Immigration as a Challenge for Cities,

Remarks on an Integrated Strategy on the Local Level

Erweiterte englische Fassung des Vortrags
„Man muss sich Sisyphos als glücklichen Menschen vorstellen,
Arrival City und die Herausforderungen kommunaler Integrationspolitik"
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von

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Abstract

Immigration flows have lasting impacts on cities. Immigration can contribute to wealth, growth and strengthen the resilience of urban social systems. But immigration is also imposing burdens on cities and causing imbalances and threats to urban development with regard to social policy expenditures, the labour market, housing and the life of urban communities. Ethnic and social segregation is a controversial topic insofar it can be looked at as a mode of systemic coping with diversity or on the contrary as social anomie and a hindrance to social integration. The article discusses these issues in a local authority-perspective and provides a policy approach based on the practice and strategy of the City of Offenbach.
Keywords: Demographic Change, Immigration and Integration, Arrival Cities

Contents

1. Cities and urban environments are hubs of migration flows

German society is very slowly but surely on its way to recognising immigration as a formative factor for future developments, recognising the potential benefits of immigration and becoming aware of the necessity of shaping and managing it. The refugee movements of the years 2015 and 2016 and the ensuing domestic political debates have made it very clear that Germany has a lot of catching up to do. Immigration and integration have become key issues. The overflowing "welcome culture", which still dominated the picture in 2015, is gradually giving way to a more realistic view. This is necessary and sensible, because neither the negation of immigration nor the undifferentiated advocacy of immigration does justice to the challenges of the present and the future, let alone the romanticization of heterogeneity and cultural breaks under the concept of a multicultural society.

The road to a realistic approach in immigration policy is certainly still very long, and political positions are still far apart. There are also many uncertainties about the premises for the successful integration of immigrants. The factors influencing the dynamics of immigration and integration still need to be explored in many respects. It is undisputed that education and participation in the labour market are keys to successful integration. There is already an abundance of insights available on these topics. Other important issues are the formation of "social capital", of solidarity and mutual trust under the conditions of growing ethnic, cultural and social diversity (Collier 2013; Panth 2010; Putnam 2007), the influence of patterns of circular and transitory migration on integration processes, and, last but not least, the long-term attachment of ethnic communities to countries of origin through strategically motivated diaspora policies of these countries (Scheffer 2016). Ruud Koopmans (2017) recently pointed out impressively and evidence-based that integration cannot be achieved without a certain degree of cultural assimilation and that "multiculturalist" diversity policies more or less have failed so far.

At a closer look, immigration can also and particularly be understood as an issue concerning cities (IOM 2016). At least in Germany and Europe they are the predominant target of existing migration flows. They are social systems historically shaped by immigration over centuries and, when it comes to integration, they are certainly the most important political level in the social fabric of the host society.

A few years ago, the bestseller "Arrival City" by the Canadian journalist Doug Saunders (2011) gave this issue a catchy label opening various theoretical and practical perspectives. He describes how the worldwide reality of migration is changing the face of cities, how migration is creating new forms of urban-rural relationships over great distances (between the village in the country of origin and the "village in the city" of the ethnic community in the city of arrival), how migration is creating new sources of wealth and economic development. Saunders does not ignore the problematic aspects of immigration in the cities, the burdens of social expenditures linked with rising rates of immigrant population, the problems of resident segregation and cultural alienation between the host urban community and new arrivals, but at the same time he gives all these phenomena a positive, in some places sometimes maybe a bit too optimistic twist. If, for example, certain ethnic groups are concentrated in individual districts, Saunders, in the tradition of social-critical urban research (Häußermann / Siebel 2001; Siebel 2012), rather sees the advantage of forming ethnic networks of mutual support that can absorb new immigrants and in the same time obviously ignores the negative effects of segregation on the cohesion of urban communities and, not least, the social opportunities of young immigrants raised in a segregated environment.

Whatever one may think of the specific findings of Saunders, he has very impressively set the focus on the indispensability of the potential of cities for a productive structuring of migration processes and has given a stimulus to rethink the management of migration in an urban context. If migration can be managed successfully at all, following Sanders, it should be in functioning and well run cities, which may "produce" the integration of immigrants as a public good for the benefit of the whole society.

2. Urban Immigration – Threats and Opportunities

a) Economic development and employment

Immigration is associated with opportunities for cities and for society as a whole, but obviously it is also associated with challenges and burdens that need to be kept in mind.

The advantage can certainly be seen in the fact that immigration is generally a stimulus for economic growth. New workforce is strengthening the supply side of local labour markets, even if it is not fully compatible with demand-side requirements from start on and up skilling and training is needed. Migrants also bring with them new consumers who strengthen the demand for the local economy. Moreover, immigrants often also have entrepreneurial potential that can be useful for the local economy.

Ethnic and cultural diversity can strengthen a city as a business location. Immigrants form not only social but also economic bridges between the region of arrival and the region of origin. Financial remittances from migrants to their home countries, for example, are of great economic importance in many countries of origin.

Ethnic and social diversity in some respect can be regarded as a particular potential for increasing the adaptability and resilience of urban social systems, for economic growth and cultural wealth. Richard Florida (2002) in his well-known book on the "creative class" identifies diversity and tolerance as a main driver of innovation and growth in cities[1].

Finally, immigrants can also improve the demographic structure of cities, so far as the proportion of young people and people of working age among immigrants usually is higher than in the host society. According to data from the Federal Statistical Office of Germany, the average age in 2015 was 45 years for Germans and 37.4 years for non-Germans[2]. Cities with a particularly high proportion of foreigners, such as Frankfurt and Offenbach, also tend to be cities with a comparably low average age of its population.

However, the down side of immigration has also to be taken into consideration.

Immigration creates additional pressure on regional housing and labour markets. Further on, the rates of people at risk of poverty among people with a migrant background in Germany are considerably higher than among people without a migrant background. Data from the Micro census of Germany, a periodical population-survey, show values of 27.7 and 12.5 percent respectively for the year 2015. If controlled only for those with foreign nationality leaving out naturalized immigrations, the differences are even more striking, at 33.7 percent for non-Germans and 13.8 percent for Germans (including naturalized immigrants).

High social expenditures can provoke distributional conflicts in the municipalities if, for example, being the case in many cities with economic structural problems, infrastructure investments have to be cut because there is no room for maneuvers left in the budget due to high compulsory expenditure in the social sector.

b) Segregation

The emergence of ethnically segregated districts is a threat to social cohesion in the city. In the current urban research, it is not entirely undisputed how segregation is to be judged. Hartmut Häußermann and Walter Siebel (2001), in line with Doug Saunders (2011) question the model of mixed urban communities, which looks at segregation as a negative phenomenon to be tackled by urban development policies. They regard the aim of mixed communities not only as unrealistic, but as repressive, since it would subordinate the natural self-organisation of ethnic communities in social spaces to the norms of majority culture. Ethnic networks and clusters that form and reproduce in segregated neighbourhoods, on the other hand, would have an important catalytic function for the integration of immigrants. Therefore, the model of the mixed neighbourhood should be abandoned in favour of the acceptance of diversity and heterogeneity in urban areas.

From the perspective of European cities, however, there are still good reasons to stick to the model of the socially mixed city. Ethnic segregation can never be completely prevented, since there are few possibilities for limiting the choice of residence of citizens. Local housing markets can be controlled to a certain degree by municipalities, but only insofar they own large proportions of housing stock and are in a position to impose rules for the rental management of their property. Managing diversity in public housing is a very sensitive issue. Housing policies have to stay away from any discriminatory practices. But for the sake of the public well-being it can sometimes be sensible to prevent ethnic clusters and therefore limit the access of certain groups to public housing in areas at risk of segregation.

Beyond this segregation can be counteracted by a balanced urban development policy, providing housing for different groups with regard to income, social status and ethnic origin, preventing social as well as ethnic segregation. European cities and European societies as a whole live from the fact that they do not fragment, but rather maintain the highest possible degree of social cohesion across different groups and cultures.

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[1] Florida specifies three strategic „T´s" - technology, talent and tolerance.
[2] Federal Statistical Office of Germany (www.destatis.de): Bevölkerungsfortschreibung auf Basis des Zensus.

As Collier (2013) has pointed out, societies with a developed welfare state require a high degree of acceptance among the population in order to contain the latent distributional conflicts always being a side effect of a high standard of social protection. This acceptance is at risk at both national and local level if social cohesion is loosened in the everyday context of people's experiences. Against the background of experiences with highly segregated neighbourhoods in Europe, from the district of *Neukölln in Berlin* to the district of *Molenbeek in Brussels*, not to speak of the declining Banlieu-districts of French cities, the thesis that integration and segregation are compatible with each other seems a bit frivolous to me. The "social capital" necessary for coherent societies cannot be created and maintained if ethnic groups seal themselves off in parallel networks and life worlds. Ethnic segregation must therefore be clearly recognised as a problem and a risk. In his international comparative studies, Ruud Koopmans (2017: 112-150) has very convincingly demonstrated that segregated and parallel cultures not only prevent the integration of immigrants, but also significantly diminishes their life chances and opportunities. As Koopmans shows, "multiculturalism" as a praise of cultural difference and the acceptance of the establishment of parallel ethnic cultures is harming the immigrants themselves in the long term, even if it supposedly accommodates their interests in the short term. Multiculturalism, in this sense, is not an expression of respect for the cultures of immigrants, but of indifference to their fate in the host society.

c) Fluctuation

When we look more specifically at the situation of arrival districts and arrival cities, it is important to pay attention not only to their specific social structures, but also to aspects of population and migration dynamics. Arrival cities are entry ports to countries and regions, hubs with a distribution function ("gateway cities"). In this sense, they have a certain function in the organisation of immigration processes. Taken this, it is important to move beyond the consideration of social and economic structures and structural imbalances towards dynamic aspects of the process of production and reproduction of population structures through fluctuation. It makes a difference whether the population within social spaces is stable or in process of permanent fluctuation and rapid succession of arrivals and departures. It makes a difference for the living conditions in the respective districts, and it makes a difference for urban policies as well. Further on local politics is affected; it has to deal with a stable constituency but with a transitory citizenship with short term perspectives and only loose bonds with the political agenda of a local community. The contact between the commune and certain groups becomes an episode in a migration biography. Long-term perspectives of social co-production, which are at the core of concepts of integration policies, social work and the design of social services may then become a mislead assumption.

For administrations, as a rule, it is less stocks, but fluctuations which are cost drivers. For instance, the expenditure per "unit" or citizen increases with a high turnover rate, simply because the registration and deregistration of cases is particularly labour-intensive compared to the administration of the inventory. This applies to the municipal registration system, to social service organisations, to the labour administration and to almost all areas of public services. Even quarters are particularly burdened by high population fluctuation. Not only because this makes it more difficult to form stable neighbourhoods, but also because with almost every move in and out of a home a bulky rubbish heap is created in front of the house and the public space.

As a rule, arrival cities accompany the particularly critical phases of immigration, in which particularly high expenditures are necessary and the potential benefits of immigration are still not very effective. Immigrants are particularly at risk of unemployment during the first phases of life in the host country and are dependent on social transfers. Because it takes time to develop language skills and assimilate to the culture of the host country the need for support through social work and counselling services is particularly high in this phase.

If we consider integration policy as a social investment, arrival cities have to make specific efforts. Whether the returns from these investments will also accrue to these cities, however, remains uncertain. Once immigrants have gone through the first phases of integration and, if successful, have established themselves in the labour market and society, they often migrate again from their arrival districts and cities.

There is therefore incongruence between expenditures and revenues. In a way arrival cities produce integration as a kind of "public good" that benefits the economy and society of the host region and country. The rewards for the production of this public good stay insecure. The system of financial redistribution among cities and regions in Germany doesn´t recognise that there is specific need to fund arrival cities sufficiently in order to enable them to fulfil their systemic function effectively and in the long term.

This carries a systemic risk of failure insofar the underfunding of arrival cities and a lack of recognition of their specific efforts may undermine not only the capabilities of local authorities with regard to integration policies but also the consensus among the communities, that immigrants are welcome and contribute to the cultural, social and economic wealth of the receiving society.

3. Offenbach am Main – Arrival City

Offenbach am Main, currently just over 135,000 inhabitants, fast growing and one of the core cities of the metropolis Frankfurt/Rhine-Main as well as one of the 30 "swarm cities" of Germany, embodies what Doug Saunders (2011) called the "arrival city" in an ideal-typical way. In Germany, Offenbach is the city with the biggest ethnic diversity, the highest proportion of foreigners (currently approx. 35 percent) and the highest proportion of citizens with a migration background (currently just under 60 percent).
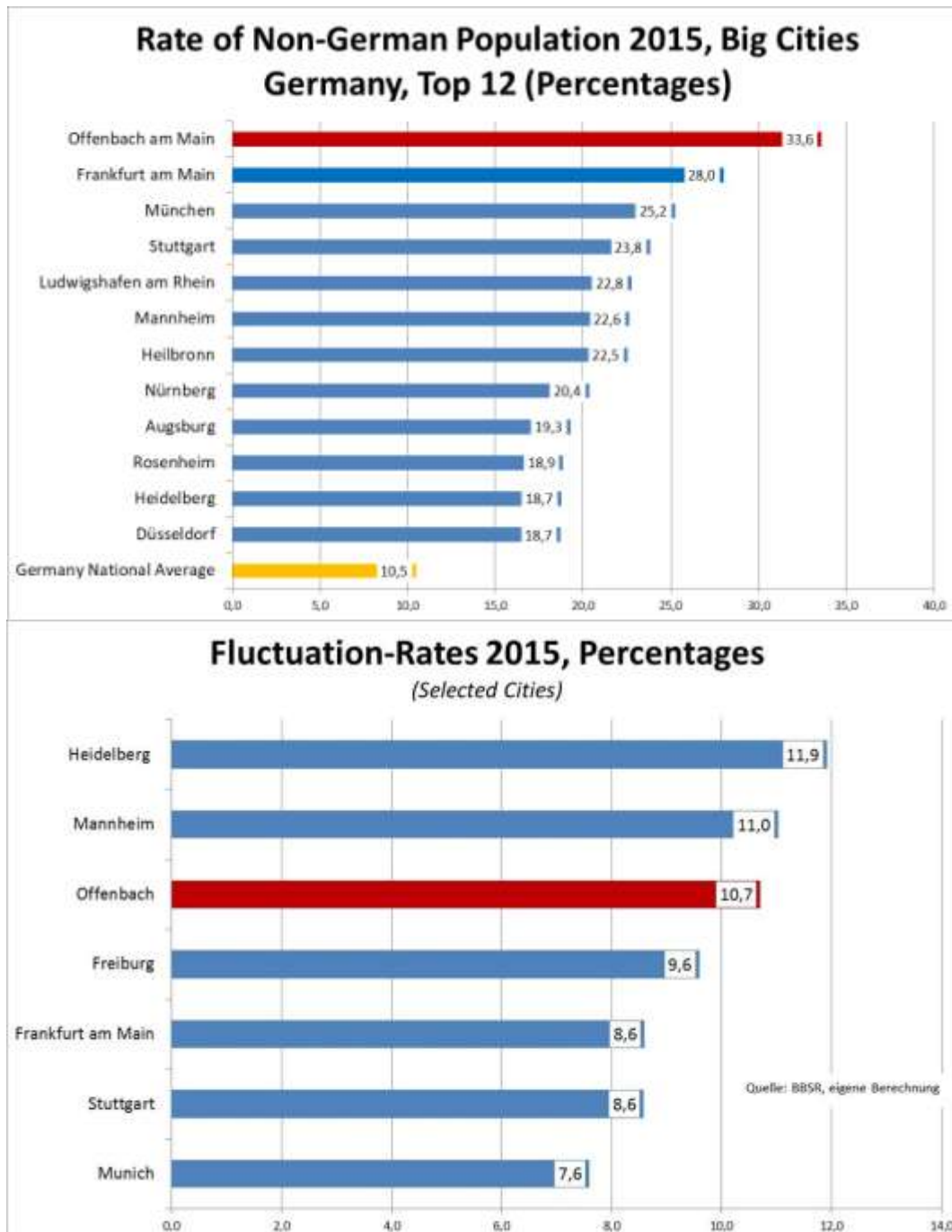
The city has a positive external balance (transnational) and a negative internal (domestic) balance of immigrant (non-German) population movements, which turns out to be a changing but in principle stable pattern over time – a very clear indicator for a territory of arrivals.
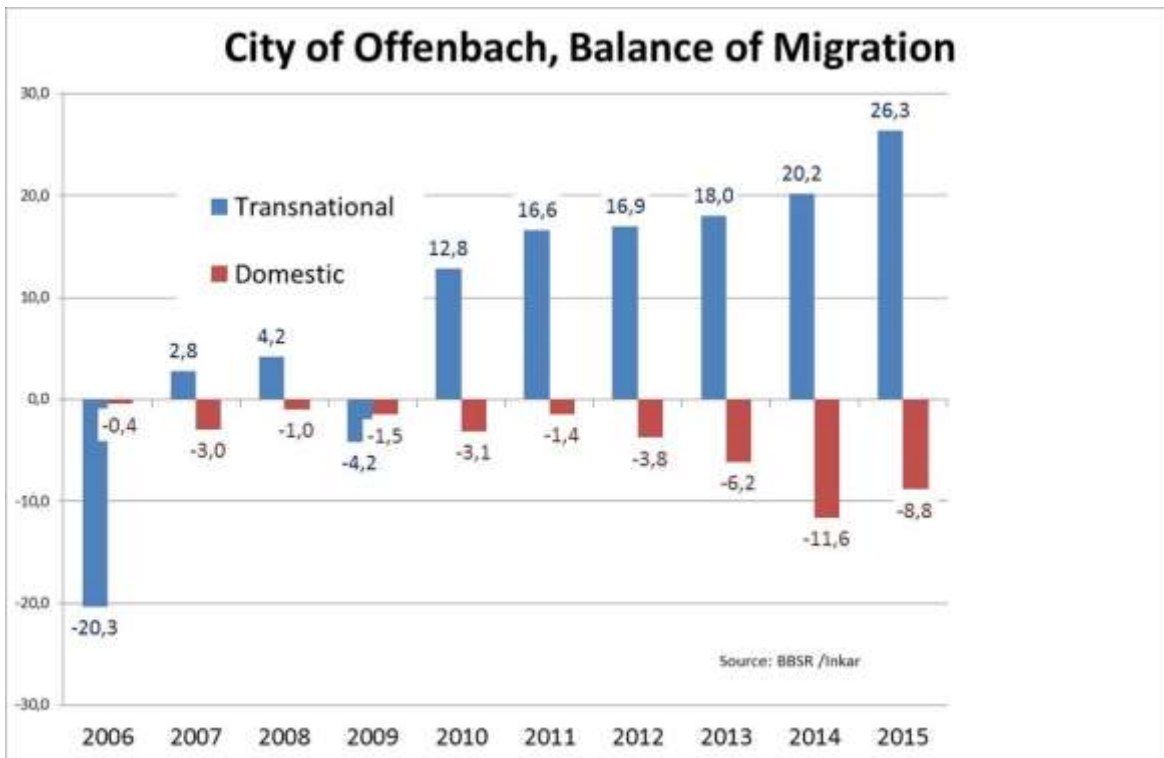
Graph 1: Movements of non-German population
Source: Federal Institute for Urban and Regional Research (BBSR).

Further characteristics of Offenbach are a high population turnover (at 11 percent per year one of the highest rates in Germany), high population density, structural density in the inner city area with a close proximity of residential and commercial areas, very lively but also challenging neighbourhood structures and - last but not least - a high density of social problems, which can be measured as the rate of recipients

of basic protection benefits (SGB II[3]) among the entire population. This rate stands at 17 percent, which puts Offenbach into the upper quintile in the ranking of German cities. The employment rate is also much above average. According to the most recent data it stands at 9 percent (national average 5 percent)[4].

Rate of Non-German Population 2015, Big Cities Germany, Top 12 (Percentages)

City	Percentage
Offenbach am Main	33,6
Frankfurt am Main	28,0
München	25,2
Stuttgart	23,8
Ludwigshafen am Rhein	22,8
Mannheim	22,6
Heilbronn	22,5
Nürnberg	20,4
Augsburg	19,3
Rosenheim	18,9
Heidelberg	18,7
Düsseldorf	18,7
Germany National Average	10,5

Fluctuation-Rates 2015, Percentages
(Selected Cities)

City	Percentage
Heidelberg	11,9
Mannheim	11,0
Offenbach	10,7
Freiburg	9,6
Frankfurt am Main	8,6
Stuttgart	8,6
Munich	7,6

Quelle: BBSR, eigene Berechnung

Graphs 2 and 3: Source for both: BBSR, INKAR database (www.inkar.de)

[3] SGB II stands for Sozialgesetzbuch II (book II of social law).
[4] Source for all data referring to the city of Offenbach: Stadt Offenbach am Main, Amt für Arbeitsförderung, Statistik und Integration. http://www.offenbach.de/rathaus/stadtinfo/offenbach-in-zahlen/statistikveroeffentlichung.php ; comparative data for cities on a national level see the database INKAR of BBSR, the national institute for regional and urban research for 2015 – www.inkar.de

Two perspectives are important for the assessment of Offenbach's situation. Firstly, Offenbach is interlinked very closely with the Frankfurt/Rhine-Main region, the most international urban agglomeration in Germany with the highest proportion of migrants within the population, even if one looks beyond Offenbach. Taken together, the cities of Frankfurt and Offenbach are, so to speak, the "inner city of the region" in which immigration processes are concentrated.

On the other hand, the inner city districts within Offenbach once again show particularly high migration rates of up to 80 percent of the population.

The statistically measurable segregation, i.e. the unequal spatial distribution, is 21.1 percent for the foreign population as a whole, but significantly higher for individual population groups such as Bulgarians, Romanians and Greeks (40, 28 and 30 percent). For the Turks, the largest single group of non-Germans, the segregation index shows a clearly below-average value of just over 11 percent.

If you take a closer look at the fluctuation of the population, you can see that the turnover rate among non-Germans in 2016 at a good 18 percent is more than three times higher than among Germans, where it was 5.7 percent. If you take a closer look, considerable differences are to observe also among non-Germans - a range from over 50 percent among Afghans, for example, to fewer than six percent among Turks. Turnover rates also vary quite strongly over time. As a rule, the group of the last wave of immigration shows the highest percentage of movement. With the establishment in the population structure, the fluctuation decreases.
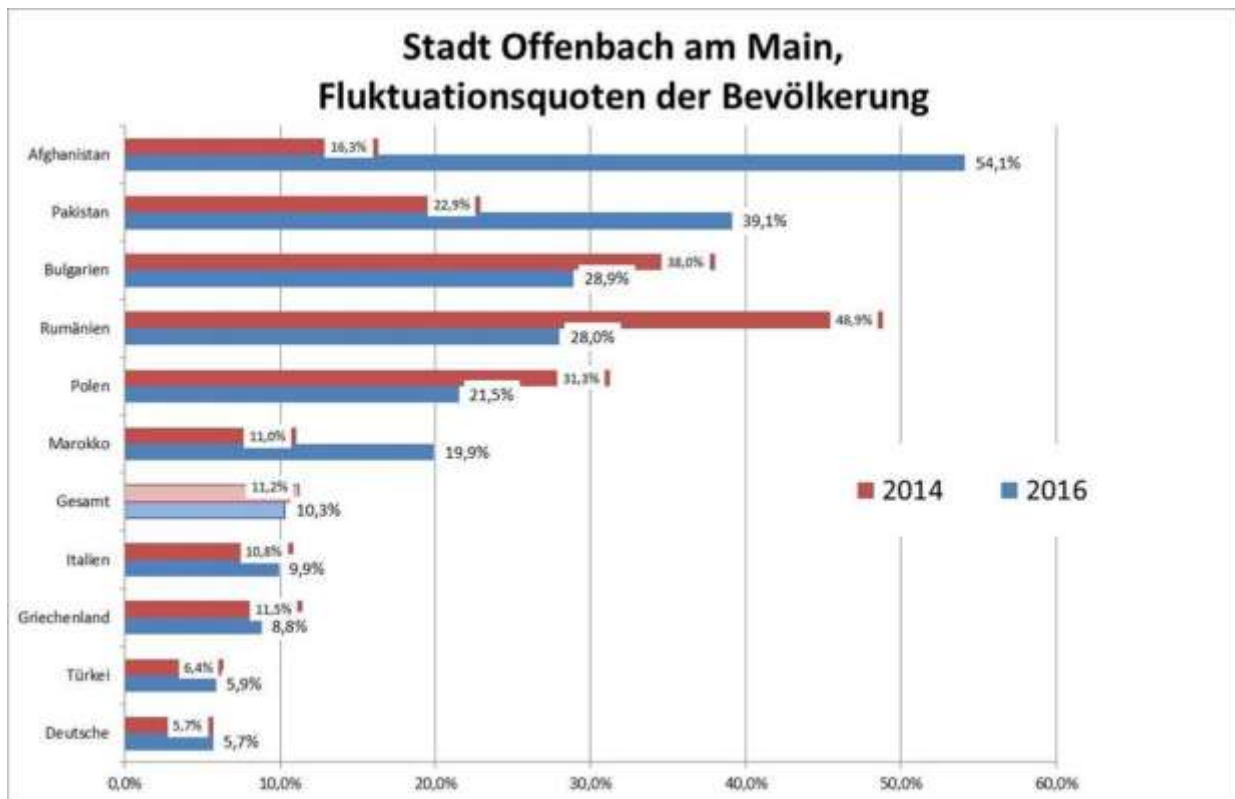
Graph 4: Fluctuation rates of selected nationalities
Source: Population update of the city of Offenbach

If one looks at the fluctuation in the inner-city spatial differentiation, it is not surprising that the inner-city districts show particularly high turnover rates between 13 and over 20 percent.

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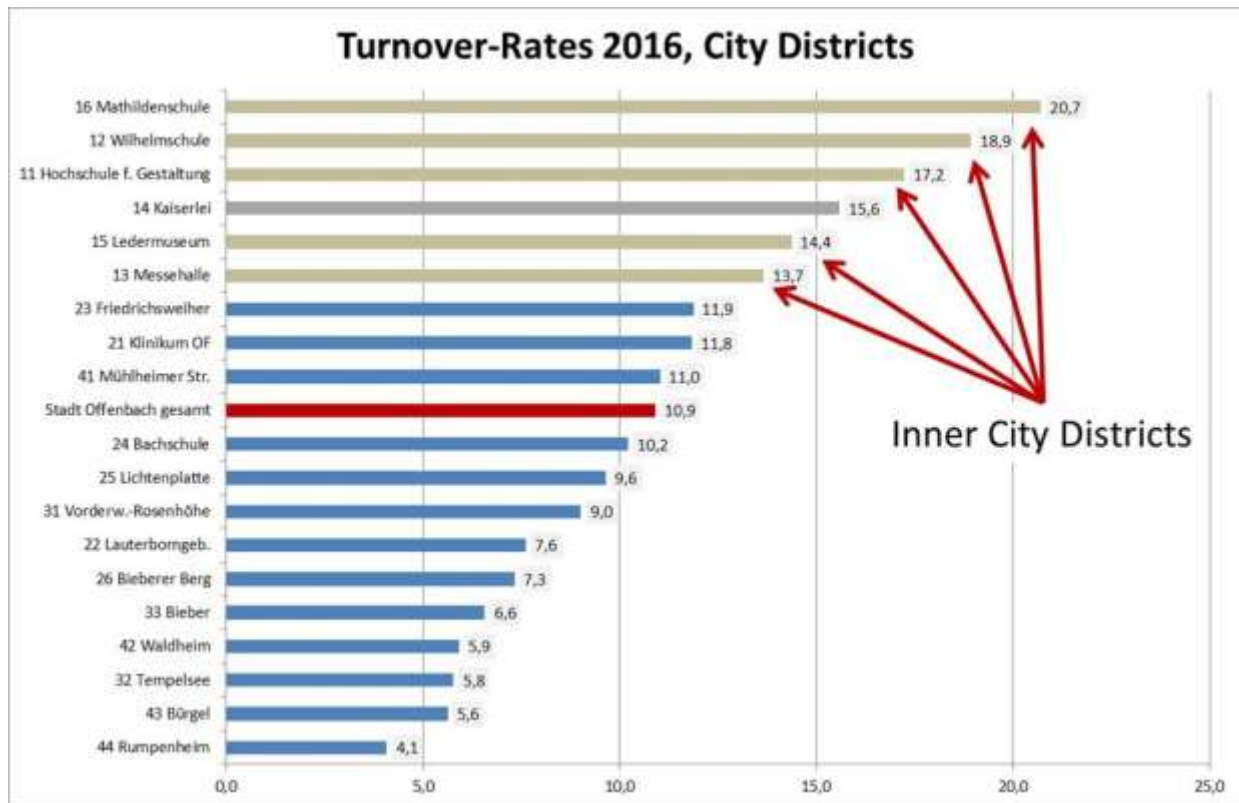
Graph 5: Source: Population update of the city of Offenbach

Offenbach has to carry particular burdens with regard to social policy and social protection responsibilities, which is reflected in a chronically strained financial situation with high budget deficits and a high level of debt. The existing mechanisms of redistribution among municipalities and of containing disparities of the financial strengths of municipalities do not take account of the special situation of cities of arrival. Another factor of underfunding is the imperfect connection of legislation and financial responsibility in Germany. While the federal state imposes legislation for sometimes quite generous social entitlements, the municipalities to large parts are left with the implementation of social laws and their funding out of their own budget. The degree of refunding out the budget of the central state can be regarded as insufficient. This is affecting specifically those cities with high immigration rates and connected social expenditures.

Nevertheless, the city is regarded as a positive reference model for a (reasonably) successful cohabitation of its citizens in cultural diversity and for successful integration. The "Süddeutsche Zeitung", a national daily newspaper, for example, suggested to Berlin's district mayor Buschkowsky, who was very pessimistic about the chances of integrating immigrants against the background of his experiences in *Berlin-Neukölln*, that he stop by in Offenbach "to see where integration works". The French business paper "Les Echos" apostrophized Offenbach to a "Laboratoire de l´integration en Allemagne". At the International Biennale for Architecture in Venice 2016, Offenbach was extensively honoured in the German pavilion as a prototypical arrival city and "almost all right", which subsequently even led to a real "Offenbach hype" in the press and the interested public.

The fact that the immigrant population in Offenbach is spread over a relatively large number of nationalities and ethnic groups, as illustrated in the graph below, can be regarded as a favourable factor with regard to integration. There is no large concentration of individual ethnic groups. This counteracts the formation of closed milieus and makes it clear to the arriving people from the outset that a command of the German

language, for example, also brings great advantages in everyday life. In a somewhat flippant formulation, the foreigner is also a foreigner for the foreigner. So you quickly need a common denominator, first and foremost a common language, which may be German.
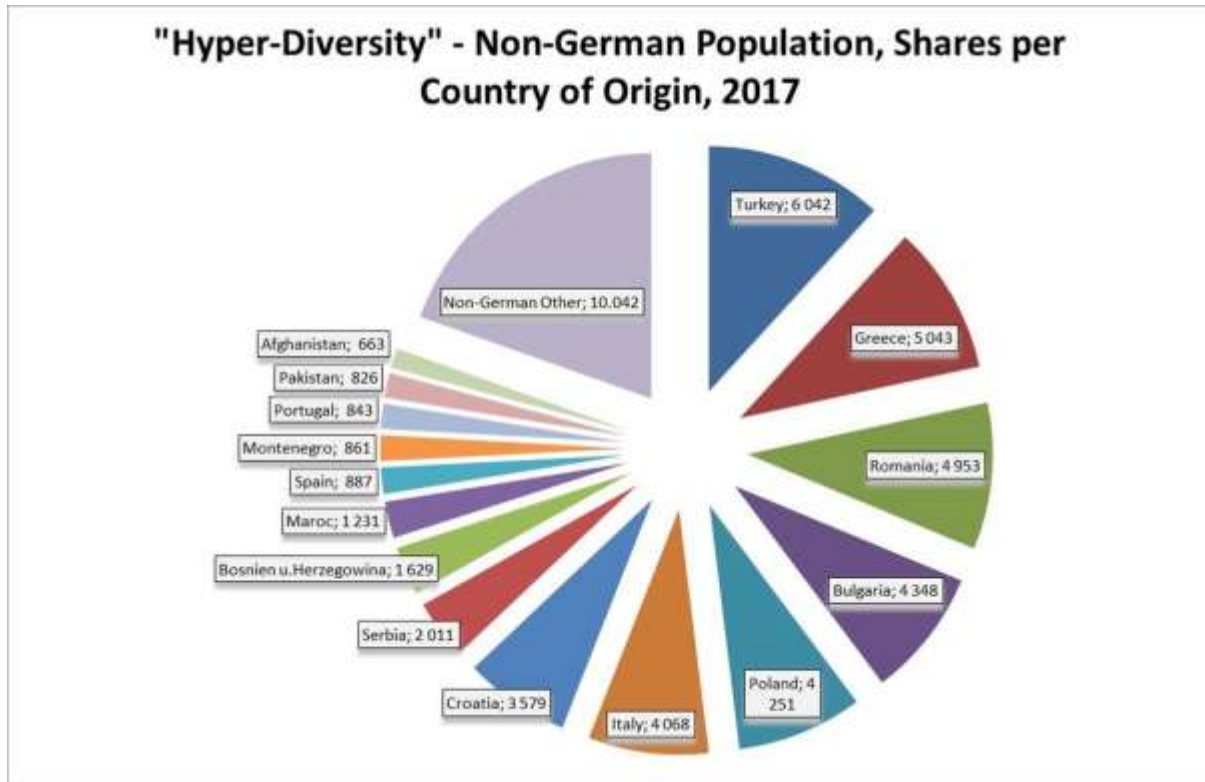
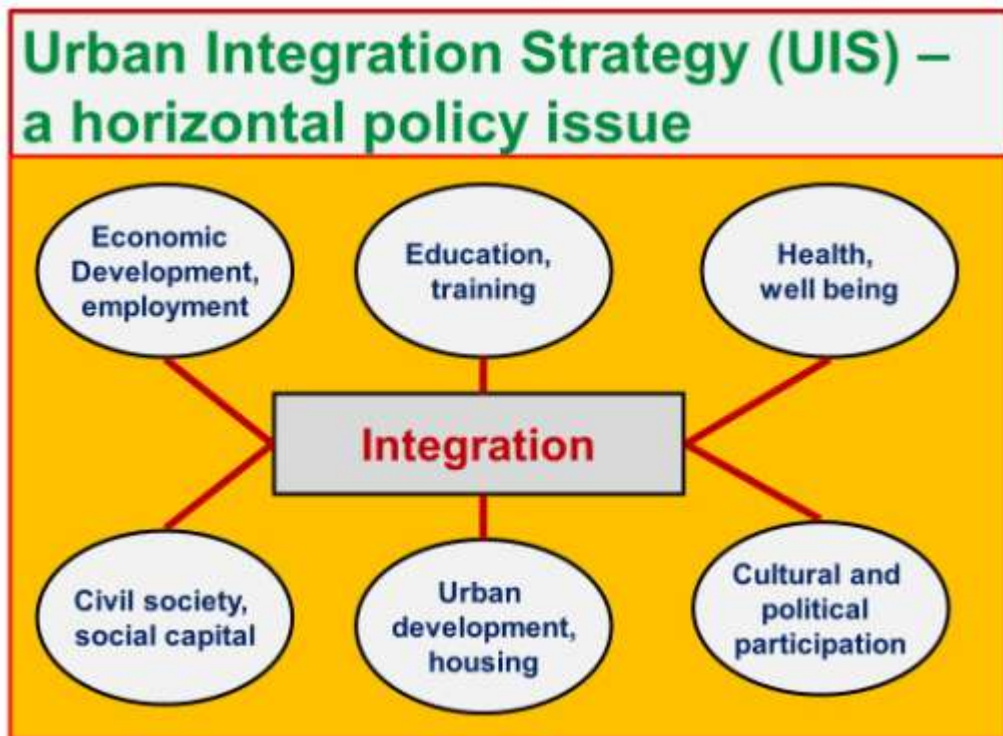**Graph 6**: Source: Population update of the city of Offenbach

However, Offenbach does not want to limit itself to the role of an arrival city. It is aiming at reducing fluctuation of its population and retains those immigrants more effectively which have established themselves well in the society and started to climb the career-ladder. The aim is to develop the city in such a way that it becomes more interesting as a residential location for groups with a higher income and stable anchors in the labour market. In a comprehensive master plan process completed in 2016, a long-term orientation framework has been set up for this purpose[5].

4. Integration – A Cross-Cutting Policy-Issue, Elements of an Integrated Strategy

So how is Offenbach dealing with integration?

It is important that integration policy (**Graph 7** and **Graph 8**) in a city of this kind is a cross cutting issue across all policy areas. There is hardly a municipal task, hardly a department that does not have to deal with integration issues of some form. Particularly important policy areas are, of course, work, education, housing and living together in the neighbourhoods. The economic potential of immigrants must also be exploited early and consistently.

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[5] See: https://www.offenbach.de/leben-in-of/planen-bauen-wohnen/Masterplan_Offenbach/masterplan-ergebnis.php

Graph 7: Source: Author's graph

Graph 8: Source: Author's graph

In an integrated municipal strategy, integration is therefore in the focus of very different fields of action, both explicitly and implicitly. If municipal action in these fields is deficient, integration will be hampered. Conversely, a good local labour market, education, urban development and regulatory policies promote integration, even if they do not explicitly see themselves as integration policies. Sometimes it is even wise not to place too much emphasis on the integration aspect in order to avoid reservations; distributional conflicts etc. in the first place. In a city of diversity, integration is not possible without good interdepartmental governance. Good politics and municipal practice for all citizens is the most effective integration policy. To be clear, integration does not work particularly well if as much integration policies as possible are made, special services such as migration counselling are set up and special programmes for this topic are launched. It works best when the regulatory systems fulfil their mission well. Good municipal services take into account the special living conditions of immigrants and other groups, make use of intercultural competence and take account of the diversity of the population through the personal composition of the administration. In a city characterised by diversity, the administration should reflect this diversity in a certain way. The training and recruitment of people with a migration background for administrative functions may also be a good way to achieve this.

A balanced social development strategy is also a strategy for integration. So to speak, an integration policy that only takes care of immigrants would miss the point. Integration has to be seen as part of the social development of the city in all its forms and fields of action. A social development strategy should of course address the most important fields of action, urban development, education, living together, work, occupation and economy in a coordinated, integrated manner.

Each of these "pillars" of integration policy in the city of Offenbach is grounded in a specific concept of development policy developed over many years. Worth mentioning here in particular are:

- The "Educational Strategy" concept: With the help of federal funding programmes such as "Lernende Regionen" (Regions of Learning) a concept of integrating the various critical areas of education into one coherent framework alongside critical transitions in the education system were developed and implemented. This includes an ongoing coordination of the relevant educational actors in the city and a continuous monitoring of educational outcomes.
- The strategies of social urban development and neighbourhood development with the programmes of the "Socially Integrative City", neighbourhood management and the housing policy guidelines of the city of Offenbach.
- More than ten years ago, an initial concept for integration in the city of Offenbach was decided by the City Council with a focus on securing the coexisting different cultures in a peaceful and constructive way. This concept was continued in 2014. However, living together is not only a "soft" issue of communication and dialogue. Specific emphasis is also put on a consistent policy to promote public order, security and the rule of law. There is a very consistent approach against the abuse of social benefits, irregular work and exploitation in the housing market, combined with effective cooperation between the authorities beyond the boundaries of local government.
- The promotion of civil society organisations in the area of the migrant population (so-called "migrant self-organisation") is another focus of this work area.
- It goes without saying that successful social integration has a great deal to do with integration into the labour market. The city of Offenbach municipalised the local job centre for this purpose in 2012 and set it up as part of an overarching social development policy. The city is mobilizing the economic potential of immigrants by providing differentiated start-up support[6].

All these strategic fields of action are based on effective networks, both within the city government as well with authorities and actors external to it, including third sector and civil society organisations. These

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[6] For years Offenbach has been and still is the city with the highest rate of founders among its working population in Germany, see: http://www.ifm-bonn.org/fileadmin/data/redaktion/statistik/gruendungen-und-unternehmensschliessungen/dokumente/NUI-Regionenranking_2015.pdf. For municipal start-up support policies, see: www.gruenderstadt-offenbach.de

networks have been established in all thematic areas relevant for integration. These include the chambers commerce and crafts, employer´s associations, trade unions, schools, employment agencies, the police, but also civil society organisations such as self-organisations of immigrant communities, parishes, mosque associations, cultural associations and the like.

Effective network management is therefore a central component of good governance for integration in the city. Paradoxically, it is precisely the chronic financial crisis of the municipality that is an effective starting point for this network approach. It is important to cooperate in order to "pool" resources, realize cooperative problem solutions and implement something like municipal co-production of administration and the addressees of their actions. The relative manageability of a city with 135,000 inhabitants and a lean administration does a great deal to stimulate networks and make them productive.

Another important element of the city's integrated policy approach is the support provided by social and educational reporting, which observes developments in the city, describes activities and examines effects. Continuously integration monitoring rounds off this reporting system (Schulze-Boeing 2017). Transparency of processes, orientation towards measurable goals and regular public accountability are the guiding principles.

5. Practice of Integration – Three examples

Of course Offenbach also has a whole series of explicit measures to promote integration. I would like to briefly explain three of them:

1. *Promotion of dialogue*: In Germany's regional state (Bundesland) Hessen, foreigners' advisory councils are legally required representative bodies that are directly elected by non-German citizens (but not by naturalised immigrants with a German passport). However, voter turnout is now very low. In Offenbach it was recently well below five percent. This is not satisfactory. In order to create further channels of communication with the migrant population, an "Integration Competence Team" was set up a few years ago. This is made up of the chairmen of the migrant self-organisations in the city, i.e. the foreigners' associations, religious communities and the like. The committee is chaired by the chairman of the Foreigners' Advisory Council and a Deputy Mayor as representative of the City Council. It is part of the self-image of this committee that it does not remain a mere dialogue, but that concrete joint activities are again and again decided upon, planned and implemented, in which the municipality on the one hand, and the migrant self-organisations on the other hand participate. It is, so to say, not just a forum for political discussion and complaints of both sides, but of specific action, even with very limited resources in Offenbach. This has resulted in a whole series of small and large joint projects between the municipality and migrant organisations in recent years, e.g. on health promotion, information events on the dual education system on the fringes of Friday prayers in mosques, and events on educational issues. There are always fixed agreements, the addressees' own activities and a concept for tracking the effects. In this respect, the activities of this competence team can certainly be regarded as a good example of municipal *co-production*.

The promotion of self-organisation is also repeatedly the subject of this practical approach. When the new immigration from the new EU member states in South-Eastern Europe from 2012 onwards also occurred in Offenbach with all its problematic side effects (extremely overcrowded housing, chains of exploitation by traffickers, shady employers and landlords), it became apparent that the Bulgarian group did not yet have any anchor points in the form of existing ethnic communities. The city initiated the foundation of a Bulgarian association and helped it with a small financial support at the start. Thus a social crystallization point and, at the same time, a contact point for issues of the municipality could be established also for this group of "newcomers" in the city.

2. *Urban development/design of social spaces*: In 2002, the city began setting up a neighbourhood management system in the planning area of the "Socially Integrative City" programme. This involved the eastern inner city, a district with special development needs, a special concentration of social problems and a high proportion of immigrants. This neighbourhood management proved so successful that it was subse-

quently introduced in other districts independently of the "Socially Integrative City" programme. Meanwhile, there are four neighbourhood offices and four neighbourhood management districts. The neighbourhood offices are designed as small centres for services, e.g. migration counselling, outreach activities by the job centre or learning groups for disadvantaged young people and activities by resident groups. The aim is to take up concrete social concerns, but also to promote "bridging social capital" in the neighbourhood. The aim of neighbourhood management is to activate residents. Its methodology is based on the concept of the co-production of social goods. With a relatively small budget, a great deal has been achieved for the neighbourhoods and for integration. Social space-related measures have therefore become central building blocks of the city's integration strategy.

The long-term evaluation of the city's neighbourhood strategy shows that in almost all measurable dimensions the desired effects have so far been achieved at least in part. The SGB II rate in the inner city and in the neighbourhoods of the "Socially Integrative City" programme has fallen much more sharply than in the city as a whole. The segregation rate is declining, as is the number of registered crimes. The district's image has improved significantly.

3. *Enforcement of rules of order*: A central component of the integration strategy of the city of Offenbach is the enforcement of norms and the fight against social abuse, exploitation and illegal practices in the housing and labour market. The municipality has set up a task force for this purpose, in which various authorities such as the local authorities, police, tax authorities, foreigners' office, job centres, etc. work together in order to combat such immigration-related problems. Together with trade union initiatives, such as the "Fair Mobility" initiative of the German Federation of Unions, the municipality tries to inform immigrants about their rights, curb undeclared work and prevent the abuse of social transfer payments, which often occurs in connection with precarious employment on the margins of legality. A determined enforcement of state norms is by no means alien to an enlightened integration policy, but one of its central components.

Immigration waves almost always coincide with the growth of the informal sector, often closely linked to ethnic networks and ethnic economic structures. This informal sector can facilitate integration in so far as job and earning opportunities arise there beyond the formal labour markets with their high thresholds. Informal structures, however, are very often associated with blatant grievances, exploitation, irregular working conditions and the abuse of social benefits that no orderly state system can accept in the long term. Last but not least, it should also be remembered that refugees have also chosen Germany as their destination because they expect functioning constitutional structures, which they miss in their countries of origin. It is therefore also important for the credibility of the state and public administration vis-à-vis immigrants that they consistently enforce the existing legal norms. The fact that the city of Offenbach now has a crime rate below the average despite its still weak social structure and high immigration among German cities indicates that this policy has not been entirely unsuccessful (Schulze-Boeing 2017a).

6. Urban Integration Strategies – what is left to do?

The positive effects, but also the problems and challenges of immigration are concentrated in the cities. This is especially true in the "arrival cities" Doug Saunders (2011) has in mind, cities with a high proportion of immigrants, with high fluctuation, with educational backlogs, unemployment, poverty and a need for social actions.

Cities are (and always have been!) places of arrival, relay stations of mobility, places of diversity, but also laboratories for social experiments, arenas of conflict resolution and the negotiation of interests. It is in the nature of things that these processes do not run smoothly, without conflicts and burdens. If they want to meet the challenges of immigration, cities must invest in housing, education, employment, the development of neighbourhoods particularly affected by immigration, social work and infrastructure. This is a basic requirement for securing social peace in an urban context despite high immigration pressure. Especially when resources are scarce, as is often the case in cities with high poverty rates, high population turnover and high demand for social transfers.

Conflict and integration do not have to be irreconcilable oppositions. Sometimes it is precisely the openly expressed opinion, be it about the rules in the schoolyard, be it about the location of a new mosque building, which clarifies positions but also generates mutual understanding. Conflict is also, as we know from the sociological classics from Georg Simmel (1968) to Ralf Dahrendorf (1992), a social integration mechanism. In other words: not indifferent coexistence, but mutual respect and dialogue in the presence of contrasting cultural patterns and attitudes promotes integration. Carrying out conflict in democratic and deliberative way may be more effective than artificial harmony and "political correctness", bypassing latent tensions and controversies However, integration by conflict only can function if it is fair and if procedural rules are respected. Nevertheless, even the struggle for such rules can also be the first step in the process of integration.

Arrival cities or, within larger cities, arrival districts are usually characterised by a high turnover rate. They represent transitional areas in which people make their first stop in the region or in the city, take their first steps towards integration, but then, if these integration steps have been successful in the best case, for example through language learning, job search, improving income, they often move on to districts with a lower immigrant density and higher social status in suburban areas or to other regions. Thus, cities and districts of arrival have a special task to do for the society as a whole. If they do that well, it benefits everyone. If you like, a society is virtually dependent on functioning arrival districts if integration is to succeed overall.

However, there is often an incongruence of expenses and returns. The arrival districts are highly burdened by immigration. There, special social investments have to be made and the social stress of immigration has to be dealt with. However, the return on these efforts will accrue outside the district if successful immigrants leave the district again and use the individual and social capital built up in the integration process elsewhere. The arrival districts would then have no choice but, like Sisyphus in Greek mythology, to start over again and again from scratch in an endless process. Albert Camus' famous essay on this myth ends with the remark that one must imagine Sisyphus as a "happy man" (1959: 101). In the social reality, however, one should not simply assume this equanimity. Chronic overload of social spaces can lead to the dissolution of the acceptance of immigration and to the termination of solidarity between the receiving society and the immigrants, which is crucial for any progress in integration.

The functionality of cities and districts of arrival cannot simply be assumed. It needs targeted support:

- Precautions to protect them from excessive overload, e.g. by creating opportunities to control the influx of immigrants, at least for a certain period after their arrival. Legal residence requirements are currently being discussed for immigrants with a refugee background. Experience with the Residence Allocation Act for "Aussiedler" (ethnic Germans moving in from the former Soviet Union, where they have lived for generations), which was in force until 2009, has been quite positive with regard to effective integration (Haug/Sauer 2007).
- In order to prevent the disintegration of arrival cities, effective mechanisms of financial redistribution are necessary to compensate for specific burdens related with immigration. Some municipalities have endured a particularly large part of these burdens. Compensation systems which do take this into account sufficiently are at risk of failing to meet the specific needs of the cities under pressure.
- Programmes such as "Socially Integrative City" in the area of urban and neighbourhood development can contribute to strengthening arrival districts in cities, eliminating urban planning deficits and promoting the social and economic development of these districts.
- After all, arrival cities need particularly good municipal management. The challenges of immigration and integration require holistic management, intensive interdepartmental cooperation and open, dialogue- and participation-oriented control processes with the active involvement of civil society actors. The complexity of the problems associated with immigration can only be overcome through integrated approaches.
- However, it is also the task of the arrival cities to ensure a better balance between arrival processes and a stable population by means of a suitable urban development policy. This includes at-

tractive neighbourhoods that are not only ethnically mixed but also socially mixed. Social hot-spots, where, so to say, poor children learn from poor adults how to stay poor, benefit neither society nor the poor themselves. Ethnically segregated neighbourhoods, in which immigrants can lead their lives largely without contact with the autochthonous society, in which they can largely maintain the cultural practices of the countries of origin and communicate in the language of the country of origin, may first of all be the easy way and avoid conflicts. If segregation were allowed to solidify unhindered under the seemingly benign principle of "multicultural tolerance", the discrimination and exclusion of immigrants would become a permanent state.

Social cohesion only arises where there is common ground, where overarching social norms are respected. Social learning only works where there are role models for advancement and success. The migrants who are on the rise should therefore also be kept in the cities and districts of arrival in order to make such social learning processes possible. Local integration policy must also keep this in mind.

Ultimately, cities need to strike a good balance between openness, realism and a clear orientation towards social cohesion. A naive "welcome policy" cannot achieve this any more than ignoring the reality of immigration in cities. Today, there may be some cities of arrival that have to face the issue. In the future, immigration will have a decisive influence on the development of most cities. Therefore, we have to think today about how integration can succeed even better.

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