

Werk

Titel: Managing and marketing of urban development and urban life

Untertitel: proceedings of the IGU-Commission on "Urban Development and Urban Life", Berlin, August 15 to 20, 1994

Jahr: 1994

Kollektion: fid.geo

Signatur: XX

Digitalisiert: Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen

Werk Id: PPN1030505985

PURL: <http://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?PPN1030505985>

OPAC: <http://opac.sub.uni-goettingen.de/DB=1/PPN?PPN=1030505985>

LOG Id: LOG_0078

LOG Titel: Intra-urban distribution of ethnic minorities in Munich and Duisburg

LOG Typ: article

Übergeordnetes Werk

Werk Id: PPN1030494754

PURL: <http://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?PPN1030494754>

OPAC: <http://opac.sub.uni-goettingen.de/DB=1/PPN?PPN=1030494754>

Terms and Conditions

The Goettingen State and University Library provides access to digitized documents strictly for noncommercial educational, research and private purposes and makes no warranty with regard to their use for other purposes. Some of our collections are protected by copyright. Publication and/or broadcast in any form (including electronic) requires prior written permission from the Goettingen State- and University Library.

Each copy of any part of this document must contain these Terms and Conditions. With the usage of the library's online system to access or download a digitized document you accept the Terms and Conditions.

Reproductions of material on the web site may not be made for or donated to other repositories, nor may be further reproduced without written permission from the Goettingen State- and University Library.

For reproduction requests and permissions, please contact us. If citing materials, please give proper attribution of the source.

Contact

Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen
Georg-August-Universität Göttingen
Platz der Göttinger Sieben 1
37073 Göttingen
Germany
Email: gdz@sub.uni-goettingen.de

INTRA-URBAN DISTRIBUTION OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN MUNICH AND DUISBURG

Kenji Yamamoto
Hosei University, Tokyo, Japan

This paper aims to compare the spatial segregation of ethnic minorities between Munich and Duisburg. Although we find similarity of intra-urban distribution of ethnic minorities among West German cities, the degree of spatial segregation differs markedly from city to city. It is more severe in Duisburg than in Munich. The proportion of Turks to the foreign inhabitants is higher in the former than in the latter. In order to explain the difference, it is more appropriate to adopt a structural approach than an approach emphasizing the choice of individuals of ethnic minorities. I shed light on the role of charitable and co-operative housing corporations (*gemeinnütziges Wohnungsunternehmen*) and the significance of publicly assisted dwellings (*Öffentlich geförderte Wohnungen = Sozialwohnungen*) in the congregating process of ethnic minorities. Severe spatial segregation of ethnic minorities in Duisburg is due to the locality of Duisburg, which has been shaped by the activity of a large charitable and co-operative housing corporation, i.e. a subsidiary of Thyssen concern. We cannot always find discrimination in the activity of this corporation. On the other hand, there has been discrimination in allotment of publicly assisted dwellings in Munich. This housing policy is one of factors, why the spatial segregation is moderate in Munich. Contrary to the classical theory of human ecology, it is proved that discrimination does not always bring about the strong congregation of an ethnic minority in a specific area in a city.

Key Words: Spatial Segregation, Ethnic Minority, Structural Approach, Charitable and Co-operative Housing Corporation, Publicly Assisted Dwellings, Munich, Duisburg

I. Introduction

According to a classical theory (PARK 1926: 25), spatial segregation of an ethnic minority reflects social distance between the minority group and the majority. If the former is highly segregated from the latter in the spatial sense, this situation has come about as a result of exclusion, usurpation and discrimination of the minority by the majority. On the other hand, spatial segregation prohibits or at least hinders a positive interaction between the minority and the majority. This interrelationship between geographical phenomenon and social processes is clearly stated by British social geographers (PEACH 1975: 1; PEACH and SMITH 1981: 10-11).

It is well known that a lot of foreigners live today in the Federal Republic of Germany. Many of them first came as "guest" workers (*Gastarbeiter*) from Mediterranean countries, with which the Federal Government had made a bilateral recruitment agreement. It was expected that "guest" workers should stay only a few years in West Germany and return to their home countries. But they have been joined by their families and have settled down in West Germany. The reunification of families had been already observed in the 1960s¹⁾, but this behavior became more apparent after 1973, as the Federal Government stopped the recruitment of foreign workers through the Labor Exchange (*Arbeitsamt*). These foreigners are not to be

regarded as "guest" workers anymore, and today are often called alien fellow-citizens (*ausländische Mitbürger*) at least by the people and organizations who are eager to integrate them into German society.

It is evident from several papers (O'LOUGHLIN 1980; O'LOUGHLIN and GLEBE 1981, 1984; GLEBE 1984; IPSEN 1981; HOFFMANN-NOWOTNY and HONDRICH 1984; JONES 1990, GLEBE and O'LOUGHLIN 1987; YAMAMOTO 1980, 1987) that the spatial residential pattern of ethnic minorities in West German cities is different from that of cities in the USA "Guest" workers and their families usually concentrate either in the inner city or near industrial districts within West German cities, while ethnic minorities in American cities often live in the inner city²). We find another feature of the spatial segregation of ethnic minorities peculiar to West German cities. There is no complete spatial segregation on the ward and tract levels or even on the building block level in the cities of this country, while there are genuine ghettos of ethnic minorities in American cities. The degree of spatial segregation is, however, very high on the level of individual apartment building in West German cities.

Thus, if we compare the situation in West German cities with American cities, the similarity stands out among West German cities. But we can find distinctiveness peculiar to each city in this country. In 1989, I had a chance in Duisburg to have a glimpse of a few building blocks, in which many Turks lived. I have realized through this experience that the situation in Duisburg is quite different from the one in Munich. In this paper, I reexamine whether or not the classical theory of spatial segregation is valid for the situation in West German cities, focusing upon the uniqueness of the individual city, and shed light on the role of housing subjects in order to explain it.

II. Spatial Segregation and its Change in Munich and Duisburg Between the 1970s and 1990

1. Cities investigated and research methods

The presence of Turks is important for the research on spatial segregation in German cities, because they are often regarded as the most underprivileged minority in this country, and because discrimination should necessarily bring about spatial segregation according to the classical theory. As is well known, Turks have been the largest ethnic minority in this country as well as in many of its large cities since the early 1970s, but this does not apply to every city. The population of Yugoslavs is larger in Munich than the population of Turks. On the other hand, Duisburg shows a very high percentage of Turks (Table 1).

The index of dissimilarity (ID), which DUNCAN and DUNCAN (1955a) devised, is adopted here to investigate spatial segregation. As DUNCAN and DUNCAN (1955a: 43; 1955b: 53) suggested and PEACH (1975: 4) pointed out clearly, the ID has some

Table 1 Foreigners in the 13 Largest Metropolises in West Germany on 31 December 1989

Rank	Name of metropolis	Total population 30th June 1989	Foreigners							Other marked nationality
			Total	Turks	Yugoslavs	Italians	Greeks	Spaniards		
1	Berlin (West)	2,088,083	276,396 (13.2%)	124,605 (45.1)	31,948 (11.6)	7,519 (2.7)	8,013 (2.9)	1,668 (0.6)	Poles 17,853 (6.5)	
2	Hamburg	1,606,600	166,172 (10.3%)	54,067 (32.5)	19,347 (11.6)	5,633 (3.4)	6,255 (3.8)	2,905 (1.7)	Austrians 26,779 (11.0)	
3	Munich	1,218,289	243,275 (20.0%)	43,276 (17.8)	55,044 (22.6)	23,069 (9.5)	21,747 (8.9)	2,967 (1.2)	Iranians 4,486 (2.9)	
4	Cologne	940,155	155,807 (16.6%)	66,646 (42.8)	11,238 (7.2)	20,406 (13.1)	7,535 (4.8)	3,150 (2.0)	Moroccans 7,173 (4.9)	
5	Frankfurt am Main	628,761	145,042 (23.1%)	29,584 (20.4)	27,094 (18.7)	16,500 (11.4)	8,550 (5.9)	7,960 (5.5)	Poles 6,002 (6.2)	
6	Essen	620,866	43,652 (7.0%)	14,015 (32.1)	5,174 (11.9)	2,717 (6.2)	2,252 (5.2)	2,069 (4.7)	Moroccans 2,565 (4.5)	
7	Dortmund	589,200	56,547 (9.6%)	22,217 (39.3)	6,937 (12.3)	3,308 (5.9)	3,855 (6.8)	2,033 (3.6)	Poles 6,002 (4.5)	
8	Düsseldorf	570,229	96,857 (17.0%)	14,956 (15.4)	14,410 (14.9)	7,609 (7.9)	10,129 (10.5)	3,741 (3.9)	Austrians 3,169 (2.8)	
9	Stuttgart	565,666	112,335 (19.9%)	21,395 (19.0)	28,668 (25.5)	16,483 (14.7)	15,487 (13.8)	2,627 (2.3)	Poles 655 (1.4)	
10	Bremen	537,565	48,295 (9.0%)	21,399 (44.3)	3,174 (6.6)	1,329 (2.8)	1,049 (2.2)	1,629 (2.0)	Poles 6,573 (8.2)	
11	Duisburg	529,197	79,753 (15.1%)	44,916 (56.3)	8,119 (10.2)	4,430 (5.6)	1,980 (2.5)	1,629 (2.0)	Poles 2,718 (5.0)	
12	Hannover	502,402	54,758 (10.9%)	19,857 (36.3)	6,086 (11.1)	2,845 (5.2)	4,934 (9.0)	4,371 (8.0)	Poles 2,069 (3.1)	
13	Nuremberg	481,884	66,016 (13.7%)	20,083 (30.4)	10,025 (15.2)	6,934 (10.5)	9,018 (13.7)	2,069 (3.1)	Poles 294 (2.6)	
	West Germany (thousand)	62,679 (31 Dec. '89)	4,846 (7.7%)	1,622 (33.5)	611 (12.6)	520 (10.7)	655 (1.4)	1,629 (2.5)	220 (5.0)	

Sources *Statistisches Jahrbuch Deutscher Gemeinden*, 77 Jg., Cologne, 1990. *Statistisches Jahrbuch 1992 für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Stuttgart: Metzler Poeschel.

Notes The figure in parentheses in the column "Foreigners" is the proportion of foreigners to the total population in each metropolis and West Germany. The figure in parentheses in the columns of nationality is the proportion of each group to the total number of foreigners in each metropolis and West Germany. The unit of the figures in the row "West Germany" is thousand.

shortcomings. First, it varies if the unit of area for computation varies. The smaller the unit, the larger is the ID, even if the geographical distribution of social groups does not change. Because of this, we should notice the difference in spatial division of a city, when we compare the degree of spatial segregation between different cities and between different points of time.

Secondly, it is inadequate to tell us anything about spatial segregation only with a numerical value. This was also pointed out by DUNCAN and DUNCAN (1955a: 42) and PEACH (1975: 3). Even if a social group is in a spatial sense completely segregated from other groups in a city, a specific division of the city area can bring about a very low ID. Therefore, we should grasp a form of spatial segregation not only by means of the ID but also by means of a map.

A location quotient (LQ) is often used to describe the spatial pattern of an ethnic minority on a map³). This measure makes clear only the relative spatial distribution and we should take into consideration the absolute number of inhabitants, if we want to grasp congregation as well as concentration of an ethnic minority in a real sense. In the following sections, I describe absolute as well as relative spatial distribution of ethnic minorities and then examine the degree of spatial segregation and its change, focusing on Turks.

2. The case of Munich

Many of Turks lived in the wards characterized by the location of manufacturing as well as by the position in the outer city. They were Schwabing-Nord/Milbertshofen and Allach-Untermenzing in the northern part, Obergiesing and Ramersdorf-Perlach in the southeastern part, and Sendling, Thalkirchen-Obersendling and Waldfriedhofviertel in the southwestern part (Figure 1). All these wards indicated a higher LQ for Turks than 1, and especially high in Allach-Untermenzing and Obergiesing. Large factories of machine industry are located in the former ward, and one of the main plants of Siemens AG is located in the latter. A higher LQ was found for Turks in the inner city, too. Level was particularly noticeable, because Turks reached nearly 1,000 in this ward and its LQ was higher than 2.

Table 2 proves clearly that Munich had experienced relaxation of spatial segregation by 1990. Spaniards, Italians and Austrians have indicated remarkable decline of the ID in relation to Germans, and the ID between Turks and Germans has also declined. There are only two cases which show the increasing ID, between Austrians and Yugoslavs, and between Austrians and Turks.

Munich shows its own characteristics in the order of spatial segregation of the ethnic minorities from Germans. Spaniards resided in 1971 most dissimilarly from Germans, followed by Greeks, Turks and Yugoslavs. The degree of spatial segregation of Italians was lowest, if we ignore Austrians whose ethnicity hardly differs from Germans. The geographical distribution of Spaniards was also considerably dissimilar from that of the other ethnic minorities, and Greeks lived dis-

Table 2 ID Between Ethnic Groups in Munich, Above Diagonal: 1971 and Below Diagonal: 1990

	Ger.	Ita.	Spa.	Gre.	Yug.	Tur.	Aus.	Oth.
Germans		18.6	33.5	31.4	23.0	25.7	12.5	19.3
Italiens	11.6		34.7	26.9	15.1	18.7	14.2	22.1
Spaniards	18.4	17.0		39.6	31.6	36.3	31.4	35.1
Greeks	30.5	23.9	32.1		27.2	28.3	30.4	30.1
Yugoslavs	22.1	14.4	23.7	15.5		20.7	16.1	23.5
Turks	23.6	17.8	30.8	20.4	16.6		20.0	28.5
Austrians	6.6	9.4	16.4	28.5	19.3	23.1		16.8
Others	14.5	14.5	22.7	27.4	21.0	20.3	13.7	

Source Calculated from the unpublished statistical materials made available by the Stadtentwicklungsreferat München und *Münchner Statistisches Jahrbuch* 1990

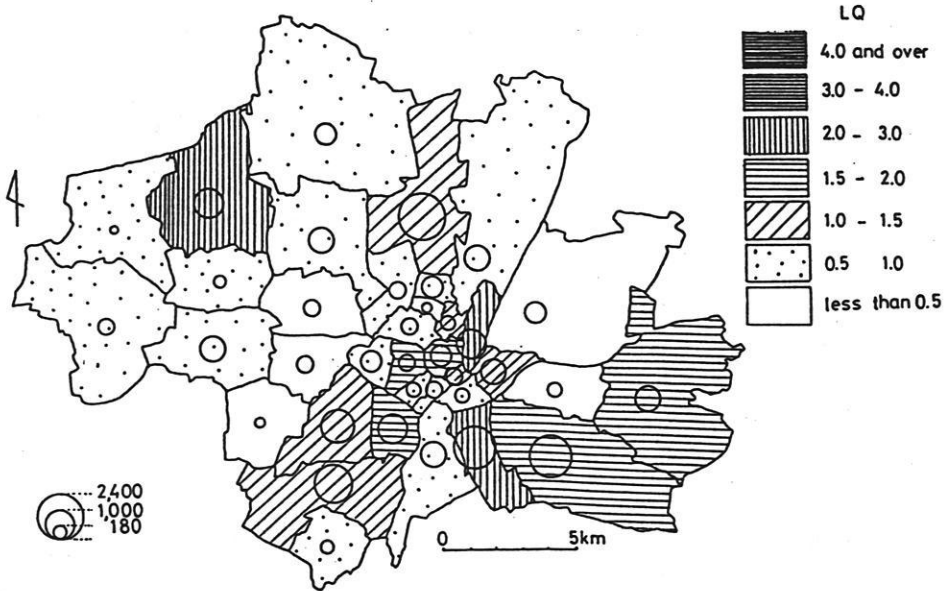
similarly from the other ethnic minorities as well. As a result, it was the ID between Spaniards and Greeks that was largest in 1971. On the contrary, Turks resided in a relatively similar way to the residential pattern of Italians and Yugoslavs. The ID between Turks and Greeks were also relatively lower. We find the lowest ID between Italians and Yugoslavs, if we disregard Austrians again.

As mentioned above, the IDs declined between 1971 and 1990 in almost all cases. The order of spatial segregation of the ethnic minorities from Germans has changed as a result of the uneven declining ID. Nevertheless, it is not Turks, but Greeks that shows the largest ID from Germans. Thus, Munich's case tells us clearly that there may be no correlation between the spatial segregation of ethnic minorities and their cultural differences. Cultural differences here mean psychological distance between two groups based on their difference of language, religion, way of thinking, family cohesion and so on. It is a part of social distance.

3. The case of Duisburg

In Duisburg, there were several wards where many Turks lived, and these wards were scattered throughout Duisburg. However, the northern wards were most noticeable among these wards because of a large scale of Turkish population (Figure 2). This area originally belonged until 1929 not to Duisburg but to another independent large city in the German sense. A number of coal pits were developed between the late 19th and the early 20th century in this area. Some rural municipalities were merged in 1900 and the new coal city was named Hamborn (FREUNDLIEB 1930; KÜPPER 1937). The steel industry was also located in this city.

Figure 1 Spatial Distribution and Location Quotient of Turkish Inhabitants in Munich, 1971.



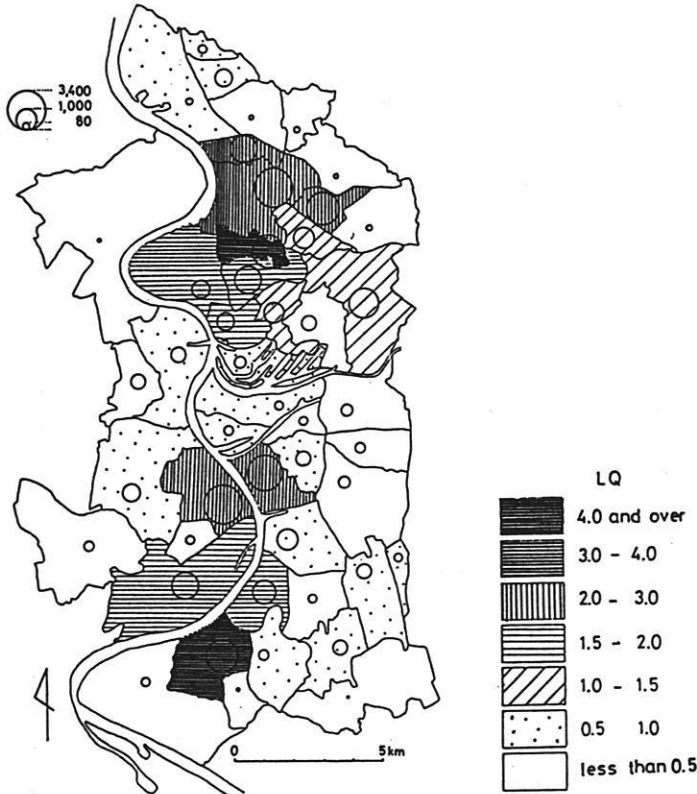
Source Unpublished Data of the Stadtentwicklungsreferat and the Statistisches Amt der Landeshauptstadt München.

The northern wards lie near the steel mills, the coking plant and the coal pits of the Thyssen concern. The other wards, in which more than 2,000 Turks lived, were Hochfeld, Hüttenheim and Hochemmerich. The last ward lies on the left side of the Rhine. This area was also an independent city, Rheinhausen, until the 1970s (Amt für Statistik und Stadtforschung der Stadt Duisburg, 1982). A steel mill of Friedrich Krupp Hüttenwerke AG is located here. On the other hand, a large plant of Mannesmann AG is located in Hüttenheim and the southern part of Duisburg including this ward was an independent municipality until 1929 as well as Hamborn. Hochfeld lies in the original area of Duisburg and includes an industrial district on the Rhine.

Housing for workers was developed near each core of manufacturing, and commercial activities were located in each onetime independent city. In brief, it is true that Duisburg is today a single metropolitan municipality, but it is a multipolarized city. Turks lived numerously near each industrial core and the LQ was also high at the cores. We find no complete spatial segregation of ethnic minorities on ward level in Duisburg as well as in Munich. Even in the wards, in which Turks or some other ethnic minority congregated and the LQ was very high, the proportion of the ethnic minority to the total number of inhabitants did not reach more than 40 per cent. But the degree of congregation of ethnic minorities was higher in Duisburg than in

Munich. While foreigners hardly occupied more than 30 per cent of the total inhabitants in any ward of Munich, Duisburg had a few wards where the figure reached more than 30 per cent. Especially in Hüttenheim, Turks accounted for about 37 per cent of the inhabitants. Duisburg was unique in this sense.

Figure 2 Spatial distribution and Location Quotient of Turkish Inhabitants in Duisburg, 1978.



Source Unpublished Data of the Amt für Statistik und Stadtforschung der Stadt Duisburg.

Table 3 shows that the order of spatial segregation of ethnic minorities from Germans in 1978 was in Duisburg similar to the one in Munich. Hollanders, who resemble the Germans in the lower Rhine area in ethnicity, resided in Duisburg very similar way to Germans in a spatial sense, very like the relation between Austrians and Bavarians in Munich. The only difference between Duisburg and Munich was the order of Greeks and Spaniards.

We must notice that the degree of spatial segregation in Duisburg was not so high in the early 1970s. Foreigners were distributed in those days much more equally throughout this city than in the late 1970s. If we include Rheinhausen which was

Table 3 ID Between Ethnic Groups in Duisburg, Above Diagonal: 1978 and below Diagonal: 1990

	Ger.	Ita.	Spa.	Gre.	Yug.	Tur.	Hol.	Mor.	Pol.	Oth.
Germans		26.5	47.6	57.9	33.7	42.1	18.8	-	-	16.7
Italiens	26.7		40.4	49.4	28.4	36.5	29.3	-	-	26.3
Spaniards	41.2	32.6		50.5	40.0	48.0	45.7	-	-	43.9
Greeks	50.2	42.2	44.4		43.9	56.7	53.8	-	-	52.7
Yugoslavs	33.5	26.1	32.7	35.0		28.9	31.3	-	-	28.4
Turks	42.8	41.2	46.3	54.5	31.5		45.8	-	-	38.8
Hollanders	14.8	27.4	37.2	46.7	30.3	44.5		-	-	18.7
Moroccans	44.2	39.9	47.6	43.5	31.2	35.6	42.3		-	-
Poles	30.2	29.5	45.3	49.3	37.8	49.6	28.3	44.6		-
Others	22.2	22.9	36.4	39.0	23.2	41.4	19.8	36.7	28.2	

Source Calculated from the statistical materials offered by the Amt für Statistik und Stadtforschung Duisburg.

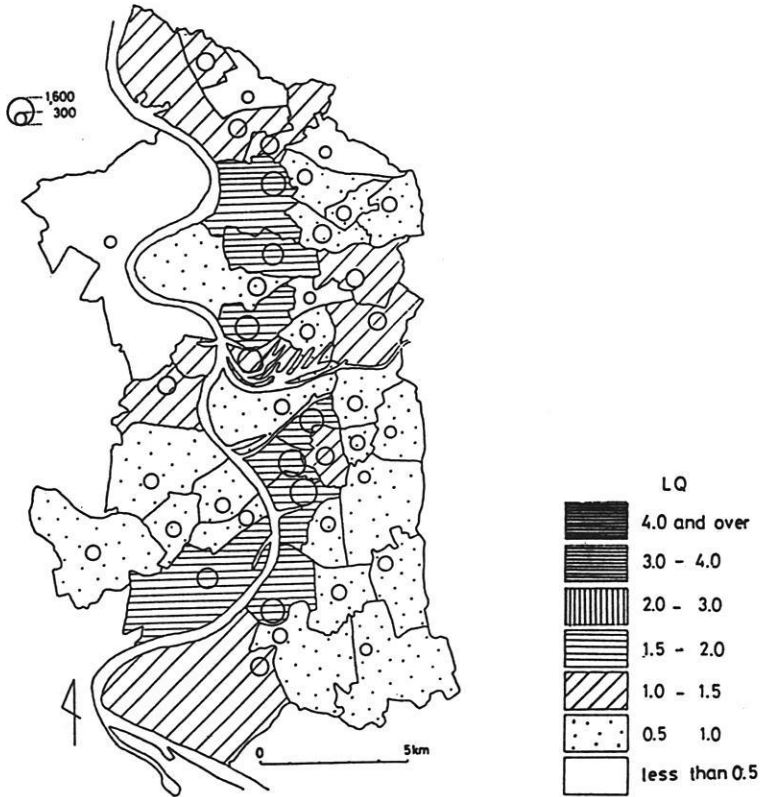
then a city independent of Duisburg, the area of Duisburg was divided into 42 polling districts, each of which had a population between 11,000 and 17,000 in 1970. Most of the districts belonged to a population scale between 12,000 and 16,000. Foreigners made up about 4.8 per cent of roughly 592,000 inhabitants in 1970. There was no polling district in which foreigners occupied more than 10 per cent of the inhabitants, and only one polling district indicated less than 2 per cent of this figure (Figure 3). As a result, the ID was low, only 18.3.

However, in 1979 it reached 29.1. This figure approximates the ID between foreigners and Germans on the basis of Duisburg's 46 wards in 1978. In these ten years, the number of foreigners doubled in this city, and several polling districts experienced an increase rate of more than three times, in particular Marxloh, Obermarxloh, Bruckhausen, Obermeiderich, Hochfeld, Hochemmerich and Hüttenheim. This sharp increase of foreigners in several specific districts is attributed to the influx of family members of the "guest" workers. Therefore, it may well be interpreted that the severeness of spatial segregation in Duisburg had some relationship with the process of family reunification. But this process *per se* did not bring about the high degree of spatial segregation. The type of housing is very important for this process.

There were some cases which witnessed the increase of the ID (Table 3). Turks and Italians, for example, showed a small increase of the ID in relation to Germans. The index became larger between Turks and Italians, and also between Turks and

Yugoslavs. On the contrary, we find a remarkable decrease of the ID also in this city, as exemplified for Spaniards.

Figure 3 Spatial Distribution and Location Quotient of Foreign Inhabitants in Duisburg, 1970.



Source Amt für Statistik und Stadtforschung der Stadt Duisburg: Strukturdaten für die Duisburger Wahlbezirke und Wahlkreise, 1979.

Table 3 shows the cases of Moroccans and Poles below the diagonal. These ethnic minorities indicate rather high IDs. Spatial distance between Moroccans and Germans is higher in comparison with that between Turks and Germans. Moroccans came to Duisburg as "guest" workers until the early 1970s just like Turks, while Poles came after the recent political and economic conversion in their mother country.

Although Duisburg has not seen any radical change of the spatial pattern of residence of the ethnic minorities since the late 1970s, there is a tendency for Turks to congregate in some wards in the ex-independent city Hamborn. On the other hand, the population of Turks has stagnated in Duisburg in the narrow sense and

decreased in Hüttenheim. The latter is attributed to the massive return migration in the mid 1980s, as Turks were dismissed or compelled to work short time by Mannesmann AG and returned to their home country, receiving the return bonus through legislation in November 1983⁴⁾.

Which city shows more severe spatial segregation, either Munich or Duisburg?

The IDs in Duisburg are generally higher than those in Munich. This may be due to difference of the scale of areal unit for the calculation of the IDs. The areal unit is larger in Munich than in Duisburg, and the number of areal units is fewer in Munich than in Duisburg (Table 4). Therefore it is logical that the IDs are generally larger in Duisburg than in Munich. However, Munich shows a very low ID, even if we divide this city into more than 400 areal units (Table 5). This means that the spatial segregation of alien fellow-citizens is much more moderate in Munich than in Duisburg.

III. Significance of Housing for Spatial Segregation

1. Inapplicability of the classical theory to West Germany

As I have analyzed above, the classical theory of spatial segregation of ethnic minorities is not strictly applicable to the alien fellow-citizens in German cities, because Greeks who are considered to be culturally nearer to Germans than Turks show a larger ID to Germans than that between Turks and Germans both in Munich and Duisburg. There are also a number of small IDs between ethnic minorities whose culture differs markedly from each other, or who may well have antipathy to each other in the light of international political relations. The other inapplicability of the classical theory can be found because of the variety of changes of the IDs in the last twenty years between Munich and Duisburg and among ethnic minorities. These facts suggest that the structural factor or the factor "constraint" peculiar to each city is more important to the residential distribution of ethnic minorities in the West German cities than the factor "choice" of ethnic minorities⁵⁾. O'LOUGHLIN (1987a) also points out the importance of the structural factors.

Then, what kind of structural factors are important to the geographical distribution? Paradoxically, the clue to this lies in a factor common to the cities. Although the IDs are highly varied according to city as well as according to minority group, the areas where ethnic minorities congregate and concentrate resemble each other in Munich and Duisburg. That is to say, they often reside either just near an industrial district or within the inner city. It is also noticeable that they concentrate in wards where high-rise apartment buildings have been developed as publicly assisted dwellings⁶⁾ since the 1960s, at least in Munich. These facts suggest the importance of types of housing for the spatial segregation of ethnic minorities in West German cities.

Table 4 Scale of Wards or Subwards in Munich and Duisburg

Whole area (km ²) Year	Munich		Duisburg	
	1971	1990	1970	1978
Population Scale				
under 1,000		131		
1,000 - 4,999		239		5
5,000 - 9,999	1	59		14
10,000 - 14,999	2	12	25	9
15,000 - 19,999	5	1	17	12
20,000 - 29,999	9			6
30,000 - 39,999	4			
40,000 - 49,999	5			
50,000 - 59,999	3			
60,000 - 69,999	5			
70,000 - 79,999	1			
80,000 - 89,999	0			
90,000 - 99,999	0			
100,000 - 149,999	1			
Number of wards	36	442	42	46

Sources Statistical offices of Munich and Duisburg

Table 5 ID between Germans and foreigners in Munich and Duisburg

Year	Munich			Duisburg			
	1971	1975	1990	1970	1978	1979	1990
Number of Wards	36	429	442	42	42	46	46
ID	15.2	25.0	21.5	18.3	29.1	31.8	31.7

Sources Statistical offices of Munich and Duisburg

O'LOUGHLIN (1987b: 66) rightly points out that the invasion-succession model does not fit the process in the West German cities. Germans leave the inner city by intra-metropolitan migration not because of fear of foreigners' invasion, but simply because they can find more modern and comfortable dwellings somewhere else in the city or suburbs. He does not, however, sufficiently take into account the housing sector peculiar to West Germany.

In this country, it is usually not easy to find a suitable dwelling on the market, not only for foreigners but also for Germans. It takes even Germans several months or much longer to find a dwelling to move in. The housing situation in West German cities is quite different from US American cities, where people can freely choose a residential place or municipality at least for the middle and upper class. The market mechanism plays a more important role in the US American housing sector, although public housing cannot be ignored, in particular for the lower class. On the contrary, government intervention was great for housing of the wide-ranging middle class as well as of the lower class in West Germany, although the government sector did and does not supply accommodation directly.

Housing conditions vary among West German cities, too. It has been difficult even for the middle class to get a suitable dwelling especially in the large cities such as Munich⁷⁾, the economies of which have flourished since the "economic miracle" in the 1950s. On the contrary, housing conditions were not so tight in the depressed cities such as Duisburg, at least until the late 1980s.

O'LOUGHLIN (1987b: 58-68) rightly pays attention to housing in West Germany, where a large number of ethnic minorities live in rental apartments of poor quality, which are frequently located in the inner city and were developed before World War II or even in the late 19th century (O'LOUGHLIN 1987b: 63). But he misses the significance of publicly assisted dwellings in certain German cities. The dwellings of this type have been massively supplied in particular by the charitable and co-operative housing corporations⁸⁾. It is generally considered that alien fellow-citizens do not live in such dwellings, but this belief should be reexamined. In this paper, the significance of publicly assisted dwellings and charitable and co-operative housing corporations is described for Duisburg and Munich as examples.

2. Significance of a charitable and co-operative housing corporation for the spatial segregation of ethnic minorities in Duisburg

According to the public relations magazine of the Thyssen concern (Thyssen aktuell, 1983), there are in Duisburg a lot of dwellings which were built by the coal and steel corporations at the turn of the 19th and the 20th century to accommodate a large number of Polish Germans in those days. The Thyssen concern, which was the largest employer in the onetime large city, Hamborn, and is also now the largest in Duisburg, owned about 6,700 dwellings in 1913. Only employees of the concern were allowed to live in such dwellings. But in the early 1920s, a law for mining

workers' dwellings was enacted and the connection of dwelling with employment was relaxed. Then in the Nazi period, three charitable and co-operative housing corporations were established and these inherited the company dwellings from the coal and steel corporation, Vereinigte Stahlwerke AG. The Thyssen concern had been amalgamated into this corporation in 1926.

One of the three corporations for housing was Rheinische Wohnstätte AG, the predecessor of Thyssen Wohnstätte AG. At the end of World War II, this corporation owned 22,603 dwellings, of which about 8,000 were not completely suitable for living and a considerable number were out of order. The housing corporation repaired them and newly built more than 16,000 dwellings between 1948 and 1974⁹⁾. Thyssen Wohnstätte AG was born in this year through the reorganization of Rheinische Wohnstätte AG and has continued to build apartment houses for workers. The number of dwellings belonging to that housing corporation reached about 47,000 in 1983 (Thyssen aktuell, 1983).

German workers moved into the newly built apartment houses and as the old dwellings of poor quality became vacant as a result, some of them were utilized as dormitories for "guest" workers who left their families behind in their home countries (Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, 1970). As such workers reunified their families in Duisburg, the housing corporation made the old dwellings available to the ethnic minorities. A "guest" worker could get permission to reunify his or her family members from the German authorities, only after he or she had occupied a dwelling large enough to live with family members. Because of the number of vacant dwellings, it was easier for the "guest" workers in Duisburg to reunify their families than in Munich. And as such dwellings were concentrated in a specific area of Duisburg because of the history of urban development in this city, the degree of spatial segregation has become more severe.

The behavior of the charitable and co-operative housing corporation caused the filtering down of dwellings from the German working class to the ethnic minorities. Prejudice and intentional discrimination did not work in this process. Needless to say, most of the "guest" workers residing in such dwellings are employed by the Thyssen concern, because the housing corporation is a subsidiary of Thyssen AG. But if they retire at the age limit, and even if they leave the company and are employed by another employer, they may continue to live there¹⁰⁾.

In the northern part of Duisburg, there are a number of housing blocks, of which Turks are often more than 90 per cent of the inhabitants (Table 6). These are usually classified as to the type of dwelling described above. A similar history is found in the other places such as Hüttenheim and Hochemmerich. Mannesmann AG played an important role in the former ward, and Friedrich Krupp Hüttenwerke AG in the latter.

Therefore, the spatial segregation of ethnic minorities has not come about as a result of intentional discrimination by Germans against the ethnic minorities. If anything, it has been constrained by the history and geography of housing construction. In other words, the rapid development of Duisburg as a coal and steel

Table 6 Population of a Block in the Northern Area of Duisburg

Age Group	Germans	Foreigners	% of foreigners
0 - 4	0	105	100.0
5 - 9	3	80	96.4
10 - 14	1	127	99.2
15 - 19	2	137	98.6
20 - 24	4	112	96.6
25 - 29	7	68	90.7
30 - 34	7	57	89.1
35 - 39	3	54	91.7
40 - 44	6	63	91.3
45 - 49	2	61	96.8
50 - 54	9	56	86.2
55 - 59	5	29	85.3
60 - 64	9	8	47.1
65 - 69	10	2	46.7
70 - 74	13	0	0.0
75 - 79	5	1	16.7
80 - 84	8	0	0.0
85 - 89	1	0	0.0
90 - 94	1	1	50.0
Total	96	961	90.9

Source Stadt Duisburg. Amt für Wohnungswesen. Bevölkerungsstatistik, Einwohner mit Hauptsitz in Duisburg am 30.06.1992.

industrial city between the late 19th century and the first half of the 20th century has conditioned the spatial distribution of ethnic minorities in this city since the 1970s.

Even if the old housing block has been redeveloped, the foreign inhabitants can continue to live in the renewed dwellings at lower rent. The renewal is often practiced through public financing at low interest from the Federal, Land and Communal governments. Public financing demands that priority should be given to the socially weak on the occasion of the allotment of the renewed dwellings. For example, a housing block in Marxloh was renewed in the early 1980s through the aid of public financing. It is owned by the Thyssen Wohnstätte AG. The proportion of alien fellow-citizens had been 83 per cent and foreign households had made up 72 per cent

before the renewal. Just after it, foreign households decreased only slightly to about 70 per cent and then sank to 63 per cent after one year. But this figure has remained until now because the public authorities financed the renewal of the dwellings on the condition that at least of 63 per cent of tenants should be foreigners (ZIEGLER 1985, and personal communication with him in 1991).

3. Significance of publicly assisted dwellings for spatial segregation of ethnic minorities in Munich

Admittedly, although a large number of foreigners obviously do not live in the publicly assisted dwellings, we cannot ignore the role of housing of this type for foreigners. The publicly assisted dwellings have become more and more important for accommodation of ethnic minorities in Munich since the late 1970s. For example, 11,548 dwellings of this type were allocated to alien fellow-citizens in this city between 1977 and 1988, although no more than 1,500 dwellings were allocated to them before 1977 (Referat für Stadtplanung und Bauordnung der Landeshauptstadt München, 1990).

According to this source material, approximately 9,900 alien fellow-citizens rented the publicly assisted dwellings in 1989. This figure is smaller than the cumulative number of dwellings allocated to the fellow-citizens, partly because some left the publicly assisted dwellings and partly because some dwellings have ceased to be classified as publicly assisted after full repayment of the debt by the housing corporation concerned.

There are a lot of publicly assisted dwellings especially in Ramersdorf-Perlach and Schwabing-Nord/Milbertshofen (Table 7). Ethnic minorities and especially Turks have lived in these two wards. A new town has been developed in Ramersdorf-Perlach since the late 1960s and a large number of high-rise apartment buildings have been constructed with public aid. The quality of dwelling of this type is not bad, but some of these are not popular among Germans.

Contrary to the statements of some researchers (O'LOUGHLIN 1987b: 64), application for publicly assisted dwellings is open to alien fellow-citizens and a large number of ethnic minorities do live there. The alien fellow-citizens are, however, restricted in their access to the housing of this type. The condition is in general the length of residence in the municipality concerned. Taking the case of Munich, an alien fellow-citizen has a right to apply to the authorities for accommodation in publicly assisted housing, if he or she has lived in the city for at least three years continually. Germans and citizens from the EC countries could apply until 1991, if they had lived in Munich for one year. In this sense, there was discrimination against non EC citizens. But Germans and other EC citizens must now wait for three years to obtain the right to apply for publicly assisted dwellings¹¹⁾.

Nevertheless, non EC citizens are still now underprivileged, because their family members living in their home countries must not be taken into account on the occa-

Table 7 Number of Publicly Assisted Dwellings According to City Wards in Munich 1989

City Wards	Publicly assisted	Total dwellings	A/B %	LQ publicly assisted	LQ of foreigners 1990	Foreign tenants	
						Number	% to publicly assisted
1. Altstadt	211	4,608	4.6	0.29	1.69	21	9.9
5. Maxvorstadt-Universität	580	6,780	8.6	0.54	0.94	77	13.2
6. Maxvorstadt-KP-Marsfeld	714	10,514	6.8	0.43	1.40	55	7.7
7. Maxvorstadt-Josephplatz	1,008	10,660	9.5	0.60	0.98	85	8.4
9. Ludwigsvorstadt	98	4,891	2.0	0.13	2.04	15	15.3
10. Isarvorstadt-Schlachthofv.	279	8,009	3.5	0.22	2.02	27	9.6
11. Isarvorstadt-Glockenbachv.	597	9,325	6.4	0.40	1.41	53	8.8
12. Isarvorstadt-Deutsches M.	325	4,726	6.9	0.43	1.49	37	11.3
13. Lehel	236	6,813	3.5	0.22	0.85	9	3.8
14. Haidhausen	1,395	17,104	8.2	0.52	1.42	271	19.4
16. Au	2,043	12,221	16.7	1.05	1.14	194	9.4
17. Obergiesing	4,556	24,945	18.3	1.15	1.39	409	8.9
18. Untergiesing	2,259	26,140	8.6	0.54	0.79	154	6.8
19. Sendling	2,304	18,401	12.5	0.79	1.21	161	6.9
20. Schwanthalershöhe	1,586	13,368	11.9	0.75	2.10	222	14.0
21. Neuhausen-Oberwiesenfeld	2,011	11,844	17.0	1.07	1.14	164	8.0
22. Schwabing-Freimann	3,965	30,467	13.0	0.82	0.94	360	9.0
23. Neuhausen-Nymphenburg	2,017	20,552	9.8	0.62	0.71	126	6.2
24. Thalkirchen-Obersending-F-F.	4,604	29,431	15.6	0.98	0.94	236	5.0
25. Laim	5,123	27,280	18.8	1.18	0.67	332	6.3
26. Schwabing-West	812	18,327	4.4	0.28	0.94	71	8.7
27. Schwabing-Nord/Milbertshofen	10,456	47,848	21.9	1.38	1.23	1,264	11.4
28. Neuhausen-Moosach	7,196	34,707	20.7	1.30	0.88	615	8.0
29. Bogenhausen	2,982	35,494	8.4	0.53	0.75	190	6.3
30. Ramersdorf/Perlach	12,953	44,214	29.3	1.84	1.12	1,954	13.7
31. Berg am Laim	4,409	17,902	24.6	1.55	0.89	352	7.7
32. Trudering	442	15,569	2.8	0.18	0.64	22	5.2
33. Hasenberg/Feldmoching	8,876	21,650	41.0	2.58	0.97	824	9.1
34. Waldfriedhofviertel	4,737	24,869	19.0	1.19	0.79	389	8.2
35. Pasing	3,067	18,665	16.4	1.03	0.76	164	5.3
36. Solln	249	10,969	2.3	0.14	0.58	8	3.2
37. Obermenzing	218	9,591	2.3	0.14	0.44	4	1.8
38. Allach-Untermenzing	550	10,392	5.3	0.33	0.96	46	8.3
39. Aubing	3,975	12,847	30.9	1.94	0.76	439	11.0
40. Lochhausen-Langwied	68	2,209	3.1	0.19	0.49	4	5.8
41. Hadern	5,347	20,786	25.7	1.62	0.72	525	9.8
Munich in total	102,228	643,858	15.9	1.00	1.00	9,879	9.7

Sources Sozialreferat der Landeshauptstadt München (1990). *Statistisches Jahrbuch München* 1990. *Statistisches Jahrbuch München* 1991.

sion of the application. Generally speaking, a poorer household with several children is given priority to live in a publicly assisted dwelling. But even if alien fellow-citizens have lived in Munich for more than three years, and if they lived by themselves, they do not have a chance to get a publicly assisted dwelling. They must depend first of all on the private housing market, if they want to reunify their family members.

The number of accepted applications for publicly assisted dwellings differs from the number of actual tenants. Table 8 shows the proportions of seven nationalities to the total in each year between 1977 and 1989 concerning these numbers. Germans were obviously privileged in comparison with alien fellow-citizens, and Turks were the most underprivileged among foreigners especially until the early 1980s. But it is also noticeable that the proportions of Germans tend to decrease and that the gap between the accepted applications and the actual contracts is not so great as before. On the other hand, the proportion of Turks to the total contracts has increased gradually, and the gap between the proportion of applications and the proportion of contracts has become smaller.

Foreigners make up a higher percentage of the accepted applicants for a larger dwelling and the Munich authorities do introduce more foreign candidates to a landlord than Germans, if he supplies a larger dwelling. In 1990, for example, the Bureau of Housing of Munich introduced twelve households of alien fellow-citizens and three German households to a landlord of Hansapark. The landlord was going to rent four dwellings with a size of 4.5 rooms. On the other hand, the Bureau introduced only thirteen alien fellow-citizens and 79 German households for 33 dwellings of 2.5 or 3 rooms (Sozialreferat der Landeshauptstadt München, 1990).

The Munich municipality has adopted a policy that foreigners should not concentrate in a specific area. Concerning publicly assisted housing, the proportion of foreign inhabitants to the total in an apartment house should be under 20 per cent. This policy has been adopted since 1985. Although it is difficult to achieve this target at all times, almost all the wards record under 20 per cent of foreign tenants to the total who rent publicly assisted dwellings. The percentage is higher in wards where the proportion of foreigners to the total inhabitants is higher (Table 7). Taking into account the difference of family size between Germans and alien fellow-citizens, it is clear that publicly assisted dwellings are one of the important factors why ethnic minorities congregate and concentrate in Schwabing-Nord/Milbertshofen and Ramersdorf-Perlach.

From some considerable time before, especially since the 1960s, Munich has suffered from a more severe housing shortage in comparison with the other large cities in West Germany. There are a relatively smaller number of vacant dwellings in this city. It is the tight housing market and the discriminatory policy of publicly assisted dwellings against foreigners that have led to the lower degree of spatial segregation. One can say paradoxically that alien fellow-citizens do not concentrate in specific areas in Munich because of discrimination, whereas their counterparts

Table 8 Numbers of Applications For and Actual Contracts of Publicly Assisted Dwellings According to Nationalities in Munich between 1977 and 1989

Year	Number of applications at 31. Dec.		Number of contracts in each year		Proportions of each nationality to the number of applications and contracts																	
	A		B		Germans		Greeks		Italians		Yugoslavs		Austrians		Spaniards		Turks					
					A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B				
1977	8,220		5,535		79.5		1.7		1.7		4.2		1.2		0.1		7.8					
1978	9,632		3,849		76.3	89.1	1.9	0.9	1.8	0.8	5.7	2.6	1.2	1.2	0.2	0.1	9.6	2.9				
1979	12,398		3,661		75.4	86.5	1.9	0.8	1.8	1.3	4.8	3.2	1.2	1.3	0.2	0.1	10.9	4.9				
1980	13,312		3,686		73.9	86.3	1.9	0.9	1.6	1.0	5.2	3.0	1.0	1.3	0.2	0.1	12.4	5.1				
1981	12,930		3,929		72.0	84.3	1.7	1.5	2.0	1.3	5.1	3.6	1.1	1.0	0.2	0.2	12.8	5.3				
1982	12,310		4,826		72.7	85.3	1.6	1.2	2.0	1.0	5.1	2.9	1.2	1.1	0.1	0.1	10.4	5.0				
1983	11,762		4,955		75.2	81.3	1.5	1.1	1.8	1.6	4.8	3.5	1.0	1.1	0.1	0.0	8.1	5.6				
1984	9,383		6,438		75.7	80.6	1.4	1.4	1.6	1.8	4.7	4.1	1.0	1.0	0.1	0.1	6.7	5.1				
1985	11,637		7,030		74.8	76.0	1.2	1.5	1.6	1.5	4.9	4.8	1.0	1.2	0.1	0.3	7.1	6.5				
1986	17,119		6,214		71.4	78.3	1.3	1.2	2.1	1.4	5.3	4.3	1.0	1.1	0.1	0.2	8.5	5.9				
1987	16,649		5,836		69.6	77.6	1.7	1.0	2.0	1.5	5.8	4.3	1.1	1.1	0.1	0.1	8.9	7.3				
1988	16,218		5,444		69.0	76.5	1.8	1.3	2.1	1.6	6.6	4.5	1.2	1.1	0.1	0.1	10.6	8.3				
1989	14,180		5,526		68.7	72.2	2.0	1.8	2.2	2.0	6.0	5.7	1.1	1.1	0.1	0.1	11.3	9.7				

Source Referat für Stadtplanung und Bauordnung der Landeshauptstadt München (1990)

concentrate in specific areas in Duisburg because of the generous behavior of housing corporations¹²⁾ and Land and communal governments.

IV. Conclusion

In comparison with American cities, there is some uniqueness of spatial segregation of ethnic minorities in West German cities. That is to say, the degree of spatial segregation does not accurately reflect the social distance between ethnic groups. Uniqueness is to be found in the spatial segregation in each West German city, too. Although we have found similarities in the characteristics of areas where ethnic minorities congregate and concentrate, there are differences among West German cities concerning the degree of spatial segregation, the order of spatial distance of ethnic minorities from Germans and these changes since the 1970s differ from city to city.

These facts cannot be explained well by the approach which emphasizes only the free choice of individuals. I adopted here an approach, focusing on the structural factors and behavior of housing subjects. The most important factor is the difference between housing markets among the cities. The historical heritage of housing and the behavior of a charitable and co-operative housing corporation explain the strong concentration of alien fellow-citizens in specific areas of Duisburg. The severe tightness of housing market has an effect on the prevention of foreigners' concentration in specific areas of Munich. In addition to this, the discriminatory housing policy of the municipality is one of the factors which have brought about the dispersion of ethnic minorities in Munich, although we should admit that it is not always discriminatory against alien fellow-citizens.

NOTES

- 1) According to the research of the Federal Bureau of Labor in 1968, nearly 40 per cent of the "guest" workers from the countries with which the West German government had made a bilateral recruitment agreement are already reunified with their spouses. The ratio was high especially for Greeks (61 per cent), but low for Turks (28 per cent). There were a lot of unmarried "guest" workers and if we take these people into account, the ratio of reunification of family members would actually become higher than these percentages. It was estimated that about 250,000 children had joined their parents (Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, 1970: 53-57).
- 2) We can understand the characteristics of US American cities from many studies of ethnic minorities in this country. MORRILL (1965: 342) writes, for example, "the ghetto is almost always in a zone peripheral to the central business district, often containing formerly elegant houses intermingled with commercial and light industrial uses."
- 3) To give a few examples, LEE (1977) uses LQ to illustrate the geographical distribution of immigrants in London, O'LOUGHLIN (1980) and YAMAMOTO (1980) present maps of LQ for "guest" workers and their families in West German cities, and MIK and VERKOOREN-HEMELAAR (1976) adopt this index to investigate the spatial segregation of Turks in Rotterdam and Utrecht.
- 4) According to a local newspaper (Rheinische Post, 18. May 1966), Mannesmann AG was the corporation employing most Turks in Duisburg in the mid 1960s. In those days, approximately 3,500 Turks worked in this city and the population including family members reached about 8,000 or 9,000. In the early 1980s, however, the corporation urged many of Turkish workers to return to their home country, because it fell into very bad business. Between late 1983 and early 1984,

roughly 900 Turkish workers of the corporation went back to Turkey, after receiving the returning premium (Neue Ruhr Zeitung, 24. Jan. 1984).

- 5) "Constraint" means structure which necessarily leads to the concentration of a specific group in a specific area. "Choice" means voluntary decision-making of an individual (JACKSON and SMITH 1981).
- 6) Publicly assisted dwellings are owned neither by the central government nor by the local governments, but by various housing companies including charitable and co-operative housing corporations or individuals. The public authorities in West Germany do not construct dwellings by themselves. They merely promote housing through financing at low interest and providing tax incentives. The dwellings for rent, which are constructed with public aid, ought to be rented for certain years only to persons who have been officially recognized to need housing urgently. The rent is much lower than the dwellings constructed through private financing. If the constructing subject has paid all the debt to the public sector, the dwellings may be rented in the free private market. It is a local government that supervises the publicly assisted dwellings. But it does not have authority to allocate dwellings to specific persons. It can only introduce a few candidates for a tenant to a landlord. It is the landlord that decides his or her tenant (Sozialreferat der Landeshauptstadt München, 1990; HELLBERG 1982; ANDRITZKY, BECKER and SELLE 1975; MUSSEL 1979; WOLOWICZ 1990).
- 7) KREIBICH (1982) describes the difficulty in getting a suitable dwelling through an example of a civil servant who works at the municipality office of Stuttgart. KOCH (1982) estimates that shortage of dwellings prevailed even in the late 1970s, although housing supply seemed to exceed the demand statistically. According to HÜBNER and ROHLFS (1988: 119), housing conditions are especially tight in Frankfurt am Main, Stuttgart, Munich and other southern large cities, and less so in northern and western Germany. According to the Bundesforschungsanstalt für Landeskunde und Raumordnung (1976), the rent of dwellings constructed before 1949 was lower in Berlin (West) and Duisburg than in Stuttgart and Munich. This was also the case with the rent of dwellings constructed since 1958 through private financing in the market.
- 8) The charitable and co-operative housing corporations are restricted not to exceed their profit allotment to capital per year of more than 4 per cent and they are also regulated to be audited by the authorities every year. Instead of the restriction, they gain finance at low interest. There were in 1972 more than 2,000 housing corporations of this sort in West Germany and the largest was Neue Heimat, a subsidiary of the German Federation of Trade Unions (DGB: Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund) (ANDRITZKY, BECKER and SELLE 1975: 354).
- 9) It is proved from issues of the public relations magazine of the Thyssen concern (unsere ATH until 1976 and Thyssen aktuell since 1977) that this corporation actively constructed new flats between the 1950s and the early 1970s.
- 10) This information is based on my hearing from Mr. ZIEGLER and from a Turk residing in Duisburg.
- 11) The information about the publicly assisted dwellings in Munich is based on my hearing from the person in charge of the Bureau of Housing of Munich. The regulations of the dwellings of this type may be different from city to city. I will reconsider this question on another occasion.
- 12) We can interpret the behavior of the charitable and co-operative housing corporation in Duisburg not as generous but as inevitable, because it could not utilize its old housing blocks if it would not rent these to foreigners. Anyway, the manufacturing corporation which holds the housing company must rely on the labor force of foreigners. The word "generous" is appropriate only in the meaning that the permission for reunification of family members is easily issued through the behavior of the housing corporations by the authorities.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Amt für Statistik und Stadtforschung der Stadt Duisburg 1982. Statistisches Jahrbuch 1980.
- ANDRITZKY, M., BECKER, P. and SELLE, G. eds. 1975. Labyrinth Stadt. Planung und Chaos im Städtebau. Ein Handbuch für Bewohner. Köln: DuMont Schauberg.
- Bundesforschungsanstalt für Landeskunde und Raumordnung 1976. Atlas zur Raumentwicklung. Bd. 5, Wohnung. 5.05 Alter und Ausstattung der Wohnung and 5.07 Mieten.
- Bundesanstalt für Arbeit 1970. Ausländische Arbeitnehmer. Beschäftigung, Anwerbung, Vermittlung - Erfahrungsbericht 1969-. Ergebnisse der Repräsentativ-Untersuchung vom Herbst 1968, 18. Jg., Nürnberg.
- DUNCAN, O.D. and DUNCAN, B. 1955a. "A methodological analysis of segregation indexes", American Sociological Review, 20, reprinted in PEACH (1975: 35-47).

- DUNCAN, O.D. and DUNCAN, B. 1955b. "Residential distribution and occupational stratification", American Journal of Sociology, 60, reprinted in PEACH (1975: 51-66).
- FREUNDLIEB, K. 1930. Allgemeine und wirtschaftliche Entwicklung der Stadt Hamborn a. Rhein unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Bodenpreisgestaltung in den Jahren 1880/1914. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der hohen Staatswissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Bayer. Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg.
- GLEBE, G. 1984. "Tendenzen ethnischer Segregation und Konzentration von Gastarbeiterminoritäten in Düsseldorf 1974-1982", Zeitschrift für Wirtschaftsgeographie, 28: 91-111.
- GLEBE, G. and O'LOUGHLIN, J. eds. 1987. Foreign Minorities in Continental European Cities. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- HELLBERG, H. 1982. "Instrumente der Wohnungsbauförderung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland", in J. FRIEDRICHS et al. Wohnungspolitik und regionale Siedlungsentwicklung. Hannover: Curt R. Vincentz, pp. 127-151.
- HOFFMANN-NOWOTNY, H.-J. and HONDRICH, K.-O. eds. 1984. Ausländer in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und in der Schweiz. Segregation und Integration: Eine vergleichende Untersuchung. Frankfurt am Main: Campus.
- HÜBNER and ROHLFS 1988. Jahrbuch der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1988/1989. München: C.H. Beck.
- IPSEN, D. 1981. "Segregation, Mobilität und die Chancen auf dem Wohnungsmarkt. Eine empirische Untersuchung in Mannheim", Zeitschrift für Soziologie, 10: 256-272.
- JACKSON, P. and SMITH, S.J. eds. 1981. Social Interaction and Ethnic Segregation. London: Academic Press.
- JONES, Ph.N. 1990. "The declining guestworker population in West German cities: The case of Nuremberg", Urban Studies, 27: 571-582.
- KOCH, R. 1982. Wohnungsversorgung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in regionalen Vergleich, in J. FRIEDRICHS et al. Wohnungspolitik und regionale Siedlungsentwicklung. Hannover: Curt R. Vincentz, pp. 205-231.
- KREIBICH, V. 1982. "Determinanten des Standortverhaltens von Haushalten", in J. FRIEDRICHS et al. Wohnungspolitik und regionale Siedlungsentwicklung. Hannover: Curt R. Vincentz, pp. 19-43.
- KÜPPER, E. 1937. Hamborn. Vom Werden einer Großstadt. Duisburg: "Rhein" Verlagsgesellschaft.
- LEE, T.R. 1977. Race and Residence. The Concentration and Dispersal of Immigrants in London. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- MIK, G. and VERKOREN-HEMELAAR, M. 1976. "Segregation in the Netherlands and Turkish migration", in N. ABADAN-UNAT et al. Turkish Workers in Europe 1960-1975. Leiden: E.J. Brill, pp. 253-283.
- MORRILL, R.L. 1965. "The negro ghetto: problems and alternatives", Geographical Review, 55: 339-361.
- MUSSEL, Ch. 1979. "Wohnungsmarkt: Staatliche Eingriffe und Wohnungsversorgung", in M. ANDRITSKY and G. SELLE, eds. Lernbereich Wohnen. Didaktisches Sachbuch zur Wohnumwelt vom Kinderzimmer bis zur Stadt. Grundlagen, Materialien, Lernbeispiel, Bd.1, Historisches Wohnweisen, Politisch-ökonomisches Bedingungen, Wohnraum und Wohnung, Wohnverhalten, Reinbek: Rowohlt, pp. 54-64.
- Neue Ruhr Zeitung 24. Jan. 1984. "NRZ-Report: Auszug der Türken. Der Rückweg in die alte Heimat ist mit Geld gepflastert".
- O'LOUGHLIN, J. 1980. "Distribution and migration of foreigners in German cities", Geographical Review, 70: 253-275.
- O'LOUGHLIN, J. 1987a. "Foreign minorities in continental European cities", in G. GLEBE and J. O'LOUGHLIN, eds. Foreign Minorities in Continental European Cities. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, pp. 9-29.
- O'LOUGHLIN, J. 1987b. "Chicago an der Ruhr or what?", in G. GLEBE and J. O'LOUGHLIN, eds. Foreign Minorities in Continental European Cities. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, pp. 52-69.
- O'LOUGHLIN, J. and GLEBE, G. 1981. "The location of foreigners in Düsseldorf: a causal analysis in a path analytic framework", Geographische Zeitschrift, 69: 81-97.
- O'LOUGHLIN, J. and GLEBE, G. 1984. "Residential segregation of foreigners in German cities", in Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie, 75: 273-284.
- PARK, R.E. 1926. "The urban community as a spatial pattern and moral order", in E.W. BURGESS, ed. The Urban Community. University of Chicago Press, reprinted in: PEACH 1975: 21-31.
- PEACH, C. ed. 1975. Urban Social Segregation. London, New York: Longman.
- PEACH, C. and SMITH, S. eds. 1981. Ethnic Segregation in Cities. London: Croom Helm.
- Referat für Stadtplanung und Bauordnung der Landeshauptstadt München 1990. Bericht zur Wohnungssituation in München 1988-1989. Mit Ergänzungen für das Jahr 1990. München.

- Rheinische Post 18. May 1966. "Ein Heim unter Stern und Halbmond. Türken haben jetzt ein Kulturzentrum auf der Siegstraße".
- Sozialreferat der Landeshauptstadt München 1990. Beschluß des Ausschusses für Jugend, Familie und Soziales vom 20.09.1990 (SB) in Bezug auf dem Antrag Nr.37 der Stadtratsfraktion der CSU vom 11.05.1990 "Skandalöse Bevorzugung bei der Sozialwohnungsvergabe an Ausländer verhindern".
- Thyssen aktuell 1983. "Wohnungen für eine Großstadt. Thyssen Wohnstätten AG hatte Goldjubiläum", 29, 12: 10-11.
- Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung 1970. "Umzug 2 Tage vor Weihnachten. Jeder Gastarbeiter hat Kühlfach und Kochplatte. Thyssen Hütte baut moderne Unterkunft".
- WOLOWICZ, E. 1990. "Zwischen Staatsintervention und freiem Spiel. Entwicklung der Wohnungsbau und Mietrechtspolitik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland", in Ch. UDE, ed. Wege aus der Wohnungsnot. München: Piper, pp. 13-54.
- YAMAMOTO, K. 1980. "Spatial segregation of the "Gastarbeiter Population" in Munich", Human Geography, 32: 214-237 (in Japanese with a summary in English).
- YAMAMOTO, K. 1987. "Social distance among ethnic groups and spatial segregation", in M. KOGA, ed. Problems of Segregation concerning the Third World. Tokyo: Hitotsubashi University, pp. 25-44 (in Japanese).
- ZIEGLER, W. 1985. "Soziale Stabilität erreicht. Gelingenes Sanierungsbeispiel der Thyssen Wohnstätte AG", Gemeinnütziges Wohnungswesen, 9: 528-541.