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• *Reurbanisation – City concept – Urbanity – Ideals*

**Ulrich Jürgens (Siegen)**

## **The “Concept” of Reurbanisation? Discussion of a Many-Faceted Term and its Variations**

*„Konzept“ Reurbanisierung? Diskussion eines vielschichtigen Begriffes und seiner Ausprägungen*

This paper discusses the various connotations, lines of development and origins of the term reurbanisation. In this discussion deterministic process models that describe the process of reurbanisation in a statistical-empirical way as a trend away from suburbanisation and exurbanisation complement and are complemented by complex theories that include and assess spatio-economic and sociological aspects in their arguments. The term reurbanisation is based on an idealised city concept from the past the meaning of which needs to be rediscovered. A complex communication between various groups of actors is connected with this in order to achieve the desirable ideals of reurbanisation and to ensure their sustainability.

### **1. Introduction**

The so-called ‘urban crisis’ appears to be a perennial topic of public discussion. Recurrent waves of academic publications, occasionally employing varying terminology, affirm the ‘decay’, ‘demise’, ‘decline’, or ‘loss’ of urban living (cf. the contribution by *Glatter* and *Siedhoff* in this issue). Contrasting with this are concepts of reurbanisation, revitalisation and urban rehabilitation that conjure up an ‘urban renaissance’. How did this ‘turn away’ from the city come about and to where did it go, and why should this trend reverse itself and, moreover, in a sustainable way?

### **2. Development and Interpretation of the Reurbanisation Concept**

*Christ* (2006: 66) postulates a growing “disintegration of the ‘city’ concept” which, as it is used in special discourses, is increasingly frequently being aimed at different goals and target groups. Whereas, for instance, the discourse about ‘urban renewal’ tends to refer to the welfare state and social conditions and to be pessimistic in tone, real estate or marketing specialists are more likely to talk about ‘urban development’, an ‘urban renaissance’, or the optimum and optimistic positioning of the city as a ‘brand’ with sales and recall value. Both the pessimistic and the optimistic

variant have in common that they aspire to a change in urban developments, because the present situation is assessed as deficient, inadequate, unjust, inefficient and dysfunctional. The unavoidable subjective implication is that cities used to be more interesting, vibrant and urbane and how we can return them to the 'right path'. This leads to the question as to what caused the cities to leave this path; who is 'at fault' and whether and by whom the causes can be repaired or regulated. Was there in the past (in what time frame?) such a thing as an optimum development path, or do cities or parts of cities or even only individual real estate objects in city districts go through a 'product' life cycle of their own? This again raises the recurring question: How can a city remain liveable for its residents, develop profitably for investors, appear unmistakable and central to visitors, remain governable for politicians, indeed even improve these urban positions in a time of unarrested growth of prosperity? Is the current discussion about reurbanisation and revitalisation therefore new, or is it rather a topic that keeps recurring in the vicissitudes of historical development? In a time of clever multimedia processing is a 'rediscovery' of the city therefore only a slogan or a political objective? Not all of these questions will be answered in the following. Nevertheless, a glance at the literature shows that the discussion of the demise of the city is several decades old and refers primarily to North American and European cities.

Already since the end of the 1950s there has been an animated debate (not only in Germany) about the increasing 'inhospitality' of cities (*Mitscherlich* 1965), the 'murdered city' (*Siedler et al.* 1964) the 'demise of cities' (*Jacobs* 1961), or the 'deconcentration' and 'erosion' of cities (*Deutscher Städtetag* 1960 cited after *Kuhn* 2007: 122). The criticism centred around the concern that as cities 'flowed out' into the area around them they might lose their traditional compactness, their social and functional mixing, their urbanity (understood as consisting in manifestly urban activ-

ities and atmospheric concentration) (*Haase* 2008). Legions of books on urban geography and urban sociology have dealt with such unfortunate developments as urban decay, urban blight and urban pathologies and with the fact that entire city cores or districts have degenerated into ghettos, no-go-areas or skid rows, leading to an unarrested flight of the disillusioned inhabitants into suburban and periurban areas that offer financial and residential alternatives. Already in 1960 *Bahrdt* (cited after *Kuhn* 2007: 121) called for a goal of re-urbanisation in order to transform the 'subdivided and decentralised city' of the reconstruction period after World War II, which adhered too highly to Anglo-American and Nazi planning ideologies, into an 'urbanity through density' approach. Since the middle of the 1970s the historical-cultural value of the traditional 'old' town for the character of the city has been redefined in such a way that urban development should no longer aim only at urban expansion, but also at urban rehabilitation, not only at 'comprehensive redevelopment projects', but also at 'socially responsible, cautious urban redevelopment that preserves' (*Kuhn* 2007: 123).

The first process model of reurbanisation devised to verify empirically the actual resumption of urbanisation dates to the end of the 1970s and can be found in *van den Berg et al.* (1982). The authors describe four phases in the changing distribution of population and jobs between the core city and the periphery:

- the first phase of urban development: urbanisation, essentially fueled by rural-urban migration; increasing population concentration in the core of the still young city;
- second phase: suburbanisation and decentralisation; growing agglomeration disadvantages such as rising land prices or traffic jams make the periphery increasingly attractive for population and for businesses; the core city loses more population than it gains; this re-

sults in a typical differentiation of large and small, family and non-family, households between the periphery and the core;

- third phase: phase of disurbanisation; no longer only the inner city, but the entire core city including an inner ring of older suburbs, stagnates or loses population in favour of exurban 'hinterland' developments;
- fourth phase: reurbanisation, phase of population reversal; in the core the thinning out of the population and the demolition of old building substance have advanced so far that reconstruction, redevelopment, conversion plans and 'backfilling' can slow down the out-migration trend in comparison with other urban areas, resulting in a 'relative centralisation' of the population in the core (Bourne 1996: 695).

The question why these 'inner city stabilisation and upgrading processes' should occur at all, thus reversing the 'success story' of suburbanisation, and how they can be demonstrated empirically has prompted a large number of studies since the 1990s. Not only do different theories exist to explain reurbanisation (Kujath 1988; Bourne 1996; cf. Haase et al. 2006: 169), the criteria drawn on in these studies as measures of reurbanisation, such as repopulation, 'enhancing the attractiveness' of the inner city, or economic revival and gentrification, also differ, which greatly complicates the comparability of the findings (cf. Brühl et al. 2005). Additionally, because of a lack of large-scale data (counter-examples in Herfert 2002) often only small-scale or segmented investigations are performed (revitalisation of harbour areas; renewal through sports, culture or shopping centres) (Priebs 1998; Gratton et al. 2005; Weist 2006; Wood 2007; Dziomba 2008). This dynamic-positive image of reurbanisation therefore often exists only for small individual pieces of the urban mosaic within a simultaneous discussion of so-called quartered cities, of fragmented and socially polarised cities. Parallel

to this, stagnation and decaying quarters continue to exist (cf. Haase et al. 2006: 169).

### 3. Starting Position: The Ideal of the 'Heroic' City

In a historical comparison there is an image of the (European) city that heroises it and seems to be ideal. A city came to symbolise a 'special place' that served as the functional and cultural centre of its hinterland (Christ 2006: 70). The city became a centre of representative buildings, of people of varying backgrounds and abilities, of fellowship and communication, of privacy and the public, of authority, control, security and insecurity, of hopes, chances and 'visions of a better life' (Christ 2006: 69ff.). Before the city began to 'sprawl' as a result of technological progress in transportation and telecommunication since the end of the 19th century and 'broke up' or fragmented at the end of the 20th century, it was above all 'compact' in its building fabric, in its uses and trade relationships.

Christ (2006: 71f.) captures these elements in the "7 C properties" that still characterise the ideal of the European city (though at times in a romanticised museum-like manner) and that play a major role in the current discussion of reurbanisation. Thus, deriving from its medieval function, the city is spatially *compact* and nevertheless *contoured*, functionally *complex* or mixed on a small scale and nonetheless interrelated in *coherence*, centre of *culture* and *capital*, a place for meeting or *communication*. Jessen (2000: 210) additionally stresses the tradition of an urban consciousness that views the city as something worthy of being preserved. This appraisal expresses itself in the aspiration to preserve the centre of the city with its functions or to renew it through revitalisation measures. Ideals, ranging from local to supranational sources, postulate that the (European) city is a synonym for tradition, urbanity, compactness, density, mixed usage and a meeting place in public space (Schubert 2001: 270).

#### 4. Abandoning the Urban Ideal

Rather negative terms such as expansion, segregation, functional segregation, suburbanisation and exurbanisation indicate that the heroic image of the city discussed in Section 3 began to disintegrate fundamentally from the middle of the 20th century on. Growing prosperity, tax policies such as home owners' allowances and commuter compensation (Kuhn 2007: 124), new residential ideals, increasing motorisation, low land prices and 'simplified' building (e.g. without special requirements for listed buildings) made the urban periphery attractive for several waves of suburbanisation (Sieverts 1998; Brake et al. 2001). Because of the physical lack of space, but also because of the relatively strong state with its building regulations, however, these waves did not nearly spill over in Europe as far as they did in North America with its *laissez-faire* philosophy.

Further internal development was, however, hampered in all cases by the historical building stock of an 'aging city', i.e. there was a 'produced geographical pattern' of residential buildings and factories and above and underground areal and linear infrastructure with its 'sluggish adjustment response' that encouraged the moving of operations to sites without such handicaps at the periphery (Kujath 1988: 25f.). With their rising consumption and residential needs, and encouraged by convenient building conditions, by banks, insurance companies and real estate dealers, more affluent groups moved away from the core city and left behind 'inner-city quarters that were percolating down economically' (Kujath 1988: 26). A phase of disinterest and disinvestment in inner-city regions contrasted with dominant centrifugal powers that not only promised growing prosperity but also found in the single family home the appropriate residential form for the 'family concept'. The disintegration of the Fordist city into atomised individualised residential cells in search of privacy and spatial dissociation from the working world, which can be seen especially impres-

sively in the standardised Levittowns in the USA, turned simultaneously into a financial and demographic depletion of the inner cities that triggered further social selection in a self-reinforcing process.

#### 5. The Rediscovery of the City

Since the 1980s a development path can be observed that is being celebrated as a 'farewell to urban pessimism' (Kuhn 2007: 125). Underlying this is a first paradox: The return to the core city is based on the pessimistic insight that the limits to growth and the extent to which the future can be shaped are exhausted. No longer is the stress being placed on replacing what exists, but on a renewed consciousness of the historical heritage of a city (Albers 1995: 119). In many cases, however, this renewed consciousness was only evoked by planners and politicians and did not result in any appreciable return migration into the inner cities in the form of so-called pioneers.

Kujath (1988: 29) cites Alonso in this regard: "If people behave as they always have, we shall have an explosive suburbanization. If behavior changes, we shall have clustering and reurbanization." What took centre stage for Alonso was a rational consideration of cost-benefit structures or opportunity costs, travel times and costs and land prices, which make it possible to 'calculate' an optimum combination of income and place and type of residence. Lacking as a premise, however, or perhaps impossible to calculate, were changes in consumer behaviour, in household size and structure, lifestyle and attitude, age structure and the growth of prosperity. In a matrix with multiple fields these indicators can be combined with each other to record the current mosaic-like image of sociodemographic living arrangements, which – highly abridged here – represent the result of postmodern and post-Fordist developments (cf. Haase et al. 2006: 169) and gave reurbanisation a new impulse (cf. the contribution by Haase in this issue).

In these 'new' living forms the traditional nuclear family with its residential ideal that focusses on a single-family home no longer plays a role. Residential preferences shift from 'open space and suburban amenities' to 'accessibility and urban amenities' (Bourne 1996: 697); urban entertainment becomes a 'surrogate' (Kujath 1988: 33) for disintegrating family and kinship networks. 'New' types of households emerge that no longer have only family but also family-like structures and that find experimental scope in which to develop in the old towns with their overlying and underlying functions, their great variety of types of housing, individual floor plans and infrastructure that would not be found in standardised suburbia (cf. the contribution by Sandfuchs in this issue). This gives rise to a second paradox, namely that the traditional old town is becoming more trendy and modern than the originally modern suburbs (Kujath 1988: 33).

What this refers to is not only the often-described influx of higher social classes, combined with building and social upgrading and/or displacement, which have contributed in deindustrialised cities to a conversion of business space to swank residential space. Haase et al. (2006: 177) identify more and more flat-sharing communities that follow the trend towards reurbanisation, which makes sense as it allows people to split the rent in fashionable residential areas with rising rents. The observation that migrants, persons with low income and persons in transitional situations, both private and professional, also still find their way into the traditional 'zone of transition', the former mixed working class/commercial zone described by Burgess (Haase et al 2006: 177), only documents the fact that reurbanisation cannot be equated per se with gentrification but that it represents a mosaic of upgrading and 'mere' stabilisation measures. Nonetheless, reurbanisation remains more of an option for certain social classes than for others to whom no other residential alternatives are open.

Bourne (1996: 698) emphasises that the mere aspect of repopulation in the sense of a demographic replenishment of the inner city is not sufficient for reurbanisation. Replacement of buildings, conversion of unused and underused buildings and areas, restructuring of the local economy, qualitative upgrading of private and public infrastructure, ultimately the spatial concentration of urban uses and functions are prerequisites with a multiplier effect for a master plan for 'reurbanisation'.

## 6. The Sustainability of Reurbanisation

In view of the long-term negative demographic growth that is projected and of imponderable economic crises, if urban regeneration is to be devised sustainably so that it may be carried over into the future, 'institutional creativity' is required (Keim 2004). Economic, cultural and local political actors or other stakeholders, i.e. groups of actors who engage in local affairs, independent of where they reside and how they are organised (Keim 2004: 213), can mobilise such local qualities. The networks and communicative patterns that exist between these actors and the negotiating power and skill they show in pursuing a common goal demonstrate that reurbanisation can be a complex process of negotiation. Reurbanisation therefore is subject to a holistic total of social, (real estate) economic, cultural and political interests, if it is open to a sustainable and socially responsible bottom-up approach. This indubitably will require tedious consultations and the weighing of different goals, for which there is no equivalent in the meanwhile so out-dated term 'planning'.

This explains why reurbanisation tendencies, whether in London, Tokyo, Leipzig or Detroit (Wehling 1994; Lütke Daldrup and Weigel 2001; Hohn 2002; Meyer and Muschwitz 2008), are often only small-scale and sectoral, and why finance and planning become more and more involved, the more the process affects pre-existing building and sociodemographic stock (cf. the contribution by

*Megerle* in this issue). Because of their size, their consolidation of derelict land and their role in urban policy as new city landmarks, in a sense as 'small green-field' sites, so-called major urban renaissance projects like *HafenCity Hamburg* (*Dziomba* 2008) are subject to a master plan, which rather corresponds to a kind of 'laboratory' reurbanisation.

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banisation in a statistical-empirical way as a trend away from suburbanisation and exurbanisation complement and are complemented by complex theories that include and assess spatio-economic and sociological aspects in their arguments. The term reurbanisation is based on an idealised city concept from the past the meaning of which needs to be rediscovered. A complex communication between various groups of actors is connected with this in order to achieve the desirable ideals of reurbanisation and to ensure their sustainability.

*Zusammenfassung: „Konzept“ Reurbanisierung? Diskussion eines vielschichtigen Begriffes und seiner Ausprägungen*

Diskutiert wird der Begriff Reurbanisierung in seinen unterschiedlichen Konnotationen, Entwicklungssträngen und Ursachen. Deterministische Ablaufmodelle einerseits, die den prozessualen Ablauf von Reurbanisierung als Abkehr von Sub- und Exurbanisierung statistisch-empirisch beschreiben und komplexe Theorien andererseits, die raumökonomisch und soziologisch wahrnehmend und bewertend argumentieren, ergänzen sich hierbei. Der Begriff der Reurbanisierung orientiert sich an einem idealisierten Stadtbegriff der Vergangenheit, dessen Inhalte wiederzuentdecken sind. Damit verbunden ist eine komplexe Kommunikation verschiedener Akteursgruppen, um die erstrebenswerten Leitbilder von Reurbanisierung zu erreichen und nachhaltig abzusichern.

*Résumé: Discussion du « concept » de ré-urbanisation et de ses multiples formes*

La notion de ré-urbanisation est discutée sous ses connotations, trajectoires et origines diverses. D'une part, des modèles déterministes décrivant par la méthodologie statistico-empirique le processus de ré-urbanisation en tant qu'abandon des notions de péri- et d'exurbanisation et, d'autre part, des théories complexes qui perçoivent

*Summary: The "Concept" of Reurbanisation? Discussion of a Many-Faceted Term and its Variations*

This paper discusses the various connotations, lines of development and origins of the term reurbanisation. In this discussion deterministic process models that describe the process of reur-

vent et évaluent la ré-urbanisation par la perspective de l'économie spatiale et de la sociologie, ces deux approches se complètent. La notion de ré-urbanisation repose sur une notion idéalisée et révolue de la ville, dont les contenus sont à redécouvrir, en lien avec une communication complexe de différents groupes d'acteurs et afin d'accéder aux modèles désirables de la ré-urbanisation et d'en assurer la durabilité.

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• *Reurbanisation – Urban Development – Gentrification – Dresden, Germany*

**Jan Glatter and Mathias Siedhoff (Dresden)**

## **Reurbanisation: Inflationary Use of an Insufficiently Defined Term? Comments on the Definition of a Key Concept of Urban Geography, with Selected Findings for the City of Dresden**

*Reurbanisierung: inflationärer Gebrauch eines unzureichend definierten Begriffes?  
Anmerkungen zur Definition eines Schlüsselkonzeptes der Stadtgeographie;  
mit ausgewählten Ergebnissen für die Stadt Dresden.*

With 6 Figures and 1 Photo

For a few years now, assumptions and claims have been intensifying, suggesting that trends like suburbanisation and urban shrinkage are at a turning point. In several publications, reurbanisation and a renaissance of the cities have been announced. The respective authors' understanding of 'reurbanisation', however, is highly diverse. The term may be based on either quantitative or qualitative aspects, the focus may be on absolute or relative changes, the term may be used with an analytical or a normative connotation. The concept is applied in the context of both growing and shrinking cities, it may focus on different spatial scales, and it is connected to various forms of uses and functions. The aim of the present paper is to uncover and describe the different conceptions of 'reurbanisation' which can be found in the literature. For a better understanding, the respective conceptions are illustrated with examples from the city and the metropolitan area of Dresden.

### **1. Introduction**

While for the past decades, the topic of 'shrinking cities' had continually gained in importance, now it seems that the time of 'reurbanisation' has begun. Using the metaphorical wording common in contemporary debates to describe this (seeming)

shift in trends, the talk would be of the substitution of the 'death of the city' by the 'resurgence of the city'. In the present paper, however, the focus will be less on empirical findings for this phenomenon than on the term's meaning in both the academic context (in publications, at conferences, in academic discussion) and the general media. The

question is: What is meant when reurbanisation or urban renaissance is talked or written about?

The reason for this question is a feeling of uneasiness that has gripped us recently. It can be traced back to an increasingly diverse and undifferentiated usage of the term 'reurbanisation': Sometimes the term points to entire cities, sometimes only to neighbourhoods, sometimes it is used with an analytic-descriptive connotation, sometimes with a normative one, sometimes it is based on quantitative, sometimes on qualitative criteria, and sometimes the term is applied in the context of growth processes, sometimes in processes of shrinking.

In the following, the diversity of the various facets of the term 'reurbanisation' as used in academic debate will be presented. Our attempt at uncovering the variability of the term is based on an evaluation of publications, speeches, and conference discussions as well as on conversations with experts (but not in the sense of an empirical survey). In order to highlight the implications of the various and, in part, only slightly compatible ways in which the term is used, the respective conceptions are related to the empirical example of the city and the metropolitan area of Dresden. This case study, however, is not intended to present empirical findings on reurbanisation that can be generalised. This is precluded by the very particularities of urban development in Eastern Germany.

## 2. The Three Boom Phases of the Notion of Reurbanisation in Academic Literature

The term reurbanisation is not new. The earliest instance of its use known to us is by *Jerome Manis*, dating from 1959. *Manis*, however, endues the term 'reurbanisation' with a meaning that seems peculiar in the context of current debates: For him, it signifies the transfer of urban lifestyles and building types into suburban areas – reurbanisation is "the social and physical reconstruction of suburban areas into urban ones. ... The present

interpretation assumes a continuing urbanisation of suburban or 'rurban' locales" (*Manis* 1959: 353). In later texts on 'reurbanisation', this definition has not been taken up again.

In the following period, three boom phases in the debate on reurbanisation can be identified, each with its distinct conception of 'reurbanisation' (cf. *Kuhn* 2007). Starting in the 1960s, the term 'reurbanisation' is beginning to appear in the literature, even if in only a few publications. It is particularly used in the context of calls for the recovery of a lost 'urbanity' which was supposed to be achieved with new, densely-built urban neighbourhoods (cf. *Bahrdt* 1960, *Wortmann* 1963, *Pfeil* 1972).

The late 1970s and early 1980s mark the start of a second boom of the discussion on reurbanisation, for which two subtopics are characteristic: First, there is the impact of the work by *van den Berg* and *Klassen* (1982, 1987) who incorporate the process of reurbanisation into a general model describing stages of the development of urban agglomerations and regard it as a development phase following suburbanisation and deurbanisation. Here, reurbanisation is mostly described as a 'potential' or 'imminent' process. Second, the term reurbanisation is connected to the processes of upgrading of inner city areas observed at that time. Part of this discussion were, among others, *Häußermann* and *Siebel's* book on '*Neue Urbanität*' ('New Urbanity') (1987), which found a lot of attention in Germany, as well as the extensive treatment of gentrification (cf., among others, *Dangschat* 1988). During this debate on reurbanisation, which continued until the early 1990s, many fundamental questions and positions that also influence the current discussion were already formulated (cf. among others *Polster* and *Voy* 1989, *Spiekermann* 1992, *Lever* 1993).

The 1990s were dominated, at least initially, by discussions about suburbanisation and the shrinking of (core) cities. This debate is largely characterised by metaphors of morbidity: Top-

ics are the crisis of the cities (*Heitmeyer et al. 1998*), the decaying city (*Siegel 1997*), the end of the city (*Touraine 1996*), the vanishing of cities (*Krämer-Badoni and Petrowsky 1997*) – in short: “the city is dead” (*Friedmann 2002*).

After the topic of reurbanisation thus considerably lost importance in the 1990s, the current decade is witnessing an increase in (academic and non-academic) publications in which labels such as ‘reurbanisation’ or semantically related terms like ‘renaissance’, ‘revitalisation’, ‘rediscovery’, ‘resurgence’ of the city, of the inner city, or of urbanity, ‘back to ...’, ‘new urban revival’, ‘urban rebirth’, or ‘urban turnaround’ are used to describe, predict, or conjure up a new process of urban development (*Champion 2001, Brühl et al. 2005, Opaschowski 2005*). It is particularly in a number of articles in national non-academic journals and newspapers that in a rather unrestrained discussion reurbanisation is hailed as the model of urban development in the 21<sup>st</sup> century (cf., among others, *Stern 43/2004*: ‘Rückzug aus den ‘Speckgürteln’ – retreat from the commuter belts’; *DIE ZEIT 34/2005*: ‘Neue Heimat Stadt – New home city’; *Kultur Spiegel Heft 10/2005*: ‘Das Reich in der Mitte. Das Haus im Grünen steht in Zukunft in der City – The empire in the centre. In the future, the country house will be in the city’; *Die Welt 22.10.2005*: ‘Flucht zurück in die Stadt – Flight back into the city’; *Handelsblatt 11.01.2006*: ‘Zurück in die City. Die Deutschen ziehen wieder in die Innenstadt. Architekten und Städteplaner reagieren auf den Trend – Back to the city. Germans are moving back to the inner city. Architects and urban planners are reacting to the trend’).

The way in which reurbanisation is understood by the respective authors and discussants, however, is far from being consistent. All uses have in common, at least, that the prefix ‘re-’ refers to a return or a recurrence of earlier lines of development. Indications as to the types of development that precede reurbanisation are

sometimes ignored, and thus the ‘re-’ is not always made plausible. Moreover, what is called ‘-urbanisation’ is so diverse that in our opinion it can hardly be covered by a single term.

The texts that discuss questions of reurbanisation point to four alternative ways of dealing with the term:

- an unambiguous and explicitly named definition of the term is used, or
- several definitions are mentioned that have parallel validity and, partly, are not compatible, or
- the term ‘reurbanisation’ is used without an explicit (nominal) definition and its content is indicated only implicitly with the help of examples or operationalisations, or
- the use of the term ‘reurbanisation’ is avoided even though central statements refer to the themes of the current reurbanisation discussion.

The following reflections aim at preparing a way out of this confusion of terms and concepts by presenting the various meanings of the term, their relation to theory as well as approaches to empirical operationalisation. For an illustration of the individual meanings of the term, examples from the city and the metropolitan area of Dresden will be referred to.

### 3. Concepts of Reurbanisation

An analysis of academic texts on reurbanisation resulted in seven different usages of the term. Concepts of reurbanisation can be differentiated into

- a renewed increase in population or employment in the city,
- a relative or absolute centralisation regarding the core city in relation to the suburban communities,

- a remigration towards the city,
- an increase in population or general significance of individual neighbourhoods,
- an increase in significance of the city as a whole (qualitative reurbanisation),
- new building activities in inner-city areas,
- a strategy.

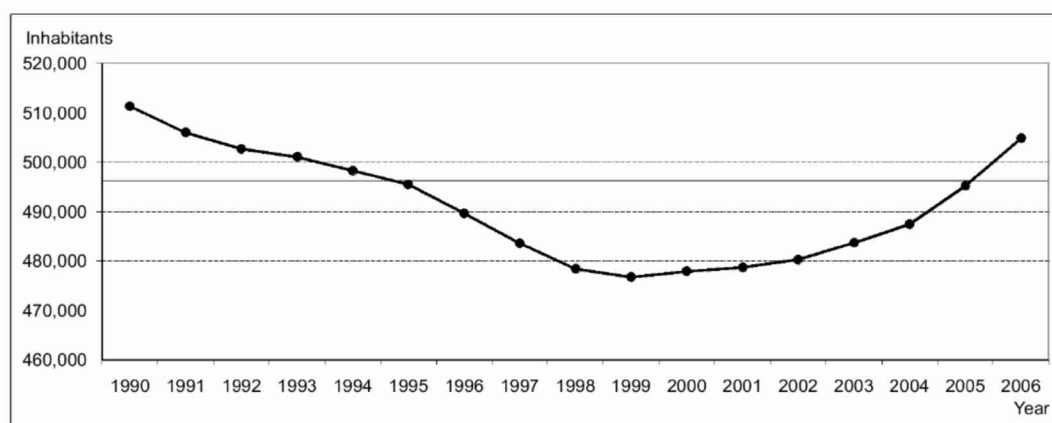
### 3.1 Reurbanisation as a renewed increase in urban population or employment

The most basic concept of 'reurbanisation' refers to a renewed increase in the number of inhabitants and/or jobs in the city. This form of 'quantitative' reurbanisation is present when a city is growing again after a period of shrinking. An example of this usage of the term can be found in *Breheny* (1987: 189): "... a number of major urban areas in the most advanced countries are experiencing population and job gains, particularly in the inner city."

If this concept of reurbanisation is applied to the city of Dresden, reurbanisation tendencies are apparent since the year 2000 due to a renewed increase in population (*Fig. 1*).

### 3.2 Reurbanisation as relative or absolute centralisation with regard to core city vs. suburbia

While the previously described concept of the term focuses only on the city itself, this subsection deals with an analytical concept that primarily focuses on the (relative or absolute) increase in significance of the core city compared to the suburban belt. The increase in significance is generally determined by an increase in the number of inhabitants or jobs. This usage of a 'quantitative reurbanisation within the agglomeration' is based on the urban development model by *van den Berg* et al. (1982) (cf. *Fig. 2*). In this sense, reurbanisation is accompanied either by a relative centralisation (concentration) – a more rapidly shrinking suburban ring in contrast to a less rapidly shrinking urban core – or by an absolute centralisation – the ring is shrinking and the



*Fig. 1* Population change of the city of Dresden, 1990-2006 (Data source: Statistisches Landesamt Sachsen; design: Glatter/Siedhoff) / Einwohnerentwicklung der Stadt Dresden 1990-2006 (Datenquelle: Statistisches Landesamt Sachsen; eigener Entwurf)

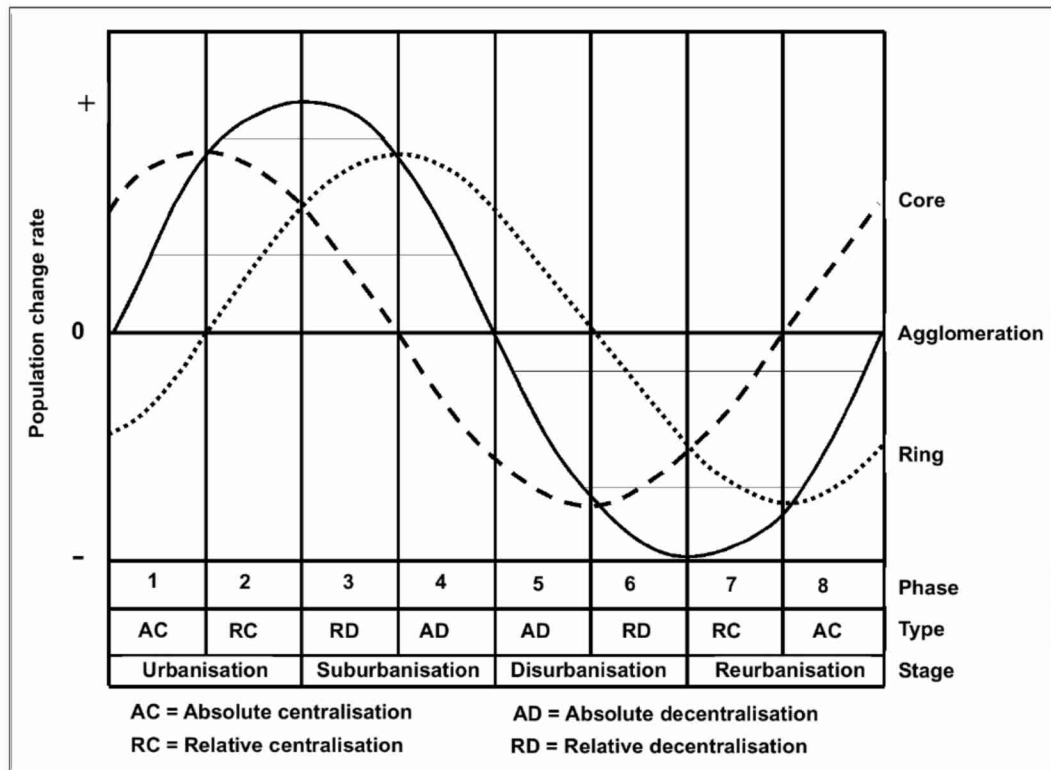


Fig. 2 Stages of the urban development model by van den Berg et al. (Source: van den Berg et al. 1982)  
 Phasen im Modell der Stadtentwicklung nach van den Berg et al. (Quelle: van den Berg et al. 1982)

core is growing. According to this understanding of the term, a simultaneity of suburbanisation and reurbanisation is impossible. Both processes are mutually exclusive, since they depend on different properties of the same indicators.

Here are a number of examples for this concept of reurbanisation: “an increase in the core city’s share of population and employment within the agglomeration ..., either due to a smaller decrease here than in suburbia (with overall losses) or due to a renewed growth of the core city” (Gaebe 1987: 153); “reurbanisation is a process of relative or absolute population increase of the core city compared to suburbia, primarily caused by increasing in-migration” (Herfert 2008); “we

understand reurbanisation rather as the opposite of suburbanisation, i.e. instead of suburban growth at the expense of the core city there is at least a balance between core and ring” (Kaiser and Thebes 2006: 11); “... reurbanisation is understood as a smaller decrease of the population of the core of an agglomeration compared to suburbia or as a renewed population growth of the core simultaneous to a continued shrinking of the suburban ring” (Urbanczyk 2006: 14).

If this concept of reurbanisation is applied to the development of the metropolitan area of Dresden, two phases of reurbanisation can be identified (cf. Fig. 3): By 1993, the population of both the city of Dresden and of the inner suburban ring decreased.

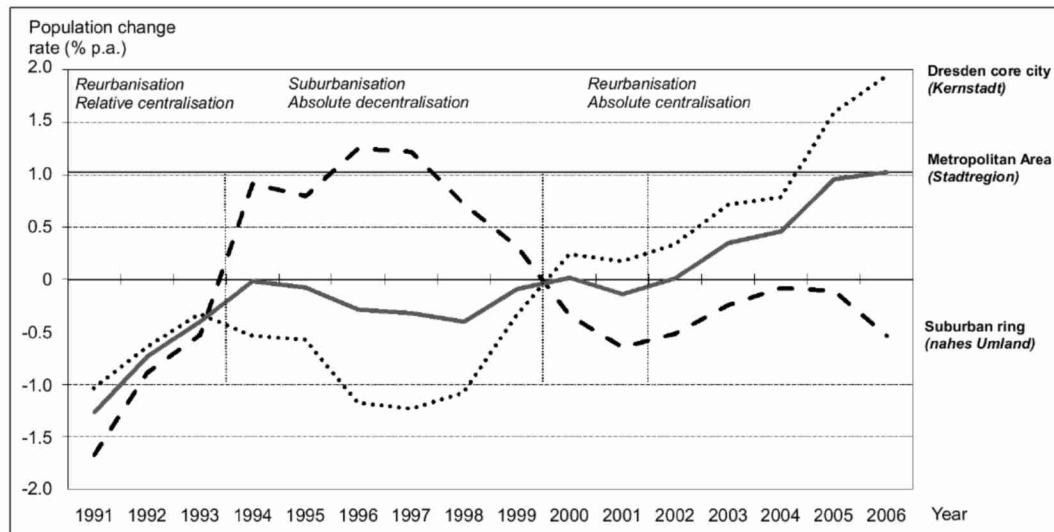


Fig. 3 Relative changes in the population of the city of Dresden, the inner suburban ring and Dresden Metropolitan Area, 1991-2006 (data source: Statistisches Landesamt Sachsen; design: Glatter/Siedhoff) / Relative Veränderung der Einwohnerzahl in der Stadt Dresden, dem nahen Umland der Stadt Dresden und der Stadtregion Dresden, 1991-2006 (Datenquelle: Statistisches Landesamt Sachsen; eigener Entwurf)

However, as the city lost fewer inhabitants than the suburban ring, we may address this situation as a case of reurbanisation in the sense of a relative concentration. The period from 2000 to 2002 marks a second phase of reurbanisation during which the city of Dresden recorded a positive population change, whereas the inner suburban ring lost population. According to *van den Berg's* urban development model, this must be regarded as a phase of absolute concentration. With regard to the changes since 2003, a weakness in *van den Berg's* phase model becomes apparent: If, after a phase of shrinkage of the entire agglomeration, the agglomeration's population is growing again, and this growth is due to a population increase in the core, given a (lesser) population decrease in suburbia, then, according to the model, this is called urbanisation. Dresden's population change since 2003 is, therefore, in *van den Berg's* terminology, urbanisation, not reurbanisation. The model does not take into consideration that this

change is preceded by a process of shrinking, which would justify the 're-' in the terminology.

Connected to *van den Berg et al.'s* model, Fig. 4 provides an alternative representation of population change in the agglomeration. It shows the relative change in population compared to the previous year – with the figures for the core city on the x-axis and those for the suburban ring on the y-axis. Evidently, the metropolitan region of Dresden is undergoing very intricate changes. In the early 1990s, reurbanisation was taking place in a shrinking agglomeration, this was followed by a phase of suburbanisation in a growing agglomeration and a phase of disurbanisation with the total agglomeration shrinking, succeeded by a short phase of reurbanisation and eventually (re-)urbanisation in an agglomeration with increasing population.

The term acquires a similar meaning if the focus is not on the relation between core city and urban

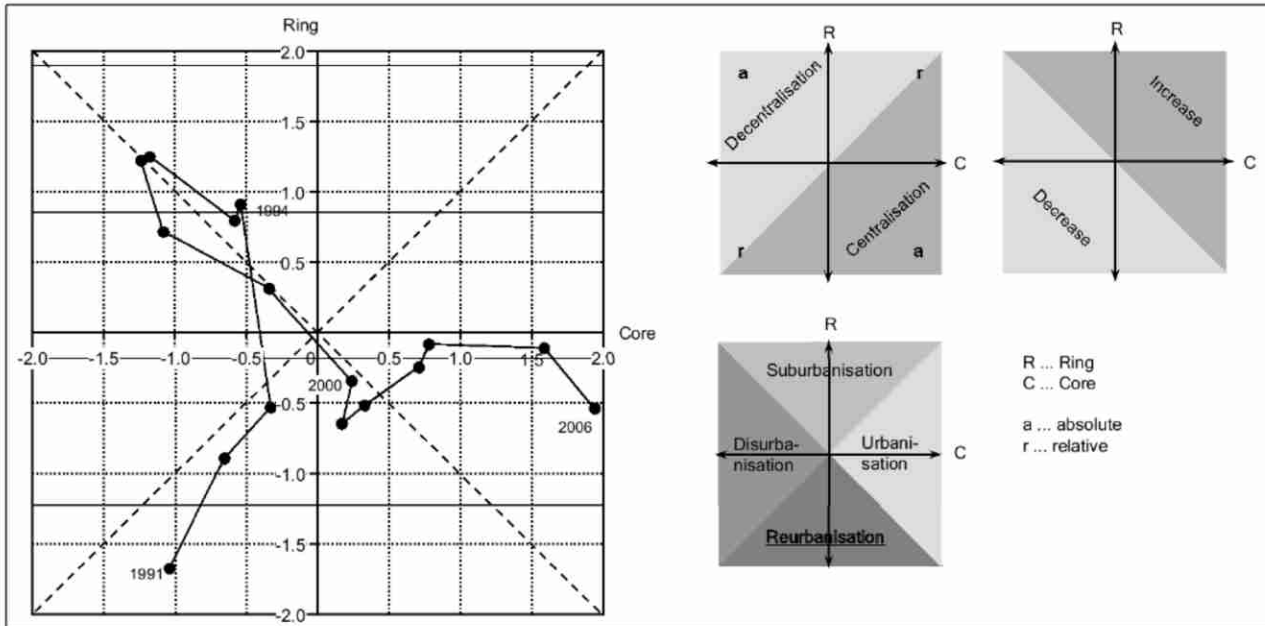


Fig. 4 Annual relative population change in the core city of Dresden and the suburban ring, 1991-2006 (data source: Statistisches Landesamt Sachsen; design: Glatter/Siedhoff) / Relative jährliche Veränderung der Einwohnerzahl in der Kernstadt Dresden und dem nahen Umland der Stadt Dresden, 1991-2006 (Datenquelle: Statistisches Landesamtes Sachsen; eigener Entwurf)

ring regarding population change but simply on migration between city and suburbia and migration balance: if the city's balance of migration is positive, we have reurbanisation. Vice versa, a negative migration balance of the city would mean suburbanisation, which would once again preclude both processes from occurring simultaneously. An example of this usage is *Herfert* (2002: 13): "...first indications become apparent of a change from the suburbanisation phase to reurbanisation ... by renewed slight migration gains of the city from the suburban area."

As a matter of fact, it is gains from migration which are primarily responsible for the growth of cities. It should, however, be noted that

- (a) population gains of core cities are significantly lower, at least on average, than those of non-urban districts in agglomerations and urbanised areas,

- (b) the cities' current population gains are rather more based on reduced out-migration than on increased in-migration,

- (c) in the case of increased in-migration, this is primarily sustained by young people aged between 18 and 30 years who frequently are in job training or in the first stages of their career and prior to, or at the beginning of, a potential phase of family formation. The prospects for their long-term stay in the city are therefore uncertain. This highly mobile age group is more likely to decrease in size than to increase.

Both ways of operationalising reurbanisation – the absolute as well as the relative – have to face the difficulty to differentiate between urban core and suburbia and to define the (extent of the) agglomeration as a whole. Generally one of the three following methods is used:



- a pragmatic delineation based on administrative boundaries and distance zones (cf. *Siedentop* 2002),
- a statistical delineation based on density values,
- a functional delineation according to the proportion or densities of in-commuters and out-commuters (cf. *Gatzweiler et al.* 2006).

### 3.3 *Reurbanisation as a (presumed) migration to the city*

In the context of current trends of urban change a 'back-to-the-city' movement is frequently mentioned, which suggests that the (renewed) growth of cities is, to a large extent, due to the influx of people who had previously left the city, e.g. in the following quotations: "... reurbanisation in the sense of a general remigration back to the city ..." (*Hesse and Schmitz* 1998: 436), "... return of the residential population into the city ..." (*Brühl* 2006: 8). Notions of such a back-to-the-city movement were taken up and discussed already in the 1970s – yet could never be verified (*Gale* 1979; *Smith* 1979). In this conception, reurbanisation and suburbanisation could actually occur simultaneously, as both migration processes are conceptualised as independent from each other. Immigration to the city may well be accompanied by out-migration to the periphery.

The example of the city of Dresden shows, however, that there is only little empirical evidence for the remigration of former 'suburbanites' to cities. In the period from September to November of 2007, a written survey by the municipal residents' registration office covering 1,267 persons who had recently moved to Dresden from other municipalities in Germany asked from where the migrants had moved to Dresden and whether they had previously lived in Dresden. Of all in-migrants surveyed, 18 % had previously lived in Dresden and are, therefore, return migrants. The share of those who had previously

lived in Dresden and had returned to the city from suburban communities was only 5 % of all in-migrants. Of these 'back-to-the-city' migrants, 64 % were students, apprentices, or young workers between the age of 16 and 35, i.e. members of those population groups that are also 'traditionally' to a large extent responsible for migration to the cities and of which a large proportion had probably previously moved 'involuntarily' with their parents from the city to the periphery (cf. *Bartsch* 2008: 143f.).

### 3.4 *Reurbanisation as an increase in significance or in population of individual neighbourhoods*

Another conception of the term focuses on the development of particular areas of the city. From this perspective, (quantitative) reurbanisation occurs if a specific neighbourhood gains in relative or absolute significance compared to the city as a whole. Under this heading, there are approaches that concentrate primarily on the city centre (and not on more peripheral neighbourhoods of the city), but other approaches exist that do not restrict themselves to certain urban areas.

In this context, the term reurbanisation is occasionally even used in cases in which the population increase in a neighbourhood is not primarily sustained by population influx to the city as a whole but also in cases in which the influx results predominantly from migration within the city. This could, theoretically, also even occur in a shrinking city experiencing partial reurbanisation, i.e. in individual quarters.

Examples of this conception of reurbanisation are: "In this case, the new in-migrants do not come primarily from the suburban area but from other parts of the city. ... Reurbanisation means ... that the city is able to retain its inhabitants" (*Fritzsche et al.* 2005: 15); "... reurbanisation – a process of repopulating the inner city with a variety of social groups and lifestyles" (*Buzar et al.* 2007: 671).



Yet, to adopt a concept of reurbanisation in the sense of a relative rise in significance of a neighbourhood compared to the city as a whole, for cities with an overall population decline, seems problematic to us for two reasons: First, it should be expected that in a city with a decreasing population not all neighbourhoods shrink at the same rate and, therefore, it is very likely that in such cities there are neighbourhoods experiencing relative population gains which would mean reurbanisation. Second, in our opinion, the development of the population (and, if necessary, of jobs) in the urban periphery should be analysed in relation to the city's, and whether reurbanisation can really be as-

sessed if a larger area is taken into consideration. In our opinion, it is difficult to find a justification to ascribe a (renewed) increase in urbanity to a more slowly shrinking core in a more rapidly shrinking city with a growing suburban ring. Again, this concept of the term leaves room for the possibility of reurbanisation (of individual urban areas) and suburbanisation of the agglomeration occurring simultaneously.

*Hohn* tries to address the problem of a discrepancy between growing neighbourhoods and a potentially shrinking city as a whole with the term 'selective reurbanisation': "Between 1997 and 2000, the residential population within a 10-km radius

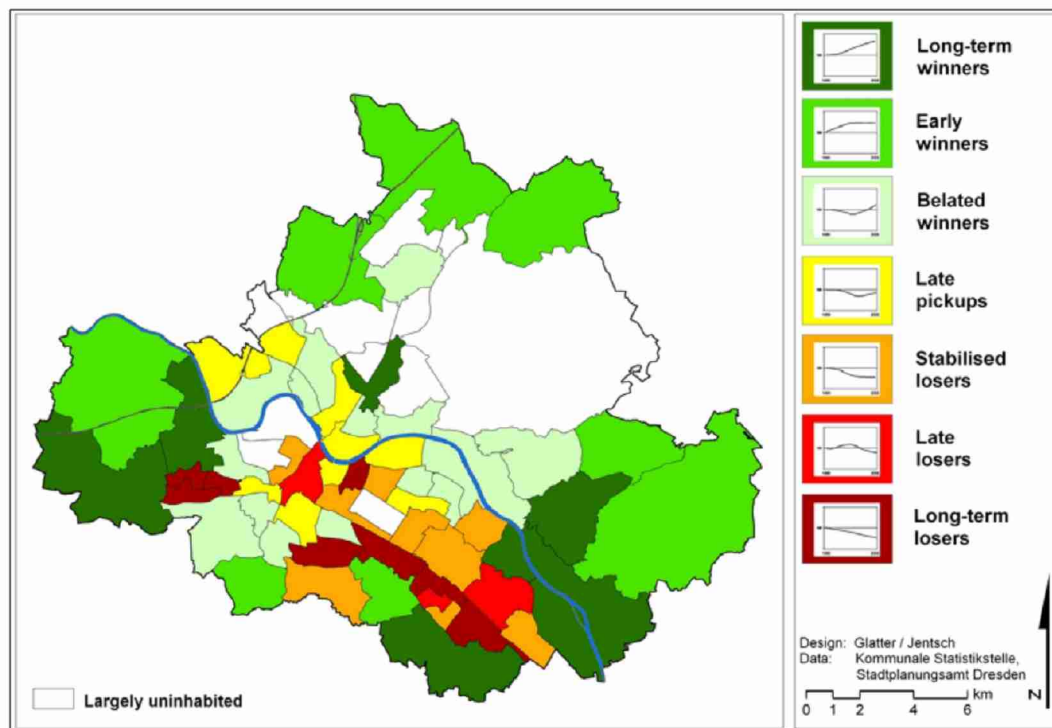


Fig. 5 Types of population change in Dresden's neighbourhoods, 1990-2005 (Data source: Kommunale Statistikstelle der Landeshauptstadt Dresden; design: *Glatter/Jentsch*) / *Bevölkerungsentwicklung in den Dresdner Stadtteilen nach Entwicklungstypen, 1990-2005* (Datenquelle: Kommunale Statistikstelle der Landeshauptstadt Dresden; Entwurf: *Glatter/Jentsch*)

increased by nearly 35,000 people, or 1.1 %, to a total of 3.21 million ..." (Hohn 2002: 5).

If this concept of the term is applied to the city of Dresden, two types of 'reurbanising neighbourhoods' can be distinguished: the 'belated winners' and the 'late pickups' (cf. Fig. 5). The 'belated winners' lost population in the 1990s, but were able to more than compensate for this loss so that their current population is larger than in 1990. Among the belated winners are primarily neighbourhoods with turn-of-the-century building stock which were comprehensively restored in the 1990s. The 'late pickups' are generally located slightly closer to the city centre and are largely characterised by post-war buildings. These neighbourhoods also lost population in the 1990s and have been showing population gains for several years, but their population remains below that of 1990.

If the neighbourhoods are grouped in belts according to their distance to the city centre, it becomes evident that those 'reurbanising neighbourhoods' that experienced population losses in the 1990s and have seen population gains since 2000 are located in the inner circle immediately bordering the city centre (cf. Fig. 6; Siedentop and Wiechmann 2007: 58, come to the same conclusion).

### 3.5 Reurbanisation as an increase in significance of the city in its entirety – qualitative reurbanisation

A further conception of reurbanisation in a qualitative sense is concerned not primarily with a focus on population growth of a city or a neighbourhood, but with a general increase in significance of the city. Among other factors, this increase in significance is expressed by:

- the economic and aesthetic revival of the (inner) city: downtown revitalisation, remodeling of inner-city retail centres, expansion of the inner city's service and tourist sectors;

- the increase in attractiveness of inner-city residential quarters: rehabilitation of older buildings, new building developments on derelict land in the inner city, conversion of former industrial buildings to residential use (lofts);
- the change in the social and demographic structure of the population in the (inner) city, especially through the increase of so-called 'new household types': singles, flat sharers, young childless couples.

A characteristic of this qualitative concept is the use of metaphors such as 'rediscovery', 'renaissance', and 'increase in significance'. Accordingly, we find statements in the literature such as the following: "... while there is a possibility of quantitative gains in population and employment in the core of the urban region, the relevant criteria are, however, the qualitative aspects of restructuring" (Spiekermann 1992: 217); "rediscovery of urban lifestyles and a concomitant renewed increase in significance of urban locations" (Osterhage 2007: 76). Polster and Voy (1989: 65) regard reurbanisation as "re-evaluation and revitalisation of core cities and of inner-city areas". "Processes of reurbanisation are reflected in an economically motivated architectural and cultural staging of the inner cities as well as in processes of neighbourhood regeneration through the modernisation of the building stock and the influx of better-trained and high-earning groups into neglected areas with older building stock" (Wiest 2005: 237).

These conceptions of qualitative reurbanisation are problematic given the difficulties of operationalising them satisfactorily. In addition, this concept, focusing on tendencies of changing population structures, implies a need to differentiate the urban population into 'more urban' and 'less urban' groups. Again, with this notion, reurbanisation and suburbanisation would not be mutually exclusive processes but could occur simultaneously.

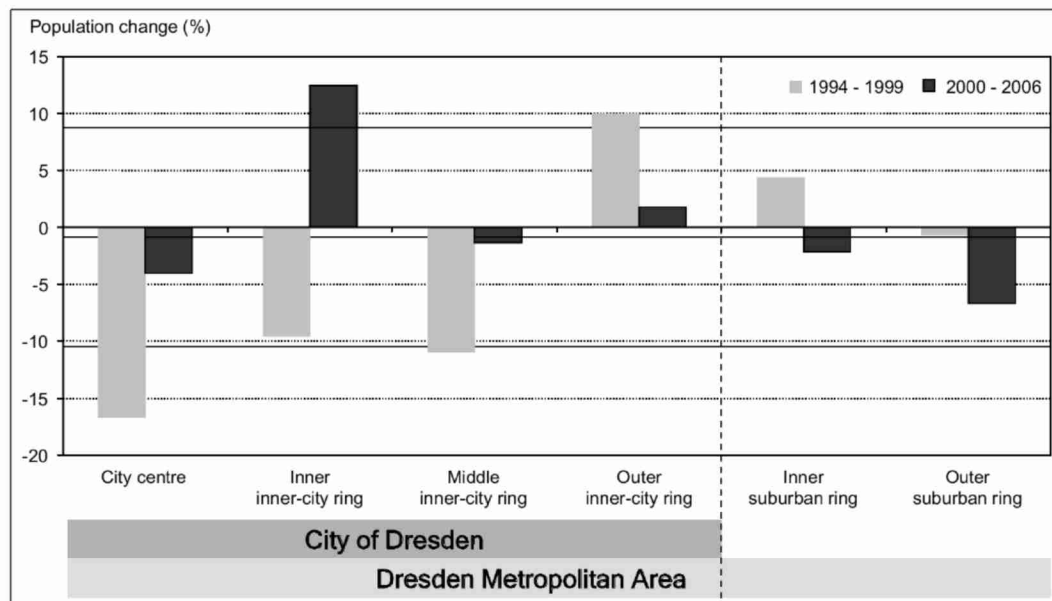


Fig. 6 Population change in individual zones of Dresden's metropolitan area, 1994-1999 and 2000-2006 (data source: Statistisches Landesamt Sachsen and Kommunale Statistikstelle der Landeshauptstadt Dresden; design: Glatter/Siedhoff) / *Bevölkerungsentwicklung verschiedener Zonen der Stadtregion Dresden, 1994-1999 und 2000-2006* (Datenquelle: Statistisches Landesamt Sachsen und Kommunale Statistikstelle der Landeshauptstadt Dresden; eigener Entwurf)

### 3.6 Reurbanisation as new construction activity in inner-city neighbourhoods

The term 'reurbanisation' acquires a further potential meaning if the focus is primarily on comprehensive new construction activity in inner-city neighbourhoods. In this way, construction projects in inner-city locations that are being developed with a claim to architectural modernity are occasionally labeled 'reurbanisation' (Vossen 2004: 5).

These new construction projects include, on the one hand, large projects of the service sector: shopping centres, urban entertainment centres, shopping malls, service centres at train stations (Vossen 2004: 5). "The new inner-city facilities often refer to objects and structures

of historic urban architecture such as the market square or the boulevard, thereby laying claim to being embodiments of a revived urbanity. Their self-image is expressed by terms such as 'vibrant marketplaces', 'the city as a stage', 'the new heart', or by 'the new centre of the city', 'spaces for urban communication', or 'forum train station' (Vossen 2004: 5).

(A comparable notion of urban development processes becomes evident if the construction activity at the urban periphery is simply interpreted as suburbanisation. The definition of this process takes place without any consideration of additional characteristics (population change, migration figures) and without a comparison of the development in the individual parts of the agglomeration (urban core, suburban ring).)

On the other hand, these new construction projects also include residential or neighbourhood projects which usually cater for owner-occupiers and which are also realised with innovative designs and concepts of use. By now, almost any large German city has examples of such a new construction – the following projects have become particularly popular:

- Tübingen: ‘Französisches Viertel’;
- Berlin: ‘Townhouses am Friedrichswerder’;
- Leipzig: ‘Reihenhäuser Industriestraße’;
- Hamburg: ‘Hafencity’; ‘Falkenried’ (multiple-use project on conversion land with a high-rise building and residential premises);
- Frankfurt/Main: ‘Westhafen – Neues Wohnen am Wasser’;
- Hannover: ‘Gilde Carré’;
- Dresden: ‘Lukas Areal’; city lofts and townhouses at Schützenplatz (*Photo 1*).

These modern building projects are ideally suited to give manifest and indisputable evidence of ‘reurbanisation’, of a ‘renewal of the city’, by simple photographic representations. They are therefore frequently used by the general media.

### 3.7 Reurbanisation as a strategy

Finally, and, in part closely connected to the preceding forms of understanding, ‘reurbanisation’ is also used to indicate a particular form of urban development policy in a more normative sense, as shown by the following quotations: “... reurbanisation as a comprehensive and socially integrative strategy of urban development for the renewed and continued use of inner-city residential areas” (*Haase et al. 2004: 51*); “‘back-

to-the-city’ is not a one-dimensional programme of action, but a comprehensive concept of an integrative development of the city and its neighbourhoods” (*Habermann-Nieße 2006: 5*); “Strategically, ‘urban renaissance’ aims at the reinforced departure from the industrial city towards a service city” (*Bodenschatz 2005: 12*). This ‘postmodern policy of reurbanisation’ (*Prigge 2004, Harlander 2005*) is interpreted as the particular expression of coping with the urban transformation from the industrial city to the service city or as a special strategy in shrinking cities (*Haase et al. 2004*). The reurbanisation strategy also demonstrates a large affinity to the models of the ‘compact city’, the ‘European city’, the ‘functionally mixed city’, and the idea of ‘inner-city precedes outer-city development’.

Some cities have devised explicit strategies of a reurbanisation or renaissance of their (inner) cities. The ‘Urban Task Force’, founded in the United Kingdom in 1998 and led by *Richard Rogers*, is considered a prime example for the recent past, with its two reports ‘Final Report: Towards an Urban Renaissance’ (DETR 1999) and ‘Report: Urban White Paper, Our Towns and Cities: The Future – Delivering an Urban Renaissance’ (DETR 2000) (cf. *Lees et al. 2007: XVIII*). The OECD’s ‘Urban Renaissance Studie Berlin’ of 2003 may be mentioned as an example for a German city.

To put their strategy of reurbanisation into practice, the cities are developing sectoral strategies for individual arenas of action in which established concepts applied in previous years are partly revived (*Bodenschatz 2005: 12*). The following arenas of a local reurbanisation policy can be found:

- strategies for the revitalisation of the inner city,
- reclaiming and upgrading of public space,
- improved options for leisure, recreation and tourism in the city (restaurants and bars, culture, retail, events, galleries, museums),



Photo 1 Dresden's 'City-Lofts' project at Schützenplatz (Photo: Glatter 2006)

*Das Dresdner Projekt 'City-Lofts' am Schützenplatz (Photo: Glatter 2006)*

- restoration of old buildings, neighbourhood improvement programmes,
- historic monument preservation projects,
- large-scale projects of revitalisation on derelict land (especially the use of waterfronts),
- support for cooperative building projects, building on individual plots of land,
- advertising campaigns to attract investors and inhabitants,
- alternative strategies for the preservation of historic quarters,
- development of and aid for commercial and architectural concepts for inner-urban development.

In the city of Dresden, a spatial model for urban regeneration was created with the establishment of the 'Integrated Urban Development Concept'. Its aim is to strengthen the development of the inner city as compared to the more peripheral urban areas: "In this way, a greater functional density and diversity is to be achieved within Dresden, disused areas are to be revitalised for new uses, and further tendencies of suburbanisation are to be mitigated" (Landeshauptstadt Dresden 2007: 33). To implement this strategy encouraging reurbanisation, the following measures were taken:

- Efforts were increased to create new opportunities for private development on derelict inner-city lots and in integrated residential areas, tailored to meet the market needs;
- a database was established showing the locations of the major areas for potential residential develop-

ment with lists of locations, detailed descriptions of the locations ('Standortpässe') and general maps (<http://www.dresden.de/de/09/stadtplan.php>);

- with the support of a management of the areas designated for residential construction ('Wohnbauflächenmanagement'), the cooperation between building contractors and private interest groups (client projects, residential projects, cooperatives) preparing private development projects in inner-city areas and integrated neighbourhoods was improved (Landeshauptstadt Dresden 2007: 33).

#### 4. General Problems with the Different Definitions

##### 4.1 The short temporal perspective

The vagueness that the term 'reurbanisation' obtains due to its manifold meanings – growing city, city gaining in relative significance, growing inner-city neighbourhood, or even shrinking neighbourhood – is nourished, in our opinion, by the apparent urge to infer long-term and fundamental trends from what are, in part, only short-term developments. Analyses of supposed tendencies of reurbanisation are partly based on short empirical periods of only a few years. Especially, however, when considering the changes of internal migration against the background of the evolution of the age structure, it seems rather doubtful whether we can speak of a long-term trend in the cases of cities growing once again or of neighbourhoods growing again, or whether this is simply a temporary phase or a 'normalisation' of urban development.

##### 4.2 Reurbanisation and/or gentrification

In many sources, a connection is established between reurbanisation and gentrification. Yet, it usually remains unclear what the correlation between both processes actually is:

- (a) For Häußermann and Siebel (1987), gentrification and reurbanisation are identical.
- (b) For other authors, gentrification is a particular variant, a part, or a result of the reurbanisation of the city (cf. Spiekermann 1992: 218; Helbrecht 1996: 1, Wiest 2005: 237; Heineberg 2000: 48).
- (c) Still other authors regard gentrification as a form of neighbourhood improvement to be differentiated from reurbanisation (cf. Fritzsche et al. 2005).

The problem of resolving the potential connection between the two processes lies in the fact that there are various conceptions not only for reurbanisation but also for gentrification. For this reason, the further discussion will be preceded by a definition of gentrification which will then be used to highlight the connection to reurbanisation. Almost all definitions of gentrification have in common that they assume an "in-migration of residents with a higher sociocultural and socioeconomic status into established neighbourhoods" (Glatter 2007: 8). Regarding this as the definitional core of gentrification, its crucial characteristics are population groups of a higher status as well as a focus not on the city as a whole, but on specific quarters (which do not necessarily have to be urban). The correlation between gentrification and reurbanisation might then be formulated as follows:

- (a) Gentrification and reurbanisation are not identical processes – there are no definitions which describe reurbanisation exclusively as the influx of higher-status population groups into existing neighbourhoods.
- (b) Gentrification may be a variant or a result of reurbanisation. The 'renewed increase in significance of the city' through in-migration, physical upgrading, new uses etc. can lead to an influx of high-status population groups into some existing neighbourhoods. Gentrification, however, can also take place without being connected to a reurbanisation of the urban area. Upgrad-



ing of certain parts of the city or displacement by higher-status inhabitants are not necessarily linked to the reurbanisation of the entire (core) city or agglomeration.

- (c) Gentrification as a special variant of upgrading through the influx of higher-status population groups has to be differentiated from neighbourhood development that is sustained by other population groups. Simply the growth in neighbourhood population or the number of single-person households per se cannot be regarded as gentrification. It is, however, also questionable whether these neighbourhood-related processes can alternatively be called reurbanisation. It would make more sense to use a different terminology for these processes.

A further aspect is being addressed in the discussion on the use of the terms 'gentrification' and 'reurbanisation': Some authors are worried that with the label 'reurbanisation' a term has been found that is emotionally less problematic and, indeed, has more positive connotations (Lees 2007). As the term 'gentrification' is being reviled as a 'dirty word', 'reurbanisation' might thus replace it. Upgrading in the sense of gentrification – which can also be accompanied by displacement – might then be described euphemistically with the more 'neutral' term reurbanisation.

#### 4.3 Do 'reurbanites' exist?

In some texts on reurbanisation, the actors of reurbanisation are called 'reurbanites' or 'reurbanisers' and are described by characteristic socio-demographic features. Similar ways of labeling actors of urban development processes can be found in studies on suburbanisation ('suburbanites') and gentrification ('gentrifiers').

But is it generally possible to identify the reurbanites? Several issues highlight the problems of trying to identify the reurbanites:

- (a) Are reurbanites only present if the city or the urban region is experiencing a phase of reurbanisation? Does the status of the in-migrants change according to the definition of a certain phase of urban development?
- (b) Are reurbanites only those in-migrants from non-urban regions or settlements? Migrants from other cities do not change their urban lifestyle, they simply relocate it. Thus, they would not count as 're-urbanites' but rather as 'trans-urbanites'.
- (c) If the reurbanites are limited to in-migrants who had previously left the cities for suburban or rural areas and who now return to the cities (and who as such are literally reurbanites), empirical studies show that this group is far too small to explain the cities' recent population gains. Reurbanisation is not a movement of "back-to-the-city by people" but of "back-to-the-city by capital" (Gale 1979; Smith 1979).
- (d) If the process of reurbanisation cannot be explained by increased in-migration but by a lower rate of out-migration, are the remaining inhabitants turning into reurbanites? For these urbanites, the 're' could no longer be interpreted in the sense of a 'return', as these inhabitants had never left the city. Moreover, it would be difficult to identify those among the remaining population who might at least potentially have migrated out of the city, but who deliberately chose to remain in the city.

The problems of distinguishing and identifying the reurbanites while at the same time hoping to describe the people involved in the 'rediscovery of the cities' result in propositions that are partly lacking an empirical validation and are rather speculative. Examples can be found in Brühl (2006: 8, 10), for whom the reurbanites are primarily identical with the consumer segment of the (upper) middle class, well-known from gentrification research, but

who also includes other inhabitants of all kinds of household size, lifestyle and phase of life. For other authors, it is primarily 'new household types' (singles, flat sharers, young childless couples) who act as the protagonists of reurbanisation (Fritzsche et al. 2005:13; Buzar et al. 2007: 662). The role of the in-migration of low-income households who depend on affordable housing in inner-city areas ("urbanites by necessity"), has so far not been addressed in studies.

Since the identification of reurbanites or reurbanisers as a specific group is associated with serious difficulties, the term should be used very carefully and should be accompanied by an adequate explanation.

## 5. Conclusion

The current discussion on reurbanisation is characterised by a wide variety of different conceptions of the term. Attempts to define or to operationalise the term 'reurbanisation' can be distinguished according to the following aspects:

- whether a quantitative or a qualitative operationalisation is envisaged,
- whether absolute or relative figures are used to characterise the process,
- whether an analytical or a normative concept is presented,
- which areas of the city or agglomeration the term is applied to: to the urban core, to the urban core in relation to the suburban ring, to individual neighbourhoods, or to individual neighbourhoods in relation to the urban core, and
- which of the different uses are included in the term's conception: residential, industrial, commercial, offices, recreational.

Each of the seven concepts of the term reurbanisation proposed in the precedent chapters represents specific combinations of these aspects.

In these concepts, the term 'reurbanisation' acquires different meanings which are partly complementary to each other, but which partly seem incompatible – depending on the observed developments in the respective cities and neighbourhoods. They are complementary where, for example, population growth, changes in the social and demographic structure, in the built environment, in political strategies as well as in urban development are closely connected.

They are (or at least appear) incompatible where quantitative and qualitative trends show opposing directions. This is especially the case where population losses are accompanied by developments which are qualitatively interpreted as gains in urban quality or the expression of an increase in the estimation of the city and the urban.

This diversity of 'notions of reurbanisation' represents a dissatisfactory situation, with different phenomena being covered by one term. This lack of terminological clarity, however, should not come as a surprise, as one essential reason for this can be found in the diversity of what can be understood by 'urban', and therefore a diversity of what a 'resurgence of the urban' can comprise. Even if one is willing to regard the multidimensionality of the term reurbanisation as self-evident and legitimate due to the multidimensionality of the urban, the problem persists that the diversity of concepts, through their various operationalisations, leads to an at least reduced comparability and, in the extreme, to contradictions in the results from empirical findings.

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*Summary: Reurbanisation: Inflationary Use of an Insufficiently Defined Term? Comments on the Definition of a Key Concept of Urban Geography, with Selected Findings for the City of Dresden*

In recent years, both urban studies and the general media have increasingly dealt with the phenomenon of 'reurbanisation'. The debate on the (supposed) 'resurgence of the cities' or the 'resurgence of the urban', however, is marked by highly diverse concepts of the term 'reurbanisation'. In the present contribution, the various concepts of 'reurbanisation' are presented and tabulated, with a special focus on German-language publications and discussions. For a better understanding, the respective concepts are illustrated with examples from the city and the metropolitan region of Dresden. Altogether, seven different concepts are highlighted: reurbanisation as a renewed increase in population or employment, reurbanisation as relative or absolute centralisation of population with regard to the relation between core city and suburban ring, reurbanisation as re-migration back to the city, reurbanisation as an increase in population or significance of individual neighbourhoods, reurbanisation as an increase in significance of the city as a whole, reurbanisation as new building activities in inner-city areas, and reurbanisation as a strategy. The term 'reurbanisation' is sometimes based on quantitative, sometimes on qualitative criteria, it may be used with an analytic or a normative connotation, the focus may be on absolute or on relative changes, it may be applied in the context of both growing and shrinking cities, it may refer to different spatial scales, and it may be related to various uses and functions. Even if a semantic openness is inevitable for terminological definitions, in our opinion, the large diversity of cases the term is applied to and the vagueness it has acquired has become unsatisfactory. The various concepts of 'reurbanisation' are only partially compatible; and they may lead to contradictory empirical findings. It thus becomes possible, for instance, that developments that would be regarded as a loss of urbanity according to one notion of the term could be labeled reurbanisation according to another concept. The ambiguity of the term reurbanisation complicates comparative and comprehensive studies or even renders them impossible. It is obvious, however, that one reason for the vagueness of the term is the fact

that 'the urban' and 'urbanity' themselves are terms that are multidimensional and difficult to operationalise. The contribution is also to be understood as a call for more reflection and accuracy with regard to the use of any *terminus technicus* which should not only be considered as an evocative metaphor for the description of current processes but should also enable an operationalisation as rigorous as possible.

*Zusammenfassung: Reurbanisierung: inflationärer Gebrauch eines unzureichend definierten Begriffes? Anmerkungen zur Definition eines Schlüsselkonzeptes der Stadtgeographie; mit ausgewählten Ergebnissen für die Stadt Dresden.*

In der Stadtforschung wie auch in den Alltagsmedien finden sich in jüngerer Zeit vermehrt Betrachtungen über das Phänomen der 'Reurbanisierung'. Die Auseinandersetzung mit der (vermeintlichen) 'Wiederkehr der Städte' oder 'Wiederkehr des Städtischen' ist allerdings durch ausgesprochen unterschiedliche Ausfüllungen des Begriffs 'Reurbanisierung' gekennzeichnet. Mit dem vorliegenden Beitrag werden – vornehmlich mit Blick auf deutschsprachige Veröffentlichungen und Diskussionen – die verschiedenen Begriffsverständnisse von 'Reurbanisierung' vorgestellt und systematisiert. Zur Veranschaulichung der unterschiedlichen Begriffsauffassungen werden diese mit Bezug zur Stadt und Stadtregion Dresden exemplifiziert. Es handelt sich um sieben verschiedene Konzeptionen: Reurbanisierung als wieder zunehmende Zahl von Einwohnern bzw. Arbeitsplätzen, Reurbanisierung als relative bzw. absolute Zentralisierung der Bevölkerung im Vergleich von Kernstadt und Umland, Reurbanisierung als Rückwanderung in die Stadt, Reurbanisierung als Bevölkerungszunahme bzw. Bedeutungsgewinn einzelner Stadtquartiere, Reurbanisierung als Bedeutungsgewinn der Stadt, Reurbanisierung als Neubautätigkeit in innerstädtischen Quartieren und Reurbanisierung als Strategie. Der Reurbanisierungsbegriff basiert damit zum Teil auf quantitativen, zum Teil auf qualitativen Kriterien, er ist teils analytischen, teils normativen Charakters, er lenkt den Blick auf absolute und auf relative Veränderungen, er wird im Kontext sowohl von wachsenden als auch von schrumpfenden Städten angesprochen, er erfährt verschiedene räumliche Bezüge, und er wird mit verschiedenen Nutzungen und Funktionen in Zusammenhang gebracht. Ist bei Begriffsdefinitionen eine

semantische Offenheit unvermeidbar, so ist dennoch nach unserer Auffassung unbefriedigend, auf welche unterschiedliche Sachverhalte der Begriff ‚Reurbanisierung‘ Anwendung findet und wie unscharf der Begriff damit letztlich wird. Die verschiedenen Auffassungen von ‚Reurbanisierung‘ sind nur bedingt kompatibel; sie können zum Teil zu gegensätzlichen empirischen Befunden führen. So ist es z.B. möglich, dass Entwicklungen, die nach dem einem Begriffsverständnis als Verlust an Urbanität gedeutet würden, nach einem anderen Begriffsverständnis mit Reurbanisierung etikettiert werden könnten. Die Mehrdeutigkeit des Reurbanisierungsbegriffs erschwert vergleichende und generalisierende Betrachtungen oder macht sie gar unmöglich. Dabei ist kaum zu übersehen, dass ein Teil der Unschärfe des Begriffs darauf zurückzuführen ist, dass ‚das Urbane‘ und ‚die Urbanität‘ ihrerseits mehrdeutige und schwer operationalisierbare Begriffe sind. Der Text ist auch als Plädoyer für eine größere Reflexion und Genauigkeit bei der Verwendung wissenschaftlicher Fachbegriffe zu verstehen, die nicht nur als anschauliche Metaphern zur Beschreibung aktueller Prozesse aufzufassen sind, sondern auch eine möglichst stringente Operationalisierbarkeit ermöglichen sollten.

*Résumé : La ré-urbanisation – usage inflationniste d’un terme insuffisamment défini ? Remarques sur la définition d’un concept-clé de la géographie urbaine, avec des résultats choisis pour la ville de Dresde*

Ces derniers temps, les références au phénomène de « ré-urbanisation » se sont multipliées, aussi bien dans le cadre de la recherche urbaine que dans les médias. La réflexion sur le (prétendu) « retour des villes » ou bien le « retour de l’urbain » se caractérise toutefois par l’existence d’une variété particulièrement étendue d’interprétations du concept de ré-urbanisation. Le présent article a pour but de présenter et de systématiser ces dernières, en prenant tout particulièrement en compte les publications et les discussions germanophones. Afin d’illustrer les diverses interprétations du terme ré-urbanisation, nous recourons à l’exemple de la ville et de l’agglomération de Dresde. On peut y distinguer sept concepts différents: la ré-urbanisation relative à une nouvelle croissance de la population et/ou des emplois; la ré-urbanisation par une concentration relative ou absolue de la population de la ville-centre par rapport à celle de la périphérie; la ré-

urbanisation par le retour des habitants vers la ville; la ré-urbanisation par l’augmentation du nombre d’habitants dans certains quartiers urbains et/ou le gain d’importance de ceux-ci; la ré-urbanisation par l’importance croissante de la ville; la ré-urbanisation par les constructions neuves dans les quartiers centraux; la ré-urbanisation en tant que stratégie urbaine. Ainsi, la notion de ré-urbanisation est basée sur des critères tantôt quantitatifs et tantôt qualitatifs; elle est d’une part analytico-descriptive et d’autre part normative; elle met en évidence des changements absolus et relatifs; elle est appréhendée dans un contexte de villes croissantes aussi bien que décroissantes; elle s’applique à des contextes spatiaux différents, et on lui attribue des fonctions et usages divers. Alors que l’aspect sémantique de tout concept est inévitablement ouvert à interprétation, nous estimons cependant qu’il n’est pas satisfaisant que le concept de ré-urbanisation soit lié à un si grand nombre de définitions, le rendant par là-même particulièrement flou. Les différentes interprétations de ré-urbanisation ne sont qu’en partie compatibles; elles pourraient même mener à des résultats empiriques contradictoires. Par exemple, alors que telle évolution correspondrait à une perte en urbanité selon l’une des interprétations de ce concept, il se peut qu’elle soit labellisée ré-urbanisation selon une autre de ces interprétations. La multitude de définitions de la notion de ré-urbanisation rend les études généralisantes et comparatives très difficiles, voire impossibles. En même temps, il ne faut pas oublier que l’inexactitude de ce concept résulte en partie du fait que « l’urbain » et « l’urbanité » constituent eux-mêmes des concepts complexes et difficiles à opérationnaliser. Ce texte se veut également un plaidoyer en faveur d’une plus grande réflexion et exactitude en ce qui concerne l’application de termes scientifiques, lesquels ne doivent pas seulement être appréhendés comme des métaphores illustrant des processus actuels, mais aussi permettre une opérationnalisation la plus logique et pertinente possible.

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• *Reurbanisation – Inner city – Demographic change – Europe*

**Annegret Haase (Leipzig)**

## **Reurbanisation – an Analysis of the Interaction between Urban and Demographic Change: a Comparison between European Cities**

*Reurbanisierung – eine Analyse der Interaktion zwischen städtischem und demographischem Wandel: europäische Städte im Vergleich*

With 3 Figures and 3 Tables

Inner-city residential areas in European cities have been experiencing fundamental socio-demographic changes over recent years. A number of new empirical studies confirm this observation. In this context the concept of reurbanisation is becoming significant again in the research discourse on the 'return' of the inner city. This paper discusses this concept from a theoretical perspective and supports this discussion with empirical findings from different European countries. Particular emphasis will be given to the explanation of interacting urban and demographic processes through reurbanisation as well as to the distinction between the concepts of reurbanisation on the one hand and gentrification on the other hand. The empirical basis originates from comparative investigations in Leipzig (Germany), Bologna (Italy), Ljubljana (Slovenia) and León (Spain) in the period 2002-2005.

### **1. Introduction**

Inner cities of large European cities have been experiencing a fundamental change over recent years. After decades of decline and out-migration they are once again becoming attractive housing locations. Since the end of the 1980s and reinforced since the end of the 1990s, an intensified in-migration of different household types and groups of residents can be observed in the inner city. Trends that were first observed more than

two decades ago depicting a long-term stabilisation of the inner-city residential function through a variety of households, age and lifestyle groups (*Häußermann and Siebel 1987; Kujath 1988*) seem to be confirmed. Empirical studies from German and other European cities support this observation. In urban studies, researchers are talking about a 'renaissance' of the inner city (*Helbrecht 1996; Brühl et al. 2005*), the media are already celebrating the 'triumph of the inner city' (*Beyer 2006*) over both the large-scale suburban

housing estate and the detached family home in the suburban area beyond.

Apart from this emotionally heated debate there is the need to discuss the change of inner-city residential structures and its background and to discuss causes and effects on the basis of facts and well-founded theory. In the following, the reurbanisation approach is used; this concept is not entirely new, it has been applied occasionally since the 1970s, but has generally remained in the shadow of the discussion on gentrification. Reurbanisation is understood here as the stabilisation of inner-city residential areas due to an influx of various groups of residents and household types as well as less out-migration (Haase et al. 2006: 167ff.). Like gentrification, reurbanisation addresses qualitative processes in inner-city areas, but emphasises their stabilisation and sustainable use. The close reference to the changing urban demography leads to a new framework of explanation for urban processes which, so far, have not been sufficiently highlighted, like, for example, by the gentrification debate. In this context, a decidedly urban orientation in housing preferences as well as a conscious choice of 'life in the city' play an increasingly important role, even given various alternatives and indeed, as will be shown in the following, irrespective of local particularities in different European contexts.

With this in mind, this paper discusses the concept of reurbanisation, integrating it into the current discourse on the development of the inner city and focusing in particular on its distinction from the concept of gentrification. In the following, reurbanisation is conceptualised as the interaction of demographic and urban processes. The theoretical approach is underpinned by empirical findings from four European countries: The empirical data for the study were gathered in investigations conducted in the Re Urban Mobil project during the years 2002-2005, as part of the 5th EU Framework Programme, with case studies in Leipzig, Bologna, Ljubljana and León<sup>1</sup>.

## 2. The Concept of Reurbanisation – A Theoretical Approach

### 2.1 The reurbanisation debate

The European inner city or urban core is experiencing an economic boom – at least this is what the current debate on its 'return' (Helbrecht 1996) as an economic and residential location as well as a place of permanent residence would have us assume. As a matter of fact, there are now numerous contributions which refer to a 'return' (Storper and Manville 2006: 1247) or 'renaissance' of the inner city (Brühl et al. 2005), even if the estimates of the real processes vary considerably between authors (what are reliable data? what are discursive or normative propositions, or what is wishful thinking?). Recently published special issues of relevant journals focusing on the topic (e.g. *Urban Studies* 8/2006 on 'the resurgent city') and international comparative studies (e.g. Turok and Mykhnenko 2007; Buzar et al. 2007a) reinforce this impression. What is common to these processes is that they define 'the return' "against a context of previous decline" while dissociating themselves at the same time from a "simple growth as such" (Cheshire 2006: 1232).

The current discourse more or less takes into account up to two decades of past work. Thus, in the late 1980s, urban researchers had already found a 'new urbanism' (Häußermann and Siebel 1987) for the West German context; the term reurbanisation (that had already been introduced to the German debate in the early 1970s by Elisabeth Pfeil (1972: 326) was taken up again (Kujath 1988), without clearly differentiating it, however, from gentrification. Nevertheless, the qualitative dimension of the 'urban renaissance' was the focus of attention in the works mentioned as they were primarily interested in urban orientation in the sense of housing preferences.

In international research, too, these observations were dealt with already in the 1980s. On the basis



of the model developed by *Leo van den Berg* et al. (1982), which divides up European urban development since the 19<sup>th</sup> century into four ideal-typical phases (urbanisation, suburbanisation, disurbanisation and reurbanisation), various scientists ended up preoccupying themselves with the fourth phase, the (re-)concentration phase which was actually regarded as rather hypothetical by *van den Berg* et al. at that point in time, because, at the beginning of the 1980s, the trend of urban sprawl in many city areas appeared to be too dominant (*van den Berg* et al. 1982: 40, 44). *Lever* (1993: 282) suggested that in post-industrial cities reurbanisation processes might set in. This was then empirically proven for various European cities by *Cheshire* (1995), *Ogden and Hall* (2000), *Seo* (2002) and *Herfert* (2007). In spite of the achievements of these fundamental studies, the debate around reurbanisation is still confronted with a crucial problem: Until today, there is still no common and generally shared understanding of reurbanisation in urban research. The concept is still used with very different connotations, e.g. as recentralisation and (re-)concentration (*Klaassen and Scimeni* 1981; *van den Berg* et al. 1982; *Cheshire* 1995; *Herfert* 2002, 2007), as the return of suburbanites (*Hesse and Schmitz* 1998: 436), as resettlement of the inner city (*Lever* 1993; *Ogden and Hall* 2000; *Burton* 2003), as revitalisation in a cultural sense (*Seo* 2002) or due to economic developments (*Priemus* 2003; *Hutton* 2004; *Spellerberg and Wilbert* 2006) as well as being regarded as gentrification (*Kujath* 1988; *Spellerberg and Wilbert* 2006, too; for an overview see *Haase* et al. 2005a: 80ff.).

Reurbanisation is applied as both a quantitative and a qualitative concept. On the macro-level it is a process of relative or absolute population gain of the urban core compared to suburbia (*Herfert* 2007). On the meso-level it refers to a process of stabilisation of the inner city as a residential location after a longer period of decline, both through increased in-migration as well as less residents moving away. At both spatial levels the spe-

cific housing preferences of the groups responsible for reurbanisation are to be considered (*Haase* et al. 2006: 169f.). For this contribution the latter approach is in the focus of attention and is described in more detail in the following.

A more strongly qualitatively aligned conceptualisation of reurbanisation, oriented towards an increase in attractiveness and a stabilisation of the compact city, has developed since the end of the 1980s. The starting point was the revival of the inner city as a place of living and consumption for very specific social and age groups of inhabitants which was observed in many Western European cities (*Droth and Dangschat* 1985). The changes in the urban core associated with this had an impact on the housing market in the form of a housing shortage and on patterns of residential segregation. Given the physical revaluation of the inner city and rising housing costs, the influx of higher social groups followed, at the expense of the displacement of the population which had been living in the area before. The increased spatial social inequality resulting from this was investigated from a scientific perspective in the period that followed using the concept of gentrification (cf. *Gale* 1986; *Hamnett* 1991; *Friedrichs and Kecskes* 1996; *Slater* et al. 2004; *Wiest and Hill* 2004; *Atkinson and Bridge* 2005; *Glatter* 2007). The concept of reurbanisation took a back seat. In fact it is only recently that in both the German-speaking and the international discourse voices are increasing that constitute reurbanisation tendencies in various European cities (*Ogden and Hall* 2000; *Seo* 2002; *Priemus* 2003; *Brühl* et al. 2005; *Bromley* et al. 2007; *Buzar* et al. 2007a; sceptically: *Champion* 2001: 154, 158; *Müller and Siedentop* 2004: 25). Here, the emphasis is no longer on the classification of cities into the phase model by *van den Berg* et al., but rather on the continuous socio-demographic change of the inner city, which partly presents itself as gentrification (*Bromley* et al. 2007), while still displaying other characteristics, too.

The fact that core evidence of qualitative reurbanisation such as new residents, an 'inner-city quality of life', an 'increase in attractiveness' or 'the return of urban life as a housing preference' indeed use a language that is "most familiar to many gentrification scholars" (Colomb 2007: 13), has recently led to criticism from the perspective of gentrification research. The main arguments of such criticism refer to the use of the term reurbanisation in order to conceal processes of gentrification and to define away from the current debate the social or 'class issue', which is critically highlighted by the gentrification approach, shifting the emphasis to demographic changes (van Crielingen 2007). From this perspective reurbanisation is regarded as a 'politically correct' concept, which – admittedly – to an increasing degree is also applied in political strategies for the stabilisation of the city and of urbanism, without the critical view of gentrification (Colomb 2007; Köppen 2008). A discussion on the overlaps and the differences of both concepts can be found in Section 6 which incorporates the empirical results.

One of the differences is the significance of socio-demographic factors for the explanation of inner-city change. This becomes the main focus in the following section, where the understanding of reurbanisation in this contribution is described in more detail.

## 2.2 Demographic change in focus: the conceptualisation of reurbanisation

The connections between the structural changes of private households, their residential needs and the change of the inner city are a previously rarely considered topic of urban research (cf. Droth and Dangschat 1985; Spiegel 1986; Myers 1990; Lee et al. 2001; Buzar et al. 2005; Haase et al. 2006; Steinführer 2006). They nevertheless have a high potential to explain the current change of the inner city. Here according to the author's point of view lies the innovativeness of the related reurbanisation approach.

Demographers regard the considerable shrinking of households over recent decades as a key social process (Gober 1990: 232; Buzar et al. 2005: 417). Cross-cutting socio-economic processes like tertiarisation, the increase in women's employment, extended time for further educational training or the mobility of the labour force have for a long time led to changes of demographic decisions such as marriage, the establishment of a family or the structure and stability of private households. Fertility had already been decreasing since the 1960s in most European countries and is now below the level of regeneration (with partly historically low values, the so-called 'lowest-low fertility', cf. Kohler et al. 2002). The delay or even renouncing of marriage or establishment of a family is becoming the norm, and the 'standard family with two children under 18 years old' is becoming a statistical exception (Habermann-Nieße 2006: 4). Small and in particular one-person households are increasing, private lifestyles are becoming more unstable, and the number of households formed by one participant in the life process is increasing (Ogden and Hall 2000: 368; Silva and Smart 1999). In connection with the aforementioned changes in work and education as well as the views on gender roles, there is a destandardisation of the life cycle and a pluralisation of lifestyles (Herlyn 1990: 15). As a result this is accompanied by a loss of meaning of the core family, the intensification of new, situation-adapted ways of life, a diversification of lifestyles of individual households as well as a change of their internal economies (cf. Ogden and Hall 2000, 2004; Buzar et al. 2005). This diversification in the forms of private living together changes the demand side in the context of reurbanisation. However, apart from the 'non-conventional' household types (individuals living on their own, childless couples, flat sharers etc.; Droth and Dangschat 1985; Spiegel 1986, 2000; Schneider et al. 1998) who are attracted by the particular kind of architecture, the central location and the cultural and social amenities, increasingly more families are opting to live in the inner city (Karsten 2003). Here, in addi-



tion to living costs, the flexible use of available buildings and less hierarchical flat layouts as well as, in the case of the late 19th century style, buildings that have a high aesthetic value for certain age, social and lifestyle groups – all play a significant role. Beyond that, ‘suburban qualities’ like inner-city green areas, town houses with a garden as well as amalgamating smaller apartments into larger ones to create spacious individual apartments are gaining significance. In this respect, urban living is competing in a direct way with suburban advantages – and at the same time offers advantages over suburban shortcomings like not being connected to a public transport network, infrastructures and culture.

Finally, from an urban research point of view, it is to be stated that it is households and not individual participants that influence urban change by their housing location decisions. Therefore for this reason alone more attention should be given to households, their housing preferences and their mobility decisions (Haase et al. 2006: 169f.). Primarily for this reason the understanding of reurbanisation in this contribution focuses on the interaction of inner-urban change and change in households.

### 2.3 Questions for empirical investigation and discussion

Based on the theoretical considerations presented above, the following questions are dealt with in the empirical section, supported by investigation results from four European cities: Which intensity do reurbanisation processes show in the case study areas? Which groups are pushing forward these processes? Which incentives determine an in-migration to the inner city? Beyond that, the effects of reurbanisation for the areas as well as their stability and long-termness are discussed. Finally, a conclusion is drawn and the differences to the concept of gentrification are elucidated.

## 3. Reurbanisation in Four European Cities

### 3.1 The case studies

The number of empirical studies on reurbanisation processes in Europe is rather small, so far (e.g. Lever 1993; Ogden and Hall 2000; Seo 2002; Cheshire 1995; Herfert 2002, 2007; Haase et al. 2005a, 2006; Buzar et al. 2007a). What is lacking in particular are comparative analyses. Furthermore, different conceptualisations of reurbanisation can be found in the various contributions (see above).

The results presented here rely on empirical investigations which were conducted in the context of a European research project (see note 1). The central purpose of the project was to analyse reurbanisation processes in a joint venture of researchers and practitioners from eight European countries in Leipzig, Bologna, León and Ljubljana as well as to develop strategies and instruments in order to make use of the existing potential for the stabilisation of the inner city. For this purpose, two case study areas (*Fig. 1*) were selected for each city according to commonly determined criteria: The areas were part of the inner city, were characterised by historical buildings, and, at the time of selection – in 2003 –, showed negative signs of demographic change such as ageing and selective out-migration; therefore, they are in the focus of current and future urban planning interventions. While the buildings in five of the residential areas investigated originate from the end of the 19th and from the early 20th century (Leipzig: Neustadt-Neuschönefeld and Altlichtenau, Bologna: Bolognina) and/or from directly after World War II (Bologna: San Donato, León: El Ejido), three of the case study areas are in the historical, i.e. medieval cores of the cities with a long tradition as residential areas (León: Casco Antiguo; Ljubljana: the two residential areas of the old town and of Miklošič Park are directly next to each other and divided here for project purposes only).

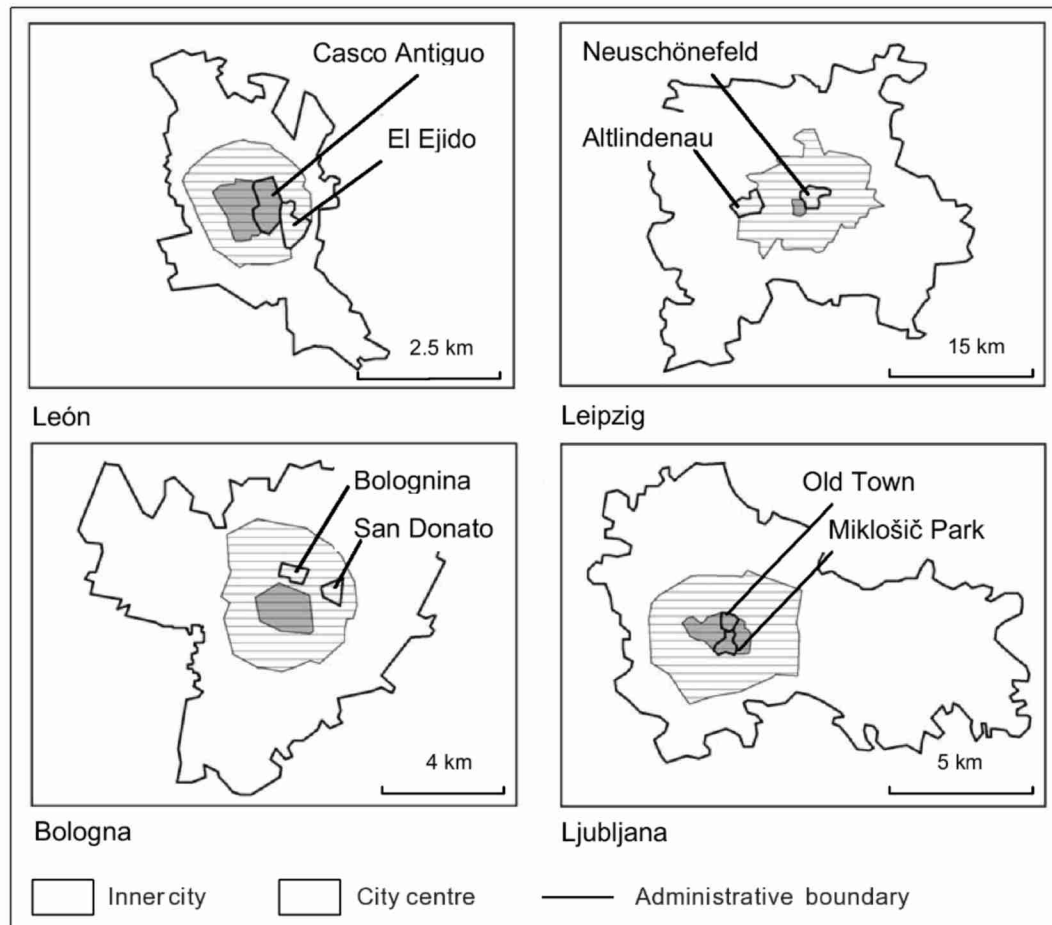


Fig. 1 The investigation areas in the four case study cities (based on Buzar et al. 2007: 653, modified)  
 Die Untersuchungsgebiete in den vier Fallstudienstädten (nach Buzar et al. 2007: 653, verändert)

The cities in the case studies show both similarities and dissimilarities. Leipzig and Bologna are cities with a long urban tradition, Ljubljana functions as the capital of a relatively new country and León as a regional tourist magnet on the pilgrim route to Santiago de Compostela. Vacancies are a phenomenon which to a significant extent can only be observed in Leipzig, although León in particular with its medieval city centre has similar problems with the use of its housing stock. In León's historic core there are numerous new

buildings adapted both to the medieval design and to today's housing requirements, not least to countervail against the pronounced suburbanisation (also a problem in Bologna and Ljubljana). In Leipzig and Ljubljana the post-socialist transformation regarding the economic significance of the cities and their housing markets evolved differently: In the Slovenian capital, the pressure from in-migration has been very high, whereas Leipzig was characterised by population losses for many years. On the other hand,

however, the housing market is much more closed in Ljubljana as compared to Leipzig due to the fact that the proportion of private property is over 90 % as a result of mass privatisation in the 1990s. After 1990 both cities underwent comprehensive structural renovation processes both in the city centres as well as in the surrounding residential areas.

While in Leipzig, Bologna and in the case of El Ejido in León the residential areas serve primarily as housing, in Ljubljana and in the case of Casco Antiguo in León they take on additional functions as part of the historical city centre. In addition, in Leipzig, Ljubljana and in León's Casco Antiguo area changes of the structure of inhabitants and the reuse of residential buildings after partial or complete renovation have gone hand in hand. Local experts referred to ageing as an important demographic process for the investigated areas in Bologna, Ljubljana and El Ejido in León; these areas were occupied by relatively homogeneous age groups in the post-war period, and today housing stock and population are growing old simultaneously.

### 3.2 Database and methodology

The methodological design of the social-scientific data collection presented here covers both quantitative and qualitative procedures. It centres on a standardised and self-administered questionnaire survey that was conducted between autumn 2003 and the beginning of 2004 in all four cities and/or the investigation areas selected there. Using a questionnaire, which was handed over to the respondents after an explanation of the subject matter and then collected after approximately one week, extensive quantitative and (due to a number of open questions) also qualitative data could be collected. The comparability of the questionnaire results in all four cities was guaranteed by a coordinated methodical approach.

Owing to careful preparation tested over years (Kabisch 2005) the response to the questionnaires was between 72 % (in Leipzig) and 81 % (in Ljubljana). The quality of the completed questionnaires was predominantly good, with the exception that the questions on household structures in Bologna were insufficiently answered. This has made analyses on the households responsible for reurbanisation more difficult, which will be shown in more detail later on. Furthermore, data collection on incomes had to be discarded in Bologna due to very strict data protection rights (and corresponding attitudes by the residents).

The questionnaires were carried out with the intention of determining detailed data for a defined investigation area which could not be acquired from either national or communal statistics. Moreover, by using a similar collection instrument (the majority of questions were identical in all cities) for all four national and local contexts, comparable data referring to the same indicators could be collected.

The questionnaire concentrated on the housing situation, the most recent development of the residential area from the point of view of the respondents, general preferences in terms of residential accommodation as well as intentions to move or stay in the area. For all members of the households interviewed, extensive socio-demographic data were collected. The selection of the individual household member actually interviewed was a question of pure chance. In Leipzig 706, in Bologna 469, in Ljubljana 593 and in León 470 households were questioned in this way.

Additional information was acquired from in-depth interviews with selected households (34 interviews) that had participated in the questionnaire study and from expert interviews with local decision-makers (35), focusing essentially on the clarification of correlations that were not or only insufficiently addressed in the questionnaires (inhabitants) as well as on evaluations and estimates (experts) (Haase et al. 2005b: 30).

#### 4. Inner-City Reurbanisation in Large European Cities – Selected Empirical Results

##### 4.1 Intensity of reurbanisation

Reurbanisation presupposes an increased residential mobility towards the inner city. Therefore the comparative investigation was focused on those inhabitants who had moved to the inner city in the five years before. They are defined as the drivers or protagonists of reurbanisation or reurbanites. The period of five years appeared to be a suitable criterion in several respects, both as a period which the respondents would still remember in order to judge noticeable changes in the residential area and on account of data-technical reasons (size of the random sample in the cities). For all the shortcomings it is to be stressed that such predominantly research-technically motivated compromises are unavoidable in comparative investigations.

From a quantitative point of view Leipzig is the most prominent example of reurbanisation; here process-

es of exchange and a 'revival' of the areas investigated took place simultaneously (*Tab. 1*). This finding may be generalised for the entire inner city and is confirmed by official data which have recorded increases for most residential areas close to the urban core since approximately 1999 – after decades of decline (*Steinführer* 2004: 185f.; *Wiest and Hill* 2004: 362, 367). By comparison, reurbanisation processes in the other cities investigated reach a less impressive level from a quantitative point of view, not least due to the structurally different conditions of the housing market. In Bologna and in León's Casco Antiguo almost a third of the households had moved to the area in recent years. In El Ejido (León), a residential area established mainly in the post-war period, the generation change is still impending which might also be associated with the younger generation being late to move away from the parents' house, by European comparison (*Baizan* 2001). Ljubljana, last but not least, shows remarkable changes with reference to the immigration of very young newcomers, despite its quantitatively small extent, in view of the strained

*Tab. 1* Proportion of reurbanites (in percent) in the investigation areas. Source: household surveys 2003/2004 *Anteil der Reurbaniten (Angaben in Prozent) in den Untersuchungsgebieten. Quelle: Haushaltsbefragungen 2003/2004*

City	Investigation area	Proportion of reurbanites
<b>Leipzig</b>	Altlichtenau (n = 332)	60.8
	Neustadt-Neuschönefeld (n = 358)	55.0
<b>Bologna</b>	Bolognina (n = 211)	29.4
	San Donato (n = 208)	30.3
<b>León</b>	Casco Antiguo (n = 206)	29.1
	El Ejido (n = 261)	13.8
<b>Ljubljana</b>	Old Town (n = 334)	20.1
	Miklošič Park (n = 251)	13.9

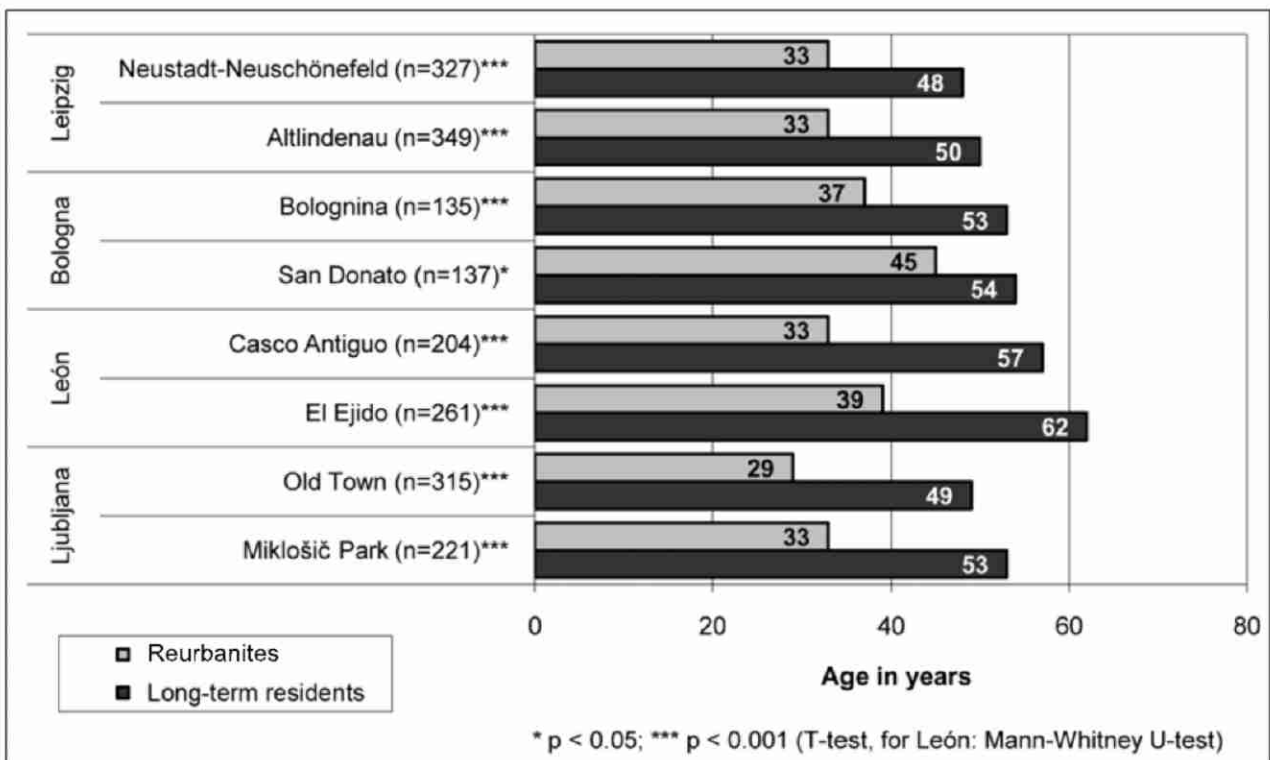
housing market situation almost exclusively represented by owner-occupiers (*Sendi* 2003).

#### 4.2 The reurbanites

As explained above, the qualitative dimension of demographic change is the focus of the reurbanisation concept introduced here. In this respect – and this justifies the application of the concept in all four cities – great similarities can be determined between the areas. First of all, reurbanisation means that in all cases the resident population will become younger (*Fig. 2*). In all areas, the groups responsible for reurbanisation are considerably younger compared to the longer-term residents. This is most evident in Leipzig and Ljubljana, where the difference is about one generation on average.

The majority of immigrants are less than 35 years old. In contrast, areas that have been characterised more by family in-migration, like San Donato in Bologna or El Ejido in León, have experienced in-migration by both the middle-aged as well as the younger generation to a similar extent.

The household structures of the in-migrants show great similarities: One characteristic that stands out is the presence of non-traditional household types that at least half of the in-migration can be attributed to with the exception of León (*Tab. 2*). Above all it is the flat sharers that stand out, and they are a new phenomenon in all three South European countries, while remaining a wide-spread phenomenon in German university towns. In Leipzig and Bologna younger one-person households are also widespread (the data for Bologna do not



*Fig. 2* Comparison of the average age of reurbanites and long-term residents in the study areas (arithmetic means; for León: interpolated median). Source: household surveys 2003/2004 / *Vergleich des Durchschnittsalters von Reurbaniten und länger Ansässigen in den Untersuchungsgebieten (arithmetisches Mittel; für León: interpolierter Median)*. Quelle: Haushaltsbefragungen 2003/2004

reflect the real conditions due to the aforementioned data security problems, cf. Haase et al. 2006: 171f., 174f.; Schröder 2005: 2). Childless couples are equally represented in all four cities, again with Bologna not reflecting this in the data presented for the reason mentioned above. But apart from these household types known from the gentrification debate, it is also young families (including single parents) who are important households responsible for reurbanisation in all cities. Finally, foreign immigrants form another group of residents contributing to reurbanisation processes, particularly in Leipzig and Bologna (for Leipzig Gugsch et al. 2006).

If one compares the intensity of reurbanisation in the four cities, then the most advanced process points to Leipzig. The average age of the inhabitants of the areas investigated is below that

of Leipzig as a whole and the observed rejuvenation trend has even increased over recent years. More than 60 % of the immigrants are less than 40 years old and four out of five belong to non-traditional household types. They can be labeled as typical households responsible for reurbanisation (see Tab. 2). While Altlichtenau is particularly favoured by young families and childless couples, Neustadt-Neuschönefeld is more attractive for young singles, flat sharers and immigrants. Students can generally be depicted as important contributors to the reurbanisation process in Leipzig (accounting for 24 % of all recent in-migrants; for other residential areas in Leipzig see Wiest and Hill 2004: 365ff.).

A comparable development is taking place in Bologna's investigation areas. Here, for instance, about one third of the households moved to the

Tab. 2 Proportion of households responsible for reurbanisation by type of household (in percent); "younger" households have at least one adult younger than 40 years old (in León with a higher average age: younger than 45 years old). In Bologna, 28 % of the reurbanites could not be considered due to lacking data (see remarks in the text). Source: household surveys 2003/2004 / *Anteile der verschiedenen Haushaltstypen an der Zahl der Trägerhaushalte der Reurbanisierung (in Prozent); „jüngere“ Haushalte haben mindestens einen Erwachsenen jünger als 40 Jahre (in León mit höherem Durchschnittsalter: jünger als 45 Jahre). In Bologna konnten 28 % der Reurbaniten wegen fehlender Daten nicht berücksichtigt werden (s. Bemerkungen im Text). Quelle: Haushaltsbefragungen 2003/2004*

Household type	Leipzig (n = 377)	Bologna (n = 90)	León (n = 96)	Ljubljana (n = 100)
Younger one-person households	18	1	10	11
Younger flat sharers	18	32	17	28
Younger couples (without children)	14	3	19	14
Households with dependent children*	32	29	34	21
Other household types	18	34	20	26
Total	100	100	100	100

\* children under 18 (including families and single parents)

area within the last five years. As with the case of Leipzig this has changed the age, social and education structure of the inhabitants. Above all flat sharers (due to moderate living costs) as well as households with children have moved into the area. 55 % of the reurbanites questioned are under 40 years old, for the entire sample this proportion is considerably lower (28 %). Every fourth in-migrant has a university education, and a further 26 % are students. While families are more likely to move to quieter areas like San Donato, the livelier Bolognina is preferred more by students, young singles, single parents and immigrants. The proportion of young, foreign inhabitants and persons living alone is considerably higher here compared to the urban average, while at the same time the average household size is smaller (Buzar et al. 2007b: 78ff.).

In the two other cities Ljubljana and León reurbanisation trends are less evident. In León it is only the old town centre (Casco Antiguo) that

indicates a higher value of typical reurbanites (29 %), mostly one- or two-person households or singles, flat sharers or unmarried couples, but also families and single parents. The other area, El Ejido, is characterised by two-story terraced houses with small gardens. Here, a change of residents is taking place only very gradually (proportion of reurbanites = 14 %) with the generation change still approaching. In recent years it is above all families that have moved to the area. Also in the residential areas investigated in Ljubljana, the Old Town and Miklošič Park, the majority of those questioned were long-term residents of the area. The proportion of those who have moved to the area within the last five years is 17 % in total. Both areas are experiencing an aging process because 40 % of the residents are older than 50 years, and 17 % of them over 70 years old. In contrast, very young households dominate among the new residents: 52 % of them are aged between 18 and 30 years, and four out of five are students or in training (Sendi 2003: 160).

Tab. 3 Proportion of interviewees with a high city orientation: Reurbanites and long-term residents in comparison (in percent); the question referred to impressions of "good living" and the category "on the outskirts of a city" where the answer "not at all important" was also considered. Source: household surveys 2003/2004 / Anteil der Befragten mit einer hohen Affinität zum Wohnen im Stadtzentrum: ein Vergleich zwischen Reurbaniten und Alteingesessenen (Angaben in Prozent); die Frage bezog sich auf das „gute Wohnen“; hinsichtlich der Kategorie „am Stadtrand“ wurde ebenfalls die Antwort „überhaupt nicht“ berücksichtigt. Quelle: Haushaltsbefragungen 2003/2004

City	Investigation area	Reurbanites	Long-term Residents
Leipzig	Altlichtenau (n = 300)	67.8	70.8
	Neustadt-Neuschönefeld (n = 321)	76.2	80.9
Bologna	Bolognina (n = 161)	72.5	63.0
	San Donato (n = 144)	70.0	60.6
León	Casco Antiguo (n = 205)	85.5	70.0
	El Ejido (n = 256)	66.7	72.7
Ljubljana	Old Town (n = 278)	58.1	64.8
	Miklošič Park (n = 199)	75.8	62.7



### 4.3 *The motives of reurbanites: Urban orientation as a housing preference*

A common characteristic of most new residents is their explicit orientation for urban qualities of housing and life, irrespective of the reasons that were decisive for their locational choice – a more preference-driven or pragmatic location decision or the search for an environment which best reflects one's housing aspirations (*Tab. 3*, see also *Dangschat* 2000: 149; *Schellenberg* 2004: 5, 23, 27; *Friedrichs* 1996: 95). This is supported on the one hand by the fact that the majority of them, particularly in León, Ljubljana and Leipzig (86 %, 62 % and 60 %; Bologna: 54 %), moved within the core city. They already lived within the city boundaries before, mostly in a neighbouring area. On the other hand, the decision to live in the inner city is linked with a refusal of suburban life. Instead, security and a well looked-after residential area as well as housing that offers good value for money; the central location/closeness to the city centre with a good local supply and a connection to local transport and infrastructure are given priority, as is made clear by the following quote from the interviews with the inhabitants:

“First of all the purchase price was quite reasonable (...) and we said, well, it's perfect, we have the tram right in front of our door, we have shopping facilities, so I can get everything that covers our daily consumer needs (...) and then the school is close by. These were so many advantages (...), ten minutes to the city centre. That's why we said, we don't need to look for a flat anywhere else.” (*Ms. S.*, Leipzig-Alt Lindenau)

Generally the residents who have moved to the area have neighbours with similar attitudes; the residents who have already been living longer in the inner city, too, are essentially characterised by a high appreciation of urban life:

“I can say for myself that I am an urban dweller and that I wished to live directly in the city centre as far as I can remember, always, so now that I have

got the possibility to do it I don't regret the decision.” (*Mr. D.*, pensioner, Ljubljana-Old Town).

There are clear differences only in two residential areas (Casco Antiguo in León and Miklošič Park in Ljubljana) between the new and the long-term residents of the inner city. Even if this difference is not statistically significant, it has to be emphasised in light of the vibrant suburbanisation process in both cities. An analysis of the attitudes according to age groups among all respondents comes up with a similar result. There was no proof of a connection between age and the occurrence of urban preferences in any city – one argument for the hypothesis that reurbanisation could become a long-term trend of European urban development, which would not only depend on young in-migrants to the city for training or occupational reasons or the effects of larger age cohorts (*Köppen* 2005: 6f.).

### 4.4 *Change to the inner-city residential areas*

The new in-migration leads to changes in the residential areas concerned; these are experiencing a differentiation in terms of demography, and the social environment also changes (*Brühl et al.* 2005: 49ff.). A change of the household structures and residential needs goes hand in hand with a decline in established concepts of life like for example the core family or a lifelong employment with the same company as well as increasing individualisation with its ambivalence of new opportunity structures and decreasing security. Traditional working class environments, which shaped for example the residential areas under investigation in Leipzig and Bologna, are disappearing or being superposed by a new small-scale kind of segregation (*Häußermann and Siebel* 2000: 136), which is also expressed by the inhabitants themselves:

“There are many students here, so things have been changing here. With the students come the winds of change, another way of ‘experiencing the city’. Students want to be near the city centre.

I don't go to the city centre to have fun. Other Bologna residents won't do that either. But the students go. Yes, there are changes. Bologna is no longer a workers' area. Today it is more mixed, a 'melting pot'." (*Mr. B., Bolognina*)

In spite of their proximity to the urban core some of the residential areas investigated in the inner cities also offer suburban qualities in addition to the urban ones such as green areas, zones with less traffic and a spacious living environment valued by families for example. They are therefore considered to be 'family- or child-friendly' and show a strong in-migration and acceptance among families accordingly – or young couples about to start a family. We could observe this phenomenon in all four cities investigated here (*Haase et al. 2005b: 202ff., 210f.*). The suitability of the inner city as a residential location for families has already been documented by other studies (*Karsten 2003; Brühl et al. 2005*).

"The situation for children is very good here because it is like a pedestrian zone, not in the strict sense of the word but in practice. They are able to play in the street." (*Mr. E., León-Casco Antiguo*)

In contrast to the theory of a 'renaissance' of the inner city due to a concentration of rather better-off groups of inhabitants (*Brühl et al. 2005: 14f.*), it is to be noted that it is not only upper social classes that move into the inner city but also persons with lower incomes, immigrants, young families and households going through either a professional or private transitional phase. The high proportion of flat sharers is an indicator for this. In León in particular, an increase in the significance of this comparatively very new household type in the Spanish context can be observed in recent years: While shared flats are hardly represented among longer-term residents, they account for every sixth of the households responsible for reurbanisation. In Bolognina and Ljubljana's Old Town this type of household forms the largest group among new residents.

#### 4.5 The stability of reurbanisation trends

*Figure 3* shows that at the time of the data collection the households responsible for reurbanisation do not have considerably greater intentions of moving than those who have already been living there longer. The greater residential mobility in Leipzig can be attributed to the specific housing market situation there (supply surplus, structural vacancies), which cannot be found in the far more closed housing markets of the other three cities. At the household level – less surprisingly – in particular family households and younger inhabitants are characterised by the highest tendencies to move. In Bologna, Ljubljana and León precarious housing conditions of younger new residents as well as a high demand surplus play a role – for this reason the suburban zone must be incorporated into mobility decisions in many cases when searching for a location. With young couples (potential families) it is also crucial as to what extent the inner city is regarded as suitable enough to live there with (small) children. In this respect, however, several of the case study areas have the potential of becoming family residential areas: Altlindeau in Leipzig, San Donato in Bologna and El Ejido in León (*Haase et al. 2006: 177f.*). As for all household types, for families the same applies: The main reasons to live in the inner city are its varied opportunity and housing structures catering to the needs of reurbanites that can be used by both today's adults and by future generations.

At the same time, however, the young age of most new residents as well as the fact that they are often in a transitional phase regarding living, training, partnership and way of life, gives rise to the question about a long-termness of the observed reurbanisation tendencies. How sustainable is the interest of today's reurbanites in urban qualities and a central residential location if their life circumstances change? In order to answer this question properly, long-term investigations are required. Therefore, it is not so certain at this moment in time

how long-term their actual interest in the qualities of urban life really is, also under changed circumstances. However, even today – in spite of missing and indispensable long-term profile studies – there are already first indications of the fact that reurbanisation could well become a long-term trend in large European cities: Firstly, it is the proven urban orientation of most residents, including the longer-term residents, of the inner city, which makes their moving away less probable. Secondly, in the future an increase in city-dwellers among the 50+ age groups is possible, this phenomenon has just been introduced into the debate (Köppen 2005; Glasze and Graze 2007). Finally, initial small-scale statistical analyses for the example of Leipzig have shown that since 1999 a number of inner-city areas have constantly

featured typical reurbanisation characteristics: positive net in-migration, high ratio of young people, low average age, a household size below average as well as an above-average proportion of foreigners (Kabisch and Haase 2007).

### 5. Results: A Variety of Reurbanisation Protagonists and Paths for Residential Areas

The empirical findings show that reurbanisation as a process of qualitative changes in inner-city residential districts involves a variety of household types, age groups, social groups, education levels and income brackets. As the examples have shown, reurbanisation is related to a conscious preference of urban qualities by different groups of inhabitants.

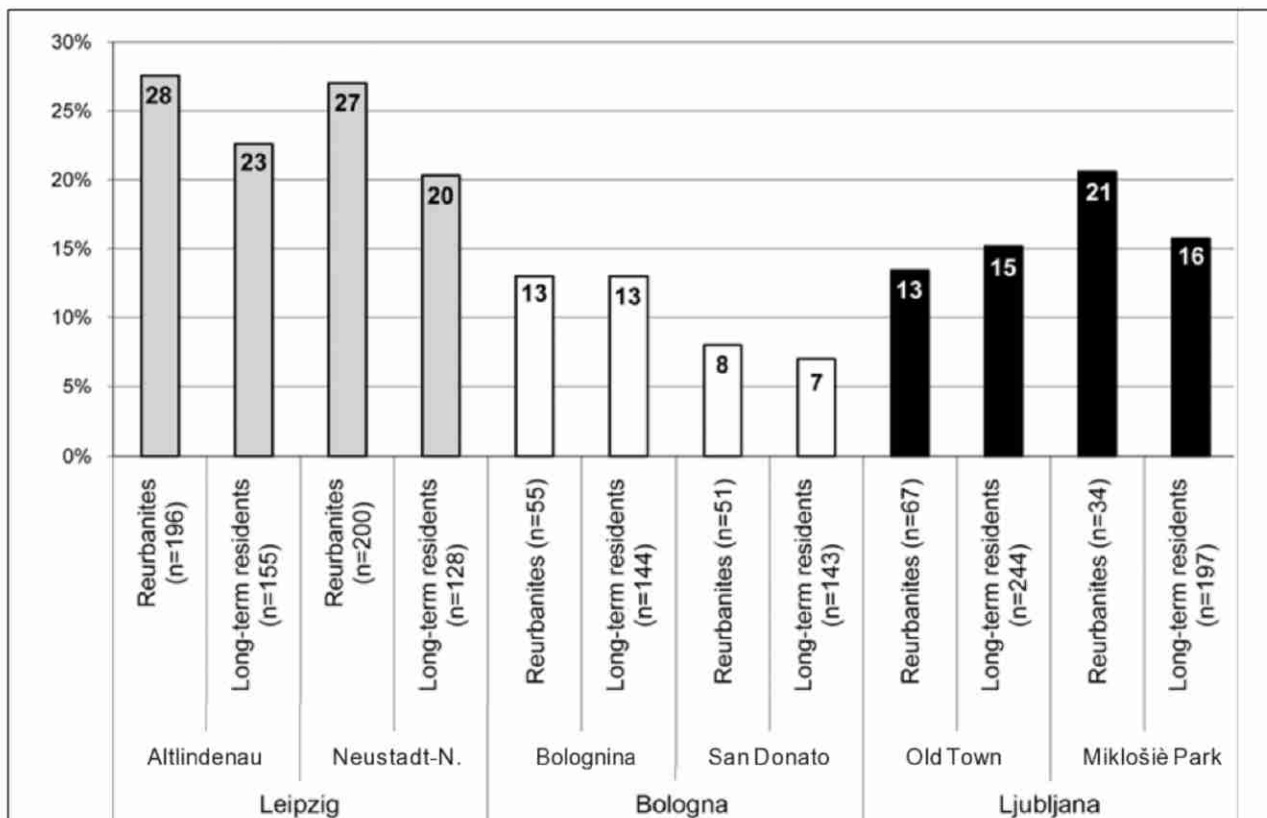


Fig. 3 Moving plans of reurbanites and long-term residents in comparison (Do you plan to move in the near future? "Yes" in percent). Source: own data, household surveys 2003, 2004 / *Umzugspläne der Reurbaniten und Alteingesessenen im Vergleich (Planen Sie demnächst umzuziehen?, „Ja“-Angaben in Prozent)*. Quelle: eigene Erhebungen, Haushaltsbefragungen 2003/2004

The comparative analyses, however, have pointed out that reurbanisation refers less to a 'back to the city' but rather to a 'staying in the city' or a stabilisation of urban orientation as a residential preference, and indeed – independently of local characteristics – in different national and local contexts.

The special explanation value of the concept of reurbanisation consists of the fact that with its help inner-city change can be analysed as a function of demographic and household-driven changes. This leads to a new framework of explanation of urban processes that, so far, has not been highlighted to a greater extent. The groups responsible for reurbanisation show a clear connection with the renunciation of traditional life cycles and family concepts as well as with an increasing variety of household types and ways of life, which appear more unstable and designed for shorter periods of living together; in addition, the households seem to decide on housing locations at more short- to medium-term intervals. The underlying factor of urban orientation is common to all of them.

Reurbanisation processes and their specific characteristics are strongly tied to national conditions and the context of the respective city and residential area: Housing market structures, supply or demand surplus, the promotion of private property and the significance of rented housing – all these affect the concepts of 'good housing' just as much as actual housing location decisions, the image of a residential area and its future development do. Although for all of the areas investigated a high significance of an explicitly urban orientation of new and longer-term residents alike could be worked out, these will not develop identically. Depending on the urban layout and ownership structure as well as the environmental quality and historical identity, various development paths are conceivable (see also *Haase et al.* 2006: 178):

- as transit areas for students, which are shaped by a relatively high fluctuation, but also by struc-

turally similar demand groups in the long run (e.g. Bolognina, Leipzig-Neustadt-Neuschönefeld, both residential areas in Ljubljana),

- as child- or family-friendly residential areas (Leipzig-Altlichtenau, Bologna-San Donato, León-El Ejido),
- as residential areas with an ethnical concentration or immigrant area (Bolognina and Bologna-San Donato, Leipzig-Neustadt-Neuschönefeld), or
- as a potential gentrification area of the future (both areas in Ljubljana, León-Casco Antiguo).

The enumeration shows that reurbanisation can have very different facets at the level of residential areas. From the perspective of the entire city, this aspect contributes to a stronger socio-spatial and demographic fragmentation (*Buzar et al.* 2007a: 'splintering urban populations') and to an increasingly small spatial scale of devaluation and revaluation processes which is projected onto the level of the entire city.

## 6. Reurbanisation and Gentrification: A 'Creative Area of Conflict' Revisited

In the preceding chapters the overlaps and differences between reurbanisation and gentrification have already been mentioned. Both concepts have in common that they address small-scale changes in the inner city, induced by inhabitants orientated to urban living preferences, which in turn leads to a qualitative change of the residential areas concerned. From the point of view of the author it may be remarked at this point that – in spite of these overlaps – reurbanisation and gentrification denote two qualitatively different processes. The two concepts do not have the same research interest. Reurbanisation refers to a wider process which encompasses very different groups of inhabitants.

Here, the focus is on the stabilisation and sustainable use of inner-city residential areas (*Jenks et al. 1996; Williams et al. 2000*) as well as on different household types as responsible groups (*Buzar et al. 2005*). Gentrification, in contrast, can be differentiated clearly by processes of physical, social and symbolic revaluation induced by specific age, lifestyle, occupational and income groups and by their implications for the character of the residential area. This means that both concepts do not directly compete with one another in terms of an explanation. Whilst the dynamics of social fragmentation or inequality are not the predominant object of reurbanisation, gentrification usually deals with demographic and household changes only marginally, which, however, does not mean that these processes are suppressed or ignored.

Until today, both concepts are often not accurately distinguished in both research and urban planning practice and rhetoric (see *Colomb 2007: 13ff.*, for the British context). One reason for this is that – in contrast to gentrification – there is no generally recognised definition for reurbanisation. For instance, it is occasionally regarded as being a synonym for gentrification in the scientific discourse (e.g. *Kern 2007*). Moreover, it seems justified to point out that reurbanisation is placed strategically in the foreground in the context of the ‘renaissance’ debate in order to consciously avoid the critical word of gentrification. However, this normative use of the term should not be equated or confounded with its importance as an analytical concept.

For the representatives of city administrations involved in the EU project, reurbanisation was regarded above all as a strategy for the long-term stabilisation of inner-city residential areas. Here different objectives could be recognised: While town planners in Leipzig and Bologna strived above all to maintain a socially mixed structure of residents in the inner city, the city representatives in Ljubljana and León were more preoccupied with

putting an end to the creeping degeneration of the traditional old city centres and maintaining a residential function for the respective areas. Here a revaluation by means of gentrification was considered to be desirable without clearly reflecting on the differences of the processes behind it. In some of the residential areas investigated (e.g. in Leipzig and Bologna) “we can see a bifurcation in the trajectories of many neighbourhoods in these cities with simultaneously downward and upward changes” (*Petsimeris 2005: 255*), whereby the recent in-migration (of families, students or immigrants) contributed to both ‘directions’ (see *Haase et al. 2005b*). It is not excluded that – as mentioned above – the future of some residential areas or streets might also be gentrification, in particular in León-Casco Antiguo and the inner city of Ljubljana (spot or pocket gentrification). The fact that social fragmentation, small-scale segregation or the displacement of socially weaker groups of inhabitants by new residents from a higher income bracket in the residential areas investigated played a minor role at the time of data collection does not necessarily mean that this will also be the case in the future. Even an influx of tenants can lead to displacement processes and social separation (‘tenant gentrification’, cf. *van Criekingen 2007*).

Therefore, the author strongly supports a clear distinction between the two processes in terms of the terminological and conceptual framework and, at the same time, an acknowledgement of the two phenomena as ‘actually running processes’. Only in this way can both of them maintain their specific analytical weight. A further concern refers to the overload of the two concepts (‘concept stretching’, cf. *Mossberger and Stoker 2001: 817*) in order to be able to subsume processes, which are qualitatively distinctive, under the umbrella of one term or conceptual approach.

In the gentrification debate there is a controversial discussion on the limitations of the concept at present (*Slater et al. 2004; Davidson and Lees*



2005; Buzar et al. 2007a); in the case of reurbanisation a generally accepted definition is still pending. Experts discuss the 'parallel' use of both terms (and concepts) controversially at present, the strengthening of the demographic dimension by using the reurbanisation approach is agreed upon however by the majority of discussants (Buzar et al. 2007b: 69, 81; van Criekingen 2007). From the author's point of view, however, both perspectives can and have to complement each other, they do not render each other obsolete, neither are they in direct competition with reference to the explanation strength of inner-city residential change. With the application or the transfer of concepts to different contexts one decision has always to be made: Should as many contexts as possible be summarised under the concept or should the core of the concept be critically investigated with a specific orientation as to whether it is applicable in a selected context? With regard to both gentrification and reurbanisation, such – very welcome – attempts may be found, for example in contributions on the classification of the current development of inner-city residential areas in post-socialist East Central Europe (Parysek 2005; Standl and Krupickaite 2004; Šýkora 2005). Finally, the value of a 'de-emotionalised' debate should be underlined, since only then a real discussion can take place on the subject matter of the concepts as well as on their applicability.

## 7. Conclusions

The contribution discussed reurbanisation as a starting point to explain current development tendencies of inner-city residential districts. Reurbanisation was defined using the connection between demographic changes of the residents and the change of the inner-city residential areas. In the analysis empirical results from four European cities were used, which revealed the relevance and specificity of reurbanisation processes in different national and local contexts. Subsequent-

ly, intersections and differences between reurbanisation and gentrification were established.

Reurbanisation as a small-scale change in the inner city, which is fed in particular by more general demographic and social processes, represents a relatively recent phenomenon in the history of European cities. Empirical findings show that reurbanisation phenomena and processes as described in this contribution can be observed not only in many places, but also as (at least) mid-term trends, even if a sea change towards reurbanisation is not to be expected.

The results underline the fact that with all the specifics of the residential areas investigated from a qualitative point of view many parallels can be detected. It is to be particularly emphasised that the 'distinctive [re – A.H.] urban demography' (Ogden and Hall 2000: 386) is not limited to non-traditional households but is instead represented by a new variety of household types. The inner city offers an attractive residential location for younger one-person households, childless couples and flat sharers, but also for families with an urban orientation: short distances between home and work or between home and education, the availability of extensive leisure activities, a varied local supply of services in the residential area, daily life independent of the need to possess a car, or building structures that enable a long-term residence in the residential area also under the conditions of less household stability. This is favoured by a great importance of rented housing, also in countries, where – unlike in Germany – owner-occupiers play a predominant role, as for instance in the cases investigated here in Spain, Italy or Slovenia.

Reurbanisation puts urban orientation, inner-city in-migration and remaining in the city and the changes in the residential area associated with this into a demographic context which emphasises the household dimension in particular, without however consciously excluding the social di-

mension. The fact that the discourse on reurbanisation is still quite new and even today is often not clearly separated from the gentrification discourse indicates a more profound theoretical foundation of the concept as a research desideratum for the future. It is indispensable in this respect to insist on a clear differentiation between the analytical concept and the scientific discourse on the one hand and the political-strategic debate of an inner-city 'renaissance' on the other hand. Given the current confusion of terms and emotionalisation, the latter is in danger of confusing sustainable stabilisation with upgrading through segregation and displacement or with the simple spatial dislocation of social problems.

The reurbanisation discourse must look more closely at the interaction of demographic and social processes of change in the inner city, without however losing its focus – and exactly the same applies for gentrification. Especially in view of the profound societal-spatial changes and distortions in today's European cities a debate on the social implications of demographic change or the demographic dimension of social inequalities in residential areas seems particularly interesting and relevant. Here the following applies: It is not only gentrification which has the potential for a critical concept; the reurbanisation discourse, too, should not shy away from discussing opposing positions and critically analysing its postulates. More so than in the past, reurbanisation and gentrification research must try and find the (constructive) dialogue; the application of the two approaches offers more scope for both an exact contextualisation and a multi-layered view of inner-city change.

#### Note

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- Summary: Reurbanisation – an Analysis of the Interaction between Urban and Demographic Change: a Comparison between European Cities*

Inner-city residential areas in European cities have been experiencing fundamental socio-demographic changes over recent years. Recent empirical studies confirm this observation. In this context the concept of reurbanisation is becoming significant again in the research discourse on the 'return' of the inner city. This paper discusses this concept from a theoretical perspective supporting this discussion with empirical findings from different European countries. Particular emphasis will be given to the explanation of interacting urban and demographic processes through reurbanisation as well as to the distinction of the concepts of reurbanisation on the one hand and of gentrification on the other hand. Reurbanisation is defined by the interrelation between demographic changes of the resident population and the associated change in inner-city residential areas. The empirical data are based on comparative investigations conducted in inner-city residential areas in Leipzig, Bologna, Ljubljana and León in the period 2002-2005 and originate from a standardised, self-administered questionnaire survey of households as well as from qualitative interviews with inhabitants. From

the results of the analyses it can be concluded that reurbanisation as a small-scale change of the inner city, fueled above all by general demographic and social-structural processes of change, presents a fairly recent phenomenon in the history of European cities. Empirical findings show that even if in the near future no sea change towards reurbanisation is to be expected, phenomena and processes as described in the contribution at hand cannot only be observed in many places, but also as (at least) medium-term trends. From a qualitative point of view the results underline the fact that, given all the particularities of the residential areas investigated, many parallels can be revealed. It should be stressed here particularly that the changes in residents in the residential areas investigated is not limited to non-traditional households but instead is represented by a new variety of household types. The inner city offers an attractive residential location for younger one-person households, childless couples and flat sharers, but also for families with an urban orientation: short distances between home and work and between home and education, the availability of extensive leisure activities, a varied local supply of services in the residential area, the organisation of everyday life independent of the need to possess a car, or building structures that enable a long-term residence in the residential area even under conditions of less household stability. This is favoured by a great importance of rented housing, also in countries where, unlike in Germany, owner-occupiers play a predominant role, as for instance in the cases investigated here in Spain, Italy or Slovenia. Reurbanisation puts urban orientation, inner-city immigration and remaining in the inner city and the changes of the residential areas associated with this into a demographic context, which emphasises the household dimension in particular without however consciously excluding the social dimension. The fact that the discourse on reurbanisation is still quite new and even today is often not clearly separated from the gentrification discourse indicates a more profound theoretical foundation of the concept as a research desideratum for the future. Especially in view of the profound societal-spatial changes and distortions in today's European cities a debate on the social implications of demographic change or the demographic dimension of social inequalities in residential areas seems particularly inter-

esting and relevant. The reurbanisation discourse must look more closely at the interaction of demographic and social processes of change in the inner city, without however losing its focus; exactly the same applies to gentrification. Especially in view of the profound societal-spatial changes and distortions in today's European cities a debate on the social implications of demographic change or the demographic dimension of social inequalities in residential areas seems particularly interesting and relevant.

*Zusammenfassung: Reurbanisierung – eine Analyse der Interaktion zwischen städtischem und demographischem Wandel: europäische Städte im Vergleich*

Innenstadtnahe Wohnquartiere in europäischen Städten haben in den letzten Jahren einen grundlegenden soziodemographischen Wandel erfahren. Jüngste empirische Studien belegen diese Entwicklung. In diesem Zusammenhang gewinnt in der Forschung das Konzept der Reurbanisierung erneut an Bedeutung im Diskurs über die ‚Wiederkehr‘ der inneren Stadt. Der Beitrag diskutiert dieses Konzept aus theoretischer Perspektive und unterlegt diese Diskussion mit empirischen Befunden aus verschiedenen europäischen Städten. Insbesondere soll auf die Erklärung des Zusammenwirkens städtischer und demographischer Prozesse durch Reurbanisierung sowie auf die Unterscheidung des Konzepts von dem der Gentrification eingegangen werden. Reurbanisierung wird über den Zusammenhang zwischen demographischen Veränderungen der Wohnbevölkerung und dem Wandel von innerstädtischen Quartieren definiert. Die empirische Basis stammt aus vergleichenden Untersuchungen in innenstadtnahen Wohnquartieren in Leipzig, Bologna, Ljubljana und León aus den Jahren 2002–2005 und entstammt einer standardisierten, ungestützten Haushaltsbefragung sowie qualitativen Interviews mit Bewohnern. Im Ergebnis der Analysen kann festgehalten werden, dass Reurbanisierung als kleinteiliger Wandel der inneren Stadt, der vor allem durch übergreifende demographische und sozialstrukturelle Veränderungsprozesse gespeist wird, ein relativ junges Phänomen in der Geschichte der europäischen Städte darstellt. Empirische Befunde zeigen, dass, auch wenn in nächster Zeit keine generelle ‚Trendwende‘ hin zur Reurbanisierung zu erwarten

ist, Phänomene und Prozesse wie im vorliegenden Beitrag beschrieben, sich nicht nur vielerorts, sondern auch als (mindestens) mittelfristige Trends beobachten lassen. Die Ergebnisse unterstreichen, dass sich bei aller Spezifik der untersuchten Quartiere in qualitativer Hinsicht viele Parallelen aufzeigen lassen. Dabei ist insbesondere zu betonen, dass sich der Bewohnerwandel in den untersuchten Quartieren nicht auf nichttraditionelle Haushalte beschränkt, sondern stattdessen durch eine neue Vielfalt der Haushaltstypen getragen wird. So bietet die innere Stadt für jüngere Ein-Personen-Haushalte, kinderlose Paare und Wohngemeinschaften, aber auch für Familien mit Stadtorientierung einen attraktiven Wohnstandort: kurze Wege zwischen Wohnen und Arbeiten bzw. Ausbildung, umfangreiche Freizeitmöglichkeiten, eine vielfältige Nahversorgung im Wohnquartier, eine Alltagsgestaltung unabhängig vom Besitz eines Pkw sowie bauliche Strukturen, welche ein langfristiges Verbleiben im Quartier auch unter den Bedingungen geringerer Haushaltsstabilität gestatten. Dies wird durch eine große Bedeutung des Mietwohnens begünstigt, auch in Ländern, in denen Wohneigentum – anders als in Deutschland – eine vorherrschende Rolle spielt, wie im hier untersuchten Fall etwa in Spanien, Italien oder Slowenien. Reurbanisierung stellt Stadtorientierung, innerstädtische Zuwanderung bzw. das Verbleiben in der Stadt und einen damit verbundenen Quartierswandel in einen demographischen Kontext, der insbesondere die Haushaltsdimension hervorhebt, jedoch ohne die soziale Seite oder Dimension bewusst auszuklammern oder zu umgehen. Die Tatsache, dass der Reurbanisierungsdiskurs jung ist und bis heute oft nicht klar von dem der Gentrification getrennt wird, weist auf eine weitere theoretische Fundierung des Konzepts als Forschungsdesiderat für die Zukunft hin. Der Reurbanisierungsdiskurs muss sich der Überlagerung demographischer und sozialer Prozesse des innerstädtischen Wandels stärker annehmen, ohne jedoch – und das gilt genauso für Gentrification – seinen Fokus aufzugeben. Gerade angesichts der tiefgreifenden gesellschaftlich-räumlichen Veränderungen und Verwerfungen in den europäischen Städten der Gegenwart erscheint eine Auseinandersetzung über die sozialen Implikationen demographischen Wandels oder aber die demographische Dimension sozialer Ungleichheiten in Wohnquartieren besonders spannend und geboten.

*Résumé: La réurbanisation – une analyse comparative de l'interaction entre la mutation urbaine et la transformation démographique dans des villes européennes*

Des quartiers résidentiels situés à proximité des centres-villes de villes européennes ont, ces dernières années, subi une transformation socio-démographique fondamentale. De récentes études empiriques démontrent cette évolution. Dans ce contexte, le concept de réurbanisation gagne de nouveau de l'importance au sein du discours scientifique sur la « renaissance » du centre-ville. La présente contribution discute ce concept du point de vue théorique et muni ce débat de résultats empiriques provenant de différentes villes européennes. Sont abordées en particulier l'explication de la synergie des processus urbains et démographiques par la réurbanisation et la distinction de ce concept de celui de la gentrification. La base empirique provient d'études comparatives menées dans des quartiers résidentiels des centres-villes de Leipzig, Bologne, Ljubljana et León entre 2002 et 2005, d'une enquête standardisée des ménages et d'interviews qualitatives d'habitants. Le résultat de l'analyse permet de constater que la réurbanisation en tant que transformation à petite échelle de la ville intérieure, transformation surtout alimentée par d'amples processus de mutations démographique et socio-structurelle, constitue un phénomène relativement jeune dans l'histoire des villes européennes. Les résultats empiriques montrent que, même si l'on ne peut pas s'attendre dans l'avenir proche à un retournement de tendance dans le sens d'une réurbanisation, les phénomènes et les processus tels que décrits dans la présente contribution ne sont non seulement observés en de nombreux lieux, mais aussi en tant que tendances à (au moins) moyen terme. Malgré toutes les spécificités des quartiers étudiés, les résultats soulignent de nombreuses similitudes en termes qualitatifs. Il faut mettre l'accent sur le fait que les mutations de la population dans les quartiers étudiés ne se limitent pas aux ménages non-traditionnels, mais sont plutôt portées par une nouvelle diversité des types de ménages. Ainsi, le centre-ville offre un habitat attirant aux jeunes occupants seuls un logement, aux couples sans enfants et aux communautés en colocation, mais aussi aux familles qui préfèrent la



vie urbaine. Là, ils bénéficient de la proximité des lieux de travail ou de formation, de vastes possibilités de loisirs, d'une grande diversité de commerces et services de proximité, d'une organisation du quotidien indépendante de la possession d'une voiture ainsi que de structures architecturales permettant un maintien à long terme dans le quartier même dans le contexte d'une moindre stabilité des ménages. Dans ce contexte, un secteur locatif important constitue un atout, même dans les pays dans lesquels – à la différence de l'Allemagne – la propriété du logement domine, comme, dans le cas étudié ici, l'Espagne, l'Italie ou la Slovaquie. La réurbanisation place l'orientation urbaine, l'immigration au centre-ville ou encore le maintien en ville ainsi que la mutation du quartier qui en résulte dans un contexte démographique qui souligne, en particulier, la dimension du ménage, mais sans pour autant exclure consciemment le côté voire la dimension sociale ou encore contourner ceux-ci. Le fait que le discours portant sur la réurbanisation soit jeune et ne se distingue pas clairement, à ce jour, de celui concernant la gentrification, démontre le manque d'un fondement théorique avancé de concept

ainsi que la nécessité d'une étude approfondie. Le discours sur la réurbanisation se doit de prendre en compte la superposition des processus démographiques et sociaux de l'évolution du centre-ville, sans pour autant – et cela vaut également pour la gentrification – abandonner son sujet propre. C'est précisément en raison des mutations profondes et des failles socio-spatiales surgissant dans les villes européennes d'aujourd'hui qu'un débat sur les implications sociales de la transformation démographique ou encore la dimension démographique des inégalités sociales dans les quartiers résidentiels s'avère particulièrement intéressant et nécessaire.

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- *Social change – Urbanity – Choice of residential location – Reurbanisation – Hanover (Germany)*

**Katrin Sandfuchs (Kiel)**

## **New Housing Estates Near the Urban Core: A Sustainable Counterpart of Suburban Settlements? A Study Using the Example of Hanover**

*Innenstadtnahe Neubaugebiete: Ein zukunftsfähiges Pendant zu  
suburbanen Wohnstandorten? Eine Studie am Beispiel Hannover*

With 2 Figures and 3 Tables

For decades, the development of German cities has been characterised by processes of suburbanisation that correspond to the residential preferences of various population groups. In order to counteract these suburbanisation trends and their negative effects, since the 1990s, inner cities have been trying to offer city-based living alternatives to suburbia, targeting both families and those in the initial phases of starting a family by various means. Emerging changes in social structure allow the assumption that housing near urban cores will be increasingly sought after, as it is there that the manifold aspects of urbanity make better time management possible in both professional and everyday life, among other things. A prerequisite for families demanding urban housing is, however, the availability of single-family homes, as this is the type of housing which most families seem to aspire.

### **1. Introduction**

As early as the 1970s city councils sought, by means of changes in the overall concept of city planning and by carefully taking steps toward city modernisation, to frame the area around the urban core in a more attractive way and to point out to suburbanites some potential alternatives to living in the surrounding area (Hardt 1995, Heuer

1978). However, up to the present day, in most areas of the city no quantitatively measurable turnaround with respect to settlement activity has taken place (Kasarda et al. 1997, Siedentop 2008); from 1980 to 2000 alone, German metropolitan areas lost on average around 10 % of their population to surrounding areas (Schönert 2003: 466). The primary players in the city-suburbia migration were long considered to be families and those in

the initial phases of starting a family (*Kistenmacher* 2001), who could realise their desire for property ownership and green surroundings with less difficulty in a suburban or rural area, especially from a financial perspective (*Schönert* 2003). The composition of those who migrate into the suburban zone has grown increasingly heterogeneous, however, with regard to both their household and social structure (*Aring* and *Herfert* 2001).

Because the process of suburbanisation has continued to have influence (*Brake* et al. 2001), inner cities have intensified their efforts since the 1990s, now employing investments in public space in addition to the previously used image campaigns advertising urban living. The new measures were complemented by new residential developments in which housing types were created that could, until recently, be found primarily in areas on the edge of the city or in surrounding communities, i.e. single-family homes. To be addressed in these efforts were above all families and those planning to start a family. The new development measures were often supported by city financing programmes that improved conditions for the acquisition of property.

Developments in Hanover involving the areas researched for this study show that in particular the terraced houses located near the city centre have found a very good market, the majority of houses already able to be liquidated before completion. Because these types of housing are sought after especially by people who both economically as well as demographically would be classified as suburbanites in the classic sense, it can be assumed that there have been some recent socioeconomic processes of change that have produced a shift in residential preference from suburban to urban regions. Since empirical examinations of the motives for choosing inner-urban housing locations are, for the most part, lacking (*Cheshire* 2006, *Siedentop* 2008), the research conducted for this study should contribute a qualitative analysis of these motives to

the discussion of reurbanisation. The objectives of the present research project can therefore be formulated as follows: It will be examined as to whether the inhabitants in the new residential areas in central Hanover can be described by specific sociostructural characteristics, and if it is the societal changes mentioned earlier which determine their choice of an urban residence.

## 2. Social Change and Urbanity

Especially in the last five years, publications on the topic of urban renaissance have multiplied in which a present reversal of the trend of settlement activity is assumed (*Cheshire* 2006, *Brühl* 2006a). This is seen by *Brühl* (2006b) as being accompanied by a changing image of urban living, derived from the fact that the city long offered only residences for the poor, elderly, trainees and immigrants (*Harlander* 1999), and has now moved into a more positive position in the consciousness of other population groups. According to the current discussion of reurbanisation, this is founded on qualitative processes in which the urban renaissance is understood less in the form of a return of suburban population groups to the city and much more as a rediscovery of urbanity via processes of revaluation (*Herfert* 2007, *Haase* et al. 2005). Gentrification or the so-called 'creative class' are often connected with reurbanisation (e.g. *Florida* 2005, *Lees* 2003, *Lever* 1993), yet both *Brühl* et al. (2005) and *Haase* et al. (2005) have identified additional population groups as actors in this process. Analogous to these and to *Champion* (2001), who regards gentrification as only part of a larger process, the position will also be taken here that, especially in Germany, the 'reurbanites' are also to be found outside of the groups involved in gentrification (yuppies and dinks) with their specific lifestyle. It is therefore assumed, as described above, that processes of change within society must have taken place that allow urban living to seem attractive to larger groups of the population.

Recent processes of social transformation can be described with the term “social change”, with society having changed increasingly since the introduction of individualisation in the reflexive modernisation of the 1960s (*Beck* 1995, *Beck* and *Beck-Gernsheim* 1993). Social change can be defined, according to *Zapf* (2006: 346), as “the procedural change of the social structure of a society in its fundamental institutions, cultural models, the respective social practices and contents of consciousness”. The breadth of the definition makes it clear that social change can be viewed as a very complex process in which no single area is especially formative or paramount (*Alber* 2002). *Jäger* and *Meyer* (2003) point out that the concept obtains its purpose in terms of content through those aspects that are seen as being relevant by the particular theoretical orientation. In accordance with *Schäfers* (2004) and *Zapf* (1989), the part of the definition pertaining to social structure will be applied in the present study to the following areas: From a sociodemographic point of view, social change comprises both demographic change and an increasing pluralisation of both lifestyles and family types in the population (*Huinink* and *Wagner* 1998). Because the “new household types” tend to live first and foremost in the city (*Brüderl* and *Klein* 2003), it can be assumed that the increase in single-person households, and also of non-married couples and double-income households with and without children, leads to an increase in the demand for inner-urban housing. Likewise it is assumed that demographic change in the form of aging or shrinking creates feedback in the selection of a place of residence for various population groups.

On the economic level, the increase in double-income households can be considered a recent process of social change, because an increase in the rate of women’s employment since the 1960s has fundamentally changed the structure of the workforce. While 46.2 % of all women in work in Germany are employed on a part-time basis (*Statistisches Bundesamt* 2008a), it is assumed here

that a stronger integration of mothers into the job market leads to the increased tendency to call the wisdom of suburban housing into question. Likewise, an increasingly tertiary economic situation belongs to the economic changes of the last few decades, through which the employment rate for women, among others, is significantly determined. An additional indicator is the increase in the availability of personal free time, which includes both strengthened participation by the population in societal life and also time for self-actualisation. However, especially in most recent times, it appears that free time is again adopting more restrictive forms, at least this is what people feel (*Rosa* 2005), through which personal time budgets in everyday activity are influenced.

The concept of individualisation, as described by *Beck* 1986, essentially refers to an increase in personal choice that accompanies the disentanglement of the individual from predetermined class and social structures (*Beck* 1996; *Beck* et al. 2004). The primary characteristic of “reflexive modernity” is based on the increasing individual freedom of choice, in which the arrangement of one’s own biography gains importance. The results of this development can be seen in a transformed outlook on life, among other things, which goes together especially with an increased awareness of self-actualisation (*Hradil* 2001). The sociodemographic and the economic perspectives of social change can therefore be expanded by a third level at this point: the change in values, describing the attitude development of the last few years, from materialistic to post-materialistic values (*Inglehart* 1977, *Klages* 1985). Because of the manifold possibilities available in cities, it is above all here that post-materialistic values such as self-actualisation and hedonism can be realised, which can in turn bring about an increased demand for housing.

Residential areas in demand close to the urban core are usually connected with a high degree of urbanity (*Siebel* 1999), which contributed to suburbanisation during past decades. In the scientific

discourse, "urbanity" usually has a double connotation (Wüst 2004), defined on the one hand by characteristics of the built environment and on the other hand by certain patterns of behaviour of the population (e.g. Schneider 1990, Steinbach 1994). Among the characteristics referring to the built environment are, above all, architectural, demographic and infrastructural density, functional mixture, social and ethnic heterogeneity, and public space. Because it is in public space where different population groups encounter each other and experience the heterogeneities of the population, individuals develop a so-called "urban behaviour" as a reaction to the density and foreignness in the surrounding environment (Jacobs 1961, Milgram 2002). This includes an attitude towards life that makes cooperation with unknown and different people possible and finds expression in such attitudes as detachment and tolerance, but also anonymity (Bahrdt 1988, Simmel [1903] 1995, Wirth [1938] 2002). This behaviour is complemented by the mastery of certain norms in public which provide the prerequisites for a societal living (Bahrdt 2006). The aspect of foreignness can generally be, due to the immanent behaviour, considered one of the "fundamental categories of the urban" (Siebel 1999: 20), and in larger cities an increased urbanity can be expected.

Although the meaning of the sociological view of urbanity in the choice of a residential location cannot be surveyed here, it is implicit in the urban residential location and it can be assumed that residents have a positive assessment or acceptance of urban behaviour. Instead, at this point the working hypothesis will be advanced that especially the increase of double-income households and of "new ways of life", which are increasingly located in cities, create demand for urban housing. These two aspects of social change are supplemented by the observation that demographic change, especially aging and shrinking of the population, and increased heterogeneity via immigration, also have implications for the choice of a residential location. In addition, because of

an ever-shrinking free time (at least in people's perception), especially for families urban space offers the possibility of uniting such aspects as self-actualisation, employment and family through the urbanity of the built environment. This is why we may assume that urban space will gain importance as a residential location through the changes in the time of reflexive modernity.

### 3. Classification of Research Areas and Methodology

Since reurbanisation, in this study, is understood as a larger societal process, which not only refers to those involved in gentrification and the so-called creative class, a research area was deliberately chosen for this investigation that does not belong to the prospering metropolitan regions of Germany. This approach was designed to avoid a situation where exorbitantly high real estate prices would overdetermine the locational behaviour of wider groups of inhabitants, which would result in a highly selective composition of the inhabitants of inner-urban housing estates. Hanover, capital city of the federal state of Lower Saxony, is, with 507,981 inhabitants (Landeshauptstadt Hannover 2007: III-5), a middle-sized large city where land prices for residential use vary between € 170 per m<sup>2</sup> in ordinary areas and € 320 per m<sup>2</sup> in upmarket areas, which may therefore be judged as relatively moderate (GAG 2006: 40). Although comprehensive investments in the city's infrastructure were made in connection with the international world fair EXPO 2000 (Priebis 2003), the city is still considered average in terms of both economic and population growth (Prigge and Schwarzer 2006: 207). Whilst the population of Hanover has actually stagnated in recent years, the city has attempted to fashion itself, since the mid-1990s, as more attractive than the surrounding suburban area by a systematic policy of housing development, hoping to persuade especially families to take up city living (Landeshauptstadt Hannover 2005). Areas designated for new resi-

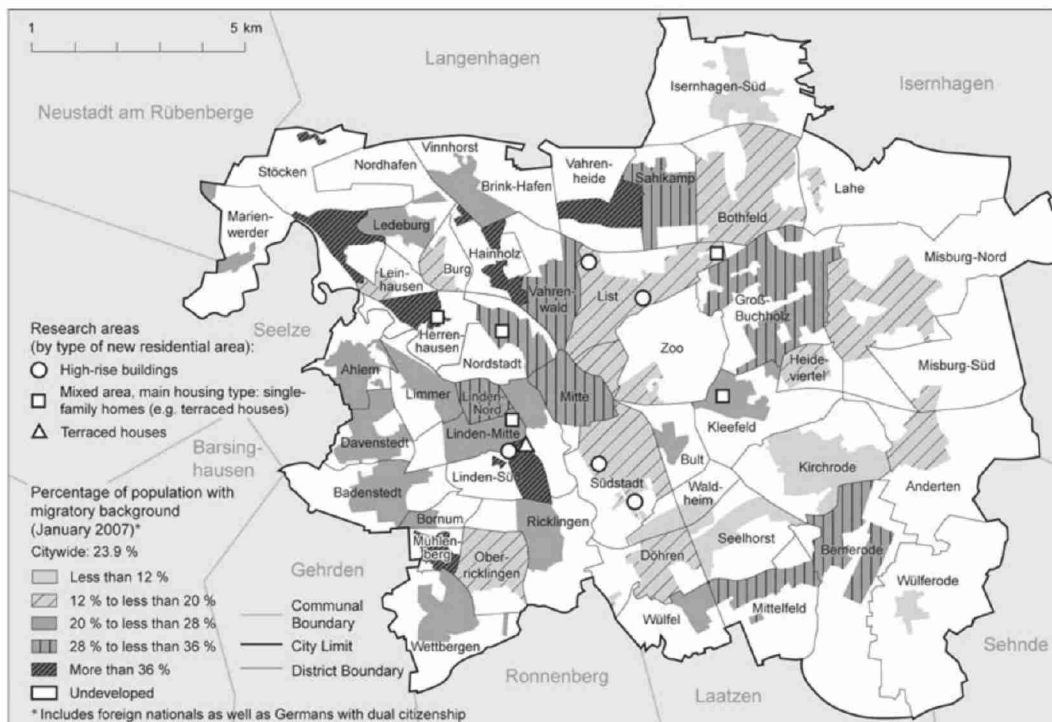


Fig. 1 Location of the research areas in Hanover and percentage of inhabitants with migratory background in the districts of the city. Source: Landeshauptstadt Hannover 2007: III-5 / *Lage der Untersuchungsgebiete in Hannover und Anteil der Einwohner mit Migrationshintergrund in den Stadtteilen (in %).* Quelle: Landeshauptstadt Hannover 2007: III-5

dential developments are located throughout the city, especially on land that has been made available by the process of deindustrialisation. New housing developments are supplemented by the conversion of erstwhile commercially used buildings into multi-storey residential buildings, which here in Hanover are considered part of the new residential developments given the thoroughness of the restructuring involved.

In order to recruit probands who had deliberately opted for an urban residence, new housing estates located close to the urban core in various districts of Hanover were chosen as study areas. They are all located four kilometres or less from

the centre of the city in order to assure that the aspects of urbanity as characteristics of city living could be found in the immediate vicinity. In addition, the areas had to be part of the high-density building zone stretching outwards from the centre of the city. In a process of co-ordination with the city-planning office of Hanover, eleven research areas were identified according to the above-mentioned criteria and surveyed. These research areas may be differentiated into three types of residential areas (Fig. 1): In five new development areas only multi-storey residential buildings have been constructed, in one area only terraced houses, and another five development areas may be classified as mixed areas with,

however, the main housing type being single-family homes. Because the apartments in the multi-storey buildings are for the most part rented out by a cooperative or are offered on the free market for tenancies, there is a higher probability here that a more socially mixed population would inhabit them as compared with what was expected in the areas with only owner-occupier residences.

To classify the research areas in terms of socio-cultural context, *Figure 1* also displays the proportion of people with a migratory background. It is evident that the heterogeneity of the population in the individual districts of the city is very different, the proportion of migrants varying from 12 % to over 36 % (Landeshauptstadt Hannover 2007: III-5). Especially in the western districts, constructed during the Wilhelminian years of industrial expansion at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and now characterised by the immigration of migrant workers, a clearly higher proportion of migrants can be observed. Data on the population's receipt of government assistance paint a similar picture, demonstrating an especially large proportion of recipients in the western parts of the city. In Linden-Süd, for example, where two research sites are located, over 39 % of residents receive government assistance (Landeshauptstadt Hannover 2007: IX-3).

Empirical research was conducted both quantitatively and qualitatively. First, a postal survey of all 681 households was conducted in 2007 (the rate of return being 52 %). The questionnaire was to be answered by an adult who had played a major role in choosing the location of residence. A formulation such as "head of household" was discarded, as this no longer seems to be up-to-date. In a second step, the results of the questionnaire survey were deepened and supplemented by interviews with 5 % of the households (32 interviews were held); the specific focus of these discussions was targeted at discovering the interviewees' motives for their urban residential location decision.

## 4. Results

### 4.1 *Characteristics of the structure of the inhabitants*

Before going into the details of the motives of families and those in the initial phase of starting a family for selecting a residential location (in the second part of the presentation), the structure of the inhabitants will first be sketched out using a few aspects from the questionnaire analysis. Considering first the residential biography of the interviewees, the survey shows that 66 % had moved from another area close to the urban core into the newly developed housing estates, and only 20 % of the inhabitants had lived in the urban periphery or in a suburban community directly beforehand. The remaining 14 % had lived somewhere else (partly also in other large cities). Those who had lived close to the city centre usually lived in the same or a neighbouring district and, according to the interviews, were made aware of the new housing estates usually by way of their everyday mobility. A somewhat different result is derived from the question about the primary residential location during childhood, with 42 % of probands responding that they had grown up in a suburban community, a small town or a village. If we include those inhabitants who had lived temporarily in a small community after moving out of their parents' home (in the city), an altogether large proportion of interviewees had gathered experiences in either small towns or villages. This was, above all, relevant in ascertaining the motives for choosing their individual residential location, since many interviewees made comparative statements about urban and suburban or rural places of residence and had, therefore, deliberately made the decision to live in the city.

With regard to age, the inhabitants in the study can be divided into two large groups, those under 50 years of age and those in the 50+ generation (*Fig. 2*). A renewed increase in the number of inhabitants of between 60 and 70 years of age



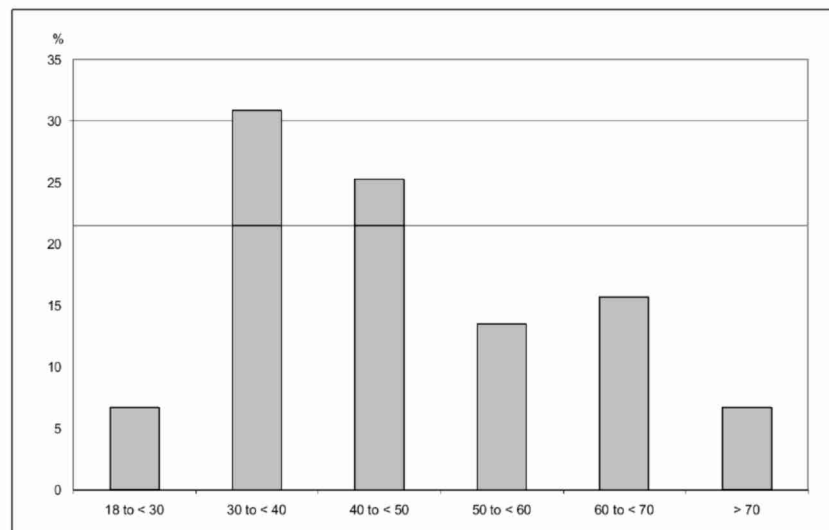


Fig. 2 Age structure of the interviewees. Source: analysis of research results 2007,  $n = 352$   
*Altersstruktur der Befragten. Quelle: Auswertung der Befragungsergebnisse 2007,  $n = 352$*

indicates that in the phase of life around retirement there is a higher willingness to move, also over larger distances. E.g., 38 % of these probands stated that they had lived either in the urban periphery or in a suburban community before they moved into the inner city – which makes them the largest group among the “reurbanites” – , and 9 % had moved to the city from regions outside of Hanover Region.

Taken together, the analysis, however, shows a structure of predominantly younger inhabitants, compared with the overall structure of Hanover. In the research areas, the proportion of people between 18 and 60 years of age in the age group 18+ is 76.4 %, whereas in total Hanover it is 70.8 % (Landeshauptstadt Hannover 2007: I-3). This younger structure is also reflected in the size of households, 73 % of which are multi-person households, thereof 42 % with children. The proportion of families as a fraction of total households in the research sites is 30.4 %, whereas in Hanover overall only 17 % of households are families (Landes-

hauptstadt Hannover 2007: II-5). While, thus, the proportion of interviewees living in a family is very similar compared to the national average represented by the results of the 2006 1%-sample census (*Mikrozensus*) (where 31 % of all households were families, Statistisches Bundesamt 2008b), an analysis by age groups shows that, in the group of the 30- to 40-year-olds, the proportion of people living in families is 47 %, but it can be assumed that this proportion will increase in the future, because the reproductive phase of this age group has not yet been completed. In contrast, regarding the age group 40-50, the proportion of people living in a family is only 36 %. This may either be attributed to the fact that in the consolidated life phase with children there is a lesser degree of mobility and that it is here that predominantly “dink” households have relocated to the new housing estates, or that in this age group, given a situation of parenthood, suburban spaces are preferred.

In accordance with the ‘young parents’ structure, the children are still relatively young, too,

*Tab. 1* Percentage of households by type of household, as a proportion of the total. Sources: analysis of survey data 2007, n = 353; Statistisches Bundesamt 2008b. Deviations from 100 % result from rounding errors. *Anteile der verschiedenen Haushaltstypen (in %) an der Gesamtzahl der Haushalte. Quellen: Auswertung der Befragungsergebnisse 2007, n = 353; Mikrozensusdaten: Statistisches Bundesamt 2008b. Abweichungen von 100 % entstehen durch Rundungsfehler.*

Living arrangements	Research group	1%-sample Germany 2006
<b>Married</b>	<b>51.8</b>	<b>45.7</b>
with children	46.4	48.1
<b>Non-married couples</b>	<b>20.6</b>	<b>5.9</b>
with children	24.6	30.9
<b>Single-person households</b>	<b>27.2</b>	<b>37.8</b>
<b>Single parents</b>	<b>0.8</b>	<b>6.5</b>
<b>Singles in multi-person households</b>	<b>0.3</b>	<b>3.8</b>
<b>All households</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

with statements in the questionnaire survey showing that 49.7 % of the children have not yet reached school age. It can therefore be assumed that urban spaces are also interesting for parents whose children do not yet show autonomy; the advantages of suburban living, such as “playing in the green”, however, have to be compensated by other aspects.

A comparison of household types in the research areas with the results of the 2006 1 %-sample census (*Mikrozensus*, *Tab. 1*) shows that there are considerable differences between the new housing estates and the nationwide average. With respect to the proportion of married people, our analysis shows that with 51.8 % in the new housing estates significantly more households consist of married couples, compared to the national average (45.7 %). There is also a significantly higher proportion of non-married couples in the research areas – nearly

21 % of all households – , although notably fewer of these partnerships have children. This might be attributed to the fact that the proportion of people without children in the city is permanently higher, or that the interviewees have yet to start a family. In contrast, single-person households (25 %) and single parents (with a proportion of just 1 %) are disproportionately less represented in the research areas, which contrasts with the assumption at the outset of the study. In comparison, 54.6 % of all Hanover households in 2007 were single-person households (Landeshauptstadt Hannover 2007: II-5). Singles in multi-person households such as flat-sharing communities have not been recorded in the research areas.

If household size is correlated with housing type (cf. *Sandfuchs* 2008), it appears that 75.2 % of all families live in a single-family home, which is the reason why such detached houses can

Tab. 2 Households by type of housing and type of occupancy. Source: Analysis of research data 2007, n = 355  
*Haushalte nach Haushaltstyp und Eigentumsform. Quelle: Auswertung der Befragungsergebnisse 2007, n = 355*

Type of occupancy	Type of housing				
	Apartment	Maisonette	House	Loft	Total
Rented	115	10	8	12	145
Owned	60	8	135	6	209
Other	-	-	1	-	1
Total	175	18	144	18	355

be seen as a very sought-after type of residence for families. Because 93.8 % of the households in single-family houses are owner-occupiers, it can be assumed that on the one hand the decision to live in the city is a long-term one, with a low fluctuation rate to be expected, and that on the other hand in the city, as in suburbia, the move into a house is closely connected with the acquisition of property and investment. Apartments, however, are requested by single- and two-person households at a rate of 91.9 %, of which 67 % are over 40 years of age in the questionnaire study.

Because of the structure of supply (Tab. 2), 65.7 % of households live in rented apartments, and the interviews show that supply usually corresponds with demand. Especially older population groups state that they do not want the burden of property in their advanced years, as they had become familiar with the conditions and duties that accompany the acquisition of property in previous apartments or houses and deliberately chose to move to a residence for rent.

The educational background of the probands shows that a very selective immigration to the new residential developments has occurred, with 82 % of inhabitants having earned entrance

to university and 50 % with a university degree. This is also reflected by a net household income of over € 3,000 per month for 53.3 % of households. 11 % of these households have an available net income of over € 5,500. The high level of education can certainly be viewed as a reason for women up to the age of 65 in the research areas to be employed at a rate of 81.9 %, i.e. distinctly above average. In comparison, the figures from the 2005 1%-sample census display a female employment rate of only 51.8 % throughout Germany (Statistisches Bundesamt 2007: 691). In order to make exact statements about the female employment rate and also about double-income households, participants in the questionnaire were asked to disclose the employment situation of the partner with whom they were living in the same household. The analysis shows that in accordance with the high female employment rate, the labour participation by mothers (with at least one child living in the household) deviates significantly from that shown in the 1 %-sample census of 2005, as this averaged only 57 % (Statistisches Bundesamt 2006: 8). This contrasts clearly with 75.2 % actively employed mothers in the research areas. 6.4 % of mothers in these areas are not employed, and 19.2 % were on leave at the time of the study. In closing it can be mentioned that the proportion of double-income

Tab. 3 Motives for the choice of the residential location in the city\* for families and people in the initial phases of starting a family. Source: Analysis of interviews 2007 / *Motive für die Wahl des Wohnstandorts in der Stadt für Familien und Bewohner in der Familiengründungsphase. Quelle: Auswertung der Befragungsergebnisse 2007*

		Motives for the Choice of the Residential Location	
Main categories	Time management/ accessibility	Centrality	Mobility
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Short distances</li> <li>– Special facilities (e.g. libraries/archives)</li> <li>– Main train station</li> <li>– Transportation junction (highway system)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Avoidance of commuting back and forth (as determined by job, free time, school, children)</li> <li>– Avoidance of using a car (public transportation, bicycle, on foot)</li> <li>– Car sharing</li> </ul>
	Urban diversity	Diversity	Heterogeneity
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Commercial, medical and free-time-oriented infrastructure</li> <li>– Contacts and acquaintances</li> <li>– Schools and day care</li> <li>– Supplemental educational facilities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Demographic diversity</li> <li>– Ethnic diversity**</li> <li>– Social diversity**</li> <li>– Diversity in terms of architecture and city planning (traditional urban structures)</li> </ul>
	“Urban feeling”	Opportunity	Vibrancy
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– The city as a place of many possibilities</li> <li>– Spontaneity</li> <li>– Flexibility</li> <li>– Self-actualisation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Sharing public space</li> <li>– Tolerant social environment</li> <li>– Proximity to changing fashions and zeitgeist</li> </ul>

\* Only motives named multiple times are listed. \*\* Applies especially for new housing estates that have been built in very heterogeneous environments (especially in Hanover's western districts).

households in the research areas is very high indeed, with 78.8 % of the total.

The interviewees are composed selectively not only with respect to the structure of education and employment, but also as regards nationality. Only 4.8 % of the probands are actually immigrants, 47 % of which have German citizenship. 77 % of these migrants have a European nationality.

In summary, the sociodemographic structure of the households can be characterised to the effect that

the interviewees are inhabitants who, in terms of living arrangements, are married more often than average and, in terms of “new household types”, live most often as non-married couples. Despite mainly rented accommodation being available on the housing market, the households are economically relatively homogeneous and well off, which among other things is determined by the fact that the probands in the questionnaire survey possess a very high educational level. Additionally, an above-average number of double-earning German couples reside in these new inner-urban housing estates, and women

usually do not give up their employment when they have children. Most families live in family homes.

Yes, for us, that is in fact to a large degree our quality of life." (Mr. R., 41 years old).

#### 4.2 *Motives for living in the inner city*

The location of the research areas close to the city centre implies that these housing estates are significantly different from suburban residential areas – at least with respect to the organisation of free-time activities away from home available in the area, particularly for children. For this reason it was the goal of the research project to determine the motives for urban living which are able to override the commonly held (and long-time state-supported) residential ideal of suburban living. In order to collect the widest possible spectrum of reasons for moving, the motives were asked by way of an open question in the interviews with the inhabitants and later transcribed. To provide a clearer view of the results, the individual motives are sorted in main and secondary categories, as shown in *Table 3* for families and people in the initial phases of starting a family.

The most important reasons – and those given most frequently – for living close to the urban core are the aspects that are listed under the main category of "Time management/accessibility". The interviewees see a relief in terms of time and effort especially in the central location of the housing estates and the short distances that have to be travelled, through which, above all, a better organisation of daily life can be achieved. This aspect becomes especially important when both partners work and a child lives in the household, for which the following excerpt from the interviews can be seen as representative:

"It just saves an unbelievable amount of time and effort when you have such short distances to travel everywhere. You should have quite a lot of time left over, which we actually don't, but when I try to imagine if I had to commute too, then I would have even more to organise.

Adding to the advantages of land-use mixture is the fact that consumer goods which are demanded less frequently can easily be obtained, too, and special institutions such as government agencies, libraries and also archives, can be found in the immediate vicinity. Because of short routes it is possible for many people interviewed to limit their use of a car and change to alternative transportation possibilities such as bicycles or public transportation, or to go shopping by foot. The questionnaire survey shows that 62 % of the households possess only one car, and 14 % none at all. For this second group of inhabitants, a car-sharing service often constitutes an alternative.

Many employees work in businesses in which regular business trips take place, so that it was repeated in the interviews that the proximity of the housing estate to the main train station was also important. The same is true for the close connection to the highway system, which not only leads easily in all directions away from the city, but also links the inner city to the motorways and to Hanover airport.

"Centrality means for me that I can get from A to B as fast as possible by public transportation. I have to travel to Berlin, Bonn, Stuttgart. (...) This way I can get to the train station really fast by public transportation. Hanover is a transportation junction for the ICE (intercity express) trains." (Ms. W., 52 years old).

Concerning mobility, the interviews show a deprecatory attitude towards various types of commuting. Commuting to work is avoided because it is perceived as permanently lost time. Especially the self-employed regard it as an increased burden because they often have to visit their office on the weekend, too. In addition to job-related commuting there is commuting to spare-time activities, and here the interviewees indicate that they would probably take on less activities when

forced to commute, especially to drive home to a suburban community late in the evening. As regards children, two aspects of commuting can be identified: on the one hand, children should be saved the trouble of a long route to school, and, on the other hand, parents claim to demand a most independent mobility of their children and refuse to drive them everywhere by car. As a matter of fact, the three classic commuting categories (work, shopping, spare-time activities) can be expanded by the fourth aspect of "child-determined" commuting. The constraints caused by commuting can be summarised by the following quotation:

"Even if I arrive at 11:00 p.m. by train, the tram leaves every 7.5 minutes to travel here. And to get to the suburban community you might wait an hour for the next regional train. Or my child is sick and it's also possible for me to come here quickly and then get back again, so that I can scurry a bit here and there, which I would otherwise not be able to do. And that is a huge advantage for me. That one is able to master situations that are a bit out of the ordinary makes things a bit easier. Or if I forget something at home, which happens, I just go quickly back home and get it." (*Mr. R.*, 41 years old).

In the second main category of "Urban diversity" the term "diversity" primarily signifies a wide but also deep choice in services, referring to commercial, medical, entertainment and spare-time facilities, but also to school and day-care options – which is particularly important for parents. With the contrast of suburban or rural spaces in mind, a father declares in this context:

"And if you look at the facilities in suburbia, there is already very little at present. How is it going to look there in a couple of years?" (*Mr. L.*, 38 years old).

In addition to schools and day-care facilities, many parents feel that it is the advantage of the city that they are able to make use of complemen-

tary educational opportunities. It was, for example, repeatedly stated that children, even in pre-school years, go to English readings in the afternoons or get private English lessons. Not only in terms of education, but also for example with respect to diverse sports programmes, the possibilities for children and adolescents in the city are estimated as more extensive and interesting than those in the outskirts.

Beside these infrastructural considerations, the question of choice also refers to the establishment of acquaintances, and it is regarded as positive that – unlike in a rural community – more than a limited number of people are available for social contacts, as documented by the following quotation from one of the interviews:

"And most of our friends also live in the city. (...) and even if you've had a falling out with someone, there are still enough others around." (*Ms. H.*, 38 years old).

The second subcategory under "urban diversity" is "heterogeneity" which refers to the composition of inhabitants in both the new housing estate and the respective district of the city. With regard to demographic structure, inhabitants in all kinds of areas appreciate the fact that the age structure of the population is very mixed and that in this respect the new inner-urban housing estates differ from suburban development areas which, as the classic destinations of the urban-suburban migration of families, tend to be structured more homogeneously. Yet with regard to the social and ethnic mixture, differences in assessment between the new housing estates can be made out to the effect that in the western city districts with a high proportion of immigrants, the heterogeneity is generally perceived as enriching. Especially regarding children, it is considered an advantage that they do not grow up "far removed from social reality", as the interviewees surmise is the case in areas outside of the city. In the less heterogeneous districts of the city the same sit-



uation is, however, partly perceived as a threat, and the wish for security cameras or physical sealing off of certain areas is expressed. The social and ethnic diversity in these areas is, therefore, partly seen more as a necessary disadvantage of urbanity, which is, however, compensated for by other advantages.

With respect to the built environment, interviewees state, again independent of the individual residential area, that the integration of the new housing estates into the traditional urban fabric (e.g. the late 19<sup>th</sup> century urban areas) is felt to be advantageous, because this gives vitality and flair to the residential area which, in development areas outside the city, would be able to unfold only after a long time. The essential elements are a well-established selection of restaurants and cafés, local shops, as well as the demographic mixture mentioned above. This diversity is perceived not only in the respective city district, but also on an all-urban level: the overall architectural design of the city, with a mixture of various epochs and building styles, leads to a richness and variety that does not exist outside the city.

This last aspect leads to the third main category which, under the title of “vibrancy” subsumes aspects that arise from individual perception. A central element of this category of motives is hit upon by this interview excerpt:

“(…) you can also get to exhibitions quickly. But, to be sure, I sometimes ask myself why it is actually important, because I don’t really do it all that often. – But just the feeling that, if I want to, I can be at the Wilhelm Busch Museum in an instant; but in the end you could also say, ‘I live in the countryside and then go into the city with a specific purpose, go shopping beforehand and to the theatre afterwards and have a wonderful day. This would also be a conceivable alternative, because you oftentimes don’t do anything, but

I find this “city feeling” to be quite pleasant.”  
(Ms. R., 38 years old).

In the quotation it is stressed that the city is perceived as a realm of possibilities in which an array of facilities is available that are, however, seldom or not at all taken advantage of. As a matter of fact, the interviews show that most of the interviewees only sporadically take part in activities outside of their homes, yet the feeling of having the possibility of finding something fitting in the immediate vicinity, whenever necessary and spontaneously sought after, is important. This feeling of spontaneity can be supplemented by the fact that the interviewees view themselves as part of what happens and feel that, for example, witnessing changing fashions or “strongly experiencing the *zeitgeist*” raises their quality of life. Furthermore, it is part of the urban way of life to observe passers-by in sidewalk cafes or trains and, in doing so, let life go by. Despite this aspect of “seeing and being seen”, the anonymity that the city provides is valued, but, on the other hand, the local embedding is emphasised, too, in which one knows the neighbours and sees certain faces again and again in one’s own district. Of course, it is through this that the village can be found in the city, which is reinforced by the fact that the inhabitants see their homes as a refuge, despite the need for urbanity, and like to arrange it with as much calmness and protection as possible. After all, in the city, social control is exercised, unlike in a village, in a very tolerant manner.

## 5. Discussion and Conclusion

Considering the results of the research it can be asserted that in today’s society a consumer group has emerged that, according to their defining socioeconomic characteristics, could potentially be numbered among the suburbanites, yet these residents find their preferred housing location close to the urban core. Causes for this can be seen in recent processes of social change

which form the specific attributes of the proband group in the research areas of this study.

As regards the levels of social change described at the outset, it can be stated from a socio-demographic perspective that an increasing differentiation of society into "new household types" is not reflected in the inhabitant structure of the research areas because, although these increasingly live in the city, they are underrepresented in the inner-urban housing estates investigated. Rather it is married couples who constitute the majority in the research areas in terms of marital status; their proportion is even larger than in the German 1 %-sample census, i.e. the national average. Likewise, there are significantly more family households documented in the new housing estates than in Hanover as a whole, which suggests that the type of housing offered, i.e. single-family homes, is consistent with the needs of this consumer group.

A first explanation for selecting the city as residential location can be seen in the demographic change which means that there are proportionately more senior citizens and these tend to require housing in cities and thus constitute a major part of the "re-urbanites". In addition, the demographic change elicits in younger inhabitants the consciousness that the present demographic change may affect the infrastructure of suburban communities negatively. Therefore these residential locations are deliberately avoided. An increasing heterogeneity of the population accompanying demographic change has until now had no effect on the composition of inhabitants, as the proportion of foreign households in the research areas is only 2.5 %.

With regard to the socioeconomic perspective of societal change, the present study shows that the educational expansion is reflected in the new inner-urban housing estates; in both younger and older generations high educational achievement is reached and employment is very important for both men and women. Especially for younger

groups of inhabitants, a more stringent time budget is an important factor for choosing the city as residential location, as it is in the city that, by means of shorter travelling distances, it is most easily possible to achieve compatibility of employment, self-actualisation and parenthood. From this perspective the city constitutes a prerequisite for everyday time management in which organisational benefits and emotional aspects of an "urban feeling" are in the foreground. Free-time-oriented facilities are mentioned as being less significant, as they are either rather seldom or never sought out. Nevertheless it is of great importance for the interviewees to know that these facilities are close by and may be reached quickly and uncomplicatedly upon demand. In this respect the present results differ from *Karsten's* conclusions (2003: 2582); on the basis of an investigation in Amsterdam, she regards cultural institutions as important for the choice of an inner-urban housing location. In fact, in Hanover, the single-family home transports the suburban way of life into the city, in which the home can be viewed as a refuge, as *Menzl* found was the case for the inhabitants of a suburban community in Hamburg's metropolitan area (*Menzl* 2007: 330ff.).

Accompanying these processes, since the 1960s, a change in values has arisen with societal individualisation; with regard to the demand for residences in the city, it is especially self-actualisation which has become more important for the interviewees, i.e. to be employed at all, but have children at the same time, and to be able to choose from a wide variety of activities and possibilities in free time and everyday life, and to preserve an attitude of spontaneity. At the same time, however, traditional values are also adhered to, which, for example, are displayed by the high tendency to marry or the acquisition of housing property. The same is true also with relation to one's own children, who should be supported and challenged. The child's playing environment is less important, more important are the possibilities as far as day care, school and free-time options are concerned,

and that there is the possibility of taking advantage of supplemental educational activities alongside school. Taken together, this attitude can be termed a "remoralisation" (Hradil 2002: 45), in which, especially with regard to raising children, achievement-oriented standards apply.

In order to put these intentions into practice, a residential location near the urban core seems inevitable for the interviewees. In addition, it is the architectural realisation of urbanity that makes the type of lifestyle possible which the inhabitants live. Differences in the inhabitants' appreciation of their neighbourhood can only be registered concerning the social and ethnic heterogeneities of the areas; in Hanover, it is above all in the western parts of the city, formed in the industrialisation era of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and characterised by the immigration of migrant workers, where these are felt to be positive.

If a closing answer is sought to the question as to whether there is a preference for urban living which will also lead to a long-term demand for more housing near city centres, the answer is probably "yes", as the social change has created a societal group that can best organise their lifestyle in the city. Although the inhabitants of the new housing estates are strong earners with a high level of education, they should not be considered to have the typical characteristics of gentrifiers, as they have children and a less pronounced hedonistic lifestyle. In addition, this case should not be addressed as an example of quantitative reurbanisation, as the residential biographies of the interviewees show that it is, above all, rather a question of remaining in than returning to the city.

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*Summary New Housing Estates Near the Urban Core: A Sustainable Counterpart of Suburban Settlements? A Study Using the Example of Hanover*

The goal of the study is to expand the academic discussion on reurbanisation through the analysis of the motives of households for choosing a residential location in new inner-urban housing estates in Hanover, as most of the research on this topic published up to now has focused on gentrification. As, in contrast, reurbanisation in this study is understood as a process that occurs as a result of social change in reflexive modernisation, sociostructural changes may be identified that allow the city to appear attractive as a place of residence for larger population groups. In order to research to what extent these societal changes affect the choice to live in the city,



structural data concerning households from a postal questionnaire survey are analysed. In a second research step these data are complemented by the results of qualitative interviews about the motives for choosing a place of residence in the city. The analysis shows that the majority of the interviewees had lived in the city directly before moving which renders the absolute number of reurbanites rather negligible. It is actually rather a case of households staying in the city. The primary attribute of the interviewees is that they are economically homogeneous and well-off, which among other things is brought about by the fact that they have a very high educational level. Additionally, an above average number of double-earner couples lives in the new housing estates, and 75.2 % of women have not given up their jobs with children living in the household. The motives for living close to the city centre have above all to be seen in the components of urbanity available there. Shorter distances to all kinds of facilities, the density of infrastructure and a mixture of functions permit a way of life which has been generated in parts of the population by social change: Only by living in the city is it possible for double-income couples, because of their personal time budget, to work and have children, while also preserving a certain amount of spontaneity. In this study, the practical factors in locational choice are emphasised, whereas a hedonistic lifestyle, associated with gentrifiers for example, can hardly be identified in the sample group researched.

*Zusammenfassung: Innenstadtnahe Neubaugebiete: Ein zukunftsfähiges Pendant zu suburbanen Wohnstandorten? Eine Studie am Beispiel Hannover*

Das Ziel der Studie ist es, durch die Erhebung der Motive zur Wohnstandortentscheidung von Haushalten in innenstadtnahen Neubaugebieten von Hannover die Reurbanisierungsdiskussion zu erweitern, da bisherige Arbeiten zu diesem Thema zumeist einen deutlichen Bezug zur Gentrification aufweisen. Im Gegensatz dazu wird in dieser Untersuchung Reurbanisierung als ein Prozess verstanden, der in der Folge des sozialen Wandels in der reflexiven Modernisierung eintritt. So können gesellschaftsstrukturelle Veränderungen identifiziert werden, die den städtischen

Raum für größere Bevölkerungsgruppen als Yuppies und Dinks als Wohnstandort attraktiv erscheinen lassen könnten. Um zu untersuchen, inwiefern diese gesellschaftlichen Veränderungen tatsächlich Auswirkungen auf die städtische Wohnstandortwahl haben, werden die Ergebnisse einer postalischen Befragung zu den Strukturdaten der Haushalte analysiert. In einem zweiten Untersuchungsschritt werden diese Daten um eine Auswertung qualitativer Interviews zu den Motiven der Wohnstandortentscheidung ergänzt. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass die deutliche Mehrheit der befragten Haushalte bereits zuvor in der Stadt gewohnt hat, so dass die absoluten Zahlen zur Reurbanisierung vernachlässigbar sind. Vielmehr handelt es sich um Haushalte, die in der Stadt verbleiben. Hauptkennzeichen der befragten Personen ist, dass sie ökonomisch relativ homogen und begütert sind, was unter anderem dadurch begünstigt wird, dass die Befragten ein hohes Bildungsniveau besitzen. Zudem leben in den innenstadtnahen Neubaugebieten überdurchschnittlich viele doppelverdienende Paare, und Frauen geben (zu 75,2 %) ihre Erwerbstätigkeit auch dann nicht auf, wenn Kinder mit im Haushalt wohnen. Die Motive für das innenstadtnahe Wohnen sind vor allem in den dort vorhandenen Komponenten der Urbanität zu sehen. Durch die kurzen Wege, die infrastrukturelle Verdichtung und die Funktionsmischung ist ein Lebenswandel möglich, wie ihn der soziale Wandel bei Teilen der Bevölkerung bewirkt hat: Erst durch das Wohnen in der Stadt ist es doppelverdienenden Paaren möglich, aufgrund ihres persönlichen Zeitbudgets zu arbeiten, gleichzeitig Kinder zu bekommen und trotzdem eine gewisse Spontanität zu wahren. Hierbei stehen jedoch die praktischen Gründe bei der Wohnstandortwahl im Vordergrund, da hedonistische Lebensweisen, wie sie zum Beispiel mit Gentrifiern in Verbindung gebracht werden, bei der Untersuchungsgruppe nur bedingt identifiziert werden konnten.

*Résumé : Les nouveaux quartiers résidentiels proches du centre-ville : un pendant porteur d'avenir pour les habitations suburbaines ? Une étude effectuée sur l'exemple de Hanovre*

Jusqu'alors, la plus grande majorité des études traitant de la ré-urbanisation se concentre sur le thème



de la gentrification; cette étude se donne pour but d'étendre la discussion sur la ré-urbanisation au travers d'une enquête qui se focalise sur les ménages et plus particulièrement les raisons pour lesquelles ils ont choisi de s'installer dans les nouveaux quartiers, proche du centre-ville de Hanovre. Etant donné que dans cette recherche, la ré-urbanisation est perçue comme un processus qui s'intègre aux changements sociaux d'une modernité réflexive; est-il possible d'identifier des évolutions structurelles de la société, qui révèlent, pour une non négligeable partie de la population, ces zones proches des centres-villes comme un lieu de résidence attractif ? Afin de noter l'impact que ces modifications sociales peuvent avoir sur le choix des villes comme lieux d'habitations, les résultats d'un sondage postal rassemblant les données structurelles des ménages ont été analysés. Dans un deuxième domaine de recherche, ces données sont complétées par les résultats d'interviews qualitatifs indiquant les motifs qui amènent à choisir le lieu de résidence. L'évaluation montre que la majorité des ménages interrogés a déjà habité en ville si bien que les chiffres absolus sur la ré-urbanisation sont négligeables. Il s'agit plutôt de ménages qui restent en ville. Les caractéristiques principales des personnes interrogées démontrent un public relativement homogène et aisé, ce qui amène à dire qu'il bénéficie d'un haut niveau de formation. En outre, existe-t-il chez les habitants de ces nouveaux quartiers une majeure partie de ménages à deux salaires, dont 75,2 % des

mères de famille gardent leurs activités professionnelles, même s'il y a des enfants dans le ménage. Les raisons d'une demeure proche du centre-ville sont principalement dûs aux attributs de l'urbanisme. Une modification du style de vie, à l'image de l'évolution sociale qui a influencé une partie de la population, est possible de part les courtes distances, la proximité des infrastructures et la mixité des fonctions: tout d'abord du fait que les ménages à deux salaires se soient établis en ville, leur est-il possible, avec leur budget temporel, à tout deux de travailler, de créer une famille mais aussi de conserver une certaine spontanéité. Ainsi les raisons pratiques jouent un rôle bien plus important que les modes de vie hédonistes comme elles sont présentées par exemple par les gentrificateurs, modes de vie que ne peuvent être identifiés que rarement dans le groupe de population examiné.

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## Buchbesprechungen

**Eberle, Joachim, Bernhard Eitel, Wolf Dieter Blümel und Peter Wittmann: Deutschlands Süden vom Erdmittelalter zur Gegenwart.** – Heidelberg: Spektrum Akademischer Verlag 2007. – 188 S., Abb., Karten, Photos. – ISBN 978-3-8274-1506-6. – € 39,95

Ein wirklich schönes Buch! – Das ist der erste Eindruck, wenn man den Band der vier Autoren zur Hand nimmt. Aussagekräftige Abbildungen nahezu auf jeder Seite, Textkästen, die Exkurse bieten oder wichtige Begriffe erläutern, eine behutsame und sehr stimmige Farbwahl, die farbige Markierung der Hauptkapitel am oberen Blattschnitt, die richtige Wahl der Schrifttype (Antiqua für Langtexte, Grotesk für Kurztexte und Überschriften) – und vor allem zu Beginn der Hauptkapitel ein einführendes und aufschlussreiches Blockbild (von *B. Allgaier* meisterhaft gestaltet), all dies macht das Buch zu einer bibliophilen Kostbarkeit. Dem Aufwand bei der Gestaltung entsprechen Inhalt und Sprache. Dieses Buch kann man in einem Zug durchlesen, wahrlich eine Seltenheit bei wissenschaftlicher Literatur. Es wendet sich dann auch nicht nur an Kollegen und Studierende, sondern auch und vor allem an interessierte Laien. Wer dies schon einmal versucht hat, weiß, dass ein solcher Stil weit aufwändiger ist als das leider übliche Fachchinesisch. Nach der Lektüre (sie ist wirklich spannend, obwohl sie – auf gesichertem Fachwissen aufbauend – dem Fachmann wenig Neues bietet) erst wird dem Leser der Untertitel bewusst. Das Buch ist nicht – wie der Haupttitel es nahe legen würde – eine Länderkunde, sondern eine Darstellung der Landschaftsgeschichte. Es verfolgt dabei durchaus einen klimageomorphologischen Ansatz und stellt die einzelnen Reliefgenerationen in ihrer Petro- und Klimavarianz dar. Im „Anthropozän“, zu dem *E. Ehlers* gerade einen ebenso hervorragenden Band vorgelegt hat, spielt das Klima jedoch keine ausschlaggebende Rolle mehr, stattdessen wirken Formungsprozesse, die man vielleicht als Humanvarianz bezeichnen könnte. Dieses Kapitel, das die letzten 7500 Jahre behandelt, ist dann leider etwas kurz ausgefallen. Dies betrifft vor allem die Landschaftsveränderungen in der Moderne, denen wenig mehr als eine Seite gewidmet wird. Gerade in diesem letzten Zeitabschnitt der Geschichte vollzo-

gen sich jedoch die gravierendsten Landschaftsveränderungen. Der Siedlungsraum, der Wirtschaftsraum oder gar die gesellschaftlichen und politischen Einwirkungen auf die Landschaftsgestalt werden dann gar nicht mehr behandelt. Dennoch kann die Lektüre dringend empfohlen werden. Das Buch bietet auf jeder Seite Lesevergnügen pur, durch den Text, die Abbildungen und das beispielgebende Layout.

*Axel Borsdorf* (Innsbruck)

**Backhaus, Norman, Claude Reichler und Matthias Stremmler: Alpenlandschaften – Von der Vorstellung zur Handlung.** Thematische Synthese zum Forschungsschwerpunkt I „Prozesse der Wahrnehmung“, Synthesebericht NFP 48. – Zürich: Vdf Hochschulverlag 2007. – 136 S., Abb., Karten, Photos. – ISBN 978-3-7281-3119-5. – € 24,00

**Stöcklin, Jürg, Andreas Bosshard, Gregor Klaus, Katrin Ruddmann-Maurer und Markus Fischer: Landnutzung und biologische Vielfalt in den Alpen.** Fakten, Perspektiven, Empfehlungen. Thematische Synthese zum Forschungsschwerpunkt II „Land- und Forstwirtschaft im alpinen Lebensraum“, Synthesebericht NFP 48. – Zürich: Vdf Hochschulverlag 2007. – 191 S., Abb., Karten, Photos. – ISBN 978-3-7281-3128-7. – € 28,00

Mit dem Nationalen Forschungsprogramm 48 hat sich die Schweiz dringenden Forschungsfragen der Regionalentwicklung in den Alpen gewidmet. Die Ergebnisse der vielen Projekte, die dabei durchgeführt wurden, werden in den sogenannten „Thematischen Synthesen“ zusammengefasst. Dies ist sehr lobenswert, weil damit nicht nur dokumentiert werden kann, was geleistet und welche neuen Erkenntnisse gewonnen wurden, sondern auch gezeigt wird, wie die einzelnen Projekte miteinander in Beziehung stehen. In gewisser Weise wird der Mehrwert des Programms gegenüber isoliert geförderten Einzelprojekten dabei klar herausgestellt. Band I ist in interdisziplinärer Zusammenarbeit eines Geographen, eines Kulturwissenschaftlers und eines

Geisteswissenschaftlers entstanden. Angesichts des Themas „Alpenwahrnehmung“ würde man vielleicht noch einen Ökopsychologen vermissen, ein Desideratum, das jedoch bei weiterer Lektüre kaum ins Gewicht fällt, weil die Methoden und das Erkenntnisinteresse dieser Disziplin auch durch perzeptionsgeographische Ansätze, die hier durchaus dargestellt werden, abgedeckt werden. Insgesamt berücksichtigt die Synthese alle 35 Einzelprojekte, die in NFP 48 gefördert wurden, konzentriert sich aber auf die sieben Projekte, die Prozesse der Wahrnehmung untersucht haben. Dies geschieht keineswegs additiv, sondern in einem ganzheitlichen Ansatz, in dem die Einzelprojekte nicht mehr identifizierbar sind. In dieser Synthese liegt auch der große Wert des Buches. Der Band endet mit Empfehlungen zum Alpendialog und zeigt auf, dass auf eine verbesserte Wahrnehmung auch Handlungen folgen müssen. Dabei bleiben diese Empfehlungen freilich relativ blass. Auch Band 2 bezieht alle 35 Projekte in die Zusammenschau ein und stellt Struktur und Entwicklung der alpinen Landschaft, die Veränderungen der Biodiversität sowie die gesellschaftlichen Anforderungen dar. Anders als in Band 1 sind die abschließenden Kapitel stark anwendungsbezogen. Zunächst werden (vier) Szenarien der alpinen Kulturlandschaftsentwicklung zur Diskussion gestellt, bevor im Schlussteil konkrete Handlungsempfehlungen gegeben werden. Nicht nur deswegen kann postuliert werden, dass dieser Band eine gute Rezeption finden wird. Er ist auch mit Graphiken und Photos sehr gut veranschaulicht und bietet für die weiterführende Forschung eine gute Informationsquelle. Natürlich gilt dies auch für Band I, der jedoch – der fachlichen Ausrichtung der Autoren entsprechend – weit mehr wortorientiert ist und eine höhere Lesedisziplin verlangt. Insgesamt aber sind beide Bände ein sprechender Beleg für die Qualität der Schweizer Regionalforschung, für die Sinnhaftigkeit eines so groß angelegten Forschungsprogramms und für den Wert multi- und interdisziplinärer Zusammenarbeit. Es kann nur gehofft werden, dass andere Länder dem Schweizer Beispiel folgen: Forschungsprogramme dieses Zuschnitts bieten einen echten Mehrwert gegenüber Einzelforschungen, sie können dies aber erst dann sinnvoll belegen, wenn am Ende Synthesen stehen. Die Schweiz hat hierfür ein nachahmenswertes Beispiel geliefert.

*Axel Borsdorf* (Innsbruck)

**Schmidt-Lauber, Brigitta (Hrsg.): Ethnizität und Migration.** Einführung in Wissenschaft und Arbeitsfelder. – Berlin: Reimer Verlag 2007. – 319 S. – ISBN 978-3-496-02797-3. – € 22,90

Der von insgesamt 18 Autoren gestaltete Sammelband versteht sich als eine problemorientierte Einführung in das ethnologische Forschungsfeld „Ethnizität und Migration“ mit dem regionalen Schwerpunkt Mitteleuropa. Die Herausgeberin vermerkt in ihrer Einführung, dass bewusst unterschiedliche Ansätze aufgenommen wurden, damit ein vielfältiges Bild zur ethnologischen Ethnizitäts- und Migrationsforschung entstehen könne. Zentrales Forschungsobjekt bilden Zu- bzw. Einwanderer. Eine Begründung, warum autochthone ethnische Minderheiten von den Betrachtungen ausgeklammert bleiben, fehlt allerdings. Die Darstellungen gliedern sich in drei große Themenblöcke, wobei der erste theoretische, begriffliche und historische Zugänge diskutiert. Dieser Teil bildet zweifellos das Kernstück des Bandes. Neben Ausführungen zu Primordialismus, Konstruktivismus, Kultur, Ethnizität, Rasse, Minderheit oder Migration ist hier mit der Studie von U. Hannerz aus dem Jahr 1996 zu Recht auch ein „Klassiker“ der ethnologischen Migrationsforschung neu abgedruckt worden, welcher das Lokale und Globale im kulturellen Denken hinterfragt. In diesem ersten Block kommen mit den beiden Migrationshistorikern K.J. Bade und J. Ottmer auch zwei Nicht-Ethnologen zu Wort. Der zweite Themenblock geht auf gesellschaftliche Erscheinungen und Praxen von Migration ein. Im Mittelpunkt stehen hier Fragen zur Ethnisierung im Alltag der Einwanderungsgesellschaft bzw. zu Bewältigungsstrategien von Migranten sowie zu öffentlichen Inszenierungen von Multikulturalität am Beispiel von städtischen Festivals. Den Abschluss dieses Blocks bildet ein anregender Beitrag zur interkulturellen Kommunikation, in dem Beispiele aus dem Geschäftsalltag von multinationalen Unternehmen in Mexiko und Japan vorgestellt werden. Zweifellos couragiert angelegt ist der dritte Abschnitt des Sammelbandes, der sich mit der „angewandten“ Ethnologie beschäftigt. Sechs kürzere Beiträge stellen hier mögliche berufliche Arbeitsfelder von Ethnolog(inn)en im Bereich der Bildungs- und Sozialarbeit, der Integration von Migranten, der ethnologisch ausgerichteten Gesundheitsarbeit sowie des gerichtlichen Gutach-

terwesens vor. Bei ihrer Lektüre kann man den einleitenden Worten der Herausgeberin *Schmidt-Lauber* nur zustimmen, wenn sie betont, dass es den Ethnowissenschaftlern insgesamt schwer falle, fachliches Wissen beruflich umzusetzen. Vielleicht wäre es günstig gewesen, die Beiträge mit einer quantitativen Bestandsaufnahme von bisherigen beruflichen Arbeitsfeldern von Ethnolog(inn)en zu ergänzen. Das Werk ist als Einführungsband für die Thematik hervorragend konzipiert. Bei den Ausführungen zur Ethnizität wird auch der internationale Forschungsstand zur Genüge berücksichtigt. Zwar tritt die fachübergreifende Perspektive bei der Bearbeitung des Themenfeldes „Migration“ nicht so deutlich zutage, doch hätte man sich wahrscheinlich von der explizit disziplinär fokussierten Grundkonzeption (S. 16) zu weit entfernt, wäre beispielsweise dem in anderen Disziplinen eingehend diskutierten Themenkomplex „Globalisierung und Migration“ mehr Platz eingeräumt worden.

*Ernst Steinicke (Innsbruck)*

**Tappeiner, Ulrike, Axel Borsdorf and Erich Tasser (eds.): Alpenatlas / Atlas des Alpes / Atlante delle Alpi / Atlas Alp / Mapping the Alps: Society, Economy, Environment.** – Heidelberg: Spektrum Akademischer Verlag 2008. – IX + 279 S., Abb., Karten, Photos. – ISBN 978-3-8274-2004-6. – € 49,95

“Give me a map and I’m magic” is the motto of orienteers and many a geographer, and “Mapping the Alps” shares this enthusiasm for maps with the reader. This atlas of 102 thematic maps covers the entire Alpine arc within the political boundaries defined by CIPRA, the International Commission for the Protection of the Alps. Thus, census data from six Alpine countries had to be compiled, homogenised and aggregated to indicator values that provide a concise and informative statistical insight into socio-economic and environmental disparities and similarities found in the Alps. The maps selected for this atlas are grouped in five chapters: background, society, economy, environment, and aggregated features. Statistical data are resolved at the municipal level. For clarity, data are displayed in five classes with a colour scale that is specific for

each chapter. Each of the five classes of each map encompasses 20 % of the empirical statistical distribution of the indicator under consideration. At first sight, some maps look like Magic Eye pictures where the true picture only evolves when studying the map for a long time – or by reading the short but elucidating interpretation text presented in five languages: English, German, French, Italian and Slovenian. Other maps are crisp and clearly showing a north-south or east-west disparity of the indicator on display. Great care was taken to homogenise available data and make national census information comparable among countries. This was not always possible. For example, Switzerland, which is not a member of the EU, has a very different political system and thus participation in elections is not directly comparable to other countries. Some data from Slovenia (which only became an EU member in 2004) deviate from other countries, and demographic data from Austria and France needed special treatment to become comparable to other countries. Where direct comparison was not achievable, the map presents the statistical data of the respective country with five classes of grayshade coloring, which clearly distinguishes these special cases in the maps. But most limiting in many essential maps is the lack of data from Germany, where the last national census did not cover all relevant aspects. Moreover, in some economic aspects a different definition was used than in all other countries. The introductory chapter on methods clearly elaborates on these limitations. The maps selected under the chapter heading “aggregated features” go beyond the traditional indicator values that are displayed in map format. Using modern multivariate statistics the authors extracted 23 factors out of 81 indicator variables via factorial analysis. These 23 factors explain 76 % of the overall variance, which by itself already expresses the high complexity of socio-economic and environmental diversity found in the Alpine arc as a whole. A second approach used cluster analysis to group individual municipalities into regions with similar economic or social structure or environmental situation. In this way, eight clusters of regions with similar developments were found, and 21 indicators were identified with highest loadings with respect to what should be considered sustainable development. “Mapping the Alps” is a geographic milestone. Roughly a century after the first mapping

of the Alps with topographic maps has been accomplished, this atlas now for the first time provides a balanced and harmonised statistical overview over the population living and working in all countries of the Alps. It also allows to geographically locate actual problems and successes with respect to current development. This atlas is essential reading for anyone interested in the Alps and the sustainable development of this unique geographical living space.

*Werner Eugster (Zürich)*

**Buggisch, Werner und Christian Buggisch: Klima.** – Nürnberg: Tessloff Verlag 2008. – WAS IST WAS 125. – 48 S., Abb, Tab., Karten, Photos. – ISBN 978-3-7886-1512-3. – € 9,95

Die Jugendbuchreihe „WAS IST WAS“ führt junge Leserinnen und Leser spielerisch und anschaulich in komplexe wissenschaftliche Themen ein. Der neueste Band zum Thema „Klima“ deckt wie erwartet auch den aktuellen Bereich „Klimaänderung“ ab, steht aber mindestens vordergründig nicht in direktem Bezug zum ebenfalls kürzlich erschienenen vierten IPCC-Klimabericht. Offenbar gibt es 124 attraktivere Themen (darunter „Wetter“, erschienen als Band 7). Dennoch überrascht das Timing nicht: Gerade mit dem Erscheinen des vierten IPCC wurde wieder mal offensichtlich, dass zwar heute wissenschaftliche Erkenntnis via Internet frei zugänglich ist, für Leute, die der englischen Sprache nicht oder nicht ausreichend mächtig sind, aber doch bloß als Arbeit von Wissenschaftlern für Wissenschaftler erscheint. Hier schließt „WAS IST WAS – Klima“ für den deutschen Sprachraum eine Lücke. Inhaltlich darf man auch als Wissenschaftler anerkennend festhalten, dass jeder Bachelor-Student der Geografie die Leistungskontrolle mit Bravour bewältigen würde, hätte er all das Wissen intus, das in diesem Band vermittelt wird. Die anschaulichen Schaubilder wären zudem durchaus geeignet, manch trockene Vorlesung deutlich aufzuwerten. Allerdings ist die Aufarbeitung dieses komplexen Stoffs für jugendliches Publikum eine Gratwanderung zwischen wissenschaftlicher Genauigkeit und didaktisch bedingter Vereinfachung, die im Allgemeinen recht gut gelöst wurde. Meine Hauptkritik bezieht sich deshalb

bloß auf zwei wesentliche Auslassungen: Das El-Niño/Southern-Oscillation-System, das für das globale Klima und dessen Variabilität von herausragender Bedeutung ist, wird nicht erwähnt. Und zur Frage, ob mit der Klimaänderung der Meeresspiegel ansteigen wird, fehlt die Nennung der wichtigsten Ursache, nämlich die Wärmeausdehnung des Meerwassers mit ansteigender Temperatur. Ausgezeichnet eingegangen wird auf die geologischen Zeugen der Klimavariabilität der letzten zwei Jahrtausende, deutlich knapper hingegen auf die Bedeutung des Klimas und dessen Variabilität für die kulturgeschichtliche Entwicklung der Menschheit, die keinen Vergleich in geologischen Zeiträumen findet. Die geophysikalischen Grundlagen des Klimas, ganz besonders die Bedeutung der Albedo der Erdoberfläche und deren Abhängigkeit von der Landnutzung sowie die Wichtigkeit der thermohalinen Zirkulation in den Weltmeeren, werden ausgezeichnet erklärt. Die beiden abschließenden Kapitel zu „Mensch und Klima“ und „Klimaschutz“ nehmen schließlich Bezug auf die Klimaänderungsfrage und die aktuelle Sicht der Möglichkeiten, die der Menschheit zur Verfügung stehen, um die Klimaänderung abzumildern. Soweit kann der Band auch Erwachsenen wärmstens [Klimawandel!] empfohlen werden. Was meine beiden 11- und 13-jährigen Testleser anbelangt, zeigte sich, dass der ältere durchaus in der Lage war, den Band selbständig zu erarbeiten. Der jüngere bemängelte hingegen etwas das Konzept „viele Bilder mit viel Text“. Aus anderen Bänden bevorzuge er eher das Konzept „ein Bild mit einem Text“, sowie die „Mach-mit!“-Kästchen mit Anregungen zu eigenen Experimenten, die im Band „Klima“ deutlich weniger Gewicht haben als z.B. im Band „Wetter“. Auf seiner Internet-Site gibt der Verlag als Zielpublikum junge Leser ab 8 Jahren an. Meine Testleser waren sich aber einig, dass diese jüngste Altersstufe nur mit intensiver Begleitung durch einen Erwachsenen hinreichend Zugang zum Band „Klima“ erhalten wird. Insgesamt darf dieser Band als wertvolle Erweiterung der beliebten „WAS-IST-WAS“-Reihe erwähnt werden, der vor allem für etwas fortgeschrittenere Schüler, die eigene Vorträge zum Thema gestalten müssen, eine unerlässliche und auch wissenschaftlich adäquate Grundlage bietet.

*Werner Eugster (Zürich)*



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• *Inner-city development – Exclusion of vulnerable population groups – Euroméditerranée project – Marseille*

**Heidi Megerle (Tübingen)**

## **Present-Day Development Processes in the Inner City of Marseille: Tensions between Upgrading and Marginalisation**

*Aktuelle Entwicklungsprozesse in der Innenstadt von Marseille  
im Spannungsfeld zwischen Aufwertung und Marginalisierung*

With 2 Figures and 3 Photos

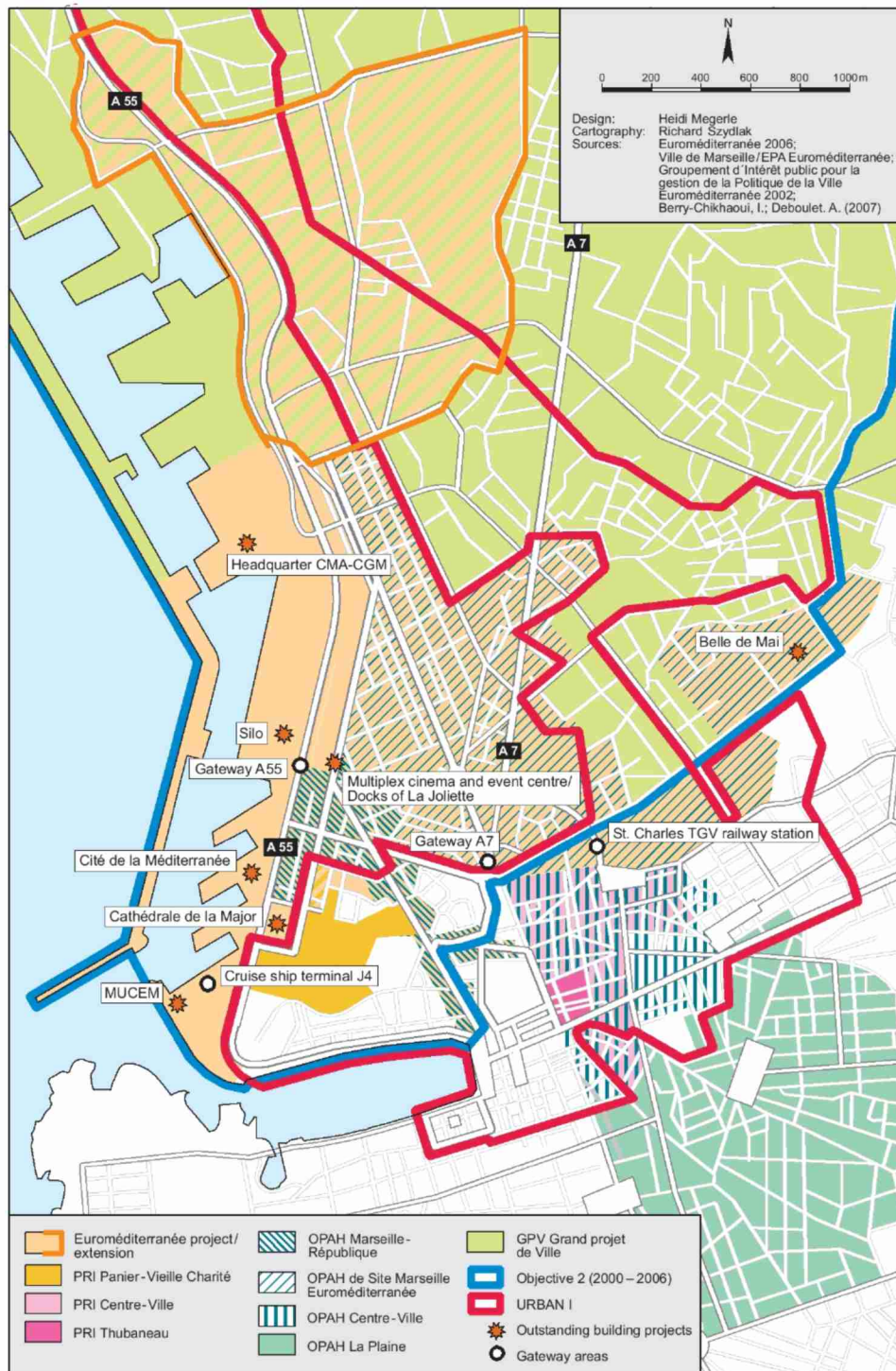
Inner city development projects are often closely connected to efforts to improve a city's international competitive position vis-à-vis other urban areas. In many metropolises the transformation to a modern service economy and the creation of attractive new urban areas are largely complete, but in Marseille the process of major urban revitalisation continues. This article examines the transformation of the inner city of Marseille, looking particularly at tensions that arise from the activities of globally active agents and the improving international position of the city caused by the Euroméditerranée project and increasing social spatial disparities in an already fragmented city. At the heart of the investigation is the increased risk of the city breaking up (*"ville éclatée"*). On the one hand is the city's emerging position as a nodal point in the Mediterranean economy and the extensive waterfront revitalisation as a symbol of the renewal process; on the other hand is the increasing exclusion of vulnerable population groups.

### **1. Introduction**

In the context of globalisation and increasing competition between cities and regions extensive urban development projects have gained significance as a means of making cities more attractive and thus more competitive (Swyngedouw et al. 2003; for France Jessen 2002). However, such development projects can result in urban renewal

and economic upturn on the one hand and the exclusion of marginal population groups on the other hand, thus leading to social spatial polarisation.

Urban renewal projects of this sort have long been observed in many metropolises (see, for example, Rodriguez et al. 2003: 35; Hohn 2000; Schubert 2001 and Schubert 2001a on the revitalisation of harbour and waterfronts). In many



**Fig. 1** Multi-layered co-existence of urban project areas in Marseille's inner city  
*vielschichtige Überlagerung von städtebaulichen Projektgebieten in der Innenstadt von Marseille*

cases the transformation into a modern service economy and the creation of attractive new neighbourhoods is largely complete. However, in Marseille the process of major urban transformation continues, a time lag that can be explained by historical factors and planning policies.

## 2. Rise and Fall of an International Harbour

The oldest and second biggest French city has been fundamentally shaped by its port activities. During industrialisation and the era of French colonial power the potential of Marseille's harbour was significantly increased by its excellent geostrategic position. In the nineteenth century Marseille had the largest trade and traffic harbour in France and the fifth largest worldwide (Donzel 1998: 63). The demand for industrial and port workers led to considerable in-migration, initially from the poorer mountain regions of France and later from Italy. The city, after nearly two millennia of confining itself more or less to the boundaries of the original Greek settlement, grew significantly. In the late nineteenth century large new urban neighbourhoods and prestigious buildings such as the *Cathédrale de la Major* (Subsection 4.3), St. Charles railway station (Subsection 4.2) and Rue de la République (Subsection 4.5) were developed at the edge of the old town.

The decline of Marseille began after the Second World War. Deindustrialisation led to the loss of over 40,000 jobs within a few decades and, continuing a process begun after the First World War, significant port functions were transferred to other districts on the Étang de Berre and to Fos-sur-Mer. The effects of decolonisation also played a role. After Algeria became independent in 1962 Marseille had to find room for over 100,000 migrants, some of

French origin (*pieds noirs*) and some from the Maghreb. Shortly afterwards suburbanisation caused the number of inhabitants in the city to drop by over 100,000 (Tulasne 2007).

## 3. Centralisation of Poverty – Suburbanisation and Exurbanisation of Wealth

The boom phase of the nineteenth century laid the basis for the polarisation of the city. The decision to locate new port facilities in the northern urban area of La Joliette led to the development of large industrial and workers' residential areas nearby (Fig. 1). Areas to the south of the main road "La Canebière" (Fig. 2) were characterised by middle-class residential neighbourhoods and administrative and cultural establishments. This historical division was reinforced in the 1960s when the need for social housing caused by the Algerian crisis was satisfied by building in the northern districts of the city. In the years that followed it was possible to observe a continuation of this trend. Suburbanisation involved primarily the higher earners and better educated, while migrants from the ex-colonies (mostly the Maghreb and Sub-Saharan countries) tended to locate in the northern inner city where integration was facilitated by the high proportion of migrant residents and the infrastructure (ethnic restaurants, shops, markets, etc.; Gebhardt 2001: 52). The inner city areas thus became characterised by populations with much lower average earnings and much higher unemployment levels than the city or indeed the countrywide averages. The proportion of social and other rented housing was also far above that of other areas. These factors were exacerbated by the effects of deindustrialisation on the city finances and led to an increasing deterioration of the built fabric in the inner urban areas (Photo 1). Town planning made futile attempts to combat the problem through lo-

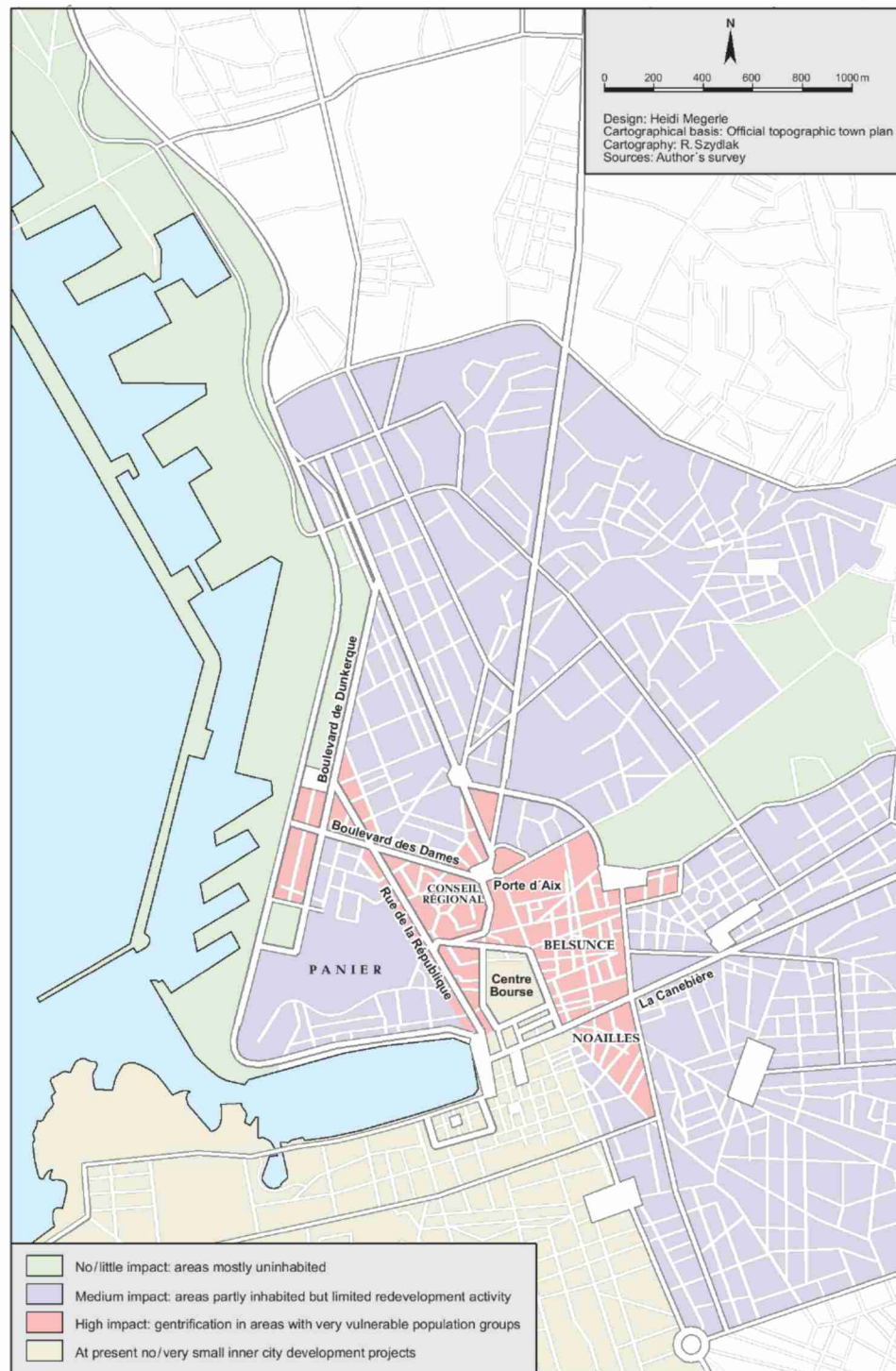




Fig. 2 Intensity of impact of inner-city development projects  
*Beeinträchtigungsintensität der innerstädtischen Entwicklungsprojekte*

cating commercial and administrative developments (the shopping centre Centre Bourse at the end of the 1960s; headquarters of the regional administration in 1988) in the area. At the beginning of the 1990s Marseille was apparently the only European city of this size showing no signs of gentrification, no property speculation and no private economic investment in the inner urban areas: they were simply not seen as profitable (Latil d'Albertas 2007: 203).

The deterioration of Marseille's inner urban areas was accompanied by a simultaneous eco-

nomic upturn in the city's hinterland, a factor central to explaining the emigration of high earners. The area around Aix-en-Provence, only 30 km from Marseille, was particularly characterised by the development of prosperous economic clusters like Rousset (microelectronics) or Plateau d'Arbois (environmental technology). An added attraction in the 1980s and 1990s was the affordable house prices in the countryside around Aix.

Unlike other French cities such as Lyon and Toulouse, in Marseille there was no state funding of innovative research-intensive industries and no



Photo 1 Derelict consumer service premises in Marseille's inner city (Photo: Megerle 2006) / aufgegebene Nahbereichsversorgung in der Marseiller Innenstadt (Photo: Megerle 2006)

planning initiatives intended to strengthen the city centre (Peraldi 2001: 40f.).

The result was notable social and economic polarisation both in Marseille and in the surrounding area. Poverty and unemployment were centralised and wealth and economic power suburbanised and ex-urbanised. *Sassen* (1996: 63), in keeping with Marseille's image as a "ville en crise", categorised the city as being in decline. In an international ranking of cities by DATAR in 1990 Marseille was only included in category 5 because of the harbour (*Cibon* 2007: 48).

#### 4. "Top-down" Inner City Policies: the Euroméditerranée Project

The increasingly obvious decline of Marseille at a time of growing international competition between cities and regions demanded action. PACA (Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur) was successfully marketing itself as a high-tech region and had, due to its tremendous geostrategic potential, become indispensable for the international competitive position of the French state. An added impetus to tackle the situation in Marseille was given by plans to create a free trade zone in the Mediterranean region by 2010 and by the development of a dynamic economic area in the Mediterranean southwest of the European Union (*Arc méditerranéen*).

Marseille, run-down and characterised by high levels of poverty and unemployment, was increasingly seen as obstructing this economic dynamism, in contrast to other more successful port cities like Barcelona or Genoa. Local actors were in no position to kick-start the transformation, while regional actors – motivated by century-old rivalries – had no desire to do so. The French central government thus found itself having to take the initiative to improve the international competitive position and image of the country's most important Mediterranean harbour (Megerle 2008). Central government decided to try shock

therapy to wake up Marseille and in 1995, the same time as the Barcelona process began, the Euroméditerranée project was officially initiated (*Bertoncello and Rodrigues-Malta* 2003: 427). Euroméditerranée was the first project of national interest (projet d'intérêt national) since the commercial quarter La Défense in Paris (*Cibon* 2007: 45). It was a strategy intended to actively combat the crisis in the city and to kick-start the transformation that would turn Marseille into a dynamic economic metropolis. Further support was given by EU regional policy with the allocation of Objective 2 area status (*Kazig* 2004: 50).

#### 4.1 Project area and organisational structure

The Euroméditerranée project area consisted initially of 310 ha in the northern inner city and port area (*Fig. 1*). The relocation of numerous port facilities and deindustrialisation had left much industrial and harbour wasteland in this area, and this was some of the only land available close to the city centre. Development of these brownfield sites allowed the waterfront and port area to be (re)integrated with the city. It was also an opportunity for planning initiatives for which there is limited scope in inhabited areas, e.g. economic reorientation, new housing forms and reorganisation of urban space.

The first concepts for an extensive urban renewal and port revitalisation project were developed at the end of the 1980s. They were welcomed by the city of Marseille and by the region (Peraldi and Samson 2005: 253f). However, the various actors had very different ideas about the aims of the project. The city of Marseille recognised an opportunity to renew the urban built form, the Chamber of Commerce was most interested in economic aims, and the PAM (the independent port authority of Marseille) wanted a fundamental restructuring of the harbour that would incorporate the latest developments (*Linossier* 2004: 161). Economic



apathy and political blockades led in 1995 to state intervention (*Rodrigues-Malta* 2001: 100). The city of Marseille, the intercommunal organisation Marseille-Provence-Métropole that brings together the city and surrounding communes, the region and the département were all involved in the official kick-off of the Euroméditerranée project (Euroméditerranée 2006: 7). However, EPAEM (Etablissement Public d'Aménagement d'Euroméditerranée), the body created to steer the project, was led by a state-dominated board: nine local and regional (city, département, region) representatives and the one PAM representative faced ten representatives of the state. Owing to this state influence, town planning in the Euroméditerranée area is carried out by the EPAEM rather than by the city of Marseille. The situation is further complicated by the large amount of property owned by public sector companies such as SNCF (the railways), EDF (energy provider), PAM (independent port authority of Marseille) and SEITA (the former French tobacco monopoly); all these organisations had to be made project partners (*Linossier* 2004: 163).

The financial backing of EPAEM is split between the various interests: 50 % from the French state, 25 % from the city of Marseille, 10 % from the region and the département, and 5 % from Marseille-Provence-Métropole. In twenty years € 600 m of public money, subsidies from the European Union and private investments totalling over € 2.4 bn were put into one of the most ambitious urban renewal projects in France (Euroméditerranée 2006: 42).

The Euroméditerranée project can be subdivided into a number of districts each with somewhat different aims and strategies:

#### 4.2 Gateway areas: improving transport infrastructure

With the exception of the airport all the main gateway areas of Marseille (passenger and ferry port,

Terminal J4), mainline railway station, A 55 and A 7 motorways) lie within the Euroméditerranée project area (*Fig. 1*). The improvement of these areas forms one of the major aims of the Euroméditerranée project, not only because of their importance for the potential economic development of the city but also because it is here that visitors receive their first impression of Marseille.

Marseille is one of the few European cities in which several motorways terminate directly in the city centre without then feeding into an appropriate street system. This is problematic not only because of serious traffic congestion and high levels of noise and pollution, but also because the motorways act as barriers around the city centre.

The four-lane A 7 terminates directly at the edge of the seriously degraded inner city quarter Belsunce, which is characterised by very high rates of unemployment, poverty and immigrants (*Fig. 1*). Attempts to improve the situation by locating the *Conseil Régional* here in 1988 had little impact. Visitors are thus greeted by a townscape that clearly represents the "*ville en crise*" image. The town-planning concept therefore envisions the rerouting of the motorway through a tunnel. This will release enough land to create open spaces with park areas and small residential developments. A four star hotel is to be built on the Boulevard des Dames, the road that leads to the business district La Joliette. The only gateway area where a local residential and business district is affected by the rerouting of the motorway is the area around the Porte d'Aix where it will be necessary to demolish a certain number of residential buildings.

The A 55 is also to be rerouted through a tunnel as at the moment it seriously reduces the accessibility of the port area (*Photo 2*). The land thus released will be used to create the Cité de la Méditerranée (see Subsection 4.3).

St. Charles railway station was repaired and renewed following the increase in passengers caused by the



*Photo 2* Present situation in the area of the future Cité de la Méditerranée: Cathédrale de la Major, A 55 motorway, port facilities (Photo: Megerle 2006) / Gegenwärtige Situation im Gebiet der zukünftigen Cité de la Méditerranée: Cathédrale de la Major, Autobahn A 55, Hafenanlagen (Photo: Megerle 2006)

new TGV connection to Paris that was introduced in 2001. The dark and uninviting station hall was given a modern architectural facelift and further improved by including small shops, cafes and snack bars. At the moment the station is in the process of being connected to the Porte d'Aix, departure point of the shuttle buses to Aix-en-Provence and terminus of the A7 motorway (Fig. 1).

#### *4.3 Business district La Joliette and waterfront revitalisation Cité de la Méditerranée*

Due to its past function as an industrial port and the effects of the deindustrialisation that followed, Marseille at the beginning of the 1990s had no business district, a striking anomaly for a city of its size (Cibon 2007: 49). This encouraged local

enterprises to leave the city and new or incoming companies to locate outside the centre. The development of a business district with appropriate office and commercial space was thus clearly essential if Marseille was to be established as a nodal point in the Mediterranean economic area.

One of the first steps taken within the framework of the Euroméditerranée project was therefore the development of the business district La Joliette, at the heart of which was the renovation of the old docks (see Photo 3). Here many new jobs and luxury restaurants and shops have been created. Due to the juxtaposition of the old warehouses and freight railway station an enormous brownfield site was available close to the city centre; this is now one of the largest service centres in southern Europe (see Section 6).

*Photo 3* Renovated docks at La Joliette and poster showing the design of Boulevard de Dunkerque (*Photo: Megerle 2006*) / *renovierte Lagerhäuser in La Joliette und Poster mit der Neugestaltung des Boulevard de Dunkerque (Photo: Megerle 2006)*



The old port area borders on to La Joliette (*Fig. 1*). Since the mid-1900s Marseille, in common with many port towns (*Hohn 2000; Priebs 2000; Schubert 2001; Schubert 2001a*), has experienced accelerated restructuring: many traditional port functions have declined or have relocated out of the inner city. The construction of the A 55 motorway created a barrier around the waterfront and combined with the ongoing deterioration of neighbouring areas to make the port district one that was avoided by many locals as well as by the few tourists that visited the city.

The plan for the area envisioned a comprehensive waterfront revitalisation similar to those seen in many other port towns (*Hohn 2000*). This was, how-

ever, vigorously opposed by the PAM for many years because it involves the relocation of the last remaining port functions. It was only after a major crisis between the city of Marseille and the PAM that in 1997 the port district was finally integrated into the project area (*Dubois and Olive 2001: 425*). Covering 110 ha and running 2.7 km along the waterfront, the Cité de la Méditerranée is being created. Land released by the rerouting of the A 55 underground is to be used for a broad waterfront boulevard with public squares, a pedestrian zone and an American-style mall. Complete with a wide selection of restaurants, cafes, recreational venues and shops the area is intended as an urban entertainment centre and a meeting place for the residents of Marseille. A direct connection to the ter-

minal for cruise ships also makes the Cité de la Méditerranée the gateway for a rapidly growing number of tourists (Zürn-Seiller 2007).

Many port towns have used prominent buildings to upgrade their waterfronts both architecturally and in terms of image and symbolism. In Marseille these examples are being followed and a number of prestigious buildings being constructed in the area of the northern waterfront (Fig. 1). These outstanding buildings are clearly visible symbols of the fundamental urban renewal and will dominate the townscape and increase the profile of the "new" Marseille. The at times spectacular architecture serves to differentiate the city from others, playing an important representative role as the image of the urban revitalisation (see Meyer 2001 for Bilbao). A differentiation can be made between projects involving new constructions, alterations to historical building complexes, and townscape improvement around existing buildings.

The architecturally most outstanding new buildings and those that will dramatically change the seawards silhouette of Marseille are:

**Headquarters of the container shipping company CMA-CGM:** the world's third largest container shipping company CMA-CGM is to locate its headquarters at the Marseille harbour. The 110 m high glass tower, designed by the Iraqi-British architect *Zaha Hadid*, will contain 55,000 sqm of office space and will dominate the future silhouette of the harbour. It is also an important key-stone of the economic profile of Marseille.

**Multiplex cinema and event centre:** a cinema with a 3,200 seating capacity is being developed immediately next to the new business district La Joliette. Its architecture (architect *Massimiliano Fuksas*) appears to have been inspired by the Sydney opera house.

**MUCEM:** the museum of Mediterranean culture (Musée des Civilisations de l'Europe et de la

Méditerranée; Architect *Rudy Ricciotti*) is directly linked to Fort St. Jean at the old harbour, a historic site that has in the past been fairly inaccessible. It is hoped that this innovative museum will trigger a similar effect to that of the Guggenheim museum in Bilbao where estimates suggest that the "Guggenheim effect" has led to an over 40 % increase in visitors. In the first two years of its existence the museum attracted nearly two million visitors, contributing considerably to the economy of the city and region and significantly improving its image (Meyer 2001: 311f.). In the immediate vicinity of the MUCEM the "*Centre régional de la Méditerranée*" is being constructed with space for exhibitions, a documentation centre focusing on Mediterranean culture, and an auditorium with 700 seats. The MUCEM is a key part of Marseille's application to be the European Capital of Culture in 2013 and contributes to the efforts of the oldest French city to be seen as a cultural metropolis.

Outstanding building projects also involve alterations to complexes of historical buildings:

**The La Joliette docks:** The docks were built along British lines in the mid-eighteenth century to provide warehousing for trade goods. These buildings had been deteriorating for years and had long been threatened with demolition when they became the focus of one of the first phases of the Euroméditerranée project. They were thoroughly renovated by the architect *Éric Castaldi* and have become the flagship of the new business district, providing many new jobs.

**Silo:** The old grain silo remains a defining element of the silhouette of the Marseille harbour. There was much discussion about the possible new function of the silo and its integration into the new structure of the harbour before it was finally decided to adapt it as an event venue with 2,200 seats. As in the case of the docks, the exterior form of the silo has been preserved as an indication of its past use and as an industrial-cultural monument.



**Cathédrale de la Major:** the magnificent neo-Byzantine cathedral was built in the nineteenth century and symbolised this booming time in the history of the port town. However, the continued deterioration of the port area and the construction of the A 55 relegated the building to an isolated and unattractive island site where it appears completely out of place. The rerouting of the motorway through a tunnel and the redevelopment of the harbour area will provide the cathedral with a more appropriate setting and a position from which it can once again dominate its surroundings (*Photo 2*).

#### 4.4 Media centre Belle de Mai

The large tobacco factory Belle de Mai lay to the northeast of St. Charles railway station and was abandoned during deindustrialisation. Its inclusion in the Euroméditerranée project made it possible to consider new functions for the building, which was to be preserved as an industrial-cultural monument. Unlike La Joliette, Belle de Mai was not to provide office space or fulfil another economic function; instead it was to become a cultural centre.

The alterations in Belle de Mai are complete. As well as the city archives the complex contains a media centre that has within a few years become the second most important in France, making Marseille a nodal point for global media companies (*Krätke* 2007: 135). Like the MUCEM, the cultural centre of Belle de Mai is a keystone of Marseille's application to become European Capital of Culture in 2013.

#### 4.5 Rue de la République

The Rue de la République is a special case in both the Euroméditerranée project and other inner city development projects. The road connects the new business district La Joliette to the Marseille inner city (*Fig. 2*) and was thus (unlike other deteriorated inner city areas) included in the Euroméditerranée project from the start. The Rue de

la République is also an OPAH area and part of the URBAN initiative (see Section 5).

Even the initial building of this street was a special case in urban development. Following the example of the Haussmann boulevards of Paris, it was pushed through the fabric of the old town in the 1860s so as to connect the inner city areas around the main street La Canebière and the old harbour with the new harbour areas around La Joliette to the north. 1,000 houses were destroyed in order to create the new road (CVPT 2007: 19), at that time named Rue Impériale, and 16,000 residents were moved into the new nineteenth-century housing. Along the c.1 km long road prominent multi-storey buildings were constructed providing about 3,000 flats. In order to make the street absolutely straight and level, hills were flattened and existing connections to other streets cut off (*Fig. 1*). This can still be seen today at the square Sadi Carnot where abrupt cul-de-sacs are connected to steps allowing pedestrians to access the higher streets.

The once magnificent boulevard deteriorated as deindustrialisation progressed and traffic on this, the main road to Aix-en-Provence, increased. The street was transformed from being one of the top addresses to being dominated by low-cost ethnic food outlets, small convenience stores, and an increasingly poor residential population.

As part of the Euroméditerranée project the Rue de la République is to regain its original linking function, this time between the inner city (La Canebière) and the business district La Joliette. With this in mind the following steps for improvement were initiated:

**Traffic calming and connection to the city's public transport system:** the business district La Joliette was connected to the inner city with a modern tram-line in 2007. The tram runs on a slightly elevated platform down the centre of Rue de la République and thus contributes to traffic calming initiatives in the street. There is in any case much less traffic than

in the past owing to changes in road connections to the motorways (see Section 4.2).

**Alterations to commercial businesses:** The traffic calming measures and the improved link to the inner city mean that existing retail and gastronomic businesses in the street profit from an increased potential for high-quality and high-price offerings. 60,000 sqm of commercial space have thus been renovated (Euroméditerranée 2006: 35; see Section 6).

**Renovation of residential property:** The still magnificent buildings that line the Rue de la République have been thoroughly renovated. In this context, the effect of the unusual ownership pattern in the street is felt. In France generally, and also in other areas of Marseille that date from the nineteenth century, there is a high proportion of private property. However, in Rue de la République half of the residential and commercial units are in the hands of two real estate companies: ANF Eurazeo and Marseille République. Together, these companies are renovating 3,200 flats (Euroméditerranée 2006: 35). This is to provide housing for the highly qualified employees of companies that have recently moved to the city, especially to the business district La Joliette (see Sections 6 and 7).

#### 4.6 Extension of the Euroméditerranée project

As the present area of the Euroméditerranée project will have been exhausted by 2010, possible extensions to the project area have been surveyed. A northwards expansion has been agreed upon (see Fig. 1) and the detailed planning of the 168 ha area is now underway. The plans envision 10,000 new jobs, 10,000 new flats, 500,000 sqm of office space and 200,000 sqm for retail and commerce. Despite the available brownfield sites around the old freight railway station the extension affects 30,000 residents (Euroméditerranée 2007: 7).

The extension area can easily be connected to the business district La Joliette and the inner city by

extending the tramline, which at the moment terminates at the Boulevard de Dunkerque. The redeveloped area could also act as a bridge joining the northern quarters to the inner city and thus allowing their closer integration with the inner city projects (see Fig. 1 and 5.2).

The actors involved in the extension area of the Euroméditerranée project differ somewhat from those of the original project. The port area and thus the PAM (independent port authority of Marseille) are not involved in the same way as in the past. An agreement between the PAM and the Euroméditerranée was made in order to safeguard the procedures of the future project and the continuation of the waterfront revitalisation.

### 5. Other (Inner) City Development Projects

The effective marketing, the leading role taken by the French state and the large project area have made the Euroméditerranée project into the most significant in Marseille. It is however by no means the only one. The situation in Marseille is similar to that in Bilbao (see Meyer 2001), and Euroméditerranée is only part of a comprehensive urban renewal. In cases of this sort of large-scale revitalisation planning there is nearly always a complex network of actors, property ownership and interests to negotiate (Schubert 2001: 27). This tends to lead to many conflicts of interest and aims. Figure 1 shows the very complex structures found in Marseille, where the various inner city development processes, programmes and projects overlap one another in both space and time. Similar overlaps are found in terms of funding and planning, and the actors involved in both.

#### 5.1 Upgrading processes in deteriorated inner-city areas

There was great pressure to improve the seriously run-down inner-city areas not only because of



the state of the building fabric (see Section 7), but also because of the need to improve the city's international competitive position and image.

Marseille received funding for innovative urban renewal strategies from the URBAN 1 initiative. However, problems within the city have meant that only small projects have been completed and these have not been sufficient to generate impulses for further urban development (Kazig 2004: 51). The main urban renewal projects at present underway are two French programmes concerned with the urban redevelopment (OPAH and PRI) of residential and commercial areas (Fig. 1). In keeping with the aims of the programmes the amount of industrial and port wasteland affected is negligible.

The OPAH programme (*opération programmée de l'amélioration de l'habitat*) bases action on an agreement made between the city, the state, the region and the state agency for housing (ANAH) to improve housing in a particular area within a specified period of time. Subsidies are then provided by the ANAH with the intention that these be supplemented by private investment. Organising the successful running of the OPAH is the responsibility of an external project leader. As an OPAH normally has a time limit of three years, a series of programmes is usually necessary in areas like Bel-sunce and Panier where the building fabric is extremely run-down. At present various OPAHs cover most of the northern inner city, including parts of the Euroméditerranée project area where there are old residential neighbourhoods (Fig. 1).

PRI (*périmètre de restauration immobilière*) is the other programme concerned with the upgrading and renovation of run-down residential buildings. With this programme, unlike the OPAH, any necessary upgrading of buildings in the project area is regarded as being in the common interest. Owners are required to undertake renovations within a specified timeframe. If they lack the necessary capital they may be forced to sell their property (CVPT 2007: 14), or in extreme cases their property can be expropriated.

However, before a PRI programme can be applied, the area concerned must be categorised as a ZPPAUP (zone de protection du patrimoine architectural, urbain et paysager), a status intended to protect architectural and built heritage. The ZPPAUP status is difficult to attain, as it requires not only detailed studies of each individual building but also individual plans of work to be drawn up in every case. Once attained however, the ZPPAUP and PRI categorisations benefit from very attractive state and other funding (Pouille 2005). The areas Panier-Vieille Charité, Centre-Ville and Thubaneau (Fig. 1) have PRI status. A mid-term assessment in 2002 revealed that the small-scale PRIs (e.g. Thubaneau) show very positive results, but that owing to the dispersed nature of the individual efforts the larger areas (e.g. Centre-Ville) are less successful (CVPT 2003: 3).

There are at present over 26,000 flats included in the OPAH and PRI programmes (Ville de Marseille 2008): 4,000 in Panier, 7,800 in the inner city area (Centre-Ville), 9,100 in the Euroméditerranée project area itself, and 5,200 in the separate project area of Rue de la République.

## 5.2 Integration of the northern quarters in the urban revitalisation process

The division of Marseille that began with the northwards relocation of the port and was strengthened by the Algiers crisis manifests itself not only in the inner urban areas but also particularly in the northern quarters. This part of the city contains a quarter of the overall population but 40 % of those receiving social security, a third of the unemployed and 50 % of the social housing (*Ministère du logement et de la ville*, undated). It is here that the ever more obvious fragmentation and polarisation of the city is especially felt. Nonetheless, of the social housing built in Marseille in 2006 1,000 new dwelling units were constructed in the northern quarters, in the southern quarters it was only 54, and these were concentrated in two of the arrondissements.

In 1994 the GPV (*grand projet de ville*) was set up in an attempt to spread the effects of the inner-urban development projects to the northern quarters. As with Euroméditerranée, French state involvement aimed to kick-start improvements (Giblin-Delvallet 2005: 807f.). State involvement was not surprising, given the orientation of French urban politics at the time. At the beginning of the 1990s, poverty-ridden Marseille was categorised as being of national concern, this inevitably brought with it the obligation to provide funding and support for measures intended to tackle the problem (Held 2006: 108f.). Additional finance came from the EU URBAN programme and Objective 2 funding (Fig. 1).

The GPV aims to reintegrate the northern quarters with the rest of the city and to realise the potential of the area's position in terms of communication networks (motorways, railways) and proximity to the high-tech clusters and commercial districts around Aix-en-Provence and Étang de Berre. The extension of Euroméditerranée (Subsection 4.6) is completely within the GPV area.

## 6. Effects of the Upgrading Process to Date

Marseille has undergone notable developments since the start of the Euroméditerranée project. The city has improved its position in international rankings. In a comparative study of 180 European agglomerations (Rozenblat and Cicille 2003), Marseille was listed in category 4, as was Hamburg. In the ESPON study of the potential of polycentric development in Europe (2005: 11) Marseille was included in the MEGA (Metropolitan European Growth Area) category 3. Improvements in the city are reflected in employment statistics: There was a 12 % increase in the number of jobs and a 22 % increase in the number of companies between 1995 and 2006, while the fall in unemployment levels was considerably higher than the national average. For the first time since the 1980s there was a rise in the number of inhabitants (4.3 %). The new appeal of the city and its im-

proved image also affected tourism: There was a threefold increase in the number of conference participants and there were fourteen times more visits by tourists on cruises (Euroméditerranée 2006: 11). The city has now set itself the ambitious aim of achieving a position among the top twenty European metropolises (AGAM 2005: 1).

The business district La Joliette has played a deciding role in the economic transformation of the old port town, which is now categorised as an up-and-coming region in relation to both services and industrial activities (Krätke 2007: 100f.). On the new Boulevard de Dunkerque (Fig. 2) alone, there are already numerous new office buildings providing 160,000 sqm of office space, further buildings are still under construction. 700 companies established themselves in the Euroméditerranée project area between 1995 and 2006, they provide 17,000 jobs, 11,000 of which are in the La Joliette business district. After discounting those jobs that were merely moved from elsewhere, there still remain 7,000 new positions. This is reflected in the 7 % fall in unemployment figures between 1998 and 2006 (Euroméditerranée 2007: 11). In 1996 the international hotel group Accor saw no demand for a high-quality hotel in Marseille (Lanaspeze 2006: 107), but now there are three such hotels being built in the La Joliette area, two of them Accor hotels. The number of beds in four-star hotels is predicted to rise by 42 % between 2008 and 2011 (Office du tourisme Marseille 2008: 23f).

The transformation to a modern service economy can also be seen in the restructuring of the composition of commercial outlets. In the inner-city area of Rue de la République there is a new focus on high-price designer products (clothing, shoes, jewellery, cosmetics) and services (hairdressers, banks, estate agents etc.). By January 2008 nearly 30 new outlets had opened, others were planned for the near future and there were no more commercial premises for sale in the area (Marseille République 2008). At the northern end of the road there is a concentration of restaurants and shops that target

the new clientele of the neighbouring business district La Joliette. Doctors and paramedical establishments were clustered in the central part of Rue de la République before the upgrading process. Most have remained – despite the renovations and increased rents: 86 % of the practices counted in 1999 (Mazzella 2004: 173) still exist (see Section 6). The next few years will see the Urban Entertainment Centre in the Cité de la Méditerranée adding to the more highly-priced retail and food outlets.

The media centre Belle de Mai led to Marseille attaining its position as a nodal point for international media companies (Krätke 2007: 135). Belle de Mai and the ambitious renewal work centred on the Cité de la Méditerranée provide the basis of Marseille's application to be the European City of Culture in 2013 (AGAM 2005: 3). Marseille hopes that the nomination as City of Culture will not only improve its image, which is still often associated with the “*ville en crise*”, but will also bring significant economic benefits through increased numbers of visitors. In addition, an increase in the range and number of cultural events can also help local inhabitants see their environment in a different light.

The transformation process in Marseille and especially the economic reorientation has led to an increase in the demand for high-quality residential accommodation. As the new jobs require quite different qualifications to the jobs lost during deindustrialisation, there has already been notable in-migration of people with appropriate qualifications both from the surrounding region and from elsewhere (Giblin 2005: 809). It will not be possible to judge whether the upgrading of the inner city of Marseille has involved a process of reurbanisation until reliable statistics are available in several years' time. However, those who have been observing the situation for many years believe that this is the case (Richard 2008). It is also the view of the inhabitants themselves: 74 % believe that the Euroméditerranée housing programme is intended for high or medium earners

who are new to the city, only 15 % believe that the restructuring is for the good of existing residents (TNS Sofres 2005: 17ff.).

## 7. The Downside of the Upgrading: Exclusion of Vulnerable Population Groups

Figure 2 shows that the level of disturbance caused by inner-city development projects to Marseille's inhabitants is very varied. Thus in those large parts of the renewal area which are uninhabited port and industrial wasteland (especially around the harbour, the nearby freight railway station and the old tobacco factory Belle de Mai) there is obviously no direct impact (see Subsections 4.3 and 4.4). Changes to the gateway areas (St. Charles railway station, A 55 and A 7 motorways) have caused limited disturbance. Indeed, the reduction in noise and air pollution and improvement in accessibility resulting from the rerouting of the motorways in tunnels and the creation of public squares and park areas can be assumed to significantly improve the situation for local inhabitants (see Subsection 4.2). However, local residents are considerably affected by the gentrification processes underway in the northern quarters of the inner city: Belsunce, Noailles, Panier and neighbouring districts.

Until the early 1990s the increasingly run-down inner city of Marseille was characterised by a large number of poor residents with a high proportion of the elderly, the unemployed and people from immigrant families (see Section 3). Particularly precarious living conditions are found in the so-called “*hôtels meublés*” of the Marseille inner city. Here mostly economic migrants from the Maghreb live in almost unimaginable conditions: Rooms are multi-occupied with terrible sanitation, and official tenancy contracts are rare (Ascaride and Condro 2001). An accumulation of vulnerability factors (insecure residency status, age, low income, low level of education and little knowledge of the French language or law) prevent these population

groups from understanding complex planning procedures and from participating in public consultation processes, and thus from opposing such plans. When the mostly right-wing municipal council passed the urban renewal projects in 1996 there was no opportunity for the affected residents to vote in opposition (*Sanmarco* 2000: 39). And yet the impact of the inner-city renewal process is greatest on precisely these vulnerable population groups. This can be seen particularly clearly in the area around Rue de la République.

In this area the original plan was to allocate certain proportions of housing to the various sectors. Thus one third was to be social housing, one third was to be rent-capped at a moderate level and only the final third was to be rented or sold at market rates. Before the renewal project began, over 60 % of the dwelling units were uninhabited (CVPT 2007: 24). Interim solutions were promised for occupants of housing where continued habitation during the renovation work was impossible. However, no arrangements were made for public participation in the process and no information about the plans was distributed (*Richard* 2008). This seems in keeping with the information dissemination practices of Euroméditerranée which have been described as bad (TNS Sofre 2005: 30). The mayor, responsible for construction, favoured emptying the buildings before renovation, but she was opposed by the association "Centre-Ville Pour Tous" (CVPT) who fought for the remaining 600 families to stay.

In 2004 the real estate company P2C sold 1,289 dwelling units in Rue de la République for € 33 m to the American property fund Lone Star (CVPT 2007: 20f). They also refused to extend many leasing contracts. Tenants who then failed to find alternative accommodation on their own initiative were put under pressure in a variety of ways. Tenants and property owners who were ignorant of their rights bowed to the pressure and moved out (*Zürn-Seiller* 2007). The tenants who could not or would not move included a high proportion of

elderly people, some of whom had lived for decades in the housing in question. Significant reprisals were taken against a number of these tenants. Normal inhabitation of the housing was in some cases made impossible because electricity and water were turned off as part of the renovation work; this also restricted access to the dwellings, especially for the elderly, as neither the lifts nor the lighting on the stairways functioned. Inhabitants also felt very threatened when they were the only residents in an entire building. Even in cases where the renewal process had less impact inside the building, the construction of the tramline and the multi-storey car park combined with the renovation of the building itself represented significant stress (*Richard* 2008). Alternative accommodation on offer was often in the northern quarters of the city. A move to this part of Marseille represented the loss of residents' social environment, a situation that was exacerbated by poor public transport connections to the north of the city. Consequently, such accommodation was usually refused, as it was by residents of the OPAH areas in the inner city.

Commercial premises on the ground floors of buildings in Rue de la République were affected by a similar process to that described for residential property. The real estate company Marseille-République (set-up by Lone Star) failed to extend leases and although the other real estate company Eurazeo offered extensions, it was at rates 300-400 % higher than before (CVPT 2007: 23). A comparison with a survey undertaken in 1999 (*Mazzella* 2004: 173) showed that the numbers of the small bars typical for France had declined by over 80 %, as had the numbers of small convenience stores. The numbers of charities and political parties were down by over 70 %. The high rents, however, had less impact on the numbers of doctors and paramedical facilities: these declined by only 14 % (see Subsection 4.5). Great changes were also seen in the numbers of ethnic food outlets. In 2002 *Bouillon* (2004: 243) counted eight Egyptian restaurants in the street, but by 2008 there were only two left;

of eight Asian shops and restaurants (*Guillemin* 2004: 260), three survived. Private owners gave up their businesses because of their declining customer base. Not only were many houses empty (in 2008 nearly 30 % of all buildings), but the composition of the daytime population had also changed dramatically because of the proximity of the business district La Joliette. Added encouragement to give up businesses was provided by the substantial payouts on offer. *Richard* (2008) describes the case of a Tunisian grocer who for many years refused to move but who finally agreed to relinquish his business when offered € 100,000. Such payments can be understood when set in the context of the exploding property prices and increasing demand in Marseille (*Donzel* 2006). The purchase price for run-down residential housing was between 800 and 1,000 €/sqm (CVPT 2007: 22), but the renovated flats could be resold for around 4,000 €/sqm (CVPT 2006). A similar situation existed for commercial property. The real estate companies exacerbated the situation in Rue de la République by prioritising the interests of their worldwide shareholders and aiming for 18 % annual profit (CVPT 2006: 8). This could not be achieved if redevelopment of the street involved a higher proportion of social housing, lower rents or a longer renovation period. An additional problem is the spatial juxtaposition of social housing with high-priced housing, potential purchasers of the latter may prefer a more exclusive neighbourhood. The well-off but tolerant "new cosmopolitan" is thus the target purchaser for renovated housing around the Porte d'Aix (*Berry-Chikhaoui* and *Deboulet* 2007: 150).

Changes in Rue de la République are among the most obvious in the city, but the more dispersed transformation processes in other inner-city areas have comparable consequences. In the long-term the structure of the inner city population is bound to change: Property prices have doubled in six years, but only 21 % of households in Marseille have a monthly income that allows them to rent a flat on the open market. There is also a substantial shortfall in social housing (CVPT 2006a: 2).

At present the majority of political actors support this tendency to change in the inner-urban population because the present high levels of poverty and immigrants are seen as contradicting post-industrial development (*Berry-Chikhaoui* and *Deboulet* 2007: 150) and as an impediment to the desired image of Marseille. At the same time there is the fear that the social spatial polarisation and fragmentation of the city may increase and bring with it the risk of a "ville éclatée" (literally: a bursting city; *Langevin* 2007: 11).

## 8. Conclusion and Outlook

Despite prognoses by *Sassen* (1996) to the contrary, the decline of Marseille has not continued. Indeed, since the beginning of the Euroméditerranée project a spirit of optimism and dynamic economic development have dominated. Marseille has not only improved its position in the international rankings of cities but is now classified as an up-and-coming region and a nodal point for global media companies (*Krätke* 2007: 100, 135). The Cité de la Méditerranée is a particularly noteworthy symbol of the renewal: a waterfront revitalisation with architecturally outstanding buildings that will dominate the silhouette of the harbour. The process of transformation in Marseille can be seen as one of a series of similar urban redevelopment processes that have taken place on metropolitan waterfronts in Europe, North America, Australia and Japan since the 1970s (*Hohn* 2000: 247). Owing to historical factors and planning policies there was a considerable time lag in modernisation in Marseille.

Widespread upgrading is to be found throughout the inner city, also beyond the Euroméditerranée project area. The situation is complex, as different inner-city development processes, programmes and projects overlap one another in both space and time. Further overlaps exist in terms of funding, planning and the actors involved. The poverty-ridden areas in the northern quarters have been



integrated in the transformation process through the *Grand Projet de Ville*.

Politicians and town planners see the developments in Marseille on the European and global scale, but the majority of inhabitants identify with the local scale (Dubois and Olive 2001: 435). Marseille has clearly been fragmented since the nineteenth century and is at present experiencing a growth in social spatial disparities; this brings with it the risk of the city breaking up (*“ville éclatée”*; Langevin 2007: 11). The example of Rue de la République clearly shows the tensions between increasing internationalisation with globally active actors and the exclusion of vulnerable population groups. What is needed is a comprehensive inner-city development concept that focuses not only on the economy and internationalisation, but also on reducing polarisation in the urban social fabric, which may otherwise represent a considerable barrier to the future economic development of the city. As Krätke (2007a) suggests, promoting integrated approaches is one of the most important tasks of sustainable urban development.

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*Summary: Present-Day Development Processes in the Inner City of Marseille: Tensions between Upgrading and Marginalisation*

Despite prognoses by Sassen to the contrary, the decline of Marseille has not continued. Indeed, since the beginning of the Euroméditerranée project a spirit of optimism and dynamic economic development have dominated. Marseille has not only improved its position in the international rankings of cities but is now classified as an up-and-coming region and a nodal point for global media companies. The *Cité de la Méditerranée* is a particularly noteworthy symbol of the renewal: a waterfront revitalisation with architecturally outstanding buildings that will dominate the silhouette of the harbour. The process of transformation in Marseille can be seen as one of a series of similar urban redevelopment processes that have taken place on metropolitan waterfronts in Europe, North America, Australia and Japan since the 1970s. Owing to historical factors and planning policies there was a considerable time lag in modernisation in Marseille. Widespread upgrading is to be found throughout the inner city, also beyond the Euroméditerranée project area. The situation is complex, as different inner city development processes, programmes and projects overlap one another in both space and time. Further overlaps exist in terms of funding, planning and the actors involved. The poverty-ridden areas in the northern quarters have been integrated in the transformation process through the *Grand Projet de Ville*. Politicians and town planners see the developments in Marseille on the European and global scale, but the majority of inhabitants identify with the local scale. Marseille has clearly been fragmented since the nineteenth century and is at present experiencing a growth in social spatial disparities; this brings with it the risk of the city breaking up (*ville éclatée*). The example of Rue de la République clearly shows the tensions between increasing internationalisation with globally active actors and the exclusion of vulnerable population groups. What is needed is a comprehensive inner-city development concept that focuses not only on the

economy and internationalisation, but also on reducing polarisation in the urban social fabric, which may otherwise represent a considerable barrier to the future economic development of the city. Therefore, promoting integrated approaches is one of the most important tasks of sustainable urban development.

*Zusammenfassung: Aktuelle Entwicklungsprozesse in der Innenstadt von Marseille im Spannungsfeld zwischen Aufwertung und Marginalisierung*

Entgegen der Prognosen von *Sassen* hat sich der Niedergang Marseilles nicht fortgesetzt. Vielmehr sind seit Beginn des Euroméditerranée-Projektes eine Aufbruchsstimmung und eine dynamische Wirtschaftsentwicklung zu verzeichnen. Die Stadt konnte sich nicht nur in internationalen Städterankings verbessern, sondern wird mittlerweile auch als „Aufsteigerregion“ sowie als Knotenpunkt globaler Medienfirmen klassifiziert. Als Symbol des Erneuerungsprozesses ist vor allem die Cité de la Méditerranée zu erwähnen, eine *Waterfront Revitalisation* mit architektonisch herausragenden Leuchtturmprojekten, die die neue Hafensilhouette prägen werden. Die aktuellen Transformationsprozesse in Marseille lassen sich in eine Reihe mit den zahlreichen tiefgreifenden Stadtumbauprozessen stellen, die sich seit den 1970er Jahren an der metropoliten Waterfront in Europa, Nordamerika, Australien und Japan vollziehen. Bedingt durch historische sowie raumordnungspolitische Faktoren war in Marseille jedoch eine erheblich verzögerte Modernisierung zu verzeichnen. Über das Projektgebiet von Euroméditerranée hinaus unterliegt die gesamte Innenstadt von Marseille momentan einem umfangreichen Aufwertungsprozess. Hierbei zeigen sich sehr komplexe Strukturen, da sich verschiedenste Innenstadtentwicklungsprozesse, -programme und -projekte sowohl räumlich als auch in ihrer zeitlichen Abfolge überlagern. Überschneidungen bestehen ferner in Bezug auf Förderkulissen, Planungsverfahren und das beteiligte Akteursspektrum. Über das Grand Projet de Ville werden auch die Armutsstadtteile im Norden in den Transformationsprozess integriert. Während Politiker und Stadtplaner die Entwicklungen in Marseille im europäischen bzw. globalen Maßstab betrachten, identifiziert

sich die Bevölkerung noch mehrheitlich mit dem lokalen Maßstab. In der bereits seit dem 19. Jahrhundert deutlich fragmentierten Stadt, ist aktuell ein weiteres Anwachsen der sozialräumlichen Disparitäten zu beobachten, die das Risiko einer „auseinanderbrechenden Stadt“ („*ville éclatée*“) in sich bergen. Insbesondere in der Rue de la République zeigt sich das Spannungsfeld zwischen zunehmender Internationalisierung mit global agierenden Akteuren und der Exklusion prekariisierter Bevölkerungsgruppen exemplarisch. Insgesamt wäre daher ein übergreifendes Innenstadtentwicklungskonzept erforderlich, das nicht nur einen Fokus auf Wirtschaftsdynamik und Internationalisierung legt, sondern auch auf die Reduzierung der Polarisierung im städtischen Sozialgefüge. Ansonsten kann dies längerfristig ein deutliches Hemmnis für die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung der Stadt darstellen. Deshalb gehört die Förderung integrierter Ansätze zu den wichtigsten Aufgaben einer zukunftsfähigen Stadtentwicklungspolitik.

*Résumé : Des processus de développement actuels au centre-ville de Marseille entre valorisation et marginalisation*

Contrairement aux prévisions de *Sassen*, le déclin de Marseille ne s'est pas confirmé. Depuis le début du Projet Euroméditerranée, on constate même une ambiance de renouveau et un développement économique réel. La ville n'a pas seulement renforcé sa position dans la concurrence urbaine internationale, elle est aussi classée maintenant comme une région avancée et un point nodal d'entreprises de média globales. Comme symbole de la rénovation urbaine, il faut mentionner en premier lieu la Cité de la Méditerranée, un « *waterfront* » revitalisé par des projets-phares remarquables sur le plan architectural et qui marquent la nouvelle silhouette du port. Les transformations actuelles de Marseille peuvent être rapprochées des nombreuses opérations de requalification de Waterfronts métropolitains qui ont été effectuées depuis les années 1970 et 1980 en Europe, en Amérique du Nord, en Australie et au Japon. Le retard de la rénovation marseillaise est à rechercher dans les conditions historiques locales et les choix d'aménagement du territoire. Dépasant largement le périmètre du Projet Euroméditerranée, tout le

centre-ville de Marseille est maintenant l'objet d'un véritable effort de requalification. Ici, le processus est très complexe, car cette revalorisation du centre-ville repose sur des projets d'une grande diversité dans le temps et dans l'espace, qui mobilisent de nombreux acteurs de l'aménagement du territoire. Et avec le *Grand Projet de Ville*, ce sont aussi les quartiers pauvres du Nord qui sont intégrés dans le processus de transformation. Mais tandis que les politiques et les urbanistes envisagent le développement de Marseille à une échelle européenne ou même mondiale, la plupart des citoyens s'identifient encore à une échelle locale. Dans cette ville, qui connaissait déjà des formes de fragmentation spatiale au 19<sup>ème</sup> siècle, on peut observer actuellement une augmentation des disparités socio-spatiales, avec le risque à terme d'une « ville éclatée ». Dans la Rue de la République par exemple, on peut remarquer les tensions entre les acteurs de l'économie globale d'un côté, qui veulent rendre la ville plus internationale, et de l'autre des populations plus pauvres, qui sont

de plus en plus exclues de ce processus de développement. Il faudrait plutôt mettre en œuvre un projet de développement global du centre-ville, qui ne soit pas seulement focalisé sur la dynamique économique et l'ouverture internationale, mais qui travaille aussi à réduire la polarisation des structures sociales. Le contraire risquerait de freiner le développement économique de Marseille sur le long terme. Ces plans intégrés sont bien la condition nécessaire pour assurer un développement urbain ouvert sur l'avenir.

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