loss of power on the part of the respective laender parliaments. According to this view, joint tasks and mixed financing had to remain an exception in the future.

5.1 Revision of Art. 104b of the Basic Law

Hence, in 2006 the basis for financial support was tightened and the further conditions imposed. Art. 104a para 4 of the Basic Law became Art. 104b of the Basic Law. According to this article, financial support is only permissible in areas in which the Basic Law grants the federal government legislative powers. Furthermore, the funding can be granted only for a limited period of time and its use must be monitored at regular intervals. The financial support must be constructed so that over time the amount declines each year. Finally, if requested, Bundestag, federal government and Bundesrat must provide information about the execution of the measures and the improvements achieved.⁷ These changes were partially reversed under Federal Reform II in 2009 insofar as the link between federal financial support and the federal government's statutory legislative responsibility to act in the event of economic crises and natural catastrophes was repealed. Within the framework of stimulus package II – and thus the first application of the new rule – the laender noticed this link severely restricted the possible applications of federal financial support.

From the point of view of urban development and in particular the Social City programme, this fun-

damentally critical perspective of fiscal federalism is difficult to accept. Rather, in a number of German (and European) cities the specific problems of socio-environmental segregation have resulted in the emergence of neighbourhoods in particular need of development. Neither the property owners nor the municipalities nor the laender could or can cope with their problems on their own. It took the involvement of the federal government in the form of financial support to succeed in pacifying these local hotspots and attenuating social deficiencies. The interim programme evaluation highlighted this impressively. Regarding the new limitations on the ability of the financial support, the prerequisite that the federal government can grant financial support only for investments for which it has legislative authority is already fulfilled through the regulation of measures of the Social City in §171e of the Federal Building Code. The only possible doubt that may arise is whether the bundling mandate for such measures can also include measures for which the federal government does not have legislative authority – as is the case in much of the field of education. However, as it involves a contract and not an obligation, and the bundling takes place at the sub-national level, these concerns are irrelevant. The requirement of programme monitoring is not new for the Social City, either, but already administrative reality.

5.2 Funding for a limited duration

The provision that funding may be granted only for a limited time is problematic. For, this time limit does not refer to support for an individual neighbourhood, in which case it may well be sensible, but to financial support for the specific Social City problem as a whole. That, however, assumes that the particular problematic situation for which the financial support has been granted can be solved by the temporary allocation of funds. That is precisely not the case in the Social City. The causes for the decline of individual neighbourhoods are for the most part not

7 Battis, Ulrich; Klein, Benjamin; Rusteberg, Benjamin (2009): Die Auswirkungen des neuen Art. 104b GG auf die Städtebauförderung, in: Deutsches Verwaltungsblatt, p. 682.

poor urban construction projects (concrete jungle) or the wrong-headed urban development (lopsided allocation of residential accommodation), but lie in society's general economic and social development. It is particularly visible in the socio-environment of these neighbourhoods. For this reason, the programme cannot solve the socio-environmental problems of individual neighbourhoods, but only attenuate them. In particular, unchanging economic and social development will foster the regular emergence of new hot-spots, i.e. new neighbourhoods with a special need for development. It is possible to win a little time by pointing out that to produce an effect all urban planning has to be medium-term. For a programme that has just celebrated its tenth anniversary this may offer a perspective of another ten years perhaps, but postpones the problems caused by the constitutional amendment only for a certain time. There is reason to fear that, although socio-environmental segregation in individual neighbourhoods will increase, the proved tool of dealing with it, Social City, will no longer be available because of the constitutionally prescribed deadline.

5.3 Degressive funding and additional need for action

The time-limited allocation of federal funds assumes that the financial need of the particularly important investments of the laender and the local authorities that need to be funded is greatest in the first programme year and then decreases with each passing year, until eventually the laender and municipalities assume complete responsibility for funding. This assumption overlooks two points. For a start, particularly important investments require a long planning phase with relatively low costs, followed by the tendering process before the building phase begins, in which in turn each individual construction stage is invoiced and settled. The belief that the laender and municipalities would keep a suitable quantity of shovel-ready plans in the drawer and, thus, could move immediately to the building phase is disproved by a glance at past federal stimulus programmes. An evaluation of the programmes supervised by the department of finance would contribute to greater transparency, which would also benefit the legislator. On the other hand, precisely in the case of urban de-

velopment funding programmes one cannot say for certain which neighbourhoods will require funding and then be supported for the (limited) duration of the programme. Rather, the neighbourhoods initially considered are those for which the assessment of special development needs and their funding is well advanced. In other neighbourhoods these prerequisites are fulfilled only in subsequent years, in part because the socio-environmental conditions in certain neighbourhoods are progressively deteriorating. Thus, new neighbourhoods are added each programme year. In consequence, this also means that resource needs rise over the years, until the point is reached at which individual measures no longer require support and can be dropped. In 1999 the Social City programme started off with measures in 161 neighbourhoods. In the following years an average of 40 new neighbourhoods was added each year, i.e. triple the original number. Hence, the special problem complex of the Social City that justified financial assistance was no greater than today, despite its evident success. On the contrary, the problems surrounding socio-environmental segregation have increased. The number of neighbourhoods with particular development needs have risen. Studies show that in more than 550 communities there are more than 1,500 residential neighbourhoods characterised by immigration in which socio-environmental segregation goes hand in hand with economic deficiencies.⁸ This in turn is about three times the number of neighbourhoods supported by the programme. According to a survey, the cities and communities feel that additional action is required in the field of social neighbourhood development.⁹ Limiting the duration of the support and falling amounts with each passing year is not the right answer.

6. Supplementing the investment assistance

A note in the federal budget since 2006 allows for the possibility of applying up to about one quarter of federal funding to non-structural projects and measures within the Social City programme. Recipients can include model projects and pilot schemes that support the objectives of the integrated development concept and which otherwise could not be realised

or not to the extent planned. In most laender these resources are allocated through competitions or competition-like selection processes; the laender are also responsible for making the selection decisions. The approx. 590 model projects in more than 300 communities are focussed on fields in which the interim evaluation established deficiencies in content integration: local economy and employment policies, youth and educational work, and integration of immigrants.

In addition, since 2006 a federal programme funded by the European Social Fund (ESF) also supports Social City neighbourhoods. Since 2008 the programme has been known as "Social City – education, economy, work in the neighbourhood (BIWAQ)". From 2008 to 2015, the period of the ESF programme, a total of 184 million euros will be made available, 124 million from the ESF and 60 million in German co-financing. The funds are provided directly by the federal government, i.e. without contributions from the laender and municipalities, in two rounds of funding for projects that will run for up to four years and focus on the integration of long-term unemployed, on young people in training and work, easing the way for young people to transfer from school to the labour market and strengthening the local economy.¹⁰ The projects are selected by external specialists in a competitive process on the basis of a prescribed catalogue of evaluation criteria. About 140 projects were chosen for support in the first round.

This extension of federal funding to measures in Social City neighbourhoods was controversial in some quarters. Some interpreted it as abandoning the claim to bundled federal financial assistance and releasing specialist policy areas from their socio-environmental responsibility. To what extent this accusation holds depends on how the new funding opportunities are applied on the ground. If they are applied as substitutes for the lack of support though specialist policies,

then the accusation would be justified if the specialist policies were in a position to provide support, but prefer to be active in better-off neighbourhoods. However, if the funds are used to close funding gaps or cover the extra costs in the neighbourhoods with special needs, they act as a fulcrum for more efficient bundling. This was an important consideration in the evaluation criteria for the applications for the BIWAQ programme.

7. Figures and facts about the current programme

Today the Social City programme is a successful funding programme to improve the living conditions in deprived urban neighbourhoods. It combines investment in building with measures to promote social integration. In 2009, the programme covered a good 570 neighbourhoods in about 350 municipalities. Approx. 70 percent of the measures are so-called active measures, in which the so-called integrated development concepts are implemented with the support of public funding. The other 30 percent are classified as inactive measures; they receive no further funding, but continue to be monitored to determine whether in the meantime self-supporting structures could be achieved in the neighbourhoods. Three measures are fully financed.¹¹ Between 1999 and 2009 the federal government provided 890 million euros in financial assistance. In conjunction with the matching funding from the laender and municipalities, the total volume amounts to around 2.7 billion euros. In 2009 the federal government committed 105 million euros in financial assistance in five annual instalments; the laender may apply 27.5 million euros of this sum to pilot projects. To this must be added about 60 million euros for the first tranche of BIWAQ covering approx. 140 projects.

8 See: BMVBS; BBR; Empirica AG (2008): Integration vor Ort, der Nationale Integrationsplan – Zwischenbilanz.

9 See: Gesellschaft für Finanz- und Regionalanalysen (GEFRA); Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung (DIW); Institut für Stadtforschung und Strukturpolitik (IfS), Lehrstuhl Stadttechnik; BTU Cottbus (2008): Städtebaulicher Investitionsbedarf 2007 bis 2013 in Deutschland, in: BBR Forschungen Heft 132, Bonn.

10 Bundesministerium für Verkehr, Bau und Stadtentwicklung (2009): Auftaktkongress zum ESF-Bundesprogramm "Soziale Stadt – Bildung, Wirtschaft, Arbeit im Quartier (BIWAQ)", Berlin.

11 See Bundesministerium für Verkehr, Bau und Stadtentwicklung; Bundestransferstelle Soziale Stadt (2008): Statusbericht 2008 zum Programm Soziale Stadt, Berlin.

The programme areas are more or less equally divided between large and medium-sized cities, followed at a considerable distance by towns and rural communities. The range of neighbourhoods is extremely heterogeneous. By size they range from one hectare in Pirmasens-Kantstrasse to 1,350 hectares in Bottrop-Boy-Weilheim and by population from 23 inhabitants in Schwabach-Schwalbenweg to more than 40,000 in Düsseldorf-Flingern-Oberbilk. The average supported neighbourhood is more than 100 hectares in size and contains more than 6,000 inhabitants. The programme areas are for the most part in either inner city neighbourhoods or huge housing estates built between 1960 and 1980. In all areas the average proportion of the residents under the age of 18 and those with a migration background is noticeably higher than comparative figures for the entire respective city. The same holds for the unemployment and social welfare rates: both rates are markedly higher in the deprived areas than for the city as a whole.

8. The programme's development need, the funding and the legal framework

Since it was started 10 years ago the Social City funding programme has continued to develop. This includes the number of neighbourhoods involved, the objectives supported, and the way in which the federal government and the laender provide the funding and municipalities implement measures. This openness to further development will also be required in the coming years. The number of areas with a special need for development will grow, while the funds provided by the federal government and the laender will not escape the foreseeable need for savings across all fields of public spending. It is expected that an expanding problem complex in many cities and communities will have to be tackled with the same level of funding. This is possible only if the measures to improve programme efficiency already adopted continue to be expanded.

8.1 *Using integrated development concepts as a management instrument*

This affects first the integrated development concepts drawn up for each neighbourhood. In accordance with Section 171e para 4 of the Federal Building Code these concepts are the prerequisite for a setting the boundaries of the neighbourhood. However, such concepts have still not been drawn up for all supported measures. There are gaps in content, as the interim evaluation established, or they need to be updated to function as a current benchmark for the measures in the neighbourhood.

Furthermore, a monitoring system has to be constructed on the basis of comparable indicators to enable efficiency and quality control of the measures. That said, although much of what is desirable will be limited by feasibility. The socio-environmental relationships in a neighbourhood are complex and can only be mapped by means of a comprehensive system of indicators. In most cases, however, both small-area data and the administrative capacity to construct and maintain such a system are lacking. Hence, from the outset compromises need to be made based on the existing small-area data. The differences in data availability between cities have to be taken into account; as a rule, large cities have more comprehensive municipal information systems than small cities and towns. It is not necessary to have a comprehensive set of indicators for each neighbourhood to record the prevailing local socio-environment. Nevertheless, it is important that the municipalities begin with the (fundable) monitoring of neighbourhoods. They should receive assistance with this from the Federal Transfer Office and take steps to establish comparability between the different approaches. To judge by experiences in other areas of the Social City programme, a monitoring system constructed from the bottom up functions better than one prescribed by the federal government, although the new Art. 104b of the Basic Law allows the federal government to stipulate. In accordance with this regulation, the federal government can demand to be informed about the improvements achieved by means of its financial assistance. Furthermore, it allows the federal government to set the standards for the laender to ensure the results are comparable.

8.2 Allocation of funds through competition

The results of the interim evaluation, but also the examples published by the federal government and the laender, prove that the Social City programme includes both good and less successful funding areas. Apart from the objectively different starting situations in the individual neighbourhoods, responsibility for this lies primarily with the local (administrative) structures and the local agents. The best way to take account of this circumstance is to award funding not only by proportionality or seriousness of the problem, but increasingly through competition. The federal government has consistently implemented this approach within the context of the ESF BIWAQ programme. In allocating funds for pilot projects the laender have for the most part adopted the same approach. This makes it possible to use funding decisions to reward a streamlined administrative structure at the municipal level, a high degree of bundling with other measures and the creation of networks of partnerships in the neighbourhood. Thus, funding is determined not only by the size of the problem to be solved, but also by the quality of the proposed solution. Hence, the inclusion of new neighbourhoods should also be done on the basis of competition.

8.3 Stabilising of funding successes

A largely unresolved problem is stabilising the most important measures responsible for the targeted improvements when the funding for a neighbourhood in the programme expires. To date there is neither a coherent, focused phasing-out nor a concept for a follow-up neighbourhood-focused stabilisation of the measures. At present the laender responsible for the execution of the programme are evidently getting by with the administrative sleight of inactive measures. Currently 170 such areas are still part of the programme, but no new funding has been approved for them. It should be noted that the federal government structures its financial assistance as a five-year framework of obligations consisting of cash for the year in which it is approved and authorised obligations for the next four years. A municipality that last received a contribution for a Social City neighbourhood in 2010 has, hence, as a rule, resources at its disposal until 2014. This may, but need not, be part of a strategic phasing

out. In part the laender also term measures inactive when they still have outstanding monies from previous grants that first need to be applied before new money will be granted. The laender are also entitled to reactivate the funding of neighbourhoods that have been designated inactive for years. To accomplish this, a clear statement has to be submitted to the respective municipality that neighbourhood X, which has been funded for ten years as part of the Social City programme, should lose this status after another five years and that this period is to be used to set up a stabilisation concept for the time after the expiry of funding. The fact that such a funding statement has to be earmarked in the budget because of the funding commitment for the phasing-out period is due to the principle of annuality in the German budgetary system. But given unchanging funding volumes, this is the only way to create space for the admission of new neighbourhoods.

There are in principle two strategic approaches to stabilising crucial measures in a programme area, such as neighbourhood management, when the funding expires. This task can be transferred back to the city's administration, i.e. turned into a permanent municipal function. On the other hand the property owners in the neighbourhoods can also be held accountable. This is the thrust of Section 171e para 5 of the Federal Building Code, which expressly encourages the communities to sign urban development contracts with the owners and other sponsors of programme measures in which they agree to realise and promote the goals of the development concept and to assume responsibility for the costs. The upgrading of neighbourhoods with special development needs primarily serves the people who live and work there. They are the focus of the measures in the integrated development concept. However, the owners of the houses and other property in the neighbourhood also benefit from the measures. The value of these objects stops falling; it stabilises and in part even rises again. Vandalism declines and owners can again count on regular income from the properties. Thus, property owners in particular should be extremely interested in stabilising the successes achieved during the funding period. The organisation of property owners realised this at an early stage. Their organisational and financial involvement in Social City neighbourhoods has, in turn, been substantial and deserves appropriate

recognition. The housing industry is well aware that their businesses benefit from the social stabilisation of a neighbourhood. Hence, as a rule, when public funding ceases the industry is ready to continue to commit to stabilising the successes achieved. This is especially true of the large housing estates with only a few housing owners.

By contrast, it is more difficult in an inner-city core with old buildings and a dispersed ownership structure and a large number of contact persons, who, though unorganised, all benefit from the funding successes that help to stabilise property values. In such cases it would be worthwhile to examine whether it is possible to give municipalities an instrument that would allow them to define by statute owner-location communities. It could also include the funding of the measures and a fair distribution of the associated costs. To date, federal urban planning legislation allows the federal government to authorise only the *laender*, namely in Section 171f of the Federal Building Code. Once the Social City measures undertaken in the public interest are completed, the focus is primarily on objectives for private benefit. The value of a property is determined above all by its urban location. Objectively, it is in the interest of the owners of the properties at that location to maintain the standard of the location after it has been upgraded using public funds. It is the joint task of all property owners in a district to define the required measures and ensure their financing. It is the duty of the municipality to create the regulatory framework for this purpose. To enable the municipality to do this is, in turn, a matter for the legislator.

8.4 Discussion about time limits on financial assistance

Finally, it is necessary to re-open the question of time limits on financial assistance. In this respect, too, the solution accepted as part of the First Federal Reform cannot endure. The debate will soon be triggered by the question of the equalization payments of the federal government for the expiring financial assistance as per the Municipal Transport Financing Law (MTFL), under which funds were earmarked for investment in municipal transport and which expires in 2013. This, too, involves significant investments on the part of the municipality, which cannot be undertaken to the extent necessary without financial assistance from the federal government. If the equalization payments are no longer specially earmarked for measures under the MTFL, leaving only general earmarking for investments (of the *laender* and local authorities), it is obvious that if the *laender* have to choose between their own investments and those of the municipalities, charity will begin at home. Hence, this is perhaps a reason for the federal government to consider regulating its investment assistance for special problem complexes in the municipalities in a different way with respect to time limits and degression than investments of the *laender*, if indeed it is thought necessary to retain these criteria at all. To exclude long-term financing of remits that are no longer warranted it would be enough for each instance of financial assistance from the federal government to be evaluated by external experts after ten years. The findings would provide a basis for deciding whether and how it should be continued. The decision could be left to the Bundestag. Such a process would make it possible to develop problem-focused solutions and avoid guillotine solutions.

Lutz Freitag / Dr. Bernd Hunger

Factors for Success in Developing Social Neighbourhoods – Housing Industry as Actor and Partner

1. The Social City programme

In Germany's cities social segregation and the disparity between living conditions are widening. In many neighbourhoods the social situation is deteriorating and tensions are rising faster than countermeasures can be funded under the Social City programme. Against this background, the decision of the federal parliament passed with the votes of the CDU-FDP coalition to reallocate the additional federal funding of 20 million euros originally planned for the programme of the federal government and the laender in 2010 sent a negative signal to the municipalities and their residents in socially distressed neighbourhoods. Instead of 105 million euros as in 2009, provision was made for only 95 million euros in 2010. This problematic development would be considerably exacerbated if the cutback of 50 per cent in urban development from 2011 onwards, i.e., from 610 million to 305 million euros in the Social City programme in 2011, announced by Federal Building Minister Peter Ramsauer were indeed realised. Incidentally, this cut in funding would in fact be three times as high, as the complementary financing provided by the laender and the local authorities would likely be correspondingly reduced.

Since its launch in 1999 the Social City programme has a record of successful and effective projects. Under the 1999 federal budget law it was granted an initial funding allocation in the amount of 100 million DM.¹ Since then, about 570 neighbourhoods in about 350 cities and municipalities have been supported. Thus, in the past 10 years this programme has con-

tributed to the social stabilization and sustainable development of residential areas and neighbourhoods.

Already at an early stage – for instance in a 1998 study "Überforderte Nachbarschaften" (Overburdened Neighbourhoods) and a 1999 congress in Berlin attended by among others Federal German President Roman Herzog – the member companies of the Federal Association of German Housing and Real Estate Associations (GdW) had drawn attention to the social problems in urban neighbourhoods and actively partnered with the public sector to strengthen local cohesion by means of numerous measures and instruments. They achieved this not least by investing – also in non-investment measures – substantial amounts of own funds that in many cases significantly exceeded public funding.

At the same time, it was the aim of the GdW to awaken public attention for the numerous initiatives that promote integrative measures in support of co-existence among people in their neighbourhoods and to prevent or defuse the emergence and manifestation of social conflict. In 1999, on the initiative of the Bielefeld municipal housing association, the German Association of Cities and Towns (Deutsche Städte-tag), the Federal Workers' Welfare Association (AWO Bundesverband der Arbeiterwohlfahrt), the Schader Foundation, and the Federal Association for Property Ownership, House Building and Urban Development (vhw Bundesverband für Wohnen und Stadtentwicklung) decided to organise a national competition in conjunction with the GdW.

First held in 2000 and every two years since then, the competition for the "Social City Award" has suc-

¹ See Bundestagsdrucksache 14/400 – Haushaltsgesetz 1999 – Einzelplan 12 Kapitel 1225 Titel 882 04.

ceeded in keeping alive the interest of the public at large in the social problems, but also the many positive activities in urban neighbourhoods. The award encourages urban actors, housing companies, charities and welfare organisations and citizens' action groups to share and publicise the experiences each has gathered in helping the different groups of urban residents to interact with one another.

Between 2000 and 2008 more than 90 projects received awards for demonstrating ways of tackling social conflicts within neighbourhoods, social separation and segregation and the crisis engulfing entire neighbourhoods. They demonstrate clearly what it takes to achieve integration success and secure it on a lasting basis. Through these projects it was possible to significantly improve the housing and living conditions of the people in these neighbourhoods. Very often they involved housing companies. In their roles as project organisers or participants they were and are a success factor in the social stabilisation of neighbourhoods.

2. Factors of successful neighbourhood development

In October 2005 the GdW issued a manual for housing companies, Information 111 "Safer Neighbourhoods", complete with concepts and examples drawn from practice.² What are the most important factors for success that have resulted in fundamentally positive change in deprived urban neighbourhoods? What are the favourable conditions to consider or create when designing projects in the future?

These are factors and conditions that need to be satisfactorily addressed when funding projects. To elucidate them, the GdW commissioned Analyse & Konzepte, a research institute, to study the crucial factors in successful neighbourhood measures.³ The project evaluated all the documentation submitted for the competitions for the "Social City Award". Over and above this, the study included projects documented in other competitions or studies. The insights gained in this way were, in turn, supplemented by studies and evaluations of current situations. The investigation was supported by the Federal Ministry of Trans-

An overview of ten factors for success

1. Individual concepts for particular neighbourhoods
2. Develop comprehensive concepts
3. Approach the affected persons as actors
4. utilise multiplier effects
5. Highlight successes and talk about them
6. Bundle competencies and resources
7. Stabilise projects
8. Organise projects professionally
9. Integrate projects into the overall urban strategy
10. Document project success and learn from the experiences of others

² It was edited by F+B Forschung und Beratung. The undertaking was financed by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research.

³ GdW (2010): Erfolgsfaktoren sozialer Quartiersentwicklung – Ergebnisse einer empirischen Untersuchung von Projekten der Sozialen Stadt.

port, Building and Urban Development through the National Urban Development Policy, an initiative of the federal, laender and local governments.

GdW publications provide numerous examples drawn from practice; unfortunately, for reasons of space they cannot be considered in greater detail here. The success factors in neighbourhood development are summarised in the following list.

2.1 Individual concepts for particular neighbourhoods

Each neighbourhood has its specific characteristics and particular constellation of problems, but also distinctive approaches to development possibilities. Successful projects, therefore, address specific problem complexes and take as their starting point the neighbourhood's specific strengths.

Recognising the residents' initiatives and potentials requires a good knowledge of the local situation. For, it is often the residents themselves who launch initiatives or whose participation plays a crucial role in the initial phase of a project.

The on-site analysis is the basis for identifying the right contact partners and coordinating the measures in response. In recent years there has been a growing awareness of the need to consider not only a neighbourhood's shortcomings, but also its potential;⁴ for, as a rule, the source of solutions that produce positive change are to be found in the neighbourhoods themselves. Successful projects build on existing structures and incorporate the potential of the local residents.

A more detailed knowledge of residents' needs – obtained through on-site studies, e.g. surveys of locals, discussions with experts, secondary analysis of social data, etc. – has proved to be an effective basis for selecting projects for the Social City.

On account of their solid knowledge of a neighbourhood and its residents, the housing companies are eminently equipped to note a neighbourhood's problems and risks as well as its potential. They have at their disposal a wide range of methods, including

tenant surveys (rental barometer), neighbourhood spokespersons, advice and information centres and building or block communities. Other possibilities include contact with caretakers, tenant consultation and advisory services and cooperation with the neighbourhood management.

It is the duty of the local authorities to recognise problem situations in the endangered neighbourhoods at an early stage. In cooperation with the housing companies they ought to arrange for investigations and project evaluations that already in the preliminary stage of the preparatory studies as stipulated in the instruments of urban planning can provide critical insights into the possible choice of neighbourhoods and measures.

2.2 Develop comprehensive concepts

As a rule, specific measures to improve housing conditions and the residential environment are critical for a positive development of living conditions in distressed neighbourhoods. For this reason, owners who have an interest in a long-term management of their residential properties and invest accordingly are crucial for the neighbourhood's development. The member companies of the GdW with their sustainable business models are committed to a positive neighbourhood development. A large number of them are already involved in Social City programme projects; moreover, for each euro of public funding (federal, laender and municipal) they contribute another 1.60 euro of private capital.

As a rule, building improvements alone are not enough to offset a neighbourhood's social and economic shortcomings. For this reason, an integrated approach in the form of the programme of the federal government and the laender was chosen at an early stage. The goal is to combine investment and non-investment measures in such a way that they are mutually supportive.

The possibility of restricting the programme to investment measures in Departmental Plan 12 of the Federal Ministry of Transport, Building and Urban De-

4 See Bundestransferstelle Soziale Stadt (2006): Dritte bundesweite Befragung Programmgebiete "Soziale Stadt".

velopment (BMVBS) was discussed during the budget consultations in March 2010. However, it would be the wrong political decision to restrict the Social City programme solely to investment measures in the future.⁵

In practice, while individual specific problem complexes are often the starting point for a project, the wide-ranging needs of social neighbourhood development affect more than one area of activity, e.g. housing and the residential environment, education, social affairs, healthcare, local business, etc. Therefore, an integrated approach is necessary and promising as problem complexes and solutions are closely intertwined or build upon one another.

The municipalities play a central role in managing divergent interests between the actors in the neighbourhoods. Thus, comprehensive concepts simultaneously pursue several, often very different objectives. That said, it is rarely possible to be equally successful in respect of all objectives. Hence, achieving the central objective (e.g. integration, reduction of conflict, safety, etc.) is particularly important for a project's success.

2.3 Approach the affected persons as actors

A major concern of social neighbourhood development is the creation of self-supporting structures and relationships between the people in the neighbourhood. Social networks assume a key role in creating stable neighbourhoods. The crucial prerequisite for this is the involvement of the local inhabitants. When residents become involved in their neighbourhood they give the projects a unique character. They commit themselves to their neighbourhood and in so doing make it more attractive for third parties.

In addition, this strengthens cohesion and enables people to experience what changes they can achieve through their own actions.

Thus, active residents and functioning networks act as a starting point that can be built upon. In many cases the first step is to seek out and encourage ac-

tive people. Neighbourhood residents are not only affected persons who must be helped, but above all people who can contribute to solving existing problems. They are actors with exclusive knowledge about the local situation. Their involvement is often the basis for particularly innovative and successful projects, whereby this process accommodates different levels of involvement. The lowest level is information and discussion, e.g. within a round-table framework. Greater levels of involvement include co-determination, the transfer of decision-making power (e.g. resource allocation through a citizens' fund) and self-organisation (e.g. founding an interest group or association). The important point is to encourage residents to articulate and defend their interests themselves.

Allowing scope for action fosters involvement. Transparent and bottom-up planning processes are important for success, in particular with regard to building measures or plans for the living environment.

Acceptance is most likely when the residents are integrated into the planning process at an early stage and granted decision-making competencies. If it is possible to establish structures for participation before the actual projects begin that is a particularly promising step.

Special training can help to stimulate participation on the part of materially and culturally deprived (groups of) residents. It is a matter of providing people with know-how, e.g. about how to manage projects, articulate demands in the public realm, etc. In this way the residents learn to organise themselves and, by relying on their own potential, to stand up for their own interests and represent them externally.

2.4 Utilise multiplier effects

Projects are particularly successful if they serve as an example that encourages other activities. This refers on the one hand to the locals themselves: their commitment generates multiplier effects in the neighbourhood by, for example, motivating other residents to collaborate.

5 Minutes 17/29 of the session of the German Bundestag of 16.03.2010 on Departmental Plan 12.

On the other hand successful projects and initiatives can themselves be models for follow-up projects. In some cases the initiatives were so successful that they were able to expand their services beyond the immediate neighbourhood. Others can benefit from a particularly promising method or creative idea by adopting the concepts or developing them further to meet the particular conditions of their specific environment.

Housing companies, municipal administrations and neighbourhood managements can support such "learning from one another" by publicising exemplary, transferable projects of committed residents, associations, initiatives, companies or schools as well as new ideas as part of their normal PR work. Suitable means to this end include the local media, tenants' newspapers and magazines, district festivals and neighbourhood parties and meetings.

2.5 Highlight successes and talk about them

Comprehensive projects require professional management with project modules or stages, intermediate goals and clear responsibilities and accountability. In all projects that take place in the neighbourhood and in which the locals are involved it is very important to widely publicise successes; this helps to maintain motivation and avoid disappointments.

In larger urban development measures adopting a step-by-step approach and breaking up the process into individual steps promotes acceptance among the locals. A modular system (of planning and implementation) makes it possible to present the project on a manageable scale. Each individual stage can be tracked, with the result that progress is recognisable. In building projects in particular it can be helpful to start by concentrating on one or more kick-off projects that will produce early signs of improvement, thereby sending a clear signal and generating a spirit of optimism.

Projects with graduated planning processes and individual steps also tend to be more successful because the persons affected, in particular the local residents, remain on board for the duration of a project stage, actively participating in the process. This is particularly important when dealing with projects with run-times of several years. One problem with projects with such long run-times is that the people involved

in them, or their demands, change over time with the result that the project objective has to be discussed anew.

The Social City Award ceremony is an important instrument for presenting successful projects and at the same time serves to motivate future participants.

2.6 Bundle competencies and resources

Social neighbourhood development depends on the cooperation of as many actors as possible in the respective neighbourhood with their diverse capabilities and possibilities. The choice of organisational form can vary from project to project and even change during the process.

The participation of certain actors is essential, including, among others, residents, housing and property owners, local businesses, schools, churches, associations, municipal offices, social welfare agencies and the police. A broad cross-section of actors raises the acceptance of measures that enhance local social cohesion and reinforce identification with the neighbourhood.

Successful projects are based on constructive partnerships between local residents, the private sector and the public sector. All actors and institutions have their specific competencies, which they bring to bear in the various fields of activity.

Housing enterprises are particularly important actors as on the one hand their networking competence and economic clout enables them to establish the necessary contacts with local politicians and municipal authorities and on the other as landlords they are the immediate contact persons for residents and local businesspeople. They are the crucial networkers and mediators between the various actors and interests and, hence, exercise considerable influence on the progress of the project.

As moderator, the municipal authorities' play an indispensable role in bringing together the different actors. For instance, they can promote cooperation between social institutions and local companies with a view to strengthening the local economy. In the field of education and social work they can facilitate cooperation between schools, educational institutions and community work organisations, which otherwise compete with one another.

Another important requisite for successful projects is the bundling of funding and resources. The objective is to ensure the coordinated use of funding via different programmes at the municipal level and to ensure optimal utilisation of existing resources. The municipalities play the leading role in coordinating funding: 85 per cent of interviewees surveyed in Social City neighbourhoods regard municipal control as very important.

Programmes of different government departments at the federal and laender levels involved in funding measures in deprived neighbourhoods must be integrated. Ensuring that the existing funds and programmes are utilised in the best possible way within the framework of an overall strategy requires an on-going exchange of experiences between the various levels (federal, laender and local). The local actors depend on qualified information about the conditions and provisions for government funding.

Neighbourhood funds can be conducive to the effective use of resources. The monies in a fund can come from the Social City programme, but access to the fund on the part of the neighbourhood residents and initiatives and their ability to finance individual projects on a limited scale should be as non-bureaucratic as possible. In this context all projects that help to strengthen the community or the neighbourhood, neighbourhood culture or identification with the neighbourhood or to activate residents are eligible for support.

2.7 *Stabilise projects*

The organisers of social projects must endeavour to stabilise positive developments in the neighbourhood initiated in the funding period. The objective is to sustainably preserve the success of the project through the structures that have been established locally.

Successful projects are effective in the long term, and the best sign of success is long-term viability without public funding. Housing companies can make a fundamental contribution in this respect by giving long-term support to social neighbourhood development measures that are both effective and beneficial to the companies' core business, or possibly even integrating them into their own business activities.

In many cases only sustainable public funding can guarantee a project's continued existence. Frequently the functions that the projects are responsible for in the residential area, e.g. in educational and integration work in neighbourhoods with a high proportion of inhabitants with a migration background, are so important that they justify stabilising funding. The question of whether and to what extent funding should long-term can be answered only in the respective local constellation, whereby all actors should be included and required to share responsibility.

The stabilisation of projects also demands a building. Providing meeting spaces and neighbourhood centres and funding their running costs may constitute an important contribution.

2.8 *Organise projects professionally*

An essential factor in the success of social projects is the quality of management. Complex initiatives require an efficient neighbourhood management to coordinate the various actors and functions and serve as a hinge between municipal politicians and administration, the residents and their organisations, and business enterprises and social institutions. In some projects setting up neutral interlocutors to mediate between tenant groups, housing companies and other actors has proved to be effective.

A neighbourhood meeting point that serves as a centre for various activities is vital. It is important that this contact centre should be permanent, easily accessible and properly organised, e.g. by the neighbourhood management. Such a space will enable interested residents to articulate an idea or the need for a project. An effective organisational structure strengthens the trust of the stakeholders that "something is really happening" in the neighbourhood, and reduces the danger that suggestions will not be taken up, with the consequence that potentially interested persons pull out of the project.

2.9 *Integrate projects into the overall urban strategy*

Social City measures that are focused on individual neighbourhoods in particular need of action have to be spatially, temporally and methodologically embedded in an overall urban strategy. Integrating a project into higher-level planning (integrated urban development concepts) may also integrate it into an overall strategic urban development, which in turn may generate additional synergies. This is important for combining and purposefully applying investment and non-investment funding.

Early coordination and the bundling of public and private resources will increase the effectiveness of public measures. Coordinating the allocation of resources in this way creates planning and investment certainty and reduces costs for both public and private sectors.

Different localised, sectoral and technical plans should be linked with one another and integrated into an overall concept. This not only improves the networking of policy fields and different actors in politics and administration, but facilitates single-source planning, as it were. This optimises the use of resources and is more likely to produce solutions that appropriate for the neighbourhood situation within the context of the overall urban requirements.

2.10 *Document project success and learn from the experiences of others*

Only the exchange of knowledge and experience can ensure that future processes and projects in social development of the neighbourhood are even more successful. This is a question not only of fundamental factors for success, but also of many different individual solutions together moving projects forward. A strategic transfer of knowledge is absolutely necessary to avoid repeatedly reinventing the wheel. This pertains not only to questions of resource bundling, but also to the possibility of expanding collaboration between residents, municipalities and the housing industry. In this respect, institutional actors must help to speed up project evaluation.

Thanks to their networks, housing companies and housing industry associations fulfil the prerequisites for knowledge transfer. The same holds for municipal authorities, which should cultivate contact with the housing industry, private companies and institutions. Existing instruments, such as neighbourhood juries or community work centres can also be utilised to obtain the views and assessments of local inhabitants. That said, surveys of residents are more comprehensive and accurate.

The data should be edited so as to be selectively available. The Federal Transfer Office Social City already offers an overview of 562 projects and 12 pilot schemes. The development of this project database would offer another opportunity to intensify the exchange of experiences.

3. Summary

The results of the study underscore the huge success of the Social City programme. Utilising the means at its disposal and the processes involved and it has developed a particularly suitable response to the problems of distressed neighbourhoods in the form of measures that are locally most appropriate. The programme will also continue to be indispensable for maintaining or restoring neighbourly co-existence or counteracting social conflict in many residential districts in the future.

The Social City programme is nothing less than a milestone in the evolution of urban development towards an integrated urban development strategy. The secondary analysis of the projects that have won the Social City Award shows that they build bridges between urban development and housing and social policies and other important socially ambitious social and political functions, tasks and fields of action.

A recurring theme of the projects studied is the crucial role of education in preventing deprivation from becoming established in distressed neighbourhoods. However, schools are often overburdened to the point that they cannot fulfil their social significance as an integrating neighbourhood hub. This is one field in which there is a great need for development in the future.

In addition, the investigation has highlighted that, as reliable partners of the municipalities, companies represented by the GdW make a substantial contribution to the social cohesion of neighbourhoods. Initiatives, such as involvement in undertakings to promote urban integration policies or systematic social management as encapsulated in the "Living Plus" (Wohnen Plus) model, illustrate that the social dimension practised by housing companies and associations is an important component of entrepreneurial activity and that its significance will continue to grow in the future.⁶

4. Outlook

Since the programme was conceived in the late 1990s, obvious social developments have reinforced the need to defuse social conflict in urban neighbourhoods. These include in particular:

- The growing social differentiation and the concomitant polarisation in living standards: these exacerbate the trend to social segregation within neighbourhoods, which proceeds even faster in housing markets with slack demand.
- Increasing risk of poverty among broader segments of the population and deprivation owing to permanent unemployment: the repercussions of the labour market reforms on people's living and housing conditions have reinforced this trend.
- Cultural polarisation within migrant groups and tensions between certain groups of Germans and migrants: educational policy, in particular at school-level, cannot cope in the face of the integration problems in ethnically challenged neighbourhoods.
- Shrinking population and high vacancy rates in more and more regions in Germany.

But what is also clear is that the neighbourhood – at least in Germany – is not the cause of social decline, tensions and conflicts, but the space in which they are manifested. That can change as social segregation increases and troubled areas become permanent social hotspots. Then "residential address" becomes code for welfare, stigmatisation and, hence, social

deprivation. Moreover, the strategy of socio-environmental compensation in deprived neighbourhoods does not – cannot – come even close to assuming the role of a "repair shop" for the overall negative socio-economic and cultural development. Demand substantially exceeds supply.

A necessary – but by no means sufficient – prerequisite for the social pacification and development of many neighbourhoods is to ensure that long-term financing of the Social City programme continues at an appropriate level. In view of the rising debts of local authorities, allowance must be made for the financially weakest municipalities to be exempt from at least a portion of their mandated contribution. Otherwise, the municipal authorities will cease to function as indispensable partners of the housing enterprises represented by the GdW – and this precisely in those locations where the need for action is greatest. This goes hand in hand with the demand that the laender make adequate funds available for co-financing in their laender budgets. It is also necessary that funding by the European Social Fund (ESF) continue, as already guaranteed for the BIWAQ programme.

Given the risk that current trends pose for the cohesion of urban communities, the political debate concerns the reach of socially oriented urban development policies in the context of general education, economic and social policies. In German neighbourhoods the question of how to preserve the idea of the European city with its regulated welfare net and its social mix – an idea to which socially responsible policies were always committed – is also being put to the test

The Social City programme can look back on more than ten years of success. Whether politicians, too, recognise this and are willing, even in fiscally challenging times, to provide funding for this programme that is commensurate with its growing relevance is unfortunately now questionable. The announcement of rigorous funding cuts by the "no building minister", as the *Immobilienzeitung*, the trade newspaper of the German real estate industry, recently titled Peter Ramsauer, gives little cause for hope.

⁶ See the GdW publication *Wohntrends 2000*, which forecasts, among other things, the growing importance of neighbourhood development.

Ulrich Pfeiffer

Integrative urban development: relevance, complexity and risks

1. Evolution as development of capabilities

Our ideas of a good society are extremely complex. It should not be static, but constantly evolving. It is founded to an important degree on the development of productive forces and the equitable distribution of the results of this process in accordance with the principles of fairness and merit. The evolution of our society is based on democratic (political) rights and processes as well as on economic freedoms that are articulated and realised in the marketplace.

Both, markets and democracy, represent values in themselves. Both – democratic and market processes – tend to excesses and can produce unsatisfactory results. Therefore, market processes and political processes or their institutions need to constantly be rectified through critical political debate. Through its policies the government sets the framework conditions under which markets function, whereas politics regularly renews itself through reforms. In both cases the result is supposed to be a development towards greater material freedom and greater capabilities for all citizens.¹

Integration describes the respective satisfying states in this process. They include the most equal distribution of:

- wealth and income;
- life expectancy;
- political participation;
- control over the personal living environments or influence on the results of democratic and free-market processes; and
- respect and recognition.

Market processes are directly influenced by decisions about demand. Apart from elections, the exercise of power by political processes is heavily influenced by the formation of groups and parties and their media organizations and through the management by the public bureaucracy.

The expression "as possible" indicates that the negative side effects of market processes (ecological waste, destruction of landscape, exploitation) and of political measures (badly managed structural development of cities, waste of resources, unjustified distribution of state resources or unequal burdens, e.g. in the completely denatured property tax), even if introduced with the goal of enhancing equality and effectiveness, should in each case be minimised. Measures with the goal of more material freedom are justified not only by their good motives, but above all by their overall results. The unintended and often hidden side effects must be taken into account.

1 Sen, Amartya (1999): Development as Freedom.

2. Integrative urban development: comments on content

Integrative urban development is the term for an essential sub-process with regard to urban spaces and regions (structural, economic, social and demographic). An integrative urban development must first and foremost be defined by the measures and levels of action and by the instruments and, crucially, by the target level. It must be borne in mind, however, that the integration of the instruments does not guarantee that the result will be integrative development if bureaucratic procedures prevent people from enjoying the benefits in full. This also holds when a number of projects improve the quality of life, but life opportunities are not fundamentally equalised because, for instance, the benefits of school reform are accruing far too slowly or because migrant minorities tend to withdraw into themselves in ethnic residential neighbourhoods. In every case, integration must be approached in terms of the subjective willingness to integrate, the opportunities available and the effect of state measures, and tested and further developed in an iterative process. It is necessary to know the effects of instruments to ensure that they are consistently applied and positively reinforce one another. The objectives have to be adequately weighted and include peoples' current living conditions, their cultural background, their personal life plans and their group affiliation.

At the level of events, integration means above all real comparable capabilities and mutual recognition and respect. This mutual recognition and respect, which is often underestimated by comparison to transfer payments, is based for the most part on:

- successful integration in the labour market or markets for the self-employed;
- successful utilisation of the full development and training potentials of each individual person;
- political participation; and
- the realisation of personal life styles that enable subjective satisfaction or happiness.

In the individual case it is not easy to keep track of the connection between the political and bureaucratic deployment of instruments and the capabilities of people that constitute the basis of their freedom and their successful pursuit of happiness. Whole bundles of government measures are also affected

by systemic limits. Hence the social welfare state succeeds only imperfectly in conveying respect and recognition to the recipients of social benefits and income support. People are more likely to find respect and recognition through meaningful work that provides a secure livelihood, or through investment income or by taking part in popular movements or participating in community projects in the neighbourhood. Neither transfer payments nor social housing nor work employment schemes succeed in doing this. This demonstrates the clear need for a balance between social welfare guarantees on the one hand and the creation of opportunities for participation and self-realisation on the other. Participative urban development can help to overcome the limits of the social welfare state.

3. Problems of control: difficulties in managing complexity

Integrative urban development is so complex that inner contradictions, one-sidedness, waste of resources and alienation through markets and politically driven measures are a constant side effect. Precisely for this reason very broadly defined democratic participation and citizen control are key prerequisites. They serve to correct drives and urges. That is why free and functioning markets (particularly in the so-called overburdened neighbourhoods) that allow people to express their preferences are essential. In spite of enormous improvements we have still not succeeded in creating housing markets that are reasonably free of discrimination. The consequence is segregation of the lower strata, and even the creation of ghettos.

Every integration policy needs to be subject to control by democratic decisions and at the same time enable people to develop their capabilities via markets; this presupposes regulations against discrimination as well as effective competition. All efforts to promote integrative urban development face obstacles at the functional and instrumental level because our political and bureaucratic control processes and instruments are extremely specialised and fragmented, both technically and in terms of their remit. Moreover, their powers of control are spread across several levels (federal, land, local and EU). This makes it difficult to achieve optimal efficiency, consistency and effective political control. The attempt to find the

optimum balance between centralisation and localisation can only be undertaken by balancing the costs and benefits on a case-by-case basis. The following example may illustrate the point.

Today, schools are for the most part centrally managed state enterprises. This hierarchical management fosters inward-looking attitudes and makes it difficult to open up to the neighbourhood, parents and the local authorities. This holds both for the school's perception of its environment and with regard to its willingness to participate in exchange and joint projects. Much would be gained if schools were legally obliged, at least in deprived neighbourhoods, to cooperate with the local authorities and actively support them in their integration efforts – whereby the local authorities would, of course, have to provide additional resources to cover the cost of any demands they may make of schools. It would almost certainly not be sensible to radically decentralise all instruments and measures and transfer them "downwards". This would create new problems. However, mandating mutual cooperation between local authorities and schools in as specific a way as possible appears to offer the promise of success.

As there is no perfect control system, every strategy has to conceptually pre-programme and implement its evaluation mechanisms, its transparency processes, its feedback to the people it serves and its corrections. We know of too many consequences, and of institutions that were alienated and dysfunctional for decades. Too often we have had to learn how difficult it is to make corrections because the protection of vested interests acquires a life of its own and the people being served are incapable of articulating their views or developing a counterweight. Here, too, we can give some examples.

- Over the course of decades cities have tended to become family-friendlier without the development of systematic counterstrategies.
- At the latest since the mid-1970s cities have been immigration cities, even if this has not been politically accepted or articulated. Throughout this time the immigrants and their children have not been able to access adequate opportunities in the labour market or in education. The structures and market relationships that had grown up historically were not really open to the new arrivals. For instance, methods of instruction and school facili-

ties failed to keep up with the dramatic increase in demand caused by immigration. Massive discrimination – particularly in the housing market – was tolerated, accepted with resignation or regarded as inevitable and in extreme cases even blamed on the immigrants. There was far too little integration in the sense of recognition, self-respect, realisation of own identity or participation in economic processes that offered sufficient opportunities to advance.

- Cities became ecologically less and less sustainable. Only since the mid-1980s have systematic counterstrategies emerged that are now being pursued with growing intensity.
- For a period of almost 20 years (1960–1980) new construction in cities was often dominated by abstract building styles and an abstract functionalism on principle. Self-realisation, or very simply what people wanted, was not taken sufficiently into account. Up to the very recent past city planners in large cities discriminated against single family homes and small apartment buildings.
- It is still accepted as inevitable that people fritter away billions of hours of life every day in technically and economically avoidable traffic jams, because we are incapable of acting rationally politically or implementing the management technology to obviate traffic jams and thereby realise ecological and time-effective savings. A curious desire for equality leads us to jam one another off the road and mutually rob one another of time. Ideological blockades and habits generate resistance in the search for innovation. There is deep distrust against a digital, usage-dependent toll, on the one hand because it is assumed that the state simply wants another source of income and on the other because of fears of surveillance. It should be possible to overcome people's reservations through proper information, which ought to be easier as the number of pioneering cities (Oslo, Stockholm, Singapore, Hong Kong and, in a rudimentary form, also London) grows.
- Urban property markets are still places where enormous non-productive wealth is created and also destroyed. In the meantime real estate assets account for the largest share of national income in practically all developed countries. In Germany it proved impossible to devise a property tax that

satisfied allocation or distribution policy. Here, too, vested interests, ownership ideologies and false ideas about the effects of such taxation (greater burden for tenants) prevented an integrative reform that could have contributed to a more equitable distribution, better financing of public service and a better allocation of scarce resources. In view of the inadequate functioning of property markets and the willingness to massively subsidise urban construction we are heading into over-subsidised state investment processes and problematic distribution results. That gives rise to the absurd situation that, in a world in which international mobility of highly skilled labour is advancing rapidly, excessive claims on income through public charges are promoting an international trend towards emigration, while property, which cannot emigrate, remains undertaxed in Germany.

4. From municipal hardware to software policies

Even today our cities are still shaped by a heroic phase in municipal politics that started after the war and continued into the 1970s. It began with reconstruction, continued during industrial expansion and ended in the structural improvement of urban expansion. Construction and production records, steadily increasing productivity, growing employment, the baby boom and rising incomes, culminating in the influx of migrant workers, drove greater investment in rapidly expanding cities so as to accommodate the growing number of citizens and, since the 1970s, also schoolchildren and students.

For decades this has been followed by creeping postponement of tasks, above all because of the radical change in the role of families and women in cities. Rising participation rates among women and fewer children have increasingly shifted responsibility

for development and education to the laender and municipalities. In the long term, the rising number of older people and especially of older people without family members nearby – on account of rising childlessness and children moving away – will place greater demands on municipal services for support and care or even communicative, integrated urban living. In addition, integration requirements and integration possibilities, which have still not been satisfactorily resolved, are making increasing demands on municipal attention and municipal resources. As a symptom of unsatisfactory integration, today spatial segregation is at its highest level ever. Many urban neighbourhoods now have high concentrations of migrants and lower-class, low-income households with pronounced networking poverty, i.e. little contact with the labour market or persons and institutions that could help them get ahead. Children and adolescents who grow up in such neighbourhoods do not get enough stimulation or encouragement to improve their skills and abilities, or are even demotivated in their development. Low, and among young males falling, rates of high-school graduation signal increasingly difficult educational integration into society, with little attention given to countermeasures. What is particularly true of young men affects all children and adolescents in such neighbourhoods. The result is below-average school results, high unemployment and poverty.

Numerous efforts on the part of the federal government, the laender and local authorities through, among other things, the Social City programme, have achieved improvements, in particular in quality of life. Opportunities to earn a livelihood have also increased. Nevertheless, in many neighbourhoods the difference between the local level and the city average is still too wide. A catch-up development programme is necessary, as well as support for people who want to get ahead and then move to other areas. The Social City programme can only be the first step in a broad movement at the local level for an urban development that is better focused on integration.

5. Integration in the shrinking city

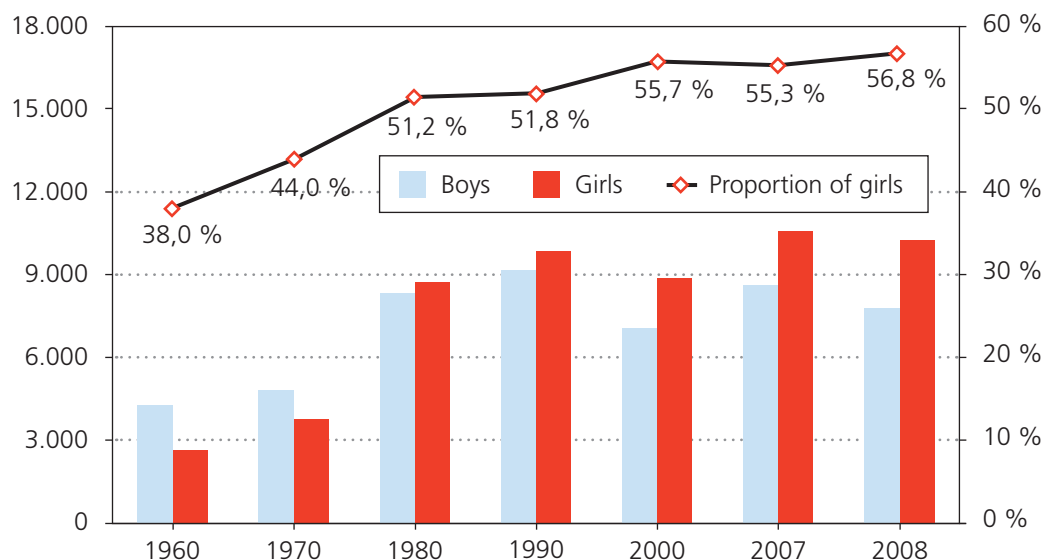
As a result of changing age stratification, the new role of families, in particular of women in families, and the more individualised, more heterogeneous population and, hence, more personalised responsibilities, municipalities have to meet not only new demands, but many more of them. This development is also coloured by the long-term decline in population numbers that is already evident in many cities. This shrinking process offers the chance of utilising city regeneration to upgrade the often totally unsatisfactory structural fabric of segregated neighbourhoods inhabited by migrants and low-income residents through demolition and rebuilding, modernisation and enhancement of public spaces. The structural causes or forces driving segregation need to be diminished on a sustainable basis. As we have observed in East German cities, there is a growing tendency to create refuges. At the same time, pockets of new beginnings emerge, in which structures worthy of preservation

and enhancement are combined with new buildings, which makes it possible to serve a greater mix of building styles and qualities and, hence, also social strata.

Urban regeneration is an opportunity for integration. The background is that the classic housing problem, and the response in the form of housing developments on a massive scale, no longer exists in a growing number of cities. In many areas of refuge or degradation a complex new start is potentially possible. Here, too, new habits emerge that facilitate abuse of subsidies and less effective strategies. For instance, the tendency to perpetuate the old policy of using modernisation subsidies to upgrade buildings and combat decay persists, even in areas with an excess supply of empty or decaying housing. This can work – but frequently, or even as a rule, by generating new vacancies and fostering decay in other places. All shrinking communities must realistically assess the need for demolition and act accordingly.

Figure 1:

Students with general higher education entrance qualification from high schools in Lower Saxony²



Source: Landesbetrieb für Statistik und Kommunikationstechnologie Niedersachsen, empirica.

² The figures for other *laender* are similar.

The greatest challenge for urban development in the coming decades will be combining social and educational integration with a structural new start in neighbourhoods that have become deprived residential areas. Our experience today is that the classic functionally organised administration created in the time of industrial and demographic expansion is not optimally attuned to the new, more complex tasks that demand a more direct focus on people. Promoting integration presumes motivation and support of individuals' development and the acquisition of cultural knowledge and cultural techniques. This includes more self-determined construction, which enables people to realise shared ways of living. A concentration of minority groups, e.g. families or lifestyle groups (pensioners) that share similar interests and living habits, can increase well-being and integration. Today, in almost every large city neighbourhoods with a high concentration of families have emerged on the basis of voluntary decisions without any central control. This facilitates mutual support, and turns a minority in a city into the dominant group in a neighbourhood that is able to determine everyday life. Similar tendencies will also emerge through the concentration of seniors. In consequence, the concentration of migrants should not be a problem if in their neighbourhoods they have access to equivalent opportunities for education and advancement and are able to satisfactorily participate in the labour market. Integrative urban development must if possible ensure that growing up in a particular neighbourhood does not become a lifelong stigma for any child or young person.

Integrative urban regeneration will not be possible without better framework conditions. In this regard the following factors are important.

- Fiscal constraints have encouraged the tendency on the part of municipalities to shift the cost of financing tasks such as landscape conservation and climate protection, social infrastructure and social housing (integrated into privately financed residential construction) onto large new building projects. For instance, non-cost-covering energy-saving requirements, cross-subsidies in favour of social housing, high offset measures for nature conservation or co-financing of kindergartens and even schools, raise the cost of new construction. Via market mechanisms and the pricing link to the existing stock of housing this also raises the

rents of the latter. This quasi-taxation of new construction enables the property owners to gain extra rent from their existing housing. Despite social and ecological motives, the result of requirements that raise the cost of new construction is antisocial and promotes the concentration of wealth in the hands of existing property owners. This is particularly absurd in places where measures to tackle climate change force existing tenants to pay a climate change levy to the property owner, although the additional payments for climate policy have no productive effect. At the same time, it will become increasingly difficult to subsidize investment in the housing industry. Conversely, this calls for new construction that is cheaper and, thus, more affordable for a broader section of the population. If new construction is to be cheaper, the practice of adding all sorts of follow-up costs and the one-sided policy of increasing the cost of new construction through energy-saving requirements and other conditions in the interests of the common good will have to stop. It is understandable that the state should seek to exploit all possibilities to fulfil its public welfare goals through levies alone. However, because this policy of levies pertains in part only to new construction, its effects are totally unacceptable. The resultant price increase drives up rents and prices for existing housing, provides rents for the existing property owners and is an additional burden on broad sections of the population – above all young people – without achieving anything for the public service objectives. In principle there are two possible solutions: a reformed property tax could be used to finance all infrastructure expenditures. By charging interest on the market value of the land, all owners would regularly contribute to the new development and maintenance of the infrastructure commensurate with the location-related value of their properties. There would not be any separate attributions or local improvement charges. Another solution would be to collectively finance or subsidise on principle all investments that increased costs, so that the price effects would not affect existing properties.

- Independent of requirements that raise costs for new construction, in recent years numerous cities have made a practice of keeping building land consistently scarce to ensure an economical use of

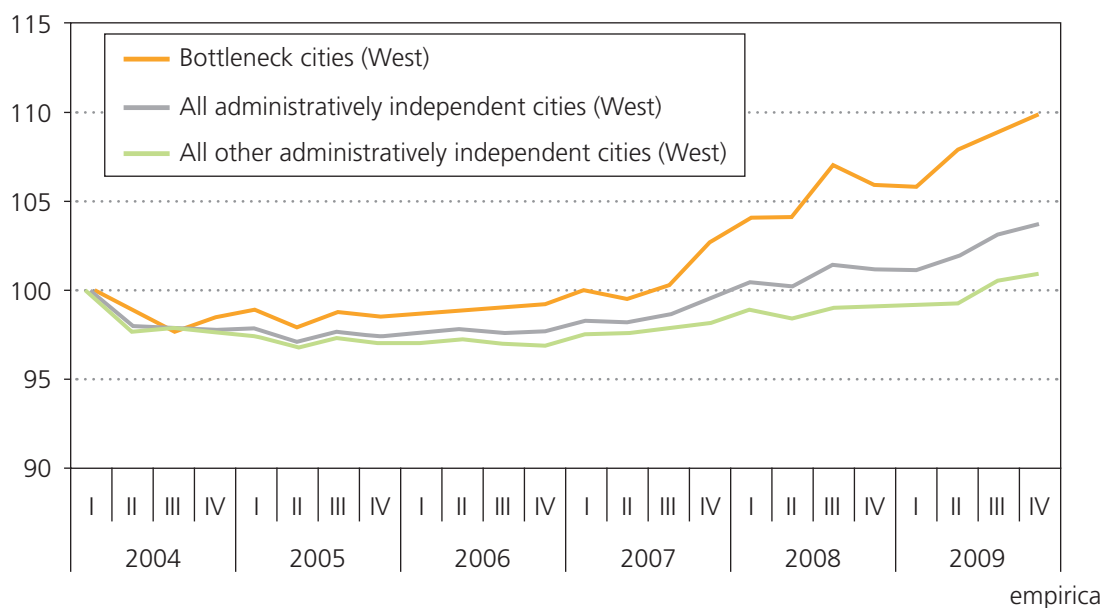
space. In fact, the result has been to drive up the price of new construction because competition has focused on expensive projects at the expense of affordable housing. In consequence the regional rents and prices for residential property increasingly diverge. In cities that practise rationing, such as Freiburg and Heidelberg, rents and prices reach the levels of Munich and Stuttgart. In addition, differences in rationing behaviour result in growing divergence between regional prices. Relative to the respective local income, varying shortages emerge, as can be seen in Figure 2. The grey gradations indicate in which regions the local prices are particularly high relative to local income – as measured by the prices of residential property. It is curious that the debate about equality in living conditions focuses on relatively harmless factors and completely ignores the enormous inequalities that arise through differences in the rationing behaviour of cities. There is no reason why rents in Heidelberg should be as high as in Stuttgart or Freiburg virtually as expensive as Hamburg. It is annoying that this rationing does not even achieve its ecological objectives because high local prices drive demand

for single family homes and condominiums into the surrounding areas. As the price mountains become steeper, the buyers slide down the slopes of these price mountains farther out into the surrounding areas, so to speak. In the meantime, the huge increases in rents are concentrated on 11 cities (Munich, Stuttgart, Freiburg, Karlsruhe, Baden-Baden, Aachen, Bonn, Mainz, Trier, Hamburg and Flensburg), where there are extreme supply constraints. In other administratively independent cities rents have also risen considerably since 2007, but less than in the cities with supply constraints. The supply conditions have become more differentiated since 2007.

The fact that differences in rents or single family home prices cannot be explained by regional or real economic causes demonstrates that housing markets are influenced by include local shortcomings in conception and inequalities that are totally unacceptable as regards distribution policy. At the same time these policies have not come close to attaining their objectives of encouraging economical use of natural resources or greater energy savings.

Figure 2:

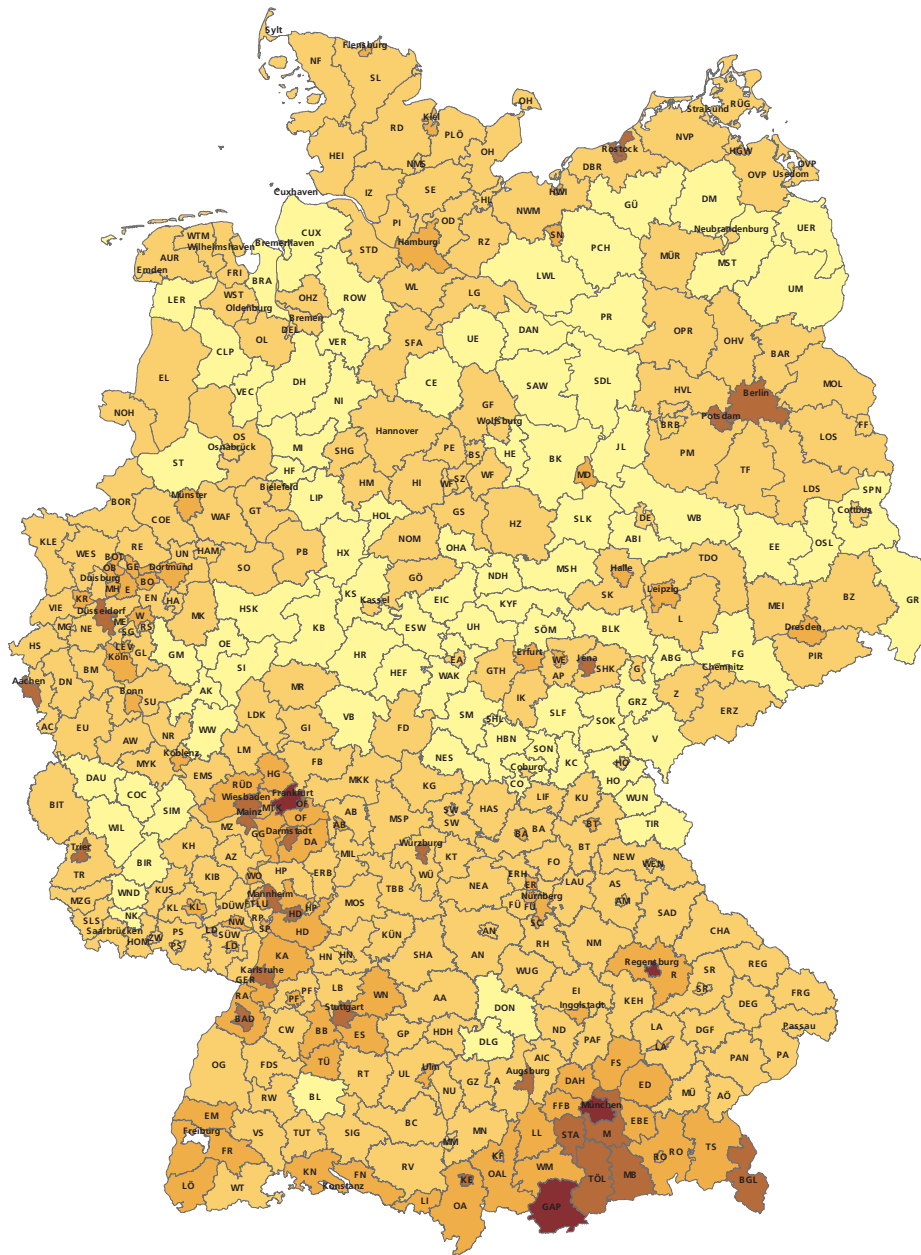
Empirica Germany Rent Index (1st quarter 2004 = 100)



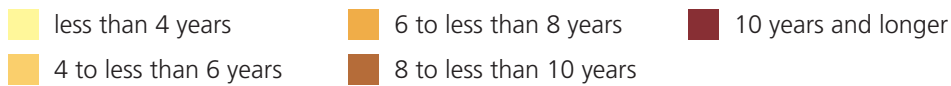
Source: Hedonische Press (Basis IDN Immodaten); data for construction years from 2000, 60 – 80 sq.m., higher-quality fixtures. Bottleneck cities: Population growth > growth in housing units (2000 – 2008), vacancy rate < 2%.

Map 1:

How many years' income is invested in a used home?



House price/income ratio



Districts by licence plate (e.g. HD = Heidelberg rural district; independent administrative city of Heidelberg)

Note: In the regions with the highest prices home ownership is to a considerable extent financed through existing wealth, inheritance assistance from the family.

Source: empirica price database (basis: IDN ImmoDaten GmbH).

– The property and housing markets have never functioned satisfactorily. In the growing city, however, constantly rising values and corresponding expectations result in owners making large profits in that they participate in such investment processes by selling land and investing the proceeds in new construction. Although there is an exaggerated tendency to hoard land and speculate by withholding it from the market, the return on growth outweighs such inaction, with the result that, as a rule, rapid development becomes possible. That said, there were always constellations in which e.g. the increases in value were higher than the interest rate and consequently it was rational to wait before selling. Already after passage of the Federal Planning Law an attempt was made to counteract this practice fiscally through property tax C. However, it failed to pass; moreover, the legislator was far too timid.

In the course of restructuring the shrinking city the shortcomings of the land and property market will really come to light: increasingly property owners will harm other property owners, because they cannot or will not renovate their decaying or badly maintained buildings – which in turn compromises the chances of developing neighbouring buildings. External negative effects and contagion effects will increase. The attempt to use subsidies to acquire urban wasteland or collapsing buildings will have the negative side effect of awakening expectations, so that owners will wait for higher offers before they are ready to sell. Subsidies will prove ineffective in restructuring the shrinking city.

6. Reform of the assessment basis for the property tax

One reform that could improve the functionality of the markets would be revaluing real estate to form the basis of the property tax. At present, the property tax is completely denatured and inequitable. A revaluation of real estate should produce a fiscally lucrative valuation that can be adjusted at short notice and promote better functioning markets. This requires a change in thinking, away from the rate of return. The basis of the property tax is the fair market value of land plus real values for the buildings that are easy to calculate. By taxing land values the owners would be

forced to pay the municipality interest as it were in respect of the land values, which ought to increase the willingness to sell or utilise the land so as to avoid deficits. In accordance with the principle of equivalence, the municipality, which through its services constantly contributes to the usability of the buildings, would receive a property tax compensation that corresponds to the assessed real values of these services. The property tax would be a very globally calculated quasi price for the "supplying" municipality. Such reforms would encourage investment activity, increase the supply in the market for land and introduce competition into the property and real estate market. For land offers rights of use in perpetuity. Owners do not have to periodically generate replacement values in the market place. A redesigned property tax would at least noticeably diminish this market shortcoming.

A reform of the property tax offers the possibility of designing it for a much greater yield. At the same time politicians should stop charging the various follow-up costs that systematically push up the costs of new construction. This offers the possibility of a real conceptual turning point in this regard: there is no justification to saddle new construction with the financing of kindergartens. The financing of the social costs of children's upbringing is the task of the state not of individual developers. Houses do not cause children, houses only change children's locations. Apart from that, it is the task of municipalities to ensure a rational, mixed and denser urban development. The municipality, which gets a high-yield tax calculated in a timely manner with which to finance all these public infrastructural duties, would be able to finance all municipal infrastructure investments with this income. It is difficult to justify levying all sorts of charges on new construction, only because legal opportunities for intervention are attached to the building permit and new planning regulations. In reality it is not the individual property developers, but the municipalities who decide the locations and cost structures of urban expansion. At the same time, passing on certain costs completely is an invitation to inefficiency. The municipality should have overall responsibility for increased building development and its financing. This would unburden new construction and prevent the emergence of rents in the existing housing stock. Such a system would be simpler, more effective and fairer and contribute to a functioning housing market.

7. Integration through education and development

Municipalities have a special responsibility to see that daycare centres and schools in the municipalities are or must be among the crucial integration facilities – therefore the proposal that laender and municipalities share responsibility. All facilities must adapt to the special situation of the residents in their catchment area, in particular with regard to their self-awareness and practices. At present the educational and development services offered are still too uneven and unequal. They are not sufficiently adapted to the respective local conditions. In economic terms, schools are treated as one-product enterprises that always produce the same good. In fact, the product must be varied from case to case. Neighbourhood-related supplementary services should be docked onto the schools or adopted by them. To date the willingness, or simply the analytical and conceptual prerequisites, needed to successfully tackle this task are still lacking. Practically no city is informed about the quality of its kindergartens or can demonstrate what determines it, which is the first condition for a reform strategy. Almost all cities experience enormous inequalities in educational results to the disadvantage of neighbourhoods with a high proportion of migrants and lower strata. Too few schools are in a position to satisfactorily compensate for the deficits that arise from parents' limited knowledge or neighbourhoods' one-sided composition.

In future the public educational and development facilities must be prepared to act in loco parentis more emphatically than in middle-class districts. Many school entry health examinations still indicate – to the extent that they are systematically evaluated – that even several years in kindergarten is not enough to overcome language deficits. This is an area of educational and organisational shortcomings. In particular there is seldom close cooperation with parents. The schools in particular must make their presence felt in the neighbourhood. They have close contact with the parents and through them can reach persons that are difficult for youth and welfare agencies to reach. On the other hand, the general social service can cooperate with schools and teachers. Schools can offer further education projects for adults, in particular parents. The local politicians and the municipal

offices need to know where the schools need support, while, conversely, schools can support municipal offices in their neighbourhood work. The much acclaimed neighbourhood school must become reality.

To date German educational policy has not been flexible enough to adapt its products, its teaching and its understanding of its role to the needs of immigrant children and their parents. Our schools are all too often de facto assimilation schools, which violates the dignity and self-respect of pupils and reduces their motivation to learn. Another aspect is institutional discrimination. Spatial segregation between lower strata and the rest of the population continues to reinforce the unacceptable inequality in education, thereby hindering the social integration of ethnic minorities or of lower-strata children. Exacerbated by a three-class school system, differences in participation in education between young people in the residential areas of the lower strata and the privileged children of the upper strata are dramatic and have long been accepted as normal. A youth of Turkish extraction in an ethnic neighbourhood often has a five-to-ten-percent chance of obtaining his high school leaving certificate. Children of professionals living in upper-class residential areas have a chance of up to 80 percent. The educational inequality, for which the government is responsible, is in many cases scarcely smaller than the capitalistically produced income inequality. There are capitalistic locusts, but there are also bureaucratic and sluggish public enterprises – for instance schools – that fail in their duties. They need a new start too. The motivation and chances of this will increase as shortages of highly skilled young workers become more noticeable in a few years' time. On account of age stratification, the number of people willing to move is declining, while the need for qualified young immigrants in economic growth regions is growing. This will increase the chances of advancement. Inter-regional competition will drive local efforts to encourage all young people who are willing to be educated. As the past teaches us, educational motivation rises when the return on education or the resultant opportunities in the labour market in particular visibly improve and children and youth are not given the impression that even a successful school education was a waste of time. The opportunities presented by the uneven age structure can fuel reform efforts in schools and neighbourhoods. If this process really is

successful in sustainably reducing structural (youth) unemployment, then better utilisation of the potential workforce will diminish the strains arising from the aging process.

8. A conclusion

Integrative urban development policy continues to be underestimated not least because in the public debate its responsibilities, instruments and topics appear diffuse. It is as important as labour market policy, whereby the development of the school system should conceptually be understood as part of urban development. Although from the viewpoint of urban development educational content is determined exogenously, the entire provision of education must be seen in the context of spatial processes and as part of neighbourhood development and coexistence in these neighbourhoods. Children and adolescents – in

particular from the lower strata – are more neighbourhood-oriented than other people and spend a large part of their daily life in their neighbourhoods. Integrative urban development in the sense of the objectives and processes formulated above will not occur if we do not succeed in localising the core function of education – with its results and its management and control – and comprehending it as an element of the development processes in the neighbourhoods and municipalities. At the same time urban structural transformation, which is accelerating against the background of declining population, must be utilised for and as part of an integrative process. Having solved the housing problem, it is now a question of self-realisation, of status, of respect and recognition. This will be easier to achieve if structural development, the formation of human capital and the strengthening of local networks and co-determination go hand in hand.

Frank Bielka

Social City: responsibility for the neighbourhoods

1. Challenges facing housing companies

Many large European and German cities are facing the threat of a social split. The reason is the concentration of socially deprived groups in specific neighbourhoods. A high proportion of migrants, above-average unemployment and a correspondingly large number of transfer payment recipients are characteristic of such neighbourhoods.

A substantial portion of the 70,000 flats of the degewo company are in Berlin's so-called problem areas: Wedding, Neukölln, Kreuzbert and Marzahn. This housing stock consists not of individual buildings spread across the city, but concentrations in certain districts. The Berlin housing company has adjusted to the fact that it is no longer enough to think exclusively in economic categories such as management and letting. A company that maintains large stocks of housing in contiguous neighbourhoods also shares responsibility for their development and is called upon to intervene in as positive way as possible. As a municipal housing enterprise, the degewo has added both points to its mission statement. "Yield optimisation" and "responsibility for Berlin's development" are placed next to each other on purpose. Yet a municipal housing company cannot and should not be a repair shop for negative social developments. Rather, companies like the degewo also need support from the public sector. However, public measures often fall short; many comprise unrelated and sometimes conflicting individual initiatives and largely disparate actions. The city administration and its policies currently lack the financial and personnel resources needed to cope. This should not be understood as a reproach to the policy and decision-makers. It simply makes

it clear that the social welfare state no longer can or will guarantee on its own the provision of public goods such as education, security and sustainability. The state must give up a part of its social, economic and ecological responsibility, with the result that social functions and responsibilities are increasingly being redistributed among the state, the private sector and citizens.

The objectives and expectations formulated by the municipal owners of public housing companies in this connection are very ambitious. In the case of the degewo company, in this account representative for the industry, the basis is the 2007 decision of the Berlin senate. Its key aspects are as follows:

- economic consolidation;
- rent increases that take account of tenants' financial capabilities;
- pioneering energy policy measures; and
- partner in social urban development through the upgrading of threatened neighbourhoods and large housing estates.

Thus, municipal housing companies as instruments of neighbourhood development, so-called good citizens, assume significant responsibility for the city's development. However, in this context responsibility means primarily corporate responsibility: the capital basis of the housing companies consists of tax revenues, the tenants are customers and pay rent. Consequently, the responsible, careful and efficient management of this money is the basis for all actions and plans. Thus, in all activities municipal housing companies such as degewo have to consider the good of the customer (fair product), the common good (functioning neighbourhood/urban return) and above all the good of the company (return).

2. Integrative urban development approach

The efforts of housing companies in urban and neighbourhood development are not solely acts of social magnanimity. This involvement is of course motivated by classic business interests.

Negative neighbourhood developments always harm corporate and economic interests. The consequences of precarious neighbourhoods are usually falling or at best stagnating rents, rising vacancies, high turnover and high costs caused by vandalism and litter. Put simply: only socially intact and stable residential areas have long-term tenants, which ensure stable revenues. Corporate and customer benefits are mutually dependent.

However, once a neighbourhood is or is well on the way to becoming a problem area, small-scale or uncoordinated activities are not enough to stabilise it again. Instead, the focus must be on integrative urban development. The goal is to successfully integrate people into their neighbourhood. In other words, it is not enough to look at individual areas; the neighbourhood has to be viewed holistically. It is not enough, for example, to concentrate only on activities in the field of integration or culture. In reality a number of factors play a role, all of which have an impact on stabilising neighbourhoods.

In this context it has been shown that municipal housing companies are predestined for this function. For, unlike many private housing companies, they pursue a long-term solution, i.e. thanks to their housing stock they have often been active in a neighbourhood for a long time and want to continue their activities in the future. As local actors, the municipal housing companies can impact the neighbourhood with its supply structure, its public spaces and facilities, its economy and its social framework, and do it better than for example government agencies, which are too removed from the action, or local social facilities, which often focus on individual problem areas.

The holistic approach to neighbourhood development on the part of municipal housing companies can indeed lead to a positive development in deprived areas, as the example of degewo's measures and successes in the Brunnenviertel neighbourhood in Berlin-Wedding demonstrates.

3. Brunnenviertel project

The Brunnenviertel lies in Gesundbrunnen, part of the Berlin district of Mitte. Established during Berlin's industrial expansion, the working-class area offered a very simple standard of living into the 1970s. The flats often had no bathrooms, and toilets were on the stair landing between floors. Finally, in the mid-1970s the Berlin Senate declared the Brunnenviertel a redevelopment zone. New buildings with lifts, spacious flats and balconies followed. In consequence the inhabitant structure changed, marked in time increasingly by an influx of migrants. Contrary to expectations, the Brunnenviertel was caught in a gradual, but steady downward spiral, and by the early years of the new millennium parts of the neighbourhood were characterised by stubborn poverty and lack of any prospects. The application of then current integration mechanisms and development tools had had very limited success.

When the degewo turned its attention to the Brunnenviertel in 2004, it was confronted by a huge image problem among the neighbourhood's inhabitants. The widespread sense of decline went hand in hand with a feeling of great insecurity on the streets. This was compounded by the situation in the schools, which even with a great deal of good will could only be termed catastrophic. For the housing industry another indicator of the problems involved was the successive increase in the number of vacancies.

Faced with this situation, the degewo had two options: either leave the neighbourhood to itself, with the long-term risk that it would become a slum and a ghetto, with the potential for developments similar to those in the Paris banlieus, or try to reverse the well-advanced precarious development.

The degewo chose the second option. The company decided to take up the challenge and in 2005 carried out an intensive SWOT (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats) analysis of the Brunnenviertel to determine its specific problems and issues.

3.1. Objectives for the Brunnenviertel

Before it began to consider possible measures to stop the neighbourhood's downward spiral, the degewo initiated an intensive discussion about the targets for the Brunnenviertel. It quickly became clear that the catalogue of targets would be much more comprehensive than similar lists in other neighbourhoods in the past.

As a commercial enterprise the degewo attached particular importance to establishing a stable economic situation. To achieve commercial success in the Brunnenviertel, the degewo would have to succeed in making the area attractive again for its inhabitants in all aspects of their life. Young, active people with families should also feel at home in the Brunnenviertel. To attract this target group to the Brunnenviertel, the inhabitant structure would have to change. Hence, one indispensable objective was to promote a good mix of residents. As the housing company that manages a large proportion of the housing in the neighbourhood, the degewo can have an impact through an active, cautious, sustainable rental policy. It had to lower the number of tenants on transfer payments without forcing them out. At the same time, it was recognised that the level and quality of education was a key factor in neighbourhood stability as families will only stay on as long-term residents if they are satisfied with the schools and educational curricula. Consequently, improving the level and quality of education also had to be an objective in the Brunnenviertel.

Furthermore, by actively involving the community it hoped to overcome the widespread lethargy and depression in the neighbourhood and measurably improve the quality of and opportunities in life. Developing conditions for an open neighbourhood with its own centre and a supply structure would support the retail and other services appropriate for an urban residential location close to the city centre. An important aim of these measures was to markedly improve the Brunnenviertel's image and reputation as a liveable residential quarter beyond the borders of the neighbourhood.

3.2 Development of a mission for the Brunnenviertel

The degewo had to contend with ambitious goals and numerous local actors. Once it started working on its plans it quickly became clear that the problem complex could not be solved by one housing company alone. It became apparent that before any further steps could be taken the most important prerequisite was to coordinate the various actors. In this context the degewo and the other multipliers (e.g. neighbourhood management, district authorities) decided to develop a common mission statement for the Brunnenviertel to serve as a general basis for action. The process of coordination was at times tough and protracted. Today, the development of this mission statement serves as a model for other neighbourhoods, in particular when different actors are involved. Coordination always functions better if there is some form of guideline that all can use for orientation.

The mission statement for the Brunnenviertel contained the following points:

- The Brunnenviertel is a neighbourhood for families with children, seniors, and households of young couples and singles from different ethnic and social backgrounds.
- Residents cultivate peaceful and respectful relations with neighbours.
- People are open to new ideas, willing to experiment and assume responsibility.
- Draw a growing number of young families to the Brunnenviertel from adjoining neighbourhoods (e.g. Prenzlauer Berg) by ensuring an attractive supply of housing and focused consideration of residents' wishes.

With the definition of the different fields of action (see Figure 1), which corresponded with the problem areas defined by the SWOT analysis, the Brunnenviertel project was ready to start.

A description of all the individual components would go beyond the scope of this account. Hence, the following will focus on the core aspects: rental policy, education and training, and security.

3.3 A targeted rental policy for the right inhabitant structure

Over the course of many years the Brunnenviertel had developed into an enclave in particular for people with a migration background and recipients of transfer payments. In 2006, 41.3 percent of the new tenants of the degewo held a foreign passport; this does not include German passport holders with a migration background. In addition, 32.3 percent of the new tenants in 2006 were recipients of transfer payments. As other international metropolitan areas, for instance Paris, have shown, a population in social decline is susceptible to aggression and violence. Condi-

tions in the Brunnenviertel were nothing like the Paris banlieus; nonetheless, the degewo decided to act pre-emptively: the longer the negative development continues, the more difficult counter efforts become.

Thus, a balanced inhabitant structure had to be created in the Brunnenviertel. Large housing companies such as the degewo can decisively influence this process through an appropriate rental policy. That said, it would have been utopian to think that, for example, middle-class families in Steglitz-Zehlendorf could be induced to move to the Brunnenviertel without further ado. Efforts in this direction would have been a waste of time and effort. Hence, the first task was to draw up a systematic target group strategy.

Figure 1:

Fields of action for the Brunnenviertel

Renting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tenant selection • New products • Inhabitant activation • Rental policy
Education and training	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improve pupils' school results • Enhance language skills • Improve the level and quality of education
Labour market	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Placing and qualification of workers • Measures to improve language skills
Integration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language/society • Conflict management between groups of residents • Support for clubs and societies/provision of meeting spaces
Neighbourhood liveability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Traffic calming • Urbanistic upgrading of the Brunnenstrasse
Development Brunnenstrasse	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enhancing and developing the Brunnenstrasse
Urban development obstacles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gleim Tunnel • Railway lines to the north • Mauerpark/Death strip along the Bernauer Strasse
Security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Underground station Voltastrasse • Improving safety of unsafe zones • Reducing the menace of groups of youths

Source: degewo AG

This was done by using a sinus model to identify potential new tenants for the Brunnenviertel.

The sinus model of the Federal Association for Property Ownership, Housebuilding and Urban Development (vhw) distinguishes ten milieus with varying profiles based on residential behaviour, consumption patterns and relevant driving forces. The milieus are also differentiated with regard to the importance of the physical or social residential environment for people's living patterns, especially with regard to the attributes they desire.

By matching these milieu-specific attitudes with the respective milieu structure in a neighbourhood and comparing the results with the existing supply and infrastructure, it is possible to draw and evaluate conclusions for supply policy, where to focus in the rehabilitation of housing stock, the layout of the surrounding areas, infrastructure needs and other measures. This makes it possible to devise concepts that are far more target-group focused and to implement them with the appropriate efficiency and expediency.

A short wanted poster with a comic-like illustration was produced for each target group with the intention of making it easier for the landlords to incorporate implementation of the target group strategy into their daily routine.

Success quickly followed and with each year the structure of new tenants shifted in the direction of a healthy balance.

Thus, the first, crucial step towards a balanced inhabitant structure was achieved. But a targeted rental strategy was not enough. The products that the selected target groups want had to be provided.

The degewo decided to redevelop a residential complex in the Brunnenviertel adjacent to the Mauerpark and on the border between Mitte and Prenzlauer Berg and apply a target-group oriented building and rental concept. Particular attention would be paid to the aspect of climate protection. The redevelopment of the Hofgarten complex was carried out between 2007 and early 2009, producing a target-group-adequate design of facades, green spaces and pools. The intention was to attract tenants who otherwise would never have considered moving to the Brunnenviertel. As a result, the change in the new tenant structure is greater in the Hofgarten than elsewhere in the Brunnenviertel. This proves that redevelopment can create a product that is completely customised to the taste of the desired target group.

Furthermore, image campaigns, for instance the regular "Wedding Dress" fashion event, have raised the neighbourhood's profile nationwide. This in turn attracts in particular artists and students to the neighbourhood as potential tenants.

The good, well thought out mix of inhabitants also ensures more stable conditions, in which individual troublemakers are kept in order by the presence of a greater body of law-abiding tenants. Naturally, it is not the intention to completely exclude specific population groups. Accommodation is still let to foreign passport holders and recipients of transfer payments. But substantially more attention is paid to maintaining a healthy balance for the good of all inhabitants.

Table 1:

Change in the inhabitant structure through a targeted rental policy

	2006	2007	2008	2009
Income	1.460 €	1.564 €	1.695 €	1.713 €
Foreign passport holders	41,3 %	38,5 %	31,9 %	31,7 %
Transfer payment recipients	32,3 %	21,9 %	17,9 %	13,8 %

Quelle: degewo AG.

3.4 Restoring a sense of security in the Brunnenviertel

A small, but essential component of the Brunnenviertel project is security. Right from the start it was clear that the degewo would have to tackle this issue, as many residents had an ingrained feeling of insecurity. The reasons for this were the groups of youths that many people subjectively found menacing and the fact that many places in the Brunnenviertel were known locations of drug-dealing and drug-taking. This was particularly pronounced in the adjoining underground station, but also on degewo property as well.

Two measures were adopted to counteract this, both involving a local presence. The first was a so-called neighbourhood patrol, a security service that patrolled every day after dark and which tenants could contact in the event of disturbances or problems in the neighbourhood. The main point here was, as mentioned, a local presence. The prominent and regular appearance of this neighbourhood patrol had a calming effect on residents and increased their sense of security.

The second was a service dog patrol. In this case a security service accompanied by a trained drug dog walked around the neighbourhood with the aim of preventing drug-dealing in the buildings. This measure, too, also had the effect of markedly improving residents' sense of neighbourhood security. This in turn means that inhabitants feel altogether happier in the neighbourhood and no longer think of moving away.

3.5 Focus on education

Nice accommodation, affordable rents, a friendly landlord: none of this helps if the environment is not right. This is a common attitude among parents of children of school age, as shown by a representative survey that the degewo commissioned from INFO GmbH, an independent opinion research institute, in October 2008. According to this survey, 90 percent of the respondents mentioned the quality of schools and daycare centres as a decisive criterion for choosing to live in a specific neighbourhood. These survey results demonstrate that the commitment to education can be crucial in upgrading a social flashpoint.

Given suitable quality and supply, young middle-class families with children are also willing to stay in the affordable, but somewhat disreputable neighbourhood. Otherwise they will move to another area when their children reach school age at the latest. Consequently, good schools make a crucial contribution to the desired social mix in a neighbourhood.

These considerations triggered the degewo's decision three years ago to tackle the question of schools in the Brunnenviertel. Where schools fail, entire neighbourhoods can quickly go downhill. Good pupils from intact homes leave and weaker pupils from unstable conditions stay. The effects are felt by the entire school environment, including not only the housing companies, but also local retailers, cultural facilities and many other actors on the neighbourhood.

The schools, their administration and the teachers are often out of their depth in trying to deal with the situation in the classrooms and schoolyard. They need new impetus and above all the feeling that they have not been left alone or are out on a limb.

In the end, the degewo decided to try a completely new approach. The solution developed by the company consisted primarily in establishing an educational association. The schools should be brought together and cooperation generated at the interfaces. The key points of the educational association were the following:

- improving the pupils' language skills with the goal of an occupation or further education;
- greater involvement of the parents in their children's education and upbringing;
- reducing anti-school attitudes and obstacles to motivation; and
- supportive groundwork for the change from daycare to primary school and from there to the next stage of schooling.

It was hoped that this plan would activate the schools in the Brunnenviertel. Eventually, a total of seven local schools joined the educational association in the Brunnenviertel and started by coordinating contact among one another. Furthermore, the respective school administrations met regularly to discuss neighbourhood developments and their consequences.

Over and above this, the degewo organises its own annual projects to encourage the schools to cooperate and strengthen the sense of solidarity. For instance, in the past three years the degewo and the schools have organised a joint action to decorate a tram and to make a film that takes the Brunnenviertel's image as its subject. In 2009, flags were designed and made for each school so that they could establish a visual presence in the neighbourhood.

To break down the language barriers between parents and teachers funding was improved. To enable parents, particularly mothers, to attend German courses. In the meantime, more than ten such courses with more than 200 participants have taken place. The result has been to substantially reduce the gap between parents and the school and improve parents' involvement.

The schools feel that they and their problems are taken seriously. Through a range of targeted actions, including for example further education courses, teachers' work efficiency has been improved and the sense of demotivation diminished. In other words, a downward spiral has been turned around into an upward spiral.

Meanwhile, the schools are developing their own concepts to sustainably raise their appeal for parents and schoolchildren. The Gustav Falke primary school may serve as an example. This school, a member of the educational association, developed a special offer for children starting school in 2010/2011, which was also intended to appeal to education-conscious parents in neighbouring districts. Classes have no more than 24 pupils and special emphasis is given to the natural sciences from the start. Furthermore, English is taught from the first grade and children are encouraged to read. All children take part in school projects involving pupils from more than one class. However, this teaching programme is open only to children with a good command of German. To control for this, applicants have to take a language test called "Bärenstark" (as strong as an ox) in advance. The concept appears to be working. The school received a lot of encouragement from parents and in the press. In the meantime, the State Parents' Association recommends that other schools in socially precarious neighbourhoods adopt the concept. The Gustav Falke primary school had no difficulty attracting the desired number of pupils.

In the educational association members are forced to think outside the box, as the example of the Gustav Falke primary school demonstrates. Today, no educational institution is still an island and none may remain an island.

Efforts to upgrade a socially precarious neighbourhood have to ensure not only good neighbourhood management, including social workers, but also insist on good schools, dedicated teachers and daycare centres with state-of-the-art equipment. Currently the degewo is working with the German Olympic Committee (DOG) to provide additional physical education in the daycare centres in the Brunnenviertel. The DOG has determined that girls and boys who do more sport even just once or twice a week adjust better when they start school. These young pupils are fitter, more receptive and more capable of learning. A corresponding sports sponsorship offer is currently being developed for the Brunnenviertel and should significantly improve the starting position of children in daycare.

Investments in schools and daycare centres can promote stabilisation, in other words decisively contribute to the desired mix in a neighbourhood by removing a major reason why people move away. But schools and daycare centres also benefit from not being left alone. They are part of an overall development. Thus, the most important insight in this respect is that without the impetus from the housing company no educational improvements at all would have been undertaken in the Brunnenviertel, a neighbourhood that was in dire need of them. The degewo provided the initial funding and today is still ready to act. But the decisive point was the impetus for cooperation.

The concept of the educational association was so successful that in 2007 the degewo applied it in its neighbourhood to the south of the Gropiusstadt, where it triggered development trends similar to those in the Brunnenviertel.

3.6 The Brunnenviertel: a local success story

The Brunnenviertel was the first neighbourhood that the degewo sought to upgrade by applying integrative, holistic neighbourhood development. Here it successfully demonstrated its competence in solving problems in neighbourhoods and, as already mentioned, initiated substantial positive change through the individual project building blocks. The target rental strategy produced a balanced inhabitant structure in the neighbourhood and the educational association boosted the self-confidence of the schools and provided new impetus. Bit by bit the attractiveness of the schools was restored.

The sum of the different components of the Brunnenviertel project was also a commercial success for the degewo, as a glance at the successful housing development in the neighbourhood demonstrates: vacancies and turnover have declined significantly.

Overall we can say that the holistic approach of integrative neighbourhood development has been very successful. However, the work in the Brunnenviertel is far from finished and will require staying power on the part of the degewo. The Brunnenviertel project was a steep learning curve for the company in the past three years. Now it can apply its knowledge and the acquired know-how and skills to other residential areas. As a result, in particular the neighbourhoods south of the Gropiusstadt and the neighbourhood around the Mariannenplatz in Kreuzberg are benefiting from the experience gained in the Brunnenviertel.

4. Brunneviertel project vs. Social City programme

The Brunnenviertel is a neighbourhood selected for the Social City programme and, hence, a recognised investment area. This means that the public sector will make particularly intensive efforts to develop this area and support its socially disadvantaged inhabitants. The Brunnenviertel, which belongs to the degewo, is only a small section of the area covered by the Social City programme. Thus, the degewo's neighbourhood management interfaces locally with three Social City neighbourhood managements. In part, cooperation consists solely of an exchange of information, but the two organisations also work on joint projects. Overall, the cooperation is constructive.

Nonetheless, although the Social city programme, like the degewo project, pursues comprehensive neighbourhood development, it tends to apply small-scale measures, only some of which can be judged sustainable. For instance, the programme cannot actively influence the inhabitant structure, which is possible for the degewo through a targeted rental strategy. In addition, the funding of the Social city programme cannot be used to improve the structural fabric of the local housing stock. In this respect, too, there is evidence that regeneration measures such as the Hofgarten project can make a substantial contribution to stabilising a neighbourhood. As the example of the degewo illustrates, only housing companies can afford a "grand gesture" of this nature. In this way they contribute to the long-term upgrading of a neighbourhood.

Table 2:

The Brunnenviertel: a local success story

	2006	2007	2008	2009	1 st quarter 2010
Vacancies	5,9 %	4,7 %	4,9 %	3,1 %	1,9 %
Fluktuation	9,8 %	13,8 %	9,6 %	8,7 %	5,5 %

Source: degewo AG

5. Conclusion and outlook

Mounting challenges such as demographics (age structure, family development, household structure) and the differentiation of society (by income/buying power, education and new moral and ethnic attitudes) demand new solutions. For a company like the degewo this means developing a holistic view of the neighbourhoods in which it is active.

Through this social, cultural and societal commitment housing companies make an important contribution to preserving social peace in neighbourhoods and cities. This means that in addition to their financial and commercial return, municipal housing companies generate an additional benefit. Both items are included in the so-called urban return, a concept coined by the degewo that in the meantime has been widely adopted.

Besides the municipalities, housing companies, whether big or small, are the main actors in integrated neighbourhood development. The Social City programme does not give enough credit to this aspect. For, the housing companies do not depend on

the programme; rather, in many places the success of the programme depends on the companies' local cooperation and organisation. Nobody is as close to the inhabitants of a neighbourhood as the landlord. This is a special advantage, in particular when it is a question of activating networks and committed neighbours.

Housing companies have at their disposal excellent local knowledge, intensive connections to the residents, good contacts to other actors in the area and are integrated into the political and administrative structures of the municipality. Those are not the worst prerequisites for assuming a future management function with the goal of maintaining existing networks and cooperation.

In any case, it was a clever idea to define the Social City programme from the start as a practice-oriented "learning" programme. This is the basis of its dynamism and its success, and will remain so in the future. As the degewo's Brunnenviertel project demonstrates, the municipal housing companies are ready to act as strong local partners for integrative neighbourhood development.

Dr. Franz-Georg Rips

The Social City from the Tenant's point of view¹

Germany's cities are cities of tenants. Compared to rented accommodation, even self-occupied home ownership plays a subordinate role in cities. Thus, there is a close relationship between the future development of cities on the one hand and the quality of life of its inhabitants as tenants on the other.

On the whole, urban development takes the interests of tenants into account. The German Tenants' Association, the only umbrella organisation that represents the interests of renters, has always made a point of cooperating on questions of urban regeneration, urban development and the Social City. In this contribution for the special publication of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation I shall attempt to summarise and elucidate our position.

1. The idea of the European city

A distinction between the European city and other cities is the lack of recognisable gated communities, whether physical or social. On the contrary, the European city is in principle accessible to all strata of the population. To cite the Leipzig Charta of 24 May 2007,² the basis of recent European urban development policy: "The strategy of mixing housing, employment, education, supply and recreational use in urban neighbourhoods has proved to be especially sustainable." A particular characteristic of the European city is densification, which is practised in a range of fields, including, among others, housing, education and traffic. A defining aspect is the idea of mixed use, which is to some extent the corollary of densification.

Traditionally, cities are also centres of knowledge and research. They are shaped by the ideas of freedom and tolerance. Not without reason, cities are referred to as "integration machines". Cities do not perceive multicultural societies as a danger, but as an opportunity and resource, which is why social cohesion plays a prominent role.

Urban development is based on the principle of sustainability, combined with respect for economic prosperity, social equity and a healthy environment.

These objectives are threatened by the following current developments: the divergence between the quality of housing and life within various cities, segregation processes and the resultant limitation on the concept of equal participation for all, the different effects of demographic processes, increasing poverty – which in the near future will surely include a greater proportion of people in old-age – and new challenges in climate change and in energy policy.

2. Approaches to solving the problems

By now it is probably common wisdom that in keeping with the differentiated approach to holistic urban development strategies and coordinated actions, the inclusion of all the persons and institutions involved in the process of such developments is indispensable. The key to holistic urban development is networking between the different policy areas and their respective actors. Incidentally, this creates a historic opportunity to develop a new culture of participation that in my opinion can offer an alternative, a counterstrategy to the disenchantment with politics and elections.

1 I thank Dr Armin Hentschel, Director of the Institut für Soziale Stadtentwicklung, Potsdam, for the fruitful discussions and for formulations and ideas that I have made use of in my work on this topic.

2 Leipzig Charta on Sustainable European Cities,
http://www.eu2007.de/de/News/download_docs/Mai/0524-AN/075DokumentLeipzigCharta.pdf

It is important to draw up jointly integrated urban development concepts for all cities. In future every municipality should be required to draw up a status analysis of its strengths and weaknesses, its neighbourhoods and their respective development possibilities. At the same time this will serve as the basis for the allocation of public funding in any form. The creation of urban development concepts not only provides various opportunities for citizens to participate, but compels the coordination of various spatial, sectoral and technical plans and political measures so as to improve the targeting of increasingly squeezed public funding. To cite the Leipzig Charta once again: "For us, integrated urban development policy means simultaneous and fair consideration of the concerns and interests which are relevant to urban development."

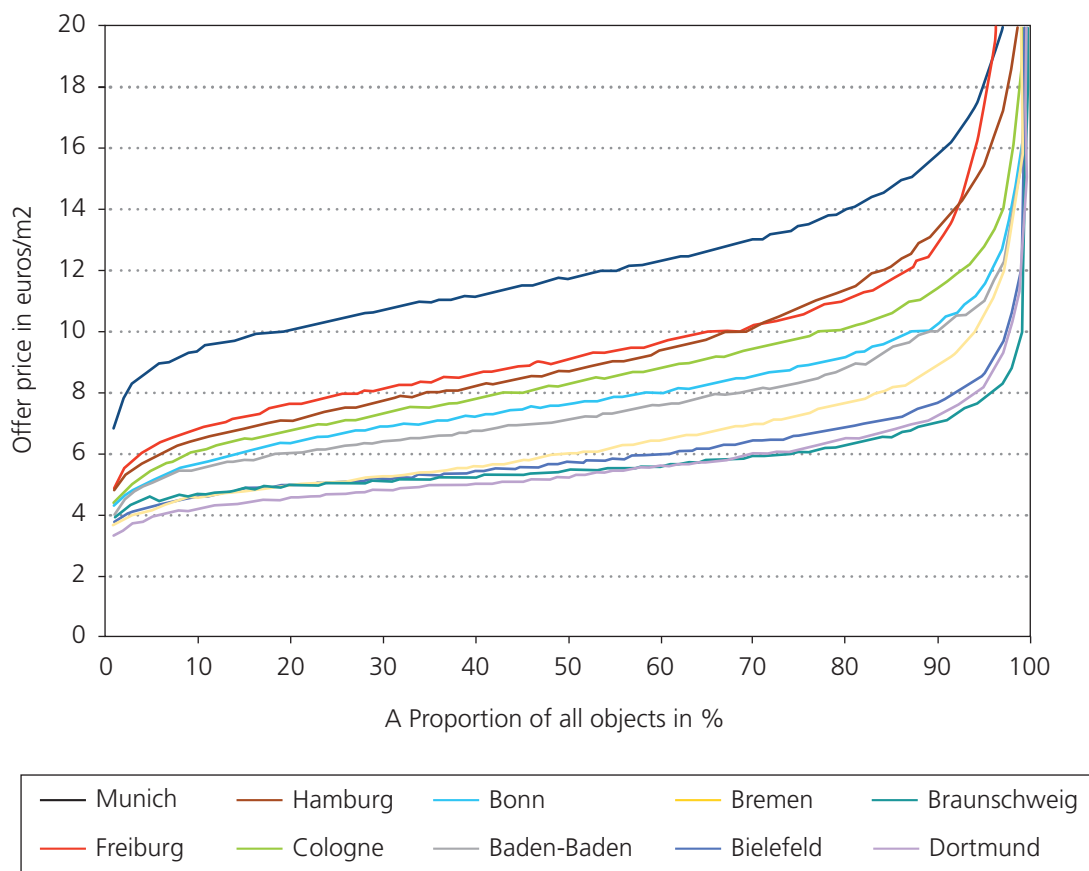
3. Current challenges

In recent years climate change has become an increasingly relevant issue for urban development and for construction. Improving the energy efficiency of the existing stock of housing and – essentially a secondary issue because of the relatively small quantity involved – also of new construction is a significant challenge. The pace at which energy efficiency is currently rising is by any measure inadequate. As climate change and the associated dangers will not wait until we are ready to deal with them, we have to force the pace.

- Experts regard energy savings of between 20 and 25 percent as perfectly feasible. In ecological, social and economic terms, the most valuable energy is saved energy.

Figure 1:

Price level of rental accommodation (new construction and existing housing) in selected cities, 2009



Source: empirica-Preisdatenbank (basis: IDN ImmoDaten GmbH).

- Structural measures such as thermal insulation, enhanced glazing and optimised heating technology increase energy efficiency.
- Renewable energies must play a greater role in providing domestic heating and hot water.

As a rule, these measures, with the exception of energy saving, are associated with higher housing costs in the short and medium term. Therefore, the costs need to be fairly balanced between landlords, tenants and providers of state subsidies. This is also justified: every energy efficiency measure increases the value of landlords' property and, hence, its marketability when selling or leasing. Tenants on the other hand have the immediate advantage of lower heating and hot water costs, whereby, energy savings do not, as a rule, fully offset the costs. With regard to society as a whole, the state also has a long-term interest in reducing CO2 emissions and thereby protecting the climate.

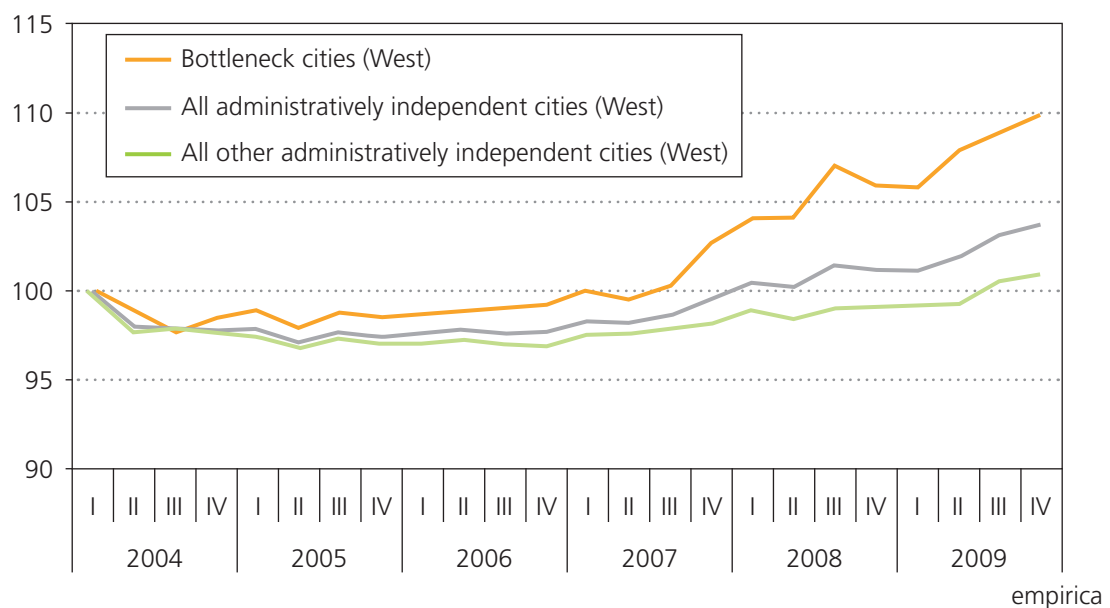
A second major challenge is adjusting the stock of housing in line with demographic developments. Germany's population is declining. This reduces demand for housing, even allowing for the fact that in

Germany the trend towards singularised households is currently increasing demand for housing. In 2025 at the latest we will have a housing surplus in many local markets in the Federal Republic. In some local markets it will be necessary to remove housing from the market. At the same time, there is growing differentiation in local markets. This means that in various regions we simultaneously have a shortage and an excess of housing. In particular in areas with very tight housing markets new construction will be needed to satisfy demand. One of the biggest challenges today is to find fiscal instruments or allowances that will work locally in tight markets without generating windfall effects and misallocations. The German Tenants' Association has proposed introducing a new degressive depreciation in rental housing on a temporary basis. This would create the possibility of evaluating the situation on a convincing basis after a period of, say, five years to examine whether such support is feasible.

In the meantime, the largest rent increases are concentrated in 11 cities (Munich, Stuttgart, Freiburg, Karlsruhe, Baden-Baden, Aachen, Bonn, Mainz, Trier,

Figure 2:

Empirica Rent Index Germany (1st quarter 2004 = 100)



Source: Hedonische Press (Basis IDN Immodaten); data for construction years from 2000, 60 – 80 sq.m., higher-quality fixtures. Bottleneck cities: Population growth > growth in housing units (2000 – 2008), vacancy rate < 2%.

Hamburg and Flensburg), where there are extreme supply constraints. In other administratively independent cities rents have also risen considerably since 2007, but less than in the cities with supply constraints. Supply conditions have become more differentiated since 2007.

The fact that society is becoming more diverse creates a need to individualise the layout and fittings of flats and customise them for new, differentiated requirements. Age-appropriate upgrading of existing housing plays a particular role. In general one can state without reservation that people want to stay in their familiar living environment as long as possible and in any event prefer this to having to move into institutional care. Incidentally, this also makes economic sense, as care-home costs far exceed the costs of age-appropriate conversion of existing housing. Suitable offers for living arrangements for seniors as well as for the range of disabilities we deal with in practice are the order of the day.

4. Deprived city neighbourhoods: upgrading and remedial measures

While acknowledging these basic tasks facing the development of the city of the future, we have to accept the cold fact that deprived neighbourhoods in need of upgrading and remediation have emerged in just about all cities.

Deprived neighbourhoods are marked by high unemployment and particularly marked social exclusion. Naturally, within the context of integrated urban development concepts and the resultant strategies for action, priority must be given to anticipating the potential destabilisation of neighbourhoods, to spotting early warning signs and taking remedial action in a timely and effective way. That at least is the theory. In practice many urban neighbourhoods are already in decline. Important instruments to counter such processes of decline include social housing policies, mixed occupancy structures and sufficient affordable housing. In each of these areas we have noted shortcomings in recent years.

5. The Social City as a new support programme

The Social City programme funded jointly by the federal government, the laender and municipalities is one of the new housing policy concepts. However, I should like to point out that many of the problems that need to be tackled are old problems under new names. The old aims of housing policy – in particular adequate provision of housing for the population – were no less social than the new ones. But the solutions were different. Against the background of a growing population the focus in the past was on new construction, whereas the new housing policy has become a classic policy of inventory management. Social housing that pursued the goal of providing all strata of the population with adequate housing is now of only marginal interest.

The main function of social housing policy has shifted away from new construction towards a qualitative assessment of the existing housing stock. Even today the differences in living space that households can afford depending on their social situation – in other words staggered according to income, age, education and occupation – are indicators of prosperity and social inequality. The Social City programme seeks to tackle this paradigm. It is a classic stock management programme.

At the same time as this programme is being implemented, a new debate has started about a phenomenon that is to some extent a countertrend to the Social City, namely gentrification, in particular in Berlin and Hamburg, but also in other large cities. In the process of gentrification some housing is modernised and upgraded to such a degree that it is can be afforded only by affluent tenants or buyers. Simultaneously, rising rents force existing tenants out of their housing.

6. The ideas behind the Social City

The response to this is as follows:

- We do not want any urban districts in which rich and poor are neatly separated from one another. They are the visible proof of the failure of the principle of fairness and equality, of the failure of Christian social-democratic and paternalistic conservative programmes.
- Deprived milieus emerge in unattractive neighbourhoods, and they frighten us because they destroy people's opportunities, hopes and aspirations for advancement and with them their willingness to integrate. These neighbourhoods express deprivation just as much as they help to shape it.
- Since the early 1980s we have been hung up on old images of German cities. Foreigners envy Germany its beautiful, intact old cities. They are part of our cultural identity. Deprivation disturbs us, destroys this image.

Until very recently the European city also stood for the possibility of social advancement. Now with the collapse of our hopes for economic growth we have to deal with the consequences in the cities. Meanwhile, even the greatest optimists have accepted that economic growth and the trend to full employment cannot prevent growing divergence between incomes or an increase in poverty. With regard to integration policy this is most evident among tenants.

Let me oversimplify this statement. It runs counter to the moral values of most parties when low-income persons have to leave neighbourhoods because investments in buildings and conveniences have made them smarter and more attractive and therefore more desirable. From the point of view of the free market there is no objection to wealthier strata getting more quality for their money and moving into better flats in more attractive and, hence, more expensive neighbourhoods.

Because of the cultural value and the peculiarities of housing as a good, many people are not content with this type of market logic. In particularly desirable neighbourhoods broad opposition to gentrification has emerged in the younger generation among people who on account of their age have a lot of educational, but little financial capital and who object to the sequence of upgrading followed by the displacement of strata with less education and

income by the better educated people who are also, therefore, high earners. Initially, the better-educated, low-income groups form alliances with the poorer and less educated. But that changes with advancing age and higher income. The initial stage in this process is the background to the current opposition to gentrification in many cities.

We, too, fear the possible spill-over from depressed neighbourhoods that emerge in this process. For this reason we expect social integration and hope that the cities will be able to provide and structurally express it.

Germany is envied abroad for its beautiful and intact old city centres. The new city is just as intact as the city centres were, just more liveable. Until the end of the 1970s the view of old facades conflicted with the self-perception of a Germany shaped by the economic miracle and the social-democratic belief in progress. Nostalgia on the one hand and an aversion to the modernism of the post-war period on the other prevented the demolition of old buildings. The declining occupation density, the scaling down of households and the modernisation of old buildings restored the appeal of old urban neighbourhoods. Today the upgraded areas of old city centres are the most desirable addresses. However, this holds only for certain areas; in other, often adjacent neighbourhoods pauperisation and structural decay continue apace. This development threatens our feelings of an idyllic city. Although it is understandable that housing for poor people stands out accordingly, it disturbs us when we come face to face with this inequality.

7. Measures to arrest the emergence of deprived neighbourhoods and promote the Social City

Theoretically it is easy to call for substantial public and private investment primarily in areas that are in particularly bad shape. As, however, the residents in these neighbourhoods have the fewest financial resources, these measures have to be financed largely out of public funds. The political implementation of such a process of social distribution is less simple, for the following reasons.

- Most of the municipalities that have to finance these investments are in turn hopelessly in debt.

- Even when working through federal programmes such as the Social City or urban renewal, the municipalities are often unable to afford the required co-financing. Apart from which, such problems are particularly common in cities that have few resources at their disposal anyway. The depletion of public budgets is compounded by the permanent loss of business taxes as a consequence of the financial and economic crisis and the increase in social expenditures.
- Any such offsetting use of public funds is unpopular with some political actors who cannot count on votes in deprived neighbourhoods anyway, partly because it has been proved that the turnout in these areas is especially low.
- The municipalities depend on higher-income households as taxpayers. They have a strong interest in ensuring that in particular families do not move out of the city when looking for suitable family accommodation. Therefore they usually also promote the upgrading and family-friendly conversion of neighbourhoods close to the city centre. This conversion, however, accelerates displacement. Gentrification is the flip side of structural improvement and a cause of the socio-environmental polarisation of cities. Upgrading strategies are carried out for the most part in the existing housing stock, and in the absence of publicly subsidised regeneration are necessarily linked with a change in the social structure.
- In contrast to their theoretical criticism of segregation, even the critics are not prepared to act against it in practice. Rather, for personal reasons they look for an environment that corresponds to their preferred lifestyle, in other words the proximity of their own kind. Through their personal decision they help to effect what they morally and politically bemoan.

8. The problem of segregation

Although everybody is against all forms of segregation, against the separation and homogenisation of neighbourhoods, the suitable instruments to prevent it are lacking. That said, the question we really need to ask in advance is whether fighting segregation is even the correct position to adopt. Let me express a few thoughts on this admittedly difficult topic.

- One never hears a complaint about the most stringently segregated, in other words socially most homogeneous neighbourhoods in cities, namely the exclusive residential areas of the rich. Areas are regarded as unhealthy and in need of change only when too many poor, educationally deprived people in need of integration live in one spot. These two forms of segregation are linked; they have one point in common and one difference: voluntary segregation is the other side of forced segregation. Or to be more specific: the educated strata that have moved from a problem area to a better neighbourhood are the missing element for a healthy social mix in the deprived neighbourhoods.
- The first form of segregation is voluntary, whereas the latter is compelled above all because migrants seek the proximity and the infrastructure of their ethnic and linguistic minority. Whereby – which should also be emphasised – it is generally uncontested that this deprived milieu in turn limits opportunities for advancement and integration.

9. A glance at the instruments

The available political and planning instruments include the Social City programme, the Urban Restructuring in the Old and New Federal States programmes, classic urban development assistance, traditional redevelopment policies with their elements of milieu protection statutes, regulations governing upper rent limits and land-use policy. Some programmes are relatively new, in particular the Social City and Urban Restructuring programmes, and as a result of recent political decisions have to a certain extent been put on a permanent footing. Other programmes, above all classic redevelopment policy, that were launched at a time of buoyant tax revenues and an undaunted drive to modernise are in effect set to be discontinued. They have produced, among other things, speculation, vacancies, attitudes of entitlement, misallocations and dead-weight effects.

In this environment the first priority is to bolster the insight that public assistance, coordination and the cooperation between actors, i.e. state and municipalities and owners and tenants, is more necessa-

ry than ever. To exit redevelopment policy wholesale would be tantamount to throwing the baby out with the bathwater. Where neighbourhoods collapse there is no real alternative to co-financing a recovery policy with public funds.

Another possibility is integrating, in other words conflating, the old and the new instruments and using the synergy effects of different bundles of measures, in particular for the ecological improvement of housing stock. This idea of networking is permanently in discussion, but has yet to make its mark on political practice.

Problems in cities always have many causes. When the different causes form an alliance, a counterpolicy has to emulate these alliances to be effective. This includes eliminating senseless competition between departments and responsibilities. This is necessary at all political levels, i.e. in the federal government, in the laender and above all in the municipalities.

Another task is to eliminate conflicts in favour of one shared goal: the Social City. If land-use policy is primarily utilised to get as high a price as possible and fill the public coffers, it contradicts the goal of integration.

10. Strategic importance of education

By far the most important measures, however, are those that are structurally suited to combatting inequalities, disparities and undesirable developments. This applies to the educational sector as well as to labour market policies and the policy of integration. Apart from a few flagship policies, this linkage has not yet been given enough serious consideration at the institutional level. Educational institutions and schools are the crucial institutions for segregation in the Social City. The politicians responsible for building and educational policies have never really connected. They must be aware that some ideological discussions about school policy are not conducive to social cohesion in the cities in any way at all. On the other hand building policy alone cannot solve the problems. Therefore, educational policy and building policy must form an alliance – an alliance for the Social City of the future.

Achim Grossmann

Culture and the Social City Programme

In 2009 the Social City programme celebrated its tenth anniversary. The programme funded by the federal government and the *laender* is intended to help urban neighbourhoods and quarters in particular need of development. The aim is to utilise a bundle of measures to reduce shortcomings in such neighbourhoods. The programme's success is widely acknowledged and demand is unbroken. One sign of a good programme is its steady evolution, its endeavour to improve. No neighbourhood in the programme is the same as any other and the problems in the neighbourhoods and districts change over time. This is recorded in annual evaluations of the experiences of the preceding year and for the different neighbourhood scenarios. A further influence on the evolution of the scope of the Social City programme is developments in the funding landscape itself, the bundling with other initiatives and the coordination between the federal government and the *laender*.

The socio-environmental approach, the participative involvement of residents in the different fields of the programme and the underlying integrated development concept have all remained unchanged over the years. By contrast, the action priorities have continued to evolve. Thus, over time greater emphasis has been placed on the local economy, integration and educational policy. The last status report¹ records which fields of action have been effective, how comprehensive they are, the significance accorded them and the timeline of their integration into the programme. It is interesting to note that the programme area "School and Education" developed relatively slowly and the integration of migrants acquired the significance it enjoys today only at a late stage. Cul-

ture is part of the "Neighbourhood Culture" field of action and was rated as "especially important" only in six percent of the neighbourhoods.

The important point now – much more than has been the case to date – is to enhance the awareness of the actors and decision-makers in the Social City programme for the importance of cultural offerings, cultural learning and the complex relationships between culture and education, between integration and culture and the need for cultural initiatives within the context of demographic change. In the process the function of the schools in the Social City neighbourhoods must be upgraded.

1. Culture is more than culture

Playing music, singing, dancing, painting, designing, acting, writing, reading, experiencing culture – how much power do cultural activities have? What is the influence of cultural education? What difference can cultural activities make? How important are they in forming emotional, social and cultural skills? What role do they play in the integration of people (not only cross-culturally)? What is the meaning of culture in demographic change? And does culture have to be an integrative part of education or only the cherry on the top? The answers to these questions are fascinating. They illustrate the need to give greater priority to cultural education, including substantially more space on a permanent basis.

Participation in cultural life in Germany leaves a lot to be desired. Apart from the fact that the corresponding statistics do not provide sufficient valid data, the figures that we do have are anything but hear-

¹ See Federal Ministry of Transport, Building and Urban Development (2008): Statusbericht zum Programm Soziale Stadt (English summary: Status Report. The Programme "Social City"), Berlin

tening. Less than ten percent of the population take advantage of cultural education. The Federal Statistical Office reports that people in Germany spend 19 hours a week on cultural activities. However, 13 hours of that are spent watching television – which triggers the debate about whether television is a cultural activity. Newspapers, magazines and books take up four and a half hours, which leaves just a little more than one hour a week for "active cultural involvement, for instance singing in a choir, playing music in an orchestra or acting in a theatre group"². Increasingly, other influences determine substantial parts of our lives, for instance the ever faster moving world of "zapping", information summaries in sound-bite sized portions and the "industrialisation" of audiovisual perception with all its problems.

Thus, it is all the more important that we examine more closely the results of interdisciplinary scientific research, the discussion about cultural policy, and reality. Examples are also helpful – whether so-called flagships or drawn from everyday urban life. In both cases the conclusion is likely to be unequivocal: we must give cultural education far more space. A lot is being done, but many have still not got the message.

What we need, therefore, is a broad discussion beyond the circle of experts and in particular a clear mandate for cultural education and cultural activity as an inherent, indispensable, sensible and vital component of lifelong learning. The following discussion first looks at the diversity of findings, proofs and examples that underpin this thesis and then presents a possible solution, namely giving cultural education greater prominence in the catalogue of measures of the Social City programme.

2. What we have known for some time

Culture in all its shapes and forms plays a pre-eminent role in the development of humanity: for the integration of people, their emotionality and their social skills, but also for each individual's development. Music – as many studies and findings confirm – is one of the oldest and most important means of communication of all. According to Alex Ross, music critic for the *New Yorker* magazine, music is "a universal language to the extent that it appears to touch something utterly primordial in people – something that is confirmed by studies that show that music as a means of communication is even older than language itself"³. Numerous anthropologists verify the significant communal function of music. And the writer Marcel Proust, for example, describes music as a pre-historic means of communication in the service of social engagement.

Georg Northoff, professor at the university clinic in Magdeburg, links human behaviour, which has long been known to reflect the respective cultural context, with research results that demonstrate the influence of the respective cultural context on the brain and brain functions. Merlin Donald, a Canadian professor emeritus of psychology, even sees human culture as the "complete protocol of collective knowledge". In his view, culture is "an external storage system of our collective memory and simultaneously the source of the 'epigenetic programme', i.e. for each new formation in the development of a child's brain"⁴. In recent years neurological research has provided impressive evidence for this. Manfred Spitzer, a professor of psychiatry, conducts neurological research at the University of Ulm and can demonstrate the positive effects that playing music has on the development of the brain. His book *Musik im Kopf* (Music on the Mind) deals with the history of music, its complexity (rhythm, dance, emotions) and the interdependence of neuroplasticity and music.

2 See Federal Statistical Office: Cultural statistics.

3 See Du – Das Kulturmagazin, October 2009.

4 Interview with Merlin Donald about his book *A Mind So Rare: The Evolution of Human Consciousness*, W. W. Norton & Company.

Today in all disciplines it is largely undisputed that cultural activities influence the entire person. Culture not only is education, culture also fosters education. This insight has long been accepted in the competent political institutions, as a few examples can impressively illustrate.

Hortensia Völkers (artistic director of the German Federal Cultural Foundation): "Playing music improves people's intelligence quotient, their social skills and their mathematics scores. Motivating young people (...) to take part in a demanding joint project builds their team spirit, their commitment and their self-confidence."⁵

Christine M. Merkel (head of the Division for Culture and Communication of the German UNESCO Commission): "Neuroscientific results suggest that schooling the senses triggers thinking. Without neuroplasticity there is no creativity. Self-confident, strong individuals and groups that accept their responsibility and their environment are a guarantee for a positive development of society."⁶

The final report of the commission of enquiry of the Federal German parliament on "Culture in Germany" (Kultur in Deutschland) states:⁷ "As a cultural capability, art for the most part involves such a high degree of complexity that according to our current knowledge it utilises the possibilities of the brain to the greatest possible extent. The pursuit of art stimulates neuroplasticity. A high level of neuroplasticity is a prerequisite for a high level of creativity. (...) For learners, a holistic education that includes music, movement and art in the right proportions produces a better general education by comparison with other learning systems with teaching of equal information density. At the same time, they achieve a higher level of creativity, better social equilibrium, greater social communication skills, better academic performance in non-artistic subjects (mathematics, informatics), a better command of the mother tongue and generally better health. Cultural education endows young people with basic capabilities and skills that are of crucial significance for their personality development, emoti-

onal stability, self-realisation and creating an identity: literacy, skills in the use of imagery, motor skills, competence in integration and participation as well as discipline, flexibility and an ability to work in a team."

The final quotation is taken from the national initiative for youth and educational policy of the German Federation for Cultural Youth Education – launched under the patronage of Renate Schmidt, federal minister for youth. The public appeal includes the following words: "Learn with all the senses, give form to ideas, give voice to feelings, use voice to improve people's spirits, recount the world and let pictures speak; (...) play, music, theatre, dance, literature, the visual arts, audiovisual media: cultural education programmes open up the world to children and young people. Cultural education encourages fantasy and creative thinking with mind, heart and hand. It strengthens self-esteem and confidence in one's own creative potential."⁸

It need hardly be added that a good cultural education determines, of course, what kind of lifelong active involvement a person has with culture. Cultural participation is important for seniors in our society. The complex advantages of cultural education hold for them too. Participation in cultural life enhances the quality of life for the expanding older generation, provides intellectual stimulation, the experience of community and social participation and better communication between the generations. Better use should be made of the huge potential of artistic and cultural activities for lifelong learning. After all, the positive results of intercultural educational work pave the way for the future. The fact is that the importance of multi-ethnic and multicultural coexistence in our country is growing steadily. German and international experiences in this regard are documented in the book *Beheimatung durch Kultur. Kulturorte als Lernorte interkultureller Kompetenz* (Settling in through Culture. Cultural Centres as Places to Acquire Intercultural Skills).

5 Völkers, H.: Jedem Kind ein Instrument. In: *Das Magazin der Kulturstiftung des Bundes*, no. 9.

6 See German Commission for UNESCO (2008), *Cultural Education for All*.

7 Bundestag document no. 16/700.

8 German Federation for Cultural Youth Education e.V.: *Kultur öffnet Welten* <http://www.bkj-remscheid.de/index.php?id=73>

3. The political discussion

The political debate is finally recognising the value of cultural activity and a solid international, European and national basis has been laid in recent years. In 2009, the German Commission for UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation) took the 2005 UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions as an occasion to publish the White Paper *Shaping Cultural Diversity* with appropriate recommendations for action. Among other things, it called upon the federal government to advocate a new EU programme in the next financial perspective from 2013. It also proposes widening definition of the concept of education. As the White Paper states: "Cultural policy and educational policy must be better coordinated particularly at the local level", specifically through stronger, binding cooperation.

The principle of subsidiarity enables the European Union to contribute to crossborder and inner-European cultural activities and support projects that would be difficult to finance solely at a national level (European cultural capital, etc.). Responsibility for cultural topics is spread across several directorates-general, which has facilitated further funding solutions. It is interesting that the regional funding programmes of the EU recognise culture as a factor for structural development, for instance "Culture in the service of social integration" or "Culture as a development factor for problematic urban zones". In addition, at the European level interesting networks such as "school and culture" and "kukbia" (European centre for culture and education in old age) highlight practice-oriented exchange, but also realise projects.

In 2004 the German Bundestag set up a commission of inquiry on "Culture in Germany", which presented its final report at the end of 2007. It confirms the importance of cultural education, explains in detail the status quo of culture in Germany and makes a series of very specific recommendations for action. A comprehensive overview of the diversity of approaches in the *laender* and municipalities goes beyond the scope of this article. Standing conferences of the ministers of education and associations of local authorities underscore the importance of cultural education. That said, there are huge differences in realisation among the *laender* as well as among

municipalities. The final report of the commission of inquiry states: "Cultural activity is thus in general an obligatory task for self-government; specifically, the municipal authorities make decisions with regard to the details of cultural matters for the most part at their sole discretion."

We also mention here the regular publications of the German Cultural Council or umbrella organisations such as the German Federation for Cultural Youth Education. They follow the discussion in great detail and provide the appropriate links to other initiatives and examples of best practice. Anyone who makes the effort to read the recommendations for action of the commission of inquiry on "Culture in Germany" will find many details on how the *laender* and municipalities can optimise their approach in the future, a sign that there is pent-up demand for cultural education, not least because of the increasing financial plight of our cities and towns.

4. The problems of the plains and the beacons

Culture and education are the two sides of the same coin. Cultural education strengthens the entire educational process, improves overall emotional and social conditions, supports the integration process and is an important building block in addressing demographic concerns. This is very familiar and politics and society have accurately summed up the most important aspects and drawn up sound concepts. "Nevertheless, the divergence between fine speeches and everyday action is nowhere so striking as in cultural education. Leading actors in all fields of society do not hesitate to avow the significance of cultural education for the individual and for society as a whole. However, all too often there is no mention of what this means for cultural educational practice", reads the assessment of the commission of inquiry. Wolfgang Schneider, director of the Department of Cultural Policy in Hildesheim, comes to a similar conclusion: "What is missing is the grand solution, the concerted action, the basic desire to bring about fundamental change."

This gap between theory and practice has been frequently described and often experienced firsthand; however, it continues to challenge us to undertake new efforts. There are remarkable projects, forms of cooperation, networks, considerable com-

mitment and successes in many places. The problem is not finding best practice: the blueprints for multipliers are ready, but the prerequisites are lacking that – to judge by the knowledge and the words about cultural education – would be necessary to bridge the gap. There is a lack of sustained funding, of infrastructure, qualifications, a diverse range of interest and of conviction among decision-makers as well as within the school system, which only now is starting to open up.

If the diversity of the many existing small initiatives does not encourage practice, a glance at some large projects ought to show how much energy there is in cultural education. These projects cannot be implemented countrywide. But they are examples and evidence of the need for a sustainable basis for more cultural activities inside and outside the school, in early education facilities, in integration policy, in intercultural child and youth education and projects for the older and aging generation. Their successes should motivate us to plan the next steps, to expand the basis of the projects and not leave the topic of cultural education to the specialist disciplines alone.

Rhythm is it is the name of one of these projects. The dance project in which the Berlin Philharmonic's principal conductor Simon Rattle and the choreographer and dance instructor Royston Maldoom staged a performance of Igor Stravinsky's ballet *The Rite of Spring* with children from Berlin's public schools, so-called difficult children that initially few would have thought capable of accomplishing something like this. The documentary film of this process and the performance won several prizes. It records the positive change in schoolchildren who ultimately agree to work under strict standards and are rewarded with new self-confidence and a tremendous emotional experience. Maldoom has also produced this project in other places around the world, including performances with street and refugee children and another with participants drawn from four generations.

In this connection mention should be made of the French film *The Chorus*. It shows how singing in a choir teaches difficult children in a boarding school self-esteem, to communicate better and to develop a feeling for community. Just a film, some will say, but the message is convincing.

An orchestra whose players include many former street children, the Youth Orchestra of Venezuela, has performed in Germany many times. José Antonia Abreu, a professor of economics and law who is a composer (and recipient of many awards, including the Right Livelihood Award, the so-called alternative Nobel peace prize) had the idea for a state foundation. Street children playing on borrowed instruments receive instruction in music. In the meantime, this programme has grown into "120 youth orchestras, 60 children's orchestras and many choirs and training centres", as the Berliner Zeitung reported in its review of a concert tour in 2005. The young conductor is also a product of this musical education.

To celebrate the selection of the Ruhr region as Europe's cultural capital for 2010, in 2006 the Federal Cultural Foundation initiated the "Instrument for Every Child" programme. More than 500 primary schools in the Ruhr region took part in the initiative. It will be very interesting to evaluate the results of this enormous effort and draw conclusions for similar projects.

5. Cultural education and Social City

In future, cultural education must play a greater role in school and extracurricular education. The objectives are clear: better educational opportunities for individuals, better integration, social skills and creativity and the certainly of participating in cultural activities into old age.

In view of the difficulties of getting a firm commitment to cultural education in spite of the unequivocally positive findings and huge opportunities, the obvious step is to include this objective in the catalogue of tasks of the Social City programme. This catalogue bundles the urban development measures for deprived neighbourhoods.

Cultural education must be added to the integrated and coordinated courses of action that already comprise social, health, family, youth and neighbourhood policy. The action strategies of urban development policy – also within the scope of the Social City – do not go far enough in the educational field. In the German school system, which ranks average in the international league table, there is still a close correlation between social background and educational

opportunities. This is particularly true of schoolchildren with a migration background. The structural and energetic state of schools, centres for early childhood education and other educational institutions also needs to be improved.

To date, the concept of "neighbourhood schools" as focal points of social and ethnic integration, social participation and lifelong learning has for the most part not advanced beyond exploratory theoretical work. A clear upgrading of educational centres combined with enhanced cultural education offerings could provide the prerequisites for a decisive improvement above all in neighbourhoods and districts in the Social City programme. Schools would then become neighbourhood centres for formal and informal communication. Under the all-day schooling programme introduced by the federal coalition between the SPD and the Greens a range of structures have emerged for cultural education in cooperation with music schools, artists, museums, theatres and choirs. This development demonstrates that improved educational facilities that allow for more time and space for cultural education are an important prerequisite for fixed structures of cultural education. Unfortunately, currently the almost universal trend is to marginalise artistic subjects in schools, in most cases the result of educational policy decisions at the *laender* level. Hence, it is necessary to provide greater support for extracurricular offerings in cultural education, which have to assume additional functions when other institutions do share the burden. In any case, there needs to be greater, more systematic cooperation between the institutions of cultural education. The professional discussion has given rise to concepts like "local education networks", "school networks" and "local educational landscapes". The Social City programme would offer the possibility of implementing these concepts on a broad basis.

The Social City bundles possible measures, utilising programmes of different government departments at different levels of government. The inclusion of new objectives such as the creation of school networks and the linking of networks in the field of cultural education should, therefore, go hand in hand with the utilisation of existing programmes specifically devised for Social City neighbourhoods.

- The infrastructure can be build, expanded and energetically renovated through the programme itself.
- Model projects can help to improve the combination of investment and non-investment measures.
- *Laender* cultural education programmes should focus on improving the socio-environment of Social City neighbourhoods.
- New programmes of the Federal Cultural Foundation such as "Agents" should give preference to schools in the Social City programme. The Federal Cultural Foundation is making ten million euros available for up to 50 schools that provide additional cultural education activities.
- The "Voluntary Social Year for Culture" programme should be consolidated, expanded and embedded in the Social City programme.
- The priority destination for European programmes (for culture, integration and lifelong learning) should be Social City neighbourhoods.

Proposals of this kind require reliable funding. In the coming years the funding of the Social City programme must not only be protected, but increased. By strictly restricting existing programmes to the appropriate social environment their use could be kept largely cost-neutral. That said, this by itself would be counterproductive because cultural education is seen as an overall spatial mission for the whole of society, even if it is evident that there is a greater need for it in problem neighbourhoods. Hence, the only feasible demand is for greater financial support for cultural education measures. Corresponding proposals for this have already been presented:

- The German UNESCO Commission requests that the next EU budget foresees financial support for an EU programme titled "Arts Education for Cultural Diversity" after 2013.
- It asks the federal government and the *laender* to ensure that the EU structural fund (ERDF: European Regional Development Fund) continues to fund projects in the field of culture, youth and education.
- The commission of inquiry of the German Bundestag recommends that the *laender* "provide for an appropriation for culture in the municipal financial equalisation fund".

All of these proposals can trigger controversial discussions. But the fact remains that cultural education needs substantially enhanced, stable funding. Additional qualified teaching staff, improved cooperation with partners in cultural diversity, better provision of equipment and materials (instruments, books, media, etc.) more extracurricular offerings, firmer anchoring of the idea of integration, and an elderly-friendly approach to cultural education for lifelong learning all assume the will for funding that will help to harness the "added value" resident in the power of culture.

Naturally, given Germany's federal structure, the question of who can give advice and who has responsibility is the subject of on-going discussion. Here we avoid it by pointing out that the Social City programme of the federal government and the *laender* has a wealth experience in dealing with Germany's constitutional reality and – apart from deplorable exceptions – managed to find flexible, pragmatic and viable solutions. The Social City programme is the right platform to introduce more cultural education to urban neighbourhoods and districts, encourage the emergence of new networks and prove the value of culture as a driver of integration and key cross-generational skills.

Prof. Klaus Peter Strohmeier

Social Segregation: Urban Challenge in the 21st Century

1. The five challenges facing cities

At the end of the 1990s the Bielefeld sociologist Franz-Xavier Kaufmann described five challenges facing the social welfare state in the early 21st century, namely the economic, demographic, social, cultural and international challenges.¹ Kaufmann's analysis considers the following developments, all of which pose problems for German politics, society and economy: the crisis in public finances, which was brewing long before the economic crisis erupted two years; the decline in the birth rate and the aging population; changing relationships between the generations and within the family, now perceived to be in a crisis; the waning of social and political participation; and, finally, the problem of regulating immigration and integrating migrants.² Strohmeier und Neubauer³ have dissected these observations so as to apply them at the level of cities and towns – the level at which the aggregated consequences of these developments are experienced in concentrated form in a small space.

Owing to deepening segregation in residential areas, all five challenges are often simultaneously present, namely in socially, demographically and ethnically segregated neighbourhoods with entrenched, multi-dimensional problem complexes. Segregation is the term generally used for the spatial concentration

of population groups with certain shared characteristics in certain urban neighbourhoods. Research distinguishes between“:

- social segregation: the spatial separation with between rich and poor;
- demographic segregation: the spatial separation between old and young and between family households and other forms of households; and
- ethnic segregation: the spatial separation between immigrants and “locals”.⁴

The urban sociologist Louis Wirth identifies characteristics that define a city as size, density and heterogeneity.⁵ As a rule, people with similar economic, social and cultural capital tend to live in the same neighbourhood as people like themselves. Hence, the heterogeneity of circumstances, ways of life and life styles that make a city a city are manifested in social, ethnic and demographic segregation. Segregation is urban; it is part and parcel of all cities: it is characteristic of urban life. Size, density and segregation distinguish cities from rural areas. What is different today, however, is that after decades of suburbanisation, in which in particular the mobile middle class with children moved away from the city centre, the three dimensions of segregation are linked: the most children in the city live where the most immigrants live, which is where poverty is greatest.

1 See Kaufmann, F.-X. (1977): Herausforderungen des Sozialstaats. Frankfurt a. Main: Suhrkamp.

2 The terms “immigrants” and “migrants” are applied to people who or whose parents have gone through a migration experience; nationality is irrelevant in this regard. The terms “foreigner” or “non-German” are used in particular in the statistical context to identify proportions of people who do not have German nationality.

3 See Neubauer, J.; Strohmeier, K. P. (1998): Kommunale Sozialpolitik, in: U. Andersen (ed.): Kommunalpolitik in Nordrhein-Westfalen im Umbruch. Schriften zur politischen Landeskunde Nordrhein-Westfalens, vol. 12. Kohlhammer. Cologne (pp. 289–307).

4 Urban sociological research has distinguished these three dimensions of unequal distribution of the residential population across city neighbourhoods since the early works of Shevky/Williams and Shevky, E. and Bell, W. (see Shevky, E. and Williams, M. (1949): The Social Areas of Los Angeles and E. Shevky and W. Bell, (1955): Social Area Analysis, Westport).

5 Wirth, L. (1938): Urbanism as a Way of Life. In: AJS (pp. 1–24).

Ethnic segregation (of certain ethnic groups) has increased in the past three decades; social and demographic disparities have also widened considerably.⁶ In the growing city of Freiburg im Breisgau, to take one example, we observe an extreme scattering between the district of Rieselfeld, where one third of the residents are younger than 18, and the city centre, where only one in 18 inhabitants is a child or adolescent. In fast shrinking cities, for instance Essen in the Ruhr, the picture in respect of demographic segregation is similar. Whereas in the poorer northern parts of the city a quarter of the inhabitants are younger than 18, in the prosperous southern districts the figure is barely one in 10. Above all in cities with declining populations the areas with low birth rates are wealthier and the areas with high birth rates are where the poor (most of whom, moreover, are children) and foreigners (who have the most children) live. In the meantime, a large part, and in some cities already most, of the upcoming generation lives in poor neighbourhoods with a high proportion of foreigners.

The five challenges facing the welfare state at the municipal level are the result of interdependent processes, even if the public and political debates are conducted within the boundaries of departmental responsibilities. Whether we are talking about poor neighbourhoods, family breakdown, children with poor education or poor health, so-called democracy-free zones – in which scarcely any adults bother to vote and, therefore, local politicians are irrelevant⁷ – or ethnic colonies with pronounced integration problems, we are always talking about the same neighbourhoods and the same people. All big cities have such disadvantaging and disadvantaged environments. They exhibit a “particular need for development” inasmuch as they jeopardise the “human capital” and “human assets” of our society. Whereas childlessness is widespread and increasing among Germany’s educated middle and upper classes, most people in the lower social strata have children. As a consequence of segregation, most of the upcoming

generation grows up in disadvantaged and – in respect of life opportunities – disadvantaging neighbourhoods. Yet we expect these children as adults to be equipped with the skills, motives and qualifications necessary to perpetuate this society. It is thus a question of providing the urban living environments and experiences that will increase the probability of precisely this.

In keeping with the internal logic of politics and administration, the interconnected and mutually reinforcing problems of such neighbourhoods and their residents are perceived in terms of departmental responsibility and processed within the corresponding spheres. An alternative concept, which is admittedly still limited to selected areas, is integrated strategies for local political action, such as have been experimented with since the 1990s, e.g. in the Social City projects.

This objective of this contribution is to examine the emergence of urban segregation. It will examine the effects of poverty segregation on the human capital (education) and human assets (health and elementary social skills) of the next generation, including clarifying and defining these two concepts. The contribution concludes with thoughts about the design of a social city as a necessary programme of integrated local social policy.

2. Dimensions, spatial patterns and developments of urban segregation

Segregation is the spatial reflection, as it were, of inequalities in people’s circumstances, ways of life and life styles. Incidentally, the most segregated group of all, i.e. people who are totally isolated from all other groups, are the wealthiest in our cities. Usually, only the segregation of the poor and immigrants is regarded as a problem, because in such situations characteristics of social deprivation are concentrated and mutually reinforced in a small space. Poverty segregation affects in particular mixed-use areas with a large

6 See ILS/ZEFIR (2006): “Sozialraumanalyse. Soziale, ethnische und demografische Segregation in den nordrhein-westfälischen Städten. ILS-NRW-Schriften, vol. 201.

7 In the city centre and the three adjacent districts in Essen only one quarter of the registered voters voted in the 2009 local elections; in the middle-class neighbourhood Haarzopf in the south of the city two thirds did.

stock of old buildings close to city centres – in many cases old working-class districts in the process of industrial restructuring. But this also applies to large social housing developments of the 1960s to 1980s, often built at the edge of town.

“Address” is always an instrument of social distinction. Whereas a good address is an attribute of status, a poor one classifies one as an object of multifarious forms of discrimination. Tight housing markets hinder segregation, for they make it difficult to move house for those who e.g., after successfully advancing their career, want to leave an area that is out of favour. Housing markets with a lot of slack – and in a shrinking population! – offer most people alternatives. As a result of high turnover the poorest, whose rent is often covered by transfer payments, end up in their specific housing market segment among themselves. In cities the fluctuation is highest in the poorest neighbourhoods. A population turnover, i.e. inward plus outward movements plus relocations within the city divided by the housing stock, of 50 percent is not unusual.

The housing market plays the crucial role in the emergence of segregation. Accommodation is a good for which there is a market. The quality, including the location, of accommodation affects its price, so that low-income households are effectively excluded from certain parts of town with high rents and remain in areas with simpler housing quality. On the other hand, the existing quality of housing in poorer neighbourhoods is inadequate for more affluent households, which seek accommodation in better locations. Hence, under market conditions segregation is the collective result of choices of residential location. In particular low-income migrants experience specific obstacles to access. It takes a great deal of effort for them to find a flat in an upscale residential area or in the market segment for large apartments, especially with quality fixtures. These problems are reinforced by discriminatory practices of landlords. For potential tenants this becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy, with the result that they do not even consider certain offers, offers that are too “expensive” for them.

Another important explanation of discrimination is “symbolic identification”. It explains on the one hand the choice of residential location of the highly segregated upper strata, who attach great importance to so-called suitable neighbours as a means of social cachet, something they can achieve via price. But it also describes the behaviour of people with a migration background, who seek the proximity of their fellow countrymen or family networks. Hence, ethnic segregation is always a combination of voluntary and involuntary decisions. Therefore, it is necessary to take a differentiated view.

Finally, there is a third mechanism, “administratively generated segregation”. In many cities the segregation-related problems that exist today in e.g. large social housing developments were generated by past occupancy policies that in the final analysis promoted segregation. It is undisputed that in Germany housing policy, for instance social housing,⁸ and the allocation of housing by local authorities has had a considerable influence on the emergence of neighbourhoods of segregated poverty. As a consequence of the decline in the number of flats reserved for social housing, their concentration in specific inner city areas and large housing developments, and their allocation to growing numbers of needy people, the segregation of disadvantaged social groups is in many cases locally produced.

As a rule, the segregation of the wealthy is more strongly entrenched than that of poor people, families and immigrants. Trivial though this fact may seem at first glance, it highlights the ambivalence in the way this phenomenon is dealt with politically. The opposite of segregation is complete intermixing. But that would be unrealistic as a political objective, as the housing market itself separates people through selective comings and goings. This was also the experience of the former socialist states in Eastern Europe, in which the abolition of state housing control was followed by massive suburbanisation and segregation. On the other hand, under the existing social structures, residential mixing as a political goal of government housing policy would not command

8 See Lersch, Ph. (2009): Öffentlicher Wohnungsbau und residentielle Segregation – Räumliche Strukturen der Wohnortwahl im internationalen Vergleich. Diploma thesis, Bochum, Faculty of Social Science.

majority support. It would not be enforceable among those who benefit from the segregation of the poor and the migrants inasmuch as they live in de facto isolation in “their” neighbourhoods. Unlike in the late 1960s, when people wanted to “dare more democracy” in socially mixed new cities, today it would be impossible to form a political consensus for mixing people from different social groups, which in the past few decades have moved further and further apart in the shrinking cities. In short: society itself does not perceive segregation as an urgent problem.

For this reason, the political action concepts implemented in Germany, in particular the projects in the Social City programme of the central and state governments and the urban restructuring programmes in the east and west, do not focus on creating or preserving a residential mix. Rather, their primary objective is to prevent further segregation, which could lead to even greater problems. Above all, though, the aim of current political efforts is to pacify segregated poverty-stricken neighbourhoods and process the consequences of segregation.

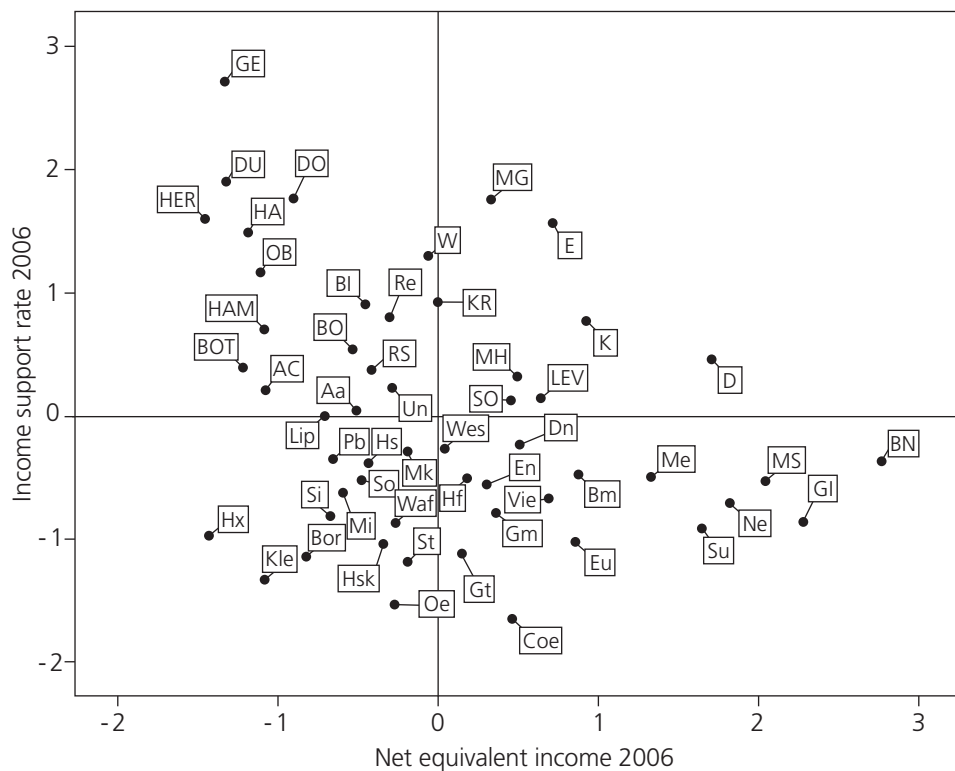
An evaluation commissioned by the Committee of Enquiry on the “Future of Cities in NRW” of the state parliament of North Rhine-Westphalia from the Dortmund-based Research Institute for Regional and Urban Development (ILS) and the Zentrum für interdisziplinäre Ruhrgebietsforschung (Centre for Interdisciplinary Ruhr Research – ZEFIR) of the Ruhr University Bochum has analysed the forms and processes of segregation in the residential population in cities in North Rhine-Westphalia. Only gradually is an awareness emerging of the problem of the long-term consequences of social segregation, which are accompanied by social disintegration and exclusion. A society in which, on account of the falling birth rate, each successive generation is only two thirds as large as the preceding one (and of which in turn a large number in cities grow up in poverty as the children of immigrants) cannot afford to continue to invest too little in its children and adolescents born on the wrong side of town if it wants to survive.

The assessment of segregation among the public and politicians is ambivalent.⁹ Because it is the most visible expression, ethnic segregation predominates in the discussion on spatial inequality in cities. It is associated with advantages for the segregated migrants (ethnic neighbourhoods as “integration foyers”) as well as disadvantages (ethnic neighbourhoods as “dead ends”) – whereby we noted that people were perplexed about which conditions favoured the one or the other. In the cities ethnic segregation is often on a small scale, even street by street. Property ownership among migrants is perceived on the one hand positively as stabilising neighbourhoods with a high turnover, but on the other hand negatively as promoting segregation. When buying residential real estate, migrants focus on specific areas of depressed neighbourhoods. Often such property is bought by a family network that refurbishes and lives in it. On the one hand the family character can have a positive effect on the immediate neighbourhood. But on the other it can encounter resistance on the part the local (German) population and local politicians, who see in property ownership by migrants the danger of displacement. This ambivalence is characteristic of the political approach to ethnic segregation.

Indeed, the case studies that we carried out for the Committee of Enquiry show that since the 1980s the increase in segregation in all cities has not been ethnic so much as social and demographic, at times dramatically so. By contrast, ethnic segregation among the earlier waves of migrant worker nationalities (Italians and Spaniards) has decreased markedly. Only among the Turks, the last to arrive before recruitment was stopped in 1973, has segregation not only not decreased, but even increased, whereby after the recruitment stop as many Turks again entered the country through family reunification. A larger cultural distance may have played a role. Particularly pronounced discrimination on the part of landlords will certainly have had an effect. The decisive causes are structural: dissipating segregation is a sign of structural integration. Cities have always been inte-

⁹ We refer here to interviews with mayors and heads of city building departments in the course of our evaluation commissioned by the Committee of Enquiry on the “Future of Cities” of the state parliament of North Rhine-Westphalia (see ILS/ZEFIR (2006): Sozialraumanalyse. Soziale, ethnische und demographische Segregation in den nordrhein-westfälischen Städten. ISL-NRW-Schriften, vol. 201).

Figure 1:

Social segregation and net equivalent income¹⁰ in 2006¹¹ in the administrative districts and autonomous cities in North Rhine-Westphalia


Source: Federal Labour Office 2008; Micro census 2006; author's calculations

gration machines, but they are fuelled by work. The opportunities for the Turks in the labour market were much worse than for the "migrant workers" who arrived before them. Why else would the recruitment of foreign workers be banned?

The mayors and heads of building departments whom we interviewed for the aforementioned evalu-

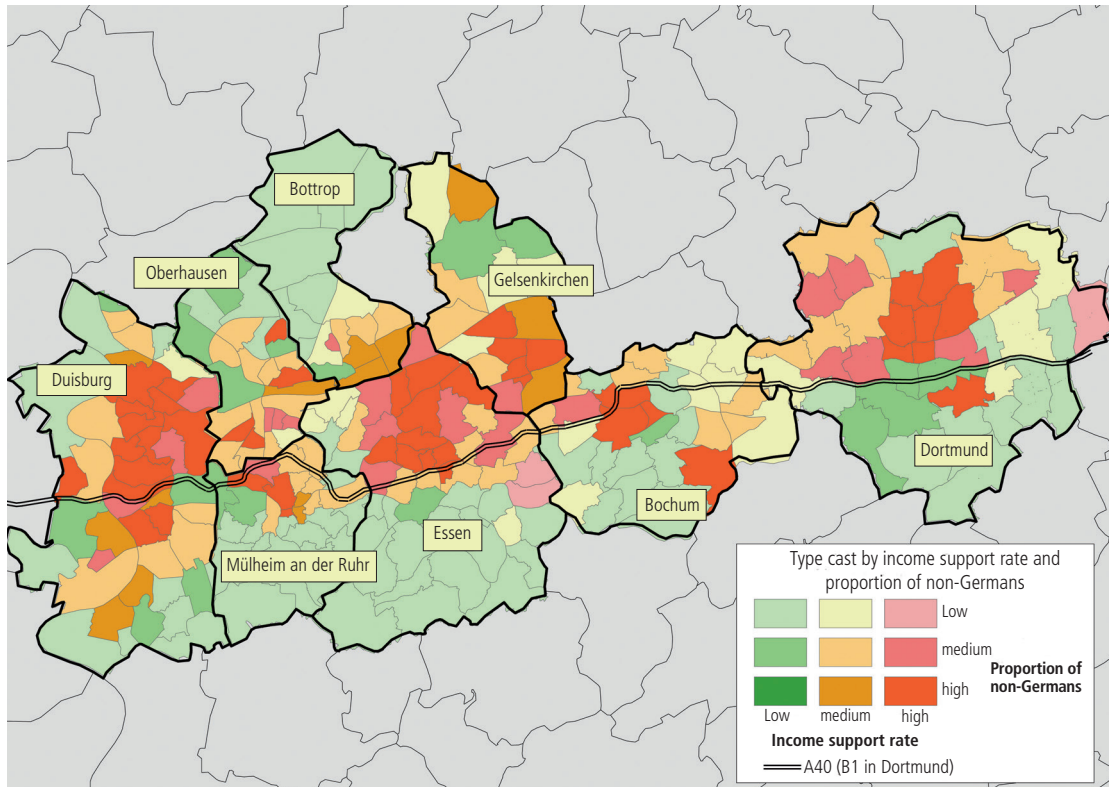
ation see segregation in their respective cities exclusively as a problem of "the integration of foreigners". And they tend to argue on the basis of socio-cultural rather than socio-structural considerations. The growth in demographic and social segregation, including the challenges and threats to urban society, are issues that are either not perceived or not broached.

10 Net equivalent income measures the needs-weighted per capita income as per the new OECD scale based on corrected net household income. This measures the monthly average personal net income for the respective year from all types of regular income of all household members. The joint household net income is then divided not by the number of household members, but by a smaller value to take account of the saving effects in multi-person households as a result of shared housekeeping. The new OECD scale assumes higher cost savings in multi-person households and thus uses lower factors for other household members (0.5 for other persons 14 years and older, 0.3 for other persons under 14 years of age) (see Landesamt für Datenverarbeitung und Statistik Nordrhein-Westfalen (LDS NRW) (2008): Analysen zur Einkommensarmut und Mikrozensus. Düsseldorf).

11 The indicator for social segregation, the income support rate (SGB II Quota), refers to December 2006. The net equivalent income is an average value for 2006.

Figure 2:

Social and ethnic segregation in selected Ruhr cities



Source: Administrative data from municipalities 2006; cartography: Tobias Terpoorten, ZEFIR

One distinction between cities and rural regions is the scale of segregation – colloquially: the degree of social disruption. The following graphic plots the administrative districts and autonomous cities in NRW by their average net equivalent income level (needs-weighted average net income of households in the city) and their rates of income support (SGB II rate: the proportion of income support recipients, i.e. long-term unemployed or those who have never worked). The values are standardised (z-scores) to the NRW average, which is defined as 0. A deviation of 1 corresponds to the average scattering of the individual values around this NRW mean value. Larger deviations are, thus, quite significant.

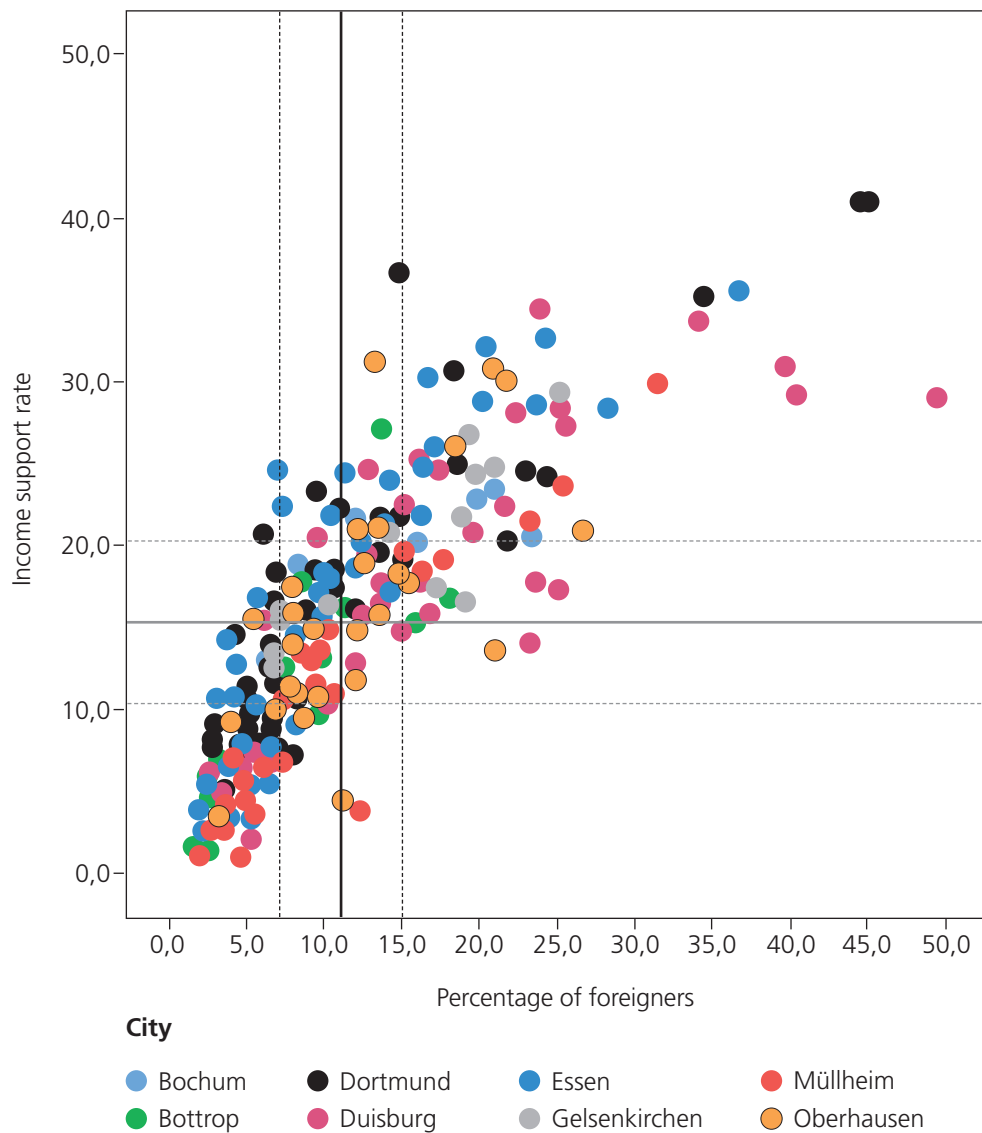
According to this graphic, cities like Bonn and Münster are prosperous with below-average poverty, in other words with a relatively low social frag-

mentation. By contrast, Düsseldorf, Cologne, Essen and Mulheim an der Ruhr are among the cities with populations of above-average prosperity, but which, nevertheless, have high income support rates, i.e. a high degree of social and socio-environmental division. To judge by this presentation, we would expect a fairly low socio-environmental fragmentation in most cities in the Ruhr; the highest are in the upper left quadrant. But as we shall see, the degree of social and spatial division is also considerable in the other cities. They are by no means homogeneously poor. But first we shall first at social and ethnic segregation.

Ethnic and social segregation are very closely correlated. The neighbourhoods with the highest proportion of foreigners are also the poorest, those with the lowest the wealthiest. The following map shows a band of neighbourhoods north of the A40

Figure 3:

The correlation between social and ethnic segregation in selected Ruhr cities

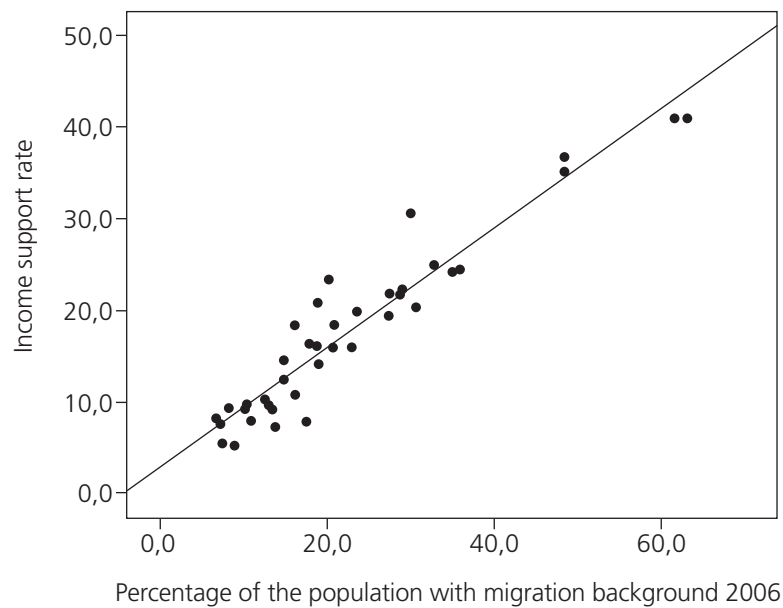


Source: Administrative data from the municipalities, own graphic

motorway in which a high proportion of people without a German passport and a high number of recipients of unemployment benefits (Hartz IV) and a band of districts south of the A40 with a predominantly German population and few poor people. There are exceptions, for example the Bochum district of Querenburg, which contains Hustadt, an area of high poverty segregation.

This north-south pattern of segregation is a result of the economic and social history of the region, in the course of which the north became a centre of heavy industry and today, after a phase of deindustrialisation, suffers from high unemployment. The poor part of Essen North continues through into Gelsenkirchen South. This spatial pattern of cross-border problem zones is characteristic of cities in the Ruhr

Figure 4:

Ethnic and social segregation in Dortmund

Source: Stadt Dortmund

conurbation. In other large cities, for instance along the Rhine, the socio-environmental distribution pattern is different. Here, too, the history of settlement and industrialisation still exerts an influence. The poor neighbourhoods of cities outside of the Ruhr with colonies and mineworkers' housing estates are also neighbourhoods formerly inhabited by industrial workers (often close to the city centre) and social welfare housing developments, mostly on the city periphery.

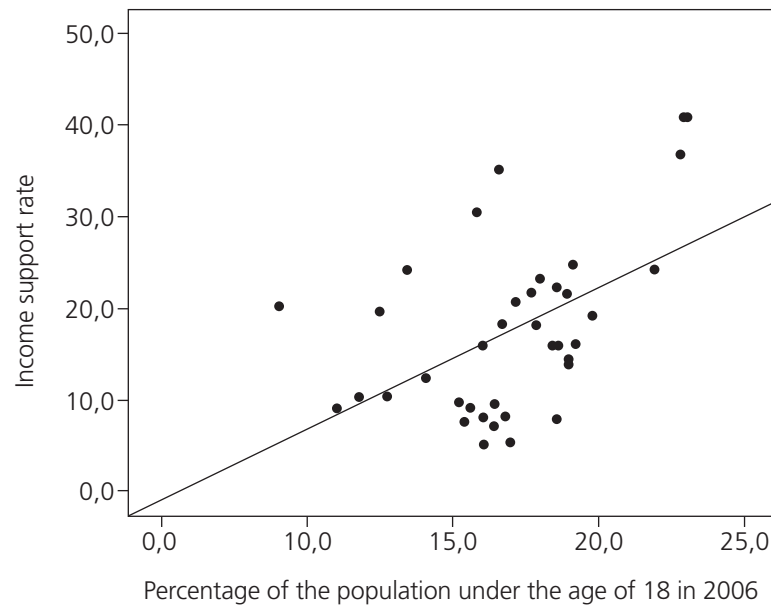
What the map does not show at first glance is that even in the Ruhr cities characterised by low average income and high rates of poverty (see Figure 1) the inner-city socio-environment is extensively frag-

mented. The differences between neighbourhoods in, say, Dortmund are greater than the differences between the cities in NRW.

In Dortmund (upper right) we have two neighbourhoods with a proportion of foreigners close to 50 percent and with income support rates of more than 40 percent, but also (below left) neighbourhoods with a proportion of foreigners of below five percent and income support rates well below 10 percent. This is evidence of substantial socio-environmental polarisation (which has increased over time).¹² In practice, knowledge of just one of the two characteristics is enough to reliably estimate the other.

12 In 2007 the city of Dortmund published a "Report on the Social Situation" in which it formulated the claim to be dealing actively and ambitiously with the social trend towards polarisation in the city. Using as indicators reporting on education and healthcare, this undertaking was an important step towards an "integrated" reporting, with the objective of informing experts and the public about the social situation in the city and facilitating a differentiated analysis that could serve as the basis for plans of action (see Stadt Dortmund (2007): Bericht zur sozialen Lage in Dortmund, Dortmund. http://www.sozialbericht.dortmund.de/upload/binarydata_do4ud4cms/26/15/15/00/00/00/151526/Bericht_zur_sozialen_Lage.pdf).

Figure 5:

Social and demographic segregation in Dortmund

Source: City of Dortmund

Figure 4 shows the correlation between the population with a migration background, i.e. “foreigners” and German nationals who (or whose parents) were born abroad, in Dortmund neighbourhoods and income support rates in these neighbourhoods. In the abovementioned two poorest neighbourhoods in north Dortmund with the highest proportion of foreigners two thirds of the people have a migration background. In the prosperous south hardly anybody has.

Here, too, there is a strong correlation (with some deviations) between social and demographic segregation. Most children in Dortmund grow up in the poorer northern neighbourhoods with the highest proportion of migrants. The correlation between ethnic, social and demographic segregation means that the opportunities in life of children in Dortmund,

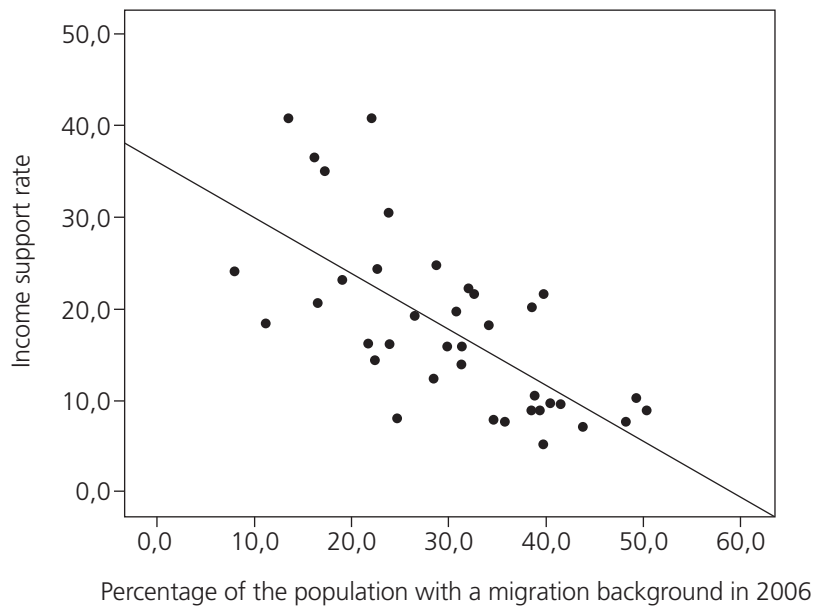
most of whom live in the poorest neighbourhoods, are significantly restricted.

3. Is segregation dangerous?

As a rule, the focus in the popular discourse about the question of the dangers of segregation is violence and crime, which in certain, but not all, poor neighbourhoods is higher than elsewhere.¹³ The conditions for this lie in the lack of social integration, not in the composition and cohesion of the inhabitants, and in the lack of social control in impoverished environments in which population turnover and anonymity reinforce the problem. But this is not the issue here. Segregation is not only dangerous for the people who live in such districts or who enter by mistake and possibly become victims of violence. Rather, it is dan-

¹³ See Strohmeier, K. P. (2006): Segregation in den Städten, Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Bonn.

Figure 6:

Social segregation and educational uptake in Dortmund

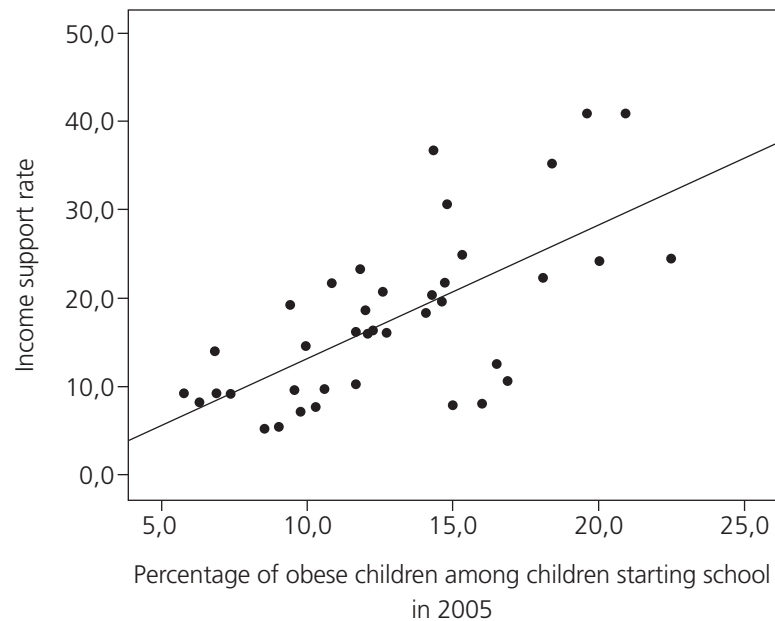
Source: City of Dortmund

gerous for society as a whole since it jeopardises the creation of society's human assets and human capital.

The opening paragraphs elucidated five challenges facing the welfare state at the municipal level. These challenges are aggregated in neighbourhoods affected by different forms of segregation. The neighbourhoods with the highest proportion of children (and families) in the population are at the same time those with particularly high poverty, high unemployment – including many long-term unemployed or people who have never worked. Many are single-parent families and most of the children live in a migration context. In the recent local elections in NRW more than two thirds of the registered voters in such neighbourhoods did not vote. In other words, the population we are dealing with here has the lowest level of local integration and identification with

their city and their neighbourhood. Linked to this is a relatively high mobility or high "population turnover" within a shrinking population. Purely in arithmetical terms, as a consequence of the inward and outward movement of people the population in the poorest parts of our cities turns over completely every three to five years, and in the city centres every two years. The neighbourhoods with the highest turnover (and the lowest voter turnout) are at the same time those with the highest levels of violent crime. On the other hand even in shrinking and relatively poor cities there are also growing (and flourishing) neighbourhoods. The concentration of educational deprivation and income poverty at the local level means that most poor people have neighbours who are hardly better off. Our analysis of numerous family and social reports by local authorities shows that in cities family address,

Figure 7:

Social segregation and obese children starting school in Dortmund

Source: City of Dortmund

ethnic background and income (in that order) are still the most reliable predictors of a child's state of health and educational opportunities. For children in an urban society this means that the parents' social situation, migration background and residential location are the most important determinants of their chances in life. In our society academic and professional educational qualifications are the gateway to social success. Children from a migration background and those from (demographically, ethnically and socially segregated) impoverished neighbourhoods quite literally have poor cards.

Figure 6 shows the correlation between transfers to grammar school, the stream that offers the best educational and career perspectives, and income support rates in different Dortmund neighbourhoods.

In the neighbourhoods with the highest poverty rates only about one in ten children transfers to grammar school after the fourth year of elementary school. In the wealthier neighbourhoods below right more than half do: at some elementary schools in these neighbourhoods practically all of the children go on to grammar school. Analyses of conditions governing school transfers that we have carried out for other Ruhr cities show that the address of the elementary school (which still caters to the immediate neighbourhood) and its socio-environment are the most significant predictors of which secondary schools children will transfer to. Germany's structured school system is extremely selective not only socially, but also socio-environmentally.

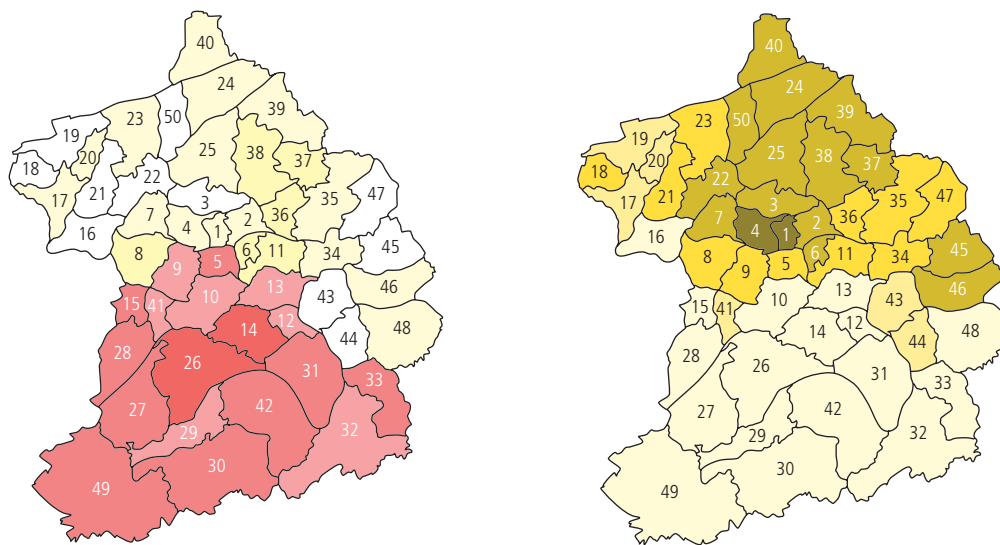
A child's address or the neighbourhood in which it grows up is also the best indicator for its state of health when it starts school. There is a very close correlation between the findings of school doctors for visual coordination disorders, speech defects, physical coordination, obesity and patchy healthcare and residential neighbourhood. Figure 7 shows the relationship for the city of Dortmund between social segregation by neighbourhood and children's health, represented here by the percentage of obese children starting school.

The higher the level of poverty in a neighbourhood, the fatter the children! In the meantime, the relationship between children's social background and their state of health is well documented in research

and health reporting. In a project that we carried out in conjunction with the State Institute of Public Health and the Ministry of Labour, Health and Social Affairs of North Rhine-Westphalia to improve municipal health reporting on children we made systematic use of the medical data of children starting school, up until then an under-evaluated source. In fact, the medical examination of children starting school is the first source of compulsory, state-wide and in the meantime largely comparable data of children's state of health. In addition, the questionnaires based on the "Bielefeld model" of the State Institute for Health and Work (LIGA) of NRW contain social data on the children's families, details of the day-care facilities and elementary school they have attended.

Figure 8:

Children with "negative" results in the medical examination of children starting school and the social welfare density of children in neighbourhoods in Essen



© Ruhr University Bochum – ZEFIR. Data source: City of Essen

Children with "negative" results in the medical examination of children starting school in 2002, in percent

 14,94 < 23,42	 40,38 < 48,86
 23,42 < 31,90	 48,86 < 57,34
 31,90 < 40,38	 57,34 und größer

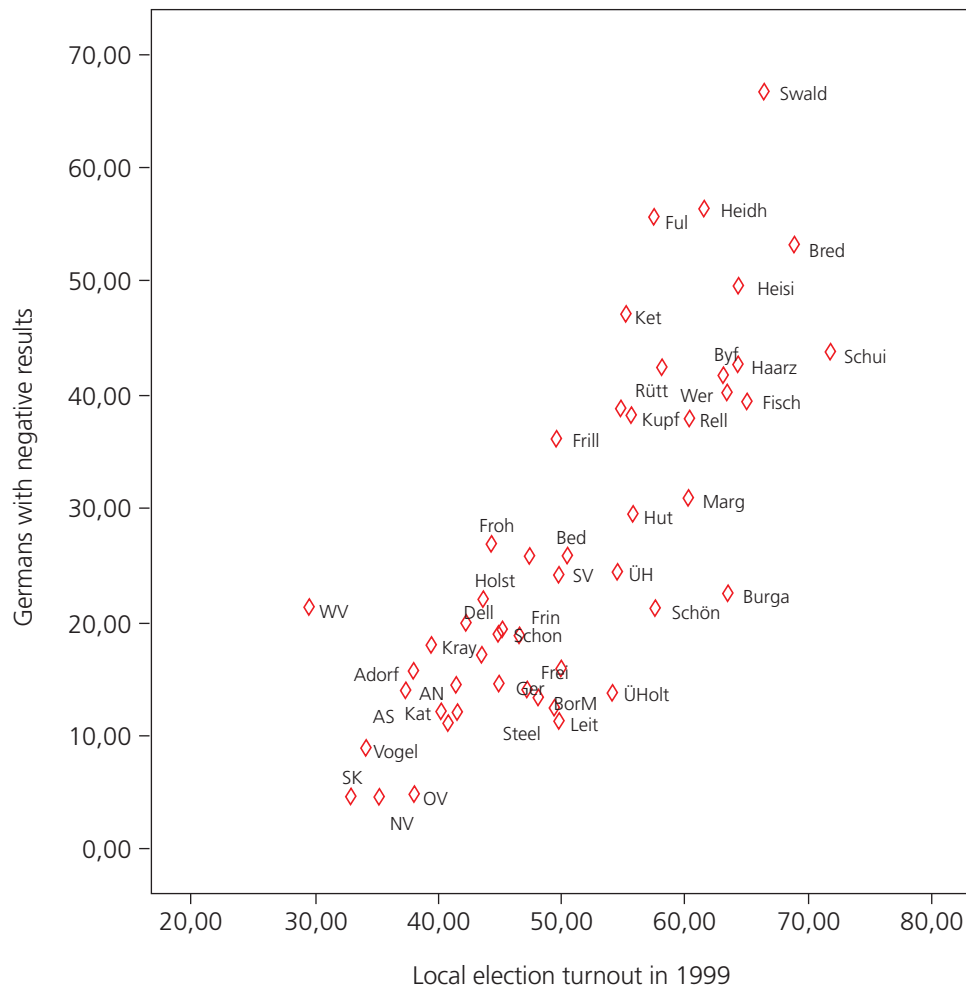
Social welfare density of children under the age of six in 2000, in percent

 < 7,5	 20 - < 30
 7,5 - < 15	 > 30
 15 - < 20	

Source: City of Essen, Medical Examination of Children Starting School, 2002

Figure 9:

Children’s health and local election turnout in Essen neighbourhoods



Source: ZEFIR Database; author’s calculations

A more detailed evaluation of these data for the city of Essen unexpectedly showed initially that in Essen the results for a good third of the children with German parents and a third of the children with non-German parents examined by school doctors were “negative”. Marked differences materialised only when other criteria were included in addition to migration background. The results differed particularly sharply by neighbourhood. Neighbourhood variables

that described the socio-environmental contexts in which the children had grown up were alone enough to predict with 70 percent accuracy specific clinical pictures, for instance deficiencies in speech skills or an irregular record of medical check-ups or obesity for individual children.¹⁴

At first glance, in Essen the local-scale distribution pattern of “healthy” and “sick” children is, as in Dortmund, the mirror image of the income support

14 See Amonn, J.; Kersting, V.; Strohmeier, K. P. (2008): Schritte zu einer kleinräumigen Gesundheitsberichterstattung für Nordrhein-Westfalen. Anregungen fuer die kommunale Praxis am Beispiel Kinder- und Jugendgesundheit. Landesinstitut für Gesundheit und Arbeit. http://www.liga.nrw.de/dox/081104_planung_b6_2008.pdf

rate or the social welfare density measure in 2002. The more children there are under the age of six in families receiving social welfare, the more children there will be with problematic findings in the start-of-school medical examination.

Nonetheless, individual poverty is not the primary explanation for “poor health”. Using regression analysis, we assessed which generally available statistical indicators would make it possible to identify areas with deficits in children’s health in local authorities that have worse statistics than the Ruhr cities of Essen and Dortmund. The best statistical estimate predictors (even better than social welfare density or the income support rate, which many local authorities do not even break out for small areas) are voter turnout in local elections and the neighbourhood residential turnover rate (inward and outward movements/stock of housing) – in other words, data that every municipal administration routinely collects. Figure 9 presents the correlation between the percentage of German children with “negative” results and the voter turnout in the local elections in 1999. The average turnout for the city as a whole was 50 percent (2009: 47 percent, whereby the differences have widened). Of course, this distribution does not mean that elections make children healthy. But it does show that there are neighbourhoods in which a structurally pessimistic, resigned, apathetic basic attitude on the part of adults impacts families in the form of marked developmental deficits among children. On the other hand there are also structurally optimistic, middle-class surroundings in the city in which the children have a much better start in life.

Admittedly, today only a minority of the children in urban society grow up in these middle-class milieus in the south of the Ruhr cities. In the areas at the bottom left in Figure 9, all of which lie in the city centre or the north of the city we find not only apathy and resignation, but also a considerable turnover in the resident population, a sign of unstable social conditions. In the neighbourhood “SK” for example the annual population turnover exceeds 50 percent and in the adjoining neighbourhoods is more than 30 percent.

4. The social city as an alternative concept

The concept of the “social city” as currently used by urban and neighbourhood developers is unspecific. “Social” is the antithesis of urban renewal and implies the regeneration or revitalisation of neighbourhoods’ potential to help or regulate themselves. Put simply, “social” is a sweeping term for the good that one wants to do for the people in their familiar neighbourhoods. A comparable slogan is the concept of the “healthy city” in the Healthy Cities Network of the World Health Organisation.¹⁵ The latter concept, though, has a political message: in this programme a “healthy city” is not a city in which all people are healthy, but a city in which there is no health inequity.

Applied to the social city, that sounds unrealistic: a city without social inequality, without segregation? The cities in the “real existing socialism” up to the early 1990s were supposed to be like that – in the meantime they have disappeared, with good reason. Certainly, under the present general social and economic conditions segregation is unavoidable. What is avoidable, however, and well worth all political and social efforts is the avoidance of the described consequences. *The social city is a city in which social inequality and social segregation do not result in people being excluded from the opportunities and possibilities of social participation and interaction.*

The different debates in Germany on the problems described above currently run parallel to one another. On the one hand there is a debate on integration focused on what immigrants must do to integrate (e.g. learn German or stop wearing headscarves) – i.e. in effect assimilate. At the same time there is a renewed emphasis on family policies and debates on how to raise the birth rate. As a policy that enhances the compatibility of family and career at the local level – on which such discourses on “family-friendly municipalities” hinge – would, of course, be a policy that benefited in particular the few families in middle-class districts. The other families have other problems: lack of qualifications, lack of jobs, lack of “discipline”, poor health, a challenging living environment,

15 See World Health Organisation (n.d.): Healthy Cities and urban governance, <http://www.euro.who.int/Healthy-cities>

poor educational opportunities, etc.¹⁶ The respective experts debate the selectivity of German schools, “institutional discrimination” of children of migrant families, and the social legacy of income and educational poverty. There is a discourse on disenchantment with democracy and political parties and on declining involvement in politics and civil society. And there are discourses on the connection between social situation and health. The difference in mean life expectancy between Bonn and Gelsenkirchen is more than four years, a consequence not of the better air along the Rhine, but of the social situation and the different life styles of the inhabitants of the two cities.

All these discourses and debates need to be brought together as they deal with the same people in the same neighbourhoods. Already in many large cities a majority of children under the age of 15 have a migration background, and in a few years the majority of young adults in these cities will also have a migration background. That said, they will have grown up in situations of considerably restricted opportunities in life, reduced educational opportunities and worse health compared to the minority of the “Germans” of the same age. Phoney debates about “qualified immigrants” ignore the fact that the priority is integration and qualification for migrants who are already here. Debates on educational policy want to improve society’s human capital, the utilisable skills of young people. All too quickly they end up in abstract system issues that cannot be decided yet, instead of examining differences in quality within the streams of the existing multi-track system. Not all secondary modern schools are poor and not every comprehensive school is good.

The federal government’s fifth family report formulated the message of the danger to “human assets” posed by the “demographic change”.¹⁷ It was largely ignored. To survive, every society needs not only enough young workers who are adequately qualified for their occupations, but above all an upcoming generation that is also adequately equipped with elementary social skills and motivation to ensure the continuation of this society. This includes health,

solidarity, empathy, willingness to participate, curiosity and joy of learning. The children who grow up in the north of the cities described above (in the Ruhr it is the north that is deprived; in other cities it may be other compass points) need additional efforts on the part of politics, business and society to help them to acquire these elementary skills that will later be expected of them. This is worth the political effort, as young people are scarce in this society. If most children grow up in a neighbourhood without a father, if they know hardly any adults who have a regular job and hardly any who vote, if they learn that in an extremely unstable social environment “suspicion” and cautiousness towards people is a rational attitude and if they can count on having no or only poor opportunities to advance, then they experience as normal a different world than those children who grow up on the “better” side of town.

It is not a matter of “helping” poor children and poor families. It is a matter of investing in an upcoming generation that owing to demographic change in recent decades is significantly smaller than its predecessors. The challenge for urban society, and not only the political community, is to integrate all members of the upcoming generation – besides which this is also a mandate of the Federal German constitution. Integration means giving every child and every adolescent, regardless of his or her social, ethnic and regional background and regardless of his or her address in the city, the opportunity to gain access to social positions in this society.

The urban disparities described above are generally typical for large cities, but most cities and in particular most citizens are still unfamiliar with them (and their context). Very few municipal authorities in Germany know enough about the people who live within their boundaries. Few, if any, mayors have, for example, reliable figures for the number of families, let alone the different family structures, in their respective cities. Few, if any, know how many single parents live where in their cities. In many cases social policy is well meant, but lacks a compass.

16 See Wühlenweber, W. (2004): Das wahre Elend, in: Stern 52/2004.

17 Fünfter Familienbericht (1994): Familien und Familienpolitik im geeinten Deutschland – Zukunft des Humanvermögens, Bericht der Sachverständigenkommission, Bonn.

Therefore, working in conjunction with a number of municipalities in North Rhine-Westphalia we have developed integrated local-scale information systems (integrated reporting by the municipal authorities on families, education, social affairs and health) that can form the basis of efficient and effective policies.¹⁸ Integrated information systems of this nature are interministerial or interdepartmental and attempt to portray developments in the city within their context. An example of this is the social report that ZEFIR has developed for the city of Dortmund,¹⁹ which we have frequently cited above. Such reporting provides not only data, but also describes and explains developments and structures. To this extent, apart from its function of diagnosing the need for action and evaluating any intervention that has taken place, it makes a significant contribution to *raising awareness among the general public*.

The findings presented here show that in the future a policy to safeguard the human assets of urban society will require treating unequal things unequally. A broad public consensus is necessary to concentrate preventive health activities and programmes of the public health service and other organisations in the deprived neighbourhoods or for educational campaigns in these quarters. But not only transparency is important. In an average German municipality five different offices could easily be responsible for a child or a family. It will therefore be necessary to create clear responsibilities or effectively bundle existing responsibilities. Social City projects that have developed successful models of integrated project management can serve as prototypes, even though the number of cases in which they have been adopted as good administrative action is still small.

In the meantime, local alliances for families, for education and upbringing, and for integration have been started in many cities. My impression is that in most cases these alliances are focused on effectively positioning new topics, but lack the competencies and resources for their work. In fact, municipal efforts to provide an integrated crosscutting policy with the

object of creating equality of opportunity for children and youth in disadvantaged and disadvantaging social environments are by themselves hopelessly inadequate. What is needed in such situations are broad constellations of actors that foster cooperation with employers, schools, churches and other civil society actors as well as with the housing industry (!). For, turnover and social instability in deprived residential areas, which are the causes of so many social ills, are a direct effect of the quality of living space and the residential environment.

A prerequisite for such coalitions to work sustainably and effectively (with firms, schools and housing companies) is to also allow them to work. Municipal authorities are hopelessly out of their depth as sole organisers of an inclusive local policy for children and families. But they can function as initiators, motivators and moderators. In our experience, such integrated concepts for action function best in places that have a high quality of participation and political leadership. Mayors in NRW who, despite tight budgets, have committed themselves to policies in line with our reading of a social city, made – in some cases considerable – gains in the local elections last year.

Meanwhile, many cities in Germany have recorded successes with integrated concepts for action that have a high quality of participation, for instance as part of the Social City programme of the federal government and the *laender* and the urban restructuring programme in the west. Projects in cities are “successful” if they are accepted and continue, even when the neighbourhoods no longer receive funding. The experiences gathered from successful and from failed projects (that said, to date no neighbourhood project has been judged a failure) have to be evaluated and applied nationwide.

This procedure demands a new, unusual type of discourse on the quality of projects. In Germany it is difficult to talk about failure openly, with the result that wheels are continually being invented that elsewhere are superfluous. There should also be more serious discussion of successes and good practice.

18 See www.familie-in-nrw.de, www.faktor-familie.de

19 www.sozialbericht.dortmund.de/sozialbericht

Our investigations into examples of good practice in a study on social “Segregation in Large Cities” commissioned by the Bertelsmann Foundation showed that the difference between cities that practise well-integrated local family, educational, health and integration policies and those that do not is not money.²⁰ For example, in terms of the quality of local policies for families, children and migrants there is little difference between the city of Gelsenkirchen, which in recent years has been stigmatised as one of the poorest cities in West Germany, and the city of Ulm, which economically is probably better than average. Although there are differences between the cities in Germany, the important difference is between those that are doing something and those that are doing nothing or too little.

²⁰ Bertelsmann Foundation (2009): Segregation in den grossen Städten, in: Demografie konkret, Gütersloh.

Muhammed Haşim Inam

Tension between ethnic and social segregation in the city

1. Intuition: Exertion and relaxation

An intuition I have had for a long time is elucidated by the life teachings of the Zen Master Miyazimaki Hayato Kibirisyan, who, to judge by his name, is of Japanese, Turkish and Armenian descent.¹

Zen Master Miyazimaki Hayato Kibirisyan does not accept every candidate as a pupil in his monastery, but only those who are either of a quiet and modest disposition or the diametrical opposite. The master of the noble art of *kyudo*, the samurai art of archery as meditation in action, knows those in the middle well, all too well. He makes a point of avoiding such candidates, who take themselves and things all too seriously and personally.

And yet the unexpected occurred: for the past ten years his pupil Ernst Lustig, helplessly teetering on the edge of the abyss of the social question his whole life long, found refuge in the master's distant mountain-top monastery. From early morning into the afternoon he may incessantly ruminate over a simple haiku. Afterwards, and again every day from early evening until late in the night he must, while looking at the target, practise drawing the string of the great bow that has been entrusted to him, which very many before him have already stretched in vain.

He has long regretted his promise to the master to be patient, ever since he established that he can neither decipher the damned haiku nor ever receive an arrow for the bow that he could finally let fly at the target with the pleasure of hitting the bull's eye. How

he would like to shoot the arrow just once, a perfect shot, of course. It would have been his release.

This subliminal feeling of anger, impatience and doubt was his constant companion during his practice sessions. It was particularly bad when he imagined that the whole procedure would carry on like this until the haiku was solved and then, in special recognition, he would finally receive the arrow with which he might shoot. Moreover, it took a greater effort to conceal his fear of not succeeding than was good for his mind trying to solve the puzzle.

But it is part of the methodological affectations of an esoteric master bent on nothing less than rendering possible for the pupil, who is surprisingly tacking to instruct, yet most laudably and honourably tackling his own impatience and, trusting to the wisdom he has gained from knowledge, reason and logic, always makes a serious effort to solve the task set him, of utilising incomprehensible and special assistance to enable the mystical experience of becoming conscious of life in and of itself within himself.

For only then, in the opinion of Master Kibirisyan, will it be possible to realise truly socially effective solutions. The master is convinced that this state, which is immune to self- and outside deception, cannot be attained in any other way. With Ernst Lustig he, too, almost reached to the limit of his forbearance, which, however, is for him a good sign. Lo and behold, to the joy of the master, late one night the pupil's impatience, which was the object of the exercise, achieved the breakthrough.

1 The literal translation of the Japanese-Turkish-Armenian – i.e. transcultural – name of the Zen Master Miyazimaki Hayato Kibirisyan, a creation of my mind, is: *life writing me, heretic of vanity*. *Miyazimaki* is composed of *Mi* for “me”, *Yazi*, the Turkish word for writing, and *Maki*, a Japanified wordplay on the German word “machen” (incidentally also a Japanese delicacy). *Hayato* is a Japanese wordplay on the Turkish “hayat”, meaning “life”. Finally, *Kibirisyan* is a conjunction of the Turkish word “kibir” meaning “vanity” and “isyan” meaning “uprising” or “heresy”, but also in the sense of contradiction; in Armenian the suffix “-syan” is an ending for a name similar to “-vic” and “-ovski” in Slavonic.

Almost irascibly he calls out: “Master, how can I solve the haiku, which, I believe, is insoluble? And what is the point of spending ten years puzzling by day and then constantly draw your bow by night, without thus far being allowed to shoot a single arrow?” “What do you mean by that”, the master responded. “I mean”, replied the pupil, “that the more I try to solve the haiku, the more difficult and strenuous it becomes! I am utterly fraught and completely stuck!” “Well, then let fly. Let’s see what the target of your bow is.” “My bow?” asked the pupil. “Yes, for you are the bow, the arrow is the haiku, which you have already solved. It is insoluble:

Everlasting the horizon
Veil appears at the light
Deeper it advances.”

2. Feedback: From guest worker to a person with a migration background

2.1 *Arriving from the country of origin*

My parents are Turkish from the western part of the Black Sea region around Zonguldak. My father was orphaned at the age of nine. Until he came of age at 18, his providers sent him to a qu’ran school and a madrasa to be trained as a hodja (prayer leader) and hafiz (someone who has completely memorised the Qu’ran in Arabic, i.e. all 6,666 verses and 114 suras or chapters). My mother, who lost her father young, is the daughter of an extremely irascible old woman by her second marriage whose children toiled as agricultural workers.

We arrived as the guests of friends in Wanne, part of Wanne-Eickel, in 1972 and within a fortnight had found an attic flat in Bochum-Wattenscheid, where we lived for almost a year. After that we moved to Wanne-Röhkinghausen, a neighbourhood that today would be classified as a classic example of ethnic and social segregation, i.e. a deprived neighbourhood.

The move enhanced our quality of life. Instead of a small attic flat in a neighbourhood that, although quiet, offered little social contact with fellow Turks, we now lived in a nice colliery house with a huge garden. It was right next to a park with playgrounds,

adjacent to a large, then still cultivated field owned by a farmer I never met, but with his own farmyard – a wonderful sense of well-being.

Thanks to these circumstances we were constantly reminded of our home town in Turkey. There everything is beautifully green, lots of valleys and dense woodland around my birthplace. That must have been one of the reasons why we chose to move here.

Our street was the almost proverbial situation of two societies or cultures that had little contact in daily life, but when they did it was always sincere, cordial and cooperative. Some German families lived on one side of the street, where there was a Catholic church with its kindergarten. The other side of the street had few German tenants and homeowners. This side consisted exclusively of colliery houses, occupied with three exceptions (one Moroccan and two German families) exclusively by Turkish guest workers. All the houses had gardens front and back, all of which were planted with runner beans and other vegetables – a familiar, former, and even today occasional, visible neighbourhood appearance in the Ruhr that is generally identified with Turkish-Muslim immigrants.

The decisive reason for our move was the favourable circumstance for my parents that two families from the same rural town with whom they had been friends since childhood lived there. Of course, the rent also played a crucial role. At the time, in keeping with mining industry’s earnings and attitudes towards miners, the rents were very affordable compared to the available accommodation in other economic sectors.

My father now grasped the opportunity to become an active hodja. He instigated the renting of the premises of the former corner store on the German side of the street with the aim of establishing a prayer room that could be used in particular for the Friday prayers, during Ramadan, for the Feast of Sacrifice (Eid-el-Kabir) and the other religious rites and festivals. He went to great efforts to generate enthusiasm for the project among his acquaintances and friends. As I still recall, the project was taken very seriously and carefully thought through (within a few days all six families were involved). Once the men in the families had been allotted their respective roles in this project, for example as treasurer, prayer leader, custodian, etc., it took less than a month for the mosque on the other side of the street to open. At first the

women played hardly any role in the affairs of the mosque community. However, that changed after a few years.

Initially, my father was the cultural and religious leader of this neighbourhood. A very strict man who worked hard underground as a miner in rotating shifts and whenever absent always managed to organise a replacement from elsewhere for the daily prayer rituals in the mosque. He acted as mediator in disputes, as trusted intermediary in matters of mutual, also financial, support, and as "baptiser" at the naming of children. He also helped to organise the visit of an imam from Turkey for Ramadan, who cared for the small community around the clock for the whole month of fasting.

He was much in demand, also on account of his moral authority, which all sorts of Muslims in the network of the more immediate acquaintanceship made use of, in particular in questions of education and behaviour. In Germany it was indeed possible for a man working as a miner to found his own community and become for this small community a symbol of trustworthiness and moral authority. This social status was not served up on a plate.

Left an orphan on his own by the age of nine, he had to fight for his survival. He taught himself to read and write and with his already striking self-discipline and his ability to argue made his voice heard and gained recognition as a prayer leader and muezzin, in particular as hafiz, and as a diligent book reader and intelligent observer of political events in Turkey.

Finally, a large part of his solid reputation beyond the borders of the local milieu and even the city lay in the fact that he took his good and respected family name very seriously and sometimes made very stringent demands on us family members in respect of religious and traditional values. With the result that under the strict conditions of this rural, traditional understanding of nationalism and Islam – which in turn also formed us – we children were expected to function as models for the other children and adolescents in the neighbourhood.

Hence, not only my father and in time I, but also a number of the leaders in the mosque community fell into these consciousness structures without much reflection, which later formed the basis for the development, depending on the person's career, of a specific form of narcissistic self-satisfaction.

2.2 *The intercultural dialogue of that time*

One of my father's special achievements was the improvement in the neighbourhood's liveability. The ground in front of the houses was black earth and it was a source of continual annoyance for the housewives, in particular my mother, that every day we children came home in dirty clothes from playing outside. At times not even the carpets in the flats were spared. For this reason my father launched an initiative to have the forecourts of the colliery houses paved, at that time an unheard of step. All Muslim households on the colliery-house side of the street without exception signed up.

The first step, of course, was to contact the property management and negotiate whether in the interest of both sides it could support the project in the form of trained experts and funding. To no avail. All requests, even with the explicit support of the parish priest of the local Catholic Church, came to nothing. This disinterest, even the cleverly disguised diplomatic attempts to delay the matter through the occasional visit by staff members, had consequences.

The contacts with the Catholic Church developed into regular meetings in which the project began to take shape. Finally, the Church officially declared its support. The parties decided to collect as many concrete slabs in good condition as possible at rubble dumps. Enough money was collected, in particular at the Friday prayers, to pay for sand, gravel, concrete slabs and transport. A lorry was hired and the intercultural and interreligious cooperation got cracking. In a period of about two weeks under the proper guidance of a trained expert the intolerable situation of the colliery house forecourts of the participating tenants was dealt with one house after another.

Because this collaboration was so successful, the street community soon started another, very useful project, namely installing sanitary facilities, bath tubs and toilets in the colliery houses, including the respective sewer junctions. The classic colliery houses had neither bathrooms nor toilets. In this case, too, by proceeding carefully and helping one another we achieved the successful result that it was no longer necessary on the one hand to go outside to answer the call of nature, which was particularly unpleasant at cold times of day and in the cold seasons, and on the other to take care of one's personal hygiene in

plastic tubs in the kitchen. A further, particularly gratifying effect was the end to the horrible stink that accompanied the emptying of the collection basins for faecal matter.

Once the modernisation was complete the entire project community did not have to wait long for letters from the property management demanding that they remove everything. The management argued that the paving of the forecourts and the installation of sanitary facilities in the houses were not carried out correctly! In the end, the Church's indignant threat to take the matter public if this demand were not withdrawn overcame the management's resistance. A few years later they were very happy with the changes when it became clear that the value of these houses had undoubtedly increased.

This intercultural cooperation had above all very practical social benefits for the neighbourhood residents and started a dialogue that continued without an ideological loophole – contrary to what is often the case in contemporary discourse: the Christian acts in accordance with his commandments and the Muslim in accordance with his. I think that public spirit at the time hardly suffered, despite the parents' poor command of German and the room for improvement in the children's language skills.

It was simply a fact: there was a natural interest in the cultural differences and the Church provided helpful support.

It was there, the natural readiness of the members of the mosque community to learn from and about each other. It was there, the particular experience of working together on projects and the mutual sharing of special events that spruced up neighbourhood liveability. It was a great deal of fun to take part in these as a child. Today this experience is no longer a daily occurrence. What has happened?

In the neighbourhood the commandment postulated by all religions was lived and put into practice as a matter of course: "Help your neighbour as yourself! Let your neighbour help you, as you would help yourself! Honour those that help!" Where more and more people disregard this, the market gap for social services opens up.

There was no talk about love. People worked together enthusiastically and the result was more than a project report for the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees with an account of the project content,

results and funding. At that time the need for external project funding did not arise.

Common concerns and the interest in differences were sufficient incentive for initiative and realisation. From the vantage point of the present I can assert that what we are dealing with here is a paradox, but nevertheless quite natural: the less one knew about one another, the greater was the interest and the willingness to draw closer. Hence, one might think that it would make a lot of sense to put aside and forget everything that we (think we) know about one another. Now then.

2.3 Change by instrumentalising the community

Not only the interaction and cooperation with non-Muslim people and communities declined noticeably. Increasingly new structures emerged that were more than just organisations for the faithful to practise their religion. Qu'ran schools, madrasas, providers of pilgrimages, people attending congresses and talks by well-known preachers and politicians. People helped to collect donations, alms and zakat (tax collected for poor Muslims) – a religious obligation laid down in the Qu'ran. In this way people supported aid projects both in Turkey and in Germany. Politically motivated and religious institutions were also supported, including Qu'ran schools, madrasas, educational institutions and others, in many cases without thought and naïvely.

At some point responsibility for the mosque, which initially was welcomed as a new, warming light that cast a very long shadow, was assumed by other hodjas or imams – some of them from Turkey. Representatives of various religious organisations began to make their mark, some of which today are under observation by the Office for the Protection of the Constitution. Initially, their activities were not a problem in a democratic society under the rule of law. Now and again one or other attracted attention for overstating the political dimension of Islam. Naturally, no one attached much importance to such signs.

Then the appearances of rhetorically gifted imams from Turkey began to increase. Their appearance also changed from clean-shaven to the full beard and men usually dressed in baggy cloth trousers and suits. The relatively open and casual attitudes and

clothes of women underwent a similar metamorphosis and a growing number started to wear a veil.

At first this development did not appear to be a problem. People got together for social and religious motives that had gradually evolved to create a place of participation and mutual support to facilitate a recognisable spiritual and cultural atmosphere in a country far from home where people could find a home and feel at home.

However, it was only a matter of time before more specific outlines of a certain ideological and cultural identification crystallised out. On the basis of the constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech and expression and freedom of religion it was, I would say, by raising people's consciousness, possible for fundamental religious forces to abet the phenomenon of segregation.

This behaviour can be observed in other cultures. But with the difference that the classical division of roles between the genders the pre-eminence of men in public life and the static dictating and interpretation of norms and values was more pronounced among Turkish Muslim guest workers. This included religious and national values that are traditionally controlled by the male gender. One could follow how the protagonists their vented in the name of Islam their pent-up resentment over their treatment as men and as people – assigning blame to people of other beliefs and an ungodly national constitution, accompanied by grand gestures and little interest in confronting the consequences of their own narcissistic tendencies. That it is possible to turn the strictly systematised organisation of belief into a flourishing business is similarly remarkable. As long as these businesses primarily abide by the purpose allotted them in the religious canon, there may be little to criticize. This system is also very common in Islamic organisations and Muslims find little cause for concern in it – until the first cases of the abuse of power become public. I fear that this phenomenon will be found in similar form not only in Islam, or better: among the Muslim communities.

People such as my father were initially impressed by these sometimes fanatical leaders. Although he was religious, his essentially Turkish national democratic attitude ensured that he was quickly removed from any position of responsibility in the community and only occasionally allowed to play a part. He realised that Islam, like another major religion in an

earlier age and quite explicitly, could be instrumentalised in the service of prestige, recognition and money, provided that one skilfully linked the rules of honour, dignity, acknowledgement and power with God's will and his exemptions for pious, naturally also consumption-dependent, adherents and relatives. It may well be that some protagonists with political ambitions in the name of Islam found guidance here that they imitated.

The face of the neighbourhood was now unrecognisable. In the space of a few years between the late 1970s and the 1980s it had undergone a sea change. A vital community that had previously organised its affairs itself, like any culturally rural, interreligious and cooperative community as is typically found in Turkey even today, changed fundamentally into a miniature version of a heavily Islamic-Turkish-Arab-oriented cultural region increasingly controlled and shaped by authoritarian figures.

Classic foe and identification images that were astonishingly quickly adapted and refined spread swiftly and were adopted by many residents of the neighbourhood. The topics of everyday life, of work and of family matters soon made way for subjects from which, fortunately, almost all residents have dissociated themselves, after learning the hard way.

2.4 *Oh oh, the future is at stake*

People who are dependent on people – and most of us are – are happy to be affiliated with some or other group that promises respect dignity, appreciation and in particular power. This attitude applies not only to migrants.

It is too bad, really, that we, who arrived here as guests and workers saw in our lives or those of Germans no intimation of the challenges that we would face 20 years later. We ordinary people could not imagine a market for personal and political interests, whether for German politicians or for the representatives at the time of the various countries of origin. The spiritual and political leaders of diverse religious movements and later the countries of origin themselves, however, were very aware of this market.

Because we experienced the abuse of moral authority and, owing to insufficient maturity suffered from the interaction between our own cultural hemisphere and the culture of the society we had arrived

in, as the second generation we should have grasped the opportunity and through effective criticism and by setting boundaries worked on our own development – above all so as to stamp out the abuse of power by the opportunists. Then we could have openly and honestly criticised the plain and simple fact that the receiving society was ignoring an enormous potential in its midst: *Hello! We are an added value for this society!* We were not wealthy (our savings were hardly worth mentioning), for serious consumers, nor properly trained craftsmen or merchants, nor voters (for the integration advisory council), and few of us were entrepreneurs or proprietors. We, too, were just people with our own bad and good behaviour and habits, just and unjust values and standards.

The sham holdings and rip-off artists that subsequently discovered this market and drained it dry got in first. Now many people have little left of their savings. As people in my circle have confirmed, dubious holdings in Turkey professionally targeted Turks using a Muslim set of values and promises of gains through what seemed at times to resemble outrageous ponzi-schemes and palmed off onto them participation receipts and entry-level certificates. These holdings and their board members, who still enjoy the protection of political lobbies, have hidden untraceable millions among their network of connections. They have scraped the icing off the cake that these simple people, who were and to some extent still are easily swayed, had baked for their children's future with thrift, hard work and family collaboration. Well then, that was the added value of a culture. Or was it?

2.5 *Added value by nature: humans as cultural beings*

Commendably, the integration strategies focus more on holistic and structural criteria, recognising that beyond financial capital there is potential in the personal, occupational and organisational resources and competencies that each person by participating in society contributes to society. This approach should

be intensified and applied more inclusively. Besides the relevant, general social facts, the experiences described above, which are valid for the overwhelming proportion of Turkish Muslim immigrants, ought to contribute to greater appreciation for a very broadly defined concept of added value. This creates the opportunity to consider completely new and promising perspectives in as yet indeterminate contexts that will make it possible to suddenly see all post-guest workers called migrants as potential assets.

How is this possible? High unemployment, low income, educational and language deficits and the increasing cultural isolation of the largest migrant group, the Turks, from the values and norms of equality, liberty and justice that defined the humanistic, Enlightenment view of man, a group with often very different, even intolerable practices, influences and conditioning – what on earth is so valuable about the growing problems with migrant groups that they can even be considered an asset, especially when this asset itself is totally unaware of this?

What possibilities are there to utilise the migrants' potential to effect long overdue sensible changes that most of them welcome? Particularly in the context of the current – and certainly not the last – economic and financial crises, with their consequences for greater social deprivation, and the lessons they have to teach?

Today's the globalised world is local. Everything is changing too quickly to keep up. People cheerfully strive to further integration, on both sides of course, and wonder why it does not work out as they had hoped. People get annoyed by accusations of secretly wanting to assimilate. And they are annoyed even more by the fact that when they fulfil the demand that they participate in education, work and income, in other words fulfil the prerequisites for structural participation in the life of society, the cultural resistance to assimilation does not decrease. Might it be because of the semantic content or the interpretation of the word integration²?

2 Integration: http://www.aric.de/fileadmin/Users/PDF/Begriff_integrations.pdf; compare: <http://www.sing-lang.uni-hamburg.de/projekte/slex/seitendvd/konzepte/152/15211.htm>

Among my cultural group of origin there is a self-awareness that, whether consciously or unconsciously, exists in a problematic tension between itself and its cultural situation. Questions or criticism that cause embarrassment about what it is and what it is becoming will trigger a quick, self-conscious, even almost aggressive response. Why is this? Perhaps in the light of the circumstances described above and numerous experiences of discrimination³ over time, i.e. the restructuring of the society in the wake of rapid social change, these mental reservations are easier to understand.

In my view, it is wrong to treat the concept of integration in principle as cultural integration. More important is the question of the prerequisites needed to achieve a successful social status and recognition. A discourse that is limited to talking about negative and positive data in relation to successful integration and abuse of the welfare state will not change the situation at all. On the contrary: it will generate nothing more than the insight that the phenomenon of learned helplessness⁴ on both sides still exists and will continue. This is particularly true when the suspicion on the part of disadvantaged persons is reinforced that structural participation is not a question of qualifications alone, but also includes aspects of culture and milieu; this quickly produces feelings of inferiority. Even if rarely openly expressed by others, its presence is keenly felt and has an effect. If, in addition, value systems based on a one-dimensional value-adding principle of capital are the primary means of evaluating values and norms, people will all too easily and very quickly be insulted and, moreover, feel they "have no value".

There can be no doubt that this aspect of selection operates in respect of the resources of social status, namely education, work and income, particularly with regard to the living and housing conditions of disadvantaged and advantaged neighbourhoods. Hence, it is crucial to take this into account in the evolution of the Social City project. At issue are the fundamental emotional and spiritual motives deve-

loped, sustained, transmitted and projected by human beings: they are decisive in this process. In other words, at issue is the decision matrix of the motives governing people's actions, such as greed, envy, fear and vanity. Whether consciously or unconsciously, these are the most powerful influences on the actors that (un-)willingly take part in the dialogue.

Or one leaves the field to those, both locals and migrants, with little regard for responsibility and holistic added value, who, while continuing to observe the basis rules of public intercourse, continue to influence this very sensitive and unpromising situation with crude remarks to promote their aim and purpose.

Certainly, there is also a disarming element to the cynical humour, until one is the butt of it. But this day can be delayed by factors such as e.g. a lot of money or power. For instance, people can employ the shielding or distancing mechanism of cupping their hand over their mouth in the pleasure of noting confirmation of previously expressed prophecies: "We knew it. The problem is culture and religion." And lo and behold, this "we" soon embraces a surprising number of people, who repeat the view. Alright, let me exaggerate this once: not all of humanity, I hope.

3. Better perception leads to better communication

How do we perceive one another? What do we know about one another, what do we reveal, what do we know about ourselves? When I make suggestions for crisis intervention it is good to start by telling people something that they generally know little about. Modified and improved communication goes hand in hand with modified and expanded perception.

Only since the passing of the Immigration Act do I know that I as a former guest worker child suddenly have to answer to the status of a migrant when I strive to participate with the purpose of gaining access to resources for myself and my family. I am happy to be a person with a migration background and no longer a guest worker child. Have you heard of an East Ger-

3 Diskriminierung: <http://www.migazin.de/2009/08/26/tgd-alarmiert-uber-diskriminierungserfahrungen-von-turkeistammigen/>

4 Erlernte Hilflosigkeit: http://www.psychologie-studium.info/dateien/bea_motivation.pdf

man fellow citizen who first receives an ordinary rejection in writing and then discovers in his curriculum vitae the note "Ossi"? Put simply, the construct "migrant" or "person with migration background" will not improve my chances to be treated equally. It will not improve my chances in decisions that affect my personal, professional and family future. Attributions such as male, by appearance probably Greek or rather Turkish, called Muhammed Ha im Inam and possibly a crypto Islamist do have an effect. They often prevent one from being treated fairly. Absurd, isn't it? And yet this is a situation that I am more likely to experience than a person called Peter, Klaus or Michael. Imagine that I apply for the job of deputy executive director in the field of social services. What is the probability that I will get this promising and responsible position if a German applicant with the same abilities is also in the running?

And I have not even mentioned my intellectual attitude to my own traditional Turkish and oriental, Islamic background and the western European German culture that I touched on above. Not that you should think that I disapprove of these cultural contexts. I am after all a Turkish-, Spanish- and German-speaking European! Do you believe my chances are improved by the fact that I completed my studies with a 1.9 average, majoring in social management, have a commercial and a technical vocational diploma with the corresponding professional experience (including management functions and AdA certificate) as well as solid intercultural skills that go well beyond the confines of Turkish Muslim culture, and much else?

Let us accept the hypothesis that a psycho-social and milieu-specific consciousness, coloured by the background culture, as I have just presented, does indeed operate among migrants and locals.

Such a system is based on self-satisfied and self-perpetuating contrasts such as for vs. against, with vs. without, and good vs. evil.

Let us assume that these two poles in context and content have in time become so closed that it takes personal involvement to trigger awareness of the other, usually late, often too late. And let us

further assume for argument's sake that although those who have the say in politics, business, morality and administration, i.e. who together constitute authority in this context, did take an interest in the ability of this perceptual and action system to control and generate value, but only now can they adequately recognise discern the basic attributes needed to objectively guide and exercise influence. Frankly, I personally do not find it difficult to understand why it took more than 50 years to start talking of immigration and migration, integration and migrants. Now it is time to tear down old barriers to perception and dare a very different quality of communication.

4. Practice and theory of crisis intervention

The principle of the Johari window⁵ has proved very helpful in the intervention experience I have gathered in the past five years of commissions from companies and agencies of the housing and property industry. Developed by two American socio-psychologists Joseph Luft and Harry Ingram, it is a technique that gives people an insight into how their own and others' personality and behavioural characteristics fundamentally affect communication. Luft and Ingram broke down own and others' perceptions into different fields. To resolve problems of ethno-social constellations and tensions in people's own personal relations, to grasp opportunities and set boundaries, it is helpful in this model to focus on the socially enriching added value of a culturally based problem and place the factors of influence dealt with above in the communication fields.

Not known to others:

- perception deficits (unknown), already dealt with
- learned helplessness (my secret), already dealt with

Known to others:

- social status (public person): determined by education, occupation and income
- milieu awareness (blind spot): interactive case processing (including self)!

5 See <http://paedpsych.jku.at:4711/cicero/KOMMUNIKATION/Johari-Fenster.pdf> or http://www.psychologie.uni-mannheim.de/psycho1/veranstaltungen/02_SS/sem_feedback/Feedback%20Bedeutung.pdf (on page 8)

The following is a case that I processed a few months ago. It reproduces a situation that I think presents the perceptible tension of in particular the Turkish Muslim migrant group very well. In my opinion, the escalation stage in this case is comparable with the situation in society in general.

A housing company that manages a very large number of three- to five-story multiple-family blocks built between the 1950s and 1980s is confronted with the problem of having to forbid tenants with a Turkish migration background in one house to erect canopies around the house entrances in summer.

Moreover, these tenants are requested to stop cleaning their carpets on the grass in front of the blocks. Furthermore, the noise of a number of children who play in front of the block and in the flat of a Turkish woman who lives alone disturbs the German and ethnic Russian tenants. The company has made several personal and written requests, to no effect. The problem escalates first to unfriendly glances and soon to demonstratively aggressive verbal exchanges between the tenants.

At this juncture I became involved. In a preliminary discussion management and staff presented their perspectives. I made an effort to recognise the housing company's possible contribution in the development of the conflict and to establish the specific stages in the conflict escalation. It turned out that the staff acted unilaterally in trying to remedy the situation, without taking into account the structure of the interaction among the tenants and without discussing the case with them.

According to Friedrich Glasl's conflict escalation model,⁶ the conflict between the resident parties had reached the second level of stage four, at which people form coalitions. That is, the dispute has moved beyond the win-win level, at which the parties are interested in constructively solving their conflict, and is slipping into a win-lose constellation. We are concerned about our image and the conflict intensifies in that the parties try to enlist support from bystanders. Because we believe we are right, it is alright to denounce the counterpart. The conflict is no longer about the specific issue, but about winning the con-

flict and inflicting a defeat on the opponent. The company agreed to find a date to discuss the case with the respective parties to the conflict. I would attend as mediator and moderator with the function of analysing both the aspects that had to date been overlooked and the precise course of the case. So we met: I, the committed mediator explicitly intended by management as a positive sign for the conflicting parties, the staff, of whom it was obvious that none identified with this neighbourhood, and finally the quarrelling tenants.

They had formed two groups, the Turkish tenants on one hand and the German and other non-Turkish on the other. We met in front of the building entrance and each group agreed to meet for a discussion in a flat that a member of the respective group had made available at a reasonable distance from the other flat. We tossed a coin to see who would start; the Germans won. We separated at the entrance to the building. The Turkish tenants withdrew together to the flat of one of their members and I accompanied the company staff and the other tenants to a room that was free at that moment on account of renovation work. I started by once again explaining my function as an explicitly neutral mediator. Before we turned to the evolution of the problem with the aid of the staff, each participant was asked to give their name, how long they had lived in the house, their occupation and hobbies. An elderly German tenant took the initiative and started the discussion by presenting his view of developments.

He made it clear that he had nothing against the Turkish tenants and was very fond of the children in particular. But one of the Turkish tenants had been very unfriendly. He had impertinently turned down his request that the children be a little quieter and for less presence in summer in the form of entrance canopy, barbeque and a crowd of people around the front door. Other tenants also started speaking and one of them (unemployed, single, and at the time the conflict keeping a big dog in his flat) was uncompromising in his demand that the situation be resolved immediately.

6 See <http://www.ifservices.ch/Dokumente/Referat0608.pdf>

Two women and their children had lively contact with the Turkish tenants, in particular the Turkish woman living alone on the ground floor. Obviously this was a shared positive aspect.

To summarise, the group demanded that the children play in another neighbourhood, the canopy and the crowd around the entrance should not reappear in summer and in particular carpets should not be washed on the grass. I made it clear that I would present their position to the Turkish group as expressed. After pointing out yet again credibly and explicitly that this demonstration of my German side was evidence of my cultural neutrality, I found that the group accepted my role. We agreed that after my conversation with the Turkish tenants we would meet again to discuss the results. The staff and I then went to the flat of the Turkish tenant, where this party to the dispute was already waiting for us. Before that I had asked the company staff, if requested by the tenant, which need not be the case, to remove their shoes and put on the protective covers I had brought along.

After management had briefly introduced me by stating that hiring a professional mediator was an explicit message that the housing company was serious about finding a solution that was satisfactory to both sides. I began the conversation by talking about myself. I introduced myself and hoped by describing my place of birth on the western part of the Black Sea (the subject of pictures on the wall) to find common ground. Indeed, the tenant also came from this region. This took me and also the staff on to a short cultural discussion about the land and its people, holidays and soon we were talking about the overall situation of Turks in Germany. I grasped the opportunity and repeated to the group the gist of all that the non-Turkish group had told me. It became evident that some in the conflicting parties had known one another for more than ten years, but apart from contact through the children had had little personal exchange.

Hence, the Turkish tenants were surprised and really annoyed that they were seen as the cause of the problem and the resulting requests. They had sent several proposals to the company requesting joint discussions to stop the problem from escalating. With regard to the children, the woman living alone was at a loss. Although she knew the parents of the children

and had asked them many times not to send their children to her, she had had no success. She, too, was annoyed by the children and could understand the complaint about them. Concerning the canopy and the barbecues in front of the door, the group felt that it need never have reached this stage if the others had approached them with a polite request instead of brusque insistence. The matter of the carpets could also have been resolved earlier if the company had taken up a proposal made to them by the group several times that they be allowed to clean their carpets at a suitable spot nearby. They felt that they could not move there on their own because this location was outside the premises of the flats and they thought that they had to get permission to use it. My analysis produced the following:

(1) Unknown: The non-Turkish tenants justify their behaviour by the activities of German tenants in front of the house entrance in summer, where they play soccer and get together with people.

(2) Learned helplessness/my secret: The helplessness of the Turkish tenant with regard to the children, whom already a week before she had expressly forbidden from playing in front of and in the house as well as the miffed reaction to the censure by the other tenants.

(3) Social status/public person: All the tenants had jobs; one sick man who was good with his hands and well respected in the neighbourhood, also by the non-Turkish tenants; women and girls of the first to third generation speak good or very good German and were interested and open to further contact with the friendly non-Turkish tenants.

(4) Milieu awareness/blind spot: Once they had been informed by an outsider that if knowledge of it got out, the conflict could be create a negative image, no tenant, whether Turkish or non-Turkish, is interested in word about their problem spreading beyond the neighbourhood.

I suggested that there were negotiable and non-negotiable points. Together we established that the canopy and the carpet cleaning on the grass significantly impaired the neighbourhood's image. The tenants agreed to end both, but demanded in return a suitable location where they could clean their carpets. A solution was quickly found. Concerning the noisy children, it was agreed that the company would determine whether the children's parents were tenants

in their neighbourhood and if so would ask them to remedy this situation. In a short private exchange I also suggested that the company for its part should apologise for its failure to respond to the proposed suggestions, which was then done in all form. The most important point was that the company made the group the offer to respond in future to its concerns promptly and to the satisfaction of the tenants and named a contact person for this purpose. After a glass of Turkish tea and a conversation that lasted about an hour we ended the meeting.

The elderly tenant in the group of non-Turkish tenants was informed in person of this result (most of the others were already downstairs at the house entrance), and the opinions and annoyances as well as the powerlessness of the woman living on her own to deal with the children were clearly conveyed. On this point, too, the company apologised for its failings and thereby contributed to the resolution of the problem. It was also made clear that there was a compromise solution, towards which, however, the brusque German tenant was indifferent. To understand his attitude a little background is necessary: the tenant had publicly expressed his xenophobia on a number of occasions and wanted to move out of the neighbourhood in the near future. Finally, after informing this group of the housing company's offer to respond promptly to suggestions and needs, we all went home.

There has been no further incident. In this neighbourhood microcosm of conflict in ethno-socially conditioned segregation some neighbours established contact after a while. The canopy has gone and one of the Turkish tenants arranged for the carpets to be cleaned in the rooms of the mosque community. These shortcomings that had existed up until then proved to be an interesting market gap for these tenants – an example, thus, of cultural added value. The children from the neighbouring district have disappeared from the forecourt theatre. Peace, joy and happy neighbourhood life – and that is not intended ironically.

My experience with crisis intervention has taught me that the outside intervention in conflicts from the fourth stage at the latest and their transformation into peaceful interaction is practical and feasible. This makes it possible not only to avoid further escalation of the conflict, but also to effectively guide people in the direction of constructive contexts.

What I mean by this is that it is time to grasp the opportunity and choose the approach and the level at which it seems most likely that there will be a basic understanding of the concept of added value as the opposite of inferiority and the possibility of its general acceptance. Specifically, this would be a real chance to interrupt the on-going reinforcement of the parallel structures of personal and cultural agitation among migrants and locals and constructively promote intercultural and socially just developments that are capable both of having an impact and of transforming.

5. Concluding remarks of the Zen Master Miyazimaki Hayato Kibirisyan as the final lesson for his attentive pupil

Ernst Lustig – for I am he – now receives this haiku. He knows that the three-liner is the long-desired arrow for which he, as he now knows, is the bow:

*Everlasting the deep
Unveiled the light appears wonderful
But the horizon it is not*

What and who is it then? No idea who is at fault. And please do not take this too literally! If my explanations, proposals and conclusions fail to provoke and inspire, perhaps lack the intuitive effectiveness needed to campaign for another approach to handling and discussing the topic of segregation in the city, it is because to me, the city as manifestation of civilised, social life all too often lacks life, the liveliness and sincerity of being together; it is all too often false and bland! Annoyingly, I often also experience the city as a collection of vanities, as one quantity among many quantities that have confined themselves in a distinctly identificational manner in their social and structural spaces.

It is particularly lonely for those who are or are becoming ethnically or socially disadvantaged. But it is worse for those who do not know that they contribute to this state. And it is the very worst for those who do not want to know. For they bear the burden of this conflict, which they endure and put up with – consciously or unconsciously –, often with fatal consequences.

Nevertheless, should I be mistaken in my analysis, the following remark, which registers my ultimate approval of the city, still holds, at least for me. *It is for me the objectivisation of love, and that cannot be completely bad!* Whether this objectivisation is bad, good or even evil is beside the point! Rather, as far as I am concerned, for city dwellers the at-home project and the arrival project achieved their objectives some time ago. At least for those whose livelihood and social life is bound up with the city and its opportunities.

We should stop constantly and senselessly exacerbating the ordinary war of everyday life that everyone experiences because we want to highlight our awkwardness about the phenomena of life to raise our own status and existence. This very dangerous ordinary war is becoming dangerously culturalised through the application of knowledge, experience, intelligence, money and power.

If our rules of conduct being exploited are not to be exploited as universally valid imperatives of cynical power and principles of fairness, it is time for a holistic view and the realisation of holistic value-added culture. I invite you to learn more in the following about my proposal for the project of value-added culture.

6. Value-added culture project

The aim of the value-added culture project is to take the potentials of both self-organised (migrant) bodies and individuals and manage them conjointly as added value. The project develops approaches for sensibly and holistically utilising this added value in the respective context of interests, social behaviour and cultural conditioning, both to improve and upgrade neighbourhood-specific situations, i.e. urban development, and also in particular for the Social City programme.

As background to my approach I quote from

Harmut Haeussermann and Detlev Ipsen's hypotheses on the productive power of cultural complexity, migration and urban perspectives.⁷

In the future the cities will continue to be "integration machines", but the mode of integration will change drastically. The labour market will no longer be able to provide jobs for all – and those it does will come at the expense of a widening income gap. The influence of politics on urban development will decrease and the provision of housing will increasingly be left to the market. The inevitable consequence of these two factors in combination – against the backdrop of growing numbers and significance of ethnic minorities – is greater segregation. Socially and ethnically segregated neighbourhoods have also always been places of integration, and in the future they will continue to have or rediscover this function. In this context we make two assumptions that will determine the direction of urban politics:

- ethnically and socio-culturally segregated areas should be seen not as "problem areas", but as areas of potential integration and urban productivity; and
- neighbourhoods must be granted far more freedom to regulate and administer themselves.

Recognising difference while avoiding exclusion: that in a nutshell should be the guiding principle of urban policy in the future.

Where practices and potentials for community self-regulation exist, they should be protected and supported. (...) This raises the question of the spatial conditions under which migration and, hence, cultural complexity can be productively handled and under which they are more likely to lead to conflict.

The authors point to, among other things, following interesting theoretical approach (Thesis III of their topic):

When a "metaculture" emerges in a city, it increases the likelihood of the productive processing of cultural complexity. (...) By "metaculture" we mean

7 Haeussermann, Harmut and Siebel Walter (2001), Social Integration und Ethnic Stratification: Links between Spatial and Social Integration, Evaluation for the Independent Commission on Migration to Germany, Berlin/Oldenburg (March 2001).

shared images and places that are linked to these images. In psychological terms, metaculture takes effect via the processes of identification and identity building. Identification with a city is an expression of metacultural convictions. This is not adaptation to a dominant majority culture, but a point of common cultural ground beyond individual's particular cultures. For this reason we call this an urban metaculture.

My approach: value-added culture as metaculture. In its conceptual composition this approach combines the appreciation of each and every culture in its complexity and diversity with the holistic economic dimension. The attraction of my approach lies in its stringent cultural independence and socialisability of the shared (value-added) images. Especially in the light of the current social and financial excesses (social change, financial and monetary crisis), it offers, I think, the best chance of being accepted and shared by the large majority. At stake is the circulation of the life blood of civilised urban life which, as I see it, is at risk of infarction. The identification with a city or an urban milieu – in particular by migrants – is valid only to the extent that the criteria of social status are always demonstrably and distinctly perceived also in the context of cultural complexity and diversity in the sense of an existential giving and taking and are equally effective for all. For a long time, and even today, this could not necessarily always be asserted.

(1) To define a viable semantic content of the *concept of value-added culture as befits the Social City* that embraces the broad population and individual concerns it is first necessary to analyse the new content and objectives of urban dwellers' metacultural identification structure. This pertains to the concepts "added", "value" and "culture". So far, these individual concepts and their significance in the context of the challenges we face today as well as the overall concept of value-added culture appears to me to be (very) one-sided, cryptic or flawed. To develop the idea of the Social City as a new, wider social contract against the backdrop of the most important criteria of social status (education, work and income), these concepts need to be examined, discussed and redefined in terms of intersocial justice in the respective gender-specific, social, intercultural and milieu-specific contexts, namely as a value-added contract. The core message of this concept of value-added culture, as I understand it, is not inherently self-explana-

tory, because the current contexts of added value are still almost exclusively, one-dimensionally economic. Without a holistic value-added contract the concept would be open to all sorts of speculative and pointless attempts to perpetuate existing understandings.

(2) The value-added contract lends itself to reflexive connections in meaning between existing cultural peculiarities and existentially useful individual or social motives. It is a question of expanding the spectrum of the overwhelmingly one-dimensionally understood concept of "added value" to include following contexts or dimensions:

- individual political contexts of liberty, equality and justice;
- socio-political contexts of the economy and the common good;
- ethno-national and socio-cultural othernesses of cultures in terms of their origin and milieu;
- ecologically global and international challenges for the local; and
- culture as a cult of spiritually, mutually created spaces for work, activity and events where people can develop and grow in awareness of their own dignity and that of others.

The aim is to develop meaningful, relevant means of channelling the added values on the basis of largely smooth-flowing interactive structures that offer socially just, critically aware, enhancing processes.

This can create a real chance for both the individual and a justly or at least more justly organised society as a whole to be meaningfully effective in a fair, preventative, innovative and multiplicative way in the context of globalisation and rapid ecological change.

On this theoretical basis I have developed the general concept of value-added culture, which includes, besides the methodological approach, a draft of the value-added contract; the organisational development of an integration fair – intended not only for migrants –; and the modular structure for mediating added value as the basis for the interactive tools of a special web site.

(3) Besides the local and (supra) regional structures, particular consideration must be given to the respective structures of the relationships and the countries of origin of residents with a migration background and of migrants and their organisations. This dimension of added value is still largely unfamiliar and, in my opinion, a source of great potential in

the context of human, political and economic opportunities that to date has hardly been exploited. This lack of holistic appreciation fails to cooperatively take into account cultural innovation and structural integration, changing eco-social values and a fair socio-economic system.

(4) This would provide an initial, professional tool for the self-managed cooperative organisation of urban or neighbourhood life. The added values could be tested, ranked and experienced by cultural and social groups at integration fairs; the results could also be collected for the web site currently being developed for this purpose. This would raise the design, presentation and performance of this non-profit spectrum to the level of corporate actions, so to speak, and thus put it on an independent professional basis to facilitate fair and honest social life.

At this fair – and later on a dedicated web site – the most important partners in society, in conjunction with the self-organised (migrant) bodies, with the associations, clubs and groups, would present their own profiles, establish professional contacts, organise events, carry out projects, form groups and commit to jointly assuming responsibility for local interests and concerns.

The concept of the web site would be very effective and helpful in particular for interactive initiation of self-activating social work, for environmental initiatives, self-help projects of all kinds and the effective involvement of associations and organisations in local, regional and national affairs, in particular arranging funding and cooperation on the part of business, the federal government, the *land*, the EU, etc. In these fields it could contribute to improving people's conditions of life.

In this way, corporate social responsibility and CSR management would be professionally prepared and at the same time accessible to all sections of society at national and local levels. With funding and support from the business community, the strongest impact of this concept is likely to be on self-perception and self-criticism and on different cultures' and milieus' positive appreciation of one another.

This would make it possible to more quickly and pertinently recognise and register challenges, needs and innovations in the areas of living and everyday life, training and occupation, research and science, education and work, leisure and family, environment

and health, business and social affairs, etc., to act on them with greater competence and cooperation, and more effectively produce satisfying, positive results.

(5) It would be similarly advantageous for the local interests of the social partners to use this tool to embed the utilisable resources and opportunities of enterprises and self-organised bodies from the respective sourcing countries and regions and, in the case of migrants, countries of origin. These would grant direct, experiential access to the available potential of self-organised (migrant) bodies. Thus, the result of the value-added contract is as yet untapped innovative potential and added values that can help to improve different local living situations.

Opportunities and added values without end, yet which can in part be recognised very easily and perhaps surprisingly quickly only when special tools for the specific context are applied to the respective value-added structures. Defining both a static and a dynamic context for the respective added values and their special interfaces will make it be possible to reveal, create, mediate, accompany or provide advice on additional new added values. A tool, in other words, that would be available to all.

7. Examples of holistic utilisation of added value

First example: Transforming win-lose situations into win-win situations

Trade and industry in the migrants' home towns discover the added value of migrants looking for work and willing to return, but still undecided. The Black Sea coast offers more than coal mining and steelmaking. It is a forested region in which the timber industry is also an important factor. Many enterprises in the woodworking industry would welcome an investment partner to help modernise operations, increase sales and achieve a better standard of living. In Germany there are workers in the building and woodworking industries looking for work, whiling away their time in cafes or playing cards as they hope for a job. Many young people and middle-aged men with training or some years of work experience and some savings would gladly return to their country of origin if they knew that they would find decent work at a reasonable wage.

This creates an opportunity for the chambers of trade and industry. By running this interest profile through the local value-added and network structures of the groups posted on the web site it is easy to find professional, personal and regional economic profiles potentially interested in a first step, for example a joint trip with an association or the members of a coffee house. The company establishes and maintains friendly contact with the association, the coffee house or organisations of the home towns. As soon as trained workers looking for jobs declare themselves willing to work for markedly less than in Germany, but significantly more than the average wage in Turkey – and there is a high probability that this will be the case, if they have the prospect of a good life in their home country –, a number are likely to look into this possibility more closely.

This action can also be put on a solid and legally sound footing as part of the bilateral political section of the value-added contract.

The company (German, or managed by migrants) invests; takes unemployed, experienced, even highly skilled personnel from here to there; uses the network structures of the migrants and their organisations to carry out checks at the personal, communal and business levels; benefits mentally, i.e. culturally, socially and in terms of language; produces the same product quality far more cheaply and perhaps in greater quantities; and possibly even expands.

Second example: problem of exploiting added value

The example of the health status of Turkish Muslim women of the first and second generation shows how a lose-lose situation can be transformed into a win-win situation. Traditional rural high-energy cooking habits are both a health problem and a not inconsiderable factor in social welfare costs. An example of value-added opportunity in this regard would be Turkish Muslim high school graduates who do, or intend to do, an apprenticeship in health care and after or during their training specialise as holistic, culturally sensitive nutritionists and health advisors.

Acting in conjunction with the local health insurance companies and self-organised (migrant) bodies, it ought to be possible to register the potential in each locality through the project management module, generate interest, inform, activate and up-date.

Furthermore, it would be important to enhance the career image and make it attractive for both employees and self-employed persons working in this field, perhaps through a franchise system organised by the largest project partners. This could offer the chance of interesting professional training, including specialisation, and an interesting job market with many new jobs and perhaps an interesting source of income for women. If this were sustainably organised, it would offer health insurance companies the opportunity for substantial cost savings, better customer care and personnel recruitment, and culturally sensitive further development of intercultural and social skills.

Third example: neighbourhood management as conflict and complaint management

Housing companies have to deal with high vacancy levels, slippers outside front doors, cooking odours and noisy children. Notices in writing are often ignored. As the companies' business cards, caretakers are on the receiving end of every possible confrontation and at times may also be expected to resolve them. In my understanding, this is a case of risk overload with consequences that may at times give rise to other problems.

The company's social management is instructed to consult the Social City web site or the value-added culture site and preselect a suitable range of possible contact persons, multipliers and associations, make contact with them via a contact management system and cultivate and deepen contact through occasional chats. The caretaker is included in this process and given support with communicating, sensitising and laying down boundaries. Coupled with this, company presence at smaller events and subsequently with events that shape the image of the neighbourhood is intensified. Once the executive board has initiated the project, the web site makes it possible to involve the departmental head or social management and eventually the caretaker or property management and operationalise an approach respectful of all the tenants.

Henceforth the company, caretaker and property management staff have at their disposal on the web site a series of multipliers that enables them independently in constant coordination with the various levels of management and the property management to note complaints and direct them to the right offices,

reduce and resolve conflicts more easily via appropriate multipliers and also organise and execute their own functions more simply and quickly. By organising its constant interaction by age, gender and culture, the housing company gains a pertinent insight into day-to-day activity in the neighbourhood. The tenants become freelance staff, while the company itself becomes a distributor of education, work and capital in the internal and external professional network. The much deeper and closer exchange of lifestyle culture and national culture will follow.

These were some examples from the perspective of a migrant who sees added value at the intercultural level and makes suggestions accordingly. Present your perspective and your contexts, your possibilities in the holistic value-added culture project and share them with the self-managing community of the holistic value-added culture. We people are the market, what else?

All of these aspects and synergy effects are waiting to be accessed and utilised for the holistic event of living and surviving in socio-cultural fairness. Their opportunities and limits in the overall intercultural so-

cial spectrum have still not been disclosed and outlined as regards content, let alone become effective in interaction and cooperation or usefully and manageably organised at the local, national and international levels. If they had, the human, political and, therefore, economic appreciation and interactive utilisation of the bridging function of self-organised (migrant) bodies would no longer be a sound bite, but a very meaningful and effective contribution to the systematic alleviation of tension and a helpful innovation in the life of the city generally.

This approach may well be particularly interesting for the Ruhr with its huge potential (and indeed all conurbations with a lot of intercultural potential), which curiously appears not to have properly recognised the cultural gold at its disposal for its own structural improvement. If it had, the cultural diversity, or the topic of integration and its problems, would in my vision no longer be an issue.

Incidentally, the prototype of the web site should be ready at the end of the year. I hope to be able to report more then.

Ingke Brodersen

The children of segregation: A plea for intervention

“School in the company. My home 2025” is the name of the project in which the Berlin housing company degewo invited Wedding pupils of non-German background to take part in a work placement and develop ideas about their future. The author of this article conceived and organised the project in conjunction with her colleague Rüdiger Dammann.

Most of Berlin’s next generation is growing up in deprived neighbourhoods, for the most part in Muslim families. The growing segregation that they face encourages them to seek an isolation in which they have a distinctive identity that has little in common with the political values and cultural norms of our society. We have to seek dialogue with them as equals and confront them with demanding opportunities and tasks, not just low-threshold services. Only in this way will we get them to share a common future.

1. A lesson

They want fountains and fruit trees in the courtyards of their apartment buildings, a clean and tidy neighbourhood and more bathrooms in their flats – after all, their families are, as a rule, bigger. If they had their way they would deport criminal aliens, fine smokers and evict tenants who failed to pay the rent after repeated warnings.

Full of ideas, unhampered by notions of rent control, tenancy protection and political correctness, the Wedding pupils, almost all from Muslim families, presented their wishes for their future residential environment. In a public meeting in Berlin-Mitte they discussed their views of life and their dreams for the future with Vera Gäde-Butzlaff, chairperson of the Berlin city sanitation department, and Werner Gegenbauer, chairperson of Gegenbauer Holding and honorary president of the Berlin Chamber of Trade and Industry.

It was a lesson for all involved. The differences between the two worlds could not have been sharper: on the one side the prosperous representatives of Berlin’s business and the educated middle class and on the other pupils for the most part from families on income support. The inhabitants of each of these two worlds know little about the rules, values and aspirations of the other. Here it was clear that what, in the interest of Germany’s economic and cultural future, has to grow together in an increasingly multicultural country like Germany has not grown together. This future is impossible without children and adolescents like these. They are needed.

2. My home 2025

The Berlin housing company degewo invited the Wedding pupils to an unusual work placement. It wanted to know what it could do to create a housing and living environment in which young people also have the opportunity to realise their wishes and goals.

“School in the company. My home 2025” is the name of the project in which 14-16-year-old pupils at the Willy Brandt School at the edge of the Brunnen district in Wedding could develop their ideas about life, family and neighbourhood. For three weeks they explored their neighbourhood, analysed relations between neighbours and acted out their views about family in stage scenes in a workshop under the guidance of a Turkish theatre educationalist. They spent one week of the work placement at the housing company itself, where they were shown around different departments to learn about the diverse range of work in the housing business under the excellent supervision of the firm’s apprentices. The pupils’ assignment was to condense the results of this research and reflection into a presentation at the “Responsibility for the City” event in front of a large audience, followed by

a discussion – an extremely unusual assignment for these young people. Nor was the housing company's initiative to seek dialogue with them completely risk-free, either.

When the invitations to the event were sent out no one even knew whether the pupils were up to the task. The work placement had not yet started and, anyway, the teachers at the participating schools warned that the pupils signing up for this project were not necessarily the best pupils. Indeed, they were viewed as the so-called left-over pupils who had not managed to find a regular job in a company.

At first glance this assessment did not seem to be inaccurate. Some pupils who had already given a firm commitment suddenly pulled out without a word, others signed up at the last moment for want of an attractive alternative. Of the final list of 18 candidates two dropped out in the first couple of days – one pupil fell sick and another proved to be a persistent troublemaker and was asked to leave. The remaining 16 persevered. In the three weeks it was rare for anyone not to turn up, and only once did a pupil arrive late. Anybody who has worked in a district the city monitoring service regards as a problematic neighbourhood knows that that alone is a significant exception.

We cannot complain about a lack of motivation during the placement. The young people completed work sheets – anonymously –, prepared group results for small presentations, grappled with the relationships with their neighbours, conducted interviews with pedestrians and thought about what infrastructure is important for them at the present and what they think will be decisive in their future.

The responses were sober and considered. In first place, both for the present and the future, was a good transport system. The Humboldthain, a large park in Wedding was important for them, as none of them had their own room at home. "Here you can also be alone sometimes." Looking ahead 15 years to their future role as parents, kindergarten and school appeared to be very important. Foodstands serving Middle Eastern food did not get a look in, and few gave the mosque a high ranking. The library was an also-ran: most thought it was superfluous, an assessment they shared with local authority officials: the only library still open in this neighbourhood is threatened with closure. Yet, since PISA we know how cru-

cial reading is if you want to participate in this society.

But reading is not necessarily a survival skill in this milieu. Rather than leading us to capitulate, however, this should prompt us to reflect on the kinds of offers and presentations that could entice such children into the world of books. The traditional canon of classic school literature will not do it. But perhaps reading material that reflects their life will. During the project every participant was given the book "Arabboy" (a donation from the publishing house S. Fischer Verlag), which tells the tough, authentic history of a gang of Arab youths in the Rollberg quarter of Neukölln, which, like Wedding, has the reputation of being a difficult neighbourhood. We invited the author, Güner Balci, herself the daughter Anatolian immigrants, to talk with the pupils.

Everything about Güner Balci irritated the young people: growing up in much the same way as she did, they recognised in her "one of us". And yet she has made good, about which the pupils could scarcely conceal their amazement. She is, although heavily pregnant, unmarried! She writes books! She works in television! She calls Germany her home! They want to know how they can do what she has. What followed was a heated discussion between the author and the class. The pupils were not spared criticism either. After this visit, some of them read a book from cover to cover for the first time in their life.

Irritations like this are missing in these pupils' lives: they lack "dissidents" in their milieu who could serve as models and critical companions. But who could fulfil this role. Güner Balci also left the Rollberg neighbourhood where she grew up; she, too, does not want her child to go to school there. This is something she shares with a lot of Berliners.

We also sent the pupils to the two neighbourhood management offices in the Brunnen district. Up until then the pupils had no idea of their existence or their mission. They were amazed to learn that people here worked on the development of the area; and they were even more astonished to learn that residents could also submit suggestions. Once they had got over the difficulty of pronouncing "neighbourhood management" two young men plucked up courage and ventured back with their own project proposal: they offered to provide special football training for very young boys. Their first contact with a local government institution had encouraged them

to consider what they could offer that would help the neighbourhood. Often the problem is the lack of doors to the outside world. Yet they could decisively help the entry into mainstream society of young people like these who do not see themselves as Germans.

3. "Wedding is freedom"

Although almost all of them were born in Germany, none of the pupils wanted to call themselves German, a few Weddinger or Berliner at most. They do not have a problem with being seen as foreigners, as long as the term "is not meant as abuse". Almost half of them used this term to describe themselves. There is a certain contradiction in the fact that in response to the question of what bothers them in their neighbourhood, they state "too many foreigners", and obviously mean people other than themselves, "too many drugs, too much litter".

They want the severest possible penalties for anything to do with drugs. Concerning litter, they feel they are just as much to blame: "We act like everybody else: everybody drops paper on the ground. Also us. If we want a clean environment, then we must also do something for it. Later we should be better examples for our own children." The use of the subjunctive when talking about the future is almost always part of their self-critical insights. Someday their children should do more than they have, more in school, not become addicted to games, and accept responsibility.

Despite this, they do not see Wedding as a deprived neighbourhood. For them it is their home, a place that they know: "Here everybody knows everybody, here everything is within reach – from Kaufhof via Penny to the baker or New Yorker". Here, they feel, you have everything you need. "Here there are lots of children, it's full of life here." The middle-class quarter of Steglitz with its single-family homes and tree-lined streets which they visited on a class outing a few months before does not appeal to them. It was, they said, "so dead".

Anyone who walks along the Badstrasse, one of the main thoroughfares in Wedding, in the morning can only confirm this urban contrast. By 7.30 it is full of life. The last boxes of fruit and vegetables are being carried into the Turkish supermarkets – it does not bother anybody that the first customers are al-

ready doing the day's shopping. At the baker's shops German pensioners are sitting over their first cup of coffee indignantly discussing the debt crisis. In "La Femme", a successful Turkish chain, notwithstanding its French name, buggies with children have been parked between the tables, their mothers, most of them wearing headscarves, sit next to unveiled women in front of sesame bread rings. Students hurry to Gesundbrunnen, a major U- and S-bahn junction. Because of its affordable rents, Wedding is popular with students and artists who have not yet made a name for themselves. This development is supported by a good supply of attractive apartments and reasonable commercial space.

And that is important. Despite all the urban multicultural appeal that Wedding radiates, the fact may not be overlooked that here the Muslim parallel society keeps largely to itself. Berliners who have grown up in Steglitz, Zehlendorf or Charlottenburg are proud of their city's diversity, but would never dream of moving to Wedding, let alone send their children to school here. Few are likely to have ever visited the district. The music of this cosmopolitan capital city plays elsewhere. Many approve of having the old royal palace rebuilt on Unter den Linden; a powerful lobby also fought for it. But not for flagship projects in troubled areas that could stem the increasingly glaring divisions in society and serve as an effective weapon in the right against segregation. Thus, the once left-wing blue-collar district of Wedding, today already firmly in the hand of Muslim communities, threatens to become increasingly marginalised by municipal politics.

The growing segregation in such deprived areas is already one of the most serious problems facing the city – and threatens its future. For, here in these neighbourhoods is where most of the next generation is growing up. The senate administration defines these problem neighbourhoods as so-called "action spaces plus", for which interdepartmental strategies need to be developed. To date they have made little impression; in any event they are unlikely to be sufficient. More support is needed than the political institutions can guarantee, also from the private sector. The overwhelming majority of Berliners demand that companies take a greater interest in schools. For today, school quality and success decides to a large extent the social mix in a neighbourhood and the future prospects of its inhabitants.

Responsibility towards the city

The company degewo for example, which has more than 70,000 apartments in Berlin, also uses its commercial success to support initiatives, groups and associations that contribute to improving living conditions in their neighbourhood. Rooms are made available to them for which, as a rule, they have to pay only the running costs. This encourages the emergence of soup kitchens, centres for women, youth or seniors, small designer galleries or retail offices, which that help to stabilise and diversify the neighbourhood.

This social commitment gives absolute priority to children and adolescents. The training associations in the Brunnen quarter in Wedding and in the Gropiusstadt in Neukölln support the development of hard-pressed schools. Children are introduced to reading in the "reading mentor" project and to writing texts in "poetry competitions". Exhibition spaces are provided to encourage cultural activities; sports events, such as the annual pupil triathlon in the Gropiusstadt, encourage pupils to exercise more. Such projects enhance neighbourhoods and raise residents' self-awareness. In the end everybody benefits: the housing company, the neighbourhood, the district and the Land Berlin.

Over and above this, the degewo is one of the first companies in Germany to undergo an overall assessment: social, economic and ecological. degewo and the Humboldt University developed a formula to calculate "urban return", i.e. the value that the company produces for a city. The formula takes into account not only what the company forgoes in rent waived for social and cultural projects or its ecological measures such as the steadily reducing CO2 emissions. The calculation also includes the company's consolidated net income and equity capital. Therefore, the "urban return", which amounted to 53.7 million euro in 2009, reflects not only the social return, but also the financial return.

4. Left-over pupils?

One of the so-called left-over pupils who participated in the project is Ardik¹, a 14-year-old Kosovo Albanian. Ardik speaks Albanian, Kosovan, Macedonian, passable English and almost perfect German and understands Serbo-Croat well. He is an enthusiastic break dancer, quick on the computer, charming, witty, not an anxious person and never at a loss for an answer – someone who quickly finds his bearings even in a strange environment. Put him in Tokyo, Kigali or Istanbul, and he will land on his feet.

But Ardik is deemed to be poor at school; he may well not be promoted. To achieve the required standard he recently took flashcards from the school learning office home with him over the weekend. He

wanted to practise: whoever masters a certain quota of these flashcards can come forward for a test. The pupils themselves decide when the test takes place – one of many measures introduced by the school to encourage independent learning. But Ardik should not have taken the cards. The material in the learning office has to be available to all, even when no one is using it, it may not be "privatised". Instead of praise, Ardik was given a warning, which was followed by a school conference. For Ardik had broken a rule. Ardik does this a lot. For example, he never buys a ticket for the U-bahn. Even as a small boy he was involved in dubious dealings. Ardik has a police record.

The school that Ardik attends has no use for his undeniable talents, his gift for languages, his quick-wittedness and his fearlessness even in front of an

¹ All names of the participating pupils have been changed

audience of strangers. That is not the school's fault. Like many others, it is still in the early stages of a process of change in which the schools have to learn to break with old structures. They have not yet sufficiently adjusted to the foreign pupils sitting in its classrooms not to find adolescents like Ardik a burden. The schools need to look for ways and means to enable pupils to utilise and further develop their skills for the benefit both of themselves and of others. We cannot write off such children and adolescents as losers in this society – it is not in our interests, either.

Once Ardik is taken out of the group in the classroom and given a responsible task, this young Kosovo-Albanian suddenly proves to be utterly reliable. For example, he operated the keyboard for a fairly complicated and elaborate Power Point presentation compiled by our pupils that mixed short clips, video clips, photo streaming and charts, which required him to respond just in time to certain cues so that the commentary spoken by Timo, Selma and Milena, which followed a very tight script, fitted in exactly. Ardik accomplished this task with bravura – he quickly learnt the 20-page script of the performance off by heart. He arrived punctually for every rehearsal, offered his colleagues tips on pronunciation and word stress doing the presentation and had no trouble finding the out-of-the-way locations for the various rehearsals. Unlike some of his classmates, who virtually never leave their neighbourhood, Ardik learnt the Berlin underground network in a flash, the interchange and connection stations as well as the closest exits. He has a good sense of space and direction, but is – as his teachers would put it – oblivious to rules.

And rules are the indispensable corset at any school at which far more than 90 percent of the pupils come from a so-called migration background. And not only there. The world of work also sets standards in this regard that hardly any of the young in our care are able to fulfil, as they learnt at a simulated job interview. Almost all had unexcused absences in the reports they presented. They were informed that normally such evidence of unreliability would ensure that they were not even invited for a job interview.

That gave one or other a salutary shock; it was, they said, was something “we did not know”. Whether this experience is enough to trigger a change at least in their final school year, which is the tenth grade for most of them, is uncertain.

Ardik, of course, also has unexplained absences in his report. Even without them it is unlikely that Ardik would be promoted. Ardik says that that is not “sooo bad”. He wants to emigrate to the USA and find a job in a New York pizza business. But even if you believe that he could do it, do we really *want* to let go of young people like Ardik? Do we really believe that we can do without them – given that owing to demographic developments in this society the fact has long been staring us in the face that children of migrant families will be the majority in this society in the not too distant future?

Can we afford to see only shortcomings in children such as Ardik? What tasks can we give them that they will comprehend as attractive practical tests of their ability? That will train them in those civil virtues that they find so difficult to integrate into their everyday life – namely reliability, consistency and an awareness of rules, also when in the group? Respect, a value the youth and their Muslim community verbally attach such importance to and which apparently distinguishes them from Germans, is, as Güner Balci criticised during her visit, sadly lacking among themselves and towards others.

Majid, 15 years old, is a better pupil than Ardik. But like most he agonises over German orthography and grammar when he has to write a text. For instance, the participants were expected to write a report on their visit to the Gropiusstadt in Neukölln. Which other residential area did they get to know there? How does it differ from Wedding and what struck them about it? Majid struggled with his clumsy sentences. “Then we went into a high-rise. After that we went to the caretaker in the Zwickauer Damm. Then we went to the outdoor exercise space.” Majid wanted to write down everything correctly and asked us to check his text. It had fewer spelling mistakes than most of the others, but used the word “went”

about 20 times. Majid enjoyed the game that we devised for him – to find other verbs within a few seconds. The text that he finally handed in could pass a critical examination. He was proud of it. However, he is rarely given recognition for achievements like this. Teachers in classes such as his are too often busy controlling the constant disruptions when they have the whole group sitting in front of them. The male adolescents in particular are continually making physical contact – a poke here, a thump there, a kick on the shin, a blow on the back of the head.

These young people are not lethargic. Quite the opposite: they do not know what to do with their excess physical energy. “At the moment we are in puberty and are struggling a lot with our hormones” they explain to us and complain that they have too few possibilities to really “burn off their energy”. The school yard is not unsuitable. A youth club where they previously did break dance has closed. The opening hours of sports centres are determined by the caretakers, not the needs of the youth. At the weekend they are closed, instead of making attractive offers to draw families who get little exercise. Almost wistfully the pupils recall a challenging labyrinthine climbing park that they got to know on a school outing. Unsurprisingly, during an outing in the Gropiusstadt they enthusiastically charge off to the outdoor exercise space. Our “bodyless” schools offer too little space for them to express their physicality and feeling for rhythm, which is obvious to anyone who has watched them dance – despite the fact that we know how crucial exercise is for cognitive development. Accordingly, their need for movement finds an outlet in permanent disturbance.

Majid participates in this physical exchange, albeit in his own way. Majid gives massages. He is a good, a very good masseur. Everybody – boys as well as girls – want to feel Majid’s hands on their back, their neck, on their upper arms. In the school breaks the tables were often pushed together and Majid had to massage the person lying on them. It is possible that Majid does not even know that he could turn this talent into a profitable profession. To date nobody has pointed this out to him or explained to him that in this society massage is a recognised, sought-after occupation – in care homes, hospitals, sports clubs and wellness centres. And even if Majid were

informed, in his macho Arab male world such an activity would be viewed as “for faggots” and, thus, taboo. The ironclad gender images that these young people have in their heads derived from their own family experiences is one of several border fortifications for their own identity that defeat all efforts at integration. Their macho culture is not compatible with a civil society based on equality, and the associated image of women is utterly sexist. As the pupils themselves say: “We are just different. We have different traditions from you. Different values.”

5. “Men and women are not equal”

Gender equality does not exist in the conceptual world of these Muslim pupils. That was clear as soon as we asked about their recreational habits. Male youths seldom watch television, but spend up to five hours a day at the computer. Most of the young women stated that they spent a similar amount of time on household chores: shopping, babysitting, cleaning, cooking meals, etc. Hardly any young man was required to do such domestic work. The girls were resigned to it. They did not even understand what Ms. Gäde-Butslaff’s was talking about when at the aforementioned public meeting she gave them the well-meant advice to throw the dish towel at their brothers next time – something she used to do. An anti-authoritarian revolt, or a challenge to male dominance, with which the women’s movement in Germany brought about a complete renewal of society, does not exist in these Muslim families.

While young men are allowed to “have a bit of fun” with a girl “out there”, i.e. outside the family, it is absolutely taboo for a girl – she would then be regarded as a “slut”, and the family would be “badmouthed” in the Muslim community. And that is “bad, very bad”. Just for the daughter to be seen on the street in the company of a youth is a threat to the family honour. Therefore, it is better if there are more boys in the family so that they can appropriately “monitor” their sisters. Without them, according to the youths, the girls are unable to resist the numerous temptations in this society. As representatives of their father, whose power is absolute, they regard themselves as the legitimate authority figures and have to ensure respect. “What should a father be like?”

the theatre educationalist Yilmaz Atmaca wanted to know from our pupils. Although he should “not necessarily” beat them, on no account should he be “a wimp”, as then one could not expect him to help in situations of distress, was the answer – or “would you then want to call your wimpish father to help?”

These patriarchal attitudes were not only male thinking by any means: the girls agreed unquestioningly. Not only that: they affirmed that a woman must remain a virgin until she marries, otherwise she ruins her “market value” and possibly cannot get married at all. After all, no one would buy a used television set if they could get a new one for the same price.

No topic preoccupied our pupils more than marriage, the choice of the future bridegroom or bride. That may seem strange when dealing with 15-year-olds. For us, that phase of growing up is a time of awakening, of seeking, of fantasies of omnipotence. For our pupils, however, their wedding is a few years away – the highlight of their life, into which the family put all their energy, and at the same a sharp break. After that, the girls tell us, they will start wearing a headscarf, as it is the start of a totally different life for them.

The future spouse must in any case meet with the approval of the parents; this holds for both males and females. Otherwise marriage is out of the question, no matter how great the love may be. Some have no objection to a mixed marriage themselves, but their parents would never accept such a choice. One or two of them were not happy at the thought of being married to a “foreign” bride whom they had never met before. By contrast, Burhan, a youth with a Palestinian background, wanted to leave the search for his future wife to his father right from the start. “After all, I can always find a wife”, he said, “but I have only one father.”

The family is paramount in the lives and minds of these pupils. Asked about their vision of the future in 15 years’ time, they see themselves as parents of three or four children – and only afterwards do they talk about their future job prospects, about which they are far less certain. One day they talk of becoming a car mechanic and the next an office clerk. After a week at the housing company, where the polite behaviour among the staff and the good meals in the canteen left a deep impression, some began to dream

of greater things: they would like to be an architect or a computer scientist. That said, the school performance of most excludes such a perspective. Who in these families on income support can give the pupils realistic advice about their job and career prospects, who can explain to them what skills are sought in the employment market?

None of them wants to live on income support later, but one hears no complaints about their current social status. These young people do not want to see themselves as wards of Muslim association functionaries, for whom successful integration is primarily a question of higher social welfare transfer payments. With self-confidence they state: “We know that what becomes of us depends on us” – and at the same time admit they do not always make the most of what the school offers to improve their performance. Any awareness that thereby they are blocking their path to successful career is at best abstract.

At one time, smart guys like Ardik would have found their place in the labour market in our society. But in times of rising global competition we do not know what to do with them. In the housing company they were told that without a secondary school-leaving qualification they had little chance of getting an apprenticeship. Werner Gegenbauer told them that a lower school-leaving qualification would be enough for a job in his facility management company, but that today all services were carried out “in front of the customer”. If employees proved unreliable, the company let them go – also male employees who had a problem accepting instructions from female supervisors.

Young people in the Brunnen neighbourhood know nothing about such experiences in the world of work. Just as they did know that at the job interview it may be to their advantage to ask questions so as to signal interest in the company. They had no idea that absences were a minus point. And for the first time they learnt that you did not appear for a job interview in trainers. They know little, sometimes absolutely nothing about the normal cultural codes of this society. For this reason, too, access is denied to them. Left to themselves they will never find the door.

6. The segregation trap

Young people such as those in the Brunnen neighbourhood are caught in the segregation trap, in an insulated milieu: whether in their families, in their neighbourhood or in the school they are always among themselves. Their response to Article 2 of the Basic Law is: "Men and women are not equal. They may not be treated equally. And if German society thinks differently about this, we don't care" they let the astonished audience at the public meeting know. Even the two pupils that were not from Muslim families did not raise any objection at this point. Nor were they subjected to perceptible peer pressure. Those whose family circumstances are different from the majority know that when it comes to critical matters in this milieu they have to adapt or keep their heads down to survive.

These young people never have to deal with contrary points of view. Who would have one here? There are no "German" pupils here who have had a different socialisation and acquired a different value orientation. Their parents moved away long ago, as have those Muslim families that attach importance to their and their children's integration into the local German society. The pensioners sitting at the small tables in the baker's shops keep to themselves. Their Muslim neighbours tend to eye them suspiciously: they want nothing to do with these seniors, nor with the alcoholics that hang onto their beer bottles at Gesundbrunnen. They are no model or incentive. It is not surprising that Miryam, the young woman from a Palestinian family who is always impeccably groomed, wishes that German society were "cleaner" and "tidier".

And the teachers? Can they not be models for their pupils? Even in such social flashpoints there are schools that adopt innovative approaches and send their charges into the world with excellent results. They are the people to learn from, which is why facilities such as the training associations described above are so important in such neighbourhoods. Most teachers who teach at problematic schools feel worn out by the daily infighting. They rather wish they were somewhere else. They have little confidence in their pupils, and most of the time they do not have the energy to face out conflicts over fundamental issues. Many show clear signs of a siege mentality: they

are members of the tiny "German" minority whose job happens to be here in this neighbourhood. They live elsewhere, in Lankwitz, Schöneberg or Mitte. But please, not in Wedding. Like most people in this city, they feel they cannot do that to their children.

The young people also know this kind of split life. At school they are forbidden to use verbal insults such as "loser" and "faggot". It is not a problem for them: they prefer to swear in the Arab or Turkish idioms that their teachers do not understand. The girls occasionally do date young men, and conceal it from their families and the male community. The youths in turn admit that on the street they do not always show respect and politeness, values that their parents demand and invoke. They are fortunate, they say, that their fathers know nothing about it. Nevertheless, should something serious happen, it is not a matter for the police, but something "that we settle among ourselves".

The only dependable fixed point in a world that is and remains foreign to them is the family. It is their place of identity, where they define and assert themselves. When they believe they cannot keep up or are left outside, they seek refuge in the stubborn statement "We are just different". This defensive attitude is bolstered by the fact that many Muslim families tend to have a negative image of Germans, because too many of those they see in their neighbourhoods have, for whatever reason, fallen through the cracks.

Thus, the children model their behaviour on the life that their parents lead. At home they communicate with them in the language of the parents' country of origin. Holidays are also spent in the parents' country of origin. The children adopt the parents' stereotypes and prejudices and their traditional role and gender models. This socialisation is hardly compatible with the basic values and demands of a liberal civility that encourages self-responsibility and achievement. Whereas it follows what sociologists call a community ideal, in Germany the norms of an individualised society apply.

This generation of children from migrant families feels the full force of segregation. They lack exposure to other opinions, the humus of contrast that drives development and change. At the same time, they are very open to innovations – with the exception of their impregnable bastion: conceptions of gender. We should not indulgently smile and tolerate this hard

core of their demarcation; it contradicts the principles of democratic society. By contrast, in other matters the youth are not resistant to advice. Receiving recognition for solving difficult tasks is an important incentive that motivates them to make a greater effort and perhaps encourages them to cross boundaries. But if we let them sit tight in their milieu we are gambling away our own future. The consequences will be felt by everybody.

It will take sustained intervention to break open the closed society in which they live, to punch holes in the walls between the parallel worlds, and form alliances with external partners who bring the wind of changes into this homogeneous community. To offer young people like these only low-threshold challenges is an insult to their vital potential. You must not make things too easy for them: on the contrary, you have to confront and challenge them with demanding and relevant assignments.

The “School in the Company” project was a remarkable event for our pupils. That others should take an interest in their living environment and their ideas, and that they themselves were able, despite their excitement and nervousness, to present their results thoughtfully, critically and self-confidently in front of an audience of strangers was an utterly new experience for them. This also included a series of individual question-and-answer interviews with a television station. Before the project they would never have had the confidence to do this. We have to give them opportunities to grow and outdo themselves.

It is to be hoped that the housing company’s experiment to trust young people like these with a project that demands results, determination and accountability will find imitators. Of course, one must also factor in the risk of failure. But businessmen, politicians and managers have to look to actively engage with these children and adolescents and not only talk about them. We are not the “guardians” of these children of “non-German background”, as they are referred to in formal administrative language. They can speak for themselves. Only in this way will they help to shape their own future and that of this country.

7. There are lots of us – and we are not going anywhere!

These young people are needed to shape Germany’s future. They were more aware of this than some of the listeners at the public presentation in Berlin-Mitte. The pupils had various messages for them. The audience was able to learn various things at this meeting. Some of the managers realised that their companies had not realised the noble goal of diversity either; some parents saw that gender equality, which we take for granted as an inalienable right today, may have to be defended again in the future. The pupils from the Brunnen district not only opened listeners’ eyes to a foreign world, but also made it absolutely clear that the demographic clock is ticking. “We look to the future with great optimism”, they declared and pointed out that this trust distinguishes them from many Germans. They could not understand, they said, why so many Germans were anxious about the future, which was probably the reason why so few wanted to have children. In their case the situation was different. Even if they wanted to have fewer children than their parents – children in this society “cost a lot of money” – they would still have at least three or four, otherwise it would be “like coming home to a graveyard”. In any event, none of them could image what life as a single would look like; that was inconceivable. For this reason, they continued, some day they would be more numerous than “the Germans”. After all, there are already so many of them. And they want to stay here, in this country, where they feel they have better chances than elsewhere.

So, at the end of their presentation they surprised the astonished public with an insight that some may have thought was slightly menacing and yet was the unadorned elucidation of a relationship that not all of the listeners were aware of yet. “Our future will also be your future!” What happens to them, the children from migrant families, will determine – and not only in the job market – the sustainability of this society.

The authors

Frank Bielka

(Formerly) Board member of degewo AG, the largest urban housing association in Berlin, which manages more than 71,000 residential and 1,500 commercial units. Previously secretary of state in the Departments of Building and Housing, of Finance and of Urban Development of the Berlin Senate.

Ingke Brodersen

Publisher, author and copy editor of books on politics and media culture as well as literary agent. Advisor for the educational programme of the Robert Bosch Foundation and for various educational projects in Berlin.

Lutz Freitag

(Formerly) President of the Federal Association of German Housing and Real Estate Enterprises (GdW), the largest German umbrella association, representing about 3,000 municipal, cooperative, church, private sector, state-owned and federally owned housing enterprises in Germany and Europe.

Achim Grossmann

(Formerly) Psychologist; long-serving member of the Federal German parliament as well as parliamentary secretary of state in the Federal Ministry of Transport, Building and Urban Development.

Dr Bernd Hunger

Town planner and urban sociologist, consultant for housing and urban development, research and development at the Federal Association of German Housing and Real Estate Enterprises (GdW).

Muhammed Haşim Inam

Social pedagogue, management consultant for social business and management, intercultural consultant, coach and trainer with YÜCEL CONSULTING, FORINA – forum for intercultural work in Bochum.

Folkert Kiepe

(Formerly) Councillor of the Association of German Town and Cities responsible for urban development, building, housing and transport.

Ulrich Pfeiffer

Chairman of the Board of Directors of empirica ag, Berlin, CEO of empirica GmbH, Bonn.

Dr Franz-Georg Rips

President of the German Tenants' Association, mayor of Ertstadt.

Dr Peter Runkel

Until November 2009 head of the department of regional planning, urban development and housing in the Federal German Ministry of Transport, Building and Urban Affairs.

Prof. Klaus Peter Strohmeier

Professor for urban, regional and family sociology at the Ruhr University, Bochum. Executive director of the Centre for Interdisciplinary Regional Research. Research interests and fields of activity: family and social policy, social and healthcare reporting, demographics, and urban and regional development.

The authors:

Frank Bielka
Ingke Brodersen
Lutz Freitag
Achim Grossmann
Bernd Hunger
Muhammed Haşim Inam
Folkert Kiepe
Ulrich Pfeiffer
Franz-Georg Rips
Peter Runkel
Klaus Peter Strohmeier

Translator:

John Richardson

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Sergio Grassi | Country Director

Phone: +62 21 7193711 | Fax: +62 21 71791358
Website: www.fes.or.id

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info@fes.or.id

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