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CARFAX

Restructuring of Housing and Ethnic Segregation: Recent Developments in Berlin

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Summary In Germany, and particularly in Berlin, the fall of the Wall in 1989 and the years following reunification were accompanied by a large influx of immigrants. These 'new' migrants in Berlin are added to the long-resident guestworker population in the western part of the city. This paper investigates the housing situation of the increasing population of foreigners before and after unification as well as the changing segregation of ethnic minorities. After a comparison of the different housing systems in East and West Berlin and their consequences for ethnic segregation in the 1980s, the main elements of the housing transformation since 1990 are identified and related to the changing residential patterns of foreigners. The patterns of four selected nationalities with divergent migration motives are analysed in more detail. The paper draws attention to differences between East and West Berlin as well as to recent convergences between the two parts of the city.

Introduction

Berlin was a divided city for over four decades, and the time between the erection of the Wall in 1961 and its fall in late 1989 was a period of strong isolation between the two halves of the city. East Berlin, which includes the old historical city centre but makes up the smaller part of the whole city area with 1.279 million inhabitants in 1989, was the capital of the GDR with a concentration of administration, economic and cultural functions and a good deal of construction activity. In many respects, East Berlin held a privileged position in the city system of East Germany; the living standard was higher and the supply of consumer goods and services better than elsewhere in the country. Therefore, the city attracted migrants from all parts of the GDR which consequentially led to a high demand for housing.

With a population of 2.134 million in 1989 constituting the larger part of the whole city, West Berlin was treated as a *de facto* federal state of the FRG with some special regulations. Because of its spatial isolation, West Berlin survived only with the aid of large and comprehensive subsidies from the federal government. In 1985 these subsidies amounted to 53 per cent of the municipality's budget (Hofmeister, 1990). This situation had important consequences for the economy, as well as for housing and the living conditions of the population. In contrast to the general development in West Germany,

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the manufacturing industries in the 1970s and 1980s did not decline—the corresponding percentages of labour force were 36 per cent in 1970 and 35 per cent in 1987. Yet within the manufacturing sector remarkable changes took place during the decades after World War II. In sharp contrast to modern global cities (Sassen, 1991), many big manufacturing firms moved their headquarters from Berlin to more central West German cities like Munich and Frankfurt, whereas branch plants with relatively low labour productivity and Fordist mass production remained in the city aided by generous government subsidies. Since a relatively high proportion of the labour force in these enterprises was unskilled, they offered many employment opportunities for 'guestworkers'. As a result, from the 1960s West Berlin experienced a strong influx of immigrants from Turkey and other Mediterranean countries.

After the fall of the Wall in 1989 and reunification in 1990, there was enormous confidence in Berlin, a confidence which seemed to be underlined by the decision in 1991 to move the federal seat of parliament and government from Bonn to Berlin. It was assumed that the city would be economically highly dynamic, acting as a centre of exchange between east and west Europe. It was also assumed that Berlin's population would, through internal and international in-migration, grow substantially. But the 1990s have shown that the transition of Berlin to a new position in the network of German and European cities has been both slow and accompanied by many problems. Notwithstanding certain highly dynamic sectors like construction (particularly of office buildings), the economic situation of the city has deteriorated in recent years. This deterioration is the net result of a series of factors: the transformation of the East German economy, formerly characterised by a low labour productivity; the restructuring of West Germany's economy; and the substantial reduction in federal subsidies to West Berlin. Deindustrialisation has severely hit the urban economy, leading to an unemployment rate which is now well above the German average. Although the reduction of jobs in East Berlin was initially much higher than in West Berlin, in recent years unemployment has been a fraction lower in the eastern part of the city. The reason is that the skill level of East Berlin's working population is higher than that of West Berlin's, and thus East Berliners have been able to take up jobs in West Berlin, jobs for which the unskilled inhabitants of West Berlin are simply not qualified. In East Berlin, recent decades have clearly seen a process of professionalisation (see Hamnett, 1994), whereas West Berlin is characterised by a more polarised structure, with a large group of German and foreign members of the labour force with low skills and another group of highly skilled workers predominantly employed by the public sector, in universities, research institutions, public administration and cultural functions. As in many West German cities—where the process of deindustrialisation has been going for the past two decades—the guestworker population of West Berlin is disproportionally affected by unemployment.

This paper concentrates on the characteristics and transformation of the housing system after unification, and its relationship to the segregation of the foreign population. These are some aspects of the processes of restructuring and transformation which are now under way in Berlin. As economic restructuring, changes in housing markets, the transformation of the political system and shifts in Berlin's demographic structure are closely interconnected, and should all be taken into account in analysing changes in urban neighbourhoods, some background information on recent developments is necessary. First, the housing structure and its regulatory framework in East and West Berlin before unification are compared and the consequences for the spatial segregation of ethnic minorities are discussed. The second part deals with recent changes in the housing market, focusing especially on East Berlin's transformation from a communist to a capitalist system. In Germany and particularly in Berlin, the transformation since 1989 has

been accompanied by an increase in immigration. Therefore, in the final part, an analysis of the recent situation of foreigners in East and West Berlin is outlined, with emphasis on the relationships between housing and immigrants, and the spatial distribution of different ethnic minorities in both parts of the city.

The Housing System in East and West Berlin before Unification

East Berlin

The housing structure of East Berlin was characterised by elements typical of a 'socialist city' and embedded in the housing system of the former GDR. There has been a debate in recent years over whether the housing system of the former socialist countries in eastern Europe can be adequately comprehended through the use of a common east European housing model (see Hegedüs and Tosics, 1991; Lowe, 1994; Clapham, 1995). Since factors like tenure status were clearly different in various communist countries, it has been questioned whether a common model would be useful. But even if the outcomes were different, the formation processes showed a high degree of similarity, and therefore the housing model can be seen as a useful analytical tool, as Clapham (1995) has argued in a recent overview of the housing situation in this part of Europe.

Following Clapham (1995), four major elements of the former east European housing system can be distinguished, all of which were valid for East Germany. The first element is state ownership and distribution with the ideal that state agencies should own the dwellings and distribute them according to defined needs. Secondly, centrally planned production determined the amount, type and location of housing. Thirdly, housing was seen as a basic need, access to which should not be hindered by financial barriers. Therefore, and this is the fourth element, market mechanisms should be abolished as well as private ownership—at least for rented dwellings.

Because of financial constraints and the persistence of structures from the former capitalist housing system—particularly the private ownership of old residential buildings—these central principles of the eastern European housing system were nowhere fully implemented. Moreover, the importance of housing was different in various phases of the socialist economies. In the 1950s and early 1960s, priority was usually given to investment in manufacturing industries, especially in heavy industry, as production needs took the lead over consumption, housing and infrastructure. During the 1960s, new construction methods for industrialised buildings were developed which were then used to construct large high-rise housing estates.

All these general elements of an eastern European housing model can be found in the former GDR and particularly in East Berlin (see Marcuse and Staufenbiel, 1991; Marcuse and Schumann, 1992). Private housing property as well as the traditional densely inhabited old buildings (*Mietskasernen*) were seen as a remnant of a former capitalist system and therefore neglected, whilst the bulk of new residential construction was built by the state. After 1973, a comprehensive housing programme was realised in East Berlin by state-run companies and housing co-operatives and, by 1986, nearly 200 000 new apartments had been constructed, mostly in large housing estates. This amounts to about 20 per cent of all new housing units built during this time in the GDR. Huge housing estates were concentrated in the peripheral areas of the city, not in neighbouring towns or villages, but some can also be found in central parts of the city. An example of the newly built 'hyper-settlements' in East Berlin is Hellersdorf (see Figure 1) with nearly 32 000 apartments constructed in the second half of the 1980s, for which Pensley (1995) has shown the strong influence of state policy and city planning. The flats were of a few standardised types and built specifically to house nuclear families. Although the stereotyped architecture and the design of neighbourhoods was not

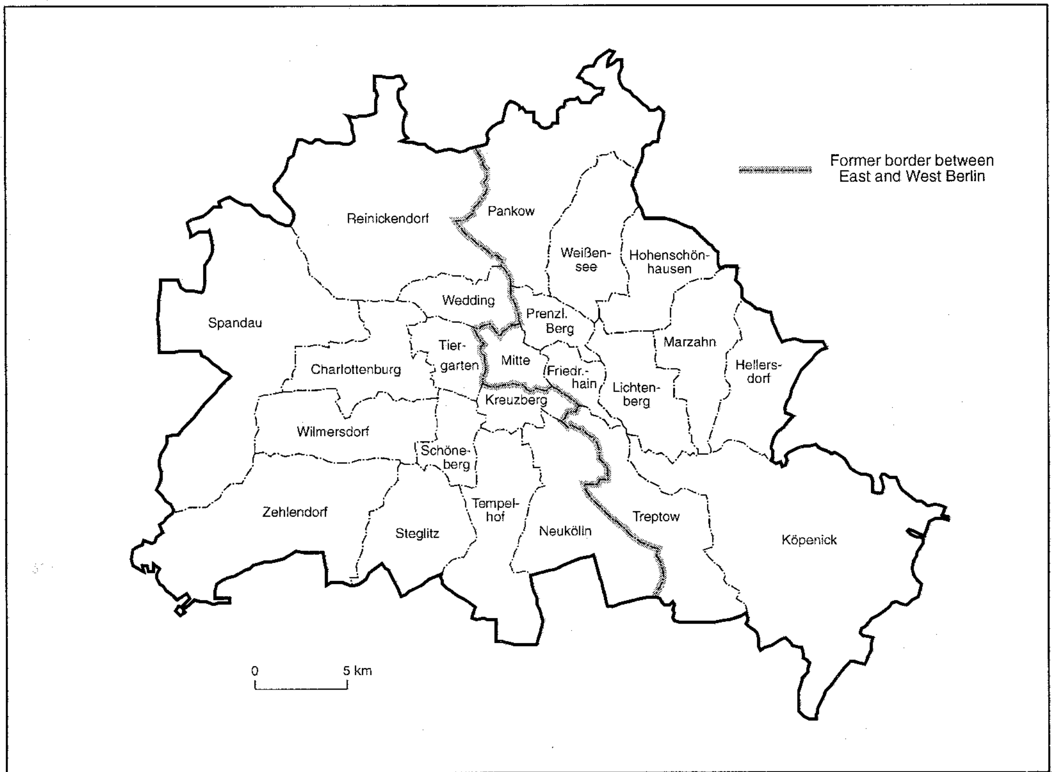

Figure 1. Districts (*Bezirke*) in Berlin.

positively valued by most residents, there was a high demand for these dwellings because of their modernness (see Hannemann, 1992).

According to the housing model, in East Berlin as in the GDR in general the rents were very low with those of the old building stock frozen at the level of 1936 and rents for new apartments only slightly higher. It has been estimated that the rents amounted to 25 per cent of the actual costs of management, maintenance and repairs (Krätke, 1992, p. 223). Since only a minor part of personal incomes was spent on housing, rent levels were not a criterion for the selection or allocation of a new flat. In 1989, rents amounted to 2.4 per cent of the average household income of manual workers or employees (Winkler, 1990, p. 170).

Not only was the construction of new residential buildings executed by state companies, but also the housing allocation was regulated by official commissions of the city or the districts of East Berlin which used nation-wide rules (Hinrichs, 1992). Most important was the general rule of a close correspondence between size of households and size of dwellings. The number of rooms (excluding the kitchen) should equal the number of household members or household size minus one. By the second part of this rule—household size minus one—a two-person household, for example, could get a one-room apartment (Häußermann, 1996, p. 18). This was sometimes criticised by East German housing experts and sociologists as amounting to overcrowding (see Mende, 1983). In Berlin as in other big cities, the demand for an apartment was much greater than the supply, and most applicants had to join a waiting list according to some preferential criteria. Apart from ‘fighters against

fascism' who had actively opposed the Nazis, the socialist meritocracy, soldiers, shift-workers and university graduates, preference was given to young families with children. This allocation process may have been one important reason for early marriage and parenthood in East Germany (Friedrichs and Kahl, 1991, p. 180). A further special element of the allocation process was the influence of big state-owned manufacturing firms. These enterprises were often given a quota of newly built houses to distribute to their employees. Specially designed small apartments were also allocated to foreign workers employed by the firm.

West Berlin

The housing system of the FRG is integrated in a market economy and thus dominated by market processes. Yet there are important differences between Western countries according to the regulation and the structure of the housing system (see Lichtenberger, 1995; Schmitter Heisler, 1994). So a relatively large sector of rented apartments, private and public, is typical of West Germany as is a rather low proportion of owner-occupation. Moreover, the federal system has generated regional differences in tenure structure, social housing and other elements. This is particularly relevant for West Berlin. Unlike those of many cities in Western Germany, the housing market of West Berlin was heavily regulated and subsidised during the post-war era. Among several sub-markets with varying degrees of accessibility, the most important one has been the social housing sector with access being regulated by household income, differentiated by size of household and family type. Between 1948 and 1987, nearly 550 000 housing units were constructed which amounts to about one-half of the total housing stock in 1987. Of these new apartments, 78 per cent were built with the aid of public subsidies, which meant that they were subject to rent control. However, the proportion of social housing has gradually fallen and will continue to fall as a consequence of changes in the federal government's housing policy.

For a long time, the second major housing sub-market—privately owned buildings constructed before World War II—was also subject to rent restrictions. Until 1988 in West Berlin a special rent limitation in old residential buildings was in force. The third sub-market, that of owner-occupiers, is unusually low even in comparison with other West German cities. In 1989, only 10 per cent of all housing units belonged to this sector; 6 per cent houses and 4 per cent flats (*Berlin-Handbuch*, 1992, p. 1386). This is all the more remarkable as a 'normal' suburbanisation process was prevented by the GDR border and was partly substituted for by a sort of 'inner suburbanisation' within the wide limits of the city area—i.e. the construction of new residential areas with owner-occupied houses or rental apartments in the outer parts of the city.

Altogether, after 40 years of separation, the housing provision in West Berlin was clearly of a higher standard than in East Berlin on average. The quantitative housing indicators of Table 1 show more living space and more rooms for the population of West Berlin, but also indicators of housing quality

Table 1. Housing indicators in East Berlin, 1989, and West Berlin, 1987

	East Berlin, 1989	West Berlin, 1987
Housing units per 1000 population	493	514
Living space per inhabitant (sq m)	30.4	37.4
Living space per housing unit (sq m)	61.3	69.5
Rooms per dwelling	3.4	3.6

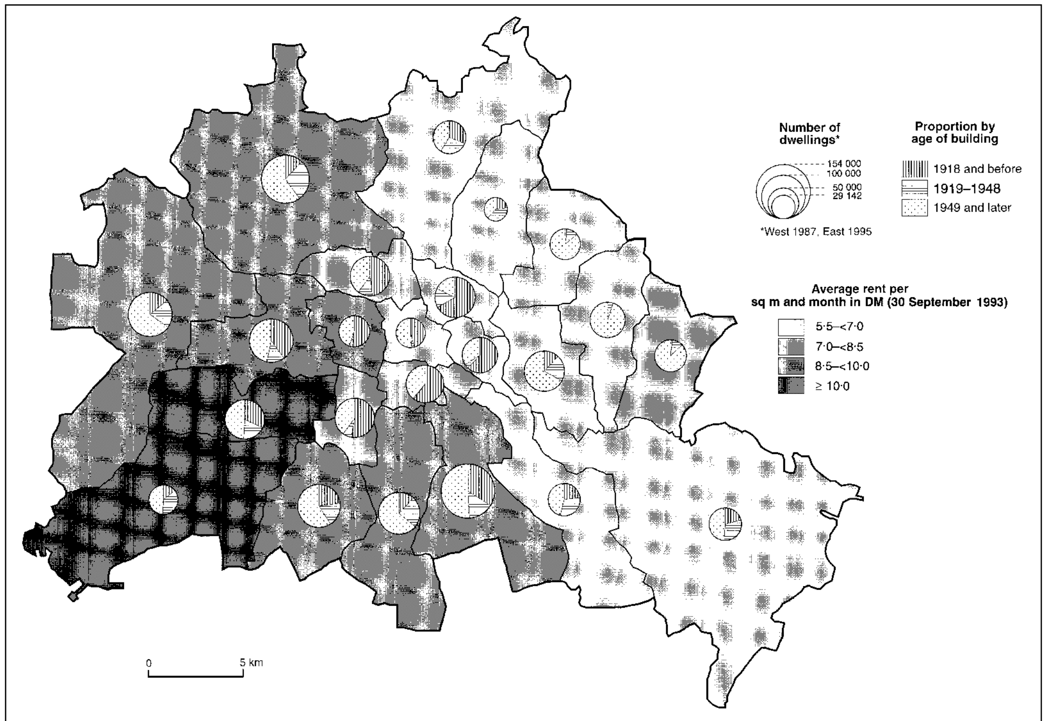

Figure 2. Building age and rent level of dwellings in Berlin.

favour West Berlin. At the time of the last census in the GDR, in 1981, 11.5 per cent of all housing units in East Berlin had no lavatory within the apartment. The corresponding figure for West Berlin was 1.7 per cent in 1987. In 1993, more than one-quarter of all flats in East Berlin were heated by stoves; in West Berlin less than one-tenth. The situation in the East is a consequence of long neglect of the old building stock with decades of decay and undermaintenance and underinvestment.

To conclude this section on housing in East and West Berlin, Figure 2 gives some statistics on building age and rent levels. The rents for the year 1993 with low values in the East give an impression of a situation typical of the time after unification which will be dealt with in the following sections.

Housing and Segregation of Foreign Minorities in East and West Berlin before Unification

It can be assumed that the different housing markets should have different effects on the spatial distribution, and therefore on the segregation, of population groups. The focus is here on ethnic minorities. Whilst housing and segregation of foreign immigrants in West German cities and in West Berlin have often been analysed since the influx of the so-called guestworkers, there have been no detailed studies on housing and spatial segregation of different population groups in East German cities.

East Berlin

It can be argued that, due to the regulation process for housing in East Berlin, there should have been a strong demographic segregation with young families and children concentrating in newly built areas, whereas social segregation should be low as a consequence of a deliberate policy for social mixture. Whether there was ethnic segregation depends first of all on the number of immigrants, since indigenous ethnic minorities like Jews or Gypsies were more or less absent after World War II in East as well as in West Berlin.

In the socialist cities of central Europe, the immigrant numbers were normally rather low, and East Berlin was no exception. In 1989, 191 000 foreign immigrants lived in the GDR corresponding to 1.2 per cent of the population. In East Berlin, the proportion of 1.6 per cent was above average. The immigrants were composed of three sub-groups in the main (see Müller-Hartmann, 1991). First, a minority of 43 000 foreigners possessed permanent residence permits. Most of them were females married to Germans, and who came from east European countries such as the former Soviet Union, Hungary or the former Czechoslovakia. Since the educational status and qualifications of these migrants were generally high, they lived overproportionally in large cities, with many employed in graduate or skilled technical positions (Schmidt, 1991). Because of the absence of social and economic segregation, a low level of spatial segregation of this group is to be expected.

The majority of foreign immigrants belonged to the second sub-group of contract workers. In the 1980s, the East German economy was in need of workers in some manufacturing industries like mining and heavy industry, and agreements were made with a number of socialist Third World countries such as Vietnam, Angola, Mozambique and Cuba for the provision of cheap immigrant workers. The cultural distance of these countries from East Germany was much greater than that between West Germany and the Mediterranean countries from which the West gained most of its migrants. It was intended that the contract workers would only stay for a limited period—the maximum being four years—and that social integration should be discouraged. Thus the immigrants were deliberately concentrated in hostels and boarding houses, often near to the industrial areas where they worked, or in high-rise apartment houses built specially for guestworkers. This situation is similar to the first phase of guestworker migration to West Germany. Although the housing systems in East and West Germany have been very different, the outcome for one special group is sometimes quite similar. But the social life of the immigrants in East and West was clearly different. Whereas in the West early guestworkers typically spent much of their free time not in the crowded hostels but in public spaces like railway stations, parks and green spaces, the leisure and social life of the eastern contract workers was more collectively organised, mostly near the apartments or the factories. The big enterprises of the GDR normally offered a wide variety of social, cultural and other services to their workers and some special services were offered to contract workers. Apart from some official events, the social life of the immigrants was deliberately isolated from the lifespaces of the native population, thereby preventing any social integration (see Schmidt, 1991). In contrast to the first subgroup of migrants with distinct social integration and low segregation within the urban area, for the contract workers a high degree of segregation is to be expected because of their concentration, at least at a fine spatial scale.

Apart from high-status immigrants and contract workers, a third sub-group can be distinguished consisting of short-term migrants from eastern European countries employed in unskilled and skilled positions or as seasonal workers staying some weeks or months—for example, in construction. In this sub-group, Polish migrants in particular could be found with spatial concentrations in the border regions to Poland, but also in Berlin with a distance of less than 100 km from Poland.

West Berlin

One of the larger differences between East and West Berlin has been the visible appearance of ethnic minorities. Whereas the numbers in East Berlin were low and the 'exotic' contract workers were isolated in peripheral and industrial areas, the daily life in many inner-city areas of Kreuzberg, Wedding and other districts of West Berlin (see Figure 1) is characterised by the presence of many immigrants from Turkey and other Mediter-

ranean countries. Since the early 1960s, the 'guestworkers' came to West Berlin and later on many, particularly Turks, were followed by their families. In 1991, about 320 000 foreigners lived in West Berlin, the largest ethnic community being the Turks with 135 000 inhabitants. The percentage of foreigners per total population was 15 per cent, which is not an exceptionally high figure in comparison with other West German cities. Particularly in southern Germany, the proportion of foreigners is often much higher; in Munich 23 per cent of the population are foreigners, in Frankfurt 28 per cent and in Stuttgart 24 per cent (all figures 1992).

Concerning housing and the spatial segregation of guestworkers in West Berlin and other West German cities, an extensive literature of the late 1970s and the 1980s has dealt with these questions (see Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik, 1977; Hoffmann-Nowotny and Hondrich, 1982; Bürkner, 1987; Reimann, 1987). With regard to the housing situation of the immigrants, four phases can be distinguished. In the 1960s, when predominantly male workers arrived, they were lodgers in factory-provided homes and boarding houses or in low-quality sub-let accommodation with little living space. In the second phase, during the 1970s, many families arrived and the immigrants used the sector of privately rented accommodation in inner-city areas, mostly in old poorly maintained buildings. During the 1980s, the third period, more and more immigrants in search of better and more permanent accommodation entered the social housing sector, and where they could get apartments in older buildings or in high-rise housing estates which were not attractive to the German population. As in other West European countries, ethnic minorities concentrate in the sub-sector of 'downgraded' social housing (Blanc, 1991), even though the guestworkers—like all immigrants with a residence permit—formally have the same access to social housing as the native population (see Faist and Häußermann, 1996). This may be the result of discriminatory practices of private landlords or managers of non-profit housing associations. If several people with relatively low income apply for an apartment, landlords often choose Germans ahead of foreigners. Only local authorities must proceed according to the urgency of a case, but they dispose of a minor part of social housing. In many other cases, private builders had been subsidised to construct low-income housing. In the 1990s, a fourth phase is well in progress characterised by a growing proportion of foreign owner-occupiers. According to Sen and Goldberg (1994), 11 per cent of the Turkish households in Germany are already owner-occupiers and this figure will certainly rise, since one-third of Turks have saving agreements in building societies.

In describing and explaining the housing situation of the guestworkers in West Germany, some authors have used the concept of segmentation of housing markets and housing classes (Ipsen, 1978; Gans, 1984; O'Loughlin *et al.*, 1987; see also van Kempen and Özüekren in this issue). In correspondence with the concepts of housing classes and housing segmentation (see Rex and Moore, 1967; Rex, 1971), it was found that the guestworkers in West German cities of the 1970s and early 1980s were overrepresented in sectors of privately rented dwellings, nearly absent in the sector of owner-occupation, and had to pay more rent for apartments of the same quality in comparison with Germans. This concentration in certain sub-sectors could be attributed to overt or indirect discrimination, low financial means and limited information (see Waldorf, 1990). Yet O'Loughlin *et al.* (1987) argued in a detailed analysis of an inner-city district in Düsseldorf that the concept of housing classes could only partially be transferred to the housing conditions in West Germany. They distinguished the quantitatively dominant sector of rental flats by ownership (private landlord, living in the house or not, housing association) and found only weak relationships between these sub-sectors and the presence of foreign immigrants. The authors concluded that not only discrimination in housing allocation was responsible for

immigrants' housing 'choice', but also social networks. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that discrimination is an important factor in housing allocation. On the basis of an empirical study of the housing situation and allocation of guestworkers in the Ruhr area, relying on the theoretical work of the sociologist Norbert Elias (Elias and Scotson, 1965), Eichener (1990) has argued that the prejudices of many natives against alien lifestyles are responsible for the discrimination and that many urban managers responsible for allocating social housing acted on these prejudices by concentrating guestworkers in residential areas with relatively unattractive dwellings.

As a consequence of such concentration, ethnic segregation must be expected. Yet in comparison with American cities, the process of ghetto formation has been slow in West Germany, not least because housing types typically occur in a fine spatial mixture. Thus many studies of ethnic segregation in West German cities have shown medium values. Particularly for West Berlin, Holzner (1982) thus rejected the 'myth of Turkish ghettoes'. Although strong segregation in a whole residential neighbourhood is largely absent, there is more segregation at the scale of the residential building. For the West Berlin of the late 1970s, it has been shown that this segregation was more prevalent for Turks than for Greeks or Yugoslavs (Socialdata, 1980) and this was explained by the special importance of social contacts for Turkish housing choices.

The housing condition of the immigrants in West Berlin before reunification can be described in detail using the results of the last housing census of 1987 (Tuchscherer, 1993). Table 2 presents selected indicators for the housing conditions of households differentiated by the citizenship of their members. Unfortunately, the data do not allow the separation of foreign nationalities. But, in 1987, 64 per cent of all foreigners in West Berlin came from the Mediterranean recruitment countries. Therefore the guestworker population clearly dominated the composition of foreigners.

Concerning the foreigners, a two-fold classification is used with households consisting only of foreign members separated from households with foreigners and Germans. About 6.6 per cent of all private households in 1987 belong to the first group and a remarkable proportion of 2.5 per cent to the second. Only 1 per cent of these two groups were owner-occupiers as opposed to 11 per cent of German households. The majority of the foreign households (53 per cent) lived in the old building stock constructed before World War I, nearly all of them in privately rented flats. The households with only foreign members are underrepresented in inter-war residential buildings and in homes built during the 1950s and 1960s, but again overrepresented in new buildings constructed since the late 1970s. Many of these new buildings belong to the social housing sector.

From 1979 onwards, the city government of West Berlin requested that the municipal housing companies should let a minimum of 10 per cent of all new and unoccupied apartments to foreigners and this figure was raised to 15 per cent in 1982 (Senatsverwaltung, 1995). Yet this requirement has not been regularly controlled and it seems that it is often not satisfied. In 1987, only 7 per cent of all social housing units in West Berlin were occupied by foreign or 'mixed' households, and the figures in Table 2 show that foreign households in particular are underrepresented in the social housing sector. Nevertheless, foreigners were particularly successful in obtaining social housing in those housing estates and residential buildings constructed in the 1980s.

In connection with the overrepresentation of old residential buildings, the housing quality indicators are relatively low for the households of foreigners. Only 55 per cent of the apartments have modern amenities with bath, lavatory and central heating, whilst 41 per cent are still stove-heated. Even more marked are the disparities in dwelling size in relationship to size of households. If overcrowding is defined as a situation where there are more household members than

Table 2. Housing indicators for households with German, foreign and mixed members, West Berlin, 1987

	Households with German members	Households with foreign members	Households with German and foreign members
All households			
Percentage of households with over crowding (more members than rooms)	1.5	24.2	9.4
Percentage of housing units with bath, lavatory and central heating	76.4	55.1	79.8
Percentage of housing units in buildings built before 1918	30.5	53.3	34.4
Percentage of social housing	41.7	29.8	42.2
Renters only			
Living space per person (sq m)	37.7	22.2	26.8
Rooms per person	1.92	1.13	1.30

Source: Tuchscherer (1993).

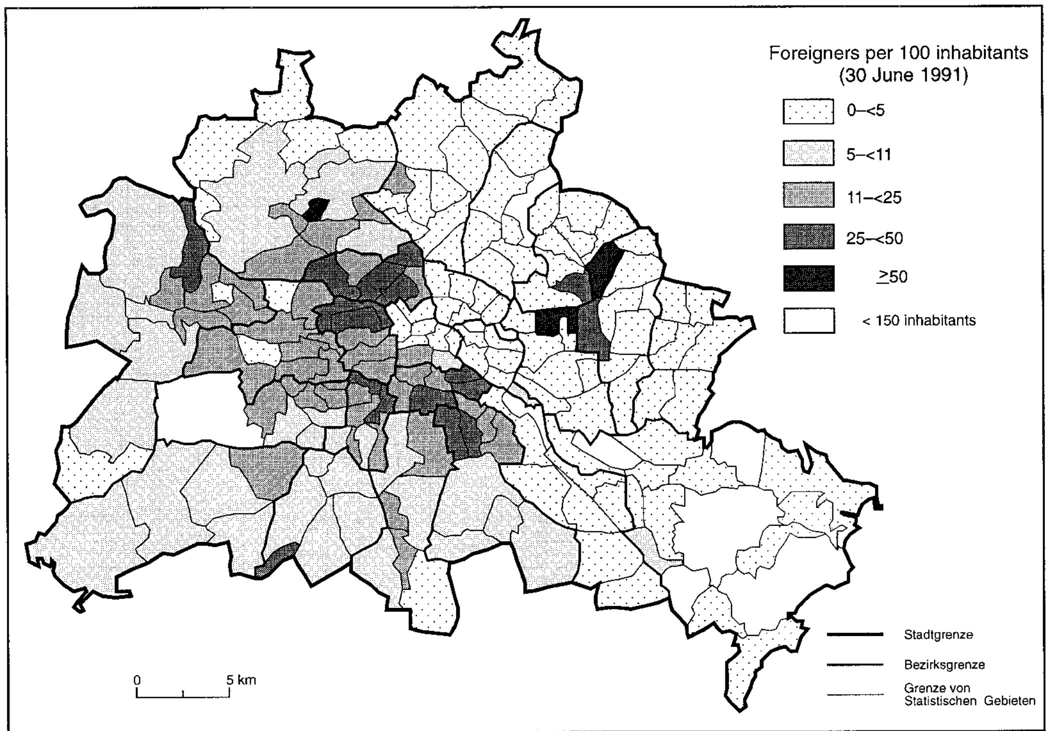

Figure 3. Percentage of foreigners per population, 30 June 1991.

rooms including the kitchen, nearly one-quarter of the foreign households were over-crowded as opposed to a minute value of 1.5 per cent for the German ones. The mixed households lie between them, and this is related to a relatively high size of household. Whereas 7 per cent of the German households had 4 members or more, the corresponding figures are 29.6 per cent for foreign households and 27.3 per cent for mixed ones. In contrast to the foreigners, mixed households have been more successful in obtaining from the social housing sector apartments with modern appointments.

Ethnic Segregation in West and East Berlin

As a result of this housing situation, the foreign population in West Berlin has been concentrated in inner-city areas with old building stock, and during the 1970s increasingly entered the social housing sector. Newly built residential estates with social housing were erected in peripheral districts and, on a smaller scale, also in inner-city redevelopment areas. Therefore, it can be assumed that there was a spatial diffusion process in the urban location of foreigners, yet with remaining concentrations in inner-urban quarters. Thus, there should be a tendency for lower segregation in West Berlin.

This hypothesis can be tested with data relating to the foreign population on the areal basis of 97 statistical units. The segregation index (index of dissimilarity between Germans and foreigners) was 36.9 in 1974, 34.9 in 1982 (after Senatsverwaltung, 1995, p. 32) and 32.1 in mid 1991. These values clearly show the slight tendency towards reduction according to the hypothesis. A map of the foreign population in 1991 (Figure 3) demonstrates that in West Berlin foreigners still concentrate in inner-city areas, particularly in those close to the Wall and therefore in a niche which has been protected for a

long time against invasion by offices and high-class shops.

The map also shows the spatial distribution of foreigners in East Berlin in mid 1991, 10 months after unification. This is the first time for which comparable data exists in both parts of the city. The proportions of foreigners in East Berlin are for the most part very low; there are no concentrations in inner-city districts with old building stock, but there are some 'spots' where a majority of foreigners do exist—in industrial areas (Lichtenberg) and on the periphery of the city. In these statistical areas with relatively low population figures, contract workers were concentrated in hostels, and this situation still characterises the 1991 situation even if some of the workers had already left Berlin. Therefore, it can be assumed that the segregation in East Berlin should be higher than in West Berlin, and this is confirmed by an index of 36.8 compared with 32.1 in the West. The difference is, however, quite small, and this may already be the result of the re-migration of contract workers. In 1991, foreigners from former recruitment countries in the Third World were a minority of less than one-quarter of the foreign population in East Berlin, the most important group being Vietnamese. Few of the Vietnamese re-migrated, with many attempting to stay in Germany by applying for asylum. Moreover, the population figures of the statistical areas in East Berlin are smaller on average than in the West, and it is recognised that the segregation index depends on population size, with increasing values for higher spatial resolution. Attempts were made to aggregate the smallest areas in East Berlin. When this was done, East Berlin's segregation index was only marginally higher than that of West Berlin.

Housing Market Changes after Unification

Following Baross and Struyk (1993), four general characteristics are common to the transition in the housing sector of eastern European countries. The first is decentralisation of state responsibility for housing provision and privatisation of the state housing stock. In accordance with this, the large sector of residential buildings owned by the state in East Germany has been transferred to municipal housing companies. These companies nowadays administer about half of the total residential building stock in Berlin and more than three-quarters in East Berlin. For privatisation, which "may be the single most distinguishing feature of the transition" (Baross and Struyk, 1993, p. 180), two variants are important.

The first is the sale of former state housing units to tenants, and such programmes have been performed in many countries at very low prices. East Germany is an exception because the prices are high, adjusted to the level in West Germany (see Clapham, 1995). The municipal housing companies have a vested interest in privatisation, since they receive significant reduction of their debts from the state if they sell 15 per cent of their housing units (Schulz, 1993). Nevertheless, until now most tenants have been reluctant to buy their apartment. The second type of privatisation is restitution of socialised property to former owners. In East Berlin, more than 100 000 applications for restitution have been made, concentrating in the inner-city districts with a lot of old building stock (Schulz, 1993), but only a few cases had been decided by 1997. More important for many tenants is the insecurity about future development of their flat (see Häußermann, 1995). Altogether in East Germany, privatisation until now has been fairly limited, and the owner-occupancy rate has not risen significantly since 1990 (Frick and Lehmann, 1996).

The second common feature according to Baross and Struyk (1993) are reductions in housing production and restructuring of supply. This is also typical of East Germany in general and of East Berlin. The number of newly built residences in East Berlin decreased from nearly 18 000 in 1988, which amounted to 80 per cent of the total figure in East and West Berlin, to about 1000 in 1993 (15 per cent of Berlin). In recent years, resi-

dential building activities have again been expanding.

Thirdly, long-term housing finance is remodelled according to mortgage markets in Western countries. In contrast to other east European countries, this change did not occur step by step, but suddenly with unification and integration into the West German system. As opposed to this, the fourth characteristic featuring the reform of the rental sector has occurred in a more stepwise fashion, but in a relatively short time. This is particularly valid concerning rents, which have increased considerably since unification. In East Germany, the average rent in 1995 had increased to a level of 75 per cent of the corresponding value in West Germany. Whilst in the West there is a clear correlation between rent and size of municipality, with highest rents in the big cities, this is not the case in the new federal states. Within the size category of cities with more than 500 000 inhabitants, the average rent in the East is only 64 per cent of the level in the West (Frick and Lehmann, 1996). This shows that the rents in East Germany are still only partly determined by market-driven forces. In Berlin, this East–West gap is not so large, because of relatively low average rents in the large public housing sector. A recent survey of the housing companies has shown that in early 1996 the rent per square metre per month was about 5.50 DM in East Berlin as against 6.50 DM in West Berlin. In comparison with rents in the social housing sector of big cities in West Germany, these values are relatively low. Yet in the private rental sector and the owner-occupier sector, sharp increases in rents and prices are apparent.

What are the consequences of the housing transition in East Berlin for the housing of ethnic minorities and for ethnic segregation? Most important seems to be the decentralisation of housing regulation and privatisation which give more members of ethnic minorities a chance to move into dwellings in different residential quarters of the city. The rigidities of the old system of allocating special groups of migrants to special housing types and special areas were responsible for a relatively high segregation. Housing in East Berlin belongs to an overwhelming extent to the rental sector which is the dominant sector for ethnic minorities. Yet these new opportunities for a spatial diffusion process can only be seized by those with the ability to pay higher rents. In the long run, market developments will certainly enforce distinct spatial variations in rent level dependent on such factors as housing quality, attractiveness of residential neighbourhood and distance from the city centre, but until now existing rent restrictions in East Berlin continue the former system of low spatial variations on a higher mean level. Thus it can be argued that the degree of ethnic segregation in East Berlin should decrease after unification in the short term.

Compared with West Berlin, the housing conditions in the eastern part of the city are still of a low standard, as the housing indicators in Table 3 show, even if they have clearly improved in recent years. Such improvements result from subsidies from both the federal and the city governments, as well as from private investment in higher-income rental properties. The same is valid for the qualitative appointments of the apartments. Because of renovation, bad maintenance and

Table 3. Housing indicators in East and West Berlin, 31 December 1994

	East Berlin	West Berlin
Housing stock	646 698	1 113 373
Housing units per 1000 population	497	513
Living space per inhabitant (sq m)	30.9	36.6
Living space per housing unit (sq m)	62.2	71.4
Rooms per dwelling	3.4	3.6

claims of restitution, but also a lack of demand for flats of poor quality, a lot of dwellings in East Berlin are vacant. At the beginning of 1996, more than 13 000 municipal flats were unoccupied, about 3 per cent of the public housing stock. Therefore, East Berlin offers simple and relatively inexpensive housing which could be of special interest for immigrants with low incomes. It can thus be assumed that after unification ethnic minorities will increasingly settle in East Berlin.

This general statement must be qualified in two respects. First, it can be asked which residential areas will be particularly important for foreigners and, secondly, which ethnic minorities will be involved. Although the variations in rent are low, there are of course differences in the size of dwellings and in equipment and facilities. Cheap sub-standard flats are concentrated especially in the inner-city districts with old buildings and they could be of special interest for foreigners with low incomes. A very different housing type are flats in the big housing estates at the periphery of the city. Even though they are well equipped with modern facilities and the majority of the residents still express rather high residential satisfaction, a minority have left these flats. The municipal housing companies have difficulty finding new tenants and this may be an opportunity for immigrants to get an apartment equipped with the modern comforts.

The second qualification concerns the different groups of minorities, and in this respect a short look at the recent development of immigration is necessary. The years shortly before and after 1990 were a period of strong immigration to Berlin, particularly to the western part of the city. Several migration streams all came together: migrants from East Berlin and the GDR (*Übersiedler*), ethnic Germans from eastern Europe (*Aussiedler*), asylum applicants and refugees from Yugoslavia, migrant workers from Poland and other eastern European countries. As a result, the population of West Berlin increased by 5.7 per cent between 1987 and 1994. Since this inflow was unexpected, corresponding residential building activity did not take place. Therefore, many migrants moved into the residences of relatives and friends and, for the first time for decades in West Berlin as well as in other West German cities, living space per inhabitant did not increase but declined from 37.4 sqm in 1987 to 36.6 in 1994. A decrease can also be observed for housing units per 1000 population (see Tables 1 and 3).

In East Berlin, the population figure decreased by − 0.7 per cent between 1988 and 1990, but increased by 2 per cent in the period 1990–94, particularly due to in-migration from abroad. In spite of the downturn in residential construction, the housing stock kept pace with population growth during this period. In general, it is to be expected that the 'new' migrants will be overrepresented in East Berlin because they could use the new opportunities in the housing market there. This tendency could be supported by communal authorities which are responsible for housing large groups of the new migrants, especially asylum applicants and refugees, since they must also use vacancies in the housing market which concentrate in East Berlin.

The restructuring after unification implies changes not only for East, but also for West Berlin. Concerning the economy and the labour market, many in West Berlin and particularly some members of ethnic minorities like Turks have been the losers since the unification, at least in the short run, because they have become unemployed. As to housing, the situation is more stable, but during the early 1990s the housing market tightened because of the inflow of migrants from the former GDR and from abroad which may have the effect of blocking mobility in West Berlin. Since the mid 1990s, the housing market has been relaxing and rents and house prices have been stagnant or have even fallen.

Selected Ethnic Minorities in East and West Berlin: Recent Developments

As could be expected, East Berlin has seen a

large upswing in foreign immigrants during the 1990s. Between 1990 and 1996, the foreign population increased from 26 000 to more than 70 000 and now constitutes 16 per cent of all foreigners in Berlin. This increase is connected with a spatial diffusion process in so far as the inner-urban districts with an old building stock and many sub-standard flats have got a larger share of the immigrants. Whilst at the end of 1990 only 24 per cent of all foreigners in East Berlin resided in the three inner-city districts of Mitte, Prenzlauer Berg and Friedrichshain (see Figure 1), slightly less than the corresponding proportion of the total population, in mid 1996 the proportion had risen to nearly 35 per cent. This expansion in inner-city residential areas has effected a decrease of ethnic segregation in East Berlin which is documented in Table 4. Since 1995, the segregation index of the East has been a little bit lower than that of the West, but both values are now very similar. Nevertheless, the concentration of the foreign population of West Berlin in the inner-city districts is still much greater than in East Berlin. In 1996, 43.5 per cent of the foreigners in this part of the city lived in the inner districts of Tiergarten, Wedding, Kreuzberg, Schöneberg and Charlottenburg, as against 21.6 per cent of the total population of West Berlin.

Despite these increasing similarities in spatial distributions, the ethnic as well as the demographic structure of the foreign populations in East and West Berlin remain different. Table 5 shows the stock of different foreign nationals in Berlin with the Turks as the largest group. The same 'guestworker' migration origin applies to Italians and Greeks, whereas migrants from the former Yugoslavia consist of both guestworkers and many refugees from the civil wars. High growth rates in recent times are characteristic for some eastern European countries of origin, particularly for migrants from the former Soviet Union. Nationals from Western industrialised countries form small, but not insignificant, minorities. This is also the case for some Asian minorities—such as the Vietnamese with former contract workers and the Iranians—and migrants from Lebanon with many refugees living in West Berlin for over a decade.

In West Berlin, the most important minorities are the Turks with 38 per cent of the foreign population (1996), the migrants from Yugoslavia with 17 per cent, the Poles with 6 per cent and the Italians with 3 per cent. The Yugoslavs are the largest group in East Berlin with 25 per cent of all foreigners in this part of the city, followed by Poles with 13 per cent and migrants from the former Soviet Union with about 5 per cent. Whilst in the West the guestworker nationalities still dominate, the new migrants from eastern Europe and from Yugoslavia (refugees) characterise the structure in East Berlin. For a more detailed inspection of the spatial distributions of the different ethnic minorities, four nationalities have been selected representing various types of migrant.

Table 4. Segregation indices of the foreign population in East and West Berlin between 1991 and 1996

Date	East Berlin	West Berlin
30 June 1991	36.8	32.1
30 June 1993	32.1	30.7
30 June 1995	30.2	30.4
30 June 1996	29.6	30.1

The Turkish Population

The large minority of the Turkish population in Berlin is presented in Figure 4. The highest proportions can be found in the inner-city districts of Wedding, Kreuzberg and Neukölln near the former border between East and West Berlin, but they are also present in most statistical areas of West Berlin. The inner-city districts with many big apartment houses constructed before World War I have become the 'traditional' residential areas of the Turkish population, especially large quarters built for the working class. The 1970s and 1980s have seen a lot of redevelopment schemes in these districts. Whereas in the early years old buildings

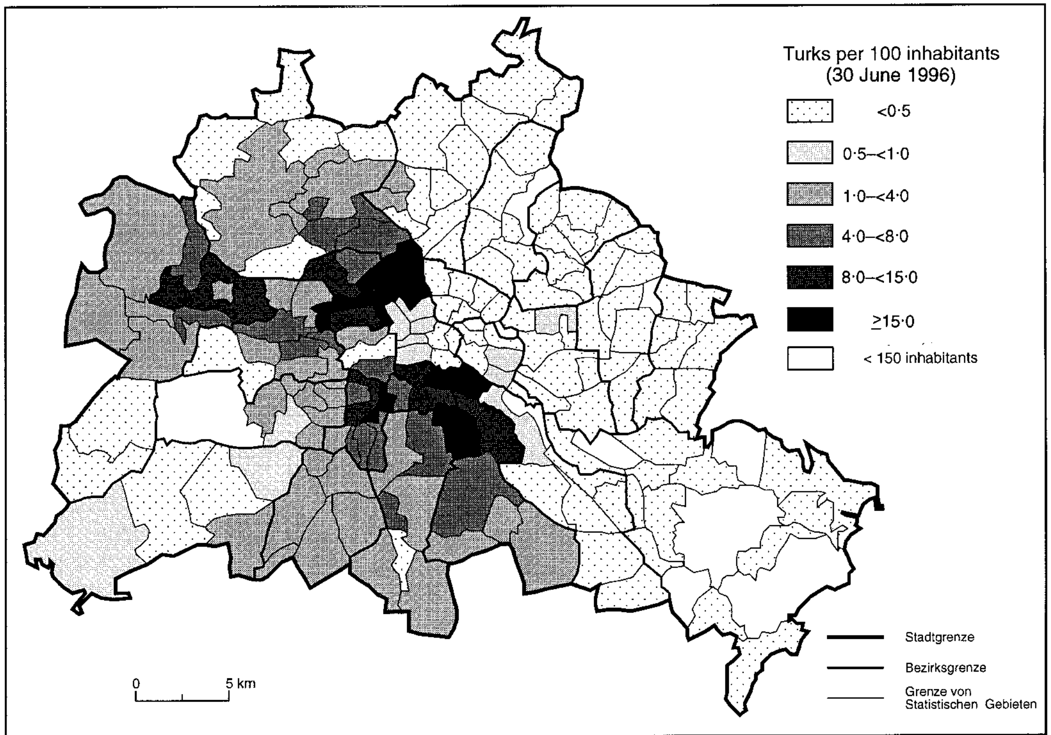

Figure 4. Percentage of Turks per population, 30 June 1996.

were often replaced by new blocks of flats—and in some of them the Turkish population were replaced by Germans—in the 1980s renovation and preservation of old structures were more typical. The famous International Building Exhibition of the mid 1980s concentrated on Kreuzberg, where programme for community-oriented urban renewal included the participation of the Turkish residents.

What is particularly striking in Figure 4, is the sharp divide between East and West, since the Turks show minimal percentages in eastern districts like Prenzlauer Berg with a similar housing stock to that of Wedding and Kreuzberg. Only 2 per cent of the total Turkish population in Berlin is living in the eastern part of the city. Therefore, the segregation index for the Turks is the highest among the more important foreign minority groups (58 on the basis of the statistical areas, index of dissimilarity between Turks and Germans).

One explanation for the absence of Turks in East Berlin in comparison to other minorities may be the relatively low inflow since unification (see Table 5), but many Turkish individuals and families from the second generation of immigrants have been in search of apartments of their own and only in rare cases went to East Berlin. It seems, therefore, that on the one hand Turks prefer residential areas with a social network and infrastructure of their own group and change residence with the support of familial and social contacts (see Senatsverwaltung, 1995), and that on the other hand many may be afraid of moving to quarters in the East, perhaps in fear of discrimination. As several public opinion polls have shown, a relatively high percentage of the population of East Germany has prejudiced attitudes towards foreigners and particularly against Turks, even if this group is nearly absent in the new federal states. This hypothesis remains to be proven. A further explanation may be that

Table 5. Foreigners by country of nationality in Berlin, 30 June 1996

Rank	Country of nationality	Absolute number	Percentage per foreign population	Percentage growth 1991–96
1	Turkey	137 674	31.3	+ 1.4
2	Former Yugoslavia	78 579	17.9	+ 118.1
3	Poland	29 609	6.7	+ 18.2
4	Former Soviet Union[a]	20 898	4.9	+ 113.7
5	Italy	11 852	2.7	+ 35.5
6	Greece	10 335	2.3	+ 11.0
7	USA	9 695	2.2	+ 20.5
8	UK	8 510	1.9	+ 17.4
9	France	8 113	1.8	+ 19.4
10	Austria	7 189	1.6	+ 16.5
11	Vietnam	6 973	1.6	+ 0.6
12	Iran	6 660	1.5	+ 6.7
13	Lebanon	6 528	1.5	+ 4.9
Total		439 795	100.0	+ 29.0

[a] Data for 1995.

Table 6. Turkish population 1991 and 1996, by categories of districts in Berlin

Category of district	Percentage of Turkish population 1991	Percentage of Turkish population 1996	Percentage of total population, 1996
West Berlin			
1. Inner-city, high unemployment	46.6	44.9	12.0
2. Inner-city, low to medium unemployment	17.5	15.8	13.7
3. Peripheral, medium to high unemployment	32.7	34.1	28.5
4. Peripheral, low unemployment	3.0	2.9	8.4
East Berlin			
5. Inner-city	0.1	1.1	9.4
6. Large modern housing estates	0.0	0.3	12.0
7. Other	0.1	0.9	16.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	135 729	137 674	3 438 838

many Turks, having lived for decades in Berlin, are searching for a new residence of better quality and not for a cheap flat.

Because they are the quantitatively dominant ethnic minority in Berlin, the dynamics of the residential patterns of the Turkish population were analysed. Between mid 1991 and mid 1996, the Turkish population grew by 1.4 per cent—i.e. was more or less stable. A comparison of the spatial patterns on the basis of the districts in both years shows that these patterns have also remained. In Table 6 the districts have been aggregated by building age, and by the level of unemployment as an indicator of social status in West Berlin. Apart from the minor gains in East Berlin, particularly in the inner-city districts, there is a slight decrease in the inner districts of West Berlin in favour of the peripheral areas with a below-average social status. Such increases are especially relevant for Reinickendorf in the North and Tempelhof in the South, and less so for the very large district of Neukölln which incorporates an inner-city part, with many old buildings and high percentages of Turks, and a peripheral outer part. Perhaps this expansion to peripheral areas is caused by a search for better housing quality, but in general the Turkish community in Berlin has been characterised for many years by a rather high degree of segregation in inner-city areas, as comparison with the percentages of the total population in Table 6 readily shows.

The Yugoslav Population

Migrants from the former Yugoslavia at first came to West Berlin as guestworkers, but the numbers more than doubled after 1991 because of a large influx of refugees from Bosnia and Serbia. Many of these refugees found shelter in the apartments of relatives who had been staying in Berlin for years, yet the majority were accommodated by municipal offices in residential homes and hostels, which are deliberately scattered throughout the city, as well as in social housing. Figure 5 shows that, apart from concentrations in the inner-city districts of West Berlin with a guestworker population, there exist 'pockets' with very high values indicating the location of hostels in areas with low density. Not least because of the distribution of refugees in all

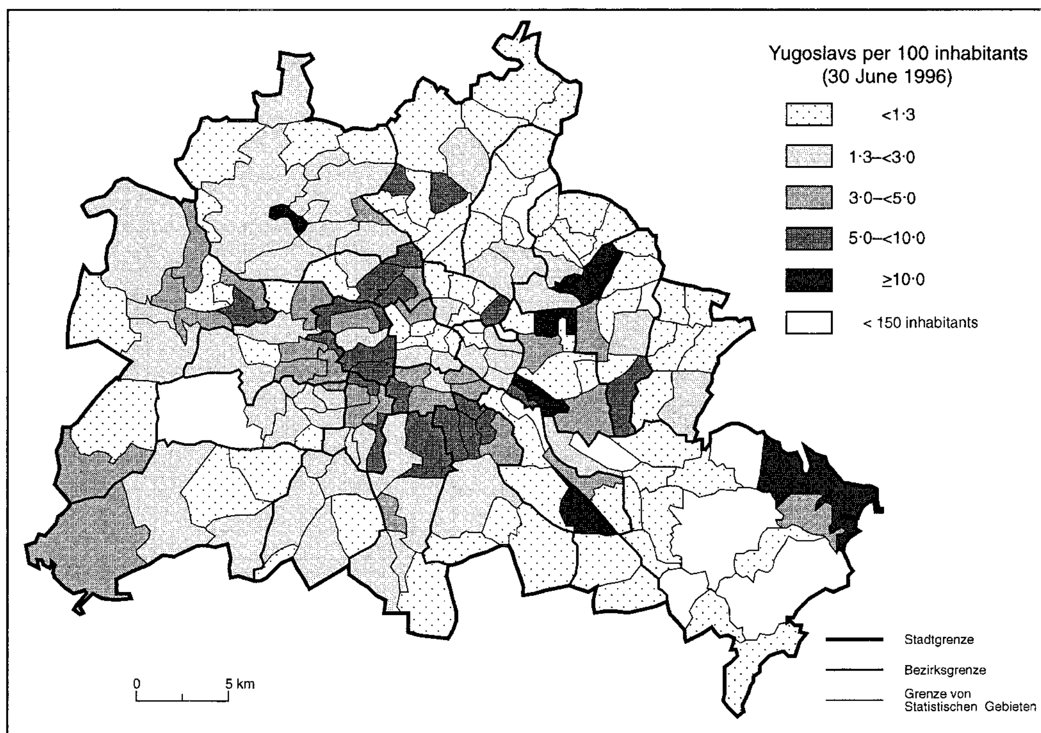

Figure 5. Percentage of Yugoslavs per population, 30 June 1996.

districts of the city, the share of East Berlin in this group with 21 per cent is much higher than in the case of the Turkish population, and the segregation index is relatively low (38 on the basis of the statistical areas).

For a more detailed analysis of the residential patterns, it would be useful to separate the refugees from the guestworker population. Whilst available data do not allow this, an approximation is possible by means of nationality. Most of the nearly 29 000 Bosnian refugees living in Berlin have the nationality of the new state of Bosnia, whereas a minority still hold an older passport with the Yugoslav nationality. The foreigners in Berlin with such a Yugoslav nationality are composed of a majority of the guestworker population, a minority of citizens from the 'new' Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and other new migrants with old passports. Table 7 shows the spatial distributions by nationality and type of district. As could be expected, the Bosnian refugees are widely dispersed all over the city as a consequence of their accommodation by local councils, although some high-status districts like Zehlendorf and Wilmersdorf received only a low proportion of Bosnians. A clear overrepresentation of Yugoslav guestworkers can be observed in the old low-status districts of West Berlin.

The index of dissimilarity between Bosnians and Germans on the basis of the districts is, at 18, clearly lower than that of the 'Yugoslavs' with 26 and of the Croatians with 38. The position of the 'Yugoslavs' may be due to the non-homogeneity of this group, whereas Croatians are migrants from the early 1990s or members of the guestworker population from Croatia with new passports. That the latter group is dominant and that this is representative for the guestworkers, seem to be confirmed by a comparison with the residential patterns of all Yugoslavs in mid 1991—i.e. at a time when Croatia and Slovenia declared themselves as independent states. The two spatial patterns are very similar. They are characterised, first, by very low

Table 7. Migrants from Yugoslavia 1991 and 1996, by categories of districts in Berlin

Category of district	Percentage Yugoslavian 1991	Percentage Bosnian 1996	Percentage Croatian 1996	Percentage 'Yugoslavian' 1996
West Berlin				
1. Inner-city, high unemployment	27.2	21.5	29.5	21.4
2. Inner-city, low to medium unemployment	24.4	13.5	19.4	18.9
3. Peripheral, medium to high unemployment	38.6	24.1	38.4	33.8
4. Peripheral, low unemployment	6.5	6.5	6.8	5.8
East Berlin				
5. Inner-city	1.4	9.0	1.8	6.4
6. Large modern housing estates	0.6	9.2	0.9	5.0
7. Other	1.3	16.2	3.2	8.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	42 174	20 617	12 692	41 397

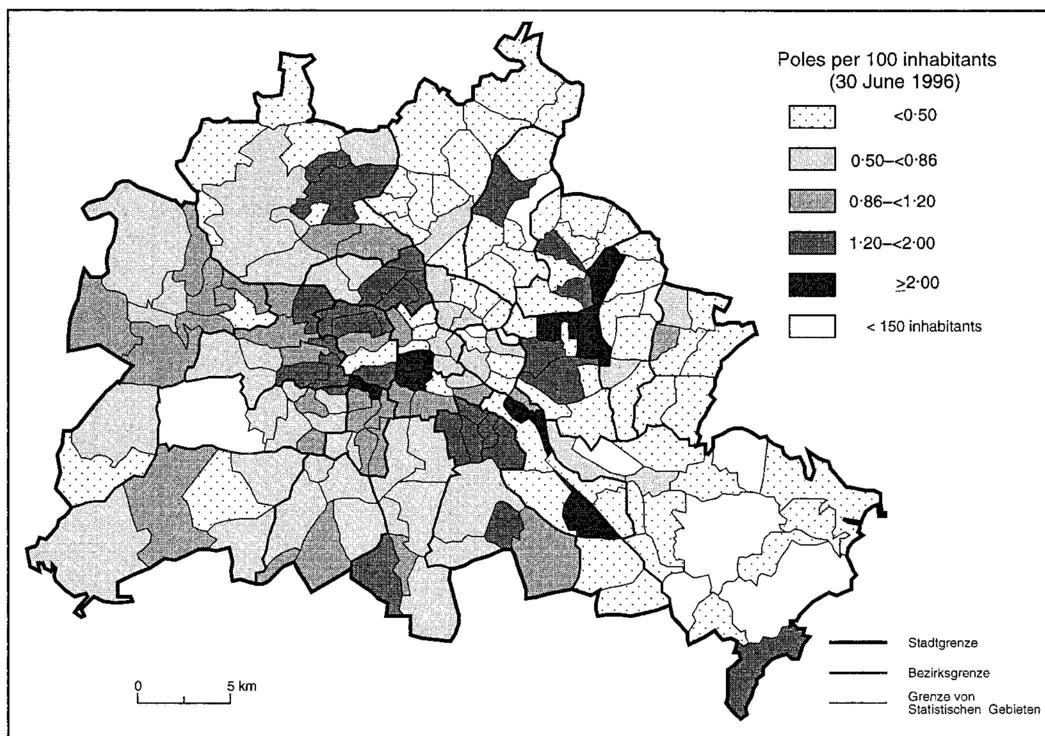

Figure 6. Percentage of Poles per population, 30 June 1996.

figures in East Berlin and, secondly, by a slight overrepresentation in the inner-city and lower-status districts of West Berlin, although this characteristic is much less pronounced than for Turks.

The Polish Population

The spatial distribution of the Poles (Figure 6) shows a similar pattern to that of the Yugoslavs and is even more balanced between East and West with a proportion of 29 per cent in East Berlin and a low segregation index of 28 on the basis of the statistical areas. Before unification, the Poles were one of the largest migrant minorities in East Germany. In West Berlin, the Polish community grew particularly during the 1980s, and relative concentrations can be found in inner-city districts of older private rental buildings, but also in more peripheral areas with large social housing estates. It seems that the Poles profited from the establishment of a quota for foreigners in public housing in the early 1980s. In East Berlin, Polish migrants are particularly represented in new high-rise estates and in industrial areas, less in the old quarters. This is a pattern inherited from the former GDR, since Poles lived in East Berlin as manual workers (industrial areas) or as well-integrated immigrants married to Germans (living, for example, in the modern flats on the housing estates).

The American Population

The fourth group of foreigners differs from the others with regard to migration motives, social status and income. Migrants from the US are the largest minority from any Western industralised country. The spatial distribution of this more or less high-status group

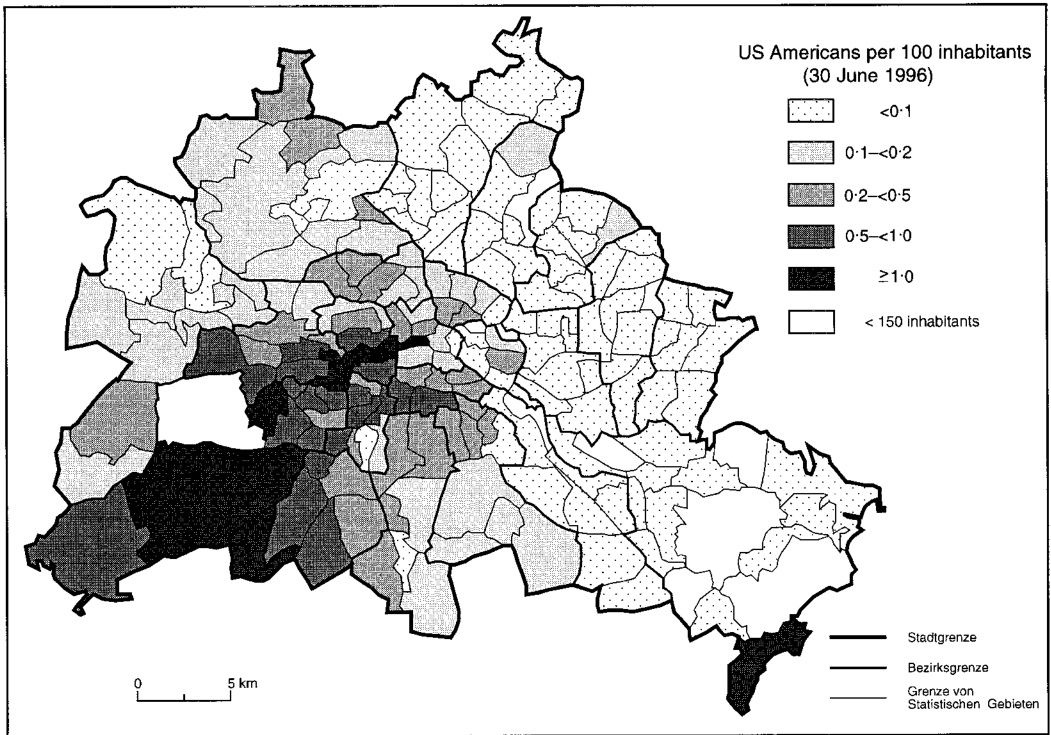

Figure 7. Percentage of Americans per population, 30 June 1996.

(Figure 7) is very different from those mentioned before. Americans are clearly overrepresented in the south-west—i.e. in districts with the highest socioeconomic status in Berlin. Apart from these areas, concentrations can also be found in central parts of Charlottenburg and Tiergarten reaching to the old city centre in district Mitte. About 9 per cent of the Americans reside in East Berlin, and here inner-city districts including Prenzlauer Berg are preferred, not peripheral high-rise estates.

The reasons for this preference are not related mainly to low rents, but are presumably more lifestyle orientated. After the collapse of the communist governments, many young Americans flocked to east European cities to participate in the urban life of these cities. Some of these came to Berlin, attracted—possibly—by the rich cultural and social life of East Berlin's inner-city districts. These districts possess an extensive infrastructure of pubs, shops and so forth, and are the centre of a student-oriented sub-culture. Thus, no sharp divide between East and West Berlin characterises the spatial distribution of Americans, but some concentrations in inner-city areas of East and West Berlin. Altogether, the index of dissimilarity between Americans and Germans is 45, indicating a relatively high degree of segregation.

Conclusion

It has been shown in this paper that, since unification, the residential segregation of the total foreign population has decreased slightly, more in East than in West Berlin. In East Berlin, this was caused by spatial diffusion especially in inner-city districts predominantly of an older building stock and rather cheap sub-standard flats. Ethnic minorities have used their chance to move into such flats. This is particularly true of those minorities coming to the city after unification and in connection with the transformation in the former communist countries. Therefore,

the largest immigrant group in the inner-city districts of East Berlin now are the Yugoslavs and migrants from eastern and central European countries. Another type of foreigner has also moved to these districts. These are mostly young singles seeking urban amenities and the special atmosphere of dense inner-city areas. Such concentrations in central districts of East Berlin can be observed for Americans, British, French and Austrians, all groups which have clearly increased in the first half of the 1990s (see Table 5).

Another category with an overrepresentation of foreigners in East Berlin is constituted by manufacturing areas. Here in the 1980s the contract workers from Third World countries were concentrated in hostels and apartment houses. Nowadays, of these contract workers only the Vietnamese remain in Berlin. Moreover, Polish workers and some minor groups like Portuguese construction workers can be found in these areas.

A third category of neighbourhoods with a lot of housing vacancies, which could be attractive for immigrants, are the big housing estates of the 1970s and the 1980s. At present, the proportions of foreigners in the peripheral districts of East Berlin characterised by these estates are still lower than average. The migrant population of these districts comprises minorities living there since the 1980s like Poles and—in marginal areas—the Vietnamese, and newcomer refugees, particularly from the former Yugoslavia. These refugees have been accommodated mostly by local councils in blocks of flats and hostels.

A policy of equal burden-sharing by the districts has led to a relatively regular distribution of refugees over most parts of Berlin, effecting a low index of segregation on a large spatial scale. The highest degree of segregation can be found for the Turkish population which still concentrates in West Berlin—i.e. in the inner-city districts with old buildings. The other guestworker nationalities like Greeks, Italians and Yugoslavs are also overrepresented in these areas, but can also be found in more peripheral districts, thereby showing a lower degree of segregation. New immigrants from eastern Europe have also come to West Berlin, and have got residences in the large old blocks of flats as well as in some public housing estates. Altogether, the examples discussed should have made plain that the residential patterns and the housing conditions of the minorities depend on the special migration history of a group, the time-period of arrival, the legal assignment and the distribution of housing by urban managers. At the moment, the available data—for example, from the housing micro-census—do not allow a precise description of the housing situation of different groups of foreigners, yet a more detailed analysis would be helpful to explain the degree of ethnic segregation as well as to develop policies for improving the housing conditions of marginalised ethnic minorities.

The variety of ethnic minorities in Berlin has clearly increased in the 1990s and the residential mosaic has become more complex. As has been emphasised in the introduction of this paper, the recent dynamics are products of the economic restructuring, the transformation of the political system and developments within the housing market. Therefore, the contexts for the work and housing of immigrants have also changed. Whilst this paper has concentrated on consequences for the residential patterns, the consequences for the labour market are no less important. The dynamics have been particularly marked in East Berlin, as the strong increase of minorities in the eastern inner-city districts has shown. But the future development of these residential areas is tied up with many questions which are relevant to immigrants. A first question concerns the effect of urban renewal and redevelopment going on in these areas. Even if until now the social structure of the inner-city neighbourhoods in East Berlin has not much changed, there are some first examples of gentrification. These processes will certainly be supported by the second aspect—the rebuilding of the city centre by the government, financial and commercial functions (see

Strom, 1996; Häußermann and Strom, 1994). By the expansion of these activities as well as by gentrification, low-income residents could be displaced. This is also relevant for ethnic minorities in inner-city areas of West Berlin where they had established themselves some decades ago in the niches along the Wall. Protection of tenants' rights until now has prevented such rapid change, but ethnic minorities often are in the weakest of positions in the housing market.

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