The Congress
of Local and Regional Authorities

15th PLENARY SESSION
CPL(15)5REP
15 April 2008

Improving the integration of migrants through local housing policies

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Explanatory Memorandum
Committee on Social Cohesion

Summary:

The quality and nature of housing is a critical component of integration since it affects not only the well-being of migrants, but also their community relations and access to local services and opportunities such as the labour market, education and health care. The extent to which migrant and minority households have achieved parity with locals can be defined as a measure of the degree to which these parts of the population are integrated into the larger urban society. Housing initiatives and local neighbourhood practices are therefore key factors in finding solutions to promote integration and social inclusion in the urban context.

Given the importance of housing, and the real impact local governance can have in this area, it was chosen as the first topic to be dealt with by the CLIP (Cities for Local Integration Policies) Network, which, since its launch in 2006, provides a forum for exchange between public administrations and political action researchers and of which the Congress is a founding member.

The recommendations set out in this report are the fruit of the work of the CLIP Network in the field of migrant housing. Housing integration for the purposes of this report is discussed in terms of access to affordable and standard quality accommodation which meets culturally diverse housing preferences and needs.

R : Chamber of Regions / L : Chamber of Local Authorities
ILDG : Independent and Liberal Democrat Group of the Congress
EPP/CD : Group European People's Party – Christian Democrats of the Congress
SOC : Socialist Group of the Congress
NR : Member not belonging to a Political Group of the Congress

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1. Introduction[1]

The Council of Europe (CoE) has long been concerned by the the issue of integration of migrants, especially with regard to human rights and anti-discrimination. In its 1993 Vienna Declaration, the Council stated that its members would "continue [their] efforts to facilitate the social integration of lawfully residing migrants".

Integration of migrants is primarily framed on the nation state level. Prima facie, this is plausible for formulated policies, legal and administrative frameworks relevant for integration processes as well as for the collection and availability of statistical data in most European countries. In practice, however, integration takes place in a specific local context. Notwithstanding the national and state framework for integration policies, cities and regions in Europe often have significant degrees of autonomy, resources and policy options which are highly relevant for the implementation of concrete integration policies and their outcomes.

1.1 Congress activities on local integration of migrants

The issue of the role of local authorities in integration issues has been addressed in multiple statements by the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe. The Congress has called repeatedly for involvement of the local level in the shaping of integration policies and has stressed the important role of the local level for any successful implementation. In the context of the Council of Europe's integrated project "Making democratic institutions work", the Congress published a *Handbook on local consultative bodies for foreign residents* which includes an analytical study on foreigners' participation in local policies, as well as the relevant Congress recommendation and the Convention on the Participation of Foreigners in Public Life at Local Level (Council of Europe, July 2004).

In its *Resolution on a pact for the integration and participation of people of immigrant origin in Europe's towns, cities and regions* (Resolution 181 (2004)), which called for heightened co-operation between the various political levels (national, regional and local) and with civil society the Congress stated that integration programmes should be aimed both at the effective integration of people of immigrant origin already settled and wishing to remain in the local and regional authorities where they live and also at putting in place specific measures for the integration of new arrivals. The resolution further argued that use should be made of networks of different political tiers, but also of every local political sphere and of the commitment of civil society and proposed a network of local and regional authorities which would facilitate the exchange of experience on a lasting basis and promote an evaluation process covering the quality, duration and success of local integration policies. The objective would be to enable municipalities' officials to learn from each others' experience.

Preparing the ground for the CLIP Network

The Congress had already supported a bottom-up initiative of European cities exchanging integration experiences and evaluated practices on a municipal level. In cooperation with the City of Stuttgart, an international workshop was held in that city on the participation of foreign residents in urban life in 2001, followed by two major international conferences on local integration policies in 2003 and 2004 also hosted by the City of Stuttgart. During the conference in 2003, the Congress' "Stuttgart Resolution" on the responsibilities of the municipal level for the integration of migrants and its relation to the European and national level was signed.

The conferences met with a great deal of interest from participating cities and the experience motivated a proposal by the City of Stuttgart to set up a European network of cities on integration policy (Cities for Local Integration Policy, CLIP) and a feasibility study on the creation of such a network, undertaken in cooperation with the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (EuroFound), the Congress, the City of Stuttgart and the european forum for migration studies (efms) at the university of Bamberg during 2005/2006. Based on this preparatory work, the CLIP network started its function in April 2006 with a formal launch in September 2006. The network currently has over 20 actively involved European cities.

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[1] The Congress Secretariat wishes to thank the consultant, Mr Wolfgang Bosswick, Director of the european forum for migration studies (efms), University of Bamberg, Germany, for drafting this report.

The network has concentrated its first efforts on the problem of housing – a basic right the Congress had identified, *in Resolution 218 (2006) on effective access to social rights for immigrants: the role of local and regional authorities* as of critical importance for immigrants, along with access to work, employment and social policies, education and vocational training, health care and citizen participation.. The resolution argued that "towns, cities and regions have a key role to play in access by immigrants to housing".

2. CLIP network objectives and methodology

2.1 Objectives

The CLIP network aims at a combination of an exchange between public administrations on the one hand and accompanying political action research on the other. The challenge of the integration of migrants and minorities into European urban societies can be tackled by the CLIP network in an innovative way using a scientifically supported peer review process which involves experts from the participating cities as actors in the research process. The experts from the cities are also involved in the selection of specific areas of migrant integration relevant for them, thus contributing to the formulation of research questions. Through structured sharing of experiences, the project aims to enable local authorities to learn from each other and to deliver a more effective integration policy for migrants. In addition the analyses will support the emerging European policy debate with innovative concepts of integration policy on the local level.

The operational objectives of the CLIP network project are to:

- Collect and analyse local innovative policies and their successful implementation as well as failures and their causes;
- Support the exchange of experience between cities and encourage a learning process within the network of cities (peer review);
- Assess the role of companies, social partners, religious organisations, NGOs and voluntary organisations at local level in supporting successful integration policies;
- Provide objective assessment of current practice and initiatives and discuss their transferability;
- Communicate good practice to other cities in Europe and develop guidelines for good practice to help cities to cope more effectively with the challenge of integrating migrants;
- Support the further development of a European integration policy by communicating the policy-relevant experiences and outputs of the network.

2.2 Methodology

The CLIP network research is organised in consecutive modules, each of them focusing on a specifically relevant area of local integration policies. Thus, CLIP activities are focused on specific fields of integration (housing etc) at local level with cities as actors, but develop an internationally comparative perspective.

Within each module, the CLIP project realizes a number of city case studies in cooperation with the local experts, in addition to a concept paper, common reporting scheme for data collection, recommendation papers and an overview report. Within the first module on housing and segregation, 20 city case studies were conducted.

CLIP partner cities are subjects and actors in the research process, while the research institutions primarily facilitate the research and ensure standards of scientific quality.

The CLIP project approach focuses on:
1. concrete integration measures;
2. creating an inventory of such measures (in this case concerning housing);
3. evaluation of measures (have they been evaluated? methods and results of the evaluation, possibility of transfering the results to other cities, costs of the measure, etc).
4. analysis of the results of integration measures in different local contexts. (Is a particular measure successful in specific contexts or has it some "universal" effect and value?)
5. learning from past and existing initiatives and transferring results and experiences from single projects to the CLIP network as a whole.

The analysis of the case studies within the CLIP project applies an explorative approach and is not aimed at hypothesis-testing based on assumptions. It seeks to analyze the integration situation, its perception by the policy both national and local, to research into processes, policy interventions and outcomes, and to analyze adopted evaluation criteria at local level.

2.3 What can be understood by "integration"?

There is still a great deal of ambiguity in the way in which integration is defined. Different socio-economic, legal, political and cultural dimensions of the integration process are relevant and the term "integration" is thus used in different contexts and meanings. It is important to draw a distinction between integration and assimilation, the latter being perceived as a process of migrant ethnic acculturation.

There is a wide range of different discourses on housing integration and different policy approaches to integration and minority ethnic inclusion in different European states and metropolises. These different interpretations of integration reflect varied histories of immigration, specific political discourses on citizenship and minority obligations, and different rights in relation to housing and welfare systems. This is also mirrored in a different legislative control over the migrant settlement process, which enables different types of intervention and varying degrees of housing market choice for both settled and new migrants.

Housing is a critical component of migrants' integration and well-being. It is acknowledged that neighbourhood and housing integration means neighbourhood stability, more or less frictionless community relations and the equal access of migrants to local services and opportunities, for example on the labour market, in health care, etc. The extent to which migrant and minority households have achieved parity with locals can be defined as a measure of the degree to which these parts of the population are integrated into the larger urban society.

The analytical definition of (social) integration encompasses the following dimensions:

- **Culturation** (= socialization) is the transmission to and the acquisition of knowledge, cultural standards and competences necessary for successful interaction in a given society;
- **Structural participation** (= placement) refers to an individual's acquisition and occupation of relevant positions in society (e.g. in educational and economic system, on the labour market, in occupational hierarchies, as a citizen) as well as the related rights and options. Access to housing (and formal and informal restrictions on access) relate to structural participation. The housing situation may affect other aspects of integration, especially in the labour market and in education, i.e. in highly segregated neighbourhoods;
- **Interaction** refers to the formation of networks and social relations, e.g. the establishment of friendships, of love or marriage relations across group boundaries. Segregated housing is likely to have an impact on social relations, but existing networks and social relations may vice versa also contribute to segregation processes;
- **Identification** as a dimension of social integration means that actors see themselves as an element of a collective body. Identification has cognitive and emotional sides and results in a "we-feeling" towards a group or collective. Empirical studies show that identification of migrants with the host society usually starts with or is limited still to the local neighbourhood or municipality.

All four dimensions of social integration are affected by the housing situation of groups with ethnic and migratory background.

Measures oriented toward the integration of migrants into the housing market must not be isolated, but be combined with language training, facilitated access to the labour market and civic education in order to be successful. **Housing integration for the purposes of this report is discussed in terms of access to affordable and standard quality accommodation which meets the culturally diverse housing preferences and needs.**

As mentioned above, across Europe many different approaches to housing integration and inclusion exist.. These differences of approach result in different types of intervention, and varying degrees of housing market choice for migrants. The nature of policies and national and local interventions to promote housing integration or social inclusion of migrant and minority ethnic groups at the neighbourhood level is indicative of the way governments view their minority groups, in terms of both rights and responsibilities.

Inclusionist policies are essential because political, legal and social inclusion is a necessary condition for integration. Social inclusion in the urban context does not happen automatically. Accepting diversity alone is not a sufficient condition to bring about the sustained inclusion of the different ethno-national groups. City governments are responsible for developing local policies that manage diversity and can integrate newcomers as well as long-established minorities. Housing initiatives and local neighbourhood practices are key factors in finding solutions to combat social exclusion, promote integration and improve the quality of life in deprived urban neighbourhoods.

3. Housing for migrants: challenges for local authorities

Challenges discussed in this report are perceived challenges: they are part of an individual or collective actor's definition of the situation on the basis of a perceived reality and certain standards upon which this reality is evaluated. These standards can be political goals and interests, human rights and obligations, and the idea of the modern welfare state.

Cities differ greatly as to what they regard as challenges; in some cases the internal development of municipal policies leads to a changing definition of the situation and resulting changes of policies. Perceived challenge by definition has a strong subjective component: where municipalities feel strongly about the issue – the mayor or the council for instance declare integration issues as one of their priorities – such cities tend to do more than others where this is not the case.

3.1 Segregation: controversy and ambivalence

Segregation exists as spatial segregation and as social segregation. Both segregation forms can be further differentiated into three relevant basic dimensions: demographic segregation, social (class) segregation and ethnic segregation. These three dimensions exist in parallel and it is difficult to describe or analyse them independently from each other. There is a certain amount of overlap between 'ethnic' and 'social' segregation since migrant or ethnic minority groups are usually not homogeneous communities in social or economic terms. In reality, these dimensions are often closely related:

- spatial segregation means limited access to goods and services. The spatial distance to the infrastructure of the receiving society is usually seen as a disadvantage, but segregated communities often provide compensation in establishing alternative internal structures;
- Limited access to goods, services and institutions also deepens social segregation. A result is a lack of communication and (intercultural) exchange with the receiving society.

What is the core of the segregation challenge? Relating segregation to the key dimensions of integration processes – structural, cultural, social and identificatory integration – the following effects of segregation upon integration can be expected:

- segregation negatively affects cultural and social integration, particularly language competence and the formation of social networks into the majority society;
- through its negative effects on the formation of cultural and social capital, segregation hinders structural integration; segregation is also an invitation to fall into the "ethnic mobility trap", i.e. to seek a (limited) 'career' within the ethnic colony only;
- additionally, segregation negatively affects identificatory integration (particularly with the immigration country, less so with the city).

Social, ethnic and residential segregation are controversial topics of municipal integration policies. The central question is: "Does segregation constrain, or, on the contrary, facilitate the integration of urban immigrant populations?" Research proves that segregation is an ambivalent phenomenon that generally produces negative as well as positive effects.

CLIP member cities take different stances regarding the best approaches for dealing with segregation though most municipalities feel that living in neighbourhoods with a high proportion of migrant population leads quasi automatically to less integration and further reduces the life chances for migrants in the host society in general. However, the results of the effects of residential segregation strongly depend on specific local structures, regulations and institutions such as welfare systems, and particularly, the housing market and their historical context of development.

There are many differences between CLIP cities regarding segregation patterns, areas of ethnic concentration, the composition of immigrant groups and segregation-related municipal policy measures. In most cases, there is no discussion of the contribution of the autochthonous population to segregation processes (i.e. middle class families leaving neighbourhoods with a growing migrant population) or effects of demographic developments (i.e. elderly tenants in a neighbourhood with old housing stock being replaced by migrant families).

Can local authorities prevent segregation, and if so, to what extent? The scientific positions are quite different in this respect. The cities' room of manoeuvre is quite different from one country to the other and also varies between cities in the same country.

It should be noted that only ethnic segregation in poorer neighbourhoods is usually perceived as policy challenge, middle and upper middle class ethnic segregation is usually seen as unproblematic.

3.2 Access

Access to housing and particularly to decent and affordable housing is in general more difficult for vulnerable groups on the urban housing market. Many migrants in the CLIP cities belong to these vulnerable groups.

Apart from the issues of housing supply and affordability, discussed in the next section, the weak position of migrants on the housing market is constituted primarily by problems of market transparency (access to information) and problems of discrimination and exclusion.

Information for migrants about the local housing market is an aspect of the access challenge. Tackling this challenge requires low-threshold counselling offers with language knowledge for effectively reaching the migrant population.

Discrimination is illegal unequal treatment, in opposition to legitimate unequal treatment, for instance on the basis of certain qualifications. Unequal treatment and opportunities on the housing market on the basis of certain social class characteristics in capitalistic market societies is usually not regarded as illegal. Discrimination of migrants thus refers to unequal illegal treatment on the basis of ethnic prejudice. Ethnic discrimination and discrimination of migrants on the housing market is widespread, but difficult to measure and to prove.

Exclusion can be direct or indirect: On the private rental market, tenants with migratory background often get excluded since the landlords fear a decrease of the building's or neighbourhood's real estate value due to a growing percentage of residents with a migratory background, or default in rent payments and the sudden moving out of migrant tenants. However, indirect exclusion is reported from housing associations such as the Vienna Gemeindebau where housing rights may be inherited, resulting in a closed shop tendency for newcomers. A similar effect may result from waiting lists for housing associations which have very long waiting periods (Copenhagen,) or are using the duration of residence in the city as critical criterion (Luxembourg), both excluding newcomers from these housing market sectors. Such regulations may even be imposed by the regional level, contradicting the integrative policy of the city (Brescia). In this case, the restrictive regulations can be only bypassed by applying other relevant criteria (i.e. family size), which in practice may even render easier access for migrant families due to the typically larger family size compared to autochthonous families.

There has been no monitoring system for such exclusions on the private housing market reported, so the relevance and extent of this problem is largely unknown.

3.3 Affordability and supply

A reasonable price of housing in different market segments depends to a significant degree on the overall supply-demand function on the local housing market. For migrant integration, supply is not only relevant as an overall aggregated figure, but as supply in particular segments of the market: supply of affordable rented housing, supply of social housing and supply of affordable privately owned housing. There is a large variation in the importance of these segments between cities.

The challenge for cities is to ensure a sufficient supply of affordable housing. Affordability can be measured by the share of the rent or mortgage payment in the households' expenses. As a rule of thumb, this part should not exceed one third of the total household expenses.

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

3.4 Quality

The physical condition or quality of housing refers to the size of a house (per person), the physical quality of the building stock, the technical standard of installations and the quality of the housing environment (lack of green, noise, air pollution). Overcrowding, often found in immigrant housing, is an important aspect of the quality challenge. Research evidence and CLIP city reports show that migrants and particularly new migrants are often placed in housing stock of the lowest quality. Lack of affordability, discrimination and strategies of speculators on the housing market are responsible for such situations.

A major social policy challenge for projects destined to improve the quality of housing is not to drive out the vulnerable groups once the houses have been renovated (gentrification).

Bad physical conditions may also result from the 'sins of the past': severe crises on the housing market after World War II and trends in architecture and city planning in many countries led to the construction of huge, homogenous "housing machines" and settlements for the lower and lower-middle income classes. The challenge is to reconstruct these settlements which are characterised by a concentration of social housing, unemployment, poverty, social problems and a large share of immigrant inhabitants.

3.5 Other challenges

In most cases policies for physical improvement of housing are accompanied by measures for the social environment supporting a sustainable restructuring of the neighbourhood.

The quality of the social environment in a housing area is strongly related to the quality of community relations on the local level. In many cities, specific groups of migrants or minorities form communities and represent their interests collectively. The relations between the ethnic communities and with the majority society are an important factor of the urban social "climate" and of social cohesion.

Personal security is another relevant aspect of the quality of the social environment. The presence of migrants in communities raises three important issues as regards personal security. First and foremost, migrants are often suspected of being prone to negative behaviour such as violence and crime. The available evidence, however, suggests that migrants bring no special criminal propensities but no special law abiding principles either. Second, many migrant communities fear violence against them, including hate crimes. Last but not least, the relationship between migrants and police can often be tenuous. Anxieties may lead to poor communication between police and migrants which need to be tackled by the cities.

The quality of housing also depends on the quality of relations with neighbours. Conflicts with immigrant neighbours may become ethnicised and loaded with emotional conflict potential. The challenge thus consists in avoiding the ethnicisation and intensification of normal neighbourhood conflicts over noise, rubbish or parking. Evidence that cities perceive this human relations challenge is found in the training and institutionalization of mediators for housing areas with sizable migrant inhabitants.

Finally, a relevant challenge for many cities is governance, the type and quality of administration of urban affairs and the quality of political leadership. An important governance challenge is information and planning. Cities with very recent immigration tend to lack basic information on migration and the situation of their migrants. They do not have information necessary for any kind of integration and especially housing policies: How many migrants are there? Where are they from? Where do they live? How do they live? Have they brought their families? Sucha a lack of essential data on the immigration situation which should be the basis for any policy intervention is an information-planning challenge,.

The organisational structure of the municipal administration provides a further governance challeng: integration can be considered a cross-cutting task involving many departments of including those dealing with housing issues. Traditionally, there is often limited horizontal cooperation among departments within a city administration, and the coordination of integration measures across several departments may constitute a challenge in itself.

4. Different approaches across Europe's cities

A detailed overview of the results of the first CLIP module on housing and segregation is available as a publication and can be found on the following website:
http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/publications/htmlfiles/ef0794.htm

In addition, for interested readers, more in-depth information can be found in the 20 case studies of the first module which will be published in full text featuring a structured index for data base retrieval by the European Urban Knowledge Network (EUKN) in The Hague in Spring 2008 (http://www.eukn.org/).

The aim of these different publications is to make accessible the results from the first module of the CLIP project are made accessible. This report and the overview report provide for a structured discussion of the projects results as well as for an index for more in-depth information for interested readers which can be found in the complete case studies of the module.

Readers who are interested in more information on the conceptual background of the module's research on housing and segregation can refer to the module concept paper published by the Austrian Academy of Sciences (Bosswick W., Fassmann H., Kohlbacher J. u. D. Lüken-Klassen: Housing and Residential Segregation of Migrants. A State-of-the-Art Report. ISR-Forschungberichte 34. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2007. ISBN 3-7001-6042-7).

5. Conclusion

Decent and affordable housing is a high priority for people in European societies. Research results prove that together with a good job and satisfactory family life, living in adequate accommodation is seen as the most necessary prerequisite for a good quality of life. This general observation holds true for residents with a migratory or minority background.

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

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

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

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

Still more specificity may arise out of the dynamics after primary access to housing: when the residential concentration of certain groups of immigrants coincides with social segregation or with already existing general tendencies of decline in certain sectors of the housing market or in certain areas.

A general conclusion is therefore that any policy based on the principle of 'one size fits all' is bound to fail. Tailor-made solutions, based on a clear diagnosis of the local situation and taking these specifics into account, is what is needed. It is primarily the cities and local communities which face the task of developing these tailor-made solutions.

5.1 Concluding remarks on segregation

The CLIP case studies show that local segregation levels are estimated or described very differently. This is, one the one hand, due to different de facto situations in the cities, and, on the other, to different segregation indices used – an 'ideal quota' or 'ideal mix' can neither scientifically nor empirically be justified.

The negative connotation of the term 'segregation' is a problem in itself. Municipalities usually prefer to talk about 'integration' rather than segregation. Thus, in contrast to the actual spatial situation, the term 'segregation' is often not found in official documents or statements. However, talking frankly about socio-spatial or ethnic concentration in affected urban areas is the first step for encountering segregation tendencies. Other conclusions that can be drawn:

- Only rarely is the fight against segregation tendencies a preventive one. Monitoring systems which would allow such preventive measures seem to be lacking in most CLIP cities. The municipalities have to deal with already existing segregation problems. This may be the result of a generally delayed awareness of segregation (and migration) as a challenge for urban development;
- In some cities (Zagreb, Prague, Dublin, Sefton), ethnic and socio-economic segregation seems to be still at a low level and is not classified as an urgent immigration and integration-related problem by the municipalities. These cities can learn from the great variety of either successful or failed anti-segregation measures. It is recommended that these cities monitor clustering of relevant groups in the city and consider implementing adequate preventative measures already at an early stage of segregation processes;
- Since socio-economic and ethnic segregation are often closely related but not the same, anti-segregation strategies should always include measures targeting *all* socially disadvantaged people, combined with measures responding to the specific situation and cultural needs of migrants;
- Anti-segregation strategies should combine different (implicit and explicit) measures on different scales. Combining infrastructural and social measures like soft urban renewal programmes is the most promising way to fight against segregation;
- Voluntary segregation of some ethnic groups will always occur – and can, to a certain degree, be the basis for a vivid ethnic and social mix in urban quarters;
- The focus of local anti-segregation policy is often too much on the prevention of inward mobility of migrants into segregated areas and neglects policies preventing or reducing the outward mobility of middle class autochthonous families;
- Local anti-segregation policies should also consider the higher birth rates of migrants and their long-term effect on a self-perpetuation segregation process.

5.2 Concluding remarks on access to housing

Although there are ad hoc measures in some cities dealing with ensuring equal access of migrants to decent and affordable housing, the lack of monitoring systems of the situation of migrants on the housing market is striking. There seems to be little knowledge about the extent of discrimination and exclusion on the rented housing market.

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

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

Implementation of the Race Directive of the European Union through anti-discrimination legislation in its member states may bring about certain changes in coming years combined with effective complaints and enforcements procedures on the local level. However, the prevention of exclusion on the private rental market is difficult to implement.

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

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

5.3 Concluding remarks on affordability and supply of housing

In some European cities, publicly or privately owned rented accommodation dominates the housing market, and rent levels are controlled or subsidised either on the supply side or by rent allowances to the tenants. Elsewhere, the housing markets are dominated by owner occupied housing or by related modes such as cooperative housing where the inhabitant owns a share of the cooperative. The latter structures leave migrant families, who want to stay for a longer period of time, often no other choice than to buy a house in order to find appropriate accommodation. Since migrants are often in a socio-economically disadvantaged situation compared to the autochthonous population and face discrimination more frequently, they tend to have more difficulties in affording home ownership. In some cities, the provision of municipal land at a subsidised price to low income families who build houses on the ground, or subsidies for the purchase of old dwellings then renovated by the owners are a measure which are used also by migrants. Home ownership for migrants can be considered as an important promoter of the integration processes and should not be neglected by municipal policies.

In the social housing and non-profit sector, especially with cooperatives, the access to affordable housing for migrants is a critical aspect (waiting lists) as discussed in the section above. A few cities, such as Brescia, actively try to counteract exclusion or discrimination patterns resulting from regulations for access to affordable housing.

5.4 Concluding remarks on the quality of housing

Most of the cities in this study apply some form of urban renewal. There are a number of factors, which determine in what manner this process is executed. The following factors vary considerably between cities/countries and influence the implementation:

-       The state of the housing stock and earlier attempts to renovate or improve areas. Several cities, such as Budapest, have only recently started with the urban renewal of the oldest parts of town.. In the cities of the former Eastern Block there has been a period in which little maintenance took place, because of the sale from state property to private property to owners who cannot afford maintenance. Also some Mediterranean cities such as Izmir are in an early stage. These cities are starting with the planning process, often with limited means. On the other hand, in cities that have been improving their neighbourhoods and housing stock for the last thirty years, the quality of the buildings is less of a problem and urban renewal is in another phase;
-       The structure and concentration of the local housing market within a city. In some of the CLIP cities the scale of urban renewal areas is large, for instance in Amsterdam, where a complete city district is restructured and 12,500 apartments are renovated or demolished. These kinds of measures are only possible when there is a limited number of home owners and these owners work in close corporation with the municipality, like for instance housing associations. In cities with mixed neighbourhoods in terms of ownership – some private homeowners, some real estate owners and some social housing companies – the scale of projects is necessarily smaller. Under these circumstances the urban renewal plans for a neighbourhood have to be implemented on a piece by piece basis, sometimes owners have to be bought out or stimulated with financial means. This can mean that some parts remain in bad shape much longer. Obviously the realisation of such plans takes much more time;
-       National support for urban renewal or the lack of it is also another important factor. In the United Kingdom, where a constant number of neighbourhoods or city areas are targeted for housing market renewal by the national government, it is easier for the municipal authorities to operate. In countries

like Spain the finances are more limited and the city depends on public private partnerships. Large-scale urban renewal is consequently nearly impossible;

- The areas actually chosen for urban renewal within the city are often not only physically the most run down areas, but also the ones with a concentration of vulnerable groups of inhabitants in terms of work, income and education. The image of the neighbourhood and attitudes and worries of citizens and government about neighbourhoods that seem to deteriorate determine which areas are chosen. This may happen because of an increased crime rate but also when the percentage of immigrants is rising above a certain critical percentage. Though urban renewal often does not target migrants in particular, it does take place in areas, where migrants are over-represented.

5.5 Concluding remarks on integrated approaches and other aspects

Within the various types of measures for improving the social environment of housing areas, those aiming at improving community relations, in particular aimed at migrants and minority groups, seem to have the broadest potential effects for the city as whole.

In the field of human relations and mediation, many CLIP cities supported housing-related mediation programmes, either organized by a municipal institution, or implemented by specific services of housing associations. An important aspect of those programmes which seems to be successful is the involvement of migrants and, highly relevant, an adequate training, supervision and institutional support for these mediators. Such programmes usually have to be built up over a considerable period of time in order to be effective and sustainable. In its ideal form, the city would develop a pool of trained and experienced mediators like the AmkA in Frankfurt.

Cities should also consider that migrants have own resources which could be mobilised by empowerment initiatives. These measures may form an important counterbalance to tendencies of seeing migrants and minorities primarily as recipients of welfare and services.

With regard to governance aspects, in many CLIP cities, statistical and administrative departments are not yet considering migration and integration data as relevant for targeted planning and governance. Although the demand seems to be clearly realized in most cities, the development of feasible and valid indicators for these areas is a difficult task which requires considerable effort and expertise. A good approach would be to involve external experts on these issues to cooperate with the statistical specialists of the municipal administration at an early stage. Another possibility for tackling housing-related problems on which the municipality has only limited influence is improving the co-operation with other agencies at the local level (i.e. fire, health or gas authorities) in sharing information and in joint action.

The choice of administrative structures for the governance of local integration affairs must take into account the local political power structure, administrative traditions as well as regional and national financial or legal frameworks. Thus, the further development of governance in local integration policies cannot follow one–size-fits-all recommendations, but has to be carefully designed considering these specific factors. For the area of housing in particular, local governance has to involve various actors outside the municipal administration in its projects and measures to be able to generate effective results.

One relevant aspect of governance has been striking in the analysis of the CLIP cities: the frequent lack of monitoring and evaluation provisions. In only a few cases has systematic information been available regarding the efficiency and outcome of concrete measures. Very few measures have been evaluated at all, and monitoring provisions for integration processes are usually also not present. For most measures it has been difficult to get data on their actual significance in terms of numbers and effects on the targeted group, not to mention data about cost-benefit relations. Such information could play an important role for the choice of measures for local policies, avoid the risk of mere symbolic policies in this field, and contribute to the necessary political support for long-term engagement in this area which becomes increasingly critical to the social cohesion and economic development of Europe's cities.

6. Recommendations

6.1 Recommendations for local policymakers

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

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

The housing situation of migrants differs from those of the autochthonous population: on average, migrants and ethnic minorities belong to the more vulnerable groups on the housing market. Of course, not all migrants do belong to these vulnerable groups nor do all suffer from poor housing conditions. Thus, municipal housing policies should deal with the *specific* situation of migrants. This should neither be done solely within the scope of general housing policies nor organised as a policy that is only directed towards migrants. Given the complex interrelation of housing issues, the integration of migrants and other municipal policy areas, an integrated, cross-departmental approach is strongly recommended. This regular interdisciplinary collaboration within the municipal administration should be accompanied by cooperation and partnerships with local NGOs and welfare organisations, churches, local chambers of commerce, local unions, landlords' and tenants' associations.. The integrated approach should be reflected in the organisational structure of the city administration and be supported by provisions for a structured and efficient cooperation among the multiple actors involved:

- Regular internal working groups between relevant departments of the local administration such as housing, urban planning, social affairs and welfare, health, youth, integration and diversity matters, education, and law enforcement institutions;
- Regular round tables and meetings with external experts and representatives of civil society with housing and migrants' integration issues;
- Central coordination of integration policy of migrants within the local administration with respective competences (information by all departments, participation in programme and decision preparations);
Development of a long term local integration policy with a strong emphasis on an integrated and holistic approach to housing matters.

Measures for structural integration and regular cooperation are expensive, but long-term such investments avoid the substantial costs caused by integration problems.

Sufficient information and intelligence as a challenge for local policy

In order to plan and implement reasonable local integration policies in general and in relation to housing and segregation in particular, local policy makers and administrators need reliable, comprehensive and up-to-date information. As a rule of thumb the scope and depth of local statistics should go beyond national statistics. Of particular interest is general information on migrants living in the city such as number of migrants, age structure of migrant population and typical household sizes, migrants' national and ethnic background as well as legal status. A city should not only deal with 'foreigners', but consider also persons with a 'migration background' as second and third generation migrants.

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

- to develop indicators to evaluate migrants' housing situation (like square meter per person, quality of building) and systematically monitor it;
- to establish indicators to evaluate migrants' access to housing (like waiting period for social housing of migrants versus those of autochthonous groups) and systematically monitor it;

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

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

Social housing under public influence: a prime mean for local policymakers

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

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

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

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

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

- defining requirements and regulations for getting access to social housing (such as maximum family income, waiting period, children or elderly family members in need of care in the household), establishing a ranking list and emergency provisions enabling to jump the queue in case of urgency. It has to be considered that access criteria like waiting lists and years of residence may discriminate indirectly against certain groups of migrants;
- facilitating access for migrants based on the provision of up-to-date and relevant information on available social housing, if necessary in foreign languages;
- supporting mixed neighbourhoods by defining explicit or implicit quota for migrants to social housing in general or in certain locations and open up access to social housing for middle class income earners or sale single units in social housing areas;
- checking quotas for legality and efficiency.

NB: opening up access to social housing for middle income earners may contradict one of the basic rationales of the provision of affordable social housing, since in general, social housing is seen as a part of social policy intervention to provide a rent subsidy to low income earners.

Housing cooperatives: a help for migrants

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

- providing municipal ground to housing associations in exchange for controlled rents and a certain quota of apartments the city may assign to tenants of their choice;
- co-ordinating the provision of housing for migrants among housing associations by establishing a round table;
- critically assessing and if possible abolishing formal regulations or informal practices discriminating migrants in place among the housing associations (i.e. waiting lists requiring a long period of residence or providing for inheriting residence rights).

Better information for migrants and discrimination monitoring

Poor command of the receiving country's language, lack of knowledge on housing-related rights and responsibilities as well as discrimination and exploitation on the housing market, mean that migrants' have more difficulties finding appropriate housing. This is particularly important for newly arriving migrants. Cities may therefore consider supporting access to the housing market via better information and discrimination monitoring by:

- supporting low-threshold 'one-stop' citizens advice centres where migrants get counselling concerning different segments of the local housing market in general, help in intercultural conflicts as well as information on financial and legal issues like rent payment, rent index, extortion, rent-related debts, legal period of notice and other obligations and rights;
- providing of information documents in different languages, linked to volunteer mentors or migrant associations of the same language group;
- establishing a low-threshold office collecting complaints (ombudsman) and systematicallty monitoring discrimination of migrants on the housing market.

Privately rented housing: measures against overcrowding

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

- national governments need to review the powers and resources that local authorities have to deal with this issue (eg a licensing system for private landlords with properties in multiple occupation which is sufficiently resourced so that landlords cannot operate without a license and local authorities inspect conditions before renewing it);
- local authorities consider working in partnership with other agencies that have powers of entry into such properties so that they share information on properties where conditions are unacceptable and take joint action to address it.

Privately rented housing: ideas for public-private partnership

Beyond traditional approaches such as social housing or rent subsidies for low income earners, local authorities often find intelligent ways of combining the flexibility and adaptability of the private housing market with social requirements of migrants. Instead of acting against market dynamics, market opportunities should be used. For doing so, cities may consider innovative public-private partnerships in order to improve access and affordability for migrants to privately rented housing. The city can:

- act as contractor by renting private property below market price and subletting these low-priced flats to migrants. Private owners accept this lower rent in exchange for a rent guarantee over several years and a guarantee to preserve the quality of the accommodation;
- provide municipal ground at below market price to private builders or developers, who in turn have to offer a share of the apartments at reduced rents to target groups like families with children;
- act as mediator for contracts between tenants with migration background and (autochthonous) owners and provide guarantees to the owner for such things as repair of potential damages caused by the tenant;

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

Affordable home ownership for migrants

While publicly-owned or privately-owned rented accommodation dominates the housing market in some European cities, housing markets of others are dominated by owner-occupied housing. This structure leaves migrant families, who want to stay for a longer period of time, often no other choice than to buy a house in order to find appropriate accommodation. In both cases, migrants are more often in a socio-economically disadvantaged situation than the autochthonous population and have more difficulties affording home ownership.
However, home ownership often improves the housing conditions of respective families and can be seen as a major step of integration into the receiving society – it should therefore actively be promoted. The following measures can be taken by local authorities to support home ownership of migrants:

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

Soft urban renewal: an alternative

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

- Re-conversion and up-grading instead of demolition of housing stock, combined with the construction or modernisation of public spaces as venues of interaction;
- Involvement of residents in planning and implementation of renewal measures, e.g. by information places and 'planning pubs' for information display and public discussion, by support for residents' organisations and the transfer of certain competences to them, small-scale renewal in old housing stock using resources of residents;
- Allocation of public institutions and services like libraries, municipal offices and university buildings into these neighbourhoods;
- Improving employment and economic opportunities for low income/ unemployed citizens, including the promotion of local ethnic entrepreneurship;
- Increasing the attractiveness of renewed neighbourhoods for middle class families.

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

Anti-segregation policy: ways to achieve more balanced neighbourhoods

All CLIP cities assume that high degrees of concentration of migrants, and in particular of one ethnic group of migrants, should be avoided, as they endanger an effective integration of migrants. However, cities are also aware of the fact that some extent of concentration in smaller spatial units cannot be avoided. In general, a mix of different types of housing and different ethnic groups with the native

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population seems to be advisable. Also a balanced socio-economic and demographic composition of the population is regarded as an important aspect of anti-segregation policy. Local policy should consider that a higher birth rate of migrants is one of the major factors of an increasing concentration of migrants, when at the same time middle class families with small children leave the area. The following measures are recommended to prevent or reduce segregation:

- Spreading of social housing around the city to avoid spatial concentration of low income earners in general and migrants in particular;
- Building of smaller social housing units;
- Where social housing units are already built in a concentrated way, single units should be sold and access to social housing be opened for middle class income earners;
- Use of formal or informal quotas to avoid a high concentration of migrants seems to be problematic or even unlawful in certain countries. As a matter of fact, quota have to be checked carefully in respect of their fairness, effectiveness and lawfulness regarding the EU Directive against racial discrimination. Local authorities may consider that voluntary measures may sometimes prove more effective than involuntary measures like quota;
- Local policy often puts too much emphasis on measures to control the inflow of migrants into certain areas instead of influencing positively the retention of middle class native population in areas with higher concentration of migrants;
- Allocation of public institutions and services (e.g. child care, schools, sports facilities) into segregated areas will enhance the integration of this area into the city as a whole and hence reduce segregation patterns;
- Urban renewal programmes and other incentives for (native) middle class people to move into (or to remain in) areas with a high concentration of low income or migrant groups can help to get socio-economically mixed neighbourhoods (instead of only controlling the inflow of migrants);
- Improve the neighbourhood image in the media and the general public using an effective communication strategy and organising cultural or sports events.

Small ethnic colonies on the neighbourhood level: support for integration

In general, the promotion of socio-economically and ethnically balanced neighbourhoods is recommended. However, the CLIP network is also aware that some extent of concentration of distinctive (ethnic) groups cannot be avoided – and does not have to be. Ethnic networks on a neighbourhood basis may have a positive function for the well-being of the migrant residents and for their integration process: Especially for newly arriving migrants that are unfamiliar with the local conditions, local ethnic networks or 'ethnic colonies' can provide social support and act as a bridge into the receiving society. To promote such ethnic colonies without promoting large-scale segregation, a city should:

- support migrant organisations on a neighbourhood level and stay in ongoing contact with them;
- consider, if small migrant neighbourhoods may provide cost-effective opportunities for the first phase of the integration process of newcomer migrants;
- integrate such neighbourhoods as far as possible into the city as a whole by provision of infrastructure, services and by a positive discourse in the media as a colourful and culturally active part of the city;
- monitor intra-city mobility of migrant and autochthonous groups carefully to avoid unwanted levels of concentration of migrants.

Community relations, participation and empowerment

Good community relations (inter-group relations) are an important factor for the quality of housing both for migrants and autochthonous residents in an area. The participation and involvement of local residents into activities and projects may contribute strongly to good community relations. A critical factor is the mobilisation of local residents. Strategies for empowerment aim at overcoming the passivity and frustration of native citizens and migrants by sharing responsibility. The following measures may be considered:

- Effective and early participation in the planning process of measures and projects;
- Transfer of certain competences to groups of citizens;
- Establishment of neighbourhood action groups;
- Good support for local associations and their activities;
- Support for involvement of migrants into owners associations;

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

6.2 Recommendations for Council of Europe member states

Integration policies that offer perspectives

A local policy for integrating immigrants into the housing market must be integrated into a general policy of migration and integration. This national policy ought to clearly define the conditions for residence and, at an early stage, offer a perspective for residence to those immigrants entitled to stay on a long-term basis. Member states are called upon to:

- continue processes such as the Tampere Process that offers long-standing 3rd country nationals legal and social perspectives and to consistently implement such processes in the member states;
- offer perspectives for residence to long-standing non-European country nationals whose return to their home country is no longer likely or possible (for example, in the case of tolerated asylum seekers).

Strengthening municipal scopes of action

Measures to encourage integration that are related to the housing market need financially empowered cities and communities. Integration cannot be achieved for free since the integration of the migrant population into the housing market requires investment from public sources in one form or another. National housing programmes should provide cities more latitude to act in ways they deem appropriate to their local circumstances.

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

- to create or strengthen a system of inter-regional (municipal) financial redistribution;
- in the case of financial redistribution, specific socio-political tasks of the cities, especially with regard to contributing to the integration of immigrants, are to be honoured;
- to support applications of municipalities for financing housing-related projects within the framework of the Structural Funds or the European Integration Fund.

Establishing framework conditions for a long-term provision of housing

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

- create legal framework conditions that allow cities and communities to take on an active role in the housing market (for example, as building contractors, landlords or owners of property);
- establish legal framework conditions that allow cities and communities to introduce forms of rent control;
- foster research on examples of good practice within the field of social housing and establish national guidelines for social housing in the communities;
- organise conditions for access to publicly-supported and organised housing in such a way that the prerequisites do not (indirectly) discriminate against migrants.

Supporting affordability

Measures to encourage integration related to the housing market should be based on a balanced mixture of offering subsidies for buildings and providing subsidies directly to people that result in reducing housing costs for needy groups in the population or in specific parts of a city and thus increase affordability.

A system of offering subsidies must in principle be aimed at both low income autochthonous and migrant groups. It would be counterproductive for the integrative aims of a comprehensive housing policy if the system were directed solely at immigrants and it would also not promote general acceptance. National and local governments should ensure that measures are formulated and agreed upon neutrally with respect to migration status and:

- create legal provisions for offering subsidies for buildings and subsidies going directly to households; ensuring the appropriate social group is reached by placing a low income limit;
- use repayable funding (low-interest loans) within the framework of a closed circle of financing to buy new property or to renovate existing accommodation.;
- link the provision of subsidies for buildings to social, ecological and planning aims. Objects particularly worthy of support could be low or zero emission houses, accommodation that is made available in a neglected or strongly segregated district, or inter-ethnic housing projects that encourage different migrant groups to live together.

Stopping urban and local processes of devaluation

The concentration of immigrant population groups has a self-perpetuating effect of devaluation on housing; an influx of migrants is accompanied by an exodus of the autochthonous middle classes. This leads to a loss in spending power, to low investment in the physical structure of the city and thus to more devaluation. To stop this devaluation member states are called upon to:

- monitor systematically the socio-economic development in regions, cities and districts in order to be able to implement countermeasures such as urban renewal in time;
- use public funding to initiate processes and encourage private investors to become involved (by means of grants and increasing the attractiveness of the location);
- accompany urban renewal and gentrification processes by state funding in such a way that they do not lead to a cyclical 'overshooting' as this would lead to the local population being displaced and an increase in segregation.

Providing support for research and model projects

An increase is necessary in systematic and comparative research on the relative efficiency and effectiveness of policies and programmes relating to housing policy and their effects on integration processes. National research programmes should devote increased attention to these questions, establish appropriate programmes and instigate model projects to investigate how local integration policies can be implemented. European states are therefore called upon to:

- support systematic and comparative research on housing policy and its effects on integration processes. National institutions should make study and research results accessible to local policymakers and ensure the proper consideration of data and indicators relevant to migration and integration in statistics and reports from national institutions;
- support the development of local indicator systems to measure the status quo of integration and the effectiveness and efficiency of local policies and programmes on housing conditions and segregation of migrants;
- introduce national renewal programmes (such as the "Soziale Stadt" in Germany, or "Politique de la Ville" in France) that carry ideas and assist local governments in implementing innovative measures;
- provide national support for existing city networks that instigate systematically, scientifically controlled learning processes and exchange examples of best practice.

Improving 'good practice' in local governance

National policy frameworks and legislation in the field of housing may stimulate and enable local policymakers to take action, but may also sometimes inhibit and delimit such local action. Member states are invited to improve the stakeholder participation and efficiency of local governance structures by ensuring that national policy:

- promotes the intercultural opening and diversity policies of national and local institutions;
- fosters cooperation and partnerships with local NGOs and welfare organisations, churches, local chamber of commerce, local unions, landlords' and tents' associations, especially in the area of housing, education, and labour market access;
- avoids complex bureaucracy and allows for flexible customisation to local needs;
- promotes preventive measures with regard to segregation of migrants, including support for the development of early warning systems of social and spatial indicators;
- encourages and supports the evaluation of integration measures in general, and the effects of local housing policies on the integration of migrants and minorities specifically;
- provides support and criteria for an effective monitoring of discrimination in the local housing markets and the implementation of anti-discrimination measures.

6.3 Recommendations to policymakers at the European level

The Council of Europe has been contributing to the discourse on housing policies in Europe – and will continue to do so. Although the European Union has no formal competence in housing under the EU treaty, its competence for policies related to the free movement of persons and prevention of discrimination should be taken up in the area of housing. Specific recommendations to policymakers at the European level include:

Support networking among cities and dialogue with European policy makers

The Council of Europe and the European Union should support the networking of cities at the European level and include municipal administrations as stakeholders in the further development of European policies relevant for housing and the integration of migrants.

In this respect it is recommended:

- That the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities continue its dialogue with European cities on social inclusion and the role of good practice of integrating migrants into the local housing market;
- that the European Union continue activities such as the creation of a Social Platform for Cities and Social Cohesion by DG Research and develop further the cooperation of DG Freedom, Security and Justice with Eurocities organising an annual conference on local experience on integration of migrants (Integrating cities process);
- that both bodies support, with the financial or political resources at their disposal, existing city networks initiated by agencies of the European Union such as the City Network against Racism of the Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA) or the Council of Europe and the European Foundation, such as the CLIP network;
- that the Committee of the Regions's Economic and Social Committee (ECOSOC) continue its activities on integration of migrants and housing . A recent example is the opinion of ECOSOC on Immigration in the EU and integration policies: cooperation between regional and local governments and civil society organisations.

Initiate and finance relevant research programmes

Another important area of activities for European organisations is to initiate relevant research programmes on integration of migrants and housing. Here it is suggested:

- to continue research programmes with DG Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities in area of social exclusion and poverty with the objective to enhance social cohesion. A good example in this respect is the recent research report on housing conditions of migrants;
- to initiate new research programmes on housing and migrants within the remit of activities of European Union agencies as FRA and the European Foundation.

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

European policymakers should consider cities as active stakeholders in primary policy for migrant integration and stimulate and facilitate them to develop and implement policies. It is recommended:

- to consider the use of the new Integration Fund for third country migrants and encourage cities to apply for funds;
- to include the integration of migrants in general and integration into the local housing market in particular into the National Action Plans (NAP) for social inclusion;
- to raise and promote the awareness of regional and local policymakers for the relevance of local housing policies for the integration of migrants into European societies.

Monitoring EU Directive against racial discrimination
The effectiveness of the implementation of the 2000 EU Directive against racial discrimination is under discussion in several member states. It is suggested that the European Commission monitor whether this Directive is being implemented effectively to protect migrants from discrimination on grounds of their race in access to housing. This may be an appropriate matter to be referred to the Fundamental Rights Agency by the Commission.