Housing Preferences and Residential Mobility of Turkish Migrants

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Abstract

Empirical studies confirm that German cities are witnessing an increasing spatial overlap of social and ethnic segregation. However, there has been a lack of empirical data capable of identifying the circumstances under which segregation is to be seen as the effect either of a lack of alternative options or of deliberate choices with regard to housing location (BBR 2008).

Recent research has found evidence of increasing differentiation with regard to the types of neighbourhoods preferred within the demographic of migrants living in Germany (Beck 2008). This provides the point of departure for the present paper, which presents the key findings of a recently completed study of housing-location preferences among people in Germany of Turkish descent. Within this study, a quantitative and qualitative empirical module revealed clear signs of heterogeneous attitudes of household types regarding the choice of residential location. Analysis of individual biographies (with regard to place of residence) and of neighbourhood preferences results in the identification of six different household types applicable to the ethnic Turkish population. Quite fundamental differences are evident, however, regarding both the motivation for living in such quarters and the assessment of the qualities these neighbourhoods display.

Introduction

For several decades, German cities and municipalities have been undergoing a process of advancing social/spatial separation (Farwick 2001; Häußermann/Förste 2009). This process of residential segregation is reflected in the patterns of settlement within a town or city with

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increasing polarisation between affluent neighbourhoods, on the one hand, and other more disadvantaged localities marked by a concentration of more marginalised groups, including significant numbers of migrants (Friedrichs/Triemer 2008). The discourse on this subject currently in progress in Germany in both academic and political circles identifies various contextual effects which ensue from this type of residential segregation; to date, however, the necessary empirical basis to support such an evaluation is inadequate (Schader-Stiftung 2006). It is indeed difficult to identify the effects which disadvantaged neighbourhoods, as the contexts of their lives, might exert on both the residential and life prospects of the people who live in such neighbourhoods (Häußermann/Siebel 2001).

Due both to its size and to the high levels of segregation which have come about, in Germany it is in particular the Turkish population which provides the focal point for debate. Regarding the issue of contextual effects, it is argued that the coalescence of social and ethnic segregation gives rise to specific types and levels of disadvantage on the part of the populations concerned. However, there is to date insufficient empirical data to establish under what conditions ethnic segregation should be viewed as resulting simply from a lack of housing options, or rather as a deliberate preference on the part of households when choosing where to live. There is similarly insufficient data available to identify the circumstances and conditions under which the tendency towards segregation creates situations which lead to social problems (BBR 2008).

More recent studies of cities in the state of North Rhine-Westphalia reveal a much more nuanced picture in terms of the analysis of the dimensions of social, ethnic and demographic segregation (ILS 2006). The first blanket survey of patterns of residential segregation in sections of towns and cities in North Rhine-Westphalia identifies characteristic structures of local distribution of different resident groups within a city. Over the course of time, the three dimensions of segregation have become more closely entwined. The upshot is that the majority of non-Germans today live in the same neighbourhoods as the majority of poor Germans; these neighbourhoods also contain relatively high numbers of children and adolescents.

At the same time, recent research has also pointed to increasing differentiation regarding both housing circumstances and preferred residential location within the demographic of migrants living in Germany (Özüekren and van Kempen 2003; Beck 2008). Based on this spectrum of the circumstances under which – and the milieus in which – migrants now live, there is now clear evidence of the emergence of differing – and in the future increasingly differentiated – aspirations and, subsequently, choices on the part of migrants regarding preferred place of residence. Only very few studies have been undertaken in Germany to look into the decisions taken by distinct migrant groups with their heterogeneous needs and priorities regarding the qualities they seek in a residential neighbourhood.

Aim of the study

The aim of the study was to arrive at a more detailed understanding of the housing preferences of the ethnic-Turkish population in Germany. The research was undertaken in co-operation with the *Stiftung Zentrum für Türkeistudien* (the "Center for Studies on Turkey") at the instigation of the Ministry for Integration of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia.

The study set out to identify the various motives and characteristics underlying the residential preferences of migrants of Turkish descent. Analysis of individual housing histories and of the criteria applied in deciding where to live was intended to provide a basis for deriving conclusions on the characteristic patterns of relocation and on the role played by segregated neighbourhoods in the context of deciding where to live. It was also seen as important to consider the interplay between the socio-economic (structural) factors affecting choice of residential location, on the one hand, and other voluntary/discretionary aspects in order to be able to discuss the correlations between ethnic and social segregation.

By linking together both the quantitative and the qualitative components of empirical research, the goal was to arrive at a sound understanding of the reasons for Turkish households (i.e. households "with a background of migration") moving into, remaining within, or moving out of segregated neighbourhoods. The main focus of the study was on evaluating life in ethnic neighbourhoods (i.e. neighbourhoods characterised by their ethnic populations) from the point of view of the Turkish migrants living there. The study was completed in 2008 (ILS 2008a).

Study design and methodology: quantitative and qualitative components

The study comprises two quantitative components and one which is qualitative.

The multi-topic survey conducted by the Center for Studies on Turkey (CfST)
On an annual basis since 1999, acting on behalf of the Integration Ministry for the State of North Rhine-Westphalia, the CfST has conducted a representative, telephone-based, multi-topic survey of 1,000 adult ethnic-Turkish migrants in North Rhine-Westphalia (including both naturalised German citizens and those with Turkish citizenship). The topics covered by this survey include the immediate neighbourhood, housing situation, satisfaction with living conditions and attitudes to owning property. The research underpinning the present paper included a targeted reinterpretation of the multi-topic survey. This interpretation attempted to trace correlations between the topic of "housing" and such other socially integrative features as education and employment status. All of the variables of the multi-topic survey were considered within the framework of the qualitative component in the guided interviews with households (see below).

Study of reasons for relocating: Bergisches Land

A targeted analysis of data on the mobility behaviour of ethnic-Turkish and ethnic-Polish migrants was carried out based on a wide-ranging survey of reasons for relocating undertaken by the ILS. The Bergisches Land region comprises ten municipalities with a total population of some 860,000. At the core of this region is what is known as the Bergisches Städtedreieck, the triangle formed by the cities of Wuppertal, Solingen and Remscheid. In the winter of 2005/2006 a random sample of respondents were contacted by post and invited to complete a written questionnaire; these respondents were people who, during the period from 2002 to 2004, had either relocated to one of the ten case-study municipalities from within the Federal Republic of Germany or had moved between the cities making up the Bergisches City Triangle. In respect of this city region, completed questionnaires were received from some 5,200 households, 1,070 (or 20%) of which were from households with a "background of migration". In substantive terms, the survey focused on reasons for relocating, criteria applied in deciding where to relocate to, satisfaction with both the previous and the new location, and an evaluation of the new host municipality. The use of a highly localised classification of spatial units makes it possible to consider the factors behind a household's decision to relocate independently of administrative boundaries (for details of this classification and more information on the questionnaire, cf. ILS 2008b).

Interviews with Turkish households in the cities of Cologne and Wuppertal
The methodological focus of the qualitative component was on carrying out and evaluating interviews with roughly 50 households; these were conducted with Turkish households in Cologne and Wuppertal. This qualitative component has a key role to play within the study (ILS 2008): the partly structured interviews presented an opportunity to gain a better insight into individual decision-making processes and thus provided a basis for developing characteristic household types.

The group sampled consists of migrants of Turkish descent who – following the definition applied in the micro census – either themselves migrated to Germany or who live in Germany as the descendents of migrants, including those of Turkish descent who have since been naturalised. As areas for investigation, four neighbourhoods were selected, all of which are characterised by both ethnic and social segregation. The survey included both households with an aspiration to remain living in the neighbourhood in question over the longer term, as well as other households who had opted to relocate away from the neighbourhood; the latter were included in the sample under the heading of "out-movers". In their totality, therefore, this interrogation of households was able to supply important background information on the motives and decision-making processes that accompany decisions on where to live. This survey was supplemented by expert interviews with representatives of the appropriate municipal authorities of both cities, and representatives from cultural associations and community centres.

Linking these three part-studies provides an additional and complementary point of access for research into the housing needs and housing preferences of Turkish migrants within the context of ethnic segregation.

Housing situation and satisfaction with housing among Turkish migrants in North Rhine-Westphalia: results of the multi-topic survey

Wiith specific and pointed interpretation of the multi-topic survey conducted by the Center for Studies on Turkey, it becomes possible to gain insights into the **ethnic composition of residential areas** over time. These findings are based on answers given by respondents when asked to give a personal evaluation of their immediate neighbourhood. According to the data, in 2006 one in every four of the Turkish population living in North Rhine-Westphalia lived in areas with a high density of non-German neighbours; one in five lived in areas with a predominantly Turkish character. This shows just how quantitatively significant a phenomenon the segregation of housing areas is. A longitudinal comparison of 1999 and 2006 reveals this state of affairs to be extremely stable. There is no evidence of a uniform trend towards ethnic concentration in residential neighbourhoods, but there are equally no signs of greater ethnic diversity (see Fig. 1).

Fig. 1: Ethnic composition of neighbourhood
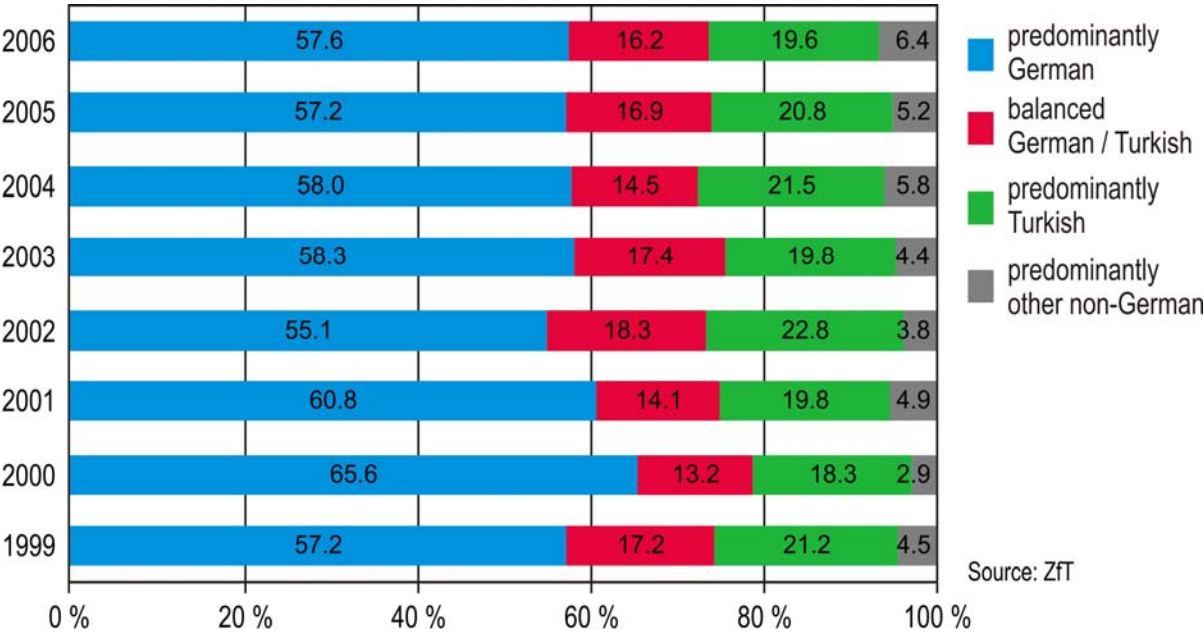
The multi-topic survey provides a means of representing the **socio-demographic and socio-economic** characteristics of the respondents in the neighbourhoods included in the study. It is striking that segregation with regard to housing location is a matter which particularly affects the youngest and oldest age groups (see Fig. 2). To some extent ethnic neighbourhoods appear to perform the function of a sanctuary, without this meaning, however, that they have to be regarded across the board as social/spatial "mobility traps". This is clearly evident in the overrepresentation in Turkish neighbourhoods in Germany of respondents who have not lived in Germany for very long. When educational qualifications are taken into consideration, a correlation is revealed between higher levels of educational achievement and the likelihood of living alongside Germans: the higher the educational achievement, the greater the probability of living in a German neighbourhood.

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Fig. 2: Immediate neighbourhood according to socio-demographic and economic characteristics (as percentage – by line)

	Immediate neighbourhood		
	predominantly German	German and Turkish – balanced	predominantly Turkish
Age			
18 to 29	49	23	23
30 to 44	61	13	18
45 to 59	61	15	15
60 and above	55	12	25
Length of residence			
up to 3 years	33	25	38
4 to 9 years	51	15	19
10 to 19 years	55	14	24
20 years and more	60	17	18
Command of German			
very good / good	61	18	15
fair	57	16	19
poor / very poor	48	12	36
Employment status			
employed	65	15	14
not employed	51	17	24
Household income			
less than €1,000	44	16	28
between €1,000 and €2,000	55	17	21
between €2,000 and €3,000	61	15	20
€3,000 and above	71	15	10

Source: ZfT (*CfST*)

Based on socio-economic characteristics a correlation can be established between neighbourhood and employment status: below-average employment rates among those living in neighbourhoods among their own ethnic group; above-average unemployment rates in homogeneous ethnic neighbourhoods). High household incomes in excess of €3,000 per month are most markedly inconsistent with living in an ethnic neighbourhood.

Focusing on **housing situation**, it becomes clear that almost one-third of respondents (32%, see Fig. 3) are owner-occupiers. This is slightly below the comparable figure for the population of NRW overall: according to the micro census, some 39% of households live "within their own four walls" (Statistisches Bundesamt (Federal Statistical Office) 2009). However, the proportion of migrants who are owner-occupiers (of either flats or houses) has been rising steadily since 1999, with just a brief break in the trend in 2004. Moreover, of those currently living in rented accommodation, some 33% plan to acquire property in the near future; a further 6% at least do not rule out this possibility. Consequently, the trend already apparent towards owner-occupancy can be expected to continue.

Fig. 3: Housing situation over time from 1999 to 2006 (% by column)

Housing situation	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Rented flat	72	75	68	66	66	68	61	62
Owner-occupied flat	8	9	11	12	13	13	14	13
Rented house	12	6	8	8	6	5	9	6
Owner-occupied house	5	10	13	14	15	14	17	19

Source: ZfT (*CfST*) 2007

In 2006 the average size of dwelling elicited was 86m^2 per household. With the average household comprising 3.9 persons, this was equivalent to 22.3m^2 of living space per person. Rented flats (averaging 74m^2) were the smallest units; owner-occupied houses had an average living area of 131m^2. These values are low compared with equivalent figures for the population as a whole: in 2006 in North Rhine-Westphalia the average amount of living space per person was 40m^2 (Statistisches Bundesamt (Federal Statistical Office) 2009).

In the multi-topic survey, respondents were asked for an assessment of their degree of satisfaction (satisfied/partly satisfied/not satisfied) with their current housing situation. Despite the evident shortcomings in some cases, the respondents display a high level of **satisfaction with living conditions** overall. Moreover, this satisfaction is largely independent of the ethnic composition of the immediate neighbourhood. However, one factor is clearly attributable to the housing situation: owner-occupier respondents, whether they live in predominantly German or Turkish neighbourhoods, display markedly higher levels of satisfaction than respondents living in rented accommodation.

Fig. 4: Satisfaction with living conditions by immediate neighbourhood and housing situation

Immediate neighbourhood	Housing situation			
	Rented flat	Owner-occupied flat	Rented house	Owner-occupied house
predominantly German	74	90	73	90
German and Turkish – balanced	62	80	56	91
predominantly Turkish	66	92	29	82

Source: ZfT (*CfST*) 2007

As is shown by this interpretation, segregation with regard to housing represents a quantitatively significant phenomenon. The correlation between living in an area which is characterised by its ethnic composition and socio-economic disadvantage is confirmed by a variety of different factors. The fact that individuals who have not been in Germany for very long are over-represented in such areas points to the important function performed by neighbourhoods with high proportions of migrants as a space where new arrivals can find some orientation (Elwert 1982 and Heckmann 1992) and as transit zones.

Comparison of choice of residential location of ethnic groups: the Bergisches Land survey of reasons for relocating

The survey of relocated households in the Bergisches Land region included 1,070 people with a background of migration, of which 13% were Turkish. The sample makes it possible to compare and contrast the features which are characteristic of the Turkish group with the situation of other groups of migrants. Migrants with Polish roots were selected as a control group since this demographic was well represented (25%) in the sample among the totality of people with a background of migration. The survey included solely people who had not themselves moved directly into the municipality from abroad.

One particularly striking aspect of the **socio-demographic and socio-economic characteristics** is the low income levels found among Turkish respondents: 44% have an individual net income (adjusted, based on household income and household size) of €900 or less, compared with 12% for Germans. Moreover, this group also includes significantly more families (Turkish households: 66%; German households: 34.1%). In terms of household structure, there are no significant differences between Polish households and the German control group, although the former do display lower income levels.

In order to analyse **residential locations** the study areas was divided into 155 units (neighbourhood level) according to three categories for levels of building und population density: urban, semi-urban and suburban. Fig. 5 reveals that Turkish households are to be found predominantly in urban areas; by contrast, German households in particular prefer suburban locations. This difference remains even after adjustments have been made to take account of household structure and income.

Fig. 5: Respondents' place of residence according to building-density categories
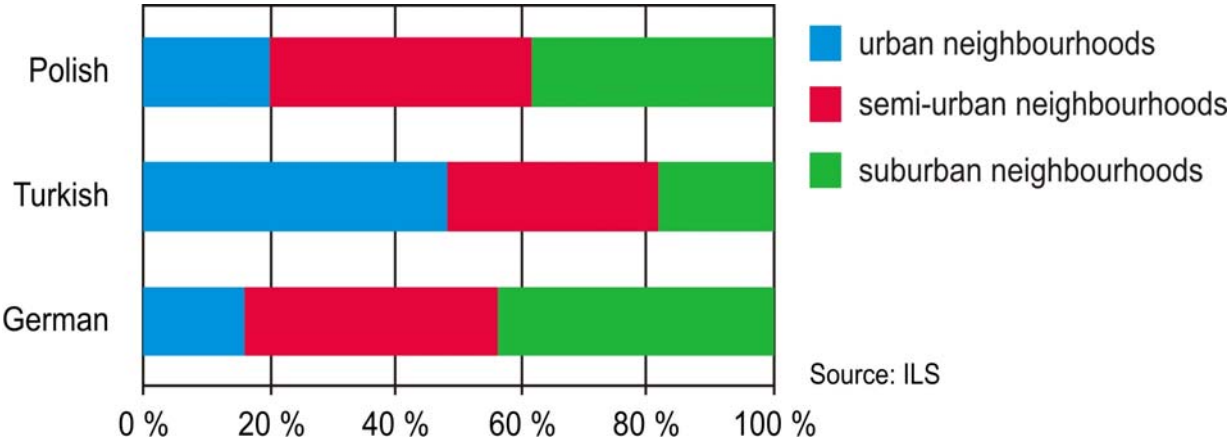
The findings on **housing situation** show clear parallels with the results of the multi-topic survey. At 28m^2, the value for living space per person is much lower than the equivalent value for people of German and Polish extraction (45m^2 and 41m^2 respectively). Although this striking difference becomes somewhat slighter when adjusted to take account of household structure and income situation, it remains significant.

By contrast, the proportion of people of Turkish descent who own property does not differ significantly from these other two groups. The slightly smaller percentage as indicated in Fig. 6 is not significant and disappears almost totally after adjusting for income levels. One finding of greater interest is the comparatively high proportion of households who on relocating change from being tenants to homeowners. This value is much higher for low-income (< €900) Turkish households (20%) than for German (7%) or Polish households (9%). Moreover, it is only in the case of Turkish households that the acquisition of property takes place predominantly in urban areas (around one-third).

Fig. 6: Proportion of rental accommodation to owner-occupancy by respondent group (% by line)

| Housing situation	Housing situation	
	owner-occupants	tenants
ethnic German	33	67
ethnic Polish	32	68
ethnic Turkish	23	77

Source: ILS

By comparison with the other groups, the Turkish households surveyed in this study move house more frequently; the average length of residence at a previous address was 7 years, compared to 10 years for German households and 9 years for Polish households. Differences of this nature also appear with second-generation migrants. This can be interpreted as an on-going endeavour successively to improve on what are comparatively poor housing situations (seen in terms of living space per person).

One area focused on in the surveys carried out in the Bergisches Land was the reasons why households choose to relocate; here the questionnaire distinguished between two stages of decision-making, namely the reasons for moving and, secondly, the criteria applied in selecting the new location (ILS 2008b). As far as reasons for relocating are concerned, the background of migration appears not to be an influential factor. In all of the groups sampled, housing-related and personal motives for relocating are roughly equal in importance (approx. 45%), with work- and education/training-related motives playing only a more minor role.

By contrast, clear differences emerge according to country of origin when the focus in placed on the **criteria applied in selecting a new location**. Of the eleven criteria presented to respondents for evaluation, eight factors are included in the graphical representation in Fig. 7.

In the interests of greater comparability, the household type "families with children" (single parents or couples with children under 25 years in age) has been selected.

Fig. 7: Significance of criteria for selection of residential location
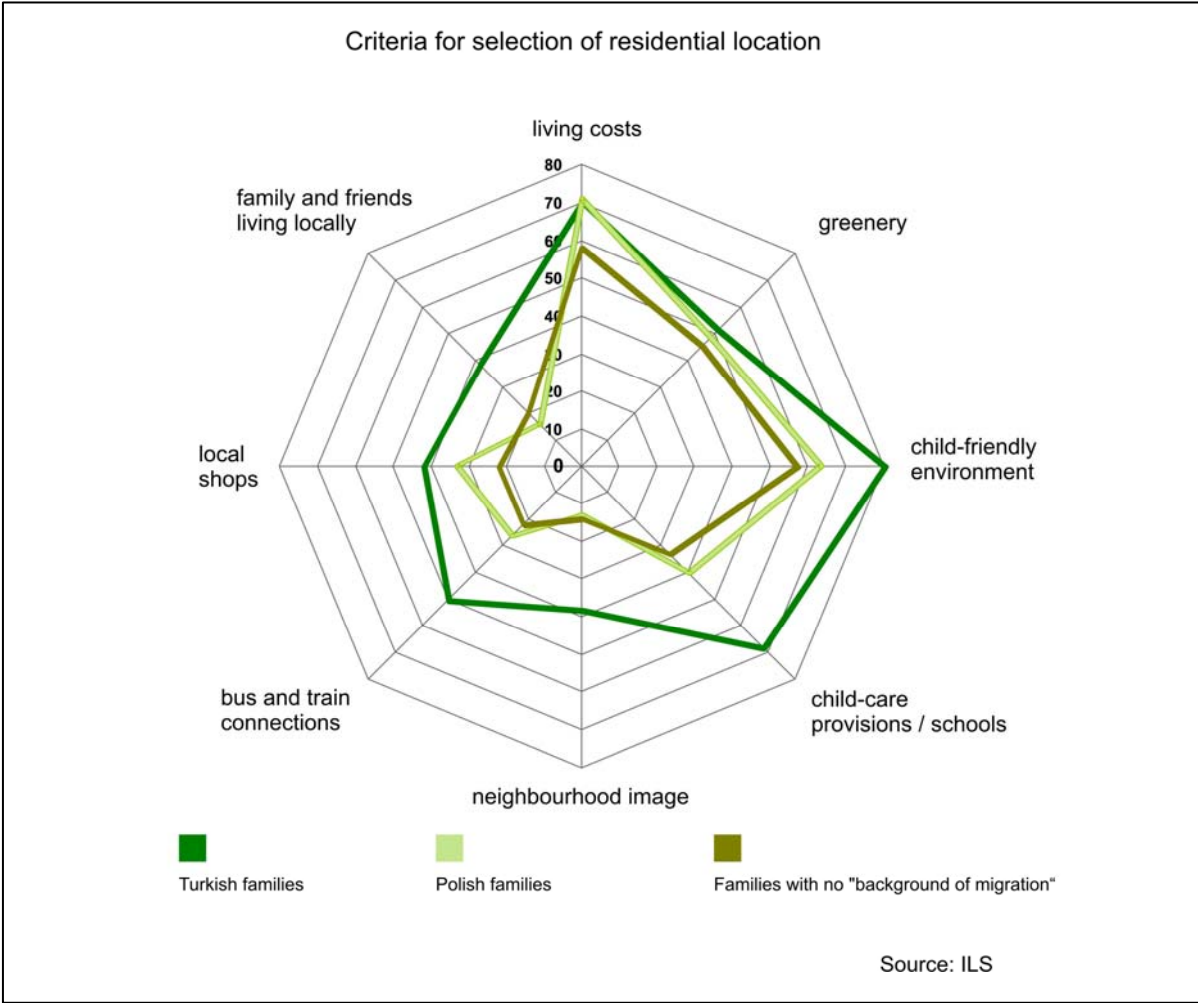
Taken overall, the findings reveal that, in the case of families, when deciding where to live it is the interests of the children that are paramount. Among Turkish households above-average importance is attached to "child-care provision/schools" and to the criterion "child-friendly environment". This is worth mentioning since – as already indicated – this group lives predominantly in urban and – frequently – segregated neighbourhoods. It may be that members of this group associate the concept of a "child-friendly environment" with proximity to other families with the same ethnic background, and only to a lesser extent with the more conventional interpretation of a low-density, low-traffic environment. This would also explain the particularly high importance attached by this group to the criterion "family and friends living locally". In contrast to German and Polish families, Turkish households regard a number of other aspects as particularly important in deciding where to live, over and above those which relate directly to children. Whereas differences in the importance attached to accessibility to shops and bus and train connections can be explained largely by the differences in income levels and lower rates of car ownership, the criterion "neighbourhood image", just like "family and friends living locally", appears to be quite independent of

household income. In both the German and Polish control groups, these two aspects play a relatively insignificant role when deciding where to live.

Viewed in their totality, the findings of the survey of relocated households in the Bergisches Land study region reveal that the specific background of migration does indeed exert an influence on the decision as to where to live. Moreover, major differences between Turkish and Polish households indicate that it is essential to differentiate more finely among different groups of migrants and that attention must be given to the country of origin.

Qualitative study of choice of residential location and individual housing histories in four segregated neighbourhoods in North Rhine-Westphalia

The qualitative component of the study allows for a more detailed analysis of the heterogeneous nature of the decisions taken *within* the Turkish population with regard to choice of residential location.

Six household types
Using the empirical basis provided by some 50 interviews conducted in the cities of Cologne and Wuppertal, six different household types were identified to illustrate various facets of the decision-making process on relocating as well as different attitudes to ethnic segregation. This classification is based on respondents' household structure, their individual housing histories, attitudes to segregation, the process and the criteria applied in choosing where to live, and a household's aspirations and prospects regarding housing. The overview of these six household types shown in Fig. 8 reveals the heterogeneous nature of these patterns of decision-making, of the underlying criteria and of other factors relating to mobility. Presented below is first a brief outline of the six household types, followed by a more detailed description of two of the types which have been identified (*survivors* and *cosmopolitans*).

Survivors
The group referred to as *survivors* are characterised by low levels of educational achievement, low employment status, and a correspondingly low household-income level. *Survivors* live in low-rent neighbourhoods, typically close to other people sharing the same cultural background and where they find the infrastructure needed to support them in their day-to-day lives. The *survivors* category clearly demonstrates the close connections between voluntary and non-voluntary segregation. On the one hand, a segregated urban locality makes it possible for them to live in close proximity to members of their own ethnic group with whom they maintain stable social contacts. On the other hand, *survivors* are manoeuvred into such locations by economic constraints: they have to put up with the social control exercised by their compatriots, and in particular the perceived disadvantages suffered by their children stemming from the neighbourhood they live in.

The ethnically rooted

The *ethnically rooted* group comprises former "guest" workers and their families, as well as particularly family- or network-oriented *second-generation* households with one spouse coming from Turkey on marriage (therefore also first generation). Members of the *ethnically rooted* group tend to occupy older housing (typically in need of modernisation) in neighbourhoods marked by low rent levels and an especially high proportion of Turkish households. Here the first generation of migrants mostly stayed in the same accommodation over many years, there is a strong orientation to the particular locality, and consequently here it is the voluntary aspects of living in segregated neighbourhoods which predominate.

In the second generation a variety of factors come into play associated with non-voluntary segregation and "getting stuck", despite the evident disadvantages, in the same neighbourhood. In the case of families with more serious language problems, any relocation which would involve moving the children into new schools appears to be something to avoid. Moving is made even more difficult by the fraught state of the rented-property market and the shortage in particular of larger flats (four rooms or more).

Networkers

The *networkers* group is made up of second-generation migrants with a good command of German; the majority of these households display average or above-average levels of educational achievement and average income levels. Typical representatives of this group are self-employed entrepreneurs; in many cases they have the communicative skills and eloquence typically associated with their professional activities.

Networkers are particularly well represented in those neighbourhoods with strong ethnic economies. Within these areas the very nature of their business tends to mean that they will be found predominantly on the busiest shopping streets or at central locations; this makes them especially visible within the neighbourhood. *Networkers* perform an extremely important function as catalysers for newcomers to the neighbourhood. With their access both to different groups and to a variety of milieus, they are important "multipliers" for information, and they are regarded by local residents as positive role models. The fact that the contacts they maintain extend beyond the neighbourhood, combined with their entrepreneurial activities, places them in a position to build bridges to other areas.

The status- and education-oriented

The group described as *status- and education-oriented* consists primarily of young families. Here both education levels and income levels are above average; members of this group speak fluent German as well as Turkish. For the *status-oriented* it is important to live in higher-status neighbourhoods with a positive image; they are accordingly keen to loosen ties to their own ethnic group. For the status-oriented, distancing themselves from their ethnic culture is a key aspect of their focus on educational advancement, especially where their children are concerned.

The attitude which characterises this group is that of being unambiguously committed to continually improving their own housing situation. For the *status-oriented* segregated

neighbourhoods serve merely as transit zones. The stigma attached to such areas is one of the key reasons for wishing to move right away from the neighbourhood, rather than to seek higher-status addresses close to their present home. The only option for them is to leave the area altogether.

"Birds of passage"

The group described as "*birds of passage*" is made up of young, mobile, single-person households at a point in their lives where they are between the parental home and possibly starting a family of their own. "*Birds of passage*" have average to above-average levels of educational achievement and income. Their command of German is extremely good and they are very mobile. In terms of both their housing preferences and their orientation to educational opportunities, they are very similar to the *status-oriented* group. However, they do not typically develop the same degree of psychological distance from their own ethnic group. They display all the trappings of a modern Western European life style, and yet remain aware of their Turkish roots.

In the early stages of their housing careers, "*birds of passage*" are to be found either in inner-city urban neighbourhoods, such as Köln-Ehrenfeld, or in areas with good transport connections, such as Köln-Mülheim and Wuppertal-Wichlinghausen. Being essentially independent in terms of housing location, this group is of little relevance with regard to neighbourhood development.

Cosmopolitans

The group termed *cosmopolitans* is made up of people with high levels of educational achievement (in many cases degrees from either Turkish or German universities) and an extremely good command of both German and Turkish. The fact that members of this group work in a variety of quite different professions means that the income range is relatively wide.

Cosmopolitans are found only in urban neighbourhoods which are comparatively heterogeneous in social and ethnic terms, and which offer good cultural infrastructure. *Cosmopolitans* value the multi-cultural mix which characterises their neighbourhood, to which they in turn feel strong ties. Their commitment to and involvement in the neighbourhood they live in has to be seen as an active contribution to its development. By combining the cultures of their country of origin and the host country, they acquire a high degree of intercultural competence, which they are readily able to bring to bear as bridgeheads throughout their heterogeneous social networks. Their ties to the social space which is the neighbourhood they live in, in tandem with their professional and also voluntary involvement within the community, represent important potential for the neighbourhood's future development.

Fig. 8: Characteristics of the six household types

	Key location-based criteria			Typical housing history	Mobility and ties to neighbourhood	Information sources when considering relocating
	Supply of low-cost accommodation	Proximity to compatriots and social networks	Educational opportunities for children			
Survivors	+++ key	++ highly ambivalent	(+) relevant but not achievable	many stages in various neighbourhoods	low-level mobility, strong links to friends living locally	predominantly social networks
Ethnically rooted	++ very important	+++ very important for orientation	+ relevant, but difficulties selecting local schools	rarely relocate (first gen.) move several times within neighbourhood (second gen.)	in some cases low-level mobility (first gen.) and strong orientation to ethnic focal points	predominantly social networks
Networkers	+ important	++ important, compatriots main customer/ client group	++ relevant, selection among local schools	move frequently within neighbourhood	average mobility and strong orientation to neighbourhood due to own business activity	predominantly social networks and newspapers
Status-oriented	+ important	--- main reason for leaving	+++ very high importance strengthens desire to move away	very specific selection of neighbourhood, move away from segregated area (planned)	high-level mobility, weak ties to neighbourhood	all media
"Birds of passage"	+ important	o/- generally unimportant, dismissed at very local level	++ very important later in life	pragmatic, in response to logistical needs, individual stages may be within segregated areas	high-level mobility, weak ties to neighbourhood	all media
Cosmopolitans	+ important, varies greatly due to wide range of income levels	++ heterogeneous urban neighbourhood with cultural infrastructure is a key selection factor	++ very important, very careful selection among local options, e.g. schools	orientation is in fact to ethnically and socially heterogeneous locations, relocations very local	high-level mobility, strong ties to neighbourhood (immediate and wider)	social networks and media

The following section focuses on two of the groups in greater detail. Despite major differences with respect to both household structure and motivation, both the *survivors* and the *cosmopolitans* as groups have opted to remain living in ethnic neighbourhoods.

Survivors

"There are still some people who stick together. I know exactly where the children are. And they stick together too, if you're not at home. I couldn't survive anywhere else" (Frau A. had moved out of an ethnic neighbourhood for three years, but was drawn back to the area she had previously lived in by the local social networks she was part of).

The group referred to a *survivors* are characterised by low levels of educational achievement, low employment status, a correspondingly low household-income level, and mediocre to poor language skills. *Survivors* live in low-rent neighbourhoods, typically close to other people sharing the same cultural background and where they find the infrastructure needed to support them in their day-to-day lives. In many cases they are dependent on support from within their own family. They have no alternative but to put up with the social control exercised by their compatriots, and in particular the perceived disadvantages suffered by their children stemming from the neighbourhood they live in.

Housing history/process of selecting housing location

The decision to move house results from expanding needs with regard to space (e.g. starting a family). Members of this group have neither the time nor the linguistic resources necessary to conduct a thorough search for a new home. In the early stages of a household's housing history, relocating into a completely different part of town or even town is something they may simply have to put up with; increasingly over the course of time, ties to a particular neighbourhood become stronger. This type of concentration on a specific neighbourhood as the focal point of life may also result from the role played by friends and relatives in helping to find suitable housing.

In those cases where households of this type decide to purchase property without giving sufficient thought to the implications, the economic situation which ensues may be particularly precarious. Typically they have little capital saved up to invest, and thus have to borrow a high proportion of the price, frequently without receiving detailed advice. In many cases the property falls significantly in value in the years subsequent to purchase (due not least to increasing segregation). Selling the property would mean incurring a very significant loss, resulting in involuntary immobility.

Fig. 9 provides a graphical representation of the housing history of "Frau Y" and shows how the locations where she has previously resided are all along the axis formed by the Wupper valley, and are all in neighbourhoods displaying (initially) average and (subsequently) higher degrees of ethnic and social segregation.

Fig. 9: Housing history of *survivor* "Frau Y"
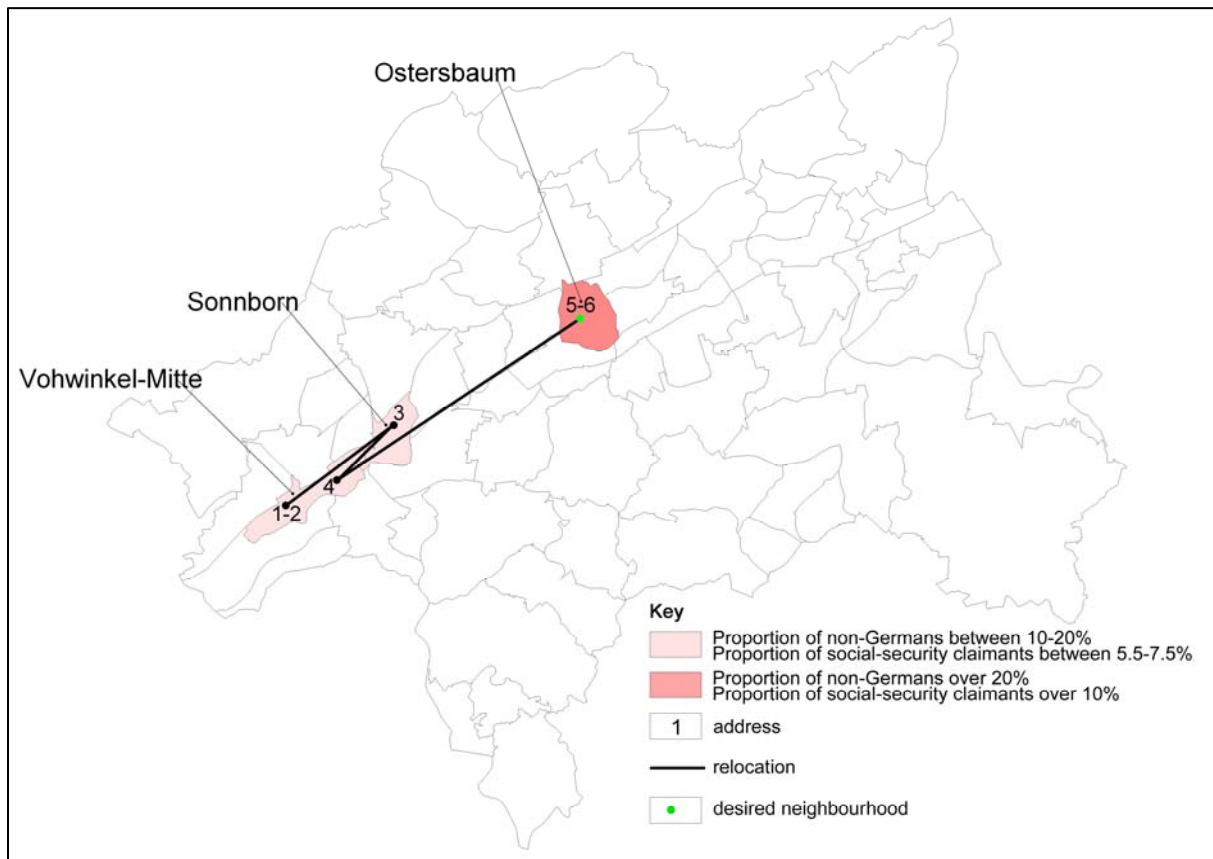
Source: created by author based on data from ILS NRW 2006: 71-73 and the City of Wuppertal

Criteria for choosing where to live

The combination of extremely limited options and a tendency to rush into deciding where to move to means that this group can hardly be said to develop criteria to apply in a decision-making process. The central issue is affordability, and any information they happen to come across regarding a property becoming vacant. A walkable distance to the support network of friends and family is critical: *"You stick with what you know"* (Frau K, Ostersbaum).

There is a great deal of ambivalence in evidence when it comes to evaluating a neighbourhood in terms of its ethnic/cultural make-up. There is no explicit desire to live in a homogeneous environment among people of the same ethnic background either at the highly localised level (block of flats) or at the neighbourhood level (immediate surroundings); however, at the same time the desire for stability means that friendships and contact with people with the same background, and who are in the same situation, become a vital necessity. The very close ethnic/cultural network which develops among the children of a neighbourhood, with the resulting "fraternities" also evident even within the school context, is viewed in very critical terms, and yet it appears inevitable.

For *survivors*, a segregated neighbourhood is not a transit zone. Their current living circumstances are likely to become permanent since there is no significant improvement in their economic situation in sight.

The *survivors* category clearly demonstrates the close connections between voluntary and non-voluntary segregation. On the one hand, a segregated urban locality makes it possible for them to live in close proximity to the members of their own ethnic group with whom they maintain stable social contacts. On the other hand, *survivors* are manoeuvred into such locations by economic constraints.

Cosmopolitans

"People are different and should be allowed to be different. That's what makes life interesting" (Frau Y, has lived for 20 years in Köln-Ehrenfeld and is actively committed to supporting a sense of community within the neighbourhood).

The group termed *cosmopolitans* is made up of people with high levels of educational achievement and an extremely good command of both German and Turkish. The fact that members of this group work in a variety of quite different professions means that the income range is relatively wide. *Cosmopolitans* are found only in urban neighbourhoods which are comparatively heterogeneous in social and ethnic terms, and which offer good cultural infrastructure. *Cosmopolitans* value the multi-cultural mix which characterises their neighbourhood, to which they in turn feel strong ties.

Housing history/process of selecting housing location
In this group too, personal housing histories start modestly. *Cosmopolitans* have lived in several locations prior to arriving in their present neighbourhood. They have also improved their personal circumstances with regard to housing by moving several times within the neighbourhood. Their involvement with the neighbourhood, as well as the work they contribute within various networks, means that they are quickly able to draw on a wealth of contacts among local German and Turkish residents and institutions in their search for suitable accommodation. This search is largely on the basis of local contacts within the neighbourhood; other channels (media), however, are also employed.

Criteria for choosing where to live
Cosmopolitans prefer urban neighbourhoods which are ethnically heterogeneous – and not those clearly dominated by their Turkish populations. What they value in a neighbourhood is that it should be a place which facilitates both proximity to and distance from other people in equal measure, and which also allows space to pursue an individual life style. *Cosmopolitans* develop a strong sense of belonging in respect of their neighbourhood: *"For years I moved from place to place. I never put down roots anywhere. Now I really feel that I belong here"* (Herr A, Köln-Ehrenfeld). *Cosmopolitans* have friends and acquaintances in both cultures and move easily between these cultures; this contributes further to the strong sense of neighbourhood solidarity. For *cosmopolitans*, unlike *survivors*, friends represent a more important orientational framework than family bonds and networks. What is important for this group is the cultural mix: shared attitudes and values are seen as significantly more important than a shared country of origin.

As far as *cosmopolitans* are concerned, a vibrant neighbourhood offers a definite boost to their quality of life. Informal contacts with neighbours are a feature of their life style: *"You can stop anywhere for a chat"* (Frau Y, Köln-Ehrenfeld). Close contact to neighbours and the support this provides becomes even more important for families with children.

Cosmopolitans display comparatively high levels of mobility and wish to make use of the range of cultural offerings available both within the immediate vicinity of where they live and further afield. Residential areas either close to the city centre or which are within easy reach are a definite advantage. Where they ultimately decide to settle depends largely on the extent to which they are able to find just what they are looking for (e.g. large old house, (use of) garden, ethnic mix, affordable rent) on the local housing market. Purchasing property in exclusively German residential areas is out of the question. However, buying is not itself an impossibility; as a first choice, urban locations are preferred. *Cosmopolitans* then tend to target their search on quiet, mixed neighbourhoods within the area they have chosen.

Summary and Conclusions

The following section brings together and reflects on key aspects of the three components outlined above.

Migrational background as a factor to account for decisions on where to live
The comparative/contrastive approach to analysing the findings of the survey on reasons for household relocations shows that it is indeed worth focusing attention specifically on distinct patterns in the relocation behaviour of Turkish households: more general observations on decisions on where to live to include a range of different ethnic groups have relatively little explanatory power. Moreover, some differences which are evident in respect of choice of place of residence cannot be explained solely by reference to relatively low income levels. In the case of Turkish households, proximity to friends and acquaintances turns out to be a significant factor over and above differences between household types and income levels. The same is true of the importance attached to local schools when deciding on a neighbourhood to live in. On this point, the qualitative study points to important differences between household types within the larger group of Turkish households. As is demonstrated by the group referred to as *cosmopolitans*, even subsequent to processes of social advancement, networks which include compatriots, and also the space represented by the immediate neighbourhood with all its interactions, can continue to serve as a resource (cf. importance of ethnicity and space: Pott 2002)

Purchasing property as an optimisation strategy
Both quantitative studies reveal that Turkish households are less well provided for with regard to housing, in particular in terms of the amount of living space in rented accommodation. Where a household's personal housing history takes a marked "leap forward", this is normally

the result of buying property. As is shown by the multi-topic survey, this trend towards owner-occupancy can be expected to continue in the future: in predominantly Turkish urban neighbourhoods, as elsewhere, owning property and satisfaction with housing conditions are strongly related.

The increasing trend towards homeownership also, however, has to be seen as a consequence of undersupply and discrimination on the rented property market. As is revealed by the survey of reasons for relocating, among lower-income households, those with a background of migration are significantly more likely to purchase property than their counterparts among the respondents without this migrational background. The group termed *survivors* also highlights just how, for some households, buying property can place them in a particularly precarious situation financially.

High levels of residential mobility with little improvement in quality
Both the survey of reasons for relocating and the qualitative component point to the high frequency of relocating, i.e. to relatively short periods spent living at one address. In the case of those socio-economically more disadvantaged household types which appear to be particularly tied to a particular neighbourhood, the frequency with which they do in fact relocate (very locally) means that it would be wrong to speak of a "lack of mobility" or of "mobility traps". However, this mobility only results in gradual and minor improvements to their housing circumstances (on this see also findings of the socio-economic panel in Clark/Drever 2002). Even after moving house, a large number of the households consulted within the qualitative study continue to live in relatively low-status areas.

Varied facets and motives associated with living in ethnic neighbourhoods
The multi-topic survey sheds light on the continuity of housing areas with a high proportion of residents with the same ethnic background: they perform a vital function as transit areas for newly arrived immigrants. The survey also underlines the significant correlation between educational achievement, command of German, and employment status, on the one hand, and the likelihood of moving away from an ethnic neighbourhood.

Analysis of the findings of the qualitative component also reveals the linkages between voluntary and non-voluntary factors affecting decisions on where to live. For the majority of economically more stable households, these areas serve as "transit zones". Notwithstanding what in some cases are quite remarkable chains of new addresses, the qualitative component provides evidence of continuity of living in ethnic neighbourhoods for a number of different household types.

The ties of family bonds and local social networks
Family bonds and social networks are confirmed as a constant factor for households in deciding where to live; as is demonstrated most clearly by the group described as *survivors*, these are ties which bind migrant households to urban neighbourhoods in which their own ethnic group predominates. At the same time, this household type also illustrates the ambivalence associated with proximity to networks composed of members of one's own

ethnic group: on the one hand, close social contacts within one's own ethnic group are a key contributor to personal stability; on the other hand, in this group there are also clear signs of recognition of the limitations these place on the educational opportunities available to children. Quantifiable confirmation of the importance of education as a criterion to apply when deciding where to live is supplied by the research into reasons for relocating.

Conclusions

The complexity of the decision-making processes undertaken by the various household types on the matter of where to live underlines the difficulty of distinguishing between voluntary and non-voluntary segregation. Consequently, for analytical purposes it would not appear to be particularly helpful to draw on this distinction as the basis for an evaluation of approaches to dealing with ethnic neighbourhoods within urban-development policy. What is important, however, it to make greater use of localised qualitative studies in order to gain greater insight into household types on the basis of their differing evaluations of such "moderating variables" as social networks, intergroup relations and the political climate. Looking to the future, neighbourhoods need to be further stabilised by fostering a *social* mix. One important aspect in this context is the tendency for economically more stable ethnic households to acquire property: in both objective and subjective terms, homeownership is associated with a significant increase in housing quality.

Identifying the household types that shape the character of a neighbourhood, both by their very presence and by their social interaction, is an important prerequisite for developing activation strategies. One example of this is the group identified as *networkers*, who act as important opinion leaders/disseminators in respect of information and have the effect of creating greater social stability.

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