International Migration for Employment

Cohabitation of Germans and Foreigners in Districts of Düsseldorf

Peter König

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A. FOREWORD

This is a paper of the ILO’s International Migration for Employment Branch. The objectives of the Branch are to contribute to (1) the evaluation, formulation and application of international migration policies suited to the economic and social aims of governments, employers’ and workers’ organisations, and (2) the increase of equality of opportunity and treatment of migrants and the protection of their rights and dignity. Its means of action are (a) research and reports, (b) technical advisory services, (c) technical co-operation, (d) meetings and reports and (e) work concerned with international labour standards. The Branch also collects, analyses and disseminates relevant information and acts as the information source for ILO constituents, ILO units and other interested parties.

The traditional immigration countries of western Europe with large foreign populations on their soil have progressively come round to adopting policies designed to integrate those of the foreigners who wish to stay - leaving aside Luxembourg which consciously opted for a policy of assimilation. Integration is a somewhat imprecise term with many possible components in, for example, the institutional, economic and cultural spheres. As a policy of the national governments, there is much room for differential implementation at the local level, especially where the implementation of policies is decentralised through regional structures (as in Belgium and the Federal Republic of Germany) or through the political culture and traditions (as in the United Kingdom) and where initiatives can be taken at the communal, municipal or city level in response to locally perceived needs without prior approval at the national level.

The ILO considered that it might be useful to study in some depth how integration proceeds - after all, it is bound to be a process rather than a fixed end result - at the local level in selected countries: Belgium, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and the UK. It was felt that the utility of such studies would be enhanced if they were focussed on:

i) the cohabitation of nationals and non-nationals in their daily life, i.e. outside the place of work. This was based on the assumption that, whatever integration meant, it would not suffice to insert foreign workers more or less conflict-free in the production process, but one would have to ensure that people can peacefully live together and interact where they were free to oppose each other, ignore each other or rub shoulders and communicate in a normal way;

ii) the successful examples of cohabitation rather than the Kreuzbergs or Liverpools that suggest how things can go wrong without necessarily telling us why or what one can do about it. This was based on the assumption that “good” models provide the best insights.
P. König's case study for the Federal Republic of Germany selected two districts within the capital of the Land North-Rhine Westphalia, Düsseldorf, where interviews were held chiefly with staff members of public institutions and non-governmental organisations or associations whose main aim it is to help disadvantaged persons and who incidentally foster German-foreign cohabitation or simply the adaptation of foreigners to life in the Federal Republic of Germany. Special light is thrown on youth clubs, the problems experienced by foreign women and - one of the policy lessons that one may draw from this study - the need for closer co-operation among the relevant institutions, organisations and associations. The possibilities, difficulties and, indeed, limits of local-level activities are indicated clearly and the fact that there are, at present, no open conflicts between Germans and foreigners is judged to be something of a success.

June 1990

W.R. Böhning and C. Castro-Almeida
B. COHABITATION OF GERMANS AND FOREIGNERS IN
  DISTRICTS OF DUSSELDORF

by

Peter König
(Department for Labour and Social Research,
Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Bonn)
1. Definition of the problem

For almost 30 years now, foreign workers and their families have been living in the Federal Republic of Germany. In 1987, the resident foreign population amounted to 4.6 million, which is equivalent to 7.6% of the Federal Republic's total resident population (cf. Statistisches Bundesamt 1987).

Our own cross-sectional survey revealed that approx. 49% of the interviewed foreigners from European Community countries (Italians, Greeks, Spaniards and Portuguese) or third countries (Turks and Yugoslavs) have no contacts with the German population in their spare time (altogether some 6,100 people from those countries were interviewed). Of the 51% who maintain contacts with Germans, 54% regard the contacts as "good" and 38% would like closer ties. Foreigners meet with fellow countrymen much more frequently during their spare time (75%) (cf. König et al. 1986).

The aforementioned information on contacts between the resident German and foreign populations indicates that relations between sections of the two populations are not generally negative, though it is not known how intensive the contacts are and what subjects are involved. Yet it must be borne in mind that 49% of them have no contacts. No study exists on the reasons for the absence of contacts. At least the following factors might be feasible reasons: lack of opportunities for establishing contacts; the ties with fellow countrymen afford sufficient recreational activity; a negative view of former contacts with Germans; reservations in some cases.

Although we have previously pointed out that there are positive forms of coexistence of the two populations, it must also be stressed that recent surveys show significant reservations about foreigners among sections of the German population (Der Spiegel No. 16, 1989; Schultze 1989).
Numerous measures have been initiated at the supraregional and local levels to provide a framework and elements of interaction, but in many cases it has not been possible to improve decisively the relations between Germans and foreigners.

The absence of suitable activities would perpetuate the status quo, which is basically not desired by the majority of the foreign or indigenous population or by representatives from the political, administrative and business sectors. The question therefore arises of whether there are already examples or at least rudiments of positive coexistence of Germans and foreigners which could set the trend for other activities.

2. Objectives

To answer the foregoing question, the present study seeks to analyze interactions between the foreign and German populations that can be considered particularly significant for positive coexistence. On an empirical basis, successful inter-ethnic interactions, the underlying situations and participating actors (persons and institutions) as well as relevant contextual factors (e.g. accommodation, schooling, labour market) are examined within a locality. Furthermore, the study looks at the problem definitions and assessment criteria on the basis of which the interactions are regarded as "positive" by the participants. It also investigates the conditions existing in a locality that facilitate or hamper positive coexistence of foreigners and Germans.

The analysis of the aforementioned interactions does not serve purely academic purposes. It is also of practical political relevance: The findings are to be examined to ascertain whether they are applicable to other localities. In other words, the focus lies on the qualitative aspects that are to be taken account of elsewhere when planning and carrying out activities aimed at fostering positive coexistence of the foreign and indigenous populations.
3. Theoretical framework

3.1 General theoretical considerations

In this section we shall discuss some theoretical considerations which we bore in mind before starting the empirical phase and from which we derived the formulation of certain questions that are relevant to the definition of the problem and to the objectives of the project. Key questions are: What is the social situation of foreigners and the indigenous population, what attitudes, motives and goals exist on both sides, and to what extent do these objective (social situation) and subjective (attitudes, etc.) factors facilitate or impede the interaction of the two populations?

As a result of the migration of foreigners from EC and third countries, a situation exists where foreigners live predominantly in specific residential quarters within certain urban districts (cf. Bericht Stuttgart 1976; König et al. 1986; Mehrländer et al. 1981). In many urban districts there is spatial and social segregation of the foreign and German populations. The spatial concentration of the foreigners makes it easier for them to establish contacts, and these frequently give rise to lasting social ties that lead to stable forms of ethnic communal life. In the Federal Republic of Germany, a discussion is under way on the causes and effects of this development, the existing results of which can be applied to the questions of our study.

The formation of an ethnic community is considered to be subjectively perceived togetherness based on such features as nationality, language, way of life and religion (cf. Weber 1972: 21; 235 et seq.). It is also interpreted as a logical reaction by the immigrants to the living conditions in the host country (cf. Esser 1988: 240). Ethnic communities consist of social networks among families, acquaintances and ethnic organizations. These networks of persons and institutions enable the immigrants to meet social, cul-
tural, political, religious and even economic needs within the ethnic community, there often being no comparable opportunities outside the community (cf. Breitenbach 1984; Duymez 1988; Erichsen et al. 1987; Esser 1988; Fijalkowski 1988).

The significance of these inner-ethnic contacts and functions for the integration of foreigners is disputed. Elwert (cf. Elwert 1981) assumes that communal life of foreigners has positive effects for their establishment of viable contacts with German persons and institutions. He states that within the ethnic community foreigners are best able to acquire self-assurance and capacity for action and to develop a cultural identity (inward integration).

Esser doubts the unrestricted validity of Elwert's thesis because the assumed advantage of inward integration generally does not exist in practice as the "acquisition of inter-ethnic communication skills and other relevant qualifications" occurs scarcely or insufficiently (cf. Esser 1986: 112). Although - in Esser's opinion - inward integration certainly enhances self-assurance, there is as a result also a tendency towards social aloofness from the host society and foreigners are prevented from gaining the skills for achieving successful inter-ethnic interactions, advancing within the host society and securing access to central positions (e.g. vocational or political ones) (structural integration).

However, the formation of a community is not - as previously described - simply a process generated and carried out exclusively by the immigrants. The confinement to life in an ethnic community is also determined to a very decisive extent by social aloofness on the part of the host society's actors (persons and institutions). Consequently, the openness of the interactions is greatly reduced both internally (by the ethnic community) and externally (by the host society) (cf. Esser 1986: 113 et seq.).
Below an attempt is made to give greater substance to the foregoing considerations concerning the resident foreign and German populations by examining the relevance of community formation to interactions between Germans and foreigners.

3.2 Formation of communities and social differentiation of the resident foreign population in the Federal Republic of Germany

It was pointed out above that foreigners live in residential quarters where they have formed communities. However, in the light of available studies, it cannot be presumed that these are homogeneous entities. Instead it must be assumed that internally the foreign population is differentiated according to such features as occupational status, educational background, income and linguistic ability. Persons with an equally high occupational status and income do not necessarily form a social group (social network). Their contacts with the German population, their prospects for staying or returning to the country of origin, their religious, cultural and political outlooks and their affiliation to ethnic organizations strongly influence their membership of a social group; in other words, socio-economic factors (e.g. occupational status, income) may be secondary. According to existing findings, it has to be assumed that within the ethnic environment separate groups emerge with specific patterns of orientation and behaviour, which lead to different degrees of readiness to interact with the German population.

It cannot be stated definitively at present whether these differences between the groups are overridden or even eliminated by generational or age-related factors. Evidently some of the young foreigners still feel bound by the ethnic community or by certain social units of it (e.g. family, peer groups, ethnic organizations). But an increasing number of them are influenced by subjects, situations and actors (persons and institutions) of the host society and are thus becoming partly or wholly detached from the ethnic community.
Among other things, this is due to the considerably better command of German as well as the far better educational and vocational background of second-generation foreigners compared with those of the first generation and is reflected in contacts being established more frequently between young foreigners and Germans (cf. Hill 1984 and 1988; König/Schultze 1985; König et al. 1986).

However, it would be rash to infer from, say, the better command of German of young foreigners and their more frequent contacts with Germans that there is a generally growing readiness for coexistence of the two populations. Allerbeck et al. point out that an improved command of German may also lead to a "heightened awareness of the negative attitudes of Germans towards foreigners in general and towards Turks in particular" (cf. Allerbeck et al. 1984: 9). The perception of negative attitudes as a result of a better command of the language might reduce further the readiness for interaction.

The formation of communities and internal differentiation should be borne in mind when examining the question of whether or not interactions occur between foreigners and the indigenous population and how they are to be assessed. The same applies to the German population living in a district where there are foreigners. This is dealt with below.

3.3 Formation of communities and social differentiation of the German population

Although it can be shown on a macro scale (i.e. the Federal Republic of Germany as a whole) that the social situation of foreigners in relation to the German population clearly gives rise to a lower class, the differences in urban districts where foreigners and Germans jointly live are less serious, according to existing findings. Mainly the urban districts to which foreigners have moved are regarded by part of the indigenous population as less attractive' (e.g.
in terms of housing, infrastructure, prestige). Thus some German families have left these districts, provided that they could afford to do so. Left behind are those who feel linked by tradition to the districts, are unwilling to move elsewhere (especially older Germans) or have no alternatives (particularly ones of a financial nature) (cf. Bericht Stuttgart 1976).

The studies available suggest the following as regards community formation among the German population and stratification features. In urban districts with a high proportion of foreigners, the indigenous population most probably consists of persons and groups from the following environments (A classification of the environments is to be found in: Theorie und Praxis 1989: 2 et seq. It is of an ideal-typical nature and does not take special account of the foreign population.):

- **Traditional working class environment**

  This includes above all unskilled, semi-skilled or skilled manual workers who have low to medium incomes and low formal educational qualifications (e.g. lower-level secondary school). Furthermore, the proportion of older persons is relatively high. Typical of this environment are neighbourhood ties and the joint spending of spare time in pubs and clubs. The individuals do not feel isolated and anonymous; there is a feeling of solidarity, especially among workmates. This culture exists in traditional working class residential quarters in urban industrial areas. In family life, peaceful, relaxing and secure conditions are of key importance, and the distribution of roles between husband and wife is of the traditional type.

- **Non-traditional working class environment**

  In this environment, the jobless make up a high proportion. The level of education and occupational status are
generally low. Unlike the foregoing group, people in this environment are considered to lack social and cultural roots. They are not integrated in the traditional working class culture, the neighbourhood or the group of workmates.

- **Lower middle class environment**

This environment includes low-level non-manual workers and public employees. The ties and solidarity existing between them and the neighbourhood or acquaintances in the district are not as strong as in the traditional working class environment. However, their aims in life correspond largely to those of the traditional working class.

In terms of social situation, attitudes and lifestyles, the aforementioned environments differ decisively from others (e.g. the upward-orientated, technocratic-liberal and upper conservative environment). We presume that the three environments described above predominate in the urban districts relevant to the study. At least for part of this population (traditional working class environment), it can still be assumed that community formation occurs within a district. In the case of other sections of the German population (e.g. lower middle class environment), solidarity within a district is probably not all that strong, the family being the decisive place still having a community character (preservation of a private idyllic setting).

Rudiments of an answer to the question of whether these environments lead to specific segregation from the resident foreign population or to a readiness for interaction with it can be found in various studies. They relate mainly to young people.

As mentioned in section 3.1 (General theoretical considerations), young foreigners of all nationalities have far more contacts with Germans than do older foreigners. A study con-
ducted in 1983 on the attitude of young Germans towards foreigners revealed that the lower the social position and schooling, the greater the likelihood of a negative attitude towards foreigners. Turks receive the worst assessment of all nationalities. A possible explanation for this was given in the study: "Foreign workers compete with the lower class and the working class, not with the upper middle class, for jobs, housing and recreational areas" (Allerbeck et al. 1984: 6). This assumption is borne out by other studies. German workers with an insecure occupational position are more likely to adopt a negative attitude towards foreigners than those with secure employment (cf. Hill 1988). Since an urban district with a high proportion of foreigners has in most cases German inhabitants who objectively belong to the lower class, aloofness of the Germans from foreigners can be expected.

Group membership also affects attitudes and the readiness for contacts. The study by Hill shows that opinions of the group members determine to a decisive extent whether an individual member establishes, maintains or discontinues contacts with foreigners. If most members of the group are negatively disposed towards foreigners, even those who do not share the general view of the group avoid contacts with foreigners (cf. Hill 1988).

However, all the foregoing aspects should not be generalized because they are not claimed to be of general validity in the studies cited. But we consider them important as an orientation for the present study.

4. Methodology of the study

With the aid of several examples, the aim was to illustrate positive forms of coexistence of foreigners and Germans in a locality. Since we were not familiar with these positive examples in the locality before the study, we had to base our
selection on the assessments of those who were acquainted with the situation in the locality and who regarded certain forms of coexistence as positive.

After contacting the city of Düsseldorf in writing, an initial conversation took place with the head of the Youth Welfare Office and his staff. The local representatives were willing to cooperate. They considered it expedient not to examine activities in isolation, but to analyze the interplay of various measures within an urban district. They left open the question of whether the coexistence of the German and foreign populations is to be viewed as positive or negative. They were interested in this approach because it permitted the activities initiated by them in the urban district to be described and evaluated by an outsider, thus possibly gaining insights for further planning.

We accepted the suggestion of the local representatives and were offered the chance to attend a meeting of the district committee (which comprises numerous institutions of the district) as a prelude to our investigations. Attendance at the meeting enabled us to fix appointments for interviews with everyone on the committee. A total of 14 interviews were conducted. The duration ranged from one and a half to two and a half hours, the average being two hours.

The following institutions were included (the Catholic parish and the private institution for children and adolescents are not represented on the district committee):

- Protestant and Catholic parishes,
- voluntary welfare associations,
- an ethnic self-help organization,
- various institutions of the Youth Welfare Office,
- a private institution for children and adolescents,
- the Düsseldorf Commissioner for Foreigners.

For reasons of time it was not possible to take some institutions into account (e.g. in the school sector).
After explaining the project objectives, the following complexes were discussed in the interviews:

(1) The institution
   Type of institution, aims, activities, concepts, nature of participants, history, changes in the course of time.

(2) The district and activities there
   Interpretation of the term "urban district" and assessment of activities there, population structure, social networks, contacts between foreigners and Germans.

(3) Perception and treatment of problems
   Who defines problem situations, who tackles them, how are they treated in the institution, what scope for action exists?

(4) Positive examples of the coexistence of the German and foreign populations
   Finally, the interviewees were asked to interpret the terms "positive" and "coexistence".

Some comments are required on the foregoing.

The interviewees were informed in advance of these complexes. The interviews were designed to encourage the participants to talk. This was achieved in all cases, which was due not merely to the interviewing technique but also to the interviewees' strong readiness to cooperate.

The sequence of the topics depended on how the interview evolved. We intervened in the conversation only when we required more detailed information or wanted to discuss new topics or if the interviewees prompted us to do so.

The question covered by the project was not dealt with at the beginning of the interview. It was clear at the outset of the empirical phase that coexistence of Germans and for-
eigners was one of the respective institutions' objectives, but not the chief aim. Both the interviewees and we therefore considered it more expedient to filter out a reply to the project's question from the conversations on the institutions' overall activities. Due to the way in which nearly all the interviews evolved, it was not necessary to ask separately about the last subject mentioned above (positive relations).

Since almost exclusively staff from local bodies were interviewed, this had specific consequences for the nature of the findings and the method of interpreting them. We conducted interviews solely with the staff of various institutions and not with the foreigners or Germans who visit the respective local institution or are involved in it. The portrayal of the urban districts, population, social networks, etc. is the situation as perceived by the interviewed staff. This reality or its interpretation does not necessarily coincide with the perceptions and assessments of the German and foreign populations. They may certainly view the situation differently.

Our approach has advantages and disadvantages. The advantage is that we obtained an insight into the knowledge, interpretations and experiences shaping the interviewees' perceptions, assessments and everyday activities. The disadvantage is that we were unable to compare the staff's remarks with the experiences of the German and foreign populations concerned. This disadvantage was counteracted by conducting a large number of interviews. Due to the different knowledge and assessments of the interviewees, it was possible to place individual findings in perspective or rectify omissions in descriptions.

The empirical phase began at the end of April 1989 and ended in mid-June 1989.
5. Findings

Before describing activities of local institutions regarding the coexistence of the German and foreign populations, we shall portray with due brevity the city of Düsseldorf and its districts selected. This will be done with the aid of statistics and the results of the interviews. Then we shall present the findings of the work with adolescents, women and children and of a residents' project. Each section will include our interpretations and transferable elements.

5.1 Description of city and districts

5.1.1 General information on the city of Düsseldorf

Düsseldorf is the capital of the state of North-Rhine-Westphalia; it was founded in 1288 (cf. Statistisches Jahrbuch der Landeshauptstadt Düsseldorf 1986: 2). In 1985, the city had 564,473 inhabitants. Düsseldorf had the highest number of inhabitants in 1962; since then there has been a considerable decrease.

In 1985, there were 69,838 foreigners living in Düsseldorf, including 11,302 Yugoslavs and 11,962 Turks. These are the largest contingents. Foreigners accounted for 12.4% of the city's total population. In 1982, Düsseldorf had the highest number of foreign inhabitants (75,887); since then the figure has declined. The most negative migration balances were registered in 1983 and 1984.

As in other cities, a far larger proportion of German children attend schools beyond the minimum school-leaving age (e.g. intermediate or higher level secondary schools) than their foreign peers.

Whereas many cities in North-Rhine/Westphalia, notably in the Ruhr region, have an economic monostructure (coal, steel), Düsseldorf's economy is more diversified. Further-
more, the city possesses numerous cultural entities and several institutions of higher education (cf. Statistisches Jahrbuch: 176 et seq.).

In 1985, Düsseldorf had a workforce of 330,395, with foreigners totalling 31,252, i.e. 9.5%. Nationwide the proportion of foreigners was 7.6% in 1985 (cf. König et al. 1986: 3). Düsseldorf's unemployment rate of 11.4% exceeded the average for North-Rhine/Westphalia and for the country as a whole. Unemployed foreigners made up 15.5% of the foreign workforce; the corresponding figure for Germans was 7.8% (own calculation).

5.1.2 Urban districts of Lierenfeld and Eller

The districts of Lierenfeld and Eller selected for the study are directly adjacent to each other and very close to the centre of Düsseldorf. Below is an outline of their historical development and population structure.

5.1.2.1 Historical development

Lierenfeld was incorporated into Düsseldorf as early as 1384, and Eller in 1909 (cf. Landeshauptstadt Düsseldorf: 5). Up to the mid-19th century, the land of these districts was primarily used for farming and forestry. After the construction of several railway lines (approx. 1838), above all large steel and metal processing companies as well as steel and piping wholesale firms settled there (around 1870).

After World War I, many of the companies there merged to form an industrial and legal unity. As a result of this concentration, several major factories in Eller were shut down for financial reasons, which heightened the social problems faced by workers (rising number of unemployed persons and recipients of public welfare benefits). Before World War II (arms production) and afterwards, these two districts again experienced an economic upswing (ibid.: 12).
Due to the shortage of housing after World War I (increased number of marriages and refugees), housing cooperatives and the city authorities built new accommodation (one- or two-family terraced houses and three- to five-storey buildings) in the 1920s. In the 1950s and 1960s, the building activity continued, especially in the case of publicly assisted housing (ibid.: 12 et seq.).

"In the course of the decades after the establishment of the first factories, the industrial and residential areas converged. This led to the present-day mixed layout in Lierenfeld, with industrial and residential areas being directly adjacent to one another in some cases." (ibid.: 13)

It needs to be added that industry and housing are not only close to each other, but some residential quarters are like islands surrounded by several industrial plants (ascertained in interviews and by on-site inspection).

Lierenfeld can be divided into two areas. The first (henceforth referred to as Lierenfeld I) consists of houses built at the turn of the century. Most of the occupants then worked at the nearby factories. The companies owned the houses.

After World War II, the situation in this area changed: The houses were sold by the companies to private buyers. Even at that stage the houses were in need of renovation. Some of the German workers moved with their families to other districts of the city. Mainly socially disadvantaged and large families moved into the vacated houses. Another change was caused by the home-building policy initiated after the war. The construction of publicly assisted housing and the granting of housing allowances enabled some of the socially disadvantaged families to move away to more attractive residential areas, e.g. in Eller. At the same time the aforementioned industrial companies recruited foreign workers, who moved into the accommodation that had become vacant in Lierenfeld. The number of foreigners in that residential area rose considerably until 1973.
The other area of Lierenfeld (henceforth called Lierenfeld II) consists of one- or two-family houses of one or more storeys, most of them owner-occupied. Manual workers account for the majority of the population, and the proportion of foreigners is lower there (ascertained in interviews). The houses are in far better condition than those in Lierenfeld I.

With approx. 9.5 m² of public space per inhabitant (i.e. parks, playgrounds, sports grounds), the two districts are considered to be inadequately catered for in this respect. In Lierenfeld in particular, the land has been used up for industry or housing (cf. Landeshauptstadt Düsseldorf: 22 et seq.). The climatic situation of the urban districts is likewise regarded as unfavourable owing to the high level of emissions (ibid.: 41 et seq.).

Although both districts have fairly good public transport facilities, private traffic (cars) imposes a very high burden (ibid.: 67 et seq.).

In Lierenfeld there are only a few shops and no shopping centre. Eller on the other hand has a centre with a wide range of shops and restaurants (ibid.: 16; ascertained in on-site inspection and interviews).

5.1.2.2 Population structure

5.1.2.2.1 Statistics

In 1985, Lierenfeld had 6,712 inhabitants and Eller 33,724, including 1,810 foreigners in Lierenfeld and 3,517 in Eller. The proportion of foreigners in Lierenfeld is thus roughly 30%, and in Eller 10%. Turks and Yugoslavs make up the largest contingents. It must be borne in mind that in some blocks of flats the percentage of foreigners is much higher. Figures of 60 - 90% are not uncommon, notably in Lierenfeld.
A socio-regional analysis of Düsseldorf (cf. Landeshauptstadt Düsseldorf, Jugendamt, 1984) provides further important information on the population, which is presented below in concise form (the data refer to the total population (Germans and foreigners) in the respective districts, except the data on recipients of public welfare benefits, which are based on the total population of Düsseldorf):

- **Population density**
  Lierenfeld: 3,393 inhabitants per km²;  
  Eller: 5,731 inhabitants per km²;  
  Düsseldorf overall: 2,714 inhabitants per km².
  Both districts have an average population density. The central area of Düsseldorf has a much higher density, namely 7,001 or more.

- **Schooling**
  Lierenfeld: 84.7% of the population have not obtained more than a lower secondary school certificate;  
  Eller: 76.6%;  
  Düsseldorf overall: 70.3%.

- **Proportion of manual workers**
  Lierenfeld: 58.1%;  
  Eller: 45.1%;  
  Düsseldorf overall: 36.9%.

- **Large families**
  In Düsseldorf, 2.4% of all households have four or more children. At 7.2%, Lierenfeld has the highest proportion of all districts. For Eller, the proportion lies between 2.6 and 3.5%.

- **Single-parent households**
  At 16.2%, Düsseldorf has a high proportion of single-parent households, which are mainly headed by women. Compared with other districts, Eller and Lierenfeld are in the middle range (15.1 - 20.0%). The aforementioned analy-
sis stated that the large percentage of single-parent families in Düsseldorf is due to the relatively high divorce rate. Young couples in particular get divorced. Very often this results in a deterioration of their financial and social situation. Social isolation and financial problems mostly coincide. About two thirds of all single-parent families receive public welfare benefits.

- **Unemployment**
  Data on the unemployment rates in the districts were not provided. A 1986 report by the Düsseldorf authorities states: "It can be deduced from the administration's report on 'new poverty' in Düsseldorf (Committee on Health and Social Affairs, August 1985) that the proportion of unemployed persons among the recipients of public welfare benefits is the highest in Eller/Lierenfeld (28%), directly after Flingern." (Landeshauptstadt Düsseldorf, Planungsamt, 1986: 38).

- **Recipients of public welfare benefits**
  Recipients of public welfare benefits amount to 3.3% of Düsseldorf's resident population (at the end of 1980). The proportion in Lierenfeld is 5.9%. Only two other districts have higher percentages. No figure was stated for Eller. However, since Eller has a lower proportion of manual workers and single-parent families than Lierenfeld and its population has somewhat better school qualifications, it can be assumed that the proportion of people receiving public welfare benefits is lower.

With this information on recipients of public welfare benefits, it must be borne in mind that the proportions relate to the total population of Düsseldorf and not to the population of the respective districts. Proportions related to the population of Lierenfeld and Eller would presumably be much higher.
- **Homeless persons**

0.5% of Düsseldorf's population lives in hostels for the homeless. In Lierenfeld, the proportion is 5.2% (related to the district's population), and in Eller 1.2%. The analysis also states that 36.8% of all homeless households are single-parent families. Moreover, 44.9% of the people living in hostels for the homeless are under 18 years old.

- **Proportion of minors (under 18 years old)**

Within Düsseldorf, the proportion of minors varies according to the districts, ranging from 9.06 to 33.01%. In Düsseldorf as a whole, the figure is 16.3%. Lierenfeld has a proportion of 22.21%, and Eller 17.77%. The proportion of foreign minors is 44.8% in Lierenfeld and 20.6% in Eller. The corresponding figure for Düsseldorf overall is 21.3%.

Summing up, it can be stated on these statistics that Eller and to a far greater extent Lierenfeld are districts with a population in a disadvantaged social and economic situation:

"In these districts there are, more so than in other districts, large sections of the population who, in a social and economic crisis, are exposed to major strains (e.g. through unemployment). Their material resources and their potential for action and conflict settlement are or become so restricted that often they are unable to resolve their problems without external assistance." (Landeshauptstadt Düsseldorf, Jugendamt, 1984: 31)

5.1.2.2.2 Interviewing of selected urban and non-urban institutions on the population structure and social networks

In our interviews, we asked the interviewees about the composition of the population in the two urban districts. Although population statistics furnish important data on social and economic situations, they do not give any indication of social relations between individuals and families
and usually do not supply any information on organizations (e.g. clubs) or cooperation between institutions.

As described in the previous section, Eller and especially Lierenfeld have a population with an unfavourable socio-economic status. It cannot be automatically assumed that the members of a group (e.g. the homeless) establish contacts with others (e.g. foreigners). It cannot even be assumed that, say, foreigners constitute a social entity (as described in section 3 - Theoretical framework), i.e. a community with distinct mutual contacts. These questions are examined below.

In the three hostels for the homeless in Lierenfeld, there is now only weak social cohesion, according to our interviewees. The families usually keep clearly apart from each other. In the past there were by all means different situations, e.g. members of this population section launched initiatives aimed at improving the housing and living conditions, looking after children of other families, providing assistance in the event of illness or when moving house. Aid and activities of this kind are no longer detectable or only on a very limited scale. There are no or very few contacts between these inhabitants and the surrounding population, which means that relatively strong social isolation can be assumed. As already explained in the preceding section, the proportion of single-parent families in the hostels for the homeless has risen. This was confirmed for the hostels in Lierenfeld in the course of the interviews and bears out the observations on the isolation of these inhabitants.

In Lierenfeld I, the proportion of older Germans is fairly high. Only few young Germans live there. No detailed comments were made on the relations between these inhabitants. But it was indicated in the interviews that part of this German population (older persons) belongs to the Protestant or Catholic parish (see below).
In Lierenfeld II, there are mainly manual workers. We were told that one in three inhabitants is single; they are mostly older widows. The population was described as "very poor or modest" on average; few people belong to political parties. Many recipients of public welfare benefits live in that area, too. However, the older German inhabitants are not fully isolated. Although their adult children live in more attractive districts, they visit their parents in Lierenfeld and help them in various ways. Many of these older inhabitants previously lived in Lierenfeld I and moved to Lierenfeld II or Eller. They dissociate themselves from their former residential area and the people now living there, particularly the foreigners. Some of them claim that foreigners are to blame for the dilapidation of the houses.

Many older Germans are dependent on assistance because, among other reasons, their ill health prevents them from leaving their homes. In some cases, foreigners, especially women, have been seen helping these older German women (e.g. by going shopping for them). Thus neighbourhood help does indeed occur.

Communal life exists, inter alia, through membership of the Protestant or Catholic parish. For example, there are church services, activities concerning literature and art, discussion evenings on everyday topics and social gatherings with no specific theme.

The Catholic parish has far more members than the Protestant one. According to the interviewees, the Catholic church has greater opportunities for observing and influencing the districts than the Protestant church, especially with regard to local clubs. This is probably due to the high percentage of Catholics in the districts and in the clubs and to club members belonging to the church council.

Relations between the working population in Lierenfeld are reflected in club life: There is a riflemen's club, to which
German workers and pensioners belong. Young Germans belong to the junior section of the club. The health of most German manual workers is severely impaired by their jobs in industry. Since their work scarcely affords them opportunities for personal development, they seek forms of self-realization in the clubs. They make very little use of other cultural activities in the city (theatre and music); an educational or social barrier exists in this respect. Just like the local history club mentioned below, the riflemen's club in Lierenfeld does not have any businessmen or doctors among its members as such people live in other districts.

The Lierenfeld local history club was described as an association of Germans interested in cultivating the history of Lierenfeld. The structure of the membership is similar to that of the riflemen's club.

The members of both clubs do not on the whole have any contacts with foreigners. Foreigners are thus not integrated in these two clubs in Lierenfeld. However, the interviewees pointed out that young foreigners in particular belong to local German sports clubs.

As already stated above, the proportion of foreigners in Lierenfeld is particularly high. This is not a homogeneous community; instead there are in it separate social networks. Distinct delimitations exist between, say, different nationalities (Yugoslavs and Turks). But even within each nationality there is social delimitation. The networks or delimitations are based on ties of kinship, religious affiliation, regions in the country of origin, etc.

In Lierenfeld, there is a registered Turkish self-help organization, which is active nationwide. Its aim is to tackle everyday problems of the foreigners resident in the Federal Republic of Germany. The situation in Turkey is also dealt with. Assistance is provided in, say, legal matters (aliens, tax and rent law). In addition, educational and cultural ac-
tivities are organized. Mainly manual workers belong to this club, and they also run it. Some board members have seats on municipal committees where city matters concerning foreigners are discussed and where demands can be voiced vis-à-vis administrators and politicians.

A particular problem, in the eyes of club representatives, is the fact that a decreasing number of young foreigners are joining the club. There are several conceivable reasons. Many youngsters regard the Federal Republic of Germany as the focal point of their lives and thus hardly feel linked to an ethnic organization. In addition, it is claimed that the club has failed to renew its standards in line with the outlooks and modes of behaviour of the young foreigners. Another reason for not joining is the club's political orientation since it considers itself to be a workers' club. However, this does not prevent some Turkish parents from sending their children to the supervised homework sessions even though they, the parents, are not members. In reply to our question as to whether further ethnic organizations exist in Lierenfeld or Eller, it was pointed out that a large number of Turkish parents and their children (no precise figures) go to mosques, which are located in other districts.

The situation in Eller differs from that in Lierenfeld. We were able to find out very little about the foreigners resident in Eller. Several interviewees mentioned that some of the foreigners there had previously lived in Lierenfeld (notably Lierenfeld I). Some foreigners deliberately dissociate themselves from the foreign population in Lierenfeld I, and contacts do not exist. Yet this does not apply to all because some young working foreigners, despite having moved to Lierenfeld II or Eller, still maintain contacts with their relatives in Lierenfeld I. Since third parties (employers and others) have a negative view of Lierenfeld I and its population (e.g. some applicants for jobs or apprenticeships are rejected on account of their place of abode), these young foreigners have moved.
After World War II, a group of Sinti gypsies settled in Eller. They lived in caravans but were regarded as more or less sedentary. Since it was unlikely that they would leave Düsseldorf, they were offered the chance of permanent accommodation. After talks between the city authorities and Sinti representatives, agreement was reached on this matter. A permanent, self-contained complex for about 110 to 120 people was built. It has been in existence for some five years now. Unlike Sinti groups in other towns, the traditions and solidarity of these Sinti have become eroded, in the opinion of the interviewees. Typical hierarchies no longer exist; there is no spokesman who represents the Sinti, and they have no "judge" to monitor compliance with traditional rules. As stated above, there are no relations between these Sinti and the population outside the complex, except some of the younger sections. They go to various youth centres in districts of Düsseldorf, but so far it has not proved possible to integrate them in the centres.

In Eller, there is likewise a high proportion of manual workers, but in contrast to Lierenfeld there are far more craftsmen, businessmen, non-manual workers and middle-level public employees. Functioning networks exist among the manual workers and the craftsmen, but they keep apart from each other.

Part of the German population in Eller also belongs to clubs, but the composition of the membership is different. The riflemen's and local history club primarily consists of businessmen, above all owners of crafts enterprises. In Eller there are also political clubs. They are a fairly strong lobby for the business community and are by all means able to influence political decisions in the relevant committees of the city. Several interviewees categorized the members of these clubs as conservative and stated that they are indifferent to or even critical of foreigners. Compared with the Lierenfeld clubs, there is a far lower proportion of manual workers as members. The clubs from the two districts cooperate with one another.
In the opinion of the interviewees, contacts between the aforementioned German and foreign groups in the two districts are not very strong. The majority regards the existing situation by all means as a positive form of coexistence, especially because at present no open conflicts are detectable between the resident German and foreign populations. In their view, closer coexistence of the two populations is to be seen as a long-term goal.

5.1.2.2.3 Interpretation and transferability of findings

The local institutions are striving for intensified contacts between foreigners and Germans (cf. section 5.2 - Activities of the institutions interviewed). Assistance by local institutions presupposes a knowledge of the living conditions and social relations of the population. Help for self-help was repeatedly cited as a very important objective by the interviewees; in their opinion, this includes the consolidation of the existing groups.

It was noticeable in the interviews that not all the staff of the various institutions were able to present a full picture of social relations in the districts. We believe that we certainly did not ascertain all the networks during our conversations. The interviewees' knowledge of social relations depended above all on the following factors: Due to differentiated functions, many of the institutions are geared to specific target groups (e.g. young people). The stronger this specialization, the less the knowledge about other sections of the population (e.g. parents of young foreigners or the German population). As a result of the orientation towards a specific target group in a particularly difficult situation, there is also a tendency to characterize the entire population as problematic. However, in the course of the interviews it became clear that this is only partly true. Knowledge about the population also depended on cooperation with institutions that have a long-standing tradition in the districts and reach broad sections of the pop-
ulation (e.g. churches and clubs). The stronger the contacts with those institutions, the more extensive the information on the population. We also discovered that the staff had less knowledge if their employment or contract was of short duration.

Information on the various populations is, in our view, a prerequisite for assessing the coexistence of Germans and foreigners and for developing activities that improve their mutual contacts. Since the institutions' knowledge of and access to the population vary greatly, improved coexistence can be achieved, to our mind, if the institutions located in the districts collaborate more closely. This has already occurred in the districts selected, although contacts certainly do not yet exist with all the relevant institutions (e.g. churches and clubs). Cooperation as a means of increasing both knowledge and the ability to act is a transferable element, in our opinion. However, it cannot be regarded as the very solution to the problem of achieving improved coexistence of Germans and foreigners, but as a precondition for bringing this about (cf. section 6 - Perception and treatment of problems). This consideration will play an important part in the remarks below.

5.2 Activities of the institutions interviewed

We shall now describe the activities developed by institutions in the locality examined or by the people living there. The institutions include private and politico-administrative as well as church and non-church bodies.

5.2.1 Youth work

Youth work is a central element of most of the institutions interviewed. Below is a concise description of their objectives, concepts and activities. It was not possible to include in the interviews all institutions on the district committee engaged in youth work. The Catholic church, which
is not a member of the district committee, does not carry out any youth work at present. This is attributed to the lack of suitably qualified volunteers.

5.2.1.1 Youth centre (A)

This youth centre is located in Eller. Up to the mid-1970s there was no independent youth centre there. Given that situation, some individuals launched an initiative for setting up a private youth centre. It is funded by members' dues, donations and public grants. The basic purpose of the centre is to provide youngsters with somewhere to stay. The work at the centre was described as independent of any political party or religion. In the first few years after the founding of the centre, foreigners accounted for about 10%. Typical of the work with young people is the fact that roughly every four years there is so-called change of generation. Following the first change of generation, the proportion of foreigners rose considerably (approx. 60%, mainly Turks). At that stage numerous conflicts occurred between young Germans and foreigners, especially when there were discotheques. They were also attended by German and foreign youngsters who did not regularly come to the centre and lived in other districts. Fighting between the youngsters and the use of force against the staff (exclusively German) prompted those in charge of the centre to intervene.

Discotheques no longer took place, and greater emphasis was placed on the acceptance of rules and modes of behaviour. At the same time another change of generation occurred. As a result of this change and the intervention by those in charge, very few young foreigners now go to the centre. We were told that the foreign youngsters now attending the centre are willing to adapt to life in the Federal Republic of Germany and within the youth centre. According to the interviewees, they keep aloof from foreigners in Lierenfeld, particularly those in certain residential quarters (Lierenfeld I). It was stated that, generally speaking, German or for-
eign youngsters who do not meet the requirements of order, discipline and acceptance of others at the centre are considered unwelcome there.

As regards stratification (e.g. income, education and job), the composition of the visitors was described as heterogeneous. The activities offered include billiards, darts, theatre performances, video games, football, etc. For most activities, groups have been formed (e.g. motorbike group, darts group), who respect each other. Whereas the youngsters make extensive use of the aforementioned opportunities, special efforts have to be made to induce them to take part in debates on sociopolitical topics. For example, only after great exertions did the staff manage to persuade them to participate in a panel discussion with members of the political parties having seats on the city council.

On the whole, close ties do not exist between the various groups. In other words, the group members pursue their own specific interests. Young foreigners are integrated in the respective interest groups; there are no groups for particular nationalities. Conflicts of the kind described above between German and foreign youngsters have not recurred at this youth centre.

The situation at this institution (very low proportion of foreigners and largely conflict-free interactions) must be seen in conjunction with the establishment of another youth centre by the city authorities. Below we shall therefore describe a youth centre that can be viewed as a reaction to the situation of young foreigners.

5.2.1.2 Youth centre (B)

The basis for setting up a youth centre in Lierenfeld (at the time of the interviews a new house was being rented; the new centre is located in Eller) were specific considerations and a particular situation: The city authorities were in
favour of offering more recreational facilities to young people. Simultaneously they envisaged providing young foreigners with their own centres where they could spend their time separated from young Germans. This approach was intended to achieve two things: first, to help preserve the "cultural identity" and, second, to strengthen the skills and self-assurance permitting interaction with Germans. Specific educational activities were offered with a view to enabling them to gain easier access to key positions in the host society, especially as regards jobs. In contrast to youth centre (A), foreign staff are employed at centre (B) and at centres (C) and (D) described below.

These general conceptual considerations favoured the founding of a youth centre specifically for foreigners; an additional factor was the high-conflict situation between German and foreign youngsters. In section 5.2.1.1 (Youth centre (A)) above, it was stated that fighting occurred at centre (A) between young Germans and foreigners around 1983. At least during the initial phase, centre (B) was mainly visited by young foreigners who had previously gone to centre (A). After the opening of youth centre (B) and active use of it by the aforementioned foreign youngsters, there were no longer any conflicts in Eller/Lierenfeld between them and young Germans.

The facilities offered included a tea room, sewing courses, assistance with homework, music courses, a theatrical group, day seminars for girls and educational weekends for foreign boys and girls. These facilities were intended to enable foreign girls in particular to pursue recreational activities outside the home.

At this centre, too, a so-called change of generation occurred. Following this change, the facilities offered are currently being reviewed because the youngsters no longer accept some of them. These include vocational activities as well as sociopolitical subjects (e.g. critical examination
of the urban district). In view of the youngsters' absence of interest in the foregoing, the question arises of whether to react spontaneously to their wishes or to draw up a fixed programme. There is a preference for offering a fixed programme because the young people are said to lack orientation. At present not only the range of activities is being reviewed; the question of whether an approach specifically for foreigners is still promising is also being examined. On the one hand, there is the viewpoint that specific activities must continue to be offered to foreigners (e.g. girls). On the other, consideration is being given to developing a concept that addresses both German and foreign youngsters and brings about greater understanding between them.

5.2.1.3 Youth centre (C)

This youth centre is also a municipal institution, which is over 10 years old. Unlike the two youth centres described above, it is located at the boundary between Eller and Lierenfeld. In the vicinity are several hostels for the homeless. Young people from these hostels were among the first to visit the youth centre. The interviewees described these youngsters as greatly needing affection, i.e. they had a strong desire for emotional ties as those at home were insufficient. The aim of the work with these youngsters was to develop a group identity and to offer them different perspectives to those prevailing in a specific environment (hostels for the homeless).

Subsequently, an increasing number of young foreigners went to the youth centre. In contrast to centres (A) and (B), there were no concepts at centre (C) for focussing on a specific group (e.g. only German or only foreign youngsters). Nonetheless, a specific group was ousted. Although there was no serious violence between the young Germans from the hostels for the homeless and the young foreigners, there were verbal confrontations and some "jostling". Due to the still weak self-assurance and group identity of the German young-
sters and the rising number of young foreigners, more and more Germans stayed away from the centre. The latter's proximity to Lierenfeld and to the residential quarters there with an exceptionally high proportion of foreigners led to an increasing number of foreign youngsters visiting the centre. Lierenfeld can thus be regarded as the typical catchment area.

The centre's main activities are table tennis, music and discotheques. Only some of the foreigners take advantage of the educational courses available. They include foreign girls, who were described as being highly motivated. Many of them have the ambition to continue their education beyond the lower level secondary school. Foreign boys and girls are offered assistance with their homework and in finding and applying for jobs. In connection with some of the foreign youngsters, the staff are occasionally overtaxed because the youngsters attend higher-level schools or vocational institutions and the staff are not always able to assist them with the subjects taught there.

However, a larger section of the young foreigners does not take advantage of the educational activities offered. Some of them are young adults who can no longer be motivated to learn an occupation. The same holds true for some of the younger foreigners. According to the interviewees, these will most probably fail to obtain a lower-level secondary school certificate or run the risk of being transferred to a special school. These two groups (older and younger foreigners) have lost or not acquired the desire to achieve a successful career.

The so-called change of generation (cf. centres (A) and (B)) is evidently occurring at present only on a limited scale at this youth centre. The young foreign adults regard the centre as a place where they are willing to spend their spare time later on, too, even as an adult. Strong group cohesion
exists among them; the opportunities for new visitors of the same age to gain access are minimal, unless they display exactly the same behaviour.

Contrary to the considerations at centres (B) and (D), the demand for a fixed programme is rejected as this would not be accepted by the youngsters. A spontaneous and flexible response to the latter's needs is therefore given priority.

5.2.1.4 Youth centre (D)

This youth centre is run by a voluntary welfare association. Unlike the centres described above, it is located directly in Lierenfeld. The visitors are predominantly young Yugoslavs. They belong to the Romi group and are Muslims. Although there have already been several changes of generation at this centre, too, the new visitors always come from this Yugoslav group. Their educational qualifications are extremely low, according to the interviewees.

The youngsters are barely willing to participate in discussions on educational or sociopolitical topics or in related activities. As at youth centre (B), a new structure for the activities offered is currently being debated in connection with the move to a new building (the old youth centre was in the building of a factory whose complex is currently being pulled down). There is a preference for providing a fairly fixed programme because of the alleged lack of orientation on the part of the young people.

5.2.1.5 Coordinating committee for foreign youth groups

Within the department of Düsseldorf Youth Welfare Office devoted to coordinating assistance for foreign children and adolescents, one area of responsibility concerns the observation of the diverse activities regarding the situation of foreign children and adolescents. Below we shall deal with only a specific part of this area of responsibility. It
needs to be added that this work is not related to districts, but covers the whole of Düsseldorf. The work in question involves assisting and advising 25 to 30 foreign youth groups. Most of the foreign youth groups belong to the coordinating committee. The purpose of this work is to

- preserve and strengthen the national identity of the youngsters;

- foster solidarity among the various national groups;

- promote the coexistence of young foreigners and Germans.

Preservation of one's national identity implies, for example, obtaining information on the parents' country of origin, cultivating the language of that country and - through contacts with members of the same nationality - retaining the option of returning there. In contrast to the youth centres described above, the young people belonging to the various groups are more motivated to participate in vocational and political activities. But they do not just take advantage of the opportunities offered; they demand or carry out activities themselves, e.g. the testing of career counselling or discussion of the situation of foreigners (voting rights, etc.). The participants are young foreigners of both sexes; compared with the youngsters at the youth centres described above, most of them have better educational or vocational qualifications.

Whereas the interviewees rated the work with the various groups as very positive, cooperation between youth groups of different foreign nationalities has not yet reached the level desired. Collaboration between young Germans and foreigners has also fallen short of expectations. On the one hand, cooperation is highly positive when the activities are equally relevant to both groups. But if they are mainly in the interest of either the German or the foreign group, cooperation succeeds less often.
5.2.1.6 Interpretation and transferable elements

The youth centres in the two urban districts selected lie in areas that are designated as black spots in social and economic terms, i.e. it is assumed that neediness exists. In our view, this applies more to Lierenfeld than to Eller. This implies that a specific section of the population tends to be addressed. However, as the examples show, this does not predetermine which nationality (German or foreign youngsters) or which specific groups of foreign or German youngsters gain access to the assistance. Examples (A) and (B) reveal that the respective aims and concepts exert a strong influence on the coexistence of young Germans and foreigners and that this led to a spatial and social segregation of German and foreign youngsters. In the final analysis, this situation was viewed as positive by interviewees from the two institutions. The absence of open conflict can be regarded as the smallest common denominator of this assessment. Such concepts are most likely to prevail in cases where young Germans and foreigners are inclined to keep apart. (The attainment of a conflict-free situation probably goes beyond the educational aspects of the coexistence of German and foreign youngsters: Frequent conflicts quickly become known publicly and affect the institution's image, the number of visitors drops as a rule, and one has to fear sanctions by those funding the institution.)

However, example (C) shows that even if segregation is not the objective, spatial and social separation occurs. But this can also be interpreted differently. On the basis of deliberate delimitation by the youngsters, the staff accept the process of displacement. In our experience, this seemingly natural development is fairly widespread (cf. König/Schultze 1985). In the final analysis, segregation is endorsed by the staff of the institution.

The spatial and social separation of Germans and foreigners may by all means have advantages. Within the youth centres
the young people are given an opportunity to develop self-confidence and social skills. Recognition of the individual in the group prevents destruction of his identity and protects him against constant external attacks. The educational activities offered improve his vocational qualifications and increase the everyday knowledge needed for interaction with persons and institutions of the host society. However, inward integration as described in section 3 (Theoretical framework) does not occur in the sense of being exclusively achieved by the migrants. In the cases described here, it is primarily brought about by the local policy pursued.

The foregoing approach is somewhat of an ideal-typical nature and presupposes a situation where no basis exists for positive interactions between young Germans and foreigners. However, we doubt that the youngsters at the recreational institutions selected were not at all willing to establish contacts. Although it cannot be assumed that all of them would have been willing to do so, experience gained in other studies shows that contacts and understanding are possible both in the sector of recreation and with regard to discussion topics. The establishment contacts depends not only on similar interests, but also on the formation of groups within the institutions. Among both young foreigners and Germans there are groups of friends who keep apart from one another. The initiation or intensification of relations is dependent on the willingness of the respective groups.

In the light of our experience, an approach based on nationalities must be regarded merely as a special case that cannot be generalized. This approach can only be considered transferable if no other options are feasible with educational concepts.

Many of the young foreigners who went to the youth centres in the past had evidently entered the Federal Republic of Germany at a late stage and failed to obtain a school-leaving certificate in either the country of origin or the Fed-
eral Republic. However, the number of youngsters entering the educational process late or in mid-stream is declining steeply, and the percentage of young foreigners obtaining a lower or intermediate-level secondary school certificate as well as vocational training in the German system is rising. One would therefore expect a growing proportion of these youngsters at the youth centres. But if the staff's data on the structure of the participants (schooling and vocational training) are correct, this group appears to be visiting the youth centres less frequently as it accounts for a relatively small proportion of all visitors. It is possible that the centres are visited not only by those who joined the educational process in mid-stream but mainly by young foreigners who, despite entering the Federal Republic of Germany early on, were less successful at school and in working life. Thus it continues to be necessary to offer educational activities at least for youngsters with unfavourable achievements at school or in training. But, as previously stressed, in the case of some young people one cannot automatically assume that they are prepared to participate in such activities. A few of them display deviant behaviour (e.g. crime). In such instances the backgrounds (family situation, influence of groups of friends or social networks) would have to be examined, and the findings used for work aimed at motivating them to take part in the aforementioned activities.

As already pointed out, the youth centres appear to be visited by a specific group of young foreigners. Many staff members tend to consider this group to be representative of all foreign youngsters. The fact that more and more young foreigners are being successful at school and work and establishing more frequent contacts with Germans is often overlooked. At least in the urban districts selected for this study, many of these youngsters are not reached by the institutions. Presumably they spend their spare time elsewhere (private flats, commercial institutions, sports clubs and other districts). It needs to be added that in the Federal Republic of Germany there is at present a stagnating or
declining interest in traditional youth centres. Whether this means that young Germans and foreigners as a whole have no interest in going to the institutions interviewed is an open question. In our opinion, it cannot be answered until the institutions in the districts concerned are able to gauge the interests of the youngsters and to ascertain whether they are at all willing to visit traditional youth centres. We feel that most of the institutions interviewed cannot carry out such an analysis on their own since they are only partly able to reach the young people.

5.2.2 Work with foreign and German women

5.2.2.1 Work with foreign women at the institutions interviewed

Apart from work with German and foreign youngsters, work with foreign women simultaneously takes place at several local institutions. Foreign women with children are often unable to establish close contacts with other women because it is frequently not possible for their children to be minded by a third person. As a result, many become isolated (cf. Schultze 1987). Several institutions have taken account of this situation by offering child-minding facilities. In some cases the work with children preceded that with foreign women, and in others it occurred concurrently. At a few institutions, the work with foreign women is deemed to have made it possible for their daughters to be able to visit youth centres (e.g. if the work with the women takes place at the youth centre).

Below is a brief description of the work with foreign women at various institutions:

- Institution (A)

At one of the municipal institutions interviewed, the women were offered a literacy course in their native language and
then a German course. This was followed by other activities. In domestic science courses the women learn, inter alia, how to express themselves in everyday situations, e.g. when using a tram, going to the doctor's and naming the complaints, handling problems with the children or the husband. In addition, housekeeping matters are dealt with (e.g. raising a loan and the consequences). By developing a relationship of trust with the foreign women it was possible to refer them to other departments or organizations in cases where the institutions were unable to provide further assistance with problems. Without this trust, the women would not have been willing to talk about their difficulties and go to other departments. In the domestic science groups there was initially strict segregation by nationalities. Only of late has it been possible to work with women of different nationalities in a single group (Turks and Yugoslavs). Child-minding facilities are available during the work with these women.

- Institution (B)

At this institution, the women's group has existed for about four years. During the daytime, child-minding facilities are available, and in the evening the youth club is open. The composition of the women's group is international (Greeks, Iranians and Turks). The women meet once a week for about four hours. Since child-minding facilities are offered simultaneously, the women are able to talk to each other undisturbed by their children. The size of the group ranges from 10 to 25 women. They discuss such subjects as organizing festivities; and topical problems are tackled, such as how to help each other. At present the relationship between husband and wife is being debated because, according to the participants, several of them have considerable problems in the relationships with their husbands.

- Institution (C)

This institution is expressly aimed at both German and foreign residents. About 30% of the visitors are Turks. Here it
has proven possible to set up a working group comprising German and foreign women; it has been in existence for a lengthy time. All visitors are able to take advantage of educational activities and discuss educational matters with trained German and foreign staff.

This is one of the institutions approached by foreign parents when they discover that their children are behaving strangely (at school, at home or during spare time). In the interviewees' opinion, this is due to the contrast between concepts or practices of upbringing at home and the requirements at school or during spare time. These difficulties are tackled by means of psychological diagnosis and therapy. Second-generation families are, the interviewees feel, more willing than first-generation ones to consult advisory bodies, their level of education and religious attitudes either fostering or reducing such willingness. Of late there has been a steady increase in the number of children or families registered; this was attributed to the changed awareness of the foreign population and to the advisory institution being more widely known.

5.2.2.2 Contacts between German and foreign women

For pragmatic reasons, only institutions (A) and (B) will be included in the depiction below. These two institutions and the Protestant parish are represented on the district committee (cf. section 6 - Perception and treatment of problems). These institutions launched an initiative for closer collaboration as regards work with women. Although there were plans for setting up a so-called "women's forum" addressing all women in the district, this idea was not supported by all members of the district committee. Some regarded this objective as "too lofty" and "too abstract". Agreement was reached on establishing contacts between the women's groups from the institutions represented on the district committee and discussing the everyday problems and achievements of those women.
For over two years now, meetings have been held between foreign and German women at the various institutions in turn. Of particular significance is the following fact. Unlike the municipal institutions involved, the Protestant parish has contacts with the Catholic parish in the same district. The Catholic parish is not represented on the district committee. Due to the readiness of German women from the Protestant parish, German women from the Catholic parish were also prepared to participate in the meetings between German and foreign women.

The first meeting took place in the Protestant parish. It was attended by about 50 to 60 women from the parish and 15 foreign women. They considered each other's origins. Many of the German women were refugees from the former eastern areas of Germany; thus they had also experienced migration and named integration problems. The migration experiences of the German and foreign women gave rise to an intensive discussion.

At subsequent meetings they discussed, among other things, the festival of Christmas and the significance of Islam in the everyday lives of the foreign women. These meetings were accompanied by the mutual giving of presents (at Christmas) and joint suppers, with all women helping to arrange these activities. At the time of the interviews, further meetings were planned, e.g. on the dual burden (job and family chores) of German and foreign women.

It needs to be pointed out that some of the foreign and German women rated the previous meetings very positively, but did not seek further intensification of the relations. In the case of those basically in favour of further cooperation, meetings come about at present only if the staff of the respective institutions seize the initiative.

The age structure of the groups (and hence different amounts of experience) was considered a problematic aspect of the
meetings. While the German women are mainly between 50 and 80 years old, the age of the foreign women ranges from 20 to the mid-fifties. Yet it remains to be seen whether this has solely drawbacks.

5.2.2.3 Interpretation and transferable elements

Unlike youth work, some of which occurs at the same institutions, institutionally arranged communication between foreign and German women has evidently been more successful. It must be borne in mind, however, that youngsters - especially males - have already gained more freedom than foreign women or girls. The desire of those women to escape from isolation is probably the reason for their willingness to meet with each other at German institutions. These institutions are regarded as a legitimate location for such meetings.

As with the youth work, it became clear that the status of foreigner or the nationality was the basis for the meetings and that only after group solidarity had evolved was interaction possible with groups of other nationalities. This frequently encountered method is a transferable element, in our view. But the interactions between German and foreign women did not rest on informal relations. A decisive factor was cooperation between institutions, and the relations between the women continue to depend on the efforts of the institutions. However, as the examples showed, even within the framework of cooperation not all participants are likely to desire lasting and intensive communication.

The relations arranged between German and foreign women by local institutions, or between foreign women themselves, could be regarded as a basis for fostering informal contacts (e.g. private child-minding and meetings between women). Informal assistance has already been referred to in section 5.1.2.2.3 (Findings). It was noticeable that informal relations among the population were not known to some of the interviewees or were not given the same attention by them as
their own work. It cannot be stated in abstract form which needs, problems or achievements might serve as a foundation for developing or reinforcing informal relations. They would have to be derived from the current work with women. This does not preclude local institutions providing assistance where necessary.

5.2.3 Residents' project

5.2.3.1 Housing situation of Germans and foreigners in a specific residential area

In the preceding sections, we adopted mainly targeted approaches with regard to German and foreign youngsters and women. Here we shall present other considerations, which we will illustrate with the aid of the following project. The term "project" is used because it is an activity by a local institution that is of limited duration and geared to a specific problem.

In the district (Lierenfeld I) described in section 5.1.2.2 (Population structure), it is intended to modernize blocks with about 350 flats. The internal and external condition of the houses is rated negatively by both the residents and outsiders; some flats lack sanitation. The need for refurbishment is clear to everyone. Some of the people living there feel stigmatized because outsiders have a negative view of life in the residential quarter. The state of the houses is deemed to be a direct reflection of the behaviour and outlooks of the residents. As we pointed out in section 5.1.2.2 (Population structure), some families have left Lierenfeld precisely for this reason.

Lierenfeld's townscape is greatly shaped by industrial development. The residential quarter borders on industrial areas. Two largish enterprises (steel and piping factories) were closed in 1985. Roughly 5,000 workers were laid off. It is not possible to state how many remained unemployed. The
layoff also affected workers in Lierenfeld. According to some interviewees, this applied particularly to foreign workers (not just those living in Lierenfeld). At present the buildings of the closed factories are being pulled down. Their place will be taken by a public local transport station (combining four hitherto decentralized stations) and small private service companies. A real increase in the number of jobs is not anticipated because it is not a case of new firms being set up, but mainly of existing ones merely being relocated. The aforementioned demolition of factories is strongly affecting the district's appearance at the moment.

As early as 1975, foreigners and Germans started complaining about the poor state of the housing. In some cases, the complaints concerned non-compliance with the building code, others the hygienic conditions. The residents got in touch with the local press, which published their grievances. In the late 1970s, an institution of the Youth Welfare Office prepared a report on the state of the flats, and the Düsseldorf authorities instructed the owner to carry out improvements. The report simultaneously referred to the critical social and financial situation of some of the residents, and in 1986 a branch office of an institution attached to the Youth Welfare Office (the head office is located in Eller) was set up in this residential quarter. Among other things, it deals with financial, social and health problems of the residents or arranges assistance by third parties (e.g. doctors, associations, schools, banks and companies).

As explained in the foregoing sections, work with children, youngsters and women takes place there, too. Below we shall deal with the activities of the local institutions and the population that occurred in connection with the criticism of the housing conditions.

In this residential quarter, foreigners account for 76% of the total population. "18.05% of Lierenfeld's overall popu-
lation are concentrated in the catchment area of the project. 52.28% of Lierenfeld's foreign inhabitants are registered in the catchment area." (ASD-Projekt Erkrather Strasse, undated: 3). Turks and Yugoslavs form the largest contingents. Among children and youngsters, the proportion of foreigners is considerably higher. Conversely, Germans make up a larger proportion of the people over 60 years old (ibid.: 8). The German population is described as "socially disadvantaged" (includes recipients of public welfare benefits, single mothers). In view of the unfavourable housing conditions and the imminent sale of the houses with ensuing modernization and hence considerably higher rents or their demolition, two groups were formed.

(1) The first comprised the residents whose houses were threatened with demolition (a German resident owned one of the houses). This group included both German and foreign residents. As a result of their joint actions (press releases, collections of signatures, etc.) aimed at the city authorities, the houses were not pulled down. Once this objective was achieved, this group no longer appeared in public. It is not known whether this ad hoc group gave rise to lasting and closer contacts between the sections of the population concerned.

(2) A second group was established as a result of an initiative launched by the local institution (Youth Welfare Office). It invited the residents to tenants' meetings. At the meetings they demanded competent legal advice. A hearing and initial counselling were then given by political representatives, members of the administration and a tenants' association.

Further advice was provided by associations and the Turkish organization in the residential area and by private organizations that are committed to improved living conditions for foreigners but are not based in the district.
The Youth Welfare Office's institution described here may not supply legal advice as this does not lie in its area of competence and must therefore ask appropriate bodies for assistance.

In January 1989, ownership of the houses passed hands. The aforementioned modernization is due to take place and is expected to be completed in about 10 years. Higher rents are anticipated. The interviewees were not able to state with certainty how many tenants would be able to afford the new rents. It is feared that many of them will be compelled to move out. But due to the housing shortage in Düsseldorf there are no alternatives for them, i.e. no chance of obtaining accommodation at a rent comparable to the present one. It is assumed that the modernization will lead to a changed population structure, in other words that better-off German families will move into the renovated flats. It was pointed out that the Düsseldorf authorities might seek to avoid the present tenants moving out by providing housing benefits to support them. We stress that these are exclusively conjectures.

Finally, it should be added that, according to some interviewees, the residents have at present a wait-and-see attitude, i.e. specific activities against the modernization are currently not detectable.

5.2.3.2 Interpretation and transferable elements

Not the abstract idea of "coexistence of Germans and foreigners", but the concrete concern of residents due to unfavourable living conditions was the decisive factor for communication between foreigners and Germans and the formation of special-purpose groups by them. Joint activities by diverse sections of the population (older Germans, single mothers, recipients of public welfare benefits, foreigners) are, in our opinion, to be regarded as especially positive from the viewpoint of "public participation".
The interviewees rated the activities of the various institutions in this context highly differently. On the one hand, the view was held that, firstly, without the involvement of institutions the formation of a special-purpose group would not have occurred among the population and, secondly, it would not have possessed adequate skills (e.g. language, general and specialized knowledge) to articulate and assert its interests. On the other hand, it is argued that municipal and non-municipal institutions partly put the population under tutelage by mainly taking action and not allowing the population to do so. The institutions' activities, it is claimed, did not encourage the population to act more intensively and resolutely. Those holding this position concede that support for the public through counselling may be necessary as the people concerned do not always have adequate skills, but they assert that in the aforementioned process the institutions acted too extensively on behalf of the people in situations which they themselves would have been able to handle. As a result, they contend, strong community formation with positive effects for the individual did not occur.

It was not possible for us to check that situation. We, too, favour efforts aimed at strengthening self-assurance, the ability to act and the formation of communities. This is not only advantageous for the population, but also relieves the administration and other local bodies. On the one hand, there is, indeed, a danger or an excessive policy of "I hold your hand". But one should not overlook the fact that, in a situation involving substantial need and pressure for action, it is difficult to assess precisely the existing or exploitable self-help capabilities and the assistance thus required.

In most cities in the Federal Republic of Germany, many foreigners live in houses of low standard. Modernization is no doubt a subject discussed there as well. We therefore regard the activities of the institutions examined as a transfer-
able element, bearing in mind the self-help potential of the population. The residents' project also showed, however, that more is involved than merely work geared to target groups; it is simultaneously a question of structural policy (housing and also economic policy). But in view of the consequences of structural-policy decisions we feel it is expedient to use a concept combining, say, housing and economic policy more closely with target group considerations. A contribution to that end are activities by the on-the-spot staff of various institutions from different urban districts who intend to tackle the entire housing situation (housing shortage) in the city, with due regard for individual target groups.

6. Perception and treatment of problems

In this final part we shall first of all describe certain aspects of the perception and treatment of problems by individual institutions and then show how factors restricting such perception and treatment can be eliminated through cooperation. In these two sections we will refer to the results of section 5.2 (Activities of the institutions interviewed). It is not possible here to view the perception and treatment of problems in the light of existing legislation (e.g. Youth Welfare Act, Juvenile Courts Act) as this would exceed the scope of this study. Moreover, we shall deal only with the institutions active on the spot, i.e. the higher-ranking bodies and their influence on the institutions are not taken into account.

6.1 Perception and treatment of problems by individual institutions in the selected urban districts

As described in section 5.2, the various institutions mainly have a regionally and socially limited range of action and are geared to specific target groups. Their siting was determined primarily by the aim of taking action in social black spots (population with a low socio-economic status and
great neediness in economic and social terms). Within the scope of its work, an institution's opportunities for intensifying contacts between Germans and foreigners are largely confined to the population's area of life selected by it. Moreover, the institutions specialized in certain groups, e.g. women, children and adolescents. On the one hand, it was thus possible to tackle the specific needs and situations of persons at a certain stage of their life (e.g. youngsters, married women). On the other, there is the danger with this specialization - and this was confirmed on several occasions during the study - that the background (e.g. housing and family situation, social networks) cannot be taken into account or problems cannot be solved. For instance, assistance for youngsters does not necessarily have to be targeted directly at them, but may instead be directed elsewhere (e.g. housing, family), depending on the situation (cf. section 5.2.2.1 - Institution C). As a rule, an individual youth centre cannot afford to do so owing to staff, time or funding constraints or to the restriction of its powers by higher-ranking bodies (cf. section 6.2 - District committee).

The opportunities for perceiving problems and solving them are limited due to regional and functional differentiation. Although, say, problematic family or housing situations are tackled by other local institutions (youth welfare office, associations, churches, etc.), it is very hard to optimize the problem-solving strategies between or within the institutions as long as no information is exchanged by the institutions on the respective work. In the examples listed in sections 5.2.1 to 5.2.3 no positive forms of coexistence of the German and foreign populations would have been detectable if there had not been any cooperation between diverse institutions in the districts. (In section 5.2.1.6 (Interpretation and transferable elements) we pointed out that this is not necessarily the case.) This cooperation is dealt with below.
6.2 District committee

In the districts selected the drawbacks and obstacles described above (regional and functional differentiation) were countered by setting up a district committee. Nearly all the interviewed institutions enumerated in section 4 (Methodology of the study) are represented on it: various institutions of the Youth Welfare Office, associations, Turkish self-help organization, schools and churches. (For reasons of time, it was not possible to interview representatives of the local schools.) Within the framework of this cooperation the various institutions basically remain autonomous, and their staff do not appear on the committee as private individuals but as representatives of the respective institutions (e.g. church, Youth Welfare Office).

In the opinion of the interviewees, the cooperation permitted a considerable increase in information and skills. Since the institutions are located in different areas, it is possible to exchange information on, say, the economic and social situation and the interests of the population in those areas. At the same time, a picture can be obtained of the concepts of other institutions and of the composition of their visitors. The experiences gained allowed suggestions to be made for refining the concepts of institutions. Furthermore, joint strategies or activities were developed to initiate a process of understanding between German and foreign women. The success of the residents' project is also largely due to cooperation. The decisive factor is that the entire district comes to the fore as an area of action and that supra-institutional approaches can be elaborated for the target groups (e.g. coordinated youth and family work).

Although the work in the district committee was regarded almost wholly as positive, a few interviewees also named conditions that restrict action and may by all means have an adverse impact on the coexistence of the German and foreign populations. The possibilities for institutions to react to
perceived situations are deemed to vary considerably. On account of the cooperation the members of the district committee are in a position to perceive and identify a specific problem (e.g. housing, traffic planning, closure of a school), but not all of them are always able to react adequately (e.g. public statement or action). Especially the staff of municipal institutions are required to consult the level above them in the hierarchy on activities or public statements. If they were forbidden to make a public statement, they would be unable to draw public attention to certain problems. The district committee has found a solution to this. In such cases, publicity is ensured by the institutions allowed to mention specific situations (e.g. churches or associations). This is directly connected with the question of positive examples of the coexistence of the German and foreign populations. Some of the interviewees felt that only as a result of a public discussion (in the press) were activities concerning the housing problem initiated or supported by the city authorities, resulting in intensified joint action by the German and foreign populations (residents' meetings, demands for legal advice). The current situation of not always being able to respond publicly to problems is unsatisfactory for some members of the district committee; in their view, it is necessary to ascertain what powers are needed for more effective work.

At present the institutions belonging to the district committee are trying to motivate other institutions in the districts (German clubs) to participate either constantly or in individual matters. In the opinion of the interviewees, decisive progress would be made in the coexistence of the German and foreign populations if it proved possible to obtain the support of German institutions and their members for specific tasks (e.g. youth work, housing shortage). However, the prospects for expanded cooperation are not rated too highly because it is presumed that these German institutions and their members have reservations about the foreign population, especially in Lierenfeld.
6.3 Interpretation and transferable elements

We feel that the district committee is a suitable instrument for analyzing the situation of various sections of the population and for developing problem-solving strategies. On the basis of the activities of the institutions represented, it was possible to ascertain various positive examples of the coexistence of the German and foreign populations. We therefore consider cooperation to be a transferable element. However, one must not forget that, despite intensive efforts, large sections of the foreign and especially the German population and their clubs and, in some cases, their churches were not reached. This is due, firstly, to the approach of the institutions interviewed because they concentrate on social black spots, which means that the people not living in this area are not addressed. Secondly, reservations (prejudices and preconceptions) by the German population about foreigners are a major barrier to the activities of the institutions on the district committee.

However, reservations exist not only among the German population with regard to foreigners, and vice versa. Even sections of the German population (e.g. manual workers, craftsmen, non-manual workers) keep apart from the homeless or recipients of public welfare benefits, for example. The same applies to the foreign population (segregation of Turks and Yugoslavs), and within nationalities religious, cultural or political delimitation is detectable.

The activities of the institutions on the district committee are aimed at integrating these many mutually aloof German and foreign groups and their organizations by means of a normative principle. Inequality that has emerged in the course of time due to political, economic and legal conditions and on account of reservations is to be minimized by the demand for realization of the precept of equality existing in our society. Cooperation between the German and foreign populations and their organizations is regarded as a
contribution to this. It is seen as a long-term objective. The fact that it is a goal and not already the realization of the demand explains the hesitance of the staff interviewed to expressly refer to, say, the contacts between German and foreign women or those of the residents' project as positive examples of the coexistence of the two populations. The reticence in their assessment is heightened by the fear of conflict between foreigners and Germans. It is not the work done thus far, but the current absence of conflict that is interpreted as a positive form of coexistence.

Without supportive measures, cooperation between various German and foreign institutions and their members can most probably not bring about a radical reduction of inequality in the urban districts. Consequently, cooperation cannot be regarded as a panacea. There are also other essential political and economic requirements (e.g. improved aliens legislation, voting rights for foreigners, qualifications for disadvantaged German and foreign youngsters, better situation for girls and women). We did not explicitly deal with this extremely important aspect in the foregoing portrayal. Nor shall we treat it in more detail below because here we are concerned with the question of whether and to what extent locally active institutions can promote basic conditions for positive forms of coexistence. Given this perspective, we regard the attempt to integrate larger sections of the German population and their organizations into the work as a method that merits support but will pose considerable difficulties.

The riflemen's and local history clubs as well as the private and church institutions in Eller and Lierenfeld do not view themselves solely as organizations working at social black spots, and the improvement of relations between the German and foreign populations is not the objective of each institution. The treatment of local history, the need for self-realization in riflemen's clubs or the pursuit of social or economic interests differs in qualitative terms
from an approach based on social black spots. The main emphasis does not lie on neediness, but on, say, shaping one's life or achieving business success. However, this does not preclude the organizations attending to the interests of disadvantaged sections of the population. But, apart from the possible existence of reservations that might impede cooperation, they might fail to see what direct benefits (recognition, support, participation) could derive for themselves from cooperation. Conversely, there is no guarantee that the Germans and foreigners currently attended to by the institutions of the district committee will become interested in and committed to the concerns of the German clubs and their members. We therefore presume that initial contacts for the purpose of assessing cooperation potential and willingness will generally have to occur via the staff of the district committee. But in the light of our interviews it has to be assumed that, for reasons connected with their outlooks, they have a reserved attitude towards the German clubs. The question of what specific opportunities (objectives, target groups, facilities) might arise through cooperation - the latter still being doubtful at present - cannot be answered here, but only once cooperation itself has been basically accepted.
7. LITERATURE


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