

Döner versus Curry Wurst – Segregation versus Integration



Comparing two neighbourhoods in Multi Cultural Berlin

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Master Thesis
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***Erinnerungen sind das Land, aus dem wir nicht vertrieben
werden können –***

Zuhal Kavacik

***It requires a very unusual mind to undertake the analysis of
the obvious –***

Alfred North Whitehead

***Die Berliner sind unfreundlich und rücksichtslos, ruppig und
rechthaberisch. Berlin ist abstoßend, laut, dreckig und
grau. Baustellen und verstopfte Straßen wo man geht
und steht – aber mir tun alle Menschen leid, die hier
nicht leben können! –***

Anneliese Bödecker



Nabi Abudaldah, June 2009

Preface

Often I have been asked: Why Berlin? I was sure I wanted to go abroad, I was sure I wanted to focus on integration, and my budget was limited. That is why. Now I can say I am incredibly happy I decided to go there. I have met many people, seen many things, done a lot, had great conversations and best of all: I have learned a lot. I have learned I can work independently, I have learned how to plan my own research, how to do in-depths interviews, how to analyze them and how to write a paper. But most of all, I hope I have learned to make fewer judgements about others and about things that are different. All the conversations and interviews I have had have not only improved my social and communicative skills, but they have also made me realize that the way I or we handle things, is not the only, or the correct way. I think this has widened my view.

To begin with, I would like to thank my colleagues at the department Migration, Integration and Transnationalization at WZB, especially Zuhai Kavacik, Evelyn Ersanilli, Sarah Carol, who were always very supportive and full of ideas and advice, and of course Prof. Dr. Ruud Koopmans, who made it possible for me to be there. But without my respondents and all the people I have had discussions with this paper would not be there.

Many thanks as well to my parents, who have always believed in me and supported me and to my brother who has read parts of my paper critically.

Last of all, I would like to thank Dr. Roos Pijpers for her guidance, and Dr. Dagevos from Sociaal Cultureel Planbureau, for agreeing to be my second reader.

Summary

In the first half of the year 2009 a study about the correlation between ethnic residential segregation and socio-cultural integration of persons with a Turkish background in Berlin has been conducted. I had been provided office space and support by the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung and I have used their database to conduct some descriptive statistical analyses. Next to that, I have held 20 interviews with both Germans and with persons with a Turkish background in two neighbourhoods. The first neighbourhood Oranienplatz is an area where the share of persons with a Turkish background is among the highest in Berlin. The share of persons with an immigration background is 65.2 percent in total and 84.9 percent among persons under 18 years of age. 32.1 Percent has a Turkish background, but naturalization rates are high. In contrast, in Bayerischer Platz the majority of the population is white and relatively wealthy. The share of foreigners here is 15.6 percent and only 3.1 percent has a Turkish passport.

Concepts related to socio-cultural integration I have paid special attention to are contact, language, trust, identification, attitudes and prejudices. Next to that I have discussed the meaning of integration, the opinion of segregation, neighbourhood experiences and discrimination. But before the database and the interviews were analyzed I have gathered literature about the causes of segregation, the recent and past situation in Berlin, the developments in integration over the last decades and the policies. To complete this literature study I have spoken to politicians and to an expert in the field.

More and more Turks have decided to obtain the German nationality during the last decade, which makes it crucial to talk about persons with a Turkish background instead of about Turkish nationals, because the latter does not cover naturalized immigrants or persons with parents who have once migrated but who now also have the German nationality. What seems to hold true in Berlin is that the smaller the share of Turkish nationals within a district, the higher the naturalization rates. This could be explained by the larger identification with the Germans when one is surrounded by many of them, but it could also be the case that all the persons with a Turkish background around you have already nationalized which makes it easy and more logical for you to follow them.

Ethnic residential segregation of Turks in Berlin has decreased during the last two decades. We can conclude that the main cause for segregation in Berlin lies in the past. Turkish immigrants were recruited by Western Berlin from the construction of the Berlin wall onwards, when the supply of workers from the Communist East stopped. Therefore they are mainly concentrated in the districts that were located on the Western side of the wall. Why such a large part lives in Kreuzberg has to do with urban renewal plans in this area. Houses were bought by the government and rented to these new guest workers who were supposed to soon leave again. The project failed and there was a lot of protest from the German population. Eventually the Turks were allowed to stay, and they now represent the largest population group in, for example, Oranienplatz. But not only urban planning was the cause; the fact that Turkish immigrants had hardly any chances on the labour market has also led to their overrepresentation. This nowadays continues to exist

since a concentrated neighbourhood is for the Turkish immigrants seen as full of helpful resources. But not only do they mainly find housing and jobs using their ethnic social networks and are thus likely to settle in neighbourhoods with many persons with the same background, they also prefer to live in an area like Kreuzberg where Turkish friends and family members live and where the supply of ethnic goods and services is large.

Germans who live in an area with high concentrations of persons with an immigration background are overall more positive about the situation in their neighbourhood and about the integration of Turks than Germans living in a more German neighbourhood. They do not see it as disadvantageous for their integration that there are so many persons of one out-group living together. The ones who live in a more white neighbourhood with only few immigrants, express a fear for ghettos and neighbourhoods where shares of one ethnic population group are too high (such as Kreuzberg), and feel this hinders their integration in an extreme way.

Two main theories dominate in the segregation – integration debate: the contact and the conflict theory. The former holds that when inter-group contact increases, one will understand the other better which will have a positive effect on the integration process. When an area is segregated, contact is thought to be hindered. To summarize shortly: according to this theory, neighbourhood diversity is thought to lead to less prejudices, a more positive attitude towards members of an out-group, to better language skills and to more trust (which is an indicator of increased social capital).

The conflict theory holds the opposite: the concentration of members of different groups will lead to increased conflicts, will make people draw back into their own community, will lead to more prejudices and less trust, among others because the competition for scarce resources is increased which makes people see out-group members as a threat. Emphasis is put on the ethnic neighbourhood as the basis for integration because it provides newcomers with a safety net, comfort and with social networks that help them finding a job, a house and help them finding out how the new society functions.

In the contact theory it is assumed inter-group contact will come about when neighbourhoods are mixed. I feel this is the most important question that should be asked when doing research on neighbourhood level. Is it indeed true that people have contact with their neighbours and others in their neighbourhood, and is this contact the kind of contact that is beneficial for integration or is it too superficial? My analyses have shown that it is true that chances of meeting persons with another background are smaller in Bayerischer Platz than in Oranienplatz, but this does not tell us much about the kind of contact that is established: in a neighbourhood with more Turks, there are not more deep inter-group contacts or friendships. It is important to realize that nowadays contacts of inhabitants in Berlin are not limited to the neighbourhood one lives in.

It has also become clear that neighbourhood diversity does not influence chances of having friends who belong to an out-group. The neighbourhood does not influence language levels either, but having German friends in its turn is strongly linked (positive relationship) to language. Both of these findings are in contrast with the contact hypothesis.

Higher shares of minorities in a neighbourhood lead to a stronger in-group identity of members of the minority group. This corresponds with the conflict theory. That

many Turkish descendents do not feel German is probably related to the fact that they do not feel recognized by the German society as one of them. It bothers them a lot that even when they are born in Germany, they are still referred to as immigrants. The Turkish population feels stigmatized and feels the German population should be more open towards them. Multicultural policies are thought to have done more harm than good.

A more diverse neighbourhood changes the image the German inhabitants have about persons with a Turkish background positively, but the neighbourhood composition does not seem to influence the feelings of Turks towards Germans. This is thus again partly in contrast with the contact hypothesis in which it is claimed that having neighbours from an out-group would lead to more contact which will lead to more positive attitudes about the other.)

Both the Germans and the Turks feel language is hyper important for integration. There is no clear relationship between neighbourhood and language level, but language levels of immigrants are better when they have close contact (friendships) with the native population. There is also a clear mediating role for language in the relationship between neighbourhood composition and contact: contact between neighbours is not likely to come about when their knowledge of a common language is not sufficient.

It has also become clear that the concept trust is extremely difficult to work with: it is immeasurable, sensitive and prone to socially desirable answers. There is no clear definition of trust, which makes it difficult to use in questionnaires, and the sensitiveness makes it difficult to use it in qualitative research. Researchers will have to become more aware of this fact in future studies. Neither neighbourhood composition nor having close contact with members of an out-group has influence on general trust or interethnic trust. Relationships between trust and other variables are not clear.

We can conclude that there is no strong proof that the conflict theory holds true, but it is proven that the contact hypothesis does not hold true. Neighbourhoods do not play a large role in the integration process of persons with a Turkish background in Berlin. Of much more importance is contact.

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DEFINITIONS

Persons with immigration background:

1. Foreigners, i.e. persons without German nationality
2. Repatriates (since 1950)
3. Naturalised Germans
4. Children, whose both parents fit into group 1 and 3, and when at least one of both parents has immigrated themselves.

Self-segregation: Residents of a group choose to live with others of the same group

Ethnic segregation: The separation of different ethnic groups in daily life. What I focus on in this research is the spatial aspect of this segregation: ethnic groups moving to the same neighbourhoods as where others of this ethnic group live. One can also say segregation is the geographic clustering of people from one population group

Socio economic integration:

- education level
- participation in the labour market

Socio cultural integration:

- language skills
- contact between ethnic minorities and German population
- attitudes, prejudices, norms and values
- Social capital /trust

Mietkasernen: Rental barracks constructed to deal with a large influx of people

Parallelgesellschaft: Parallel society

Weimar republic: the German Empire from 1919 to 1933. The Constitution was signed in the city Weimar in 1919

LOR: Lebensweltlich orientierte Räume, life world oriented space. A new term used by the Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung

Wende: "Turning point": the start of the reunification process in which East and West Germany formed one country again, at the end of 1989

Bezirk: District (Kreuzberg and Schöneberg are for example two districts in Berlin)

Citizenship: the set of rights, duties, and identities linking citizens to the nation state

Allochtonen: Dutch word for person with an immigration background

1 INTRODUCTION

Integration is a popular but sensitive theme, not only in the Netherlands does it show up in political debates, also our neighbours are struggling how to deal with past and recent immigration, its consequences and its narratives. Therefore I packed my bags and took the train to Berlin in February 2009. Berlin is often referred to as the city with the largest Turkish population after Istanbul. I could not believe this, and one quick look at Wikipedia told me this could never be true: there are five cities within Turkey that have a population over one million. Berlin is the city with the most Turkish descendents outside Turkey. I was curious how the integration process in Berlin has developed and whether it differed from the Dutch situation. My focus is not only on integration, but more specifically on the relationship between ethnic residential segregation and socio-cultural integration. I find it very interesting and useful to find out whether the assumption of many policy makers that concentration of minorities is disadvantageous for their integration is correct. Maybe a little Chinatown and a small Istanbul are not so bad after all. I did not only want to focus on the immigrants' side of the story, but also wanted to get to know what the German population feels, what their opinions are and what they would like to be different.

Below I will start with presenting my research questions which I hope to answer in this thesis. In section 1.2 I will discuss the integration discourses and regimes within Germany and the rest of Europe, which is aimed at making it easier to understand the rest of the chapter.

1.1 Research questions

Main research question:

What is the relationship between ethnic residential segregation and the socio-cultural integration of persons with a Turkish background in Berlin?

Sub questions:

- 1
 - A) What is segregation and how can it be measured?
 - B) What are the levels of segregation of the two neighbourhoods in Berlin?
 - C) What are the reasons for ethnic segregation of immigrants? (Is it self segregation or is this segregation caused by other factors?)
- 2
 - A) What do persons with a Turkish background feel about segregation themselves and how do they feel this influences their socio cultural integration?
 - B) What is the opinion of native Germans about this?
- 3
 - A) Does diversity in a neighbourhood lead to more contact between persons from different groups, and if so: what kind of contact is this?
 - B) Does a relationship between ethnic residential segregation, contact and trust exist, and what does it look like? (Approached from both the immigrants' and the natives' side)
 - C) Does a relationship between ethnic residential segregation, contact, attitudes and prejudices exist, and what does it look like?

- D) Does a relationship between ethnic residential segregation, contact and language exist, and what does it look like?
- E) How is integration perceived by Germans and by persons with a Turkish background?

One has to keep in mind that these questions are all answered using data about two specific neighbourhoods in Berlin, and as many of the processes and situations involved are context and location specific, they do provide the answers for the selected neighbourhoods within Berlin, but they can only provide a general understanding of the concepts in other situations.

When using the term Socio Cultural integration I mean the immigrants' knowledge of the German language, the degree and the content of the contact he or she has with the Germans, levels of trust and prejudices and attitudes. I have chosen to only look at the socio-cultural side of integration. The socio-economic integration of immigrants with a Turkish background is hardly discussed because I did not want to make it too complex.

In my research I will focus on the Turkish population and the Germans with a Turkish background. I have chosen to only work with this group, because the large differences between the Turkish immigrants and the other large minorities would make it impossible to draw conclusions on the entire immigrant population. Italians, Easter Europeans and Turkish are expected to have different expectations of and problems with their integration, even if they all live in the same neighbourhood. Of course it would have been interesting to look at the entire immigrant population, but due to limited time this will not be possible.

1.2 Germany's integration regime

Policies are always designed within a certain discourse with certain ideas about immigration and minority integration being more dominant than others. I will explain for what time period and for what country which discourse holds, for which I will use models from two integration experts.

The first one is Vasta. She distinguishes several models of inclusion, of which the following are relevant for this paper:

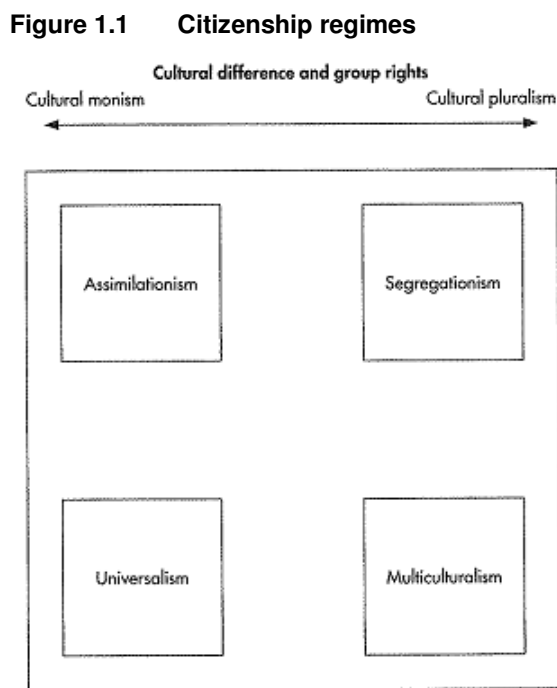
- **Assimilation** means that immigrants are absorbed into the receiving society. They obtain the same norms and values as the native population. Some see it as a forced process. The idea is that institutions will not change to better accommodate newcomers
- **Integration:** "a two-way process of adaptation, involving change in values, norms and behaviour for both newcomers and members of the existing society" (pp. 5)
- **Multiculturalism:** a model based on the principles of social equality, participation, mutual accommodation and on cultural recognition (Vasta, 2007)

The integration policies in Germany started off as a guest worker regime. Immigrants were thought to leave again. Later, it has partly been following an integration policy, but policies and measures to also reach this status were never very strict (Vasta, 2007).

The other authors I want to refer to are Koopmans et al. They have developed four types of citizenship regimes. Their model is based on the idea that there are two dimensions to citizenship:

- The formal criteria of individual access to citizenship, which runs from ethnic to civic.
- the cultural obligations and rights that citizenship entails for minority groups (multicultural versus assimilationist) (Koopmans et al., 2005)

When measuring the extent to which a legal immigrant in a certain state has access to equal rights they have focused on nationality acquisition, rights for residing foreigners and to antidiscrimination rights. Deciding whether the state requires cultural assimilation to the dominant culture or whether a multicultural society is longed for is done by mainly looking at cultural requirements for naturalization, the degree to which religious practices are allowed outside public institutions and by looking at the cultural rights and provision within public institutions (special attention was paid to the way the Islam is recognized and to what forms of preaching is allowed within institutions such as a school and public broadcasting) (Koopmans et al., 2005)



Source: Koopmans et al., 2005

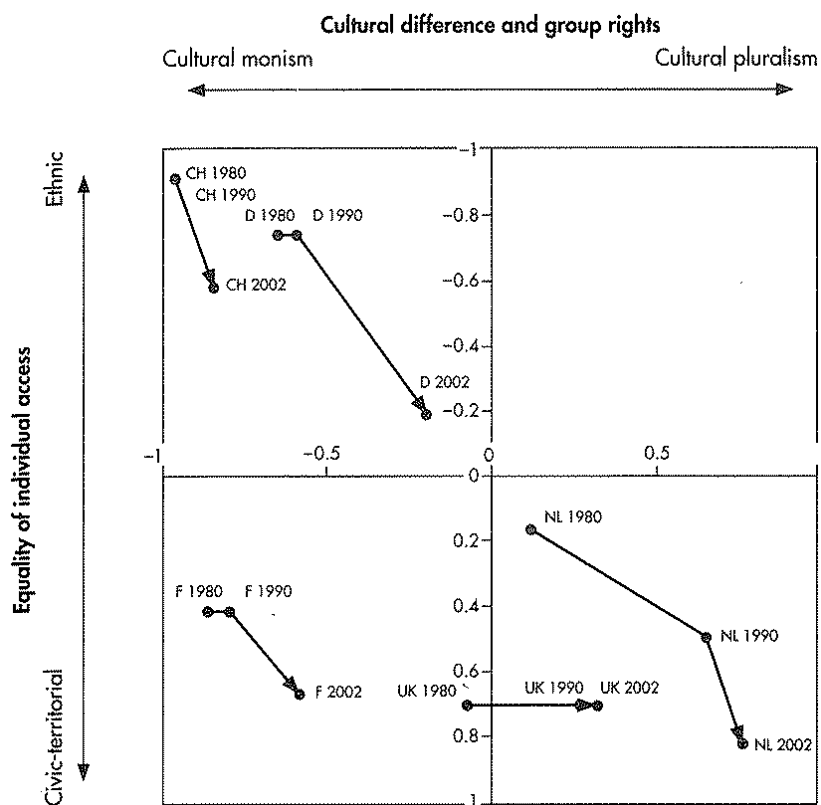
In Figure 1.1 these two dimensions are drawn on the horizontal and on the vertical axes. In this way four ideal types of citizenship regimes can be recognized:

- **Assimilationism:** An ethnic definition of nationhood plus the idea that a single cultural model is to be shared by all citizens.

- **Segregationism:** civic territorial criteria for individual access plus a view that tries to retain, or even stimulates diversity and allows their inhabitants to follow a variety of cultural patterns.
- **Universalism:** A civic territorial definition of individual access to citizenship plus a single cultural model.
- **Multiculturalism:** an ethnic idea of nationhood plus a pluralist view of cultural differences and group rights (not encouraging, or even preventing assimilation into the host culture) (Koopmans et al., 2005)

In the guest worker era, the German regime was similar to segregationism: migrant workers did not receive any political rights (except sometimes via naturalization) and next to that the government tried to ensure ties to their home countries remained strong thus trying to let them retain their own culture (Koopmans et al., 2005)

Figure 1.2 Citizenship regimes in Germany, the Netherlands, France and the UK



Source: Koopmans et al., 2005

In Figure 1.2 the positions of the regimes in Germany, the Netherlands, France and Switzerland are shown for the years 1980, 1990 and 2002. It shows that Germany in 2002 still belonged to an assimilationist model, while for example The Netherlands and Great Britain belonged to a multiculturalist model. In Germany until the mid 1990s it was

only possible under a strict set of conditions to become part of the national community and obtain full individual rights (Koopmans et al., 2005). When arriving in Germany one could, if desired, keep his cultural identity, but fundamental rights, values and norms had to be respected. But the Berlin State has also stressed the importance of the characteristic ethnical identity of the immigrant, which goes more in the direction of cultural pluralism (Ireland, 2004)

Thus Germany was in the guest worker era more a segregationist regime, but from the 1990s on has been more an Assimilationist regime, although the last century becoming less strict in access to citizenship and more focusing on cultural pluralism. Germany's position is in 2008 not so much different than in 2002 (Koopmans, Waibel and Michalowski, to be published)

This Cultural Pluralism is found back in the separate ethnic identities that have been created by policy makers in Germany: Ethnic groups are approached in a separate way and not as members of the society; differentiation according to ethnic criteria was accepted (Ireland, 2004). My respondents referred to the focus on separate ethnic identities as something negative. I will come back to this in chapter seven (qualitative analyses).

2 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SEGREGATION AND INTEGRATION: THE LITERATURE

Within Western Europe, there appears to be a growing fear of a high level of segregation, the main reason for this is that it is believed that segregation has a strong negative impact on integration. This fear is based on the idea that the following events will happen: "increasing spatial segregation will lead to increasing separation of different social and ethnic classes and population categories; in its turn this will produce ghetto-like developments and will finally result in the disintegration of urban society" (Fortuyn et al, 1998, pp. 367). For example the European Commission has expressed a fear of segregation and integration and said spatial segregation and concentrations of exclusions need to be prevented (Musterd, 2003).

When talking about the relationship between ethnic residential segregation and socio cultural integration it is important that one starts to think about the question whether it is bad that ethnic minorities spend most time with each other. Is it not true that within the native German, Dutch, American, etc. population there are many social categories who never encounter or have deeper contacts either? There is no discussion about policies to mix the top 100 richest households with people living on the so-called bottom of society, so I hope the ones involved in taking decisions will realize the exceptional character of the debate and will be able to nuance the situation.

It is often said that in these globalizing times, places of residence have lost part of their meaning. One can for example live in London but find new friends in Denmark over the internet, or one can live in Amsterdam but be employed by a Belgium firm active in China. But is it really true that your direct surroundings become less important? Scientific discussions about residential segregation have centred on contemporary neighbourhood effects, and I hope to contribute to this discussion.

Below I start with giving possible causes of residential segregation, how it develops and the link between different forms of residential segregation. Then the main theories covering the relationship between segregation and integration are explained and social identity, prejudices, social capital, trust and language, and their link to residential segregation are discussed.

2.1 Ethnic residential segregation

2.1.1 Causes of residential segregation

Research about ethnic residential segregation in Europe is relatively new compared to similar studies in the United States, even though this phenomenon is widespread and substantial in European cities and has been increasing over the last years.

Theory development on segregation started in the beginning of the 20th century with the Chicago School. The immigrant streams to North America were studied. These immigrants often had little economic resources and less favourable social and educational characteristics compared to other residents and therefore settled in the poorer districts of a city. This resulted in high levels of spatial segregation. Within this

early strand of research, also called the “Assimilation Theory”, it was presupposed this would lead to lower levels of integration. But as time would pass, immigrants would economically get better off and they would move out of their initial settlement areas. If these mechanisms hold true, segregation will therefore eventually disappear again (Deurloo and de Vos, 2008).

Often the causes of ethnic residential segregation are grouped into three denominators: economic, discriminating and preferential. The first explanation refers to a lack of economic means and resources: members of ethnic minorities simply cannot afford to buy or rent a house in other areas than in the one where they end up living. Discrimination refers to unfair practices in the housing market such as a policy preventing these minorities to settle in certain neighbourhoods. The last explanation is often referred to as self-segregation, which holds that immigrants prefer to live in neighbourhoods with people with similar characteristics and are therefore likely to cluster. This also goes for the often white majority population: they prefer to live in neighbourhoods where no or only few members of an out-group live (Semyonov and Glikman, 2008). It is even so that several experiments have shown that members of the minority population are more willing or wanting to live together with members of the majority population than members of the majority population are to live together with the minority population (Friedrich and Triemer, 2008). The argument of self-segregation often has to do with the desire to express one’s cultural or ethnic identity but reasons for clustering can besides be created by “linguistic, religious and aspirational differences from the mainstream institutions” (Simpson, 2004, pp: 679).

But also the political climate within a receiving society, or more specific: the attitude of the native population towards immigrants can induce segregation: a group feels threatened, draws back and creates an imaginary line. Sometimes this hostility of the receiving population is institutionalised (Simpson, 2004).

Also when the better off feel threatened residential segregation (either socio-economic or ethnic-) can be the result: When a neighbourhood is changing into a neglected area, when one starts to encounter more conflicts and more violence, when unemployment figures are growing, when purchasing power goes down and when because of this shops are losing customers, one might start to feel one becomes a minority when he or she is not facing the same problems. You simply do not feel at home anymore in your neighbourhood, and you start considering moving out, a choice many of your neighbours who are “worse off” do not have. This means that a neighbourhood does not really have to become more black or more “foreign”, it is already the perception that can induce people to act. Result of the perceived segregation is therefore actual segregation by the moving out of households who felt threatened by their surroundings (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002). I will come back to this feeling of threat later since it is thought to be an important mechanism in socio-cultural integration.

According to Patrick Simon (1998) discrimination is the most important factor in France. He feels most public policies are designed to reduce segregation in the most attractive parts of the city, thereby increasing segregation in more deprived areas. Ireland (2004) claims that the growth in ethnic and socio-economic residential segregation which has been taking place in several European cities last years, can be

explained by the expansion of market mechanisms in the housing markets and in the urban planning sphere. But still it is thought that in Europe factors such as access to information about the housing market, housing market discrimination and access to employment would not have such a large impact on ethnic segregation as they have in the US. This is due to a wider provision of social housing and better public transportation in Europe, which diminishes the impact of these factors (Musterd, 2005). This last argument is likely to be important for Berlin since the public transportation system is so extensive and fast.

Within Germany there is a strong negative correlation between the share of foreigners and segregation (measured by an index which will be described in Chapter three): the larger the share of foreigners in a city, the smaller the level of ethnic segregation (Friedrich and Triemer, 2008). This might sound illogical, but when considering the formula used to calculate the level of segregation, which is presented in the next chapter, one sees there does not necessarily have to be a relation with the share of foreigners.

2.1.2 Four scenarios of ethnic residential segregation

The four scenarios of ethnic residential segregation Johnston distinguishes are:

1. **Assimilation:** differences between population groups decline and levels of segregation will go down over time
2. **Pluralism:** cultural differences between groups will continue to exist; individuals retain their cultural identity. In spatial term they can be said to be relatively isolated from the rest of the society.
3. **Segmentation:** spatial divides within society are large; every group lives in a certain district. These differences are maintained by the dominant group in society.
4. **Polarisation:** an extreme form of segmentation, where ghettos exist and group members are excluded from many other areas (Johnston, 2002)

As will be seen later, many Germans feel segmentation is taking place in Berlin, especially of the Turkish population. I feel instead it is more Pluralism that can be found there. It is by no means Assimilation, since differences between population groups have not yet declined significantly and although segregation has decreased from 1990 to 2005, the recent trend is again in the opposite direction.

2.1.3. Correlation between ethnic and socio-economic residential segregation

It is often true that “racial and ethnic minorities tend to reside in poorer neighbourhoods of the inner city while members of the majority population tend to live in affluent and prestigious neighbourhoods” (Semyonov and Glikman, 2008, pp: 3). To some extent this is also true for Berlin, but the division within the city center is not very strict. There might be some corners where immigrants are really clustered, but one street further native Germans will reside who do their shopping in the Turkish supermarket at that same corner.

Often high levels of ethnic residential segregation coincide with high levels of socio-economic segregation. For example Cutler and Glaeser (1997) have found that the correlation of racial segregation and income segregation is positive and is strong in the USA. The question is then of course: is there a concentration of a certain minority group that happens to be poor, or is the share of people with a lower socio economic status high and do many immigrants also live there since they belong to the poorest population group. There are many links between the two, which makes it difficult to see the two phenomena separate.

Residential segregation can for example have large consequences for the access to education, to social services, to medical facilities, to cultural activities and for the exposure to criminal activities (Semyonov and Glikman, 2008). The negative image of a neighbourhood can even have a stigmatising effect and so your address on your résumé could be a reason why you are not invited to a job interview (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002).

But ethnic residential segregation can also be caused by the inequality in the labour market: the dual labour market theory explains that the labour market is often very segmented and that the formal economy is dependent on the informal economy (Bulow and Summers, 1986). In Berlin a large part of the Turkish population is employed in the informal economy, which is for the largest part clustered in specific areas. This is so since the informal economy is more dependent on the local infrastructure, which is often formed by one or more ethnic groups.

Friedrichs and Triemer (2008) have shown that the correlation between the share of people receiving social subsidies and the share of foreigners was as high as 0.88 in 2000 for Berlin. According to them receiving social support from the government often has large negative consequences for a household. People with less financial opportunities who spend large parts of their day at home are more likely to be stressed and react in an emotional way. Therefore conflicts and confrontations may arise. One is likely to become dependent on institutions, which can result in demotivation that in turn may lead to isolation and less contact with others. These mechanisms will be discussed in detail below.

2.1.4 Consequences of segregated and highly mixed neighbourhoods

In neighbourhoods with large shares of socially disadvantaged, discriminated or people who are in other ways different from the rest of the society, deviating norms can become the standard. Children have no other examples and are not aware that it is not normal for example when your father and mother do not work or when your brother is self employed in the black market to earn some extra money. The references framework, especially of the young generation is deviation. Social isolation is likely to follow. It is important to give people in these cases new possibilities to mobilize upwards again (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002). But how is that done when one is trapped in his surroundings?

Of course spatial segregation is only considered problematic when the rest of the society does not accept the prevailing norms and situation of the “separate block” (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002)

Hardly any policy maker or government representative seems to realize that a too high level of social or ethnic mixing can also work out negatively. According to sociological theory people often seek contacts with people who are not too distant from themselves (in respect of many of their characteristics), and if their surrounding is now too diverse, it might as well be the case that people will draw back from society because they do not feel safe there or they cannot find any recognition. This might drive groups even further apart as people start looking for more homogeneous communities. The authors conclude that in these cases there is a gap between socio-economic and socio-cultural integration for these minority groups: they start to do better on for example the labour market, but their orientation is now more on their own nationality than before (Musterd and Ostendorf, 2009).

2.2 Main theories in the segregation - integration debate

There is an extensive debate going on among social scientists about the relationship between ethnic residential segregation and integration of a minority group into society. The purpose of this section is to give an overview of the most important strands in this debate.

One can simplify the literature debate by dividing scholars up into two groups: the ones who believe that contact among people with different characteristics leads to a better understanding of each other and will have a positive effect on the integration process, and the ones who believe that contact between immigrants and the native population will only lead to more conflict. The former scientists are said to believe the **Contact hypothesis** holds true, while the latter agree that the **Conflict theory** is at work. What these theories actually hold and why these are important for my research questions will be explained below.

Before explaining these theories in detail, I want to stress that these theories are not complete; there are shortcomings. Such as the assumption that assimilation is the end status of the integration process. It is often forgotten that there are also other outcomes possible: it is seen as impossible to improve your socio-economic situation without getting rid of your own cultural or ethnic background and social network (Gijsberts and Dagevos, 2005). As explained in the introduction, it is true that German policy makers for a long time desired assimilation to be the result of their integration policies. But during the last decade the German politics have been moving towards a more central position (following Koopmans' scheme). Whether this also holds true in practice is a completely different question.

Another drawback of these theories is that they assume that second and third generations will automatically do better in socio-cultural, political and economic domains. For Turkish and Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands this is proven to be false: over the years the share of members of these two groups who primarily have contact within their own group has increased. This increase is especially large and thus important for the second generation Turks; in 8 years it has risen from 40 to 56 percent in 2002. Part of the explanation for these phenomena in the Netherlands is sought in the fact that amounts (and shares) of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants are still rising, and that most marriages are interethnic (Gijsberts and Dagevos, 2005). Also in Berlin children and grandchildren of Turkish immigrants are still doing worse in school than for example their German classmates. This shows us one has to be critical when reading the literature.

2.2.1 *The Contact hypothesis*

Spatial proximity is assumed to encourage interaction among different ethnic or national groups, which will lead to improved knowledge, understanding, relations and tolerance among each other. If immigrants are overrepresented in a certain neighbourhood, it is thought that isolation from society will follow (Ireland, 2008). Some therefore also use the term '**Isolation theory**', which holds that ethnic concentration will hinder the ethnic bridges between ethnic minorities and the native population, in this case

Germans. As contact is limited or even non-existing, one will preserve his or her own language, habits, values, norms and culture. As a result of the limited contact, socio economic opportunities, such as access to the labour market and educational attainments are also restricted. Therefore, social scientists belonging to this strand, believe that ethnic segregation in Berlin will lead to limited contact between the ethnic minorities and the Germans, which will prevent or hinder the integration of these minorities into the German society (Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2007). Semyonov and Glikman (2008) go one step further by assuming that ethnic segregation reduces the opportunities of interethnic contact, and investigate the effect this lack of contact between a minority group and the native population has on anti-minority attitudes and social distance. The outcomes of this study will be discussed later on, but it is thought that contact between groups helps to reduce negative attitudes, ethnic conflict, perceptions of threat, sense of social distance and prejudice, especially when such contacts are more than only short-term, are positive and have a friendship potential.

But one has to keep in mind that attitudes towards minorities are often also related to socio economic characteristics of individuals and to the characteristic of the society. It is for example thought that persons with lower than average education, income and with higher unemployment figures are more likely to be discriminatory. The same goes for older people and people with conservative beliefs who are afraid of the changes newcomers will bring. That the former works via increased competition over scarce resources which leads to feelings of threat is explained in section 2.2.4 (Semyonov and Glikman, 2008).

This is also what the classical hypothesis from Allport states: spatial concentration will increase the chances of contact between different social groups, which will lead at first to simple contacts and later on to deeper or better contacts, which will lead to diminishing prejudices about the other (Friedrichs and Triemer, 2008). The reduction in prejudices and the more positive image and perception over time can be explained by the increased access to information and thus knowledge of norms, values, lifestyles and habits (Havekes and Uunk, 2008). That this does not always have to be the case will be discussed in section 2.3.3 of this chapter.

An argument that is since a few years used to make a statement against the isolation thesis is that space is not so important anymore for social interaction. As we have come to arrive in the era of the spaces of flow; developments in globalization, in the information and communication sector have weakened this link (van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2007). My research focuses on the question how important neighbourhoods are for inter-group contacts to establish.

2.2.2 The Conflict hypothesis

The other theoretical strand is called the '**Conflict Theory or Hypothesis**'. Neighbourhoods with a high segregation index are thought to reduce conflicts, since they will create a safe place to form own social networks, which can make for example the establishment of small businesses easier. Also important is the fact that there are no language barriers within the community anymore (Ireland, 2008). Also Van der Laan

Bouma-Doff focuses on the advantages of spatial concentration of ethnic minorities, but she prefers to use the term **Emancipation thesis or ethnic enclave thesis**. Likewise, it holds that spatial concentration of ethnic minorities will provide entrepreneurs more opportunities to start a new business and to develop ethnic niches (Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2007). An ethnic economy, built around its own ethnic network where a large demand for ethnic products exists, can work very well. Not only products are sold, but also services such as a Turkish manicure or a Turkish travel agency are provided (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002). This seems to be especially the case for Berlin, as the city is truly focusing on diversity (both cultural and economic diversity) and as a large percentage of the immigrants is self employed.

Besides these economic advantages, a neighbourhood where many people from your nationality live may provide you with informal support from family members and people from your own country, which can be seen as a social safety net for migrants: social inclusion is easier than in more “white” neighbourhoods and solidarity is more self evident. The segregated community can be seen as the starting point from which integration into the German society can follow, because your compatriots can tell you where to find a job, where to go for language classes, how the German system works and maybe most important of all: they make you feel at ease (Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2007).

Also Simpson (2004) points to the advantages of common cultures living close to each other: they can support one another and they can easily acquire skills that will help newly arrived immigrants in their jobs, education and activities. In a society with only their own group members, immigrants will experience family, cultural and social support (Simpson, 2004, pp: 679). It is well known that in socially homogeneous quarters, neighbour relationships are stronger and of more importance (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002). Reciprocity is also often referred to in the literature on neighbourhood clustering. A relationship of mutual exchanges will come to existence within a neighbourhood, especially when the people already feel closely attached to each other, understand each other and have the same expectations. This can be the opposite when we talk about relationships between people with different backgrounds not yet known to each other.

According to Häussermann and Kapphan (2002) whether ethnic residential segregation really forms a good basis to start the integration process in the receiving society is dependent on the possibilities that are available for the migrants outside their own community. When employment is too scarce and when societal and political participation is too limited, the situation is not likely to develop in the desired direction. This is so because exclusion from the labour market results in fewer possibilities for contact outside the own ethnic group, which makes that immigrants start to value their own ethnic identity more and the neighbourhood becomes more important, both for contacts and for social identity. One tries to avoid contact with people who are in a better position as they are themselves, only not to be reminded of their own unfortunate status. Thus decreasing socio-economic integration leads to a withdrawal from the rest of the community, results in a more homogeneous network, more focus on members of one’s own group and on its own neighbourhood. One could say this leads to decreased socio-

cultural integration. This is of course not only due to the reaction of the immigrants. As better off persons (whatever nationality) move out, chances of meeting them and possibly using them as an example decrease.

2.2.3 Ethnic competition model

The ethnic competition model is explained in several articles (Gijsberts and Dagevos, Friedrichs and Triemer, Semyonov and Glikman and, although not called the same, in Fossett and Kiecolt 1989) and is often referred to in the debates on segregation and integration. It states that the larger the amount of ethnic groups in an area, the larger the competition for scarce resources such as (cheap) housing and employment, and the more competition with the native population with similar socio economic status. This can lead to feelings of threat amongst the natives, which will cause them to avoid contacts with people with other ethnicities (Friedrichs and Triemer, 2008). As immigrants often have jobs that require less skills and less education, competition is especially increased for natives in these sectors. They therefore feel more threatened and develop a more negative attitude towards immigrants and consequently are less likely to have informal, friendship-like contacts with them. Similar feelings can of course be found for immigrants who face competition from the native population (Gijsberts and Dagevos, 2005). It is especially so in countries with greater income equality that residents feel threatened by increased immigration, which can cause them to withdraw from collective life (Kesler and Bloemraad, 2009).

2.3 The relationship between ethnic residential segregation and integration: different factors explained and proven

The above existing and often referred-to theories have been explained, but what relationships are actually being tested and what do the results indicate? Does ethnic residential segregation really lead to more negative attitudes towards the out-group and what is the effect on language levels? Does it lead to less social ties and less trust? There are some important studies done to find out what the answers to these questions are, and on what the implications of this existing, or non-existing relationship are. I will give an overview of the research I found relevant and worth mentioning here. There is a broad spectrum of articles which touches upon one of the themes, but I have mainly selected articles based on studies conducted in Western Europe, the US and Canada (because in these countries situations are more or less similar) which focus on the following themes: Neighbourhood diversity (ethnic and racial diversity), contact, prejudice, social capital (and in more specific trust), language and media exposure.

2.3.1 Social identity and prejudice

- **Social identity theory**

Social groups are collections of individuals who see themselves as being part of one social category and who share an emotional commitment to this group. These social

groups are a means to structure and classify one's social environment and people gain their social identity through group membership. One also categorizes him- or herself by contrasting them with the groups they do not belong to; people are likely to distance themselves from groups that are different. An "us" and "them" are created, or an in-group and an out-group. One is likely to stress negative aspects of the "other" to enhance his self-image, and thereby the basis for **prejudice** is laid. Havekes and Uunk (2008) presuppose that in an ethnically homogeneous neighbourhood (so with for example many Turkish people) in which all belong to the same ethnic group, the identification of someone with his group is not likely to be very strong. But in an ethnically more heterogeneous neighbourhood people will focus more on their ethnical identity.

In 2008 a Dutch study was published which covered the effect of neighbourhood effects on the identification of immigrants with the Dutch population and in this way they examine the link between ethnic segregation and cultural integration (Havekes and Uunk, 2008). It seems that the more contact one has with the native population, the larger the identification with the Dutch. Next to this, there is a negative relationship between the share of minorities in a neighbourhood and the ethnical identification: the more white people live in a neighbourhood, the stronger is the identification of immigrants with the Dutch population. This would mean that ethnic residential segregation influences this aspect of socio-cultural integration (identification with the native population) negatively. This study also contradicts predictions from the social identity theory which claims that the vicinity of a large number of members of an out-group increases the identification with the own group.

- **Prejudice**

One can distinguish between 4 types of prejudice:

- Emotions
- Favourability
- Beliefs
- Stereotypes (Tropp, 2009)

The first two are affective prejudices (concerning ones feelings) while the latter two are more cognitive. Increased contact between people from different groups mainly influences the affective prejudices: when your contact with someone is increased not the way you think about them is changed, but the way you feel about them (Tropp, 2009). These relationships work through knowledge and through empathy: Contact increases knowledge of the other which leads to increased less prejudices, and increased contact leads to increased empathy which leads to less prejudices (Tropp, 2009).

Tropp (2009) also shows that the kind of contact matters for prejudice as well: in friendship relationships especially affective prejudices are changed about the friend, while there is not much change in prejudices when it concerns increased contact with acquaintances of the other group.

- **Is the relationship between diversity, contact and prejudice proven?**

Semyonov and Glikman have conducted a study to test whether the following hypotheses hold true for European societies: "positive inter-ethnic contacts are likely to

reduce anti-minority attitudes” and “contact mediates the relations between the ethnic composition of neighbourhood of residence and anti-minority attitudes”. Anti-minority attitudes are measured by asking for perception of threat and social distance. The way social distance is measured is somewhat questionable I feel: respondents are asked whether they are willing to have someone from another race as a family member and whether they are willing to have someone from another race as their boss. Answers to these kinds of questions are likely not to be representative but rather more or less socially desirable. It turns out that better educated people and persons with more income have less anti minority attitudes while older people and people with a right wing political orientation are likely to be more discriminatory. For the rest it is shown that anti minority attitudes are lowest for European citizens living in mixed neighbourhoods (where residents have both European and other origin), but that there is no difference when comparing anti-minority attitudes of Europeans living in all European or in neighbourhoods with only non-European citizens. However, when contact is taken into account as well, there is proof of a higher level of negative attitudes in ethnic neighbourhoods than in all-European and mixed neighbourhoods. Semyonov and Glikman explain this using the “ethnic competition model” which states, as explained above, that in neighbourhoods where ethnic minorities form the majority group, members of the majority (white) population may as a result of fear for greater competition, express higher levels of social distance and perceived threat. Their most important conclusion is thus that positive inter-ethnic contact decreases negative attitudes towards the minority population, but that this effect is strongest for residents of ethnic neighbourhoods and more levelled for residents of mixed or all-European neighbourhoods (Semyonov and Glikman, 2008). This conclusion is underpinned by a Dutch study as well: the perception of threat works through the amount of contact one has with immigrants: Dutch who have more intensive contact with ethnic minorities hold more positive views about them (Gijssberts and Dagevos, 2007b).

Another study was conducted in the Netherlands in 2005 by Gijssberts and Dagevos. They have also tested the relationship between the share of minorities in a neighbourhood and the attitudes and images of the other. They have looked at explanations in both the ethnic competition model and in the contact hypothesis (negative attitudes are thought to work through fewer contacts) and studied the relationship between the speed with which a neighbourhood becomes more “black” and the perceptions of the other. For Moroccans they found that the contact hypothesis holds true. An important conclusion is that the share of non-natives does not influence stereotypical thinking about immigrants under natives, and that the speed with which the area becomes mixed has a negative influence. The latter is mainly explained by the perceived threat, and not by the amount of contact between the two groups. The statement in the ethnic competition theory that mainly lower educated natives feel threatened is proven here as well. In a study conducted by them two years later, they again find that Dutch lower-educated persons have more negative attitudes towards persons from an out group, but also that older people do so. Also now no relationship between the share of immigrants in a neighbourhood and attitudes of the native population is found (Gijssberts and Dagevos, 2007b).

What is interesting is that the authors have also studied the way immigrants look at and perceive natives (again, this particular study was conducted in the Netherlands). I feel the following conclusions are worth mentioning here: second generations do not differ in their views from the first generation, women are more negative about the Dutch than men and in contrast to views of the majority about minorities, higher educated immigrants have most negative views. In mixed neighbourhoods again the contact hypothesis holds true (the immigrants who maintain more social contact with Dutch citizens have less negative attitudes towards them), but the mediating effect of contacts disappears largely when the share of minorities becomes too large. The last variable they have looked at is the level of experienced acceptance by “allochtonen”. The first generation feels less accepted than the second generation and higher educated or employed people feel less accepted, while the ones with higher income feel again more accepted. So overall one can claim that in the Netherlands concentrations of immigrants in a neighbourhood are not very influential, but that the speed with which the composition of a neighbourhood changes is more important for perceptions of the other. I think this is important for policy makers to keep in mind.

Hence negative stereotypes of the majority group about the minority group are mainly determined by the following factors: the socio-economic status of the neighbourhood, the speed of change of the population composition, the amount of contact between the two groups and the threat the natives perceive (Gijsberts and Dagevos, 2007b). None of the studies discussed above found a direct relationship between levels of segregation and prejudice, but Fossett and Kiehl (1989) (in Friedrichs and Triemer, 2008) came up with the result that when the share of minorities in a spatial area rises the level of prejudice of the majority against the minority rises as well.

What seems to be the case in Berlin is that younger people with an immigration background feel refused from the German society, they do not feel accepted as part of society and therefore develop a counter identity of being Turk or Muslim (Raiser, 2009).

- **Influence of mass media on prejudice**

In the 1950s Allport already talked about the large influence of media on stereotypes. Research has not given us much proof, but there are some experimental studies that explicitly focused on the relationship between media exposure and prejudice. It has been demonstrated that “media exposure to even one single out group member can both produce and reduce prejudice toward a variety of social groups”. Of course it is the question whether one can generalize from such experimental studies to real life, as in the experiment someone is forced to watch certain TV programmes that the participants at home might never watch. But there lies a large potential in TV programmes: it exposes many people to minority group members of whom they would otherwise not be exposed to and of whom they are now receiving information. Contact via mass media also has the advantage that the barriers for contact to come about, like anxiety and feelings of threat (which might occur in real life contact) are avoided. Both factors might reduce prejudice (Mutz et al, 2009)

In Germany it has developed in such a way that success stories of Turkish immigrants are almost never told. There is a larger middle class emerging who do very

well and there are many self employed persons with a Turkish background, but there is hardly a public narrative on this (Raiser, 2009). This is for a large part caused by the media.

2.3.2 Social capital

What is **social capital**? Various definitions are used by various sociological “schools”. Social capital can be seen as social resources (of yourself and of your relations) that help you to reach your goal (Lancee and Dronkers, 2008). The influential scientist Putnam defines social capital as “social networks and the associated norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness” (2007, pp. 137). He makes a distinction between **bonding** and **bridging social capital**. The former refers to ties and connections to people within the same group, while the latter refers to ties between people who belong to different groups/who differ from each other. Putnam (2007) links his concepts of social capital to the contact and conflict theory: the contact theory says that diversity will lead to bridging social capital and erodes the distinction between the in- and out-group. According to the conflict theory the opposite is likely to happen when diversity is increased: the distinction between in- and out-group is widened and bonding social capital will become more important; one is more likely to draw back in his own group. Putnam feels it is necessary to combine both forms of social capital in one theory: the **constrict hypothesis** that claims diversity leads to a reduction in both in- and out-group solidarity.

Generalized **trust** is thought to be a form of bridging social capital (Putnam, 2007). It is supposed to be beneficial to trust others because risks and transaction costs are reduced (Kazemipur, 2005-2006). There are various numerous definitions of trust used in the social sciences. Two definitions I find useful are given below:

“Trust is the expectation that arises within a community of regular, honest, and cooperative behavior, based on commonly shared norms, on the part of other members of that community.” (Fukuyama, 1995, pp. 26)

“Trust is a psychological state comprising the intention to accept vulnerability based upon positive expectations of the intentions or behavior of another.” (Rousseau et al., 1998, pp. 395)

Distinctions in trust levels among population groups can be made: in general younger people have lower levels in trust than older people, lower educated have less trust, as well as people living in urban areas and people who belong to a visible minority group (Stolle and Harell, 2009)

Kazemipur (2005-2006) explains how five variables influence the level of trust:

1. Population size: the larger the city, the shallower and more distant are the social interactions which causes the knowledge people have of others to decrease, which in turn is harmful for trust.
2. Average income: because trusting others often involves risks, people with the most resources are more flexible in taking risks.

3. Income inequality: the larger the gaps between the lower and the upper class, the larger the feeling of alienation towards the other, the lower the level of trust.
4. Ethnic diversity: this relationship is, as will be shown, contested
5. Immigrant population: It is likely that a minority population has lower trust levels than the majority population since they have smaller safety nets.

Kazemir tested these relationships statistically and found that the latter two are the main determinants of trust levels. Therefore we will mainly focus on the last two relationships.

- **Studies on relationship diversity and trust**

Putnam (2007) used extensive datasets about the US to look at the differences in the relationship between ethnic homogeneity and inter-racial trust, between racial homogeneity and trust in people who live in your neighbourhood and between racial homogeneity and intra-racial trust. His conclusion that ethnic heterogeneity has a negative influence on both in- and out-group trust (inter and intra-racial) is an important one in the debate: it shows that both the contact and conflict theory do not hold true in the US. He has also shown that diversity often leads to less civic engagement, fewer close friends and that it reduces the perceived quality of life:

“Diversity does not produce ‘bad race relations’ or ethnically-defined group hostility... Rather, inhabitants of diverse communities tend to withdraw from collective life, to distrust their neighbours, regardless of the colour of their skin, to withdraw even from close friends, to expect the worst from their community and its leaders, to volunteer less....”
(Putnam, 2007, pp. 150)

But according to him these relations are all just short term. Societies will be able to overcome fragmentation by creating new identities, and in the long run negative effects of diversity disappear (Putnam, 2007).

Lancee and Dronkers (2008) measured the relationship between ethnic diversity in neighbourhoods, having ethnic neighbours and social trust. They distinguish between the quality of the contact one has with his neighbours, trust in the neighbourhood and more general interethnic trust. For the Netherlands, it is found that ethnic diversity in general lowers social trust, but having ethnically diverse neighbours or living in a diverse neighbourhood raises the general level of interethnic trust.

A decrease in social capital as a result of ethnic diversity might be explained by the language component: a large heterogeneity makes communication between people more difficult which hinders the formation of bridging social capital (Lancee and Dronkers, 2008)

As mentioned before, income inequality mediates the influence of immigration on trust and engagement in a negative way (Kesler and Bloemraad, 2009). Uslaner (2009) claims that segregation is likely to lead to more inequality and because members of the minority group will have fewer opportunities to participate in the formal national economy, they tend to work in the informal economy. The fact that in this sector worker rights are worse makes these people to be less trusting. But the relationship between increased diversity and trust is also influenced by other policies: in a corporatist country immigration is likely to increase trust while in countries where corporatism is not common the

immigration is more likely to decrease trust (Kesler and Bloemraad, 2009). The reason for this is not entirely clear to me, but it is likely to be related to the stronger role of the state in a Corporatist country.

Kesler and Bloemraad (2009) found that multiculturalist policies have a positive influence on social and political participation when immigration is increased but they find no effect on the level of general social trust.

According to Uslaner (2009) simply knowing someone with another background or even having him or her as a friend does not make someone more trustful. He also here segregation plays a large role: high concentrations of a minority group may lead to larger in-group identity that has a negative consequence for the larger societies. Using cross-national data, he also finds a negative relationship between segregation and levels of trust.

It is also thought that the surroundings in which you grow up cause the positive effect of diverse social ties on general trust to be larger; growing up in a diverse society is thought to be most formative for one's attitudes and values in the rest of his life, so also towards people that are different than you are. Besides this, young people are less prejudiced so they are more likely to establish meaningful contacts. Another condition for diverse ties to have positive effects on trust is that the norm environment in which you grow up must be supportive of diversity (Stolle and Harell, 2009)

2.3.3 Does neighbourhood diversity actually lead to increased inter-group contacts?

In social capital studies and in studies on segregation it is often assumed that living in a diverse neighbourhood also leads to increased contact between its diverse inhabitants. It is of course true that living in a heterogeneous neighbourhood increases the chance of meeting people who belong to another group. Whether contact also really takes place and what kind of contact this is, is another question and cannot be answered by only looking at percentages of minorities. But it is very important to distinguish between the two situations when thinking about the relationship between diversity and social capital. I agree with Tropp (2009) and Stolle and Harell (2009) that many authors can be blamed for not examining whether contact also really comes about. Neighbourhood diversity and inter-ethnic contact are in no way synonymous. A first step is for example that Lancee and Dronkers (2008) acknowledged that living in a diverse neighbourhood does not mean one has neighbours who belong to another group. But I feel it is crucial to focus on the question whether contact also really comes about and what the intensity of this contact is. Especially in a big city like Berlin it is very well possible one never meets his neighbours or only greets them when meeting on the stairs.

So while the effects of contextual diversity on levels of trust are mostly found to be negative, the effect of close contact or inter-group relations is thought to be positive. "It is thus diversity without contact that is most problematic" (Stolle and Harell, 2009, pp. 4). Therefore it is crucial to ask the following question: what is the relationship between neighbourhood diversity and inter-group contact? (There is of course the possibility that

contact is negative or bad, but then at least one has learnt more about the other, and there are no longer prejudices that are based on nothing).

- **The relationship between neighbourhood diversity and contact proven?**

Residents of neighbourhoods where only Europeans live have fewer opportunities to establish inter-ethnic contacts than inhabitants of mixed neighbourhoods. But when living in an ethnic neighbourhood, the chance of the European having contact with a non-European is largest. The same relationship holds true for friendship relationships (Semyonov and Glikman, 2008). So in ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods contacts between ethnic minorities and the majority population are less likely to occur. For the Netherlands it was found that when an ethnic minority member lives in a city where more than 30 percent of its inhabitants is of non-Western origin, it is more likely that his circle of friends consists of people from their own group. So there is more intra-ethnic contact and less interethnic contact (Gijsberts and Dagevos, 2007a and 2007b). Also on the side of the natives a reaction is to be expected: when the majority of an area is non-Western, they are likely to draw back from the rest of society and gather with only their own group as well. So in neighbourhoods with large numbers of ethnic minorities not only the contact between the native and the minority population is likely to diminish, but also the contact between different ethnic groups (Gijsberts and Dagevos, 2007a). This phenomenon is especially important when the share of minorities exceeds 50 percent (Gijsberts en Dagevos 2007 in Friedrichs and Triemer, 2008). Van der Laan Bouma-Doff (2007) has shown that the socio-economic status of a neighbourhood is a crucial factor influencing this relationship: in neighbourhoods with relatively good socio-economic characteristics the effect the diversity of the neighbourhood has on ethnic bridges / contacts is stronger than in neighbourhoods that are deprived. Besides it is found that a relatively diverse neighbourhood has a negative influence on the quality of the contact with neighbours, as does having neighbours with another background; this counts both for members of minority as well as for members of majority groups (Lancee and Dronkers, 2008)

For the Netherlands it was also found that second generation migrants were more likely to have contact with people from an out-group than first generation migrants. The same goes for persons who are better educated, have a better labour market position and those with higher incomes. This proves that socio-economic and socio-cultural integration goes hand in hand (Gijsbers and Dagevos, 2007b and Semyonov and Glikman, 2008). Chances of having inter-ethnic contact decline with right wing political orientation and with age (Semyonov and Glikman, 2008). While most of the times, the positive contact effects are weaker for minority groups than for majority groups (Tropp, 2009), contact relationships from the Dutch side still show similar trends: older people have less contact with minorities and better educated have more contact. But here goes: the higher the income of the Dutch person is, the less inter-ethnic contact he or she has (Gijsberts and Dagevos, 2007b)

Again, Gijsberts and Dagevos (2007b) have proven that the speed with which the neighbourhood composition changes has a large influence, this time also on contacts

between the Dutch with minority groups. The faster a neighbourhood changes, the less intercultural contact there is, which is again so because people feel threatened.

But all taken together, it can be concluded that differences between neighbourhoods in contacts between different population groups are mostly due to shares of persons with an immigration background in your neighbourhood, but are influenced more by differences in socio-economic or socio demographic characteristics per se. Normally it is so that the larger the share of immigrants in a neighbourhood, the larger the chance that contacts will take place. However: there is a maximum. From 50 percent non-Westerners in a neighbourhood and upwards, the amount of contact between both groups is likely to decline again (Gijsberts and Dagevos, 2007b).

2.3.4 Relationship ethnic residential segregation and language

Policy meant to encourage the spreading out of immigrants within a neighbourhood often also leans on the assumption that native language skills are negatively related to ethnic concentration. But in my search for literature for this Master thesis I have not encountered many studies that came with good proof of such a relationship. It might either be the case that not much attention has been paid to this topic or that such relationships are simply not to be discovered.

What is known is that high levels of education of immigrants helps both them and their children to learn a language faster (Gijsberts and Dagevos, 2005). Also Driessen (2004) shows the importance of education in a regression analysis for the 4 largest immigrant groups in the Netherlands, of which the Turks represent an important group. Next to this most important factor, also length of stay and cultural capital (measured by amount of hours spent per week on reading) influence the level of Dutch. Other striking results from this study are the fact that it does not matter for his or her knowledge of the Dutch language whether one is born in the Netherlands or not. For the number of times one speaks Dutch it is important how long one has been here, whether one is involved in a mixed marriage and again how much time one spends reading. Through the years, on average the Dutch language skills under Turkish immigrants seem to have remained at the same level, which Driessen thinks can be explained by the fact that about three fourth of the Turkish descendents import their bride directly from Turkey, which has as result that the integration of these newly arriving partners continually has to start from the beginning. He thinks another contributing factor is the fact that many Turkish women do not leave the house since they are forced to stay inside the house by their spouses, but he does not proof this statement by giving hard facts or numbers. Being employed has hardly any influence on language levels.

It is less clear what the relationship between ethnic residential segregation and language skills is. The language contact hypothesis states that because of an ethnic concentration of minorities, contacts with the native population are reduced and it is assumed this will lead to a limitation of the learning of the native language. For the Netherlands it is shown that differences in language skills (Dutch) among neighbourhoods can for the most part be explained by individual characteristics, such as ethnic group, being employed, reasons of migration, age and level of education (Gijsberts

and Dagevos, 2007b). The concentration effect of immigrants on language does exist but is small. What is interesting is that this effect is solely explained by the amount of contact with the native population (Gijsberts and Dagevos, 2005). So again contact has a mediating effect: In neighbourhoods with small shares of Dutch people, immigrants speak less Dutch since they have fewer contacts with the Dutch. Contact with the native population in general had a large positive impact on the level of Dutch, and this impact was than of similar importance as the level of education (Gijsberts and Dagevos, 2005).

Immigrants who do not speak the native language well, will experience many difficulties related to participation and integration, such as limited access to written and oral sources in the native language and are consequently dependent on others for information, they are limited in their contacts and remain mainly within their own group and have more difficulties in finding a job (Driessen, 2004). Of additional influence is the concept "linguistic capital" discussed first by Bourdieu, who claims that thorough knowledge of a country's language can be transformed into social, cultural and educational capital, which all help someone to do better in various fields within society (Driessen, 2004). Further, it is shown by Berger et al. (2004) that for Turks in Berlin, good knowledge of the German language increases the chance that someone is politically active.

Thus the language level of immigrants is related to socio-economic integration (mainly employment), socio-cultural integration (contacts with majority population) and to political integration.

2.3.5 Effects of segregation on socio-economic integration

Unfortunately only few recent studies have focussed on the relationship between ethnic residential segregation and socio-economic integration. There are several studies that look at the link between social segregation and socio-economic integration, but I feel it is not correct to draw any general conclusions from these studies when talking about ethnically diverse neighbourhoods. Most of the existing studies are conducted in Canada and the USA, and not on (Western) European countries.

In the USA, ethnic residential segregation has a negative effect on high school drop out rates, unemployment and on income of black minorities. Next to this black women have a larger chance to raise their child alone when living in a more segregated neighbourhood. But it is unrelated to college graduation rates. What is apparent is that skill levels only mediate the relationship between segregation and income: less educated families are struck harder by the negative influence of segregation on income than are highly educated families. But there is no such influence on the other factors examined in the paper.

Another example is the influence of the surroundings on blacks in the US: when being exposed to more higher educated people the educational attainments of the "blacks" are likely to be better and chances of being a single mother decline, the latter increases when more old women in the surroundings are single mothers. These socio-economic factors explain about one third of the negative influence of segregation on

outcomes, the rest can only be explained by segregation per se (Cutler and Glaeser, 1997).

We can claim that in the US social surroundings do matter for the socio-economic situation. This effect might not always be direct but is instead sometimes mediating another relationship. Whether this also counts for Europe, and more specific for Germany, remains unclear here.

2.4 Conclusions

Thus the main theories about the link between segregation and integration are the contact and the conflict theory. The former holds that when inter-group contact increases, one will understand the other better which will have a positive effect on the integration process. When an area is segregated, contact is thought to be hindered. The conflict theory in contrast holds that contact between immigrants and the native population will only lead to more conflict. Segregation is therefore seen as something good, since it can be a basis for integration. Social networks can provide support and jobs in ethnic niche. When diversity is increased the distinction between in- and out-group is widened and bonding social capital will become more important. There is a wide array of studies revealing the interlinkages of various variables, of which the results are shortly presented below.

- **Prejudice**

Neighbourhood composition does not influence the attitudes and opinions of the native population towards immigrants. But having contact does influence the way immigrant groups think about natives and the way natives feel about immigrants: contacts with them changes their views and attitudes positively. Besides researchers have to keep in mind that a distinction has to be made between sorts of contact, since friendship relationships do change prejudices but more shallow contacts with acquaintances have almost no influence

Thus it is contact that reduces prejudices and not neighbourhood diversity per se. What is shown however is that the effect of contact on prejudice is strongest in neighbourhoods with very high shares of immigrants, and more levelled in more mixed neighbourhoods or in neighbourhoods with low percentages of persons with an immigration background. Convincing proof for the direct relationship between neighbourhood diversity and attitudes has thus far not been found.

In general older, poorer and lower educated native persons have more prejudices against persons with an immigration background.

- **Identity**

Studies have shown ethnic diversity leads to larger in-group identity. But it is also proven that more contact with the native population leads to more identification with them. This might seem contradictory, but it is not when we acknowledge neighbourhood diversity does not always lead to more inter-group contact, indeed this is important proof that this relationship does not exist.

- **Social capital**

For the Netherlands it is found that neighbourhood diversity as well as having ethnically diverse neighbours increases the general level of interethnic trust. Putnam has shown that in the US ethnic heterogeneity has a negative influence on both in- and out-group trust. This means in the Netherlands the contact hypothesis holds true whereas in the US both the contact and conflict hypothesis do not hold true.

For the rest: growing up in a diverse area and being young influences one's attitude towards members of other groups and income inequality is likely to have a negative influence on levels of trust in a diverse society. In general ethnic diversity is thought to lead to less civic engagements and to reduced quality of life.

- **Contact**

In general you can claim that chances of inter-group contact increase when shares of immigrants in a neighbourhood increases. But when percentages of immigrants are too large, they are more likely to have only friends who belong to their own group. In general it can be claimed that chances of contact between both the native and minority group and between two minority groups decrease again when percentages of immigrants are larger than 50. It is also shown that ethnic diversity is likely to reduce the quality of contacts: it thus leads to fewer friendship contacts.

2nd Generation immigrants, better educated and immigrants with higher income are more likely to have contact with natives, which shows there is a relationship between socio-economic and socio-cultural integration. The last variable that is crucial for inter-group contact is demographic chance: when the neighbourhood composition changes too fast, fear is the result which reduces contacts.

- **Language**

Factors that influence the language level of a person with an immigration background are level of education, length of stay in the country, cultural capital (hours spent reading), age and ethnic group. These personal characteristics explain almost all the differences in language skills among immigrants. Neighbourhood diversity has no influence. Contact with the native population has a large positive impact on the language proficiency of the receiving country's language. Thus partly the contact hypothesis is proven in these studies: neighbourhood diversity does not have much influence on socio-cultural integration, but inter-group contacts improve the socio-cultural integration of persons with an immigration background. And neighbourhood diversity only leads to increased inter-group contact as long as shares of immigrants are not too large.

3 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research goal and relevance

The central goal of this research is to better understand the relationship between ethnic segregation and the level of integration of residents in Berlin with an immigration background. This will be done by comparing two neighbourhoods within Berlin which have different levels of segregation.

- **Theoretical goals**

The goal of this research is to gain a better understanding of the relationship between segregation and the socio cultural aspects of the integration of immigrants. Also to increase the understanding of the causes of segregation, the factors influencing integration and the dynamics between the two. This seems like a very broad goal, however: it is more the aim to increase the depth of the understanding than to broaden it, which will mainly be achieved with the help of in depth interviews. Next to this, I want to find out how both immigrants and native Germans feel about this topic.

I also feel that so far, in the literature not enough attention has been paid to the relationship between neighbourhood diversity and contact and different types of contact are rarely distinguished. I hope to discuss the relationship between diversity and contact and show why it is so important to ask this question.

- **Practical goals**

With this research I hope to contribute to practical problems both Germans and immigrants face in the neighbourhood. With my outcomes about the causes of segregation, policy makers can try to influence the level of segregation if they feel this is necessary. I hope my research will make clear whether this is necessary for the integration of immigrants in the German society or whether it does not really matter where they live, as their location and their level of segregation does not matter when looking at the amount and quality of contact they have with each other. So I hope it will become clear whether the negative relationship between segregation and integration exists. If the Contact hypothesis turns out to be true, it would be desirable if policy makers focus more on the spatial distribution of immigrants. Policies aimed at the distribution of certain groups of people already exist, one example being the Rotterdam Law¹.

- **Personal goals**

My personal goal is to gain more insights in the integration problems and processes. What do immigrants experience themselves and how have Germans experienced this phenomenon? Why does in some neighbourhoods integration seem to work better than in other neighbourhoods? Why do immigrants cluster? I want to get answers to these kinds of questions, so they can help me in my future career. My

¹ Since 2005 large Dutch cities can request the government to be allowed to prohibit certain inhabitants to move into certain neighbourhoods (KEI, 2009)

personal aim is to gain insights in the field of integration, to get an idea of what kind of policies exist, what their results are, what kind of policies are important and efficient and to gain insights of what can make an integration project successful. Next to that, I hope to improve my social and communicative skills.

3.1.1 Scientific relevance

A lot of research has been done in the integration field, especially during the last two decades. As global movements of people are becoming a more and more common phenomenon, it is realized that research about the consequences of migration is necessary. There is also substantial work done trying to discover what the link between ethnic residential segregation and integration is. But this is largely quantitative research. Statistical relationships might be proven in this way, but the dynamics which happen on the ground, the choices of people, their perceptions; the entire complex situation; it is almost never revealed. More qualitative research in this field is necessary (van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2007), and I have tried to contribute to this.

One important debate I also hope to contribute to with this thesis is the debate whether diversity in a neighbourhood actually leads to more contact with persons from an out-group. This is often presupposed, but I do not believe this can be taken for granted. The next questions which then should be asked is whether this contact also leads to less prejudice and less trust.

3.1.2 Societal relevance

When one knows what the causes of ethnic residential segregation in Berlin really are, one can design instruments to restrict or prevent it when this is felt to be necessary. The latter is also the question which I feel is really important to ask: how bad is it that people with the same background concentrate? Does it create problems, and if so; what kind of problems and for whom is it a problem? The answers to these questions can be helpful for policy makers.

As discussed in the previous chapter the question whether diversity also really leads to more contact is important for projects in the diversity management field of neighbourhoods and cities.

3.2 Methodology

There are various ways to categorize research projects. According to Verschuren and Doorewaard (1999) my work is a theory oriented research, aimed at the diagnosis of a particular situation. There is no direct question from the field of policy to find the answers to my research question, but I have wondered about the relationship between integration and segregation myself, and I would also like to get to know what the migrants' points of view are. I want to try to gain insight in the background, causes, consequences and interlinkages of integration and segregation within the city centre of Berlin. Patton would (1990) typify my research as *applied research*. It is meant to help people to understand a problem more thoroughly so that they might be able to control it in the future. Potential solutions to societal and human problems are generated.

One important remark I want to make here, is that an important phenomenon in social science is double hermeneutics: respondents might respond or react differently than they would have done when you are not around, when they do not know they participate in a research. I agree with the idea of hermeneutics in general as well, which states that nothing can be interpreted purely objectively. Therefore it is important that the researcher's own perspective is made explicit. I have tried to do that throughout this paper.

To find the answers to my questions I have conducted a literature study and used both qualitative and quantitative methods. Combining both qualitative and quantitative methods I see as a large advantage: quantitative methods provide me with a broad overview of the situation in entire Berlin while qualitative methods provide me the stories behind the statistical data.

- **Multi Method Design**

Niglas (2004) proposes to use the term Multimethod design when it concerns a "design where both quantitative and qualitative approaches are used, but they remain relatively independent until the interpretation stage" (pp. 11), and the term Mixed design when "designs where elements of quantitative and qualitative approach are combined in various ways within different phases of the study". Using this terminology, I can say I have used a multimethod design. My quantitative and qualitative data are only combined at the end of my research: after having analyzed both of them separately, I compare the results and draw conclusions. Sometimes this method is also referred to as a multistrand mixed design.

In my research, the qualitative data have priority, since these data was gathered by myself and thus also reveals answers to question I felt were important. But the WZB survey was conducted by others and the focus of the survey was much more on political integration than is the case in my research.

Why did I combine these two methods? A practical reason is that the quantitative database was available to me and I thought it would cost me only little time to analyze the data while it would serve me with a much broader overview. Next to that, the information gathered from the qualitative and quantitative methods could complement each other by elaborating on the results from one method with the results of the other,

give illustrations and clarification, and it would bring more correspondence and corroboration of the results (Bryman, 2006). But the qualitative method would also reveal mistakes in questions or in interpretation of the answers of the quantitative survey, one example being the concept trust (explained in detail in chapter six). I have thus used my in depth interviews to explain findings from the quantitative study. In general it can be said that weaknesses of both methods could be offset by using the strength of the other (Bryman, 2006).

3.3 Measuring ethnic residential segregation: How?

The Index of Dissimilarity measures the spread of a group relative to the rest of the population. It indicates the percentage of a population group that would have to move elsewhere in order to achieve an equal population distribution of the group over the geographical unit in question.

The formula for the Index of Dissimilarity is as follows:

$$\frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^N \left| \frac{b_i}{B} - \frac{w_i}{W} \right|$$

Where

- b_i = the minority population of the i^{th} area, e.g. census tract
- B = the total minority population of the large geographic entity for which the Index of Dissimilarity is being calculated.
- w_i = the majority population of the i^{th} area
- W = the total majority population of the large geographic entity for which the Index of Dissimilarity is being calculated.

An DI of 0 means no segregation, values under 0,4 are generally considered as low segregation, values from 0,4 to 0,59 as moderately high, from 0,6 to 0,69 as high, and above 0,7 as very high” (Parkinson et al. 2006, in Simpson, 2007, pp.406). This index is not optimal, since it actually is aspatial.

“It does not make any difference for the outcome of the measure whether subareas with an ‘excessive percentage’ of immigrants are close together or are, in fact, spread far and wide across the study area” (Deurloo and de Vos, 2008: pp. 333)

Calculating the index of exposure and of isolation would be more useful since it measures the chance that one encounters persons from the other group or similarly the chance that one does not meet them, but as will be explained, there was only data available about nationality on the smaller areal units and not about Turkish background. Therefore I felt calculating this index does not really make sense.

I have mainly used the Index of Dissimilarity to show how the level of segregation in Berlin and in Germany has developed during the last decades and how small or large the number is compared to other countries and cities.

3.4 Selection of the two neighbourhoods

When studying ethnic residential segregation, it is especially important that the neighbourhoods you compare are evenly spread out / that inhabitants are living in both areas close together. “..This is a serious deficiency of the measure, because theory in this field indicates that the probability of social interaction decreases with spatial distance” (Deurloo and de Vos, 2008: pp. 333)

I have calculated the Dissimilarity Index per Bezirk. It was not possible to do this on a smaller level, since in the calculation the sum of the smallest available data has to be used. The Index of Dissimilarity is largest for Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, which is since the reform in 2001 made up of both an Eastern and a Western area. Next to this I have tried to calculate the index of exposure (interaction and isolation) but the number does not tell us something as there is only data available on this level of German and Turkish nationals, and no numbers of people with a Turkish background². As I needed data on a smaller level, I decided to just calculate the percentage of nationals within a **LOR** (Lebensweltlich Orientierten Räume). This is not optimal, since naturalization rates per Bezirk range from 1 to 12 percent within one year, and thus generalization is impossible. Also Galonska et al. have noted in 2004 that surveys dealing with foreigners instead of with people with an immigration background are no longer representative for the migrant population within Germany, but I had no choice.

I decided to select two neighbourhoods looking at the following characteristics: share of Turkish nationals, share of foreigners, size of neighbourhood, inhabitants and percentages of unemployment. These data stem from the Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung and are on LOR level. In Appendix 1 the maps of my two research areas can be found.

The neighbourhood with the highest share of Turkish nationals is Oranienplatz. Exact numbers will be given in Chapter 4. Finding a neighbourhood with similar high levels of unemployment and similar size and spatial characteristics, but with low levels of Turkish and of foreigners was difficult. Low shares of Turkish are mainly found in the Eastern districts (Pre-communist Berlin), but one cannot compare the situation there with a Western district, as the Turkish settlement there is relatively new: only since the fall of the Berlin wall have some been moving to the East. Neighbourhoods with the right characteristics were also found in the outer skirts of Berlin. But here the population density is much lower, which is likely to influence the amount of contact; and thus it was not a good option either.

Bayerischer Platz in Schöneberg was the most plausible option. Numbers of foreigners are about half or less, and the percentage of Turks is a lot lower. Unfortunately unemployment numbers were also somewhat lower, but I did not see this as problematic as long as I keep it in mind. (It was also for practical reasons that I did not choose a

² Numbers on migration background on LOR level are not available for data security reasons. One is not allowed to publish data of third persons if these tell you something about an certain absolute number of people which is below a certain level. (Raiser, 2009) (Where this level is set is not clear to me)

neighbourhood too far away from where I live, since it would cost me too much time to travel there every time.)

3.5 Quantitative methods

“The advantage of using quantitative variables and indicators are parsimony, precision, and ease of analysis. Where key program elements can be quantified with validity, reliability, and credibility, and where necessary statistical assumptions can be met, (...) then statistical portrayals can be quite powerful and succinct.” (Patton, 1990, pp. 50)

The WZB has enabled me to use one of their databases. This data was gathered for a study which compared immigrants in Berlin with immigrants in Amsterdam. The project was called: *Quality of the multicultural democracy in Amsterdam and Berlin: civic communities, integration and local government policy*. The researchers have mainly focused on political integration of immigrant groups in Berlin and one of the articles published after this study is Berger et al., 2004. But there are also questions about contacts, friendships, trust, nationality, migration history etc. included, which were useful for me.

My knowledge of statistical analyses is limited, and I have not been able to test most of the relationships (between various dependent and independent variables) statistically since I did not have the large amount of time which I would have needed to be able to do so. But the descriptive statistics are also useful and help forming a broader view of the situation in Berlin.

- **Sampling strategy**

Sampling was conducted using first and last names in a telephone directory. There was a Directory on CD-Rom available and a computer selected Turkish names and drew a sample. Berger et al. do realize that less than half of the Turkish descendents can be reached in this way (not all people can be found in the telephone directory and a Turkish woman can have married someone with another background which makes it impossible to recognize her by looking at her last name). However they feel the advantage that selection is not based on legal status, weighs stronger. Telephone interviews were conducted in German or in the native language. Next to the 307 Turkish migrants, 305 Germans were interviewed (the other migrant groups are not relevant for me). Turkish migrants were selected under the condition that one of their parents was born in Turkey. With the use of a quota age and sex were controlled for (Galonska et al., 2004) (In this paper, the questionnaires used can be found). It is important to keep in mind that the interviews were held in November 2001; several policies have changed since that time and might have had quite an impact on the indicators.

3.6 Qualitative methods

"We should study neighbourhood mechanisms in more depth - for example, through qualitative research – in order to understand the barriers that hinder bridging in multiethnic neighbourhoods" (Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2007)

"The advantages of qualitative portrayals of holistic settings and impacts is that greater attention can be given to nuance, setting, interdependencies, complexities, idiosyncrasies, and context" (Patton, 1990, pp 51)

Especially the interdependencies and the complexities are relevant in my research setting, as phenomena are often very context dependent and as it is often not clear in what way relationships work: what is cause and what is effect? The interviews helped me to find this out.

What I feel the largest advantage of qualitative research is, is that it gives us an idea of what drives our respondents, what their perceptions of things are, what their experiences are, how these experiences have influenced their perceptions and what struggles they encounter (Smets and den Uyl, 2008). Qualitative research is very helpful when trying to uncover neighbourhood effects and it often provides deeper insights on the mechanisms behind these neighbourhood effects (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2004 and Smets and den Uyl, 2008). One uses open interviews when one wants to find out what the ideas, thoughts and experiences of people are, what important choices they feel they have made in their life and how they experienced certain situations. Open interviews are also used for complex problems. Both of these criteria hold true in my research, so therefore I have chosen to work with these kind of interviews. Because I still want to be sure I get the answer to all my questions, the open interview is combined with semi-structured questions. Baarda and his colleagues call these half-structured interviews. A topic list is used, but what the questions asked will be is beforehand not known (Baarda et al., 2000). Thus even though the so called semi-structured in depth interviews I have conducted are open interviews, they are not completely open ended; I did not leave the respondents so much space that they could talk about everything they felt like talking about. Neither have I gone through a list of closed questions. In every interview I used a topic list, containing the topics and question I wanted to have an answer on.

In depth interviews provide qualitative insights, details and add meaning into personal and individual experiences. As Patton puts it: "The open-ended responses permit one to understand the world as seen by the respondents....-. The purpose of gathering responses to open-ended questions is to enable the researcher to understand and capture the points of view of other people without predetermining those points of view through prior selection of questionnaire categories" (Patton, 1990, pp. 24). This argument I feel is important. One should try to avoid looking through his own framework too much. As a researcher there is always the danger that when you test a certain theory, you are unconsciously only looking for the answers you want to hear and filter the information in a certain way. When using in depth interviews, one can try to dig a little bit deeper and try to see the same topic from different perspectives, namely from your respondents' perspectives.

3.6.1 Sampling strategy

I set up a rather extensive sampling strategy at the beginning of my research, but it turned out that I had to go in the direction of convenient sampling in the end. I started listing all the street names and randomly selected 10 streets using Excel. For the selected streets, I have looked which house numbers were included in the LOR, and I have used the internet website RANDOM.org to select one house number for every street. My plan was to go to these houses, and see whether I can find a Turkish name on the nametags next to the door. If not so, I would try it at the neighbouring house on the right and subsequently the house on the left. As I wanted to have both men and women and both 1st and 2nd (possibly also 3rd) generation, and as I wanted to compare people from two neighbourhoods, I decided to be critical about which person in the household to interview after a few interviews.

This is a form of *Intensity sampling*, where you look for information rich cases that can show you, have experience with or can talk about the phenomenon you are interested in. Within this sampling strategy, I planned to use another strategy, namely *maximum variation sampling*. This strategy is useful to describe the variation in the groups and helps to understand variations in experiences while also investigating core elements and shared outcomes. It helps to find common patterns of significance within this variation. Also Sayer (1984) stresses the possible importance of variation: when studying a phenomenon, the study objects need not be typical: they may be selected one by one as the research develops and your ideas of the concept change.

Later I have selected my respondents using *opportunistic sampling*, which means that one decides on the spot how to select the respondents, so as to take advantage of newly arrived opportunities, and to depend on knowledge gathered in the field (Patton, 1990). In one of the neighbourhoods there were not enough Turks to follow the random sampling method, so I just approached all the persons with a Turkish background I could find. In the other neighbourhood, it was difficult to get the Turks to cooperate, so I tried approaching them by e-mail or via via as well. (Patton, 1990) As it was difficult to find people to cooperate I was happy with all the Turkish people who were willing to talk to me.

I have of course still tried to select my respondents as randomly as possible. We can call this *purposeful random sampling*. It means the researcher identifies the population that is of interest. One subsequently develops a systematic way of selecting cases (in my case also to influence by the availability of respondents). The purpose is not to foster representativeness, but instead to increase the credibility of your research (Patton, 1990).

For the Germans, I have followed the *random sampling strategy* explained above, but also here I kept in mind that the respondents from the two neighbourhoods were to be compared.

As already mentioned, it was a tough job finding my respondents. Most of the people I approached were not interested to talk to me. This might be due to the sensitivity of the topic, especially for the Turkish descendents. They already feel stigmatized and do not want to talk about there experiences as immigrants. They sometimes prefer to be viewed as being a German. Approaching people on the street did often not work, since

not all people lived in that neighbourhood. Besides this, these people are most of the times on the way, and do not have the time for me. I approached most of the respondents by ringing their doorbell. Also making appointments with people of Turkish descent turned out to be somewhat problematic. Various times they have given me their phone number to set a date. But when calling back, excuses seemed popular, and when leaving messages on their answering machines no reactions came. Eventually I decided to ask them directly whether they still wanted to participate and it seems to me that only at that point were they able to be honest and say no. Most of the Germans simply said right away they were not interested.

3.6.2 Analyses

I have transcribed all of the interviews in English (originally they were all in German), as this would cost me the least time. I have chosen to then analyze the 20 interviews I had with Germans and with people with a Turkish background by hand, and not by using computer programmes. The advantage of Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (like Atlas.ti) is that it is possible to handle large quantities of data and that coding is easy. But with 20 interviews I feel these advantages are not strong enough to win from the disadvantages: you have less overview and the researcher is alienated more from the data (van Hoven and Poelman, 2003). Besides this: it would take me quite some time to get to know the software and the software was not available to me at home.

Using content analysis where certain words are counted was not the best way I felt. You then come up with codes and categories you think are important without being able to use the interviews themselves in your argument why you are paying so much attention to these words. You will in this way shape the analysis too much towards desirable conclusions. It is important to consider that there are causal mechanisms at work outside the text, so looking at the context and paying not only attention to what is being said but also to the way in which it is being said are important (Pratt, 1995). I started by reading through all my interviews twice, and then came up with two topic lists, one for the persons with a German background and one for the persons with a Turkish background. These schemes can be found in Appendix 2. This is also what is done in grounded theory: emerging categories are identified after reading through the texts and are not seen as something pre-given and existing. Concepts of course came back in my theory, but I did not limit my analyses to those (Pratt, 1995). When analyzing the categories, I have paid special attention to quotes within their context. Pratt (1995) also states that it is important to be selective using so much data and analyzing it in an extensive way.

The analyses I have conducted are inductive. This means they look for specific phenomena and then try to construct more general patterns. What I feel is very important about this approach is that one is not supposed to look at the phenomenon with imposing pre-existing expectations. I do think it is important to keep in mind what variables might be important, but to also expect certain kind of relationships to emerge makes you look to situations in a more or less coloured way which might lead you to miss certain other

important information. If the focus in the research is on individuals, which is the case in my research, “an inductive approach begins with the individual experiences of those individuals”. An open interview is used for inductive analysis, and it therefore also explains my choice for this kind of qualitative research. (Patton, 1990, pp. 45) But of course I have started with reading literature written by others which gave me an idea of possible relationships and which made me focus on only certain aspects, instead of studying everything. This delineation was necessary to make sure my research would not be too complex and because my time was limited.

In the analysis I have tried to be constantly aware of the fact that I am interpreting everything in my own way. A sigh or a certain word choice might mean something else to me than to another researcher. The analyses of the in depth interviews will be presented in Chapter 7.

3.6.3 Limitations and advantages

I am aware of the fact that the answers given in the interviews are prone to coincidence: maybe the respondent has recently experienced something bad, like a conflict with his or her partner, which causes his or her opinion on certain topics to differ from for example a week earlier.

The topics discussed in the interviews are not identical because I have added some questions in the course of my field work because I found out later (or had just not thought of them in the beginning) that these were useful items. One example is the opinion of respondents about segregation. I have first held the interviews with persons with a Turkish background. Only when I started talking to the Germans did I realize how important it was to discuss this theme in a direct way. It is of course unfortunate that I did not cover these important themes in all the interviews, but I think it is almost unavoidable that your direction changes somewhat, especially when it is your first time you are working on your own research project. Patton also states it is not possible to completely specify a qualitative design in advance of the fieldwork, according to him it is not possible to already specify the operational variables and state testable hypotheses. This will emerge as the study unfolds.

I feel it was advantageous that I have lived in Berlin for five months and especially that my residence was near one of the research areas. It enabled me to keep my ears open and pick up parts of conversations, information on the streets and observe certain phenomena. This has all shaped my view on the topic and has been helpful analyzing the rest of my data. Besides this, I was able to talk to many people about the topic informally. This I have mainly used in addition to the other interviews, to be able to interpret other’s opinions and to get a general idea. Also Patton (1990) emphasizes the importance of going into the field when doing qualitative research; direct and personal contact is necessary to understand one’s life. This is also the reason why I preferred conducting the interviews in the respondents’ homes whenever this was possible. Seeing their living situation and experiencing how they deal with their children has been helpful,

and it gave me the chance to see in what language they really spoke to each other at home.

3.6.4 *The concept trust*

I have struggled a lot to find out how to best measure trust. As I have experienced in many meetings and conversations at the WZB, it is in the social science field a highly contested concept. A lot of studies have focused on trust in social surroundings, but I am not satisfied with the questions that are used to measure it. The most common question is: "Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?" I am convinced that this does not really measure the degree of trust. When only looking at myself: I would not know what answer to give to this question. The question comes from Robert Putnam (see for example Putnam 2007), who is seen as a leading researcher, but I feel social scientists should still be more critical about his method.

The answers to questions about trust are I think more reliable when asked in a written questionnaire, than in a face-to-face interview. I think, and also experienced, that people tend to give more socially desirable and acceptable answers. I often felt that from the moment I rang their doorbell, people were very suspicious, but when asking about trust they said to trust everybody. So I have myself also struggled with the operationalisation of the concept and am aware that it is far from perfect. Additional questions I have used are: "Does anyone have a key of your house?", "When you need money, who would you ask?" and "Do you feel there is a difference in the trust you have in persons from different nationalities?"

3.6.5 *The interviews with specialists*

I have been able to interview Andreas Kapphan, who is a Federal Government Commissioner for Migration, Refugees and Integration, Ulrich Raiser, who works at the Büro des Beauftragten für Integration und Migration des Berliner Senats and I have talked to Ulrike Koch, a project leader of the Diakonische Werk in Kreuzberg. Baarda et al. (2000) call the interviews I have conducted with people with special knowledge on certain topics "expert- or informant interviews". They are well informed, well educated, and some of them also well located (in the specific neighbourhoods).

I have used these expert interviews mainly as an extension to my literature study. Therefore throughout this paper I will refer to the interviews I had with the above mentioned specialists.

4 STATISTICS

A little bit more than a quarter (25.7 percent) of the Berlin population has an *immigration background*. I will mention the spatial distribution in more detail later, but it can already be stated here that in the Western districts this share is almost 3 times as high as in the Eastern part of the city (namely 10.5 percent against 30.4 percent) (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2008). A rather large part of this group has a German nationality, which causes the share of non-German residents in Berlin to be “only” 14 percent. (Der Beauftragte des Senats von Berlin für Integration und Migration, 2007). It is estimated that there are about 100,000 persons without a residence permit residing in Berlin nowadays (Der Beauftragte des Senats von Berlin für Integration und Migration, 2007).³

I will come back to the following statistic later in detail, but I feel it is important to already mention that at this moment: 40 percent of the children under 18 in Berlin has an immigration background (Der Beauftragte des Senats von Berlin für Integration und Migration, 2007). This clearly shows how important this group will be for the future of the city.

Unfortunately not all statistics are available on the level of immigration background. Therefore I often refer to foreigners instead. It has to be kept in mind that these two groups are different and that statistics are not to be compared.

4.1 Descent

Of all the foreigners in Berlin in 2007, 300,000 are Europeans, almost 70,000 are Asian (Vietnamese, Chinese, Lebanese and Iranian), 18,000 African (Ghanese, Egyptian, Tunisian) and 25,000 American. The largest group of non Germans in Berlin has a Turkish nationality: 114,735 in 2007. The rest of the non-German population in Berlin is a diverse group. With about 70,000 the second largest are nationals of the EU-15, of which the Polish form the largest group. From 1991 their number has increased considerably with almost 70 percent up to 44,000. Serbians and Montenegros (23,700) and Russians (about 25,000 if Ukraine and Belarus are included) represent the rest of the large categories (Der Beauftragte des Senats von Berlin für Integration und Migration, 2007).

While the Turks represented 38.7 percent of the foreigners in 1991, they now only represent 24.2 percent. This does not mean that fewer people with a Turkish nationality have moved to Berlin or that many have remigrated to Turkey. This number has simply decreased since more Turkish people have received the German nationality, which is among other things thanks to the Optionsregelung. Since 1991 more than 60,000 Turkish people residing in Berlin have been “eingebürgert” (received the German nationality). To get an idea how popular this new option is among the Turkish population: From the

³ According to Kapphan (2009) the statistics about illegal immigrants are not valid anymore. It dates from before 2004, when Poland and other Eastern European Countries became Member States of the European Union. Many who were included in those numbers are now legally working and / or residing in Germany.

11,234 children born from Turkish parents, 9,186 have received a German passport. This also clearly shows that taking notice and gathering data of the foreigners group in a research is not sufficient anymore (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2008). More than 50 percent of the Turkish citizens have been in Berlin for at least the last 20 years. About 20 percent of the Turkish immigrants (without a German passport) has moved back to their home country during the last 10 years (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2008). Since a few years it is therefore also recognized that the Turks are not temporary migrants and should be treated as long term civilians.

4.2 Naturalization

In 1978 it was possible for immigrants to obtain an unlimited residence permit after your five year permit had expired. Another eight years later one could get a permanent one (Ireland, 2004). Until 2000 one could obtain German nationality after having lived in the country for 15 years, but since the start of this millennium one can exchange his own passport for a German one after having lived in Germany for eight years. Next to this condition, one also has to have a sufficient knowledge of the German language, one cannot have a criminal record, should obey the law and should be able to financially support himself. In principal one has to give up his previous nationality when choosing to become German, but there are exceptions (German Federal Foreign Office, 2009). Until 1981 it was not possible for Turkish citizens to hold dual citizenship, but an adjustment in the Turkish law has made this possible as long as the other country also allows this (Içduygu, 2005)

Up to 2000, the so-called "ius sanguinis" principle was in force in Germany: you are German when you are born from German parents. But with the ratification of a new law this was changed: it states that children born from non German parents will automatically obtain a temporary double citizenship by birth if one of their parents has stayed in Germany on a regular basis for the previous eight years. This is often referred to as nationality based on the "ius soli" principle. From their 18th birthdays up to their 23rd birthday these adolescents have the right to choose between the nationality of their parents and the German nationality (this is called the Optionsregelung). As a result of this law, in 2006 about 7 percent and in 2000 about 10.4 percent of the newly born children in Germany had a foreign nationality, compared to more than 18 percent in 1999 (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2008).

Berlin is, and has been, the state with the highest shares of nationalizations. The fact that it has granted about 30 percent of all naturalizations within Germany is due to a long term successful campaign (Ireland, 2004). Berlin has started a new promotion round for naturalisation of youth in 2005, mainly through information campaigns and a simplification of the naturalisation procedure. It has so far been able to counteract the trend of a declining rate. It is hoped that in this way the identification with Germany will be raised (Der Beauftragte des Senats von Berlin für Integration und Migration, 2007).

That naturalization rates differ per Bezirk can be read in table 4.1. The following rule seems to hold: the smaller the share of Turkish nationals within a district, the higher the naturalization rates (at least in 2006 and 2007). High shares of Turks coincide with

less naturalization. It can be that when all persons you are surrounded by have already become German, it is easy and logical to follow them and to the same, but it could also be true that the small shares of Turks influences the desire to become German. One might feel more Turkish because one is surrounded by his or her own group.

Table 4.1 Nationalization rates among Turks for 2006 and 2007, per Bezirk

	% of Turks that got nationalized in 2006	% of Turks that got nationalized in 2007	Share of Turks
Mitte	1.6	1.9	7
Fiedr. Kreuzberg	1.5	1.4	8
Pankow	5.7	8.6	0.3
Charlottenburg Wilmersdorf	3.7	3.5	2
Spandau	2.0	2.5	3
Steglitz Zehlendorf	6.3	4.1	1
Tempelhof Schöneberg	1.8	1.7	4
Neukölln	1.4	1.5	8
Treptow-köpenick	6.8	5.0	0.3
Marzahn Hellersdorf	6.5	11.9	0.2
Lichtenberg	12.3	9.3	0.24
Reinickendorf	2.1	2.1	3
Berlin	7.0	2.1	3.5

Sources: Calculations done by Geraedts, 2009

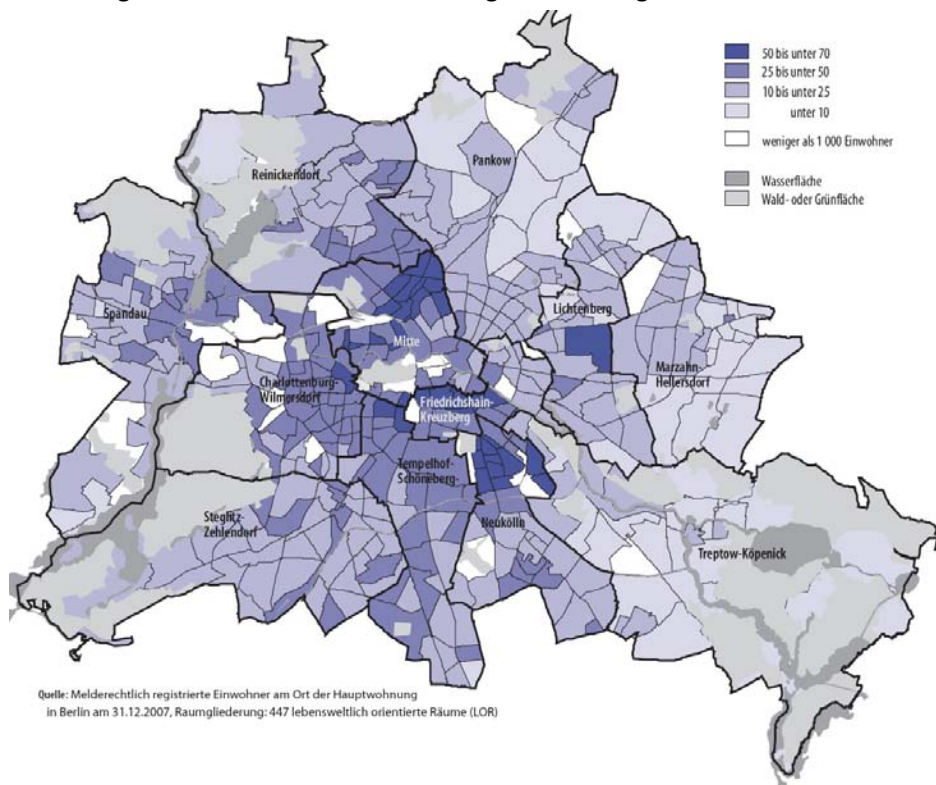
Data from Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2006 and 2007

4.3 Spread of persons with an immigration background within Berlin

The spread of inhabitants with an immigration background in Berlin is shown graphically by Bezirksregion in Figure 4.1. (In Appendix 3 one can find a less specific map of the spread of non-German nationals in Berlin by districts, and the specific areas within the Bezirksregionen where the largest percentages of inhabitants with an immigration background can be found, are listed in Appendix 4). It is clear that fewer immigrants live in the Eastern part of Berlin. (For example: only 2 percent of the Turkish population lived in Eastern Berlin in 1996 (Kemper, 1998).) This still reflects the little foreign labour recruitment by the DDR and the much larger recruitment of Gastarbeiter by Western Germany after the wall was built as will be explained in more detail in Chapter 5 (Der Beauftragte des Senats von Berlin für Integration und Migration, 2007).

The share of non-Germans with an immigration background in the districts Mitte, Neukölln and Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg are respectively 44.5, 38.7 and 36.6 percent (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2008).

Figure 4.1 Inhabitants with immigration background in % at 31-12-2007



Source: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2008

Russian speaking immigrants (Russians, Ukrainians and Belarus') which account for about 44,000 people tend to concentrate in Lichtenberg, Charlottenburg and Marzahn-Hellersdorf. Polish immigrants (with a total of 25,000) seem to prefer the city

centre of Western Berlin and Lichtenberg (Der Beauftragte des Senats von Berlin für Integration und Migration, 2007).

In the following table(4.2) published by Ohliger and Raiser for Der Beauftragte des Senats von Berlin für Integration und Migration (2005), the distribution of foreigners per nationality can be found by district.

Table 4.2 Foreigners in Berlin by nationality and district in 2003

Staatsangehörigkeit	Berlin		Mitte	Friedrichshain/Kreuzberg	Pankow	Charlottenburg/Wilmersdorf	Spandau	Steglitz/Zehlendorf	Tempelhof/Schöneberg	Neukölln	Treptow/Köpenick	Marzahn/Hellersdorf	Lichtenberg	Reinickendorf
	gesamt	darunter weiblich												
Sonstige	130.067	60.575	25.562	14.562	7.399	20.227	5.342	11.493	14.021	15.260	2.353	2.343	5.833	5.643
Türkei	120.684	55.556	30.153	23.535	854	7.344	7.258	3.409	13.707	26.451	678	381	544	6.370
EU-15	68.456	29.570	9.617	9.009	6.340	12.358	2.828	5.733	8.789	6.191	957	646	1.979	4.009
Ex-Jugoslawien*	53.769	25.457	10.256	4.732	1.154	5.598	3.414	3.130	6.607	11.557	1.011	732	2.389	3.218
Polen	32.291	17.823	4.797	2.365	1.401	4.157	2.400	2.755	3.940	4.327	733	647	2.214	2.555
Russland**	28.335	16.260	4.741	2.056	1.967	5.278	1.411	1.955	3.446	1.835	984	1.513	2.208	941
Vietnam	10.425	5.353	982	1.376	918	375	136	143	291	448	692	1.579	3.223	262
Ausländer (ges.)	444.027	210.594	86.108	57.635	20.033	55.337	22.789	28.618	50.801	66.069	7.408	7.841	18.390	22.998
Einwohner (ges.)	3.328.291	1.619.735	315.205	250.184	341.032	308.505	217.821	284.972	329.450	301.953	231.925	249.214	251.423	246.607
Ausländerquote	13,34%		27,32%	23,04%	5,87%	17,94%	10,46%	10,04%	15,42%	21,88%	3,19%	3,15%	7,31%	9,33%

Source: Ohliger and Raiser, 2005

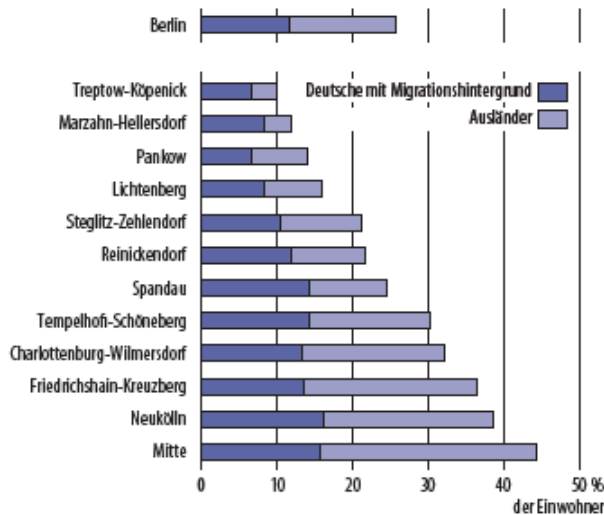
As can be seen numbers of Turks are highest in the districts Mitte, Friedrichshain/Kreuzberg and Neukölln. In these last two districts they also represent almost half of the foreigners situated there in total. Their share is a bit smaller in Mitte, Tempelhof/Schöneberg, in Spandau and in Reickendorf, and a lot smaller in the rest of the districts (data: 2003, Ohliger and Raiser, 2005). In Appendix 5 one can find a map with the spread of Turkish nationals throughout Berlin.

What is also interesting are the differences in percentages of Germans with an immigration background and the foreigners between the different neighbourhoods in Berlin (thus the ones with and without a German passport). In Figure 4.2 this is shown. It can be concluded that the larger the share of persons with an immigration background in a neighbourhood, the smaller is the percentage of immigrants with a German nationality within this group. So in the mainly “white” district Treptow-Köpenick, almost all persons with an immigration background have a German passport, while in the more “coloured” Mitte only one third of the persons with an immigration background are German by law (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2008). A more detailed overview can be found in Appendix 6.

Within Berlin very strong borders exist between certain areas which are defined by history, social structure of the population and by specific forms of urban life (Kapphan, 2009) One example is the difference between migrant population of Wedding, Neukölln and Kreuzberg: Wedding and Neukölln are traditional and rather poor areas and therefore the larger share of the Turkish population that is found here is labour market oriented and exists of lower working class people. In Kreuzberg more self-employed,

merchant middle class and academic Turkish people can be found, and in comparison a strong and large Kurdish community. Often second generation Turkish immigrants who have become middle class have moved out of Kreuzberg and have started to settle in neighbourhoods like Bayerischer Platz (Raiser, 2009).

Figure 4.2 Inhabitants of Berlin at 31.12.2007 by immigration status and neighbourhood



Source: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2008

4.3.1 Changing settlement of foreigners

In the table in Appendix 7 and in the diagram in Appendix 8 it can be read how the percentages of registered foreigners per district have changed over time. I will shortly mention the trends here. One has to be careful comparing numbers over the years per district, as the composition of certain districts has changed, due to a municipal reform. In the first part of this table, the new distribution of districts and its numbers are given. Concerning immigration data and the analyses of this data, it is unfortunate that many districts are now taken together, as the available information is now less detailed and less area specific.

While the absolute numbers of foreigners in Berlin has grown by 32 percent from 1991 to 2007, there are some districts where this growth is larger (i.e.: Mitte 306 %, Prenzlauerberg 702 %, Friedrichshain 539 %, Köpenick 175 %, Treptow 472 %, Weissensee 342 % and Pankow 147 %) and in some districts the share of foreigners has slightly decreased, such as in Kreuzberg and Spandau. The explanation of this decrease can be the Optionsregelung used by many Turkish and other foreigners. The strong growth in many Eastern districts is also displayed here: 192 percent growth of the share of foreigners in Eastern Berlin, compared to “only” 17 percent growth in Western Berlin (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2008). While still immigrants in East-Berlin are underrepresented, it seems to become a more popular place to settle for foreigners. More about the history and developments of settlement can be read in Chapter 5.

The Commission for Integration and Migration for Berlin also notes that many immigrants are concentrated in the city center and summarizes the reasons as following: the centre is a better starting point for new immigrants with little income than middle class residential areas. Second, at time of arrival of the Turkish, Southern European and former Yugoslavian immigrants, there was a lot of cheap housing available in these centres. This trend is still in place, as most of the immigration in these districts is facilitated by chain migration of the same ethnic groups. At last, one should realize that many middle-class Germans have retreated to suburbs. This withdrawal of middle class Germans to neighbouring suburbs (mainly in the state of Brandenburg) is steered by the lower land and real estate prices outside Berlin: over the last 13 years, about 150,000 Germans have left the capital, against an influx of 180,000 newly arrived immigrants. But the immigration surplus cannot make up for the population loss caused by higher death than birth rates (Der Beauftragte des Senats von Berlin für Integration und Migration, 2007). In chapter five I will extend on the history and the developments of settlement.

4.3.2 Ethnic residential segregation: Dissimilarity Index for Turks in 2007

In Table 4.3 one can find the Dissimilarity Indexes which I calculated per Bezirk and for Berlin, which are indicators for ethnic residential segregation. As mentioned before, the numbers do not tell us that much: first reason is that numbers of persons with a Turkish background are not available, so that Turkish nationality had to be used. Second is that these numbers only show how evenly/unevenly Turks are spread throughout one district. It does not show whether there are a lot of Turks clustered in for example Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg compared to the rest of Berlin. It only tells us that in this Bezirk, Turks are spread less equally than for example in Neukölln, but this is mainly due to the more or less split character of the former Bezirk: in the former Eastern Berlin district Friedrichshain hardly any Turks live; all are living in Kreuzberg.

Table 4.3 Dissimilarity Index⁴

Bezirk	Dissimilarity Index of people with a Turkish nationality – non-Turks	Dissimilarity Index of foreigners – Germans
Mitte	0.36	-
Friedrichshain Kreuzberg	0.47	-
Pankow	0.22	-
Charlottenburg-	0.31	-

⁴ One has to be careful when comparing the numbers in this table with other numbers given somewhere else in the chapter, as there has been a change in definition of districts.

Wilmerdorf		
Spandau	0.30	-
Steglitz-Zehlendorf	0.25	-
Tempelhof-Schöneberg	0.32	-
Neukölln	0.32	-
Treptow-Köpenick	0.29	-
Marzahn-Hellersdorf	0.28	-
Lichtenberg	0.22	-
Reinickendorf	0.36	-
Berlin	0.42	0.29

Sources: calculations done by Geraedts, 2009

Data used from: Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, 2007

4.4 Characteristics of the foreign population in Berlin

4.4.1 Demographics

On average the foreigners in Berlin are 5.6 years younger than the Germans: the average age of Germans in Berlin was 42.8 in 2007, compared to 37.2 for foreigners (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2008). For the Turkish nationals in Berlin the average is 34.8 years (Ohliger and Raiser, 2005). There are two factors explaining this difference: the first is the younger age of newly arriving immigrants, the other is the higher fertility rate of the foreigners. Thanks to this the greying of the German population (which is of course also noticeable in Berlin) is partly offset. It is stated that the foreign population has reduced the average age of the total Berlin population by 0.8 years in 2007, but the overall effect of immigrants is certainly higher if one also takes into account the recently naturalized immigrants (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2008). Immigration might contribute to the solution of the social welfare problem which results from the greying German population. But only if the first generation of immigrants integrates into the labour market this is possible (Ohliger and Raiser, 2005).

As can be seen in table 4.4 the share of persons with an immigration background is largest in the lower age categories. Within the categories 0-6 and 6-15 years old, more than 40 percent of the youth registered in Berlin has an immigration background, compared to the earlier mentioned share of 25.7 percent (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2008).

Table 4.4 Registered Inhabitants in Berlin with an immigration background per age category, at 31.12.2007

Im Alter von ... bis unter ... Jahren	Anteil an der jeweiligen Altersgruppe der Einwohner insgesamt in %
0 – 6	42,5
6 – 15	42,7
15 – 18	37,1
18 – 27	27,0
27 – 45	29,3
45 – 55	22,0
55 – 65	20,0
65 und älter	13,7
Insgesamt	25,7

Source: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2008

4.4.2 Socio-economic situation

Immigrants face higher levels of unemployment (depicted in Table 4.5) and are often dependent on state subsidies for a long time. The high unemployment rate can partly be explained by the deindustrialisation process that was set forth in Berlin after the fall of the Berlin Wall. Low skilled labour migrants from the first generation were then affected in a disproportionate negative way (Der Beauftragte des Senats von Berlin für Integration und Migration, 2007). The city of Berlin experienced a serious crisis. Not only did the producing sector diminish its output, also in other sectors, such as in the public sector, jobs disappeared. Less people at work meant fewer taxes to be collected and thus was there less money to be invested in the city. New jobs were created, but these were almost always either good paid jobs in the service sector or very badly paid, lowly skilled jobs. Most migrants were not educated to work in the financial sector, as a lawyer or in communication. They did not enjoy the new money that seemed to exist. A new socio-economic polarisation was formed (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002). As amongst the lowly qualified labour force there were many Turkish immigrants they were hardest hit of all migrant groups and many were thrown out of the labour market in the crisis of the mid 90s. Many have never managed to get back in, so this group takes up a large share of unemployment and many are dependent on social welfare (Raiser, 2009) But also before the fall of the wall immigrants in Germany were affected disproportionately: between 1973 and 1990 the amount of people receiving state support more than tripled. Because immigrants often did not have a long working history and because their incomes were on average lower they were not very likely to receive unemployment insurance benefits. This made them more dependant on the social assistance they received (Ireland, 2004).

Similar high levels of unemployment for immigrants can be found in many European countries: many guest workers were hired in the late days of the Fordist economy. They became unemployed as their skills did not fit the more modern economic system (Musterd, 2005). But also in general, an immigrant's skills, acquired abroad, are often either not needed here or there diplomas might not be recognized. In general it can be claimed that migration often leads to dequalification. One needs sufficient knowledge of the culture, society and language of the receiving country and it is often more difficult to find a job without the right contacts, especially when the labour market is stressed. Jobs which require no or fewer skills are often easier to find (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002).

In 2005, when employment figures of non-Germans were raised by 20,000 compared to 2003, this process of decreasing employment seemed to have been partly halted. The explanation for this decrease is the growth in self-employment. In these two years the number of self employed non-German nationals in Berlin rose from 22,900 to 40,200, which meant that almost one fourth of the employed persons with a foreign nationality was self-employed in 2006, compared to 15.6 percent of the Germans (Der Beauftragte des Senats von Berlin für Integration und Migration, 2007).

Table 4.5 Unemployment of German and non-German nationals in Berlin in 1998-2007

Year ¹	Total	in % ²	German		Non-German			
			total	in % ²	total	in % ²	There from females	in %
1998	273,118	17.9	228,003	16.4	45,115	33.5	17,038	37.8
1999	268,174	17.7	222,602	16.1	45,572	34.0	17,269	37.9
2000	264,819	17.6	219,211	16.0	45,608	34.0	17,311	38.0
2001	272,330	17.9	225,525	16.3	46,805	35.7	17,936	38.3
2002	288,285	18.9	238,440	17.1	49,845	38.0	19,277	38.7
2003	306,462	20.2	253,975	18.4	52,488	38.8	20,321	38.7
2004	298,358	19.9	246,476	18.0	51,882	38.3	20,441	39.4
2005	319,178	21.5	257,230	19.1	59,515	44.1	25,960	43.6
2006	293,497	20.1	235,554	17.7	57,943	41.9	25,656	44.3
2007	263,061	18.0	209,060	15.9	53,342	37.4	23,919	44.8

Source: Der Beauftragte des Senats von Berlin für Integration und Migration, 2007

4.4.3 Social welfare

Poverty in Berlin has on average increased when measured by looking at the share of inhabitants receiving social support from the government. This share was 5.5 percent in 1995, and is 8.3 percent in 2005 (Friedrichs and Triemer, 2008). It is likely to increase further as Berlin is hit rather hard by the economic crisis of 2008/2009, which is causing the unemployment figures to rise quickly.

That the socio economic situation of foreigners in Berlin is worse than that of their German counterparts is also shown clearly when looking at the share of both groups receiving social welfare (see Table 4.6). In total, shares have remained stable from 2000 to 2003, but the share of foreign children that is dependent on social welfare has increased, while the percentage among the foreign elderly has gone down. Differences between the two groups are however large, and also the situation of the foreign elderly is alarming (Ohliger and Raiser, 2005)

Table 4.6 Percentages of social help receivers within Berlin (2000-2003)

		2000	2001	2002	2003
0-14 yrs	Non Germans	29.6	30.8	32.7	32.6
	Germans	14.3	14.6	15.1	16.6
15-24 yrs	Non Germans	14.4	13.9	14.6	14.8

	Germans	7.8	7.7	8.3	8.7
25-64 yrs	Non Germans	12.5	12.2	12.3	12.6
	Germans	4.9	4.9	5.0	5.4
65 +	Non Germans	22.9	15.3	18.8	14.9
	Germans	1.9	2.0	1.8	1.4
Total	Non Germans	16.2	15.8	16.1	16.0
	Germans	6.0	5.9	6.1	6.4

Source: Ohliger and Raiser, 2005

4.4.4 Education

Students with an immigration background perform poorly in Germany. The OECD has shown in their last PISA reports (Programme for international Student Assessment), that German students perform badly compared to other countries with similar socio-economic conditions. The report has also shown that students with an immigration background have in all provinces within Germany scored considerably lower than native German students. It is remarkable that migrants' children who are born in Germany, so the second generation, almost always do worse than first generation students who are born elsewhere (PISA-Konsortium Deutschland, 2006). Especially the 2000 PISA report was a disaster: Germany landed in the bottom third of a list of 32 countries. Since it was broadly published and the status of the school system became a well known fact among all households, the government seems to have realized something needed to be done. Extra money was made available and some reforms in the school system were pushed through. For Berlin, this might have worked: Educational achievements of non-Germans seem to have risen during the last decade: in 2006, the amount of non-Germans leaving school without having attained a certificate has fallen by 4.5 percent compared to 2000, and now accounts for 15.3 percent. In this same period, the amount of immigrants having finished their *Arbitur* (university entrance qualifications) has risen from 12 to 17.8 percent (Der Beauftragte des Senats von Berlin für Integration und Migration, 2007).

To improve the education of Germans with an immigration background further, the Berlin Senate wants to do following: improve language skills, enhance individual responsibilities for parents and families and for schools, better training of educational staff and increase the share of staff with immigration background (Der Beauftragte des Senats von Berlin für Integration und Migration, 2007).

4.5 The two selected neighbourhoods: Oranienplatz and Bayerischer Platz

Oranienplatz is a neighbourhood that can be found in the district Kreuzberg-Friedrichshain, whereas Bayerischer Platz is located in Schöneberg-Tempelhof. Kreuzberg was in 1995 the poorest (12.4 percent received social subsidies) and in 2005 the second poorest district in Berlin (with 17.7 percent receiving social subsidies) (Friedrichs and Triemer, 2008).

Nowhere is the Turkish community as present as in Kreuzberg (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002). Walking through this neighbourhood you will find Turkish supermarkets, Turkish vegetable shops, Turkish banks and Turkish travel agencies offering incredibly cheap trips to Ankara and Istanbul. Also some Mosques will catch your eye, but most of them are not as visible as they are located in the so-called *Hinterhauses* and have their entrance in the backyard.

- **Oranienplatz**

Oranienplatz is located in Northern Kreuzberg (nördliche Luisenstadt). In the tables below (Table 4.7a and 4.7b) one can read that the share of Turkish nationals is high. It is inhabited by 9.297 residents, of which 19.1 percent is unemployed. Of the adolescents, 13.8 percent is unemployed. 8.1 percent has not had a job for a long time. All three numbers are considerably higher than the averages for Berlin.

Of all residents, 45.5 percent does not have a German passport, and of the ones under 18 this percentage equals 37.1. Turkish nationals make up 32.1 percent of the total population. That naturalization numbers are high can be seen by looking at the percentages of persons with an immigration background: this is 65.2 percent for all people, and as high as 84.9 percent for the youth under 18. Unemployment numbers for foreigners are in this neighbourhood twice as high as the number for Berlin: a bit more than a quarter of the foreigners is unemployed. For the rest it can be read that the population of the neighbourhood is relatively young (Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, 2007).



Figure 4.3 Kotbusser Tor in Oranienplatz

- **Bayerischer Platz**

The other neighbourhood I have studied is Bayerischer Platz in Schöneberg. Reasons for this were that the share of foreigners equals 15.6 percent and that only 3.1 percent of the inhabitants has a Turkish nationality. Next to this, the neighbourhood structure (buildings, population density) and population numbers are similar to Oranienplatz. Total unemployment, youth unemployment and long term unemployment numbers are all lower than the average and the people are on average older. Shares of persons and youth population with an immigration background are approaching the numbers for entire Berlin (Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, 2007).

This neighbourhood is often referred to as Bayerisches Viertel by the Berliner themselves, and it is known as a better-off area. Especially in the first half of the last century it was inhabited by wealthy families, which were attracted by the large apartments. During the Second World War it was heavily bombed; 90 percent of the buildings were damaged.



Figure 4.4 Typical street in Bayerischer Platz

Table 4.7a Characteristics neighbourhoods 31-12-2006

	Inhabitants	% total unemployed (18-60 yrs)	% Unemployed under 25 yrs	% Long term unemployed (18-60 yrs)	% of foreigners unemployed (18-60 yrs), at 31.12.2004	% of population under 18 yrs	% of population 65yrs +
Berlin	3.348.804	13,1	9,5	5,6	14,7	14,8	18
Bayerischer Platz	10.431	9,7	6,9	4,2	-	12,4	18,9
Oranienplatz	9.297	19,1	13,8	8,1	28	20,1	7,5

Source: Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, 2007

Table 4.7b Characteristics neighbourhoods 31-12-2006

	% foreigners under 18 of total population under 18	% of inhabitants that is Foreigner	% of Inhabitants with Turkish nationality	% of Inhabitants that has Arabic ⁵ nationality	% of Inhabitants that has CIS states ⁶ nationality	% of inhabitants with immigration background at 31.12.2007	% of inhabitants under 18 yrs with immigration background at 31.12.2007
Berlin	12,4	14,0	3,5	1,0	1,0	25,7	41,6
Bayerischer Platz	9,1	15,6	3,1	0,5	1,2	29,3	47,2
Oranienplatz	37,1	45,5	32,1	2,3	0,4	65,2	84,9

Source: Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, 2007

⁵ Arabic states: Egypt, Algeria, Bahrain, Djibouti, Iraq, Yemen, Jordan, Qatar, Camerun, Kuwait, Libanon, Libic-Arabic Dschamahinja, Mauretania, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates.

⁶ GUS States: Armenia, Aserbaijdan, Georgien, Kazachstan, Kirgisistan, Maldavia, Russian Federation, Tadschikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukrain, Uzbekistan, Belarus, former Sovjet Union.

5 BERLIN: MIGRATION, INTEGRATION AND SEGREGATION

This chapter will show the immigration and integration processes in Berlin in a historical perspective. It is shown what types of immigration Berlin has known and how large the streams were. Next, paying attention to policies in the past will help us understand why certain groups of immigrants are not spread equally throughout the city. In the last sections recent German and Berlin policies on integration and segregation are discussed.

5.1 Demographic developments

Past immigration to Berlin can be categorized into six types: labour migration, family reunion, internal migration from EU countries, repatriation of ethnic Germans, illegal migration and asylum (Der Beauftragte des Senats von Berlin für Integration und Migration, 2007). After the Second World War immigrants in Berlin were mainly guest workers which were recruited between 1955 and 1973 and who settled in West Berlin. Before 1963, Western Germany recruited a large part of its labour force in Eastern Germany. Berlin was the main recruiter and was a popular destination. But as soon as the Wall was built, the supply of Eastern workers stopped, and Western Germany had to look for a new supply (Der Beauftragte des Senats von Berlin für Integration und Migration, 2007). Their solution was the recruitment of Mediterranean Gastarbeiter. Berlin started with this almost a decade later than other West German cities. Because the labour force in Spain, Italy and Greece was now not sufficient anymore to send more workers abroad (they were the first countries to be contacted by Western Germany), mainly Turks and Yugoslavs were recruited to work in Berlin (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002). These immigrants were supposed to stay for a limited period of time, and the idea was they would be replaced by new contract workers. Under pressure of employers, who had to pay for training costs for every new employee, this rotation system was stopped already in the early 1960s. But also then nobody was really expecting the guest workers to stay (Ireland, 2004).

In 1973 there was a sudden ban: the government decided to restrict immigration because they understood many immigrants were not planning to return. The decision to suddenly restrict immigration was however justified by referring to the OPEC oil embargo (Der Beauftragte des Senats von Berlin für Integration und Migration, 2007).

Also East Germany recruited immigrants; in the 1980's guest workers were recruited in Third World countries such as Mozambique, Angola, Cuba and Vietnam. Their contract stated they were to remigrate again after four years, and as far as I am aware this is also what happened, except for the Vietnamese. The policy was to discourage their socio-cultural integration: this explains why they were located in hostels or houses in peripheral or industrial areas. Their social life should not take place in the "life spaces" of the native population (Kemper, 1998, pp.1771).

The number of non-Germans in Berlin did not exceed 100,000 until 1970 (See Figure 5.1). In the beginning of the 1970s the number of immigrants to Berlin grew, sank a little bit after the ban and stabilized towards the end of the decade, when the number had reached 200,000 (Der Beauftragte des Senats von Berlin für Integration und Migration, 2007). During the late 1970s and 1980s, many immigrants decided to stay and asked their families to come over (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002). In 1989 there

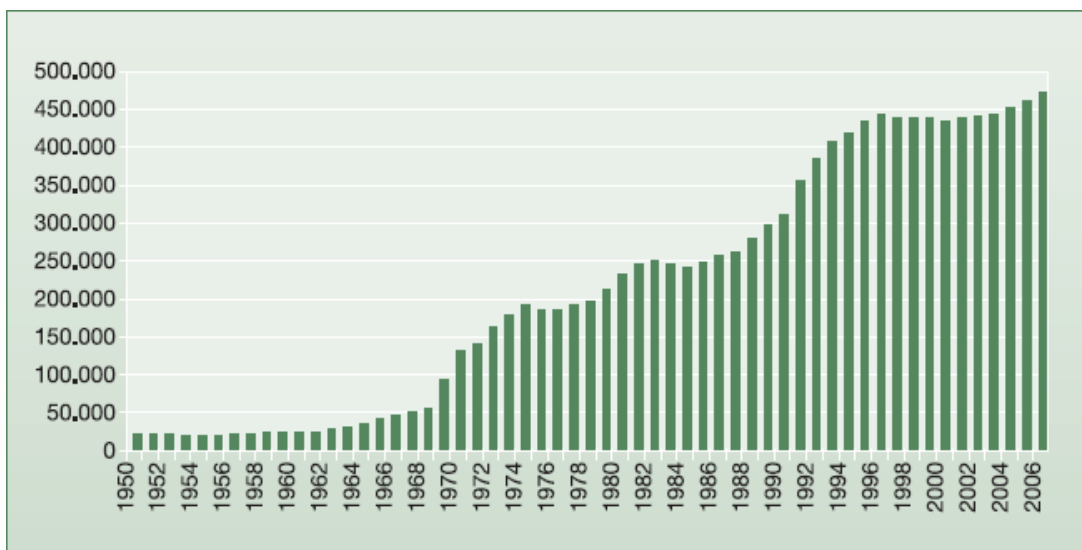
were about 300,000 immigrants in Berlin. The reasons why the number has continued to grow after the fall of the Berlin Wall (the end of the Cold War) are family reunion, refugees on the run because of the civil war in former Yugoslavia and asylum seekers from Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. The latter migration pattern was temporary, as many asylum seekers were sent back when the war ended or many were never recognized.

From the 1990s, there was also a large group of Russian Jews that was recognized by using a quota system. The rate of immigration increased: it now took only 4 years (up to 1993) to grow by another 100,000 (Der Beauftragte des Senats von Berlin für Integration und Migration, 2007).

The Federal Law for Repatriates obliges the Federal States of Germany to accommodate repatriates from Eastern Europe and Central Asia. The receiving rate for Berlin is 2.7 percent. From 1991 to 1995, about 49,000 of these so-called Aussiedler have settled in Berlin through this programme (Der Beauftragte des Senats von Berlin für Integration und Migration, 2007).

As shown in Figure 5.1 the non-German population in the new capital has remained fairly stable since the mid 1990s. This can be explained both by only little migratory movement, but also by the new Nationality Act, put in force in 2000, which states children from immigrant parents born in Germany will automatically acquire the German nationality (Der Beauftragte des Senats von Berlin für Integration und Migration, 2007).

Figure 5.1 Population of non-German nationality in Berlin 1950–2007 by 30th June 2007



Source: Statistics Bureau for Berlin and Brandenburg (in Der Beauftragte des Senats von Berlin für Integration und Migration, 2007)

After a decline during the division of the city, the population in Western Berlin grew slowly again from the mid 1980s on, which continued to be so the first few years after the **Wende**. Eastern Berlin had experienced a population growth during the first decades after the division, but this trend was soon halted. The population number did not develop as was hoped for: it goes down quite rapidly in both parts of town. The fall of the Berlin wall and the relocation of the German capital from Bonn to Berlin were expected to lead to both economic prosperity and a related demographic expansion. That it did not develop in this way can be explained by the following factors: the deindustrialisation process, by a natural development (more deaths than births) and by the fact that it was now possible again to settle in Brandenburg (Bundesland surrounding Berlin) (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002 and Der Beauftragte des Senats von Berlin für Integration und Migration, 2007).

In general it can be said that until 1995 more people settle in Berlin than leave the city, but from this time onwards it has been the other way around. One of the reasons being that nationals of former Yugoslavia had to return. Since then also more Germans have been leaving the city. Therefore, but also because most of the new foreign immigrants are younger than the German population and because on average immigrant families get more children, the share of foreigners has increased (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002).

5.2 Segregation in Berlin

The growth in levels of residential ethnic and socio-economic segregation in Europe which could be seen over the last decade is a result of the privatization and/or liberalization of the housing market and of the urban policy market (Ireland, 2004). But compared to other European and American cities, German cities have experienced only modest levels of segregation. According to Ireland this can be partly explained by the social security system and by the fact that the housing and labour market are regulated on the federal level (Ireland, 2004).

But in Berlin in the 19th century there was already strong class segregation as the construction and the distribution of houses was left to the market. Your labour market position (or your income) would determine the neighbourhood where you lived and the size of your house. Social segregation was the inevitable result. In the beginning of the next century, among more and more people the feeling that this was not fair started to come up and one started to realize this needed to change. During the Weimar republic (1919-1933) special attention was paid to this topic. It was hoped that by building social housing the link between spatial distribution and class would disappear. Entrance to this form of housing was therefore only possible if your income was not more than a specified level. Exactly that what was hoped for came about: the creation of socially mixed neighbourhoods (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002).

In the second half of the 20th century social segregation in Berlin decreased, not only because of a changing housing situation but also due to disappearing older class boundaries and the appearance of a broad band of middle class households (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002).

What developments have influenced residential patterns in Berlin and how segregation has changed since the 19th century will be explained in the following sections.

5.2.1 Before World War I

In the 19th century industrial neighbourhoods were also labour districts because people had to live close to their work as there was no public transportation or because it was not as efficient as it is today. Later on, with the construction of the U and S Bahn, this relationship largely disappeared. In the industrial districts Wedding, Spandau and Treptow the largest share of the population was labourer, which also was true for Friedrichshain, Weissensee and Neukölln, but here also some businesses (trade) could be found. Also in Kreuzberg, Prenzlauer Berg, Lichtenberg, Köpenick and Reinickendorf the share of workers was high. Civil servants mainly resided in Steglitz and Zehlendorf and in Wilmersdorf many self employed could be found. Industry was located in the North Western part of the city, while in the South West one could find the best houses and living environment (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002).

The Hobrecht Plan, which came into existence in 1862 was an urban planning designed in the early years of industrialization and was supposed to provide a solution to the booming population of Berlin. The typical Berlin urban housing blocks (in German called Mietkasernen) were built in this period. Hobrecht's idea was to mix all levels of society in these blocks, and in this way combat social segregation. But even though living conditions in the crammed blocks were poor and the desired mixing was never achieved, his plan remained in force until 1919, and had a large influence on the urban form of the city (Desyllas, 2000, Ley, 2005 and wikipedia). His plan led to higher rents and sometimes to terrible living conditions, but it was not (at least not directly) responsible for the social problems in Wedding, Neukölln and Friedrichshain. These were mainly caused by the shortage of housing and by the predominance of small housing, which was problematic since it also had to function as a home for many large families. For the working class households, with only a limited amount of income to spend on housing, the aforementioned districts had the most suitable housing available. But socio-economic segregation was also caused by the larger supply of suitable houses for richer households in districts such as Charlottenburg, Schöneberg and Wilmersdorf (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002).

It was also in this time that villa neighbourhoods in the outskirts of Berlin were constructed (especially Dahlem and Wannsee were popular locations). Of course in these quarters social or class mixing did also not take place. There were even regulations designed to ensure the exclusive character of these neighbourhoods in the future. Thus in the late 19th century the urban planning was an important cause of the social segregation. Another factor was the difference in tax levels per district, which could be found around the turn of the previous century. The ones who could afford to do so moved out of the poor districts where tax levels were highest (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002).

5.2.2 From the First World War on

After the First World War the government of Germany played a large role in the decision making about the construction of housing and city planning. One of their first decisions was that the construction of Mietkasernen should be stopped. Their reasoning was that having very limited income should not automatically lead to living in a certain impoverished block or neighbourhood. A lot of affordable, good standard housing was constructed during the Weimar Republic (the interwar period). Social equality was important in this time, both in terms of living conditions as in terms of consumption. It is sometimes claimed this leads back to the beliefs of Fordism, where the State played a large role, also in the provision of good, standardized housing (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002).

In the years between the two world wars the share of civil servants in the Republic's capital was a lot higher than in the rest of the country, which can be explained by the high concentration of banks, industrial headquarters and governmental institutes in Berlin. Unemployment levels in Berlin were above the German average, which mainly affected the lower skilled workers (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002).

5.2.3 National Socialism and the Second World War

The period that followed was called the era of National Socialism. Another 100,000 houses were built, mainly around established blocks. The second world war has obviously had a large influence on the urban planning, since about one third of the houses was destroyed and because the city was divided during later decades, the development is not to be compared to that of other European cities. From the Second World War on in both Eastern and Western Berlin the state's influence on the urban planning was large. In Eastern Germany there were no private houses being built at all and much other property was "collectivized", and even though in the West the government only had financial influence through the investments they made, the authorities in Berlin were still financing a lot more construction work than in other Western cities. Only when the communist era was ended in 1989, market forces became again the important driving forces in both parts of Berlin (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002)

5.2.4 Residential segregation in Eastern Berlin during the Communist Era

Important elements in the housing system of Communist Berlin are state ownership, housing as a basic need and the abolishment of market mechanism and private ownership (Kemper, 1998).

After the division of the city, rents in Eastern, or Communist Berlin were overall very low and differences in rents between a well located home and a home in the suburbs were small. But the price was not the main decision factor for the allocation of houses and apartments (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002). ("In 1989, rents amounted to 2.4 percent of the average household income of manual workers or employees", Kemper, 1998, pp. 1768). Two other criteria were more important:

1. Your effort to protect the DDR
2. The size and composition of your family: large families and mothers were treated well

This led to the following situation: elites (political, economic and cultural elites) lived in the rich suburbs in spacious houses, in the apartment blocks the middle class lived and the disadvantaged or discriminated ended up in the worst blocks. For example people who were mentally or physically disabled belonged to this category. So when looking at this scale socio-economic segregation was large. But within these apartment blocks, the communist principle of social mixing did indeed work: the inhabitants were actually mixed (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002).

Between 1973 and 1986 about 200,000 apartments were built in large housing estates, mostly concentrated in the outer Bezirken (Kemper, 1998).



Figure 5.2 Location of Berlin Wall

5.2.5 Residential segregation in Western Berlin during the wall

The economic opportunities in the Western part of the city were not extensive which is not surprising since in fact it was a closed off/sealed off city: an island in Eastern Germany. Industrial employment decreased a lot after 1961 (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002).

As said before, one third of all the houses was demolished after World War II; the most damaged were the districts Kreuzberg, Tiergarten and Bayerischer Viertel. Reconstruction and construction of houses was a public matter, also because hardly any private investors dared to spend their money on real estate within Berlin (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002). Although Berlin belonged to a market-led Western Germany, the housing market was now strongly regulated and subsidized (Kemper, 1998).

Almost 400,000 people left West-Berlin between 1957 and 1984 and when the wealthy started moving to the outer Bezirks (such as Wilmersdorf and Zehlendorf), in the center new housing types were created: the so-called Wohngemeinschaft, which meant that several people lived in one apartment. They all have a private room, but share kitchen, bathroom, etc. This was especially popular in academic circles, and as demand for such housing in central Berlin rose, prices also rose.

Middle class Germans started to exchange their old houses for recently built social housing. Especially in Kreuzberg and Wedding this was a well known phenomenon in the late 1960's, and new neighbourhoods were built in South and North West Berlin and in for example Märkische Viertel. The plan was to renew the entire area, therefore the local government started to move the shops out one by one so the houses could be demolished or renovated. Because the Senate needed to be the owner of all these buildings before they could start, this process took much longer than expected. In the mid 1970-'s not much had happened yet and the amount of deserted houses was large. The empty (often poor status) units were rented to labour migrants. Here lies the cause that the share of foreigners in Kreuzberg rose tremendously within a couple of years, to 25 percent in 1974. Oranienplatz was located in the center of a renewal district where the share of foreigners was already 37 percent in the same year. This type of housing was very popular among the newcomers: it is even remarkable how fast the rumors about relatively low rents for spacious houses spread throughout the guest worker homes, where guest workers were placed after arrival, when one keeps in mind that the labour immigration to Berlin did not really get started before 1967. The idea was that the guest workers were here on a temporary basis, so that the houses would be left empty after this period. The fact that mainly Turkish immigrants live in the renewal districts Kreuzberg and Wedding while the Yugoslavs also found accommodation in other central districts shows us that the Turks did indeed have fewer chances on the housing market (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002).

One started with renovation and reconstruction work in Western Kreuzberg, where the number of Turks then decreased since they were denied access to the new apartments. As these immigrants needed other housing the result of this was that the number of Turks increased further in Eastern Kreuzberg (around Kottbusser Tor/Oranienplatz) (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002).

The clustering of social problems could thus have been prevented if the urban planning had been different. Häussermann and Kapphan (2002) claim that when the renewing would have been conducted in cooperation with the inhabitants, the outcome would have been better. It is therefore also not surprising that when Oranienplatz was

eventually also renovated around mid 1970s, participation was what the revolting residents demanded. Their claim was that social cohesion was ignored and that neighbourhood bonds were destroyed. A civilian revolution was declared, also because one was unhappy about



Figure 5.3 Typical squat scene in SO36

the available housing: many buildings waiting for renovation were standing empty while demand was high. (The latter was especially so in the late 1970's, but not only in Kreuzberg: also Charlottenburg and Schöneberg experienced these problems) Exactly at this point in time is it when the well-known Kreuzberg punk squat scene started to take shape, which was concentrated around Kottbusser Tor and Oranienstrasse, also called SO36. These were social movements protesting against building standing empty while housing demand for the less wealthy was enormous. Their struggle must have helped: from the next decade on urban restructuring practices were indeed reshaped, and inhabitants could most of the time stay in their homes after renovation (Kapphan and Häussermann, 2002). And for example in the International Building Exhibition, a famous community centered programme in Kreuzberg, Turkish immigrants were asked to participate in the urban renewal plans (Kemper, 1998). Thus the foreigners in East Kreuzberg were not chased away anymore, and Oranienplatz was inhabited by a diverse community of students, academics and foreigners (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002).

Ethnic residential segregation could in this time besides in Kreuzberg also be found in Tiergarten and Wedding: foreigner percentages were with above 15 percent higher than the 9 percent West Berlin average. The Berlin Senate came with a settling ban for these districts, but the result was that new concentrations emerged in neighbouring districts, especially in Northern Schöneberg, in Spandau and in parts of Neukölln (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002). These concentrations can now still be found. In 1980 it was decided that foreigners should be allowed to settle in social housing, but they could only make up 10 percent of the population (two years later this percentage was raised to 15%). This measure was not very effective, which is shown by the very low percentage (4%) of foreigners who lived in social housing in 1987 (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002). One reason is that family reunification was still allowed, even when the percentage of foreigners had reached the set level (Ireland, 2004). The settlement ban was lifted during the Wende, but it has never been efficient (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002). In the 1980's more than half of the foreign households lived in large buildings constructed before the First World War (Kemper, 1998).

The fact that nowadays many above middle class households can be found in suburbs is due to the fact that when the Berlin economy was doing better, it was here where houses for the upper class were built (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002).

5.2.6 Recent developments in segregation

After the fall of the wall, the old distribution system in Eastern Berlin, which was responsible for high levels of segregation, was no longer used. As immigrants in Eastern Berlin were mainly renters, moving to other districts was now only possible for those with the ability to pay higher rents. In time this is expected to change, but at the end of the 1990's, spatial distribution of immigrants in East Berlin had not changed a lot. In 1996, 35 percent of all foreigners in East Berlin could be found in the Bezirke Mitte, Friedrichshain and Prenzlauer Berg, which is about 10 percent more than in 1990. The level of

segregation (measured by Index of Dissimilarity) has gone down from 0.37 in 1991 to 0.30 in 1996 (Kemper, 1998).

Segregation levels in West Berlin have not changed much: in 1974, the Index of Dissimilarity between Germans and foreigners was 0.37 in West Berlin, it was 0.32 in 1991 and came down to 0.30 in 1996. The housing market in West Berlin has tightened after 1989 due to the increased inflow of East Germans and foreigners, but became again more relaxed in the mid 1990s (Kemper, 1998).

Turks within Berlin have the highest Index of Dissimilarity, namely 0.58⁷ (Kemper, 1998). Dissimilarity indexes for Turkish nationals per district in Berlin in 2007 have been shown in the last section of Chapter four. Turkish immigrants are hardly present in Eastern part of town. Kemper (1998) gives the following two explanations for the fact that Turks hardly settle in the Eastern part of town:

“On the one hand Turks prefer residential areas with a social network and infrastructure of their own group and change residence with the support of familial and social contacts (see Senatsverwaltung, 1995), and that on the other hand many may be afraid of moving to quarters in the East, perhaps in fear of discrimination..” (Kemper, 1998, pp.1782)

The first explanation seems very reasonable. This is also the view I got after having conducted the interviews with people with a Turkish background in Western Berlin. The second explanation might have been more valid in 1998 than it is now, since at that time discrimination and racism was more common in Eastern Berlin.

As also mentioned in Chapter 4, in contrast to the Turks, Aussiedler live mainly in Eastern Berlin in districts with lower shares of foreigners. Reason for this is that they wanted to distinguish themselves from immigrants without the German nationality and they preferred to live in newer houses. Networks are also for this group of immigrants very important when it comes to finding houses, which explains why over time more and more Aussiedler have settled in certain neighbourhoods (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002).

Although levels of segregation in Berlin have been reduced during the last 30 years (which is according to Ireland (2004) mainly due to gentrification), in 2002 Häussermann and Kapphan speak about a possible turning point in segregation levels in the beginning of this century. They underpin their hypothesis by the following causes:

1. The structure of the economy has changed: manufacturing jobs have been replaced by larger service sector. This process of deindustrialization that Berlin experienced has above all hurt lower skilled labourers. In the service sector both highly qualified workers who are well paid, and lowly skilled without good payment are needed. This has resulted in more income inequality and in a higher level of unemployment. For the city this means more expenditure in the social welfare domain while tax incomes are decreased.

⁷ In 1996 the index of dissimilarity for Yugoslavs is 0.26, for Croatians 0.38 and for Bosnians 0.18, all compared to Germans and on the basis of districts (Kemper, 1998)

2. Due to increased competition in the international market, production and labour costs are under pressure.
3. The liberalization of the housing market has led to a reduction of social houses supply, which is linked to the decrease in cheap housing, especially in the 1990s. Through gentrification of the old city center the social structure of the city has polarized.
4. Increased immigration, and in some district increased emigration, has led to a more heterogeneous population, which can under the above circumstances lead to spatial segregation. (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002)

These problems are now larger than before, especially since governments cannot influence these factors as much anymore as they could before, which is again due to liberalisation and deregulation (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002).

5.3 Socio-economic segregation

One can say something about socio-economic segregation and how it changed over time by looking at shares of workers, shares of people who finished high school and unemployment levels per district. The facts that in the early 1990's in Eastern Berlin more people finished high school and that there are more officials employed are logical and can be explained by the different political structures. But also within the two parts of Berlin large differences can be found. What is remarkable is that in Eastern Berlin during the "Wall-period", the ones with lower than average scores on the aforementioned social indicators were concentrated in the outer districts while the privileged lived in Mitte. In Western Berlin this was the other way around. Also unemployment is not spread equally: the highest numbers are found in Kreuzberg, northern Neukölln and Wedding. Next to this, an income polarisation seemed to have taken place since the 1990s, which also has a spatial component: lowest incomes are found around Mitte, while high incomes concentrate in South-West Berlin (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002).

In some Western districts, such as Kreuzberg, both ethnic and socio-economic residential segregation levels are high, higher than on average in Berlin. Thus not only are these areas inhabited by "poor" immigrants, but also by "poor" Germans. Some poor Germans have the tendency, often out of frustration over their own situation, to blame the foreigners for their conditions. Immigration of more foreigners is perceived as a depreciation of the neighbourhood and one experiences competition, which results in trying to distance oneself from his own worsening situation by blaming others. In extreme cases this can result in xenophobia (Häusserman and Kapphan, 2002). I have the feeling that in many cases in Berlin the Turks are the scapegoat, especially in Kreuzberg, Neukölln and Wedding. People with a Turkish background living in these three districts are every time taken as an example which had most of the times a negative connotation. But in this sense also the media plays a large role: Kreuzberg has often been portrayed in the media as a ghetto, and I have heard some Turkish teenagers and adolescents also refer to themselves as Ghetto. In areas which suffer from bad socio-economic conditions, life for kids and youngsters is hard. Their prospects are plagued by unemployment, bad living conditions and isolation from the rest of the society. It is very understandable that

they see the drug business, criminality and black markets as a good alternative to keep some self esteem and to see this as a way of taking care of yourself, of making some money and escaping a more dependent situation. But also a hard life as a shop owner or in other forms of self employment is popular. This almost always means making long hours and employing family members, while profits are low (Häusserman and Kapphan, 2002). In Oranienplatz especially this latter strategy can be found, but it is of course also more visible for me than the former black market and/or illegal business.

5.4 The housing situation in Berlin

The guest workers arriving after the Second World War were largely living in housing provided by employers. At a later stage, they often moved to private and social housing. Municipalities were responsible for urban planning, and often concentrated stocks of social housing were found in older city districts in the city centers. Migrants ended up in impoverished housing units, together with Germans with similar socio-economic characteristics. Income segregation was therefore common (Ireland, 2008). But after the stop on immigration in the mid 1970s, the government implemented a policy to disperse migrants among native residents, such as the above mentioned settlement ban for non-Germans in certain districts (Ireland, 2004).

In the 50s and 60s about two third of the houses was social housing (sozialwohnungsberechtigt) but this number was halved in the 70s and 80s and was only a third in the 90s (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002). The reason for the huge reduction in the supply of social housing in the beginning of the 1990s was that in the end of the 1980s government deficits led to reduced spending on social housing and it was decided that when mortgages were being paid off (usually after 40 to 50 years) social housing units could go on the private market. And as most of these units were constructed in the 1950s, this meant that at this time municipalities (after selling of their shares in the housing corporations) were not able anymore to influence the distribution of migrants and low income residents across the city (Ireland, 2008). Since 1988 no new social housing has been built in entire Germany. The national supply of social housing was reduced from four million in 1980 to two million in 2000 and when this article was written it was projected it would equal one million in 2005 (Musterd and van Kempen, 2000). But still the amount of social housing is, when compared to other European cities, not low in Berlin. This is also what Kapphan has stressed in my interview with him, and it can be read in Kapphan and Häussermann (2002): In the Western part, 30 percent of the total housing is social housing.

During the last decades a lot of houses have been renovated, which has pushed the rents upward. Because of this increase in rents, not all inhabitants have the possibility to move, even though the housing market has relaxed significantly over the last decade (due to larger supply of houses while demand has gone down). Only the middle class has really become more flexible, but the ones who have less money to spend are still forced to live in the more impoverished houses often located in the more problematic neighbourhoods (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002).

Examples of such problematic housing are often found in this social housing, which is strongly concentrated in Berlin. In Neukölln, Reinickendorf, Spandau and Tempelhof more than half of the total social housing can be found. Although the amount of social housing has decreased, they still make up about 40 percent of all the houses in these areas. In Kreuzberg and Wedding 17 percent of the social housing can be found, which make up 30 percent of the total housing. A large group of the immigrants who have arrived over the last years could move into this social housing, and rents are sometimes paid by the state. But when households have a too high income to receive social welfare, and when the rents of these units are also too high for a family to pay for themselves, they have to move out and poor families take their place. This results in strong socio-economic segregation which often coincides with ethnic residential segregation. Häussermann and Kapphan(2002) claim that social housing nowadays create more social problems than they help to solve (the initial aim of social housing was social mixing, which is thus not the case any more). According to these authors the main problem is that they are spatially too much concentrated and that they are too large. Another cause of concentration problems can be the many better off, often German, families leaving "bad" neighbourhoods in search for a better place somewhere else in the city. The ones who stay behind are then becoming a more homogeneous group which shares below average socio-economic indicators. Children are often the ones who experience the most damage. This has been explained in more detail in the theory chapter linking segregation and integration (Chapter 2), but one reason is that many good examples leave a neighbourhood. Besides this, language can become a bigger problem:

"The emigration of German families out of the Western part of the city is always referred to as something alarming, because it is seen as a reaction to the depreciation of public space and to the problems in the schools and kindergartens, where the majority of the kids has not grown up with the German language" (Häusserman and Kapphan, 2002, pp. 167, translated by Geraedts, 2009)

As shown in chapter seven this is also confirmed in my interviews.

About 87 percent of all the houses in Berlin was let in 2007. This number is very high compared to other German cities. In most of the central city districts the share of owner-occupied flats is even lower. In my two study areas the shares of lets is: 95.3 percent in Kreuzberg-Friedrichshain and 84,8 percent in Schöneberg Tempelhof (Investitionsbank Berlin, 2008) Sometimes, immigrants pay more rent than Germans would for the same houses. Low rents are therefore not the only explanation for ethnic residential segregation. People with an immigration background often do not have access to the same housing markets as Germans do. They are thought to first look at the price and quality before looking at the location (Häusserman and Kapphan, 2002). That the latter is not true for the Turkish respondents in Berlin can be read in chapter seven. I therefore also do not completely agree with Häussermann and Kapphan (2002) when they claim residential concentration of immigrants is not voluntarily, but instead is a result of access to the housing markets and the movement of Germans.

5.5 Policy in Berlin

In the following section one can read what policies the Berlin State holds concerning the social, the economic, the cultural and the political integration of persons with an immigration background and what they say about segregation and their relationship with integration. These are almost all statements taken out of policy and evaluation reports published by government bodies.

What remarks a positive development I feel is that the term *Personen mit Migrations Hintergrund* is very new: only in 2005 has the Federal Statistical Office started to use the term. Before, there was no other distinction known than German and non-German or immigrant. But they have recognized that as naturalization is becoming increasingly common, this new distinction can be very useful and necessary.

5.5.1 Policy on segregation

In 1999, the national government started together with the States the programme “Socially Integrated City” which was meant to reduce marginalisation and social division (Ireland, 2008). But this does not automatically mean that segregation should be prevented to accomplish this result. The Commissioner for Integration and Migration of the Senate of Berlin has stated in 2005 that “*Integration is the opposite of segregation or exclusion. The objective lies not in the reduction of the immigrant proportion in certain areas, but the prevention for further segregation, which might generate conflicts between the population groups.*” (Der Beauftragte des Senats von Berlin für Integration und Migration, 2005: 33)

There was, within the Working Groups for the National Integration Plan a discussion on the role of segregation. The conclusion of this discussion was that segregation is not wanted but that when it occurs it has to be dealt with, and it should not be combated (Kapphan, 2009). So while in 2005 the feeling about segregation was rather negative, in 2007 the Senate was already less straightforward and they recognized that ethnic segregation is not the cause, but a consequence of social disadvantages. The Senate of Berlin recognizes that ethnically shaped neighbourhoods can help immigrants to feel secure, accepted and at home, and so help in the integration process. Family networks function as social linkages and the local economy provides jobs. However, social disengagement of these areas needs to be prevented to not end up in a circle of social disadvantages such as low education participation and high unemployment rates (Der Beauftragte des Senats von Berlin für Integration und Migration, 2007).

Another reason for not preventing ethnic residential segregation is according to Raiser (2009) that the extent to which it appears in Berlin is a lot lower than in other large cities and because the districts where concentrations are larger are located in the city center and are therefore visible.

5.5.2 Policy on integration

As in the rest of Germany, social and cultural integration of immigrants has always been seen as a task for non-profit organizations, such as the Diakonische Werk and AWO (Arbeitswohlfahrt). (The work of the former will be explained in section 5.5.3)

But the Berlin State started taking up these issues from the beginning of the 1970s as well. Still the NGOs were left with most of the tasks, but they now started to plan integration policies centrally (Ireland, 2004).

One important pillar in the political integration can be found in the report on the integration policy for Berlin (2007-2011): participation in the civil society; through involvement in the political decision making processes, prevention of discrimination and open dialogues, which is all thought to lead to more identification with the democratic community. Since non-Germans are not allowed to vote during elections, their participation in the political process should be achieved otherwise. How this can be achieved exactly is left open. The Senate does mention though, that assigning immigrants voting rights or campaigning for more naturalisation is likely to bring a solution. Cultural diversity and social cohesion, two important concepts for the Senate, are also thought to be secured through political participation, self-help neighbourhood relations and civic engagement. The name of the report: Encouraging Diversity – Strengthening Cohesion, about the integration policy in Berlin from 2007 to 2011 clearly shows an emphasis on the two concepts. Also language plays an important role: “language skills are a fundamental requirement for the new immigrants to confidently utilise the services provided by the city and their chances in employment and training” (Der Beauftragte des Senats von Berlin für Integration und Migration, 2007: pp 20). Although language has always been seen as a private issue, since about 5 years it has become a new political issue (Kapphan, 2009). Since 2004 it is written in the school law that children have to take a language test half a year before they enter the Grundschule, mostly at the age of 6. Since they are already rather old at this point, the Berliner Integrationsbeauftragung stresses the importance of encouraging parents to bring their children to Kindergarten at a younger age (Raiser, 2009). Next to that, it is since 2005 also compulsory for newly arriving immigrants to take language classes. The established or “old” immigrants can take the left over places, but are not obliged to take lessons (Raiser, 2009)

The Commission for Integration and Migration of the Senate in Berlin acknowledges that participation in the labour market plays a large role in the social integration of people with immigration background; therefore their main pillar is to improve the employment situation for this group. “The employment allows people to finance their living independently from state subsidies, to receive social acceptance and to bridge social contacts, which outreach the boundaries of family and ethnic community (Der Beauftragte des Senats von Berlin für Integration und Migration, 2007: pp 21). Also a large role is appointed to schools and day nurseries. They are thought to have a potential to positively influence the integration process through elevation of the graduation rate, teaching of cultural and societal knowledge and to involve parents (Der Beauftragte des Senats von Berlin für Integration und Migration, 2007).

Next to this, equal opportunities for all are important, which will require a further opening of public services and institutions. The Senate has stated that all residents in Berlin should be covered by social welfare and other supporting systems, so that all have the chance to develop themselves (Der Beauftragte des Senats von Berlin für Integration und Migration, 2007).

The government of Berlin seems to have realized that integration is a cross-departmental issue, and that it should be handled in this way as well. I think this indeed is the only way to deal with immigration related problems. One can try to improve the socio-cultural situation of immigrants, but if their economic situation is not improved, the problem of disturbing unemployed youth, deprived areas and socio and politically powerless immigrants is probably not solved. A multi disciplinary approach is necessary.

What the Büro des Berliner Integrationsbeauftragten does to make sure cultural diversity is fostered and that social cohesion is strengthened is the following: they have an advisory office where immigrants can come to have their questions answered, they provide immigrant organizations with funding for projects, give advice to the Berlin Senate on how to develop and implement integration policies, they are engaged in cultural diversity management directly and they try to increase the share of immigrants in public institutions. Especially within the advisory board they try to engage immigrants as well: there is for example one Kurdish and one Turkish delegate (Raiser, 2009). The Berlin Senate tries to prevent ethnic labelling: their policy is not to distinguish between nationalities, since then you try to ethnicize problems that are actually of social origin, and therefore instead to look at socio-economic differences (Raiser, 2009)

It is for the government and its institutions of course difficult to motivate private persons to have contact with people outside their own habitat or outside their group. This is likely to be the reasons why the Berlin State and the German government do not focus directly on this theme, but instead try to encourage diverse contacts by encouraging other activities like cultural exchange via sports clubs and through various campaigns (Kapphan, 2009)

5.5.3 Example of an NGO in the field

One of the NGO's active in Berlin is Diakonische Werk which originated long ago as an organization within the church. I have spoken with a project manager of the Diakonische Werk in Berlin Stadtmitte (Kreuzberg) about the work they do and the problems they encounter. They among others have a Social Advice Bureau, a family café in the Kindergarten where mothers with various backgrounds meet and they initiated the Stadtteilmutter Project, which focuses on improvement of chances of children and their families with an immigration background. The latter educates both women of German and of other origin who eventually will go to socially disadvantaged families to offer them support and give advice on issues concerning childcare and education. Following the recent trends, part of this Project is also focused on language: there exists a bilingual playing group where Turkish, Arabic and German mothers and children meet and are educated, on a very basic level, in two of the languages. The projects run by Diakonische Werk Stadtmitte are financially supported by the European Union and by the Senate Department for Urban Development (Stadtentwicklung) (Koch, 2009)

5.6 Conclusion

The labour migrants in Western Berlin were for the largest part recruited between 1963 and 1973. Most of them had a Turkish background and many remained in Germany, while the Gastarbeiter in Eastern Berlin returned. Segregation levels in Berlin have been decreasing during the last few decades, but ethnic residential segregation has always been modest in German cities. The strong concentration of persons with a Turkish background in Kreuzberg can be led back to urban restructuring in the late 1960s, beginning 1970s; the plan was to temporarily move them into empty houses around Oranienplatz, but with the help of the Germans protesting they could stay.

- **Solutions to segregation**

Häussermann and Kapphan (2002) think it is not possible to change the social and ethnic composition of neighbourhoods, since it is the outcome of an historical process. It is not doable to create different forms of home-ownership and to come to a mix of rich, poor, black, white, young and old in one area. What might be a solution is getting rid of the large scale social housing (from the 60's and 70's) and creating more small scale, better spread social housing.

The so called Wohngeld which is now being used (a financial support for the poorer families to be spend on accommodation) is not efficient in limiting residential segregation, since the amount is not large enough for these households to compete with other bidders on the commercial housing market (Häussermann and Kapphan, 2002).

A general claim is that there has not been a lot of evaluation; therefore it is not very clear what the results of certain policies and interventions are. Some of the conclusions they have come up with are: Quota measures to fight ethnic concentration are overall not very successful. Measures to induce wealthy, or successful people to move into deprived neighbourhoods and to get poorer people to move to the suburbs, often lead to better results. Restructuring (the population of) a neighbourhood can be useful in this respect. Projects which are based on common interests are also likely to be most successful (for example sporting together, language classes, education or raising children, which is specific for the article). It is also stated that to get people from segregated neighbourhoods in touch with others, an active approach is crucial (Gijsberts and Dagevos, 2007a). Citizens in these more or less homogeneous neighbourhoods will often not start a dialogue themselves. Some help is necessary.

6 QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

Within the survey conducted by the WZB in 2003 there were 317 Turkish respondents living in Berlin. 36 Percent of them had a German nationality, both first and second generation immigrants were included and most of them lived in Neukölln and Kreuzberg-Friedrichshain. In this chapter I will show some descriptive statistics and I will show the results of a somewhat limited statistical analysis I have performed. It would have been ideal if I could have conducted full statistical analysis to show the correlation between various variables, the direction and strength of this correlation and the diverse variables of influence on an outcome, but, as also mentioned in the methodological chapter, my knowledge was limited and I did not have the time that would be needed to be able to do these analyses independently. This quantitative study will be used to indicate what the broader trends are and will in the next chapter be deepened using my in depth interviews.

I have used Cross-Tables, ONEWAY ANOVA tests and Chi squared tests. With one way ANOVA one can test the hypothesis that different groups differ from each other on certain characteristics. A Chi-squared test is used in combination with a Cross Table and can reveal whether two variables are correlated and how strong this correlation is.

I have paid attention to nationality, to identification with both Germany, Berlin and the Bezirk, cultural retention, trust, prejudices and attitudes towards the other group, having German friends, what the influence is of the Bezirk one lives in on the latter, and what the influence is of nationality on these categories. Further I have analyzed language levels and its relationship with having German friends and again the influence of the Bezirk and what the differences are in educational achievements. The results I found are presented below by category.

6.1 Identification

What is remarkable is that a larger share of the persons with a Turkish background feels more attached to their district and to Berlin than to Germany (Almost 50 percent of the Turks feels a lot attached to Berlin and their Bezirk, while only 27 percent feels attached to Germany a lot). This also reflects the comment which I have often heard: Berlin is not Germany. Feelings of attachment towards Turkey show a similar pattern as the first 2: low percentages feel not or little attached, and most feel very attached.

Special focus in the questionnaire was on political integration. Among the Turks residing in Berlin, the interest in German or local politics was not high: only 16 percent talked about it daily, 31 percent regularly, 41 percent rarely and 13 percent never talked about it. They seemed more interested in Turkish politics: 26 percent talked about this on a daily basis, 41 percent regularly, and 34 percent rarely or never.

Watching German news programs or listening to it on the radio was more popular among the Turkish descendents than was reading a German newspaper. Only 19 percent rarely or never watch German news, while 49 percent rarely or never read a German newspaper. Almost half of the Turks watched the German news daily. But still,

Turkish newspapers, and especially Turkish news on the television or the radio are far more popular.

6.2 Trust

Statements to measure trust that are used are the following:

-In general I think one can trust other people

-When a German promises something, he also does it

-When a Turk promises something, he also does it

For all three statements answers were ranked from 1 (I completely disagree) up to 5 (I completely agree). About 80 percent of the respondents answered the first statement with a 3 or more. Of those half agreed completely. What I find rather remarkable, is that the responses to the second and the third statement do not differ that much. I expected Turkish respondents to be more trusting towards persons with the same background than to Germans. That this does not hold true can be read in Table 6.1

Table 6.1 Turks: When a * promises something, he also does it.

		* = German	* = Turk
Valid	-999	3,8	3,8
	I completely disagree	20,8	25,2
	2	13,6	14,8
	3	39,4	43,5
	4	10,1	4,1
	I completely agree	12,3	8,5
	Total	100,0	100,0

There is no significant difference between people living in different Bezirks when it comes to having trust in others in general and neither is there a significant difference between people living in different districts when it comes to trusting Germans or Turks in particular (both calculated with ONE WAY ANOVA).

Also having German friends does not seem to influence trusting Germans: even a larger percentage of the ones without German friends completely agrees with the statement "when a German promises something, he will also do so" than of the ones with more than one German friend.

But as stated before I do not think this is the perfect way to measure the level of trust, but it is also difficult to come up with better questions when they are only asked on paper or on the telephone, in a questionnaire. There is no possibility to ask further when not satisfied with the answers whether these kinds of questions will measure the level of trust.

6.3 Attitudes towards other group

There were a few questions included focusing on the attitude towards the German population. Two questions were whether the respondent (in this case Turks) felt well when being with Turks and how they felt being with Germans. Again there was a scale from 1 to 5. Most Turkish respondents were in the middle category when it came to being with Germans, while the answers to the question about being with Turks were mainly in the highest 2 categories. Completely disagreeing was chosen a bit more often when the question was about Germans (12 %) than when it was about Turks (7.3%) Most (73 %) Turkish descendents said to have more than one German friend and almost 19 percent has no German friends at all. Almost 50 percent would feel comfortable when they would have German neighbours, 2 percent would feel uncomfortable and the rest does not care. I think that the latter answer category is likely to also hold respondents who refuse, or are afraid to give their true opinion and therefore say they would not mind. The same counts of course for the same question only then referring to having German family members. Here the latter category is even larger, and now “only” 13.6 percent feels comfortable with the idea and 27 percent feels uncomfortable. This can probably be explained by the fact that Germans are mostly considered to be non-Muslim, which might be a sensitive family issue.

What is remarkable is that while 86 percent of the persons with a German passport have more than one German friend, only 67 percent of the Turks without a German passport have more than one German friend. (For having no German friends these shares are: 8.8% and 25.4%). (See appendix 9) I have tested, using Chi-Quadrat test, whether Turks with a German passport and Turks without a German passport are both evenly likely to have German friends. The chance that there is no difference between the two groups is 0.001 (so 0.1%). Therefore we can conclude there indeed is a correlation between the two variables (having a German passport and having German friends).

Testing whether it makes a difference where one lives to whether one likes to have German neighbours (also with ONEWAY ANOVA) tells me it does not matter. This implies that living in a neighbourhood with many members of an out-group does not influence your feelings towards that out-group.

Also for Bezirk and having German friends I have conducted an ONEWAY ANOVA test, and found that the result is not significant, so it does not really matter in what district for the likelihood of having German friends. This is in contrast with the contact hypothesis, which states that the more Germans live in a neighbourhood, the more likely you are to have contact with them and the more likely to become friends with them.

In appendix 10 a cross table of the following variables can be found: “having German friends” and “opinion about having German neighbours”. There is a weak positive relationship between the two; the more German friends a Turkish person has, the more likely he is to feel ok about German neighbours⁸.

⁸ I did not test this with a Chi-Squared test because: “a test of independence based on an ordinal measure is usually preferred to the Chi Squared test when both variables are ordinal, since X^2 ignores the ordering of categories. If a positive or negative trend exists for the relationship, ordinal measures

6.4 Do language proficiency and having German friends influence each other?

Table 6.2 Cross Table Turks: Having German Friends and German language proficiency
German friends x Estimation of command of German language

			Estimation of command of German language					Total
			Speak no German at all	Speak little German	Speak some German	Speak fluent German	Speak German as native language	
German friends	Yes, more than 1	Amount	3	12	72	56	88	231
		% within „German friends“	1.3%	5.2%	31.2%	24.2%	38.1%	100.0%
		% within command of German language	30.0%	27.3%	72.0%	90.3%	93.6%	74.5%
	Yes, one	Amount	1	3	10	3	2	19
		% within „German friends“	5.3%	15.8%	52.6%	15.8%	10.5%	100.0%
		% within command of German language	10.0%	6.8%	10.0%	4.8%	2.1%	6.1%
No, none at all	Amount	6	29	18	3	4	60	
	% within „German friends“	10.0%	48.3%	30.0%	5.0%	6.7%	100.0%	
	% within command of German language	60.0%	65.9%	18.0%	4.8%	4.3%	19.4%	
Total	Amount	10	44	100	62	94	310	
	% within „German friends“	3.2%	14.2%	32.3%	20.0%	30.3%	100.0%	
	% within command of German language	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

This cross table displays many important things. Of the ones who do not speak German at all, or who speak only little German, about 65 percent does not have any German friends. If we compare this with the Turks who are linguistically better off (in terms of the German language), one can see that in the last two categories (mother tongue and good language proficiency), a bit more than 4 percent does not have German friends, and

are usually more powerful for detecting it than the X^2 statistic, which is the same no matter how the levels are ordered.” (Agresti and Finlay, 1997, pp. 280))

more than 90 percent has more than one German friend (compared to a small 30% in the former category).

And the other way around: of the ones who do not have German friends, the majority does speak only little or no German, and only 12 percent speaks German well. Logically, only 1.3 percent of the Turkish population with more than one German friend speaks no German at all (one has to be able to express him- or herself well to be able to build a friendship).

Testing, with the Chi squared test, the 0 hypothesis that there is no relation between having German friends and language proficiency, gives me a significance of 0.000, which means that it is rejected and that there certainly is a relation. How strong this is, is tested using the Gamma test. We then find out that the relationship here is negative, which is logical as the language proficiency is ordered from little knowledge to mother tongue, where having friends is ordered from having many to having no German friends. The Gamma value is -0.734, which means that the relationship is indeed strong.

6.5 Language

Of the Turks in Berlin 23.3 percent says their native language is German and 94.6 percent says their native language is Turkish. This does correspond with the experiences I have had with Turkish people in Berlin and with the stories and facts I have heard. Respondents were also asked how good they would say themselves their German is: 3.2 Percent responded: no German, 13.9 percent said little, 31.5 somewhat, 19.6 percent fluently and 29.7 percent said they spoke German as their native language.

It does not seem to matter where you live how good your knowledge of the German language is (Significance is 0.32 in ONEWAY ANOVA analysis). I get the same result when I test this using Chi Squared (so via Cross tables). The significance level then is 0.975 which means that we cannot reject the hypothesis that the level of German is equal for all districts: we are even almost sure that it is equal in all districts. This is surprising, because it is often assumed that people who are surrounded by more German speaking persons in their daily life will speak better German than the ones that are not. This will also be studied in the qualitative part of this research.

6.6 Nationality

Interesting is the question on Staatsbürgerschaft (nationality). 55.6 Percent of the Turks born in Germany has a German nationality, compared to 32.6 percent of those born in Turkey. It does not seem to matter whether a Turkish descendent is a male or female.

I have tested whether there is a difference in the shares of Turks having a German passport per district (Bezirk). I have done this using ONEWAY ANOVA, but the result is not significant, which means that it does not really matter in what district one lives (for the chance of having a German passport). This actually means that the mean between the groups does not differ much from the mean within groups. But as the number of respondents per category is not very large, this result does not tell us much. N should have been larger to draw meaningful conclusions.

It does not become clear from my analysis whether only feeling attached to Germany has an influence on attaining a German passport, or whether having a German passport also helps to feel more German. This is because it is often the case that Turkish descendents can choose to acquire the German passport and thus give up their Turkish citizenship or they can choose to keep their Turkish nationality. They are in both cases allowed to work in Berlin. But what is interesting to see, is that feelings of attachment to Germany do not seem to matter much for one's nationality (or the other way around: having a German passport does not really influence one's feelings of attachment to Germany). Of the people who feel very attached to Germany 34.5 percent has a German passport and of the ones who say to not feel attached at all, 28.6 percent has one.

6.7 Educational achievements

As also discussed in the statistics chapter, Turks are less successful than Germans and than other migrant groups. While 6.6 percent of the Turks has no diploma at all, this number is only 1 percent among the Germans and 3.8 and 2.5 percent among the Italians and the Russians. 38.4 Percent of the Germans has finished Hochschule. Of the Turks this is 16.1 percent, of the Italians 43.2 percent and of the Russians even 60.4 percent has finished Hochschule. It is clear there is a difference in level of schooling per nationality in Berlin.

6.8 Conclusions

Some conclusions (unfortunately all not very strong) that can be drawn from the above analysis are the following:

Turkish descendents feel more attached to their Bezirk and to Berlin than to Germany. We can say that on average the attitude of Turkish' residents towards Germans is rather positive.

There is a positive correlation between the variables "having a German passport" and "having German friends", but there is no relationship between the district one lives in and "having German friends". The latter is in contrast with the contact hypothesis which says that being surrounded by more Germans will make it more likely they become or are your friends.

Of the Turks in Berlin 23.3 percent says their native language is German and 94.6 percent says their native language is Turkish. Language proficiency is correlated to having German friends as well: the relationship is strongly negative. In what direction it goes (does little command of German limits you to get in touch with Germans, or does the lack of good friendship contacts prohibits you too improve your German), I was unfortunately not able tested here.

The neighbourhood in which one lives does not influence one's language proficiency (of the German language). This is surprising as it is often assumed that when you are surrounded by more German speaking in your neighbourhood, your German will be better. This also seems to be in contrast with the contact hypothesis, but it is difficult to draw hard conclusions on these two variables since the Bezirk level is so large:

differences in population structure within one Bezirk are very large (for example in Neukölln and in Mitte this is the case).

As also indicated by the PISA results in the previous reports, different national groups within Berlin perform different in education.

Influences on trust are hard to find. Neither place of residence (district) nor having German friends influences levels of trust in general or specific trust in Germans and Turks.

7. QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

The following analyses are based on semi-structured in-depth interviews I have conducted in Berlin. Four groups of respondents can be distinguished. I will compare persons with a Turkish background⁹ with Germans in both Oranienplatz (Kreuzberg) and in Bayerischer Platz (Schöneberg).

One has to be aware that conclusions drawn about these groups cannot automatically be generalized to the entire Turkish or German population in Berlin. The sample size is too small, namely five respondents per group.

My aim is not to find out about the truth, but instead to show how both population groups feel about certain issues and how they have experienced and experience certain situations. I have tried to give an objective overview, mainly by trying to be aware of the fact that I view and perceive everything through my own framework, my own culture, ideas, norms and values. But it is probably never possible to be completely objective, since also as a researcher you are never a complete outsider.

I refer to the respondents using a code. In Appendix 11 the schemes that describe the respondents can be found. The topic lists I have used to analyze the interviews can be found in Appendix 2 and I have also used this list to structure this chapter.

7.1 Persons with a Turkish background in Oranienplatz and in Bayerischer Platz

7.1.1 *Background and characteristics*

- **Turkish roots**

The roots of my respondents in Turkey differ widely: Istanbul, Izmir (West coast), in the far East, Burdur (South West), etc. This also shows you cannot speak about a homogeneous group.

- **Country of birth**

All my respondents in Oranienplatz are born in Turkey, while in Bayerischer Platz two out of five is born in Germany. The ones living in Bayerischer Platz have been in Germany for a longer time (also when not including the ones born in Germany) than the respondents in Oranienplatz.

- **Origin of partner**

Except one of the Turkish respondents, all have a Turkish partner. The majority of them have met in Turkey, and for a few it concerns an arranged marriage.

- **Personal versus formal networks**

Jobs are in both neighbourhoods found with the help of friends and acquaintances, as is most of the housing. In Oranienplatz housing is solely found in this way, whereas in

⁹ I also want to remark that I have below not always used the scientifically correct term “persons with a Turkish background”. The text would have become too complex and monotonous, so therefore I also refer to these groups as Turks or Turkish respondents.

Bayerischer Platz both the formal (internet, newspapers) channels as well as informal channels are used.

For the Kreuzbergers living in this district seems very important for the Turkish population. Even more important than the rent, mainly because their social life is concentrated here. What I have heard more often in Kreuzberg is that people have lived in the same street or even the same house for their entire life. Parents often move out to another apartment or move back to Turkey.

- **What does having a Turkish background or being migrated mean?**

People who are born in Turkey and who moved to Germany at a later age have idealized Germany's economic opportunities. Later they have realized that the Western world was not in an ideal situation either. For example (2.T.5.), a woman living in Bayerischer Platz tells me how desperately she wanted to move to Germany, and how she made an agreement with her niece that they would whatever would happen accomplish this. When she found a man who lived here already, she decided the opportunity was more important than the fact that there were no feelings of love. But her life in Germany was not the way she expected it to be and she feels like she has left everything in Turkey behind, including her family. But in general it is stressed that growing up in two cultures is an advantage. The people who are born in Germany stress they have learned and experienced a lot from the German culture, and still do, since they are German. From their parents and family they have also been highly influenced by the Turkish culture. In this way their migration has contributed to their personal development because they experienced a new culture and cultural mixing came about.

But it can also bring problems, especially when young persons start to think about who they are. Struggles with their identity can start to develop, as is explained by a young teacher (2.T.1.):

"When one is adolescent, one of course tries to find his identity, and that is very difficult when one grows up biculturally, and often it is so that when one is here, one feels close to the German thinking structure, but on the other side: our entire family lives in Turkey. When I went, that was then completely different, a different feeling. It was always a big step between the two"

On the other side he feels people too often referred to him as a child of guest workers, and also treated him in this way by asking where he is from. I have experienced various times how sensitive and difficult this question is. People immediately seem to become defensive and explain that they are German since they are born in Germany.

7.1.2 Neighbourhood experiences

- **General**

Oranienplatz

The Turkish residents of Oranienplatz really like their neighbourhood. The Kreuzberg population is among its Turkish population seen as open (in general and open for other cultures), colourful, well educated and as cosmopolitan. But not everybody agrees on this: an older man complains about the dirt and the many dwellers, of

whatever nationality. The district is not seen as a German or a Berlin district. It has its own culture which is characterized by the cultural diversity and the large understanding of people. It is seen as great that most of the social life is concentrated in the neighbourhood: friends live around, and one feels he knows everybody; the neighbourhood is like a big family.

Bayerischer Platz

Bayerischer Platz is seen as a nice, quiet place where on average more well-off people live. Clean and beautiful, but with relatively high rents. Other comments are that it is not colourful enough, that there are no fights, that it is anonymous and that "nobody gets involved in somebody else's business".

While most stress the better-off people live in Bayerischer Platz, a male respondent (45) feels the Turkish population is less educated and less intelligent there than in Kreuzberg.

- **Opinion mixed neighbourhood**

Oranienplatz

Where some refer to Oranienplatz as Little Istanbul since there are so many Turks, the other uses the term to show that it is a mixture of many nationalities. Someone else clearly agrees on this:

"even though one thinks there are only Turks living there, there are also many other nationalities"
(1.T.2)

But no matter how large the share of one group is, the respondents with a Turkish background really like it that one lives together so peacefully. A clear symbol of this was according to many the fact that during the World Cup in 2008 the Turkish and German supporters were dressed up in both colours of the flags.

The fact that the population is so mixed is by all seen as pleasant and an opportunity to learn about other cultures, but it is also experienced as nice that there are many Turks. 1.T.3 tells me: *"I like all the Turks here, since I still do want to live as if I am in Turkey."* Or 1.T.4.: *"I like it that there are so many Turkish people living in my house, that is good"*

It is remarkable that these latter two respondents were also the ones with the least knowledge of the German language. There seems to be a stronger preference for contact with Turkish people when the respondents speak less German, which is also logical. So language does mediate the relationship between diversity of a neighbourhood and actual contact.

Thus the presence of all the Turks is seen as pleasant, but on the other side the older couple regrets there are not more Germans living in Kreuzberg, because that would make it easier to get in touch with them. Before they have lived in Western Germany among more Germans, where they also had more contact with Germans, but here they do not meet with Germans.

Bayerischer Platz

Opinions about their place of residence varies widely: A younger Turkish man thinks the Mono-culture of richer white persons is boring and he would love to see more Turks, while another person with a Turkish background stresses the fact that one should not sit and speak with only people from their own country. But 2.T.4., who has for a large part of his life lived in Kreuzberg and since a few years resides in Bayerischer Platz, takes the U-Bahn to Oranienplatz every evening, to eat cheap, home cooked Turkish food in a Turkish Imbiss, to read the Turkish newspaper and to talk Turkish to friends. He feels lonely not being able to speak in Turkish and misses the Turkish infrastructure and Turkish shops, but he is the only person with a Turkish background living there who mentions this.

One of his neighbours feels the opposite: after having lived at Kleistpark (higher concentration of Turks), she is happy she is left in peace in this neighbourhood:

“There the bell was always ringing and always there were people at the door. Here I can walk around in my training wear, I can just eat bread with cheese if I have nothing to eat, but there I always had to cook a lot of food, I always had to keep in mind that people could come to visit and that there would something be going on”. (2.T.5.)

A young woman (2.T.3.) mentions she likes living among Turks, but that she could not live in Kreuzberg, Neukölln or Wedding as these districts are also inhabited by Arabs, Russians and Polish and by hardly any Germans.

7.1.3 Contact

A question of importance is what roles neighbourhoods play in the establishment of contacts, and what kind of contacts are we then talking about? The contact you have with the persons you meet on the street or in the supermarket is likely to differ from the contact with your friend whom you have known from high school. I have talked about this topic in detail with my respondents. A summary is given below.

- **Places of contact**

Again it becomes clear one cannot give straightforward or one-sided answers when talking about such a diverse and large group as the Turkish immigrants and their children and grandchildren. Most younger people have contacts and friends all over Berlin and also have spent and spend their time in other districts. (This is more the result of the transport revolution than of globalization, which is used as an argument by some scientists who feel neighbourhoods are losing their importance for people and their social life. Public transportation is extensive and fast in Berlin, which makes it easy to travel to places on the other side of the city within half an hour). But the Turks who have always lived in Kreuzberg also find most of their social life there.

In both neighbourhoods friendship relationships are formed in school, via work, via other friends, with neighbours or in sport clubs. There is one exception to this, living in Oranienplatz: an old Turkish couple (1.T.4.) has only Turkish friends whom they still know from Turkey. All Turkish respondents in Kreuzberg told me they have both German and

Turkish friends, and often also other nationalities. But when focusing on their most important friends, they all talked about Turkish persons.

Answers in Bayerischer Platz vary a lot more:

"I have hardly any contact with Turks who live here, it is very difficult. There are no contact points, except when one goes to a shop where you see Turks shopping. I see them of course at Kottbusser Tor, but I never really meet with them. For the rest, my friends are almost all German. I know them via my school." (2.T.1)

"I have one German friend. She lives in my house. All my other friends, because I lived in Kreuzberg for years, live there. They are all Turkish. I meet them there, often on the street, and sometimes at home, but they do not come here" (2.T.4)

So meeting persons with a Turkish background and getting close with them is much more difficult in Bayerischer Platz than it is in Oranienplatz. For some this is a reason to visit Oranienplatz. It seems that, when not having grown up in Bayerischer Platz, it is more difficult to get to know other persons with a Turkish background. Especially here friendships do not seem so much bound to the neighbourhood as is often assumed.

- **Neighbours**

People in both places do not have much contact with their neighbours, although this depends on how you specify contact and what is meant by a lot of contact. Yes, one respondent visits her neighbours at home and once in a while brings them food, but the rest answered things like: yes, we have very good contact with our neighbours! We greet, and we say "GrüssGott" and "Wie geht's?". In Schöneberg: people are often not sure who live in their house, small talk is restricted to the stairs and hallway or when borrowing some sugar. Therefore it is not surprising if someone is not sure about the nationalities of his or her neighbours. Others know they live with "Blacks, Poles, Bulgarians and only two Turks" or they think they live with only Germans.

I feel this clearly shows the importance of distinguishing between different kinds of contacts in questionnaires or in other studies. One cannot ask whether one has contact with for example other nationalities or ask how often one has contact with Germans. This is no indicator for friendship and/or deeper contacts. Some people will understand by contact running into someone, while others think about spending quality time with each other.

In Oranienplatz most Turkish residents have also Turkish neighbours, but never only Turkish. They mostly also have Germans and some European or Arabic living in the same building.

There is a certain level of mixing between different nationalities in Kreuzberg. For example in the supermarkets, in the cafes, or as a Turkish man explains:

"There is short-contact between other neighbours. For example in the backyard. In the summer some people put a table in the backyard. These are mainly the women, Turkish women, who live then also a somewhat drawn back life, a little Islamic, they have an Islamic attitude, because they also have these headscarves. Downstairs there lives also a German, about my

age. In the summer this German woman joins the Turkish women. They play cards and they eat together" (1.T.2.)

It is experienced as problematic when two families do not speak the same language, for example one Turkish family has Arabic and Polish neighbours. The solution is according to them speaking in German, since they are both in Germany, but all speak only little German, and therefore contact is automatically limited.

- **Work**

Respondents in both areas have both German and Turkish colleagues (with the car mechanic being an exception, although his customers are also mixed). Even though I have only heard about how good these contacts are, they are not extended outside the workplace.

- **School**

Predominance of Turkish students in one class is not preferred by the respondents, on the contrary; it is criticized by most. More than once have I heard children with a Turkish background in Bayerischer Platz were clustered together in one school or even in one class, often not with the approval of their parents:

In Grundschule in my class there were only Turks. The Turkish were all put together in one class, and that the Germans were in other classes. This is also why I learned the German language very late. Because we spoke only Turkish to one another. When my father found out, he also registered me in another school, and there were also mixed classes, Germans, Turkish students. It was then also very difficult for me, because my German was so bad, but after a while it was ok again. (2.T.3.)

And in Kreuzberg one father consciously sent his son to a school with many German students, mainly to improve his German. In this case the school was located in another district (Wedding).

I think this is a very important sign for politicians and civil servants that school segregation needs to be prevented or removed.

- **Family**

The trend described in the literature (found in chapter 5) is found here as well: The first generation migrants often lived in Kreuzberg. Some of their children stay here, other move to other districts, of which many to somewhat better districts such as Reinickendorf and Charlottenburg.

- **Difference contact different nationalities, and influence language**

Persons with a Turkish background living in Bayerischer Platz do feel the contact you have with different nationalities differs. It is felt you have less in common with people with another background and that one talks about different topics. Talking with Turkish people is described by the young teacher born in Germany as communicating at a

broader and deeper language and emotional level. Friendship relationships are closer and are formed more easily. With Germans this takes more time.

For an older man who is born in Turkey the results of this are that you cannot visit a German family at home or have a normal friendship *“because it is another culture, another taste, different mentality, different things you feel are important” (2.T.4.)*

Some respondents in Bayerischer Platz would like to have more contact with others with a similar background, but do not see possibilities since they are relatively new in Berlin and do not meet them in their own circles, while others would fancy more contact with Germans but feel limited by their language level.

In the first instance this is in Oranienplatz experienced a bit differently. Although it is felt language proficiency influences the difference in contact with other nationalities: some respondents can express themselves better in Turkish and therefore find getting in touch with other Turkish persons easier, this is only seen as an advantage in the beginning. Whether deeper contacts come about depends for most more on personality, and not on culture or language.

But the young adolescent boy tells me he does also see a difference, partly cultural:

“With Germans, one cannot do a lot, because they have another art of living. Germans for example, can be open towards their parents, but Turkish not, they always have respect. The contact is then a bit difficult; one has to learn a bit, how to have this contact. Or that some people are not allowed to drink alcohol, and then one should not drink next to them. That is one difference” (1.T.5.)

Another male respondent gives me an example of the difficulties he had when he had just arrived in Germany. He did not understand the German culture and society yet :

“In the first months we had a German friend, who invited us to his home. We sat there in his parents' house. He then went to the kitchen, and got himself a drink, and he did not even ask us if we would like to drink something. These differences were strange for me, I did not know this is normal here. But by now I know there is nothing behind this, it is just the way it is. Now I react different of course” (1.T.2.)

So in the first instance people do not see a difference in contact they have with Turkish and with another nationality, but when they start thinking about specific situations they do come up with some examples. But these are not seen as problematic and can be overcome, mainly by learning more about the other culture.

- **Contact parents with Germans**

Most Germans believe the first generation of Turkish migrants is not in touch with the German society at all. 1.T.3. Gives me a description of this cliché-image many Germans have about Turkish Gastarbeiter: her parents spoke hardly any German and their main reason for migration was saving money to spend later in Turkey. They had only contact with other Turkish migrants and moved back a couple of years ago. They also did not like it here.

But the parents of most respondents in Oranienplatz indeed did and do have contact with both Germans and Turks. But this does not say much about the circumstances in Berlin: almost all parents have initially moved to Western and Southern Germany (to cities such as Dortmund and Ulm) and only later settled in Berlin. Because most parents have lived in the same house for many years, their contacts with neighbours, also with German neighbours is close, even when their German is not good.

7.1.4 Language

From theory we know that language levels of immigrants are related to having contact with the native population and to socio-economic integration. The contact hypothesis predicts that as a result of ethnic concentration language skills are likely to be insufficient. Research shows there is no direct relationship; the small correlation is solely explained by level of contact instead of by ethnic segregation. If there is a relationship, levels of German should be higher in Bayerischer Platz than in Oranienplatz.

- **Language levels**

My impression is that on average the knowledge of German was a bit higher in Bayerischer Platz than in Oranienplatz. Nobody has problems going to the doctor or to authorities alone, and understanding a letter in German is only for one person a problem. The Turkish woman who married to move to Germany started taking a German course after she was forced by the Arbeitsamt. They could only find her a job if she would go to 600 hours of language classes. Very motivated she does not seem to be: for one month she was hindered because her child was sick and the weeks following she took vacation, which might be due to the fact that she is hardly educated and is therefore not used to going to class and because she is now raising her children alone. Even though she finds it difficult to get along in class, she is looking forward to improve her German and to be able to work again.

As mentioned before, all respondents in Oranienplatz are born here. There is no clear relationship between the age of migration and the level of German. The relationship between level of education and language is somewhat clearer: The two persons who came to Germany to study here speak German rather well. But as they feel their German is not perfect they prefer to express themselves in Turkish. The boy who went to primary and secondary school there, and who did his vocational training in Germany speaks almost perfect German.

People who have lived here for a longer time have learned German by watching TV, from listening to others or in the university. But it is still preferred to read a Turkish newspaper, to listen to Turkish music and to watch Turkish TV. Turkish is also spoken in all households. It is also seen as logical by the older generation that their German is not so good. The old woman who speaks almost no German tells me this has been difficult for her, but that she managed by asking for help

There is some frustration from the German side when it comes to language levels of Turkish immigrants. This is visible for me when I enter a Hamam in Kreuzberg. Two German customers who are about to go home say goodbye to the Turkish woman behind

the counter in Turkish. The Turkish woman says to me: *"You see, they also speak Turkish. They also have to speak Turkish, since we all live together"*. The Germans replied: *"and also the other way around, you all also have to speak German"* "Yes, we all do", is the response. The answer from the Germans then is: *"No, not all do. Often it is very bad, also from the children in the school"*.

- **Language spoken at home**

At home in all cases Turkish is spoken. This is not caused by a lack in knowledge of the German language of the person himself, but often because the parents do not speak enough German or it is a conscious choice to ensure the child's first language will be Turkish. Most of the times the father of the respondent speaks some German, as they have had to use it in their job, and the mother often lacks German but is still capable to go to the doctor alone. Their parents' generation (the first migrant generation) has extra problems learning a new language and taking language courses as they are hardly or not educated. What happens often is that the children in the household speak German to each other, in some cases without being understood by their parents. I would have judged this as something problematic, but it is not experienced in this way.

As mentioned already above, one girl had for a long time problems with her German because both at home and with her classmates she always spoke Turkish. The lessons were given in German, but it was not enough as she did not have the chance to practice with her Turkish classmates. Therefore the advantage of going to mixed classes with more than 2 nationalities is that one is forced to speak in German. Unfortunately this often results in broken German, as is pointed out by a girl going to a mixed school: Ghetto German that is spoken by persons with an Arabic or Turkish background.

- **Relationship between language and contact**

One person in Bayerischer Platz told me in a direct way she would like to have more German friends but that this is not possible since she experiences problems with the language. Another person also thinks the relationship between language and contact is very strong and works in both directions: persons who do not speak the language well enough will withdraw themselves from the rest of the society and without having German friends one cannot really learn the German language.

7.1.5 Identification

Germans like to talk in terms of nationality, of groups of Turks and groups of Germans. These boundaries are for most Turkish descendants in Bayerischer Platz not so clear. I have asked them whether they felt Turkish. The most common answer was *"I do not feel I belong to a nationality"*. They feel European, world citizen, or both Turkish and German. It is seen as an advantage that one can take the positive things of the German culture and those of the Turkish culture, dependent on the situation. Choosing would be evidence for a split or divide in one's identity, and it is not seen in this way by the grown-ups. But I could recognize they all feel strongly connected to Turkey, which was illustrated by them referring to Turkey as: *"my country"*.

In Oranienplatz, except one respondent who feels *far from nationalities*, everybody feels Turkish. Some feel completely Turkish, some feel Turkish for 80 percent and someone else feels half Turkish half German. What is remarkable I feel is that the Turkish younger boy, who has lived in Germany for almost all his life, feels completely Turkish, the reason for him is that his family is Turkish.

- **Identity crisis**

Children from Turkish parents often struggle in their teens and their early twenties to find their identity; they experience a so-called identity crisis. The very first question the Turkish teacher often hears from his students is: "Are you Turkish?" His regular answer would be: "I am German", but as this is not acceptable for the kids he leaves it behind.

"This shows they have a problem with this. Only this demarcation from others, this draws thinking among the students with migration background, shows the fact that they have an identification problem. They do not know to where they belong, even worse, they are not yet accepted, even not when they want to. When they want to somewhere integrate, even worse to assimilate maybe, they do not feel accepted. They are simply on a level, where the people say: you are Turk, you are Arab, you are Croatian and you are German. And I am German. I believe they do not get out of this. There is no mixing.

And do they feel Turkish?

Yes, well, they feel Turkish. But in Germany they feel Turkish in a strange way. I think the real identity crisis starts when they go to Turkey. Here they are victim, but there they are not acknowledged. In Turkey one is this German Turk, nothing half and nothing whole. And that is really difficult. Especially when the language plays a role: the worse their Turkish is, the more difficult it is for them."

This might also be a reason to encourage persons with an immigration background to continue focusing on Turkish as the first language.

- **Feeling welcome and at home**

Feeling at home in Germany and feeling welcome seem to coincide: the only person in Bayerischer Platz who does not feel at home, is also the only one who really does not feel welcome here. This is probably also the person who has had the least chances to integrate: she got married to a Turkish man and moved to Germany for him without knowing anyone. For the first year she hardly left the house of her parents in law and was almost only in contact with Turkish people, both by her friends as her colleagues. Only since she is separated from her husband and moved to Bayerischer Platz does she now get in touch with others and is she now taking a language course.

Feeling Turkish has for the Kreuzbergers no influence on feeling home in Berlin: all the respondents felt at home, especially in Berlin or in Kreuzberg. They are not so sure whether they would have the same feeling outside of Berlin.

One feels more welcomed by individuals than by the larger society, which is mainly caused by the media forecasting about foreigners negatively. When one has individual contact with Germans, friends and acquaintances one feels accepted. Someone remarks he feels the acceptance from the German society is not voluntarily, but rather obligatory.

One comment really made me think out of my own framework: *“When I came here as a student, there were many prejudices, but I did not expect from a people that they would welcome me. Because they do not know me. This is a too large expectation. Nobody jumps around to welcome you. In my country, when one moved from one to another city, one did not have good contacts immediately either”*

I have always seen it as something immoral and wrong if a society does not welcome newcomers, and thought they would feel bad when it is not this way, but maybe he is right and people do not expect to be welcomed. Maybe when one just arrived one feels it is logical they are looked at with suspicion and that they have to prove themselves.

- **Connection to Turkey and future place of residence**

All respondents in Oranienplatz feel closely connected to Turkey and to the Turkish culture, but living there they cannot imagine. They have been in Germany for a too long time and they miss Berlin and their social network when they are there on vacation.

In Bayerischer Platz this is similar, only reasons for not wanting to live in Turkey, next to missing Germany, are that the political and economic situation is not so good. Therefore the solution of the older couple; spending the summer time in Turkey and the winter time in Berlin, is seen as a nice option by many.

7.1.6 Trust

When being asked directly whether there is a difference in trust one has in different nationalities, the answer is no. Trust is more dependent on the kind of relationship one has with the person in question than on nationality. Language is said not to influence the level of trust. Turks in general trust Germans because they are so correct and they are believed to always tell the truth. Therefore Turkish like working together with Germans. It is said to be part of the Turkish culture to exaggerate, and I have heard that many Turks do not like Arabs, and Arabs do not like Turks. The young boy in Oranienplatz therefore does not trust a person with an Arabic background.

What I find remarkable is that most people tell me they are very trusting, but as mentioned before I have often gotten the opposite feeling. People are very suspicious when you ring their doorbell, and often at the beginning of the interview, some are not very open I feel.

Where the German respondents did not really pay attention to the letter from WZB about anonymity and just wanted to start, the Turkish respondent had a lot more questions and did not want to respond to all my questions, which becomes clear in the first part of the conversation with 1.T.4.:

„At first I have a few general questions. In what year are you born?

Why do you want to know this? Why are you recording this, or writing this down? I do not understand this. What do you want to know? I do not want you to write down what my name is and so.”

And later on:

“Can you tell me a bit about your family?”

I do not need to tell, why?"

I realize the answers for questions on trust cannot be generalized to the entire Turkish (or German) population since the people who are willing to participate are probably not a representative group. I rang the bell at many doors, and only a few percent of the people wanted to participate. I got the feeling the rest did not trust it, which was sometimes confirmed by a direct answer, but too often did people tell me they did not have time. Or as just mentioned: the door was opened only a little bit and they looked and spoke through the opening, or they left the door closed and I had to explain what I wanted to a closed door.

When the Turks in Oranienplatz need money or help, or they want someone to have their key, they all go to Turkish persons (neighbours or friends) or to family. In Bayerischer Platz it is so that the key is kept either with neighbours, who have both a German and Turkish background, or with close friends, who are always Turkish.

7.1.7 Nationality

As it has become easier to obtain the German nationality, especially for children born in Germany with parents with another background, we can expect especially a large share of the younger persons will have a German passport, or at least both passes. Whether this also counts for the persons with a Turkish background in Berlin can not be said after analyzing the conversations with the ten respondents, but some trends might be discovered, as well as the reasons behind choices.

Oranienplatz:

Two out of five respondents have a Turkish passport and do not want to have a German passport. For one person this is because she feels only Turkish and another is afraid to lose his Turkish nationality which will disable him to stay in Turkey for more than six months. 1 respondent has both nationalities. His reason for getting a German passport was not only economic and practical, but also because he feels Germany is his home. Because he also feels well in Turkey he wants to stay Turkish as well. Older family members have only the Turkish nationality, while children often have a German passport.

Bayerischer Platz

Two of the Turkish respondents have only a German passport, 2 have only the Turkish nationality and 1 has both. Children of the immigrants are sometimes Turkish and sometimes German, which is not dependent on the status of their parents. As these children are all still young, there is still a chance that they will choose to have the German passport. But none of the parents has talked about the double nationality children born in Germany have (up to their 23rd birthday, when they have to choose) even though all the preconditions were there. It is possible people are not aware of this option. In that case their lies a task with the government.

Reasons for obtaining the German nationality are here being freed from the Turkish military service (*"now I can go to Turkey without having to join the army"*) and feeling German because one is born there. Thus reasons for obtaining either a German or

Turkish passport (or not wanting to get rid of the other), are in both neighbourhoods similar. They are both emotional and practical/economic.

In Bayerischer Platz there might seem to be a relation between the years of residence in Germany and the German nationality, but in Oranienplatz this is certainly not so clear, but it is very difficult to draw conclusions on this since the groups are too small.

7.1.8 Discrimination

Most persons in Oranienplatz feel they have never been treated differently than others, based on their background. Some others speak about discrimination in government institutions, in shops or in the workplace. The latter is exemplified as follows:

“My last job was in a large company with many German employees. Me and two other Turks were in a management position, but we had difficulties, because the personnel did not accept us. I was not accepted on the basis of my nationality. That was a bit strange” (1.T.2.)

But I did not find any feelings of frustration here.

In Bayerischer Platz discussions about discrimination were a lot longer and heavier, which showed me that frustrations are more common here. Especially the persons with a Turkish background in Bayerischer Platz feel they are labelled by the German population: they are immediately put in a huge category, and this category is stigmatized they feel. Germans make no differentiation between people with a Turkish background. They are all seen as “Gast Arbeiter” or as children from guest workers; there is no difference between education levels or successes. The Turks are seen as unsuccessful and uneducated, as problematic and it is forgotten or not known how many Turkish students are enrolled in the German universities and that Turks are running their own business with great success. This brings a lot of “frustration” along within this group. This is shown by the following quote:

“When one wants to talk about the Turkish society in Berlin, one has to try to find define the entire group. Of course I can also go the pub with German beer drinkers, and try to understand the entire German society, but of course this does not work that way, I will come with wrong results. Therefore I am sick of the foreigners-discussion, of thinking that foreigner problems is a Turkish society problem. Because in every society there are villains. One cannot generalize. Everywhere in every villain society, who have had little education, there is of course violence.”(2.T.2.)

It is experienced as painful and humiliating that when you are successful, the reaction from the German side is: “Wow, how is that possible? Unbelievable you did it!”. It might by some be seen as positive discrimination, for them it is unwanted.

As already mentioned above, identity is a difficult theme for many, especially by the ones in Schöneberg, and many also feel discriminated in relation to their identity, such as this girl:

"When I applied for jobs in education, they called me and told me they are looking for a German person, and not a Turkish one. Then I thought: I also speak German, with the kids I would not have spoken Turkish in any way" (2.T.3)

Another remark clearly shows the frustration of not being recognized as German:

"And sometimes German students in school said: Go back to Turkey. But we are born here, and grew up here, why should we go back to Turkey then? We cannot even go back. Or with a headscarf, they say: integrate now. I think with clothing, the way you dress, it is your own business" (2.T.3.)

It is thought discrimination has decreased somewhat, that Germans are now more careless and indifferent towards them. Someone else feels similar: when going to the supermarket they are in the beginning very distant, cold and unkind, but as time passes, they start to approach her in a more friendly way: people seem to need time to get used to it or to others.

Also in Bayerischer Platz institutional discrimination is mentioned, for example in the Arbeitsamt, and discrimination in schools seems most common for the people or children who go to mixed schools. One respondent brought his children to another school and one respondent was herself placed in another school because the classes were made up of almost only Turkish students (in one case the entire school became Turkish and in the other case the school was more or less mixed but all the children with an immigration background were clustered). This was seen as disadvantageous because in this way integration would not take place and the children were thought to need more time to learn German. Solutions were for them sending their kids to a German school and a German-Greek school.

2.T.1. Recalls his class trip in 1985. There were only three Turkish students in his class, but still they were put together at one table for dinner, under the pretext it was easier to hand out the food without pork in this way.

7.1.9 Integration

- **Meaning Integration to respondents**

What does integration mean? The *Büro des Berliner Integrationsbeauftragten* describes it as following:

"Fostering cultural diversity and at the same time strengthening social cohesion. So trying to use the resources that come from a different cultural religious background, developing a culture of respect to welcome newly incoming immigrants and those that have been living here for a long time and equal opportunities, access to the labour market, etc for everybody" (Raiser, 2009)

How this concept is interpreted by persons with an immigration background is shown by the definitions of my respondents:

“Integration means there is a space where one can integrate, that one is accepted by his surrounding. When I am not welcome, why would I integrate or assimilate? This would only lead to unsatisfied relations between culturally different persons. Therefore I would say integration is for me an active state which has to be followed from both sides” (2.T.1.)

“Integration starts with respect, both groups should respect each other. All cultures should be seen as equal.

Integration does not mean assimilation. People should not forget their customs. Some things are of course not accepted, but not under the section “integration”, but under the section human rights. When one keeps that in mind, integration is easy. Because where one lives, one has to speak the language of that country” (2.T.2.)

“For me integration does not mean the way you dress, but the way you get along, that one maybe has education, and that one works. That you do not damage anyone, also not the state. I feel integrated: I have always had a job on the side when I went to school, I have my drivers licence, I have done my Ausbildung, I finished my high school very good. And now I work. I have grown up here and am born here” (2.T.3)

“It is very good that the Turkish have to learn German. When Germans would live in Turkey they would also have to speak Turkish. But the Germans also have to realize what they have all learnt from the Turkish, such as clothes and the eating culture” (2.T.5)

“When one respects, and does not disobey the law, it means one is integrated” (1.T.5.)

“My mother is for me the best example of integration for this society. She came to Germany when she was 35. She has worked, was diligent. Ok, she cannot speak German very well but she has good contacts with German neighbours, she has respect for laws, and she meant something for the society, and she feels well here. She loves Germany.

Of course she has another culture, but she respects the German society and has no biases towards it. She is integrated, but lives as a Turk, with her own culture” (1.T.1.)

“Integration is a willing, a situation where both parties try to overcome cultural differences and try to reach an understanding” (1.T.2.)

“Being integrated means that I am open to everybody and that I have mixed friends. My German does not have to be perfect, but I have to be able to express myself” (1.T.3.)

There is agreement on the fact that integration is a process which involves both sides: the receiving society as well as the newcomers. Mutual respect, being welcome, being accepted and overcoming cultural differences are key words. Obeying the law and not damaging anyone are seen as the basics for successful integration. Learning the language is by some seen as crucial, while others find it less important. But none of the respondents feels integration should equal assimilation, i.e.: becoming like all the other Germans. Opinions of respondents in both neighbourhoods are not very different.

- **Recent changes in integration/attitude**

Among the Turks in both Bezirke there is a frustration about the stigmatisation of the Turkish immigrant population. It bothers them they are still seen as foreigners. A comparison with the US is made, where one is automatically seen as an American when one is born there and speaks English. But in Germany one can be 3rd generation migrant and still be labelled as Turk. That this leads to group building and to **Parallelgesellschaften**¹⁰ is seen as logical.

Acceptance of Turkish migrants seems to be increasing lately, according to 1.T.2. because the Germans have now finally realised they are not going away anymore. But although it might feel better, it is not seen as the basis for integration. It is felt that the Germans just want to live parallel to them, and not have much contact. He notes: *“while the aim has been integration, the result is assimilation.”* (1.T.2.)

The government is blamed for this. They have supported multiculturalism and in this way created parallel societies and segregation.

1.T.1. Also feels in the past assimilation (one sided integration stimulation) was often emphasized, but that nowadays many Germans, politicians included, see integration as the living together of more groups people, without causing problems but also without having real contact; the so-called multiculturalism. Then there is no mixing between people. They just want people living next to each other without them causing problems. He feels this is not the solution.

It is claimed the government never enabled or stimulated the openness from both sides, and as you have just read this is seen as necessary for real integration. There was never an opportunity for the German society to learn something about the Turkish culture and the other way around there were no opportunities for cultural learning either. Not only is the German society blamed for not being open enough, also the Turkish society could have done more.

The general opinion is that it is good one is pushed to learn something about the German society, but forcing someone and expecting them to live like this is seen as wrong. It is also not appreciated if it is expected they integrate very fast; time is needed. Extra attention in schools for language (the pre-school language test and the extra language classes) is seen as a good and helpful development

¹⁰ The word Parallel Gesellschaft has been used first by a German sociologist in the 1990s, in the debates about integration and migration. Since the beginning of this century it has become popular, especially in the media, and in Germany it has been chosen as the 2nd word of the year by the Gesellschaft für deutsche Sprache in 2004.

7.2 Germans in Oranienplatz and in Bayerischer Platz

7.2.1 Characteristics

- **General**

While most of the Germans in Bayerischer Platz have lived in that neighbourhood for 10 to 20 years, most of the Germans in Oranienplatz have during the last decades also lived in other districts in Berlin. Some of them have lived their entire life in Kreuzberg. The former confirms what is being said in the literature: that there is little change in population in Northern Schöneberg. The houses the respondents in Oranienplatz live in are much more mixed than in Bayerischer Platz. The majority of the neighbours of the former are Turkish, but there are also many German families living there, some Arab, some French, Chinese, English and Yugoslavians. The neighbours of the latter are all German, except in one house there are also a Polish and a Turkish family.

- **Personal versus formal networks**

Half of the German respondents in Oranienplatz uses his personal networks to find housing and employment, the rest uses formal channels such as newspapers, the internet and employment or housing agencies. In Bayerischer Platz acquaintances or friends are hardly used for these purposes.

7.2.2 Neighbourhood experiences

- **General**

Oranienplatz

Germans like this neighbourhood for the following reasons: it is so diverse, it is lively, there is much going on on the streets and since it is relatively small one knows a lot of people or gets to know them easily. Its citizens are considered interesting, people get along in a nice way and the supply of food and shops is diverse and large. On the other hand, it is often mentioned the neighbourhood is loud, dirty, that there is a lot of social misery. Also is it not always seen as pleasant that in big cities as Berlin one hardly knows his neighbours and that everybody only lives his own life.

Bayerischer Platz

Bayerischer Platz is by some experienced as rather boring and silent. The people are more conservative and older than in other districts, and therefore it is more anonymous and there is less contact. But it is not all negative: it is also experienced as cleaner, there is less noise, infrastructure is good and shopping possibilities are large. One person feels this "Viertel" is the opposite of a segregated neighbourhood; it is mixed. There are Berliners who are born there, there are young, old, foreign, German and Aussiedler people. She wanted her kids to grow up in a place with such a broad spectrum of people and social life. Zehlendorf, Kreuzberg and Neukölln would be too segregated. I was surprised by this reasoning, since I think Bayerischer Platz is also

segregated in a way. According to the statistics it at least does not represent all layers of society.

- **Opinion mixed neighbourhood**

Oranienplatz

"when I leave the house and walk to the left, it is in the direction of Turkey, and when I go right, I go in the direction of China" (1.G.1)

All Germans really like it that the population of Oranienplatz is so diverse. They also stress that it is not just Turkish people living here, but also other nationalities. (Although the Turkish influence is largest as they also have their own infrastructure with shops, restaurants and travel agencies). People are so content with this because they experience real mixing between different groups. Because one goes to different kind of shops and meets different kind of people, there is the feeling that people or nationalities do not seal themselves off. You really live together and speak with each other.

One respondent, who has been living in Kreuzberg for 30 years, mentions the development in this neighbourhood through the years, which she judges as negative: About 15 years ago there was a massive increase in the supply of Turkish and export shops and restaurants. The various second hand shops, small cafes and galleries disappeared. Now, 15 years later this starts to relax a bit more, which is thus seen as more positive since the presence of the Turks is not so extreme and unbalanced anymore.

But it is sometimes also seen as better when an area is dominated by one group, as right now the Turkish and the Arab groups (of mainly young men) are said to disturb and fight.

Bayerischer Platz

People feel the area could be more mixed. This would bring more life into the neighbourhood and it would be more interesting, than is now the case with almost only Germans. It is felt that contact to persons with another background is not so easily available. Simply because fewer people live around you, one will also not have so much contact with them and use the opportunities it brings (such as shopping at a Turkish market)

- **Experiences with Turks in neighbourhood**

Oranienplatz

Here people mainly meet Turkish people in the shops, and because they go there often contacts are good and some have developed friendships. One woman really likes going to shops owned by Turks:

"The contact in the supermarket is very open, very friendly. The Turkish butcher now tries to teach me some Turkish, the numbers and greetings, etc. He greets me in Turkish and says then what it means. I think this is very nice"(1.G.2.)

But as mentioned above, it is not only positive experiences people have. Some people feel a bit threatened by the groups of young Turkish men hanging around and trying to

dominate the streets. Or people have been or feel offended by either the young Turkish boys or the older Turkish men: *"I have off the impression, that there is an unwritten internal law: do not look at me directly, do not look me in the eyes directly. And sometimes then I become a bit outrageous, and then I think: do you also want me to wear a headscarf or so? In which one signals that they should not look at me directly"* (1.G.2.)

Bayerischer Platz

Turks are not encountered frequently in Bayerischer Platz. There is an Imbiss, run by a Turkish person who is complimented for his correct behavior towards both German and Turkish customers and for not distinguishing between nationalities. Also the Turkish drink retailer is appreciated a lot, mainly for his warmth and for his active participation in the neighbourhood.

In the primary school located in this district there are some Turkish children, but contact with the parents of these kids is restricted because of language problems. But the children do quite normal in school and are also accepted by their German classmates. But some mention negative experiences they have had with Turkish children. They are said to be more rude towards girls and towards grown-ups than German kids are.

- **Estimation of shares of foreigners and Turks**

Oranienplatz

I heard many different numbers when I asked the respondents to estimate the percentages of foreigners and the percentages of persons with a Turkish background in their neighbourhood. It is clear to all that Turks are the largest group, but shares range from 40 to 80 percent. Every time the term Little Istanbul was used.

Bayerischer Platz

Estimations of percentages of foreigners in the area are all below 15 percent. There are thought to be Aussiedler, Brazilians, English, Italians Yugoslavians and some Turkish.

7.2.3. Contact

Above an overview was given of how and where Turks meet people and establish contacts, below this is done for the German respondents.

- **Places of contact**

Oranienplatz

Everybody here knows Turkish people, and some also have Turkish friends, who they got to know in school, via other friends or as mentioned above: they live in their house or work in shops they visit often. Some mainly meet with people from Kreuzberg and also spend most of their time there, while others meet with people from all over Berlin and are also often in other city districts.

The reason why 1.G.5. does not have Turkish friends, is because he spends most of his time in a circle where only German is spoken, and apparently there are not many Turks. He expects this to change in the future.

Bayerischer Platz

The German respondents here have hardly any direct contact with persons with a foreign background. When there are contacts with persons with another background, this happens through the friends and classmates of their children, or they know them from work or via other friends. Friends and acquaintances are spread all over Berlin; contacts are not limited to the district he or she lives in. One therefore also spends a lot of time outside their own neighbourhood.

- **Neighbours**

Oranienplatz

Contact is limited to saying hello and goodbye. It is probably also therefore that many people are not very sure who else lives in their house. People have their own life, and this is seen as fine.

But it is also seen as normal that one helps his or her neighbours when necessary. A Turkish neighbour is sometimes helped to fill in her form in German, because she lacks the necessary knowledge of the language or when someone's computer is broken, they ask the neighbour for help.

Bayerischer Platz

Also here deep contact with neighbours is rare. They talk on the stairs, go to a BBQ in the summer and in some cases they sit together once in a while or help each other when necessary. In one case the German neighbours have become close friends.

- **Contact with Turks**

Oranienplatz

Meeting Turkish people the respondents do in shops, at work, in the hamam, on the streets and with neighbours. This contact is superficial and somewhat cool, but when closer contacts do take place, contact with Turkish persons is seen as very warm and open. There are people who would like to have more contact with persons with a Turkish background, but do not find an entrance. Sometimes language is seen as a barrier, sometimes their attitude. Others are fine with the fact that friendships do not develop:

"In my courses at the employment agency there were also 2 or 3 Turkish women, who I though were very nice. We had also very good contact. They could surely speak German very well, and I also liked the contact. And from what they told me about their own integration, and what I saw, and the opinion I formed, I thought it was all very successful. This did not result in more private contacts, but that is also ok. I also have my own social milieu, and do not have to look for new contacts there" (1.G.3.)

Some Germans have bad experiences with men with a Turkish background, especially with older men, with group building and with younger impolite boys. Women feel the culture is sometimes too patriarchal and authoritarian, also towards them:

"The boys often have a macho behavior. They really feel big against German women. This annoys me a lot. This means that the 2nd and 3^d generation, not sometimes, is still growing up with this male behavior, especially against German women"(1.G.1.)

A concrete example is given by 1.G.3.:

"In the U Bahn, the young boys sit there like machos, and then they provoke, or try to, cross their arms in front of them, chewing gum, and then they say to each other: "guck mal die alte da, wie sieht die dann aus", and more bad words come. And when I said something about it, they said they would get their brother and that I could better look out, he would beat me up"

Bayerischer Platz

Persons with a Turkish background are met in the Turkish Imbiss and in the liquor shop or in the school of their children. Also here counts: having Turkish friends is not seen as necessary but it would be nice if it would happen.

- **Difference contact different nationalities**

There are no large differences in opinions between the two neighbourhoods.

Oranienplatz

As mentioned above as well, Turks are often seen as more sympathetic and therefore contact is considered warmer and less superficial than with Germans one does not know. On the other hand it is easier for contact to come about with Germans, for example when waiting together at the doctor, it is the German mentality to start a small conversations or to interfere in ones life, with Turks this happens less often. A language barrier can be the cause why contact does not come about. If the other person does not speak German at all, most think it is not likely contact will be there. Others explicitly stress there is no difference in contact with different nationalities but that it depends on the personality and on the kind of relationship one has.

Bayerischer Platz

Here one is much more straightforward that distinguishing on the basis of nationality is in general seen as immoral. But there are some things that are experienced as more problematic, for example some very practical things: girls in school you want to offer candy but who do not take it because it contains gelatin, the extra holidays they have. Also seen as difficult is the different treatment of women; that they have to work harder and are not allowed as much as the boys are. A problematic situation is excellently portrayed by the following quote:

"My daughter and her Turkish friend went to the outdoor swimming pool. The parents of this girl were very liberal, and they also accepted this. But then her older brother went after her and took her back home. Her parents were very open and integrated people. That was more a problem of the young men. My daughter was furious that the brother was taking her freedom away. This is actually the only time that I experienced such a situation in which I said: aha, there is a clear cultural difference. This would not have happened with a German girl" (2.G.4.)

Also misunderstandings happen faster when two cultures interact:

"I once had an Arabic friend. I brought him home once, and then I said, "greet your wife and children" He said "What do you want from my wife...? What do you want from my kids?" I said "Nothing". "Why should I greet them?" he said. I did not want anything from them. For us Germans it is normal that one says this, but he got really angry. I did not mean anything bad. Then the friendship was over" (2.G.2.)

7.2.4 Language

Are there differences in perceptions of the level of German of the Turkish population? People in Bayerischer Platz seem to assume that the language level in this part of town is better than in other parts of Berlin, such as in Neukölln and Kreuzberg.

Oranienplatz

The people who have grown up here are thought to speak fluent German, and when this is not so, they should be obliged to learn it. Such a compulsory language course could also improve the position of women, who are often limited in their activities and contact because of their language deficiency it is felt.

The experience with the first generation of labour migrants who are now 65 years or older is that they hardly speak German, again especially the women. The latter is thought to be related to the patriarchal power relationship. But most feel it is not a problem when their German is only fundamental as long as they are able to do groceries, deal with authorities and to go to the doctor. At least the elderly should not be forced to take a German course.

What I found remarkable is that 3 persons felt they should learn some Turkish, at least enough to be able to greet someone and to ask how he is doing, or to improve the contact with neighbours. It is suggested this should be offered in schools. It is also seen as a way to let both cultures come closer together, since it shows respect from the German side.

Bayerischer Platz

Also here the students in school are thought to speak proper German, but it is stressed that it is problematic that the first generation of Turkish immigrants who already live here for 30 or 40 years do not speak German yet. Opinions differ about the signs and folders being available in so many different languages. On the one side it is thought to contribute to language problems:

"I think this is stupid. I mean, I am in Germany, and I would also like to live and experience the German language. When I do not have to learn another language, of course I also do not do so. This of course also causes misunderstandings" (2.G.2.)

But there are also people who feel Berlin is actually behind in multilingual provisions when compared to a city like Amsterdam:

"It is of course also good when we arrange our facilities also in such a way that we make it bearable when there are language barriers. That should in Berlin be a big theme. In Berlin there

is still a lot only in German. It has already improved a bit, when one takes the subway for example, but there is still a lot to be done” (2.G.3.)

So actually there are no large differences between the opinions of both areas about language levels of Turks. All feel the young generation speaks fluent German, but that the old labour migrants speak insufficient German. In Kreuzberg it is stressed this is not problematic, whereas in Bayerischer Platz they feel this is something that needs to be changed. I think this might have to do with the fact that in Kreuzberg many of these people live, and the Germans there have experienced how this is, how they function in their daily life, and apparently it functions well within this neighbourhood. I think on average Germans living in Oranienplatz are confronted more often with persons who do not speak German: migrants and tourists from all over the world can be found here.

- **Relationship between language, contact and integration**

In both places language is felt to be extremely important for integration.

“I think that one has to be able to participate in the daily life, one has to be able to understand radio and tv, actually also be able to read the newspaper, I think it is very important.” (1.G.2.)

Language also ensures you understand the culture in a better way and that you get closer to or more familiar with the culture; it is thought to help to understand the system and the people. One person feels this relationship is so strong that if the Turkish population would be replaced by an English speaking population, the problem would largely disappear.

In Oranienplatz some people would in general like to have more contact with Turkish persons, and some with specific persons (such as with neighbours), but this is not possible because they do not speak enough German. This clearly shows that language problems can hinder contact.

In Bayerischer Platz the consequences of a lack of German is by some thought to be seclusion, or it is even seen as the basis for a *Parallelgesellschaft*, especially in neighbourhoods with high shares of one nationality compared to other groups. Whereas in here the responsibility is felt to lie entirely on the Turkish side, in Oranienplatz also the Germans are thought to play a role. The Germans in Oranienplatz are thus more positive about the Turks.

Thus in general it is felt that the better the German proficiency is, the better the integration. It is thought that when there are language problems and communication is hindered, strong long-term contact will not come about. It is seen as an opportunity for the Turkish population when they do speak fluent German. Only one person feels the relationship works in the other direction:

“Language is not as important as the openness of people to approach each other. One does not have to speak the same language to agree with each other. When one spends time with each other then the language comes automatically” (1.G.5.)

7.2.5 Trust

The contact theory states diversity leads to a smaller distinction between an in and out-group, and thus to more inter-ethnic trust. Ethnic residential segregation is thus thought to lead to less inter-ethnic trust. The conflict theory the opposite holds true, and Putnam's constrict hypothesis feels neighbourhood diversity will decrease both in-and out-group trust.

The sample is too small to draw any conclusions on such a difficult concept, but it seems that the Germans in Bayerischer Platz are a bit less trusting than the Germans in Oranienplatz. The average here is a 3, compared to a 4 in Oranienplatz: they trust almost everybody. In both neighbourhoods most Germans feel there is no difference in trust he or she has in different nationalities. In Oranienplatz it is thought little knowledge of a language could have a negative influence: *"When I do not understand someone, then it is of course also more difficult to trust him. When I do not understand anything at all, I cannot trust someone"* (1.G.1.)

What I find remarkable is that in Bayerischer Platz this relationship is thought to disappear as soon as some basic level of German is spoken. It is noteworthy that literature on the relationship between language and trust is missing in this field.

7.2.6 Discrimination

Opinions about discrimination of persons with a Turkish background and prejudices against them are similar in both neighbourhoods. Berlin is thought to be a very tolerant city. People with immigration background are felt to be included in society. This does not mean one spends a lot of time with each other, but that there is interest in each other.

It is recognized that persons with a Turkish background do not have the same opportunities and positions in the labour market. Partly due to language levels, but also due to older thinking patterns and the media that shapes our visions:

"When we have a German company and someone approaches him and says: "hey, do you remember me from school? My son needs an internship, and you have one, can he come and work here?", and then one comes who says "hey, I am Ali, I want to start here. How much money do you give?" (WITH FOREIGN ACCENT), then he of course takes this German" (2.G.3.)

When personal discrimination occurs it is thought to be only single cases, exceptions, especially by lower educated and older people. For the rest, most common prejudices about the Turkish are that they are bad in German, that their scores in mathematics are below average. Besides, many prejudices exist about male-female and other family relationships and about other social contacts they have. It is mentioned that boys are seen as machos and that the girls are suppressed. These views are felt to be strengthened by the media. In addition it is thought that when an argument exists, the Turkish are blamed sooner and they are sometimes approached with more hostility. These kinds of biases are expected to decrease in the future, since the younger population is more open and less prejudiced, but distinguishing between different groups

is something that belongs to society as well. We need others to demarcate our own group.

It is thought that discrimination against Turks will not occur when they form a majority in a certain area or in a school or classroom. Therefore discrimination is expected to be only a minor issue in Oranienplatz, not only because there are so many persons with a Turkish background but also because they carry a large part of the infrastructure there. Most of the discrimination that does exist here is thought to be targeted at language deficiency:

"For example at the doctor's. When it is so that a doctor's praxis is run by only German doctors and personnel, and that there are also Turkish patients going there, there I have already often experienced that some negative comments are given, like " mein Gott, warum können die kein Deutsch", "was soll das denn mit Integration", "das ist doch überhaupt kein Integration", "they have to adjust".. Always the same reproaches are made. (1.G.3.)

7.2.7 Segregation

In both neighbourhoods there is understanding that many Turks initially settled in Kreuzberg because of historical events such as the settlement ban and that they still settle there because of the recent housing market and because there is such a large supply of Turkish services and goods. It is therefore also accepted that the concentration of persons with a Turkish background is here higher than in other districts. It is seen as natural that people look for their own mentality and cluster, and it is thought that when this is not the case it would be more difficult to find your way into society and that one might feel lost. But as can be read below in Bayerischer Platz one seems a bit afraid of "Ghetto" Kreuzberg, but in Oranienplatz this is not experienced in such a way.

Oranienplatz

Unequal spreading is thus not seen as problematic, but one group should not be too dominant. The negative consequence of this, it is seen, is that parallel societies are created: segregation makes it easier to also stay among each other. Thus it is thought that extreme segregation will lead to disintegration. This is why people are afraid of a too much concentration, also referred to as Ghettoization:

"I do not like it when the presence is extremely high, when a ghettoization is taking place, which for me is often there, also in the shops. I often course also go shopping in the Turkish shops. But I think it is better when the proportion is more balanced. Not so one-sided, not so strong Turkish. I also have to say that, many years ago I would not have thought I would say something like this, that I am also really a supporter of controlling who moves in. That a certain percentage per Bezirk from a, no matter from where, person with migration background, that this does not get too large, I think this is important (1.G.3.)

Others are not for such extreme measures, but just hope it will change in the future, or that at least one grows closer towards each other.

But not only should neighbourhoods be more mixed: also schools, Kindergarten and sport clubs should be more mixed:

"When one is neighbours, why would one not also go to the same sport club, or bring the kids to the same kindergarten" (1.G.2.)

Bayerischer Platz

In Bayerischer Platz there is a strong belief it would be better when persons with an immigration background would be spread more equally throughout the city. The diverse supply of foreign products that is often a side effect of a diverse neighbourhood is on the one hand seen as nice, but when the supply becomes too large and when "normal German" shops are replaced, it is seen as negative and people can imagine moving out of an area because of that.

Here especially the groups of Turks or Arabs are experienced as problematic or frightening, or at least as not-inviting to make contact. If this would decrease, also a segregated neighbourhood would be experienced as better. In particular Neukölln and Kreuzberg are thought to be highly segregated areas, and are referred to as "another country", "Parallelgesellschaft", "Ghettos" and "Istanbul". Main reasons why these two worlds are constructed are lack of German and disinterest. What is meant by these terms is exemplified by 2.G.3.:

"A Parallelgesellschaft. That is what I meant, when I am in Kreuzberg, there are many, and there are also many kinds, but really wanting to have something to do with you they also do not want"

One respondent in Bayerischer Platz feels the consequences of clustering are very negative:

"What do you think about the higher concentrations of persons with a Turkish background in certain neighbourhoods?"

What is your own experience? Dress up once, put some make up on, and walk through Kreuzberg at 10 at night. Then you can answer this question yourself. But I can already tell you to take Pepper spray. Because you will need it" (2.G.2.)

The last thing the respondents are very clear about is that there certainly is a relationship between neighbourhood diversity and meeting other nationalities, which is shown by the following statement:

"When one only spends time here, it is certainly going to be hard to get to know Turks. When one moves in Kreuzberg, it is at least easier to get in touch with them, but then there is the prejudice that there is also this demarcation/differentiation/delimitation (abgrenzung). Also really in the younger generation." (2.G.3.)

This also shows that meeting persons with an immigration background is indeed easier when one lives in a neighbourhood with many Turks, but that this does not mean close contacts will come about.

Germans in Bayerischer Platz (a neighbourhood with small concentrations of foreigners or Turks) are much more negative about segregation than Germans in the more segregated neighbourhood Oranienplatz. There mainly exists a fear among the persons who live in the former neighbourhood. We can conclude that the Germans see it as negative for the integration of persons with a Turkish background if they are too much concentrated in one neighbourhood. It is by the Germans in Oranienplatz not mentioned that at the moment there is a negative relationship between ethnic concentration and integration, but the German respondents at Bayerischer Platz do seem to think this relationship is strong. The Germans in the more segregated neighbourhood have thus more positive attitudes towards persons with an immigration background and towards the phenomenon segregation or clustering.

7.2.8 Integration

- **Meaning integration**

It is interesting to see whether the term integration means something else for German than for Turkish people. Here a summary of the definitions of the German population in Oranienplatz and in Bayerischer Platz is given.

“That the people can both live their own cultural background and that they can live this in Germany” (1.G.1.)

“It does not mean that one gives up all of his customs and habits, but it means that one, in the structures that are here, school, civil life, societal life, integrates in as far as possible. And not only lives in his own community” (1.G.2.)

*“Integration is a thing from both sides. It has to happen from immigrants and also from Germans. It is a broadening, a cultural broadening for both sides
What that really means for me? Well, taking people up without having biases. But they also have to be willing to adjust to frameworks and limits (1.G.4.)*

“The restoration of disintegration. Being open minded to people” (1.G.5.)

“That both the Germans are more open, but also that the Turks are not only in one group and not only stick together. I also think they should speak German, otherwise it is difficult” (2.G.1.)

*“That one also has a bit more understanding for also the mentality of the people. There has to be an equal situation among people, also women, men and kids have to be treated equally.
You have to say: I live in that country, so I also do it in that way. Otherwise you should not live here. This also means celebrating Xmas and Easter” (2.G.2.)*

“Integration is a process that aims for the abolishment of barriers, to equal opportunities in life” (2.G.3.)

“Integration means that we should be able to give the children with a migration background the same educational opportunities, like the ones with a German background. In means that, also

when they come from a socially difficult surrounding, they have to receive more help. Integration is in my opinion reached when the people who come to us, accept the values of our society, when they speak our language- this has a really important share in integration, and when they take part in our societal life, and not separate themselves (2.G.4.)

"Both sided tolerance. And also interest in the other side"(2.G.5.)

Especially separating themselves and sticking in their own group are seen as unhelpful in the integration process. It is seen as important to mix with Germans, to accept our values and to participate in our societal life. The German language is seen as critical for this, especially by Germans in Bayerischer Platz. In Oranienplatz more attention is paid to the cultural background; immigrants should not be asked to forget their customs.

- **Opinion about the integration of Turks**

Oranienplatz

People in Oranienplatz feel the younger generation is thought to already do better in education, in the labour market and it is stressed there are now many successful self employed Turks. Further, there is a lot done in the field of integration: many projects are set up around this theme.

It is felt that since a few years more Turkish people are employed in different government institutions and that there are now more Turkish teachers and doctors, which is seen as an improvement in their integration. This cultural mixing is seen as important, but not only in jobs. More should be done to reach this also in their education, in the cultural supply, in the media, etc. Also the latter has already improved a lot compared to 20 years ago. Now many authors, journalists and TV stars have another background.

But there are also thresholds in their integration process: It is felt that the Turkish population does not want contacts to come about and that they are not looking for an exchange. I have heard this more often, but 1.G.3.'s experience is most revealing:

"I went to some discussion meeting after 9-11, it was about the foreigners' criminalization which took place. There was no result. It was nice, friendly the exchange, but to my opinion, unfortunately I have to say that the main interest of the Turkish discussion partners was to stay within their own group. They have exchanged with us Germans, they were polite, partly also educated, but I have to say that I clearly had the feeling that they preferred to more stay within their own group. That problem I have is that it is always so separated"

Persons with an immigration background and especially Turks are felt to draw back more into their own culture nowadays. A symbol for this is for many the Turkish cultural associations and the pubs where Turkish men play cards. On the contrary however, there are also respondents and other Germans who feel that there has been a mentality adjustment in the German direction. A negative result of this development is by one person thought to be increasing cultural conflicts, such as honor killings. Young emancipated women become victims because they have adjusted so extremely towards

the German culture, in their clothing, their language and in their sexual interests; some have a German boyfriend.

It is also felt Turkish citizens should be more involved in the neighbourhood:

"Me and a couple of other inhabitants were engaged to do something about problems in the neighbourhood. Then I realized there were no Turks involved" (1.G.4.)

Bayerischer Platz

The Germans here also feel there is a large group of Turks that is very successful in their integration but also mention there is also a group staying behind. As mentioned above the first generation is thought to have a German deficiency and the second and third generation is thought to perform worse in education and in the labour market than Germans. One respondent feels the crime rate among the Turks is disproportionate, but in general the idea is that persons with an immigration background are now included in society and that there is already a large interest in each other. But there is still enough that has to be changed. One thing that needs to be changed is for example the way you have to approach Islamic or Arabic women: you cannot talk with them so loosely, you have to keep more distance and else you are expected to be intimidated by the Turkish men. This is thought to be a pity and one respondent is very explicit that this should change:

"As a man, I cannot approach a Turkish woman, but there can be one of them who approaches one of my sisters. The Turkish or Arabic men take all the freedom, but their sisters or daughters are locked inside the house, and you are not even allowed to talk to them. This does not work. Then one has to go back to their home country and there one can say: ok, here I am, and here I can live my mentality in the way it is" (2.G.2.)

Also another respondent mentions how different the relationship between men and women is in the Turkish culture:

"The clearly separated women-men image, it simply does not fit in Germany. I think it is stupid when a man tells his wife she has to veil herself. I accept it, but it is for me also a way of devaluation. I do not like it" (1.G.4.)

Especially in Bayerischer Platz parallel societies are feared and some feel segregation in various fields has increased: Turks and Arabs now seal off their own culture more and Turkish girls desire a special treatment in swimming class or sports.

Maybe both the Germans and the Turks are to be blamed: *"There are too many biases from the German side and there is too much isolation from the Turkish side" (2.G.5.)*

The feeling of isolation caused by parallel societies is explained in more detail:

"If you go to Kleistpark, where many Turks live, one already has the feeling that when one is there, when one buys something there, that they do not really like to see/have you there. They actually want that there are then also Turkish people shopping there, and one always feels excluded, although one wants to participate just as all the others do. But it is the same as when

a Turkish family goes shopping in my supermarket, and I want to be welcomed in the same way in a Turkish supermarket” (2.G.5.)

- **What should change?**

Especially in Bayerischer Platz there is a desire to learn more about the lives of the others, in this case the Turks, so they can be understood better. Maybe the school can play a role here, to teach about the religion, history and holidays. But also the Turks need to learn more about the German culture. Learning about each other by encounters is also seen as a solution. Opinions about how this has to come about differ: some feel these should be arranged by certain institutions, others feel people will have to approach each other themselves. Knowing more about each other is also believed to help us understand the relationship between men and women better.

Furthermore community and political engagement of immigrants is wished for:

“I think it is important that the ones who live here for a long time have municipal voting rights. I was last week voting assistant in Schöneberg, and there I had the impression that many who have now a German passport but have a migration background, also went to vote. There was a younger guy, beginning of his 20s; he wanted to know how he could become a voting assistant. And I think this is also very good, because this works further in his community in the way that one sees one has to participate in the democracy” (1.G.2.)

A popular example of struggles between the two cultures is the swimming lessons in school: the Turkish girls should adjust to the German tradition and thus also go swimming, maybe with long sleeves, but it is seen as problematic when they exclude themselves from the German rules. *“When I would move to another country, I would also have to adjust my lifestyle and learn the language”*, is an argument often heard.

- **Attitude of Germans**

It is thought that on average the attitude of the Germans towards the Turkish population has become more positive. It is felt that after living together for such a long time, one gets used to images and persons on the streets, and that one is not annoyed anymore by people for example dressing different. Diversity becomes accepted automatically as time passes. This is seen as a reason that the image of the Turks has improved, but it could also be caused by personal experiences, by the more positive portrayal of Turks in the media or by the increasing number of successful Turks in public functions.

7.3 Conclusions qualitative analyses

Above I have shown how diverse the group of persons with a Turkish background is. In general it is experienced as positive by the respondents that they have a Turkish background: they have been able to take the best of two cultures.

Turkish persons use their social networks more often for purposes like finding employment and housing than Germans do. In Kreuzberg these informal channels are used most often, from which we maybe can draw the conclusion that in more segregated areas social contacts are more important for members of the immigrant population.

Kreuzberg is seen as an unpleasant ghetto by Germans who do not live there. By both Turkish and German persons living there this is not experienced in this way. The Turks in Oranienplatz feel Kreuzberg is an example of a place where various cultures are living together peacefully. On the one hand it is seen as pleasant that there are so many Turks living there, but on the other hand it is acknowledged that because of that especially the older persons have less contact with the German population, since they spend almost all their time within this neighbourhood. Younger persons also visit other areas and know Germans for example via school or studies. Almost all the respondents also have friends all over Berlin, this is thus especially not restricted to their neighbourhood

Meeting other Turks is not easy in Bayerischer Platz. They therefore often go to other Bezirks.

Deep contacts with neighbours are everywhere rare. The assumption that a more diverse neighbourhood equals having more contact with members of another background is therefore proven not to be true. Especially when we talk about friendship-contacts, which are needed for contact to have a positive influence on trust and attitudes. Of course there is more mixing in Kreuzberg than in Bayerischer Platz, but this contains mainly short contacts in supermarkets, in a restaurant or on the streets.

I have also shown that Germans in Oranienplatz are more positive about persons with a Turkish background in general and about their integration.

School segregation is also by the Turkish population seen as very disadvantageous and damaging. It hampers the language development of children and Germans feel it has a negative influence on their children when shares of foreigners are too large.

In Bayerischer Platz there is a fear for ghettos. Many feel ghettos are only negative and they see Kreuzberg is some sort of ghetto.

8 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The initial goal of this research was to increase knowledge about the link between segregation and socio-cultural integration of persons with an immigration background and to understand the dynamics behind segregation. In the course of the process it also became important to be critical about studies conducted thus far, and search for ways to improve them. How are concepts handled and are all relationships uncovered? Especially the concept trust turned out to be very difficult to work with and the relationship between neighbourhood diversity and contact is often not studied deeply enough: it is often assumed that when persons with an immigration background live in a neighbourhood with many Germans they will have more contact with them. I will come back to this in more detail below.

My main research question presented in the introduction was: *What is the relationship between ethnic residential segregation and the socio-cultural integration of persons with a Turkish background in Berlin?*

I have tried to answer this question paying special attention to levels of segregation and the causes of segregation in Berlin, to opinions about segregation, to the link between diversity and contact and to identification, attitudes, trust and language and the relationship of these concepts with diversity and contact.

8.1 Segregation

During the last decades the level of ethnic residential segregation within Berlin has decreased. Turks have the highest Index of Dissimilarity in Berlin, yet also their ID has decreased; from 0.58 in the mid 1990s to 0.42 in 2007. The causes of segregation and the visions of Berliner are explained below.

8.1.1 Causes segregation Berlin

Levels of segregation in German cities are very modest compared to other large cities in Europe and the USA. This can in general be explained by the strong German social security system and by the federally regulated housing market. But not only ethnic segregation can be found, also unemployment and income are not spread equally throughout the city. Socio-economic indicators are for example low in Kreuzberg compared to in other districts in Berlin.

Shares of immigrants in Eastern Berlin are not so large because the labour migrants recruited during the DDR were allowed to stay only for a few years. Social segregation was however considerable. This was so because the different social categories (elites, middle class and the disadvantages) were appointed different types of housing within different districts. The fact that nowadays Turkish immigrants are strongly underrepresented in Eastern Berlin is probably explained by the stronger cultural infrastructure in the Western part and the fear for discrimination.

Causes for segregation in Western Berlin are a bit more complex. It is so that in the end of the 1960s middle class Germans moved out of Kreuzberg and Wedding to new social housing buildings. Kreuzberg would be renewed and therefore shops and families were

removed. The process was slow and in the mid 1970s the many houses left empty were rented to labour migrants, who were thought to return to their home country within a short period of time. Oranienplatz was located in the center of the renewal district and shares of guest workers increased tremendously. That Yugoslavian guest workers also found settlement in other districts, while the Turks almost only settled in Kreuzberg and Wedding shows that the latter had the least chances on the housing market. Later a settlement ban was put in place, and this led to temporary increased settlement in Northern Schöneberg and Neukölln.

From the late 19th century on it was urban planning that was the main cause of social segregation, and this is also what has caused recent ethnic residential segregation in Berlin.

That rents have recently been increasing makes it very hard for poorer families (of which minority households form a large group) to move out of the impoverished houses and/or districts. This is especially true for families with an immigration background because they often pay more rent than Germans. The middle class has become more flexible and especially many Germans have had the possibility to move out of “bad” neighbourhoods which has led to the fact that both ethnic and social segregation did not diminish. But the main reasons why large concentrations remain to exist in Berlin are (besides rents and access to the housing market) the use of social networks when looking for housing and preferences. To start with the former: the majority of the Turkish respondents find their housing via friends and acquaintances. Their networks are likely to be most extensive in the areas where many group members live; therefore ethnic residential concentration is the result. That choices about housing are mainly based on neighbourhood preferences and not so much on rents was also clearly shown by my research.

The amount of social housing in Berlin has decreased over the last decades, which is sometimes said to be problematic for segregation, but in Berlin social housing has lately not done much good. (New) immigrants often settle there and they are financially supported by the government to cover rents. But because this subsidy is not large enough to rent on the commercial market, these blocks are often concentrations of poor families. If this social housing would be smaller and more spread over the city the problem would be less severe.

8.1.2 Opinion segregation

- **Inhabitants**

Unequal distribution of one migrant group is seen as understandable and as not so problematic by the Germans. But when a group within a neighbourhood becomes too large, it is feared Ghettoization and a Parallelgesellschaft will be the result. Respondents in both neighbourhoods mentioned this, but the difference is that Germans in Bayerischer Platz recognized Kreuzberg as a ghetto while it is not experienced in this way by the Germans living in Oranienplatz. The frightening idea that Kreuzberg is a ghetto and that parallel societies are problematic in this area thus seem to be prejudices. They actually feel all the cultures live together peacefully in Kreuzberg and agree that mixing really is

taking place. Therefore Germans in Oranienplatz seem to feel nothing should be done to change the shares of persons with an immigration background. They simply enjoy the fact that the population is so diverse. But in Bayerischer Platz it is explicitly said it would be better when spreading would be more equal and therefore they would support measures necessary to reach this goal.

- **Government**

During the last decade the opinion of the government on segregation has become more relaxed: it is still not seen as desirable, but it is now felt that it should be dealt with when it exists instead of combated. This primarily is so because it is felt it is not possible to change the social and economic composition of a neighbourhood, but also because levels of segregation are not so high in Berlin. They have also started to recognize the advantages of segregation for the newcomers, such as increased feelings of acceptance and security and the fact that it can form the basis of further integration into society.

8.2 Meaning and opinion of integration

While the Turks stress the importance that there is from both sides an active attitude and a willingness to adjust, the Germans mainly mention the responsibilities the Turkish immigrants have, the most important being learning the language, mixing with Germans and participating in societal life. The Turks are clear that integration should never equal assimilation, i.e. becoming like the German population. Integration instead means according to them mutual respect, living conform the law and overcoming cultural differences.

The neighbourhood does seem to have some influence on the opinion of the Germans: in Bayerischer Platz knowledge of the language is seen as more crucial and the ideal image of integration seems to be more in the direction of Assimilation than in Oranienplatz. Here it is thought cultural differences should continue to exist.

Persons with a Turkish background feel discrimination has decreased lately, but it is thought this mainly is so because Germans are now more careless and indifferent towards the Turks. Interest in each other seems to have decreased, which is seen as problematic. Germans on the other hand claim that persons with an immigration background are now much more included in society and that there is more interest in each other. When real contact does not come about it is according to them so because persons with a Turkish background are not interested in contacts or exchanges with them; they draw back more into their own group and culture. For Germans this cultural mixing is seen as very important, not only in the labour market and in schools, but also in the cultural supply, sports, media, entertainment industry, etc

Germans in Oranienplatz are in general more positive about the integration of the Turkish immigrants, which might be so because they are more visible to them. There are also many self employed and often successful Turks working in Kreuzberg which is easily recognizable in the street image. The Turks in Bayerischer Platz are less visible and if they have a job they are not likely to work in this neighbourhood. This would mean that living in a diverse neighbourhood (or having diverse neighbours) has a positive influence

on the attitude of the native population towards members of the out-group, because they are more familiar with them. That corresponds with the contact hypothesis.

8.3 Socio- cultural integration of persons with a Turkish background in

Berlin and the link with ethnic residential segregation

8.3.1 Identification

Both from the quantitative as from the qualitative data I conclude that persons with a Turkish background still feel very attached to Turkey. But in Oranienplatz this is clearer than in Bayerischer Platz, where most people do not feel attached to any nationality at all. Higher shares of minorities in a neighbourhood do thus seem to lead to a larger in-group identity for members of the minority group. This corresponds with the conflict theory. Feeling Turkish has however no influence on feeling at home in Berlin.

Persons with a Turkish background in Berlin still do not feel recognized as German citizens and are frustrated about this. It is felt that, like in the US, any person born in Germany should be considered a German. The fact that the Turkish population is often still stigmatized and that they do not feel acknowledged probably has led or will lead to the forming of parallel societies, where one lives next to each other but where there is no deeper contact or mixing. This process is thought to be caused by the government and their multicultural policies, but it is also felt Germans are not open towards them.

Learning about the other group is seen as necessary, for example in school or by encounters. Einbürgerungs courses might help the Turkish population a bit, but also the German population needs to learn more about the Turks and their religion, history and holidays. I feel this might be especially helpful when it comes to cultural norms, rules and practices, for example the female-male relationship. Offering Turkish language classes for Germans in school or in the Volkshochschule might also help. It is also by my respondents seen as a way to bring both cultures closer together.

8.3.2 Attitudes

Turks are very open and positive towards having German friends, but are less positive about having German family members, which might be so because this would in most of the cases imply marrying a non-Muslim.

As concluded above, a more diverse neighbourhood does have a positive influence on the image Germans have of members of a minority group, but for the members of a minority group (in this case Turks), the composition of their neighbourhood is of no influence on their attitude towards Germans. The same goes for neighbourhood diversity and having German friends: there is no correlation between the two. These are both in contrast with the contact hypothesis which claims that having neighbours from an out-group would lead to more contact which will lead to more positive attitudes about the other.

What is proven in my qualitative study is that the Germans in more segregated neighbourhoods have more positive attitudes towards persons with an immigrant background, towards their integration and towards the phenomenon ethnic residential segregation.

Germans are sometimes a bit negative about Turks, especially about the relationships between men and women and about the groups of boys and men hanging out on the streets (which is seen as a threat), but it is also mentioned that when deeper contacts come about, persons with a Turkish background are much warmer and more open than Germans.

8.3.3 Contact

For the Turkish population in Berlin there is a positive relationship between having a German passport and having German friends. It has also become clear a relationship between neighbourhood diversity and meeting persons with another background exists. Germans in Bayerischer Platz for example feel that it is almost impossible to meet Turks in their neighbourhood: for meeting Turks they would have to go to Kreuzberg. Germans in Oranienplatz indeed do have somewhat closer contacts with Turks, but this does not mean also deeper contacts or friendships are the result when one lives among more members of another group. This is what is clearly shown in my analysis: also in Oranienplatz deep contacts between Turks and Germans are rare. Germans have mentioned they would like to have more contact.

Even though respondents do in the first instance tell you they have contact with persons with another background, when you ask further you will find out most of the times this contact is very superficial, as is the contacts with neighbours or housemates in Berlin. This shows the importance of distinguishing between types of contact in research.

It is important to realize that nowadays contacts of inhabitants in Berlin are not limited to the neighbourhood one lives in. Many people work in other areas and I have shown also friendships do not stay within the neighbourhood boundaries. When living in one house or neighbourhood for a very long time, relationships are likely to become closer, but most people made friends via school (which is often not located in the same districts, because one has lived somewhere else before), via work or via other friends and family members (who are also spread out over Berlin).

In the contact theory it is assumed inter-group contact will come about when neighbourhoods are mixed. My analyses have shown that it is true that chances of meeting persons with another background are smaller in Bayerischer Platz than in Oranienplatz, but this does not tell us much about the kind of contact that is established. Therefore I feel this is the most important question that should be asked when doing research on neighbourhood level. Is it indeed true that people have contact with their neighbours and others in their neighbourhood, and is this contact the kind of contact that is beneficial for integration or is it too superficial?

8.3.4 Language

Germans feel and have experienced the younger Turkish population speaks fluent German, but the old generation of labour migrants speaks insufficient German. While this is not considered as problematic in Kreuzberg, in Bayerischer Platz it is agreed this should change. In Kreuzberg they are likely to have experienced that as long as a

person can say a few words it is fine. In Bayerischer Platz this is therefore probably more a fear for the unknown than an experience.

- **Language and contact**

It does not matter where persons with a Turkish background live for their command of the German language (this depends more on for example level of education); this leads me to conclude that it does not matter for your knowledge of the German language whether you live in an area with many Germans or whether you live in an all-Turkish neighbourhood. This is in contrast with the contact hypothesis. But there does exist a strong negative relationship between having German friends and the level of German of Turks.

My analyses have shown there is a clear mediating role for language in the relationship between neighbourhood diversity and actual contact. Turkish respondents in Oranienplatz whose German is not so good are very clear that they would like to have more and deeper contacts with Germans but that they are hindered by their language deficiency. Therefore they spend almost only time with Turkish descendents. Also Germans feel and experienced contact will not come about when there is not a common language in which one can communicate, and often they would like to have more contact as well. For example communication with parents of Turkish classmates of their children is hardly possible because they do not speak sufficient German. But contact between Turks and Germans also does not come about because of cultural differences, attitudes and prejudices.

8.3.5 Trust

I have found out it is very problematic to study the concept trust. Most of my respondents said to be full of trust, but my feeling was that this was not true. Asking them in person makes it too likely to receive socially desirable answers, but using the questions "*Do you in general think you can trust people?*" and "*When a German promises something, does he also do it?*" in a questionnaire are not likely to give much more reliable answers. Long term contact is necessary to draw conclusions about this issue. Also more or less logical are therefore the answers in my qualitative research that there is no difference between nationalities when it comes to trust, but that the level of trust depends on the kind of relationship with the person.

- **Influence neighbourhood**

From my quantitative analysis it turned out there is no relationship between neighbourhood of residence and level of trust in Turks and Germans or with level of general trust. From this we could conclude there is no correlation between neighbourhood diversity and level of trust of Turkish residents within Berlin, but the evidence is not very strong. Also having German friends does not influence level of trust in Germans.

- **Influence of language on trust**

The influence of language on levels of trust is zero for the Turkish respondents and is minor for the German population, but only when the German of the other person is very basic.

8.3.6 Main research question answered

We can conclude that there is no strong proof that the conflict theory holds true. It is not true that when a neighbourhood's population is very diverse conflicts are more common than in ethnically homogeneous neighbourhoods. Neither is it true that Germans in Oranienplatz (which is ethnically more diverse than Bayerischer Platz) are more prejudiced and have more negative attitudes towards members of an out-group. But it should be realized this neighbourhood is mixed. Outcomes and attitudes might be different when the level of segregation for persons with a Turkish background in Kreuzberg would be higher. In some cases however, an area where many persons of one minority live might indeed function as a good basis for integration.

On the other hand I have shown that the contact hypothesis does not hold true. Neighbourhoods do not play a large role in the integration process of persons with a Turkish background in Berlin. Of much more importance is contact. What is then the answer to the main research question (*What is the relationship between ethnic residential segregation and the socio-cultural integration of persons with a Turkish background in Berlin?*)? Of course relationships in social sciences are never simple and stable; they are instead complex, dynamic and constantly developing. But we can say the relationship between ethnic residential segregation and socio-cultural integration of persons with a Turkish background in Berlin is not strong. When a relationship exists, this is most likely to be mediated by contact. It is thus interethnic contact we should focus on in the future, and not neighbourhood diversity per se.

8.4 Recommendations

What kind of policy changes and measures are thus necessary to improve the integration of the persons with a Turkish background in Berlin and how can the situation be changed so that both Turks and Germans are satisfied? Recommendations based on my research are given below, starting with a short note for urban planners, then focusing on more social adjustments.

- **Urban planning**

Forced redistribution of inhabitants is not a desirable policy since it is not likely to be successful, unless when housing in better neighbourhoods (often in the suburbs) becomes available and affordable for immigrants (Gijssberts and Dagevos, 2005). Something else policy makers and planners have to realize is that it is often harmful when neighbourhood compositions change too quickly. Contacts are likely to be hindered and prejudices will increase. But putting through neighbourhood changes and adjustments should not only be done slowly, but also in cooperation with the inhabitants. This is likely to prevent future social problems.

- **Social policy**

Maybe the most important conclusion from my research is that it is not possible to speak about one group of Turks residing in Berlin. They are so diverse that it is actually not possible to target policies at this entire group. I hope it will be realized by policy makers that the Turks are not a homogenous group. They, or their parents are not all from Anatolia but instead come from all over Turkey, they have come here for different reasons (: family reunification, marriage, economic reasons or they have come to study) and they ended up in different segments in the labour market.

Next to that, more should be done to improve physical, social and economic characteristics and opportunities of a neighbourhood. This is crucial because socio-economic characteristics of immigrants (such as level of education and job positions) have a large influence on socio cultural integration. For example contacts are more likely to come about in neighbourhoods with better socio-economic indicators. But also for ethnic residential segregation to form a good basis to start the integration process in the receiving society, opportunities for immigrants have to be available outside their own group and neighbourhood. Therefore investments to improve the inhabitants' education and chances in the labour market are crucial.

Putnam (2007) recommends governments to focus on the reconstruction of ethnic identities within immigration policy. People should end up seeing themselves as members of common groups with shared identities instead of as a member of one ethnic group. This is especially important in Berlin, where parallel societies are perceived as very negative and where the persons with a Turkish background are still viewed as only belonging to their own ethnic group. Feelings and recognition of a shared identity (for example German, European or multicultural) are missing. It is also felt more knowledge about each other's culture is necessary, which could for example be done in school.

Because, as mentioned above, contact has a strong mediating effect on the relationship between neighbourhood diversity and socio-cultural integration (language, prejudices, identification with the host society and maybe on trust), the most important question in future research has to be whether inter-group contact does also really come about.

An important recommendation is therefore also that when projects to improve socio-cultural integration are designed, they should largely be focused on inter-ethnic contact and dialogue. This contact should not be superficial; a greeting in the supermarket will not do much good. But when contacts are formed on a deeper level; are intense, they are likely to reduce prejudices, improve the attitude towards members of the out-group and increase levels of trust. Language proficiency in turn has a positive influence on contact, and therefore extra investments and effort to improve the language skills of persons with an immigration background are crucial.

- **Future research**

The assumption that neighbourhood diversity leads to more inter-group contact has to disappear. We need more studies that focus specifically on the importance of the neighbourhood for contacts, especially for inter-ethnic contacts. But ideally all studies on socio-cultural integration should study this relationship. It is important to know what the role of spaces and places are before policy makers come up with new urban plans.

Next to that, studies on trust have to be improved. I feel that the questionnaires used nowadays do not tell us what the real level of trust among groups or persons is. Maybe psychological social experiments could help.

I think it is also what science is about: learning from each other and constantly trying to find new ways and methods. But we should not forget to remain creative and critical.

“Science is the knowledge of consequences, and dependence of one fact upon another”

- **Thomas Hubbs**

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Appendix 1 Maps of research areas Oranienplatz and Bayerischer Platz



Bayerischer Platz

Appendix 2 Coding scheme qualitative analyses

Persons with a Turkish background

Background and characteristics

- Turkish roots
- Country of birth
- Origin partner
- Useful ethnic networks for finding housing + employment
- What does having a Turkish background or being migrated mean?

Neighbourhood experiences

- General
- Opinion mixed neighbourhood

Contact

- Places of contact
- Neighbours
- Work
- School
- Family
- Difference contact different nationalities, and influence language
- Contact parents with Germans

Language

- Language spoken at home
- Relationship between language and contact

Identification

- Identity crisis
- Feeling welcome and at home
- Connection to Turkey and future place of residence

Trust

Nationality

Discrimination

Integration

- Meaning Integration to respondents
- Recent changes in integration/attitude

Persons with a German background

Characteristics

- Personal versus formal networks

Neighbourhood experiences

- General
- Opinion mixed neighbourhood
- Experiences with Turks in neighbourhood
- Estimation of shares of foreigners and Turks

Contact

- Places of contact
- Neighbours
- Contact with Turks
- Difference contact different nationalities

Language

- Relationship between language, contact and integration

Trust

Discrimination

Integration

- Meaning integration
- Opinion on integration Turks
- What should change?
- Attitude Germans

Segregation

Appendix 3

Non-German nationals in Berlin by districts



Source: Der Beauftragte des Senats von Berlin für Integration und Migration, 2007

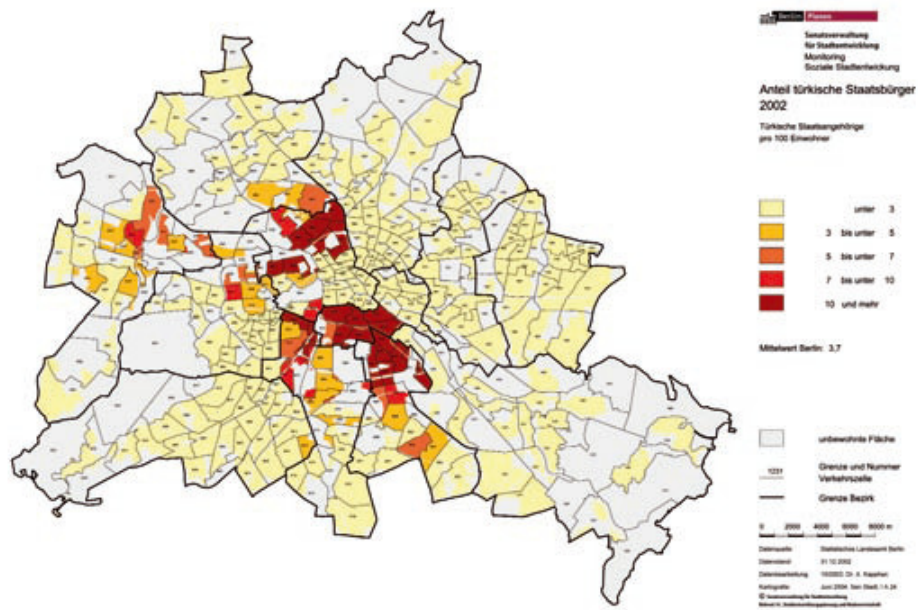
Appendix 4 Table of Bezirksregions with highest percentage of inhabitants with an immigration background in Berlin at 31.12.2007

Planungsraum mit mindestens 1 000 Einwohnern	Einwohner mit Migrationshintergrund in %	Bezirksregion	Bezirk
Askanischer Platz	68,1	Südliche Friedrichsstadt	Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg
Reinickendorfer Straße	67,1	Wedding Zentrum	Mitte
Rollberg	66,1	Neuköllner Mitte/Zentrum	Neukölln
Körnerstraße	65,7	Tiergarten-Süd	Mitte
Oranienplatz	65,2	Nördliche Luisenstadt	Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg
Wassertorplatz	65,2	Südliche Friedrichsstadt	Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg
Mehringplatz	64,5	Südliche Friedrichsstadt	Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg
Brunnenstraße	63,5	Brunnenstraße Nord	Mitte
Heidestraße	62,5	Moabit Ost	Mitte
Silbersteinstraße	60,3	Schillerpromenade	Neukölln
Flughafenstraße	60,2	Neuköllner Mitte/Zentrum	Neukölln
Moritzplatz	60,1	Südliche Friedrichsstadt	Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg
Donaustraße	60,0	Reuterstraße	Neukölln
Dennewitzplatz	58,7	Schöneberg Nord	Tempelhof-Schöneberg
Gesundbrunnen	58,1	Osloer Straße	Mitte
Humboldthain Nord-West	58,0	Brunnenstraße Nord	Mitte
Leopoldplatz	57,7	Wedding Zentrum	Mitte
Sparrplatz	56,8	Wedding Zentrum	Mitte
Herzbergstraße	56,7	Alt-Lichtenberg	Lichtenberg
Lübecker Straße	55,7	Moabit Ost	Mitte
Glasower Straße	55,4	Neuköllner Mitte/Zentrum	Neukölln
Körnerpark	55,3	Neuköllner Mitte/Zentrum	Neukölln
Beusselkietz	55,0	Moabit Ost	Mitte
Soldiner Straße	54,6	Osloer Straße	Mitte
Zwinglistraße	54,3	Moabit West	Mitte
Wissmannstraße	54,0	Schillerpromenade	Neukölln
Weißer Siedlung	53,8	Köllnische Heide	Neukölln
Rixdorf	53,7	Rixdorf	Neukölln
Nollendorfplatz	53,5	Schöneberg Nord	Tempelhof-Schöneberg
Lausitzer Park	53,4	Nördliche Luisenstadt	Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg
Zillesiedlung	52,0	Moabit Ost	Mitte
Schulenburgpark	50,6	Köllnische Heide	Neukölln
Schillerpromenade	50,6	Schillerpromenade	Neukölln
Ernst-Reuter-Platz	50,6	Otto-Suhr-Allee	Charlottenburg-Willmersdorf

Source: Amt für Statistik Berlin-

Brandenburg, 2008

Appendix 5 Distribution of Turkish nationals in Berlin in 2002



Source: Ohliger and Raiser, 2005

Appendix 6 Inhabitants of Berlin at 31.12.2007 by Bezirken and Immigration status

Bezirk	Einwohner insgesamt	Deutsche					Ausländer	Einwohner mit Migrationshintergrund zusammen
		zusammen	ohne	mit	darunter als Deutsche geborene unter 18 Jahre mit			
					einseitigem	beidseitigem		
		Migrationshintergrund						
insgesamt								
Berlin	3 353 854	2 883 851	2 490 327	393 524	44 422	55 932	470 003	863 527
Mitte.....	323 017	230 468	179 336	51 132	4 392	8 936	92 549	143 681
Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg	260 441	200 489	165 096	35 393	3 456	6 268	59 952	95 345
Pankow.....	354 551	327 986	304 453	23 533	4 087	1 612	26 565	50 098
Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf	310 068	251 299	210 146	41 153	5 482	5 178	58 769	99 922
Spandau	215 927	193 640	162 713	30 927	3 202	4 723	22 287	53 214
Steglitz-Zehlendorf	286 970	256 189	226 095	30 094	6 045	3 651	30 781	60 875
Tempelhof -Schöneberg	325 952	274 228	227 598	46 630	5 343	7 035	51 724	98 354
Neukölln.....	302 801	234 559	185 699	48 860	4 188	9 299	68 242	117 102
Treptow-Köpenick	234 975	227 141	211 685	15 456	1 688	812	7 834	23 290
Marzahn-Hellersdorf	246 195	237 229	216 695	20 534	1 244	1 852	8 966	29 500
Lichtenberg.....	250 808	231 894	210 881	21 013	1 548	1 901	18 914	39 927
Reinickendorf.....	242 149	218 729	189 930	28 799	3 747	4 665	23 420	52 219
Anteil in %								
Berlin	100	86,0	74,3	11,7	1,3	1,7	14,0	25,7
Mitte.....	100	71,3	55,5	15,8	1,4	2,8	28,7	44,5
Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg	100	77,0	63,4	13,6	1,3	2,4	23,0	36,6
Pankow.....	100	92,5	85,9	6,6	1,2	0,5	7,5	14,1
Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf	100	81,0	67,8	13,3	1,8	1,7	19,0	32,2
Spandau	100	89,7	75,4	14,3	1,5	2,2	10,3	24,6
Steglitz-Zehlendorf	100	89,3	78,8	10,5	2,1	1,3	10,7	21,2
Tempelhof -Schöneberg	100	84,1	69,8	14,3	1,6	2,2	15,9	30,2
Neukölln.....	100	77,5	61,3	16,1	1,4	3,1	22,5	38,7
Treptow-Köpenick	100	96,7	90,1	6,6	0,7	0,3	3,3	9,9
Marzahn-Hellersdorf	100	96,4	88,0	8,3	0,5	0,8	3,6	12,0
Lichtenberg.....	100	92,5	84,1	8,4	0,6	0,8	7,5	15,9
Reinickendorf.....	100	90,3	78,4	11,9	1,5	1,9	9,7	21,6

Source: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2008

Appendix 7

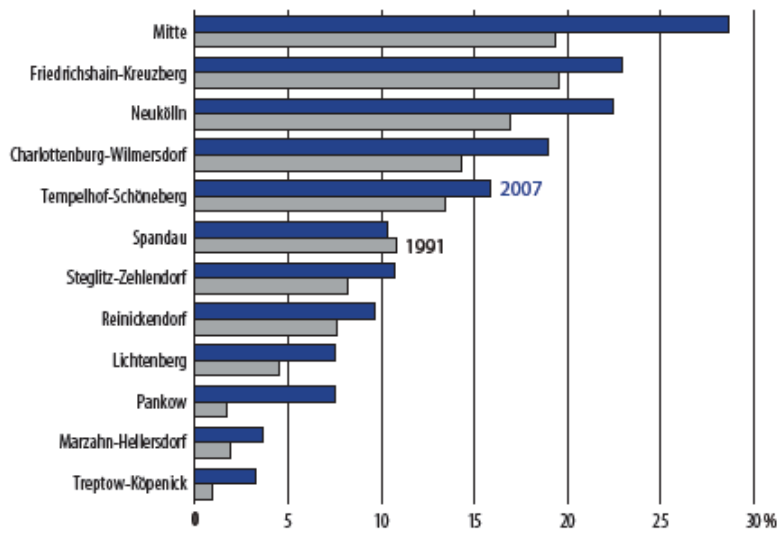
Registered foreigners in Berlin in 1991 and 2007 by District

Bezirk	2007			1991			Veränderung 2007 gegenüber 1991	
	absolut	%	% der Einwohner	absolut	%	% der Einwohner	absolut	%
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Mitte.....	92 552	19,7	28,7	66 057	18,6	19,4	26 495	40,1
Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg.....	59 950	12,8	23,0	51 422	14,5	19,6	8 528	16,6
Pankow.....	26 573	5,7	7,5	5 088	1,4	1,7	21 485	422,3
Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf.....	58 760	12,5	19,0	47 353	13,3	14,3	11 407	24,1
Spandau.....	22 286	4,7	10,3	23 594	6,6	10,8	-1 308	-5,5
Steglitz-Zehlendorf.....	30 786	6,6	10,7	23 755	6,7	8,2	7 031	29,6
Tempelhof-Schöneberg.....	51 726	11,0	15,9	46 241	13,0	13,4	5 485	11,9
Neukölln.....	68 233	14,5	22,5	52 394	14,7	16,9	15 839	30,2
Treptow-Köpenick.....	7 837	1,7	3,3	1 975	0,6	0,9	5 862	296,8
Marzahn-Hellersdorf.....	8 962	1,9	3,6	5 417	1,5	1,9	3 545	65,4
Lichtenberg.....	18 917	4,0	7,5	12 816	3,6	4,5	6 101	47,6
Reinickendorf.....	23 422	5,0	9,7	19 244	5,4	7,6	4 178	21,7
Berlin.....	470 004	100	14,0	355 356	100	10,3	114 648	32,3
Bezirke vor Gebietsreform								
Mitte.....	13 902	3,0	17,6	3 427	1,0	4,3	10 475	305,7
Tiergarten.....	25 854	5,5	29,3	21 403	6,0	22,4	4 451	20,8
Wedding.....	52 796	11,2	33,9	41 227	11,6	24,9	11 569	28,1
Prenzlauer Berg.....	18 510	3,9	12,7	2 309	0,6	1,6	16 201	701,6
Friedrichshain.....	14 201	3,0	12,6	2 222	0,6	2,1	11 979	539,1
Kreuzberg.....	45 749	9,7	31,0	49 200	13,8	31,5	-3 451	-7,0
Charlottenburg.....	36 128	7,7	20,8	30 758	8,7	16,7	5 370	17,5
Spandau.....	22 286	4,7	10,3	23 594	6,6	10,8	-1 308	-5,5
Wilmersdorf.....	22 632	4,8	16,6	16 595	4,7	11,3	6 037	36,4
Zehlendorf.....	10 238	2,2	10,5	8 435	2,4	8,5	1 803	21,4
Schöneberg.....	31 980	6,8	22,4	31 838	9,0	20,4	142	0,4
Steglitz.....	20 548	4,4	10,9	15 320	4,3	8,1	5 228	34,1
Tempelhof.....	19 746	4,2	10,8	14 403	4,1	7,6	5 343	37,1
Neukölln.....	68 233	14,5	22,5	52 394	14,7	16,9	15 839	30,2
Treptow.....	4 630	1,0	4,0	809	0,2	0,8	3 821	472,3
Köpenick.....	3 207	0,7	2,7	1 166	0,3	1,1	2 041	175,0
Lichtenberg.....	13 639	2,9	9,0	9 688	2,7	5,8	3 951	40,8
Weißensee.....	2 732	0,6	3,5	618	0,2	1,2	2 114	342,1
Pankow.....	5 331	1,1	4,0	2 161	0,6	2,0	3 170	146,7
Reinickendorf.....	23 422	5,0	9,7	19 244	5,4	7,6	4 178	21,7
Marzahn.....	6 154	1,3	4,8	3 542	1,0	2,1	2 612	73,7
Hohenschönhausen.....	5 278	1,1	5,3	3 128	0,9	2,6	2 150	68,7
Hellersdorf.....	2 808	0,6	2,4	1 875	0,5	1,5	933	49,8
Berlin	470 004	100	14,0	355 356	100	10,3	114 648	32,3
Berlin-Ost.....	90 392	19,2	7,1	30 945	8,7	2,4	59 447	192,1
Berlin-West.....	379 612	80,8	18,3	324 411	91,3	15,0	55 201	17,0

Source: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2008

Appendix 8

Share of registered foreigners in districts in Berlin (after reform) in 1991 and 2007



Source: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2008

Appendix 9 Cross Table German nationality x Having German friends

			German friends			Total
			Yes, more than one	Yes, one	No, none at all	
German nationality	Yes	Amount	98	6	10	114
		% within „German nationality“	86.0%	5.3%	8.8%	100.0%
	No	Amount	133	14	50	197
		% within „German nationality“	67.5%	7.1%	25.4%	100.0%
Total		Amount	231	20	60	311
		% within German nationality	74.3%	6.4%	19.3%	100.0%

Appendix 10 Cross Table Opinion about having German neighbours x German friends

			German friends			Total
			Yes, more than one	Yes, one	No, none at all	
Opinion about having German neighbours	Pleasant	Amount	118	6	29	153
		% within „German friends“	50.9%	30.0%	48.3%	49.0%
	Does not matter	Amount	112	13	28	153
		% within „German friends“	48.3%	65.0%	46.7%	49.0%
	Unpleasant	Amount	2	1	3	6
		% within „German friends“	.9%	5.0%	5.0%	1.9%
Total		Amount	232	20	60	312
		% within „German friends“	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Appendix 11 Description respondents

Oranienplatz - Turkish

Number of respondent	Sex	Born in	In Germany for... years	Age category	Education	Profession	Nationality
1.T.1	Male	Turkey	17	40-45	Started with University	Social project worker	German
1.T.2	Male	Turkey	29	45-50	University	Unemployed	German + Turkish
1.T.3	Female	Turkey	35	50-55	?	Beauty salon + hamam	Turkish
1.T.4	Male	Turkey	43	70-75	Primary school	Construction work. Now retired
1.T.5	Male	Turkey	14	18-22	Ausbildung	Car mechanic	Turkish

Bayerischer Platz - Turkish

Number of respondent	Sex	Born in	In Germany for... years	Age category	Education	Profession	Nationality
2.T.1	Male	Germany	All life	25-30	Hochschule	teacher	German
2.T.2	Male	Turkey	23	40-45	Part of university	Sales man	Turkish
2.T.3	Female	Germany	All life	20-25	Ausbildung	Kindergarten teacher	German and Turkish
2.T.4	Male	Turkey	29	40-45	gymnasium	Textile factory	German
2.T.5	Female	Turkey	13	25-30	High school	cleaner	Turkish

Oranienplatz - German

Number of respondent	Sex	Age category	Education	Profession
1.G.1	female	54	university	
1.G.2	Female	49	Hochschule	At university
1.G.3	Female	53	Arbitur, unfinished university	Now unemployed.. worked in pedagogic
1.G.4	Male	26	Arbitur	Erzieher
1.G.5	Male	43	Arbitur	Theatre / father

Bayerischer Platz - German

Number of respondent	Sex	Age category	Education	Profession
2.G.1	Male	24	Hochschule	teacher
2.G.2	Male	48	Hauptschule	Unemployed.

				Before as cook and construction
2.G.3	Male	46	PhD	Lawyer
2.G.4	Female	54	PhD	Senate member Berlin
2.G.5	Female	47	University	architect