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Living in the 21st century city

Contributions to the 13th Berlin-Amsterdam Conference

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Living in the 21st century city

Contributions to the 13th Berlin-Amsterdam Conference

Marco Bontje & Heike Pethe

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LIVING IN THE 21ST CENTURY CITY: INTRODUCTION TO THE CONFERENCE THEME

Marco Bontje

1. Introduction: 18 years of exchanging…

In 1991, shortly after the reunification of Germany and Berlin, urban geographers and urban sociologists from the Humboldt University Berlin and the University of Amsterdam agreed on an exchange of students and staff between their institutes. The remarkable 'window of opportunity' suddenly offered to Berlin, after the Wall was torn down and the two city parts reunited, was chosen as the central theme of this exchange: *'Berlin im Umbruch'*. Both the Berliners and the Amsterdamers were interested in what happens to a city which has been cut in two halves for 28 years and then suddenly becomes one city again. Would Berlin re-establish its pre-World War II status of one of Europe's leading political, economic and cultural centres? Would East and West gradually merge into one coherent city, or would the two halves remain different for decades still? Which possibilities did the enormous 'no man's land' in the middle of the city, where the Wall once stood, offer for urban redevelopment? What would happen with neighbourhoods that were situated in the Wall's shade and therewith in the periphery of West- or East-Berlin for three decades, and suddenly found themselves back in the city centre of reunited Berlin?

However, the comparative perspective of the two cities involved in the exchange has been important from the very start of this exchange too. In one of the first conference proceedings of what has meanwhile become a long series, Van de Ven and Van der Weiden (1994) are right to describe this comparison as a 'tricky undertaking', since the two cities' histories are unique and actually incomparable, and Amsterdam has only one fifth of the population size of Berlin. We can easily add more factors that make the Amsterdam-Berlin comparison problematic: the city-regional setting (Berlin: large city in almost empty region vs. Amsterdam: part of polycentric region); economic dynamics (stagnating Berlin vs. dynamic Amsterdam); political status (Berlin: national capital vs. Amsterdam: not even regional capital), etc. Probably this was the most important reason why only few students and staff members of both institutes have dared to present comparative studies of both cities at the previous Berlin-Amsterdam conferences. Most often conference participants rather chose to present case studies of their own city. Still, there are enough parallels in the recent development of both cities that make a comparison interesting. Processes that affect cities throughout (and beyond) Europe can be studied comparatively in Amsterdam and Berlin; think for example of segregation, polarisation, gentrification, restructuring of former industrial areas, waterfront development. An intriguing question emerging in recent years is if our two cities, both with a unique development path also when comparing to any other

European city, are gradually becoming more 'normal' cities under the influence of globalisation and inter-urban competition. Are Amsterdam and Berlin becoming more like other world cities in Europe and North America, and therewith maybe also less different from each other? Or is a city's path-dependent development so strong that each city will always keep a unique character?

Throughout the years we have noticed at our conferences that it was not always easy to find common research interests. Different research traditions, not only between the two disciplines involved, but also (and probably more) between the two universities, have materialised in different research agendas. Outside of the conferences, there was actually only one case of co-operating in a research project, when the Humboldt urban sociologists and the Amsterdam urban geographers both took part in the EU 4th Framework Programme URBEX (The Spatial Dimensions of Urban Social Exclusion and Integration, 1999-2002). Apart from this there were some cases of Berlin-Amsterdam partnerships in writing papers for the conferences or for journals, but unfortunately only few. Next to the search for common themes, at our conferences we had to find the compromise between the ambition of learning from each other's expertise (and in the ideal case working together on common themes also beyond the conferences) and our aim to offer in particular young researchers in early stages of their career a stage for one of their first international conference experiences (albeit on a modest seminar-like scale). In recent years the success of our conferences has been challenged, especially on the Amsterdam side, by increasing demands in terms of publishable results, preferably articles in peer-reviewed journals. So at each conference we had to ask ourselves if there would still be a next conference. Fortunately we have managed to keep this long and valuable tradition for 18 years already. One tradition we could not maintain, though: the conference language has changed from German to English. While it is of course a pity that less Dutch academics sufficiently master the German language these days, the switch to English is the logical reflection of increasing internationalisation in academic research. Looking at it from the Dutch perspective, it created a 'level playing field' for the Amsterdam and Berlin participants, all being asked to communicate in their second language. The other part of the exchange, meanwhile, is still going strong: the student exchange. Amsterdam students have enjoyed the opportunity to study a semester abroad in Berlin from the very start of the exchange. Berlin students seemed a bit more hesitant at first, but many of them have meanwhile found their way to Amsterdam, too.

2. Living in the 21st-century city: Current research and policy issues

After the conference, the participants have been asked to write a book contribution based on their presentations. Most of the contributors are early stage researchers: recently graduated master students, Ph.D. researchers or post-doctoral researchers. This is a reflection of one the traditional aims of our conferences: to offer an international stage for early stage researchers. While all contributions to this volume have been written by researchers from Amsterdam and Berlin, their contributions partly also deal with other cities: Paris, The Hague, Warsaw, and one contribution even deals with neighbourhoods in the entire German urban system. While the following collection of contributions may look rather eclectic (which is partly related to the different disciplinary and local research traditions referred to before), this section tries to

put them in a coherent framework of current research and policy issues related to the broad overarching conference theme: 'living in the 21st-century city'.

It may be a bit ambitious and over-generalising to already speak of *the* 21st-century city, since we are only at the start of that century still. Moreover, the usual warning applies that despite the convergence tendencies that may be caused by globalisation, cities across the globe develop in very different directions. Even within Europe, contrasts in urban and city-regional dynamics can still be huge. The following therefore is only a rough sketch of the trends and challenges European cities are facing today and in the foreseeable future; trends which often already started in the last decades of the 20th century.

A first continuing trend that is also reflected in several contributions to this volume is the growing share of city inhabitants that has migrated from abroad themselves or is a child or grandchild of migrants. Definitions of who is 'native' and who is not and how this is registered in local and national statistics are different between European countries, but all over Europe we have seen a marked increase of absolute and relative figures of city dwellers with a migrant background. In recent years we have seen evidence of a gradual dispersion of ethnic minority groups across city-regions, from large core cities to smaller cities and even suburbs (see for example Musterd et al., 2006). Still, however, the major concentrations of migrants and ethnic minority groups are found in the largest European cities. Politicians and media in several European countries have the strange habit of calling all these people 'migrants', or in the Dutch context also 'allochtonous' (literally 'not from here'), even if a significant share of them are already in the city or country for several decades or are even born there. In the first years of the 21st century, the added dimension of growing intra-European migration from the newest EU member states to the older member states has only made discussions about migration and integration more complex. Still, many politicians and opinion makers cannot resist over-simplifying an increasingly heterogeneous population composition in a dichotomy between 'us' (natives with native parents) and 'them' (all others).

Across Europe national and local governments have always struggled with their attitude towards and treatment of migrants and ethnic minorities, but in recent years the majority opinion in politics has become increasingly negative: migration is supposed to be restricted; minorities should integrate; cultural and language differences are less accepted, etc. In this political discourse, the diverse backgrounds of migrants and ethnic groups are too often ignored and the focus is increasingly on problems and incidents of only small parts of these groups (which are then generalised towards whole ethnic groups or even all ethnic minorities). Fortunately, academics generally take a much more nuanced stance: while not ignoring integration problems, they also bring positive trends in ethnic minority communities and their positive contributions towards European societies to the fore. An example of this is the growing body of work on migrant entrepreneurship, which is represented in this volume in the contributions of **Amanda Brandellero** and **Katja Adelhof**. This debate also continuously addresses spatial questions about the relationship between place of residence within a city and chances on societal integration and upward socio-economic mobility. Despite growing evidence that integration in fact largely takes place outside the residential neighbourhood, at the workplace or at school for example, residential segregation is still often seen as a negative trend that should be prevented. **Brooke Sykes, Christine Baur** and **Yvonne Hung** address such spatial questions in their contributions to this volume. Brooke Sykes discusses the

neighbourhood conditions of Dutch youth, comparing ethnic groups and socio-economic status categories. She explores the question to what extent the differences she finds between the groups are associated with their achievements at school. Christine Baur also looks at the relationships between ethnic segregation and school achievement. She states that the lower school achievements of children with a migrant background in Germany is partly caused by a discriminating school system, but partly also by a lack of native German middle class 'peers' in their classes. Yvonne Hung analyses how 4 youth organisations encourage youth participation in socio-economically disadvantaged neighbourhoods with a high share of ethnic minority groups in Berlin. Her main concern is the social and physical contexts in which young people learn 'everyday democracy'.

A second remarkable trend is 'urban renaissance'. Since the late 1980s, large European cities have become popular residential locations again. This turnaround after decades of population loss is not only related to residential preferences of migrants and ethnic minorities, but also to a growing popularity of the inner city among students, recently graduated and professionals in their earliest career stages. More recently there is evidence that inner city popularity has extended beyond these 'usual suspects': a process like gentrification that long seemed to be exclusively linked to singles or childless couples now also involves families in cities like Amsterdam (Karsten, 2003). Next to gentrification of former working class areas, most often in the historic city core or in 19th-century neighbourhoods, many European cities have also experienced a reappraisal and redevelopment of former manufacturing and harbour areas. The 'rise of the creative class' suggested by Richard Florida (2002) seems to link logically to this comeback of the inner city. He suggests that people with creative and innovative professions are becoming the new leading 'class' in advanced capitalist countries, and that these people would have strong preference for (inner) city living. In 2005 the creative city paradigm was rapidly gaining popularity in political and academic discourse; it was therefore chosen as the central theme of that year's Berlin-Amsterdam conference (Deben & Bontje, 2006). While we could then still suggest that the creative city and related concepts were over-hyped, meanwhile the rise of the creative economy seems to have become a structural long-term trend. Whatever we think of Florida's claims, that have meanwhile rightly become heavily contested for various reasons, creative and knowledge-intensive industries and the people working in them are still interesting research subjects. In this volume, **Martin Sondermann** addresses the role that 'bourgeois bohemians', a concept affiliated with Florida's creative class, are playing in the renaissance of the inner city. Two contributions pay attention to the dynamics of the creative industries: **Amanda Brandellero** focuses on migrant musicians in the world music industry in Paris, while **Katja Adelhof** looks at migrant involvement in Berlin's creative industries.

This urban renaissance may in the end be quite short-lived, though, when we consider a third trend with increasing impact on Europe: demographic stagnation or shrinkage of urban and regional populations. In the context of an ageing and eventually shrinking European population, we already have many shrinking cities and regions in Europe now and we will see many more in the not so far future. Population shrinkage so far is mainly found in Central and Eastern Europe (both in rural and in urban areas), were only few growth centres can still be found, in particular the national capitals; and in peripheral rural areas in other parts of Europe. Throughout Europe we also have seen several examples of mono-functional and mono-

sectoral cities, mostly focused on heavy manufacturing, which faced economic demise and population decline in the 1970s and 1980s; some of them managed to find new sources of growth since the late 1980s, while others continued a path of decline or stagnation. Thus, in an increasing part of Europe, cities and regions are facing the demographic impact of ageing, which is not compensated by an in-migration surplus and in many cases even is exacerbated by a negative migration balance. Shrinking cities and regions have already caught lots of attention of German researchers, especially focusing on the extreme case of East Germany (Glock & Häußermann, 2004; Hannemann, 2003; Wiechmann, 2008, among many others). It is now gradually becoming a Europe-wide research subject too. However, most researchers look at shrinkage and related demographic trends like ageing, lower birth rates and out-migration surpluses at the city or regional scale; much less attention is given to the impact of demographic change at the neighbourhood level. The contribution of **Olaf Schnur** in this volume is partly filling this lacuna by studying the demographic impact on several neighbourhood types in German cities.

A fourth and final theme in the contributions to this volume, not only related to demographic changes but also to economic and political changes, is urban governance. It is meanwhile a well known fact that political participation of many types of 'stakeholders' (e.g. citizens, entrepreneurs, private investors, branch representatives, lobby groups, labour unions,…) has grown significantly in most European countries. National, regional and local governments to an increasing extent take their decisions in partnership with or after extensive consulting rounds with organisations representing relevant parts of society. Though 'governance' still is a rather vague and seemingly all-encompassing concept, it applies better to such situations of negotiation and joint decision making than 'government'. Three contributions address governance issues in different ways and at different administrative-geographic scales. **Henrik Gasmus** reports on a process he describes as 're-suburbanisation' in Kleinmachnow in the Berlin city-region. Kleinmachnow was already a suburb in the early 20th century; its development came to a standstill in the GDR era; after which population growth resumed in the mid-1990s. This new growth has led to a debate in the local community between 'pro-growth' and 'anti-growth' lobbies. Both recent suburbanites and long-established residents mobilised themselves politically, sometimes working together against a generally growth-oriented local government, sometimes facing each other with mutually clashing interests. **Florian Koch** looks at the evolution of urban governance in post-socialist Warsaw. He distinguishes three dimensions of governance: polity, politics and policy. The shift from the socialist to the post-socialist city produced huge shifts in each of these dimensions. For years, Warsaw was virtually powerless at the city level and most decisions about land use planning were taken at the district level. A stable and influential city government was only introduced in 2002. Still, co-ordination and long-term planning remains difficult because of the multiplicity of actors involved, the huge influence of private investors, and the lack of a strategic planning document. **Simone Buckel** analyses governance issues linked to the presence of irregular migrants in the city of The Hague. There is a clear tension between control and security on the one hand and social problems and human rights on the other. Since both national and local government want to limit or even prevent irregular migration, the irregular migrants that want to stay have to rely on NGOs and informal social networks for basic needs. Even if local governments want to be less restrictive, they cannot ignore the national immigration rules. Finally, at the neighbourhood level, **Gesine Baer** studies to what

extent community health partnerships can be considered an example of 'good governance'. The community health partnerships are part of the *Soziale Stadt* programme with which the German federal government wants to improve living conditions in marginalized urban neighbourhoods. Three neighbourhoods were selected as pilot areas to test whether such partnerships helped to improve the health of neighbourhood dwellers, in particular children and adolescents. Due to different neighbourhood settings and differences in their population composition and organisational infrastructure, each neighbourhood organised this in its own way. A general conclusion from all three cases is that this neighbourhood development strategy rather results in short-term co-governance than sustainable self-governance structures.

3. What is next?

This collection of conference contributions is once more evidence of the eclectic and heterogeneous research foci and interests of urban geographers and urban sociologists. Though each of the institutes involved in this exchange has its own coherent research programme, these programmes still offer lots of room for a wide array of research topics. In addition, as mentioned before, research traditions seem to differ significantly between Amsterdam and Berlin. It remains hard therefore to find common ground to analyse our two cities in a comparative perspective; a challenge only increased because of the differences between our cities in terms of size, regional context, functions, economic specialisations and international status, to mention just a few characteristics. Still, if we want to develop our exchange beyond an exchange of students and an exchange of (academic) thoughts, we should think of concrete options to collaborate in research projects or programmes. Both sides of the exchange have contacts and networks in their respective national research funding systems; we should explore the opportunities to finance joint research projects with contributions from Dutch and German funds (like NWO, DFG, national ministries, city governments, or German private funds). Maybe there are in addition also funds that specifically stimulate Dutch-German research partnerships? Finally, the EU is continuously expanding its funds for academic research and we should be able to claim our fair share, in collaboration with other partners across Europe. Possible research themes to explore may include segregation; social polarisation; stagnating and shrinking cities; spatial impacts of demographic change; the socio-economic impact of the creative knowledge economy on cities and neighbourhoods; issues regarding effective neighbourhood development and governance; socio-demographic and economic shifts and trends in city-regions (re-urbanisation, re-suburbanisation, 'post-suburbia', or all three at the same time?); and probably many, many more.

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CONTRIBUTION OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN THE CREATIVE INDUSTRIES IN BERLIN – TURKISH ENTREPRENEURS IN THE DESIGN AND ART MARKET

Katja Adelhof

1. Introduction

There are two recent economic developments taking place in Germany's big cities: An increasing relevance of the creative industries for the urban economy and an ongoing rise of migrant entrepreneurship, offering new incentives. Based on both perspectives, this paper deals with the contribution of ethnic minorities in the creative industries of Berlin, especially of the Turkish second generation in the design and art market.

Thereby the approach to research is based on the idea that urban economic growth is strongly connected to cultural diversity (cf. Florida, 2003, pp. 10; Hall, 2000, pp. 644; Wood, 2004). Cultural diversity is often dependent on a variety based either on the immigration of international high skilled employees or on the temporary presence of the so called '*global urban youth*' (Lanz, 2007, pp. 14, 246). Cultural diversity, however, does not emerge from former labour immigrants and their children. They rather reflect a group of people which endangers social freedom due to integration problems. Thus there are two aspects of immigration within this argumentation (Lanz, 2007, p. 14).

The integration of people with an immigrant backround is indeed problematic. The integration of the Turkish second generation into the German labour market, for instance, is considerably low. An enduring qualified employment is seldom. And the unemployment rate among Turkish migrants is the highest of immigrants in Germany (Gestring et. al, 2004, p. 9).

Despite of the mentioned problems, the perception of immigrants in Germany and Berlin has been changed (cf. Greve, Nur Orhan, 2008; Sökefeld, 2004). The problems of integration and their spatial impact on problematic immigrant quarters are no longer the only points of view. Next to them, the colourful cultural life, the dynamic e.g. of start-ups as well as the desired transformation of former problematic urban areas to '*urban fields of spiritedness*' appear in the public debate (Lanz, 2007, pp 245).

Economic growth is combined with culture and creativity in the debate about the future of cities. In this context, the (cultural) activities of migrants are judged by their economic suitability, too. The centre of consideration is the adding value potential of cultural diversity (cf. Lanz, 2007, p. 341; Pecoud, 2002, p. 502; Pütz, 2003b, p. 76, Terkessidis, 2006, p. 2). In our society which allows the blending and hybrid state among different cultures '*Minorities*

are now allowed and expected to bring their specific contributions to the German society, and one of these contributions is their economic dynamism' (Pécould, 2002, p. 501).

The emergence of ethnic minorities in the creative industries and their contribution to it, hardly receives any attention in literature. Some authors explored this topic for Amsterdam, Vienna and London (cf. Baycan Levent, 2007; Brandellero, Kloosterman, 2007; Kwok, Parzer, 2008; Smallbone et. al., 2005). Likewise the question which contribution ethnic minorities have in the creative industries is emergeing for Berlin. But it is not analysed for Berlin yet. Beyond it is not noticed and discussed by the politic.

The main question for this study is therefore which contribution Turkish entrepreneurs have in the design and art market in Berlin. Next to the different aspects of migration, integration, education, career, creative industries, income and everyday life this paper provides a first insight into the reality of life of creative Turkish minority businesses[1]. Furthermore specific characteristics of creative Turkish minority businesses should be explored with regard to the nature of ethnic minority businesses (cf. mainstream-economy, high qualification) plus the nature of creative industries (cf. translocal networks to the home country).

2. Methodology

For this investigation, people of Turkish origin have been interviewed. They belong mostly to the second generation which were born in Germany or came here as small children. Moreover, it is only about people whose parents were born in Turkey. Included are people both naturalised and non-naturalised people of Turkish origin (according to Juhasz, Mey, 2003, p. 17). Further characteristics are their entrepreneurial independence, Berlin as the centre of their life and Turkish as their native language.

The paper is based on qualitative interviews with Turkish entrepreneurs in the design visual and art market which I conducted from December 2007 to March 2008 (see Table 1.1). The sample of the study consists of totally 11 Turkish entrepreneurs[2] in different submarkets of the creative industries (design and art). Five interviews were also conducted with key informants. It has to be mentioned that it is a small scale sample which gives certain limitations of evidences.

Table 1.1 - Division of interviewed entrepreneurs in the design, visual and art industry

Sub-marktet of creative industries	Number of interviewed entrepreneurs
Fashiondesign	4
Graphikdesign	3
Visual Design (Foto und Video)	3
Art	1
Total	11

Source: own data, 2008

[1] Great Thanks to all my interview partners for the interesting and kindful open minded interviews.
[2] One business is running by two sisters.

It was obvious and interesting that the participation in the interviews was conducted through one strong motivation of the interviewed entrepreneurs. One aspect of my research was important for many of the interviewees, namely that they have the opportunity to present themselves as a prototype of a new generation of Turkish immigrants. They want to change the image of the '*Doner Kebab Turk*' by demonstrating that Turkish immigrants are also working in the creative industries.

3. Literature context

'*Ethnic economies are […] becoming a landmark of all advanced urban economies*' (Pécoud, 2002, p. 495). The research of migrant's entrepreneurial independence distinguishes between person-oriented und structure-oriented approaches. Person-oriented approaches place cultural factors and resources in the front. It is questionable, however, if particular affinitie for certain economic activites are actually dependent on these cultural factors. Structure-oriented approaches correlate the disposition of entrepreneurship with social and institutional conditions of the immigration country. The concept of mixed embeddedness presented by Kloosterman et.al. combines both approaches. The authors assume that ethnic economic activities are depending on the embeddedness in economic, social and institutional environments (Ifm, 2006, pp. 8). In this paper I consider Turkish entrepreneurial independence in the creative industries in terms of mixed embeddedness.

In the following, the nature of Turkish entrepreneurship is explored in general in order to be able to classify the sample.

3.1 Turkish entrepreneurship in Germany and Berlin

The percentage of foreigners and people of foreign origin, who are self employed in Germany is increasing more rapidly than the percentage of self employment Germans in the period 1991 to 2003. Thereby the Turkish with 60,500 people are belonging to the largest group with 43,000 foreign and the 17,500 naturalised entrepreneurs. The share of Turkish people has almost doubled in the same period. Hence the development of self employment in Germany is to be borne by people of foreign origin, particularly by those of Turkish origin (Ifm, 2005, pp. 5).

The distribution of Turkish businesses to economic sectors shows that they traditionally set up a business in the field of commerce, hotel and restaurant industry and in non-knowledge intensive services. The percentage of Turkish in knowledge intensive and high-value services, which include the creative industries, equals the percentage of Turkish in the manufacturing and building industry. These are sectors where immigrants do not aspire to run a business (Ifm, 2005, p. 9 for Germany; Pütz, 2003a, p. 259 for Berlin). The economic structure of Turkish businesses is more heterogeneous than the economic structure of other ethnic groups like Italians and Greeks. It is, however, different to German self employment. The group of Turks are underrepresented in future proofed economic sectors like business and self-employed services because of missing educational attainments. About a quarter of all German

entrepreneurs are working in these services, the share of Turkish entrepreneurs is just 6 per cent[3]. It is interesting for the presented paper that the German entrepreneurs with a foreign background (German citizenship) tend to work more frequently in business and self-employed services and less in the hotel and restaurant industry (Ifm, 2005, p. 10).

Women with a migrant background as well as a non-migrant background set up a business significantly less often then men do. The rather conventional role behaviour e.g. by the group of Turks possibly contributes to the fact that women are underrepresented (Ifm 2006, pp. 39). However, the endeavour to be self-employed is often pursued by women of foreign descent. For instance a survey with Berlin Turkish women of the second generation has shown that the main career aspiration is 'self-employment' (www.migrantinnen-gruenden.de, visited on the 8th of January, 2008). All things considered, the self-employment of foreign women in Germany shows a higher dynamic compared to German women and foreign men. They profile among all entrepreneurs, however, is still low.

The situation of Turkish entrepreneurship in Berlin is characterised by a high degree of fluctuation in terms of registration and deregistration of businesses. 2012 registrations of Turkish businesses face 1669 deregistrations in year 2005 (Hillmann, 2007, p. 16). A possible cause for setting up a business is the current unemployment or the fear of a blocked upward mobility and the desire for a social and economic upgrade (Ifm, 2005, p. 10). These businesses are often not marketable and can not stand the competition. Therefore registrations of businesses could be an expression for precarious conditions and indicate that the self-employment is an attempt to break out of unemployment. Consequently, migrant entrepreneurship could contribute to an ongoing marginalisation (Ifm, 2006, p. 14).

The spatial distribution of Turkish business registration in Berlin pictures the spatial concentration of Turks in general: The borough of *Neukölln* as well as the borough *Mitte* with *Moabit* and *Wedding* and the district of *Kreuzberg* are those areas where most of Turkish businesses were registered (Hillmann, 2007, p. 17). The majority of interviewed Turkish and Turkish descent people are located in *Kreuzberg* and *Neukölln*.

All in all the changes of Turkish and Turkish descent entrepreneurs could be clear summarised after Pécoud (2002, pp. 497) in five trends:

- Increasing heterogeneity of branches, qualification, size, employees, duration
- Hybridism between the protected niche market to the mainstream economy
- Professionalism by the emergence of a business elite like politicians and businesspeople
- Increasing of internationalisation and new forms of transnational business practices
- State and public interest in German-Turkish businesses.

[3] In addition the importance of knowledge-based services among migrant self-employment rises by new groups of migrants in consequence of modified immigration pattern (politically controlled immigration of high qualified migrants) (ifm, 2006, p. 6).

4. Evidence from the interviews

Economic action is basically social action. The context of social relations is relevant for any kind of social interaction. An analysis of micro-businesses in *Berlin-Neukölln* showed that belonging to one ethnic group does not necessarily evoke the same pattern of economic actions (Adelhof, 2008, p. 190). Therefore it is not possible to transform à priori the social context of entrepreneurs into an ethnic context (Pütz, 2003b, p. 78). This circumstance has been approved by the interviewed entrepreneurs of Turkish descent. Nevertheless the Turkish background of the interviewed people, which dominates parts of their social context also influences their economic action.

The analysis is following this logic and demonstrates which pattern of economic action and which strategies creative ethnic minority entrepreneurs are tracking. And in which context they are acting. In addition, the results are discussed in respect of the already described structure of ethnic economy and of creative industry.

4.1 Migration and qualification

The Turkish second generation in the design and art market is female

Turkish people of the second generation are the direct descendents of migrant workers, the so called '*Gastarbeiterkinder*' (cf. Hämmig, 2000), those of the third generation are the descendents of the '*Gastarbeiterkinder*'. The initial idea was that the second and third generation of Turkish people are strongly involved in the creative industry sector. Due to the requirement for access qua qualification or the affiliation of certain milieus the Turkish second and third generation advances the structural change of the urban economy and the heterogeneous structure of branches - that was the assumption. Regarding the analysed sub-markets of the creative industry (Design and Art)[4] this assumption does not apply: The predominant part of the interviewees (10/11) can be count exclusively to the second generation.[5] The respondents are partly not born in Germany (5/11). They nevertheless passed most of their school and academic education in Germany.

The sample consists mostly of women (8/11). That clarifies the high dynamic of business foundation among migrant women in general (cf. Chap. 1.3). A '*wave of business foundation'* in the creative industry among Turkish descent women arises into the circle of acquaintances of one interviewed fashion designer. The discussion showed that this results is a copy effect. Likewise, women fulfil the step into self-employment when others set a good example. This amplifies the initial ascertainment that self-employed women have a minor presence among the entrepreneurs. But their desire for setting up a business is very strong and possibly the barriers to enter into the design and art market are low: Here women of Turkish descent can place and economize their artisan methods. They feel confident on grounds of their skills and affinities (Langhorst, 2007). Nevertheless, the major presence of women in the sample is not necessarily transferable to other sub-markets, e.g. to the music industry, which is mainly

[4] This pattern could quite be different for other sub-markets of the creative industry, e.g. the music industry.
[5] One interviewed person is belonging to the first generation.

dominated by men (e.g. McRobbie, Schmitz 1999, p. 225). Is it about a Turkish music market, e.g. the Turkish Rap, mainly men with Turkish or Arabic background are present.

The familial support of women with migrant background is as high as for men with migrant background. The difference, however, is that women are responsible for their family at the same time (www.migrantinnen-gruenden.de, visited on the 8th of January, 2008). An interviewed fashion designer had to drop her first business idea to open a deli-shop (after unemployment), because the working hours are not convenient for her familial responsibilities as a single mother. All in all the self-employment in the design and art market provides more flexibility to the interviewed mothers (4).

While the desire for a creative business was always existing, one interviewee assesses the current self-employment, however, as a survive strategy because she has to feed her two children.

Same values and basic order in a postmodern migrant-milieu

'*As a Turkish woman you have a difficult position [in economic life]*', said an interviewed designer describing her position. She referes to customers of Turkish descent which are not sharing her date conformity, contractual agreements as well as fair dealings. Further on she makes clear that she dislikes the 'cowing business practises' of a Turkish restaurant owner or the payment behaviour of a Turkish publisher. Here two Turkish lifestyles with very different values and basic orders collide. Her further narration reflects that her lifestyle is formed by a strong individualisation, a self-fulfilment and a quest of meaning. She is giving a lot of examples for it: She does not accept a well paid job as a department manager in an advertising office. She travels to a human right conference on the Philippines and translates English-Turkish. She is dealing only with Fair Trade products. These behaviours are contrary to the described customers, who are rather traditional. The interviewed designer tries to keep up a distance to them. Other respondents also mind a self differentiation from traditional migrant-milieus. One designer who was moving recently from Lower Saxony to Berlin describes: '*Turks in Berlin are retarded. They have excluded themselves more than in Lower Saxony. They strongly preserve traditions and culture from the 1970s*'.

All in all the narrations show that the respondents arise from a milieu with modernised and new identified fundamental approaches. These approaches are of relevant importance to their economic action and consequently to their self-employment in the design and art market. As mentioned before, they try to keep distance from other milieus. Thereby they influence the business practises and the sales market (cf. Chap. 1.4.2).

An attempt to systemise different migrant milieus with their values and lifestyles in Germany was conducted in 2007 (cf. Sinus Sociovision, 2007). According to that survey, migrant milieus are real existing sub-communities in our society with shared values and orientations. The social environment and the lifestyle of these milieus are similar. The milieus developed crosswise to the ethnical immigrant background (ibid, 2007, pp. 17). As a matter of fact, not all people of Turkish origin are belonging to the same milieu, which is manifested in the present analysis.

The findings show that the interviewed entrepreneurs of Turkish descent in the design and art market are close to two of the ascertained migrant milieus. On the one hand they fit well into the '*intercultural-cosmopolitan milieu'*. It is an '*enlightened and self-fulfilmented education-milieu with an open-minded and tolerant attitude and with divers interests*' (ibid., p. 46, author's translation)[6]. On the other hand they share certain but not all values from the '*multicultural performer-milieu*'. It is a '*young flexible and meritocratic milieu with bi- and multicultural self-confidence that is aspiring to autonomy, career success and to an intensive life*' (ibid., p. 59, author's translation)[7]. The values of the described milieus are considently visible in the further course of the paper.

Motivation and qualification

In the following the motivation and familial condition will be analysed, regarding to their relation to educational patterns and the self-employment. The findings show clearly that the interviewees had a precise career aspiration. Based on that the pattern of education, self-employment is rather occasional than targeted and mostly against the idea of the parents.

Many respondents became soon aware of working creatively. One desinger wanted to create fashion already when she was a scholar. Another started the study by reason that he wanted to design comics. A further respondent is gone off the school for he intended to work as a performer. One woman wanted to be a photographer. And finally a graphic designer was spraying graffiti in the past and frescoed the interior of Cafés in London later.

Beside these inherent motifs, the role of parents is of great importance for the children's choice of profession. Here the parental work experience and scheme of life is crucial for the future profession of the children. Turks who came to Germany as labour immigrants were often unable to realise their professional vision. Therefore their wish that their children get somewhere was much stronger. They should catch at better opportunities for professional development and employment. Therefore it is not surprising, that more than a half of the interviewees (6/11) said that their parents could not imagine a creative profession for their children. According to their parents creative professions do not guarantee financial and professional success.

However, two strategies are visible in order to realise the mentioned vocation through a suitably formation. First, the respondents serve an apprenticeship which is congruent with the ideas of the parents. Plus it is linked with assumed opportunities for advancement and a better life than that of the parents (cf. Topcu, 2008). So an interviewed fashion designer served an apprenticeship as dental assistent. A graphic designer was trained as industrial business management assistant due to the wish of his parents. Another interviewee became first a media designer for digital and print media. She satisfies the wish of the father with '*proletary awareness*' to serve an apprenticeship and not only to work as '*well-off daytaller*' in the arts.

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[6] Common values of this milieu are: Education, culture, creativity, self-fulfilment, tolerance, social justice, emancipation and sense of responsibility (Sinus Sociovision, 2007, p. 46)

[7] Common values of this milieu are: Excellence, success, self-fulfilment, diversity, variety, advancement vs. basic-security, status, money, openess, liberty, internationality (ibid., 59).

After this 'obligatory formation' the respondents were 'free' in their education and career choise. Secondly, some of the respondents pursued a more conflict-riddled strategy. Three of them said that a radical break with the parents was inevitable in order to achieve their *own* professional aims. Thus the contact between the respondent and their parents was interrupted for many years. One interviewed woman has not seen her parents for 8 years. One half of the interviewees has therefore difficulties to enter the creative industries because of a missing acceptance by their parents.

The other half reports that their parents also work in creative and knowledge-based industries in Turkey. They are open-minded and desire a self-development of their children in terms of their profession. They talk about the support provided by their parents when they chose the right field of education. The following table 1.2 shows the achieved level of education of the interviewees.

Table 1.2 – Achieved level of education of the interviewees

Field of education	Formation	Number of interviewed person
Media designer for digital and print media	Non academic	2
Tailoring	Non academic	1
Dental assistent	Non academic	1
Photography master craftsman's certificate	Non academic	1
Fashiondesign	Academic	2
Graphicdesign	Academic	1
Fine Art	Academic	1
No education	Self-educated	2

Source: own data, 2008

Most of the respondents have terminated an education which is in direct reference to the actual entrepreneurship in the design and art market, except one designer and two self-educated person. Moreover, the interviews showed the initial situation in which they set up a business.

Setting up a business out of (imminent) unemployment is often described in literture as typical for immigrant self-employment (cf. Ifm, 2006, p. 10; www.migrantinnen-gruenden.de, visited on the 8th of January, 2008). In contrast to that, unemployment as a reason for self-employment is seldom amongst the analysed sample of second generation Turkish people in the design and art market. Only a few are setting up their business (3/11) out of unemployment. The narrations of the respondents reveal that the majority sets up a business in a very strategic way. They set up their business after finishing their education or after a short period of orientation (regular employment, jobbing, traveling).

The assumption that immigrants change inside the value added chain only fits to few of the interviewed entrepreneurs. The possibility to slide e.g. from an alteration tailor to a fashion designer is used rarely, for it seems to be a challange to work more creative and self-determined.

4.2 Entrepreneurship and Creative Industries

Economic action of the interviewed entrepreneurs of Turkish descent in the design and art market is neither conducted through rational calculation and normative assumption nor through an irrational feeling. Rather one can assert that the economic action of the respondents as well as of other micro and small enterprises, too, is in fact rational. The agent follows its intention which is formed by inherent motifs and the social context (Adelhof, 2008, p. 17). In the following these two aspects are clarified by means of varied statments.

Citizenship and designed work identity

Most of the interviewees do not have a strong relation to their citizenship. For them citizenship is of less importance, for their emotional sense of belonging neither to the country of their origin nor to their host country. Therefore it bears little relation to their identity. Most of the interviewed people have a Turkish passport (8/11). So they could be statistically registered as Turkish businesses. The other three repondents are not considered as Turkish businesses in a statistical sense because they have changed the Turkish to a German citizenship.

The statement, that immigrants with a German citizenship are rather working in businesses and self-employed services, which can be found in literature (Ifm, 2005, p. 10), can not be confirmed in the present research.

A lot of respondents are very pragmatic in terms of their citizenship. That means they accept the German citizenship in order not to pass the army service in Turkey. Others made a conscious decision for a German passport in order to benefit from travel facilitations. But citizenship seems to play a rather marginal part for the economic activities of the interviewed entrepreneurs.

Besides these formal aspects, some of them are nevertheless dealing strongly with their double identity (see below). More important, however, is a new or merge work identity which they adopt from their economic activities. The following narrations reveal this in a descriptive way.

One interviewed visual designer plays with his identity at the presentation of himself on the internet. He writes: '*[I am] a Norwegian performer with Turkish roots and live in Berlin for some years.*' The discussion showed that these multilayered roots are only invented. But nevertheless he wants to evoke curiosity of what a '*Norwegian performer with Turkish roots'* is. It is obvious that the designer does not represent a traditional man of Turkish origin in Germany with all the stereotype assignments. An intentional and strategic destabilisation of cultural borders disallows any clearer classification (c.f. Pütz, 2003b, p. 80).

Another visual designer has a Turkish passport. He describes himself as well integrated into the German society. He is one of the respondents who refuses strictly 'beeing Turkish' and manifests it, too: He changed his name in order to prevent a cultural classification qua name. Thus he has clearly abandoned Turkish or half-Turkish attributes which identify him as '*real*' or '*unreal Turk*' as Pütz (Pütz, 2003b, p. 80) formulates it.

Institutional and financial resources

Micro enterprises in the creative industry in Berlin are often characterised by an early star-up phase. Further they refuse official financial support and institutional anchoring as well as they run their business, even if the circumstances are rather precarious (e.g. Mundelius, 2006; Pethe, 2006). In an analogous manner Turkish economies are described economically unstable through similar factors (Ifm, 2005, 2006). In the following the interviewed entrepreneurs of Turkish descent in the design and art market will be described through these economic attributes.

The interviewees are belonging to a young start-up generation. Half of them could be categorised as founder. That means their self-employment lasts less than three years. The other half run their business for more than three years. Two findings can be derived from that: Firstly, numerous of the self-employed creative of Turkish origin are very young. These entrepreneurs fit into a young environment of urban economies, particularly into the creative industry as a whole. And secondly, those start-ups which economise longer than three years are mainly not pursued by a survive strategy which is often described for immigrant businesses in literature (cf. Hillmann, 2007, Ifm, 2006). This is confirmed by the fact that the respondents started up their businesses not after unemployment and that they obtained a targeted creative knowledge-based qualification. The interviewed entrepreneurs benefit sometimes from their 'formation before the formation'. A graphic designer benefits from his commercial apprenticeship and an academic fashion designer benefits from the three years study in law. Through these formations the entrepreneurs obtain key qualification in terms of strategy, law and business management that are useful for their self-employment.

The analysis shows that the institutional anchoring e.g. the access to institutional and financial resources is high. This is contrary to the often described limited access to these resources for Turkish entrepreneurs (e.g. Pütz, 2003a). And it is not typical for micro enterprises in the creative industry in general. Four examples underline the open access: First, some of the interviewees visited a seminar for start-ups before they got self-employed (3/11). Second, the creative entrepreneurs of Turkish descent profit from local structures. That means they try to get information about free commercial space by contacting a commercial space exchange, in between use agency and a studio program (4/11). Third, the majority of the respondents (7/11) used a credit (bank credit 4/11, start-up loan from the employment office 2/11, private credit 1/11). Finally a lot of interviewed people of Turkish descent have non-institutional network-structures in order to establish weak ties and to gain information. A fashion designer provides a good example for that: She participates in a regulars' table; she cultivates contacts to a Turkish cultural association and she enters a contest and attends a trade fair for start-ups. A visual designer founded an own network for an art and creative exchange. He perceives himself as performer and promoter.

These examples reflect not only a high institutional anchoring. Almost everybody has a strong social capital that allows them to fit well into an ethnic and non-ethnic context. Therefore the social capital enables them to enter in the creative industry in contrast to the conclusion found in literature (Brandellero, Kloosterman, 2007).

While the findings indicate that the interviewees have business-management, institutional and financial resources they are nevertheless affected by the same problems as other micro and small business specially in the creative industry. The tendency that entrepreneurs in the creative industry in Berlin are financial unstable and in a precarious situation is reflected in the present sample as well. But it is not in such an high gear. The interviews show a differenciated image of it. Two single mothers are living in precarious circumstances. They have no possibilities to earn extra money from a second job due to the responsebility for their family. If the benefits of the self-employment in the design and art market are not sufficient they have to abandon self-employment. This is already reality for one respondent.

A visual designer does not earn enough money with his self-employment in the creative industry. So he is dependent on his fortunately well payed second job. He is the only one in the sample, all other respondents of Turkish descent can make a living out of their self-employment in the design and art market (this is in contrast to micro enterprises in the creative industry). They valuate their economic situation themselves as '*good'* and '*very good'* (7/11).

Transcultural business practices

In this context, transculturalism is connoted as the merging of German and Turkish culture. An advanced connotation includes the pluralism of values, ways of life and opinions within the own culture (Welsch, 1995, pp. 1). Against the background of the transcultural influences the interviewed entrepreneurs of Turkish descent in the design and art market are creating new characteristics of economic activities. The influence on products and ways of working will be described below as well the cultural working of the interviewees and the impact of the customers. It is obvious that transcultural business practices could be typical only for foreign decsent entrepreneurs in the creative industries but not for all actors of the creative industries.

Creative industry products are affected by the cultural background of the entrepreneurs. Concerning immigrants in the creative industry one can ask if there is a specific cultural setting in some products. Particularly in fashion design products a merging of different cultures can be expected. An interviewed Turkish proprietor is acting obviously in this way. She is specialiced in Turkish handcraft. She hand-sews textile blossoms with thin yarn. Theses textile blossoms decorate caps shawls and necklaces. The products are both modern and trendy and traditional in their way of production. The proprietor accentuates the cultural and regional provenance. Thereby the traditional products are about to leave their former economical niche and become a transcultural product for a globalised clientele. All concluded these targeted use of ethnicity in order to sell products is as well obvious by Asiatic entrepreneurs in Vienna (Kwock, Parzer, 2008).

Not every sub-segment of the creative industry is suited for traditional handcraft. Graphic design and visual arts, for example, are working with globalised iconography and technology. But some entrepreneurs use their immigration background and their transcultural identity. '*Handmade Turkish graphic design from Germany*' is the slogan for a graphic design office in Berlin. The interviewed owner discovered the slogan not by coincident. He wants to point three facets: The provenance should be obvious at first sight. By emphasising his cultural

background he wants to point out his deep knowledge of different ways of economic interaction. By using '*from Germany*' the Turkish entrepreneur plays with the clichés of high quality products made in Germany. At least the slogan is written in English. That should underline not only his Turkish and German but his international orientation. This way of working could be described as '*strategic transculturalism*' (Pütz, 2003b, p. 80).

A migrant background is not necessarily the inspiration for products or services. Half of the respondents feature not any transcultural identity in their business. An international orientated photographer exempts himself from his Turkish provenance. He wants to avoid a relation between his cultural backgrounds in his photos.

After querying Asiatic people in London's creative industry, Smallbone (2005, p. 48) asserts that '*some sub-sectors […] facing considerable problems in 'breaking out' of their ethnic market niches into mainstream market*'. This is completly different to the interviewed entrepreneurs of Turkish descent in Berlin. They moved already out of the economic niche to multifaceted customers (cf. Ifm, 2006, pp. 9; Pécoud, 2002). The research shows the majority of the interviewees (7/11) have no Turkish customers. Five of eleven have also international customers. Some Turkish entrepreneurs have an ambivalant relation with their Turkish customers. A graphic designer says interpersonal relations are much better than professional. '*Sometimes they don't pay an account in time. They expect a higher performance for less money due to the fact that we are coming from the same country*.' Because of this an interviewed graphic designer strictly refuses Turkish customers.

Social activities are an essential part concerning the work of entrepreneurs of Turkish descent in the design and art market: They get involved with the Turkish neighbourhood or they provide trainings e.g. in sewing or language courses. They are doing this not only due to culturual intermediation but also to generate an economic benefit. Manual skills learned in different courses can be useful for prospective productions. An actual study on creative industries in Berlin (ORCO & Berlin Partner, 2008, p. 70, p. 88) asserts that actors in the creative industries are often commited to the social coherence and have various relation to the quarter they live. This can equally be aimed for entrepreneurs of Turkish descent.

Creative translocal space

The creative entrepreneurs live in translocal spaces. These are located either in Berlin or in Istanbul, if they are in Turkey. Alternating between these different translocal spaces is characteristic for the interviewed entrepreneurs of Turkish descent in the design and art market. Changing between these spaces is a changing between national societies as well. It is rather a normal than an exeptional part of a transnational path of life (Pries, 2003, p. 25). '*When I'm here I miss Istanbul. When I' m there I miss Berlin. Kreuzberg symbolises both.*' Below I will show the creative translocal spaces in Berlin where the interviewees live in. Afterwards I present the transnational interdependence in Turkey.

Most of the interviewees practise business in *Berlin-Kreuzberg* or *Berlin-Neukölln* (9/11), two quarters with high proportion of migrants and a problematic economic structure and a low purchasing power. *Kreuzberg* and *Neukölln* are socially deprived areas within Berlin

(www.quartiersmanagement-berlin.de, visited on the 15th of September, 2008). Despite these economic shortfalls the interviewees appreciate the mentioned quarters. According to the entrepreneurs of Turkish descent they are important locations for creative industries. We can see here, that economic activities are not necessarily rational. The social context is important for the choice of location in almost the same manner. The interviewees grew up in these quarters; they have social networks and a close relationship. All things considered, we can see that creative ethnic minority businesses have a persistency toward their ancestral locations. Probably this is conducive to appreciation.

An interviewee opened a store in *Berlin-Prenzlauer Berg*, a place with low proportion of migrants and a high proportion of creative class people. She lives and works in this quarter but she still feels isolated. '*I'm not coming out*', she says. Some of the interviewees had their stores in *Berlin-Mitte* and *Berlin-Prenzlauer Berg* but they left after a while. They did not felt accepted by the creative clientele. Two of the interviewees moved to *Kreuzberg* and *Neukölln*. Thus there is not only persistency as a chance for the socially deprived quarters, but also the potential return of self employed of Turkish decent. There is a chance for a change of both, social and economic structures and positive effects on the the quarters.

Next to the specific translocal spaces in Berlin there are also same in Turkey. More than a half is looking for them (6/11) because they want to extend their life and working spaces. The result are translocal social spaces. Most of them are situated in Istanbul. The city at the Bosporus symbolises a space with milieus that are comparable to those in Berlin. Istanbul's image is described as: '*Temple and excavation is out. Hot are frontier crossing, visions and new syntheses*.' (Gross, 2005). One of the most famous film-maker in Germany Fatih Akin, a second generation Turk, describes the city briefly with '*Istanbul burns*.' Ankara is also defined as a working place and a space of intellectual altercation (1/11). One designer has specific production places in rural regions in Anatolia. Two of the interviewees have actually no working relation to Turkey but thinking about a transcultural self-employment between Berlin and Istanbul.

Three examples show the use of translocal working-spaces in Turkey and their limitations. A graphic designer was looking for working contacts on the internet. He found a bill competition for a documentary film festival in Istanbul. After winning the competition he intended to expand these contacts. A visual designer often travels to Istanbul because of his parents living there. He presented video art in Istanbul and in contrast to Fatih Akin he states, that it is hard for an artist. '*The people in Istanbul invest more in foreign artists than in their own*.' Facing such experiences, translocal working has narrow confines. Crossing social and political frontiers are also used for new markets and cheaper production. A fashion designer produces traditional blossoms with yarn made by an Anatolian woman. Now she is looking for another sempstress in Istanbul. Her work is handcraft based, only costly in terms of time. At the same time, there is a boom for this special handcraft on the internet, the designer says. Although it would be easier for her to trade on the internet, she refuses to do so because it is not in line with her specific needs.

5. Conclusion

This paper gives an initial assessment of the contribution of ethnic minorities in the creative industry in Berlin. The interviewed entrepreneurs of Turkish descent confuse and fluster because they change clichés about Turkish entrepreneurs by their creative activities and moral concept. Regarding the interviewed immigrants, stable classification pattern are loosing effects. Acting the way they do, entrepreneurs of Turkish descent in the design and art market destabilise accepted cultural structures.

The findings show in detail that almost everybody of the interviewed entrepreneurs had good opportunities to enter into this specific market due to qualification and institutional and financial resources. In this context it is as well of great importance that the inherent motives for a work into the creative industry are strong. Most of the interviewees do not set up their business out of unemployment. In contrast the majority sets up a business in a very strategic way. For summarising one can say that the barriers to access into the design and art market are low, especially for women because here, they feel confident on grounds of their skills and affinities. Further the respondents assert themselves into this sub-market of creative industry in terms of financial outcome and of diverse mainstream market. The biggest restraint for the interviewees to work in the design and art market are the familial context and here in paticular the parental vision of the future profession of their children.

It could be illustrated that Turkish entrepreneurs in the design and art market have specific transcultural business practices and act in a creative translocal space. These both aspects of transculturality are mainly charactristic for the interviewed entrepreneurs of Turkish descent.

Creative ethnic minority businesses have a persistency toward their ancestral immigration quarters. According to respondents these quarters are important locations for their entrepreneurship in the creative industries. Probably this is conducive to upgrade the quarter in terms of positive effects on social and economic structures.

All in all the respondents in the design and art market are good examples for the described changes of entrepreneurs of Turkish descent like heterogeneity, hybridism, professionalism, internationalisation and public interest.

As mentioned the small scale sample gives certain limitations of evidences. Further analyses in other sub-markets of creative industry are therefore necessary.

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CROSSING BOUNDARIES: MIGRANT MUSICIANS IN WORLD MUSIC PRODUCTION IN PARIS

Amanda Brandellero

1. Introduction

This paper forms part of a wider research project exploring migrants' trajectories in the cultural industries, focusing on the dynamic interaction between the cultural industries' typically localised production processes and the global reach of the cultural identities and references on which migrants can draw. Taking the perspective of migrants as 'cultural entrepreneurs', we explore the extent to which the cultural diversity migrants can draw upon is mobilized in their interaction with world music production in Paris.

The resulting portrait highlights how the positioning of migrant musicians in world music markets is shaped by notions of authenticity, imposing a spectrum of readings of ethnic resources and ethnicity, ranging from essentialised to hybrid. It should be noted that this paper fits within a wider explorative research project, with the ambition to provide a detailed analysis and thick description of the matching processes between the supply and demand side of world music.

Qualitative data from interviews with musicians and world music industry representatives (label managers, journalists, concert programmers among others) as well as secondary data specialised media are presented, exploring the following key questions:

In which markets are migrants integrating the world music production scene in Paris?
Which market configurations emerge?

After giving an indication of the methods used in the qualitative data collection, the paper proceeds to set out the background to the current reflection, combining literature on migrant entrepreneurship with current economic geography thinking on the development of cultural industries. The paper posits that opportunities for migrants musicians to participate in the Paris world music cluster occurs along parallel value chains, exemplified in the presence of three market 'clouts': notably community, traditional and contemporary world music markets.

2. Methodology

This research has taken the form of non-directive interviews with key economic actors in the world music cluster in Paris (from the creative sphere, to production and consumption). Starting from recommendations from the City of Paris and Mondomix (a Paris-based world music media company), an initial set of respondents were identified. Following a first set of interviews, further recommendations were gathered and more respondents were contacted using the snowballing method. In total, 33 people were interviewed (see Annex 2), 30 of which through formal interview and 3 through more informal discussions. In order to respect the privacy of these individuals, all interviews have been coded in the text. In addition, secondary sources were gathered, particularly artists' profiles, interviews and biographies, using specialized media (Mondomix and RFI websites) – and mainstream newspapers – Le Monde and Liberation).

3. Crossing boundaries: Migrants cultural repertoire and its commodification

Increasingly migrants, particularly second generation, are 'breaking out' of more traditional industrial sectors and into other occupational branches such as producer services and business to business or trade (for a snapshot of the Netherlands, see Rusinovic, 2006; Engelen, 2002). Changes in, on the one hand, the opportunity structure of urban economies and, on the other, in the set of resources that migrants from less-developed countries bring with them, have however contributed to shift in local labour markets (see Kloosterman, 2009), resulting in adjustments to the matching between supply (of labour) and demand (from markets). While these considerations have hitherto been applied to more traditional economic sectors of activity, such as catering, retail and textiles, we would here like to shift the attention towards the creative contribution of migrant to more culture-centred sectors of activity, where we would expect the role played by ethnic resources, taking abstraction of human capital resources, could be significant in terms of the ability to draw upon a diversity of cultural and symbolic content. Some observers have gone so far as to argue that cultural diversity is 'a source of potential competitiveness, because of the positive relationships between diversity, creativity and innovation', particularly when exploring the contribution of ethnic diversity to cultural industries in a broad sense (Smallbone et al., 2005, p.41).

In this context, some groups are more able than others to 'activate' their cultural repertoire, to the extent that in some cases this might even be 'constructed' (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993). Some observers have gone as far as arguing that 'immigrant entrepreneurs enjoy an advantage over potential competitors outside the group' and that ethnicity 'can carve out economic niches that foster immigrant entrepreneurship' (Evans 1989, p.951). Migrants therefore can be seen as 'cultural entrepreneurs', building a competitive edge through the cultural repertoire on which they can draw upon.

On the demand side, globalisation effectively broadens consumer demand for culturally exotic and specialised products and services (Collins et al., 1995, p.101). In general terms, 'growing consumer acceptance of, and effective demand for, foreign products, strengthens ethnic minority and immigrant businesses' (Light, 2004). On the supply side, ethnic goods, such as

exotic goods related to the homeland, provide migrants with an opportunity to 'convert both the contents and the symbols of ethnicity into profit-making commodities' (Waldinger et al., 2000, p.363). Ethnic content of products 'can also be created in response to conditions and out of cultural materials in the host society'. There can be a creation of hybrid cultural mix, and expansion of what is 'normative' within the mainstream – as can be seen in music for instance, where 'ethnic' elements become part of the mainstream repertoire (see Alba and Nee, 1997, p.833), allowing migrants to break out of ethnic market niches into mainstream markets (Ram and Jones, 1998).

The success of world music appears to align itself with the key logic of cultural industry production: that of a quest for constant product innovation in order to respond to the changing tastes of consumers in the 'North'. This quest follows a logic of consumer taste development, vying for ever more unique and distinguishing experiences, as an expression of status and habitus (Bourdieu, 1979). Foreign products, appealing to a sense for the exotic, acquire a strong symbolic dimension, for their faculty to respond to the demand 'distinguishing' products (Haynes, 2005; Kassabian, 2004).

4. World music production in Paris

The interplay between ethnic capital and economic logics of production appears to result in varying levels of accessibility for migrant artists. What comes to light is the presence of three parallel markets for world music production in Paris, with parallel creativity, production and consumption networks. We now turn our attention to the three market typologies, sketching this interplay and exploring the spatial implications of each pattern of musical production.

4.1 Community production

« There are many things happening at the level of (ethnic) communities in Paris, which do not appear on the radar of the average Parisian » (interview nº17).

The community niche offers a spectrum of products, more or less anchored in the ethnic repertoire of the specific community in question. Here we find a range from contemporary music inspired by Western rhythms, to more tradition-inspired sounds, thus placing the niche in between ethnic and non-ethnic products. The ethnic component becomes of secondary importance here: what matters here are the tastes and preferences of the Paris-based community and the country of origin, stimulating creativity. The customer base is strongly linked to the own community, although the geographical scale shows a wider networks of connection across the transnational diaspora.

The first community music shops began to appear in Paris in the mid-1970s (see Winders 2006). Their emergence can be seen as connected to the importance of music in the experience of migrants in Paris: as a sacred ritual, leisure, entertainment element of their everyday life. In some cases, some sounds which had become forgotten in the place of origin experience sudden resurgence in popularity as a result of the migrant experience: « often there is music that has been totally forgotten locally, in its place of origin, but as soon as they are

known in Europe, it gives them back an aura. They start to live again, here and there, it's like a boomerang effect. If we look at the different phases, we've had salsa, the Cuban wave, klezmer music, balkan beats […] Asian migration has brought fewer sounds with it» (interview n°5).

The musical creativity on which community productions rest comes in fact from 'le pays', the place of origin. This reflects a loose geography in more than one way: the country of origin is at once the source from which to draw inspiration and a reference point when thinking about potential consumers. From the viewpoint of creativity, the sounds created by early generations of migrant musicians were innovative, insofar as they merged traditional performances to advanced studio technology. However, in most cases, the resulting musical styles had been emerging in the country of origin for many years (see for instance Winders 2006, for a recount of early phases of Western and Central African music in Paris).

The struggle for musicians engaging in this form of music production is often one of positioning in relation to notions of "authenticity" and the idea of a pure, immutable sound lodged in a traditional musical style. In some cases however, community music gains an authenticity status in its own right: most notably in cases when the migrant heritage is rediscovered and drawn from by artists who are able to reach a wider audience. One notable example is the album Diwan by Rachid Taha, in which he covered a song from migrant musician Mohamed Mazouni, as well as others from artists who were famous in Algeria during the 50s-60s. This album was inspired by a desire to "sing the songs that influence me and pay homage to my culture" (Denselow, 2006).

In some cases, musicians are able to 'break out' of community markets. 'Some artists are able to make the transition to mainstream and reach a wider audience […] there are some bridges. Small concert venues play a big role in this' (interview nº5). One community record store owner suggested that a musician had more chances of achieving this by presenting a stereotypical image of his/her country (author interview). In another case, a Cap-Verde music producer and record store owner based in Paris proudly stated that there were no Cesaria Evora albums in his record store, since he strove to promote the 'other music' from Cap Verde (interview nº33). The promotion of music also highlights the separation of community networks from mainstream: when asked which media are used to promote music, mainstream Paris-based press and radio are either not cited or deemed inaccessible. In the distribution of world music, we note the presence of "parallel networks, that is to say that artists who fail to sell a single album through the official distribution channels then have concerts at the Zénith three times a year, and it's full» (interview nº1).

While his activity is based in Paris, a local music producer refers to his consumer base as being in Africa: « it's very regional, centred on Africa. We do not have international repercussions. When it's not your own culture, it does not speak to you» (interview n°10). The struggle of community producers and record shop owners to survive was all too well apparent in the interviews. During one interview with an Algerian music producer, a delivery of suitcases arrived. 'If music was profitable, we would not have to sell suitcases' (interview n°11).

4.2 Traditional music

Here, the direct link between the ethnic repertoire and music is fundamental: as we will see, this is where the quality of the product lies. These intermediaries, these expert ethnomusicologists appropriate themselves of products with a strong ethnic component and transfer/translate them to a wider audience, outside the community originally connected to these sounds. The target audience here respond to the logic of the 'quest of exoticism' mentioned earlier: there is even talk of making music primarily for a 'white' audience (interview n°17).

Traditional music is considered here as resting in an ethnomusicologist tradition, where musical expressions are considered as emerging from unique social landscapes rather than from the interaction with external flows. It is focused on the traditional as opposed to the modern, the contemporary, in a binary opposition. Ethnomusicologists opened up an avenue between 'indigenous production and distant consumption', emphasizing a sense of 'endogeny' of music from tradition (Connell and Gibson 2003 p.20). As a result, in the ears of some critical listeners, "music does not travel well… The further away from its place of origin, the less value it has" (author interview, Traditional music record label manager).

The networks of creativity for traditional music are therefore generally speaking to be found in an 'exotic elsewhere'. The moment of 'discovery of creativity' in commodification of traditional music passes through a network of expert ethnomusicologists. Remembering the early years of Buda Musique, Gilles Fruchaux stated that 'in the early years, I developed a network of friends more knowledgeable than myself on this or that culture, they alerted me to certain things' (author interview, Gilles Fruchaux). In the same vein, the Théâtre de la Ville employs a series of expert consultants who scour the world in search for 'new traditions' to populate the venues prestigious world music weekly programme. In an interview with the Quai Branly's music programming advisor Alain Weber, the role of ethnomusicologists and of the voyage as a musical discovery was also highlighted: traditional music is and should remain connected to its original social function and reality, while any adaptation or transition to 'art for arts sake' is considered a form of denaturation.

The networks of production of traditional music rest generally speaking within the public sphere. Here a series of key actors have played a crucial role in preserving and cataloguing the world's traditional musical heritage: this is the case of the Musée de l'Homme (see Wenders 2006), La Maison des Cultures du Monde, with its labels Inédit and Collections Terrains/Fieldwork, Radio France and its Ocora label, as way of example. Private labels engaged in the production of traditional music are rare: one exception is Buda Musique, whose founder, Gilles Fruchaux, recognized that his productions generally had 'no competition'. Here the separation between culture and the economy appears to reach a peak: "We don't work in show business […] we don't make money with cultural heritage […] culture is not a commercial product' (author interview, Maison des Cultures du Monde). Traditional music is seen as offering a window on a culture, on a people, and its target audience as being interested not just in the sound, but also the pedagogic experience proposed.

In some cases, the difficulties in securing a visa for playing in France experienced on a more regular basis by foreign musicians in recent years has meant that some institutions have reviewed their approach to migrant artists based in Paris. « At the Guimet Museum, we gave priority to artists coming from abroad, but gradually, we started seeing that there were very talented artists living in Paris. With the difficulties in getting visas for artists, it created an advantage for artists based in Europe » (interview n°22).

4.3 Contemporary world music

Paris has emerged in recent years as one of the main centres of contemporary world music production. Here a plethora of actors, from the creativity to the production and consumption networks, populate the capital. Here, we fall into a different register: that of more mainstream music and audiences. Music production here does not answer the tastes of a specific community, be it based on ethnicity and/or expert listeners. This sphere includes ethnic and non-ethnic elements. There is talk here of 'recuperating' community music (interview n°28), transforming it to match the tastes of a wider audience, or adapting traditional sounds to more modern tunes; of assimilating sounds from elsewhere; of hybrid music, musical mixes. Here the boundaries between *de facto* or taste-based communities become negligible.

For many musicians, Paris is a necessary starting point and/or stepping point in their careers. Mory Kanté from Guinea arrived in Paris in 1984, the first true *griot* to become a genuine superstar in Paris, with his hit single Yéké Yéké, a mix of traditional kora, a West African harp-lute, and amplified accompaniment (see Wenders 2006). A Frenchman of Cape Verdean descent named José Da Silva, founder of the Paris-based label Lusafrica, persuaded her to go to Paris where she recorded a new album, *La diva aux pieds nus* (The Barefoot Diva) in 1988. At a concert in Paris, Cesaria Evora « thanks God and France, the first to have made her fortunes, bewitched by her lament» (Daoudi, 2006).

Creativity in contemporary world music sparks from various sources: musicians from the world across have had their fortunes shaped in Paris. Journalists pointed to the fact that many of the musicians that rose to prominence in the 1980s were in a way having their 'second career' in Paris, having already established themselves in their countries of origin (Winders 2006 p.72). The academic distinction between heritage/tradition and urban/contemporary music is surpassed: we are witnessing a representative mosaic of living culture (Lecomte, 2006). Contemporary world music can therefore be defined as spectrum of sounds, from modern adaptations of traditional pieces to hybrid forms combining diverse musical traditions. In the spirit of hybridity and creation of new sounds, The organiser of the festivals Musiques et Jardins and Jazz Nomades in Paris, argues that: « there is no boundary between more popular and more cultured things, especially since there is a real artistic process, a search, with strong human encounters between high level musicians, more traditional musicians, and others who come from the streets but who work hard and all » (interview n°13).

Often artists are seen as ambassadeurs of their musical culture. This is at the same time an opportunity and a challenge. Some artists are faced with a stereotypical image of what this role of ambassador should imply: some refuse to adopt a 'traditional costume' when playing

to appear more authentic in the eyes of a Western audience (interview n°23). Others produce different versions of the same album, one for their country of origin, one for Western ears, as is the case of Youssou n'Dour.

5. Discussion and conclusion

The paper has posited the presence in Paris of parallel market clouts of world music production, with their variable geometries of actors and shifting geographical scales. This has highlighted differing openings for migrant musicians based in Paris, in terms of the scope and extent of markets and demands shaping their music. These clouts are positioned along a continuum ranging from 'scientism and awareness of world music as the product of cultural difference' on one end, to a site of 'spectatorship, through its emphasis on visual and on music drama, and for world music as entertainment, through its gestures to cosmopolitan consumers' (Bohlman 2002, p.32).

The research found three market clouts in which migrants can potentially operate: here the dynamics of creativity, production and consumption diverge significantly, though the boundaries fluctuate, allowing for bridges, breaking in/out of market niches, but also for appropriation of styles or musicians originally associated with one market by another. Innovation in each market sphere comes from diverse sources and geographical scales, ranging from locally anchored communities to the discovery of 'new traditions' by musicologists.

The mediation of 'authenticity' in world music appears to be the key to market entry for migrant musicians based in Paris, imposing a spectrum of readings of ethnic resources and ethnicity, ranging from essentialised to hybrid. As a consequence, the ethnic repertoires mobilised by migrant musicians offer a competitive edge, which is nonetheless confronted with varied logics of music production. Here the interpretations vary: what is authentic *au pays* might not be deemed as such by expert ethnomusicologists in quest for pure sounds. As a result, a migrant musician making self-defined as making traditional music might find his/her avenues blocked in the 'traditional music market niche', while opportunities might abound among community or contemporary world music productions. The ability of migrants to be bearers of innovation in a musical sense appears to increase as we shift away from a more purist, traditional reading of world music. In a strict sense, migrant musicians appear to be at a disadvantage when attempting to break into a traditional music market, as creativity, production and consumption are ruled by stricter commodification standards. Here expert ethnomusicologists and public institutions act as 'intermediaries' in middlemen markets, offering products high in ethnic content to a widely non-ethnic audience. The geographical distance between migrant musicians and the place of origin of the ethnic repertoire they mobilise is seen here as an insurmountable issue. As a result, the traditions brought by migrants are at best ranked as second rate.

The boundary of commodification appears to be lower for community and contemporary world music production, with greater opportunities for migrant musicians to gain access to local and international audiences. Musical innovation here comes from different geographical

scales. Outcomes in the former appear to be shaped by trends and fashions set *au pays*: markets are more compartmentalized, reflecting forms of ethnic niches, separated by country of origin or musical style. Being in Paris offers a certain advantage, an 'aura': images of Paris are often used in community productions, making Paris a key ingredient in the music. Musicians here are able to tap into a transnational community consumer base, but rarely break out to a wider audience. The way music is produced and consumed here makes it less directly accessible to a wider, 'Western', audience. When bridges and cross-overs occur, these are usually the result of an adaptation to Western style and sound canons.

Contemporary world music emerges as offering the wider and more accessible market opportunities. As a result, this market sphere offers numerous opportunities for Paris based migrant musicians. Here innovation based on hybridizing sounds, revisiting traditions or simply serendipitous encounters proves highly valued. The quest for exoticism constitutes a driving force in this market, yet within a looser framework for musicians to express their music. Considerations of a wider audience appeal and commercial success do however in some occasions impose requirements to adapt music to 'Western ears'. The innovation brought by migrant musicians is therefore often 'mediated' by experts, journalists, producers based in the capital, who have a feel for what might 'work' and what might not.

As the crisis of the music industry imposes a structural reevaluation of how music is produced, distributed and consumed, the three market clouts are faced with challenges of their own. For musicians, be they migrants or not, this poses a key questioning about the links between creativity and its commodification. As we talk about the crisis of intermediaries, labels and production companies, musicians are discovering new ways of producing their music and reaching a certain critical mass of followers.

For some, the fact that world music in general is highly visible in Paris, given the presence of a production cluster and many concert venues, is a potential source of social cohesion and integration of migrant communities, as their cultural heritage and traditions are valorized through the commercialisation of their music (interview nº8). Even though this line of reasoning might be flawed, it is clear that the dynamics of production in the world music cluster in Paris answers to economic, spatial and cultural logics which are far more complex than a simple valorization of the diversity of local populations.

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[1] Traduction du Néerlandais: 'Migrants créatifs? Une analyse conceptuelle du rôle des migrants dans les industries de la culture'

Annex 1: list of interviewees

Nom	Description
Abaji	Musician
Benoit James	Quai Branly Museum
Blaise Merlin	Festival/Salle (Association L'Onde et Cybèle)
Chébli Msaidie	Artistic director and musician
Cherif Khaznadar	Director, Maison des Cultures du Monde
Clélia Harbonnier	Frochot Music, Syllart
Diego Pelaez	Musician
Eliane Azoulay	Télérama magazine world music critic
Emile Dessantos	Record shop manger and Congolese music producer for Glenn Music
François Essindi	Musician
Gérard Violette	Théâtre de la Ville
Gilles Fruchaux	Buda Musique label manager
Herve Bordier	Coordinator Fête de la Musique in Paris
Herve Breuil	Olympic Café manager
Hubert Laot	Guimet Museum, auditorium manager
Laurent Bizot	No Format lable
M. Kebe	Lampe Fall, record shop owner and Senegalese music producer
Maïté Dhelin	LMC Production, tour manager
Marc Benaïche	Mondomix Director
Méziane Azaïche	Cabaret Sauvage concert venue
Morhand Anemiche	Creativ Productions (Kabyl Music)
Morhand Dehmous	Resident of the Goutte d'Or neighbourhood and former Kabyl music producer
Nago Seck	Musicologist
Nobuko Matsumiya	Musician with the (Japanese) Ensemble Sakura
Philippe Conrath	Africolor Festival and Cobalt label director
Philippe Gueugnon	Satellit Café programmmer
Rémy Kolpa Kopoul	Radio Nova critic
Saïd Assadi	Accords Croisés label manager (Arab music, traditional music)
René Sanchez	Cap Verdian record shop and Tropica Music productions manager
Simon Veyssière	Press attaché
Sophie Guénebaut	Director of Zone Franche
Sylvain Soufflet	Association Loin des Machines
Mme Zhoulekha	Kabyl record shop manager and music producer

NEIGHBOURHOODS AND YOUTH: THE NEIGHBOURHOOD CONDITIONS OF YOUTH IN THE NETHERLANDS AND THEIR ASSOCIATION WITH EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

Brooke Sykes

1. Introduction

Over the course of our lives, we are embedded in a range of different social contexts that can have important influences on our development and future outcomes. Theories of human development have pushed forward this notion, drawing attention to the multiple and interrelated contexts – including families, schools, neighbourhoods, peer groups, and communities – which are thought to be particularly relevant for young people (Bronfenbrenner, 1988; Brooks-Gunn et al., 1993). This notion of a more contextualized framework of individual development strengthened interests in the extrafamilial contexts of children and youth, including that of the neighbourhood (Jencks & Mayer, 1990; Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000).

A growing amount of empirical research has considered the role that the neighbourhood may play in helping to shape the opportunities, behaviour, and outcomes for children, youth, and adults. In this field of research, scholars investigate the relationships between neighbourhood characteristics and various individual social, cognitive, health, and behavioural outcomes, seeking to find out whether neighbourhood effects can be detected and through which mechanisms these effects might operate. Children and youth have held a prominent place in this research, as their lives are thought to be particularly embedded in their local contexts (Brooks-Gunn et al., 1993).

This paper examines the neighbourhood conditions of adolescents in Netherlands and tests whether they are associated with individual educational achievement. This study aims to give an indication of the extent to which neighbourhood conditions vary for different groups of youth and whether these conditions might have an effect on youths' educational outcomes. While research in the Netherlands has examined neighbourhood effects on adult outcomes, such as social mobility (Musterd et al., 2003) and ethnic integration (Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2007), few studies have focused on children and youth, and no large-scale studies have examined neighbourhood effects on youth educational outcomes.

In this paper, a nationally representative dataset of Dutch secondary education (the Voortgezet Onderwijs Cohort Leerlingen, VOCL'99) is used to examine the following research questions:

1. To what extent do youths' neighbourhood conditions vary across individual socioeconomic status (SES) and ethnicity?
2. Are youths' neighbourhood conditions associated with their school achievement, after taking individual and family background characteristics into account?

The next section provides an overview of the theories underlying neighbourhood effects research. Some of the relevant findings from the literature are then highlighted, followed by a description of the current study's methodology and analytical approach. Descriptive results are then reported, followed by results from a series of multilevel models. The paper ends with discussion of the findings and a conclusion.

2. Theoretical background

In research investigating neighbourhood effects on children and youth, the underlying notion is that the neighbourhood could be a relevant source of influence in the lives of these individuals and their families. While the family context is known to be the most immediate and important context for children and youth, there is a large base of evidence showing that the broader contexts in which families and individuals are situated in can also play relevant roles (Jencks & Mayer, 1990; Kohen et al., 2008).

The mechanisms and pathways thought to link individuals' behaviours and outcomes to their residential environments can be grouped into 'social-interactional mechanisms' and 'institutional and external mechanisms' (Galster, 2008; Sampson et al, 2002). In the first instance, effects arise when the behaviours, characteristics, or attitudes of one neighborhood resident has a direct influence on other residents, for example, by socialization, shared norms, social cohesion and collective efficacy, parental supervision and monitoring, peer influences, and social networks. In the second instance, effects are determined by larger structural forces which may be external to the neighborhood, for example, stigmatization, local institutional resources (e.g. schools, parks, libraries), spatial mismatch concerning job and education opportunities, and public services and facilities (Galster & Santiago, 2006).

In the case of children and youth, research has also highlighted the indirect influence that neighbourhoods may have through effects on family and parenting factors (Kohen et al., 2008; Pinderhughes et al, 2001). Brooks-Gunn et al. (1993) posit that neighbourhood conditions influence three (broad) aspects of family life, which can then filter down to children: family economic resources, parental characteristics, and parenting behaviour. Illustrative of this notion are the findings of a longitudinal study of Canadian children, in which Kohen et al. (2008) found neighbourhood deprivation to have effects on family functioning and maternal emotional health, which in turn had consequences for children's outcomes. Parents' perception of neighbourhood quality and safety have also been shown to influence their decisions about when and where they allow their children to play outside, whether they discourage play with local peers, and what schools and activities they bring their children to – factors which could, in turn, also have effects on children (Furstenberg, 1993; Pinkster & Droogleever Fortuijn, 2008).

Although only briefly introduced (for more detailed descriptions, see Galster and Santiago, 2006; Jencks and Mayer, 1990), the above mechanisms reveal some of the complexity that exists when trying to measure and understand neighbourhood effects. What becomes apparent in the discussion of why and how neighbourhoods matter, is the broad nature of neighbourhoods; they can encompass or overlap with other social contexts – such as the peer group, school, and family. The interrelationships between the multiple contexts important to young people mean that teasing out the effects of one of these contexts is a difficult task (Evans et al, 1992; Hanushek et al, 2003). Despite these challenges, a growing body of evidence supports the notion that neighbourhoods do play a role in shaping individuals' opportunities, behaviour, and outcomes. Some of these findings will be summarized below.

3. Findings from the literature

There is a stronger tradition of neighbourhood effects research in the US, although the field is present, and growing, in Europe. American research generally supports the existence of neighbourhood effects on youth, particularly on educational outcomes (Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000; Gephart, 1997); however, huge gaps in knowledge exist – such as who is most susceptible to neighbourhood effects, which neighbourhood characteristics matter most, and how effects are transmitted. Much of the (quantitative) research has also been called into question, due to the stringent methodological requirements that should be met in order to identify causal neighbourhood effects (Dietz, 2002). However, even taking the methodological constraints into account, a good deal of qualitative and quantitative research supports the notion that neighbourhoods matter (for reviews, see Gephart, 1997; Jencks & Mayer, 1990; Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000; Sampson et al., 2002).

In terms of European research on neighbourhood effects on youth education, Garner and Raudenbush's (1991) analysis of 2,500 Scottish youth found neighbourhood deprivation levels to have a significant influence on youths' educational attainment. They identified the effect as empirically modest, but in practical terms, large enough to substantially improve youths' prospects in obtaining future employment. In Sweden, Andersson (2004) found the socio-demographic character of individuals' residential areas during adolescence to be associated with later levels of education attainment. In a later study, Andersson and Subramanian (2006) also found support for neighbourhood effects on educational attainment in Sweden. Using a dataset of over 200,000 youth, they found neighbourhood socioeconomic resources and demographic instability to be significantly related to youths' school attainment, after adjusting for individual, household, municipal, and country level effects. A recent study by Brännström (2008) support the findings that neighbourhood conditions are associated with youth school achievement in Sweden. He examined secondary school achievement for 26,000 youth, and found that while neighbourhood conditions are associated with school outcomes, most of this effect is attenuated by the school context. The variability in achievement associated with the neighbourhood-level was drastically reduced upon inclusion of the school context in the analysis – findings which point to the role of schools as mediators of neighbourhood effects.

In Kauppinen's (2007) multilevel analysis of neighbourhood effects on youth education in Helsinki, he found significant effects of the neighbourhood in terms of the type of secondary school education completed by pupils, but not on the likelihood of completing secondary school. Kauppinen (2007) calls this a 'soft' neighbourhood effect, and suggests that this might be indicative of the types of neighbourhood effects present in Western Europe, or at least in European contexts with strong welfare states, and low levels of income differentiation and segregation. Building on his earlier research findings, Kauppinen (2008) further explored neighbourhood effects in Helsinki, incorporating youths' school contexts into the analysis. His findings were in line with those of Brännström (2008) and with theoretical discussions of neighbourhood effect mechanisms: the school context is one of the pathways through which neighbourhood conditions affect educational outcomes. While the school context attenuated much of the neighbourhood effect, Kauppinen found evidence of unique neighbourhood effects as well, driven by differences in neighbourhood socioeconomic structure. In Britain, McCulloch and Joshi (2001) found some support for the effects of neighbourhood deprivation on young people's cognitive test scores. Associations between neighbourhood deprivation and test achievement could be identified, however, they were non-uniform across different age groups (i.e. effects could be identified on the 4-5 year old group, to a limited extent on the 10-18 year old group, but not on the 6-9 year olds).

4. The present study

4.1 Data sources and sample characteristics

This paper is based on data derived from a longitudinal study of secondary education in the Netherlands, the Voortgezet Onderwijs Cohort Leerlingen (VOCL'99). This VOCL follows a cohort of students from their first year of secondary school (average age 13 years) until they leave full-time education. This paper focuses on the cohort that began in 1999. All students who entered the first grade of a sample of 126 secondary schools belong to the cohort, totalling 19,391 students (Kuyper et al., 2003). Statistics Netherlands (CBS) designed the sample, recruited the schools, and is responsible for data collection. The sample has been found to be representative of schools and students in Dutch secondary education (Berkel, 1999).

Using students' postcodes recorded in the VOCL'99, neighbourhood data was merged into the dataset, in order to match a set of neighbourhood characteristics to each student. All neighbourhood data came from Statistics Netherlands. The original size of the sample was reduced based on the following criteria: (a) no missing values on the dependent variable (school achievement); (b) no missing or erroneous home postcodes (used to identify students' neighbourhoods); and (c) students' neighbourhoods were not missing essential data. These three criteria reduced the original sample size to just under 18,000 students.

4.1.1 Individual-level predictors

Student background characteristics came from a parent questionnaire and school administrative data in the VOCL'99, and include: age, gender (0=boy, 1=girl), ethnicity (Dutch, Moroccan, Turkish, Antillean/Surinamese/Aruban (ASA), Rest), family SES (five categories, based on highest level of parental educational attainment, from 1=primary school, to 5=university or postgraduate degree), and family structure (1=married, 2=registered partnership or living together, 3=divorced, widowed, not married, unknown/missing). Students' ethnic background was based on whether they, or one parent, were born abroad. The 'rest' ethnic category includes students from countries which do not fit into the other ethnic groupings, and for which there were too few students to make a new category; this includes students from Asia, Western and Eastern Europe, and so on.

The individual outcome measure of interest in this study is students' educational achievement, represented by their score on a standardized test taken in the first year of secondary school, in February and March 2000. The test was developed by the Dutch Institute for Educational Testing (CITO Groep) and consisted of three components: Dutch language, arithmetic, and information processing (Kuypers et al., 2003). The maximum test score that could be achieved was 60; the mean score was 36.5 (SD = 10.8) and the range, 5 to 60. The test was found to be a highly reliable measure of achievement, with an alpha coefficient of .90 (Kuypers et al., 2003).

4.1.2 Neighbourhood-level variables

The neighbourhood unit used in this study is the '*buurt*' – an administrative sub-unit representing the lowest neighbourhood level in the Netherlands. In 1999, there were 10,737 of these neighbourhood units in the Netherlands, with a mean population of 1468. The students in the VOCL sample resided in 3085 of these neighbourhoods, representing around 29 percent of all neighbourhoods in the Netherlands.

A range of socioeconomic, housing, and demographic data were available for these neighbourhoods, from which the following variables were selected: the share of high-income residents, low-income residents, non-active workers receiving unemployment benefits, mean income per income-earner and per resident, housing tenure (share of homeownership), mean home value, share of non-Western immigrant-background, and urbanicity (address density). The high- and low-income cut off points are defined by Statistic Netherlands as the top 20 and bottom 40 percent, respectively, of national income earnings.

Due to high multicollinearity among these variables, a principal components analysis (PCA) was conducted to explore the relationships. After this analysis and a series of preliminary models, two variables were chosen to represent the dimensions of neighbourhood 'affluence' and 'disadvantage' in the main analysis: the share of high-income residents, and the share of unemployment benefit recipients. In the PCA, these variables were found to load the highest on these two dimensions, and were also the strongest predictors of youth achievement in the preliminary models. The share of residents with a non-Western background had a highly non-normal (positively skewed) distribution, and was therefore retained as a categorical predictor.

The level of urbanicity is based on the average addresses per square kilometre, and was used a control variable to take differences between more and less urban neighbourhoods into account. To say something about the wider context in which neighbourhoods are situated, a set of dummy variables were created, based on the population of the surrounding municipality, from 'small city/rural' (1 = < 50,000) to 'large city' (3 = >150,000).

While the VOCL'99 was designed to be representative of schools and students in Netherlands, additional analyses were performed to assess the representativeness of the neighbourhoods appearing in the dataset. Compared to neighbourhoods in the Netherlands in general, students in the dataset live in areas that are very representative in terms of socioeconomic characteristics and ethnic composition, but are somewhat more urban in character, with higher levels of population and address density and slightly lower shares of homeownership. Table 2.1 shows the mean values on these neighbourhood characteristics for neighbourhoods appearing in the dataset, and those in the rest of the Netherlands. Using Cohen's effect size *d*, the differences between all income measures, unemployment, and ethnic composition, are negligible (less than what is considered a 'small' effect). Homeownership and the density measures have 'small' and 'medium' sized effects, based on Cohen's suggested guidelines (Cohen, 1988).

Table 1 - Characteristics of neighbourhoods in the study sample and in the rest of the Netherlands

Neighbourhood Characteristics	VOCL Sample	Netherlands
High-income (%)	22.15	22.47
Low-income (%)	39.14	40.24
Mean income / resident (1000 euro)	10.13	9.97
Mean income / income earner (1000 euro)	15.56	15.16
Unemployment benefit recipients (%)	17.31	18.38
Mean home-value (1000 euro)	92.47	92.78
Homeownership (%)	60.36	67.93
Non-western migrants (%)	6.39	6.73
Address density	1337	671
Population density	3957	1775
n	3085	3122-7411

Source: Author's own calculations. Note. The 'n' for the Netherlands varies due to missing data or undisclosed data in neighbourhoods with very few residents

4.2 Analysis

Two analytical strategies were employed. First, descriptive analyses were first used to illustrate and compare the different neighbourhood conditions in which youth live and grow up, and how these conditions vary across individual SES and ethnicity. This addresses the first research question. The second and main methodological strategy was a series of multilevel regression models, used to test for associations between youths' neighbourhood conditions and their school achievement outcomes.

After running the descriptive analysis, a two-level regression model was specified, with students (level-1 units) nested within neighbourhoods (level-2 units). In dealing with hierarchical data, there are a number of advantages of multilevel modelling over traditional

regression or alternative analyses. One key advantage is that multilevel modelling partitions the variance in the dependent variable among the two (or more) levels, allowing us to distinguish between individual-level and context effects. The dependency that often exists among observations that share the same context (e.g. students in classrooms or residents in neighbourhood) is also taken into account, while traditional regression assumes that subjects are independent of one another (Raudenbush and Bryk, 2002; Snijders and Bosker, 1999).

The first step in a multilevel analysis is to run an 'unconditional' model. This model is estimated to determine the amount of variance in the dependent variable attributed to the individual and neighbourhood level, and to determine the initial model fit for later reference. The variance values from this model are used to calculate the 'intraclass correlation coefficient' (ICC), a measure of the proportion of the total variance that is accounted for by (observed and unobserved) factors operating at each of the two levels. After running this unconditional model, individual and family characteristics were added to the analysis. This gave an indication of the importance of background characteristics such as age, SES, and gender, in predicting educational achievement. The next step was to add in the neighbourhood predictors, in order to address the main research question about the influence of neighbourhood characteristics on youth educational outcomes.

5. Results

5.1 Descriptive results

Table 3.1 displays the means and percent shares for the individual-level variables used in the analysis. The average age in the sample is 13 years old, the sample is split equally by gender, 81 percent of students have a native Dutch background, and the vast majority have parents who are married. The family SES category with the highest frequency is 'secondary school education' in the higher stream, with 43.5 percent; 9.5 percent of students have parents with a primary school education or less, and 9.2 percent have at least one parent with a university or postgraduate degree.

Table 3.1 - Descriptive statistics: Individual variables

	Mean/ Percent	SD
Individual-level variables (***n*** **= 17,815 students)**		
Outcome variable		
Educational achievement	36.52	10.84
Predictor variables		
Age	13.0	0.50
Gender (1=girl, 0=boy)	50.0	0.50
Etnicity		-
Dutch	81.1	-
Turkish	2.3	-
Moroccan	2.4	-
ASA	3.1	-
Rest	11.1	-
Family SES		
Primary school or less	9.5	-
Secondary education, lower stream	16.5	-
Secondary education, higher stream	43.5	-
Higher professional education	21.3	-
University or postgraduate	9.2	-
Family structure		
Married	76.6	-
Registered partnership, cohabitation	3.4	-
Divorced, widowed, never married	9.3	-
Missing	10.7	

5.1.1 Neighbourhood conditions across subgroups of youth

How neighbourhood conditions vary across subgroups of youth was explored. This gives an indication of the different environments in which youth grow up, and in which they may, for example, make friends, play, and use local services such as parks, libraries, or schools. The first table (Table 3.2) shows the mean neighbourhood conditions across levels of family SES. As expected, youth from families with higher levels of SES live in neighbourhoods with more advantageous socioeconomic conditions, including larger share of residents with high-incomes, higher levels of homeownership, and smaller shares of unemployment benefit recipients. Youth with lower levels of SES live in neighbourhoods with significantly more non-Western migrants – youth in the lowest SES category live in areas with almost three times as great shares of non-Western migrants. All F-ratios (not shown) revealed that the group differences among these SES categories are significant on all measures.

Table 3.2 - Mean values of neighbourhood characteristics across levels of youth SES

Neighbourhood Characteristics	SES1	SES2	SES3	SES4	SES5
High-income (%)	16.4	18.5	21.2	24.2	27.2
Low-income (%)	43.3	41.4	39.1	37.1	35.3
Mean income / resident (1000 euro)	9.4	9.5	9.8	10.3	11.1
Mean income / income earner (1000 euro)	14.3	14.7	15.2	16.0	17.0
Unemployment benefit recipients (%)	22.9	19.1	16.4	15.1	14.8
Mean home-value (1000 euro)	71.2	78.8	87.1	95.0	105.9
Homeownership (%)	43.3	52.7	59.4	61.6	60.5
Non-western migrants (%)	14.8	8.9	6.1	5.4	5.8
n	1694	2936	7753	3787	1645

The same type of table was produced to present the differences in the neighbourhood conditions of students of different ethnic backgrounds (Table 3.3). The first two columns show the means for a dichotomous grouping of native Dutch/non-native youth, and the following columns show the ethnicity categories which make up the 'non-native' grouping. Here, all F-ratios for between group differences were also significant. Students with a native Dutch background stand out as living in the neighbourhoods with the highest levels of SES, homeownership, and mean home values, although students in the 'rest' category have similar values on some of these characteristics. Students with Turkish, Moroccan, and ASA backgrounds live, on average, in areas with the weakest socioeconomic conditions. Particularly in terms of unemployment benefit recipients, homeownership, and share of non-Western migrants, are the differences between these three groups and students with native backgrounds large.

Table 3.3 - Mean values of neighbourhood characteristics across youth ethnic background

Neighbourhood Characteristics	Dutch	Non-native	*Turkish*	*Moroccan*	*ASA*	*Rest*
High-income (%)	22.2	18.6	14.2	14.5	16.1	21.1
Low-income (%)	38.6	41.4	45.0	44.5	43.1	39.5
Mean income / resident (1000 euro)	10.0	9.8	9.3	9.5	9.4	10.1
Mean income / income earner (1000 euro)	15.5	14.9	13.9	14.0	14.3	15.5
Unemployment benefit recipients (%)	15.9	21.0	26.8	26.6	25.3	19.1
Mean home-value (1000 euro)	90.3	76.2	62.4	64.5	65.0	84.7
Homeownership (%)	60.7	43.3	31.1	30.5	34.4	51.0
Non-western migrants (%)	5.1	16.2	25.3	23.7	24.0	10.5
n	14452	3363	409	418	560	1976

5.2 Multilevel results

The results from a series of multilevel regression models estimating youths' educational achievement are displayed in Table 3.4. From the unconditional model (Model 1), the total variance can be decomposed into the individual and neighbourhood level by calculating the ICC. The ICC was found to be 0.28 (33.19 / (87.21 + 33.19)*100 = 27.6), meaning that 28 percent of the variability in educational achievement is associated with differences between neighbourhoods. This is considered a large ICC and indicates that there are substantial differences in educational achievement across neighbourhoods. An ICC of this size also indicates that the hierarchical structure of this data is meaningful (Snijders and Bosker, 1999).

In Model 2, the individual level (level-1) predictors (age, gender, nativity, SES, family status) were added. Age has a strong negative effect on achievement, reflecting the fact that older students mainly be those who were held back in school due to weak performance or having arrived more recently to the country (e.g. newcomer migrants), and the very youngest would be those who were put ahead because of outstanding performance. The insignificant gender coefficient reveals no consistent difference in this achievement outcome for boys and girls. Having a native Dutch background is associated with higher achievement compared to a non-native background. Relative to native Dutch students, having a Moroccan background is associated with the largest performance gap, followed by the ASA category. Family SES has a significant and strong effect on achievement. Each increasing level of SES is associated with significantly higher achievement. The coefficients for family structure reveal that having unmarried parents in a cohabitation, or a missing family status, is associated with lower achievement, relative to having married parents. This model reduces the individual-level (within-neighbourhood) variance by 21 percent and the between-neighbourhood variance by 46 percent. The significant unexplained variance remaining in the model indicates that even after controlling for students' background characteristics, significant differences in educational achievement exist between neighbourhoods.

In the next model (Model 3), all neighbourhood-level predictors were added. These predictors lead to a significant improvement in the model fit and explain a further five percent of the between-neighbourhood variance in achievement. The two neighbourhood predictors of main interest (share of high-income residents and share receiving unemployment benefits) both have significant associations with achievement. After taking the above individual background characteristics into account and controlling for other neighbourhood conditions, a one-standard deviation increase in the level of neighbourhood unemployment is associated with an average decrease in achievement of 0.62 marks, or 0.06 standard deviations. For neighbourhood 'high-income' the association is slightly less, with one standard deviation increase associated with a gain of 0.47 marks on the test (0.45 standard deviations).

Neighbourhoods with the greatest shares of residents with non-Western immigrant backgrounds (i.e. 11-20% and >20%) appear to have significant and positive associations with achievement, relative to the reference category (2-5%). However, reduced models (not shown) reveal that these positive effects are only apparent if differences in neighbourhood socioeconomic conditions have been controlled for. Without controlling for neighbourhood socioeconomic conditions, it is the least ethnically concentrated areas that are associated with a positive effect on achievement. The neighbourhood urbanicity predictor is not significant, but the control for the wider context suggests that living in a neighbourhood located in a medium sized city is associated with lower achievement, relative to living in a small city/rural area (or large city). The unexplained variance remaining in the final model is significant, indicating that the model can be improved and achievement can be further explained by the inclusion of additional variables.

Table 3.4 - Multilevel model of neighbourhood and individual-level effects on educational achievement

Parameter	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Fixed Effects			
Intercept	36.64 *** (0.14)	36.69 *** (0.16)	36.64 *** (0.25)
Level 1 (student-specific)			
Age		-4.88 *** (0.16)	-4.85 *** (0.15)
Gender (1=girl, 0=boy)		-0.24 ns (0.14)	-0.25 ns (0.14)
Nativity (ref: Dutch)			
Turkish		-1.62 *** (0.49)	-1.54 *** (0.50)
Moroccan		-2.54 *** (0.49)	-2.50 *** (0.50)
ASA		-2.48 *** (0.41)	-2.40 *** (0.42)
Rest		-0.88 *** (0.23)	-0.84 *** (0.23)
Family SES (ref: Secondary edu., higher stream)			
Primary school or less		-3.62 *** (0.27)	-3.48 *** (0.27)
Secondary education, lower stream		-3.08 *** (0.20)	-3.00 *** (0.20)
Higher professional education		3.19 *** (0.18)	3.14 *** (0.19)
University or postgraduate		5.32 *** (0.26)	5.20 *** (0.26)
Family structure (ref: Married)			
Registered partnership, cohabitation		-0.75 * (0.38)	-0.67 ns (0.38)
Divorced, widowed, never married		0.01 ns (0.24)	0.12 ns (0.24)
Missing		-0.76 *** (0.23)	-0.75 *** (0.23)
Level 2 (neighbourhood)			
High-income (%)			0.47 *** (0.13)
Unemployment benefit recipients (%)			-0.62 *** (0.15)
Ethnic minorities (ref: 2-5%)			
0-1%			0.88 * (0.31)
6-10%			0.03 ns (0.36)
11-20%			1.40 *** (0.45)
>20%			1.64 * (0.63)
Neighbourhood urbanicity			0.26 ns (0.17)
Wider setting (ref: Small city/rural)			
Medium city (50 000-150 000)			-1.44 *** (0.31)
Large city (> 150 000)			-0.45 ns (0.52)
Random Parameters			
Within-neighbourhood variance	87.21 *** (1.00)	77.53 *** (0.88)	77.62 *** (0.88)
Between-neighbourhood variance	33.19 *** (1.49)	18.00 *** (0.96)	16.44 *** (0.91)
2*log likelihood	132976.82	13130144.50	130357.30

Note. Standard errors are in parentheses. Neighbourhood predictors standardized (z-scores)

Ref=reference category, SE=socioeconomic, *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, and ***p < 0.001

6. Discussion and conclusion

The aim of this paper was to give an idea of the different neighbourood contexts in which Dutch youth reside, and to test for associations between these conditions and youth educational achievement. The descriptive analysis revealed what is generally assumed to be the case: higher SES youth, and youth with native Dutch backgrounds, live, on average, in more socioeconomically advantaged neighbourhoods than do their peers with lower SES and non-native backgrounds. There are large gaps in the neighbourood conditions of low versus high-SES youth and native versus non-native youth. After describing the different residential contexts of youth, the multilevel analysis aimed to test whether these neighbourhood conditions might have an effect on youths' achievement outcomes, after taking individual background characteristics into account. This was achieved by first examining the clustering of achievement at the neighbourhood level, and then testing for associations between individuals' neighbourhood conditions and their educational achievement.

Achievement was found to be significantly clustered at the neighbourood level, with more than one quarter of its variance attributed to differences between neighbourhoods. This reveals a relatively large potential for factors associated with the neighbourhood to affect youth achievement. Much of this clustering was explained by differences across neighbourhoods on the individual-level predictors in Model 2, revealing that a large part of the variation between neighbourhoods in achievement can be attributed to differences in the characteristics of the people who live there (i.e. composition effects). However, support for neighbourhood effects above and beyond these characteristics was also found. The neighbourhood-level predictors in this study accounted for around five percent of unique neighbourood variance in achievement, which is in line with past research findings (Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000; Kauppinen, 2007; Oliver, et al., 2007). The inclusion of neighbourhood-level predictors improved the model fit from that of a model with individual-level predictors only, also indicating that neighbourhood conditions help to explain some of the differences in youths' educational achievement.

The individual-level predictors in our model reinforce the well-known importance of background characteristics, particularly SES and ethnicity, in predicting achievement. Family SES in particular has a very strong effect on achievement, highlighting the role that parental educational attainment and related family factors play in shaping young people's educational outcomes. The two neighbourood predictors of primary interest both had significant associations with achievement, and support commonly held ideas about neighbourood effects – high-income areas are associated with better outcomes, while conditions of unemployment are associated with worse achievement. These associations are apparent even after controlling for a set of relevant individual background characteristics and other neighbourhood conditions.

In line with most of the European findings in this field, the estimated neighbourhood effects found in this analysis were of a modest magnitude. Slight differences in neighbourood conditions are not associated with sizable consequences for achievement, however, larger differences can have meaningful impacts. For example, the difference in achievement associated with a change in the level of neighbourhood unemployment could have the same magnitude of an effect as a one-level increase in family SES (e.g. the effect associated with a

10th to 90th percentile change in the share of neighbourhood unemployment). It has also been pointed out that studies, such as this one, which rely on official data to describe neighbourhood conditions, might be undercutting the role that neighbourhoods play due to these data serving as weak proxies for the actual processes and dynamics underlying neighbourhood effects (Brooks-Gunn et al, 1997). As these processes, such as collective efficacy and social control, are difficult to measure across a wide set of neighbourhoods (particularly at the national scale), official data are generally used as proxies. To the extent that these data serve as weak proxies, the role of the neighbourhood may be underestimated (Sampson et al, 2002). A number of additional obstacles stand in the way of accurately measuring and identifying neighbourhood effects, which mean that there are several reasons why the associations in this study may be misestimated. These challenges have been described at length elsewhere (see Dietz, 2002; Vartanian and Buck, 2005; Galster, 2008), and include, most importantly, the related issues of endogeneity, selection bias, and omitted variable bias. Given these challenges, the results from this study cannot be interpreted as causal effects of the neighbourhood environment, but rather as correlational and predictive.

While this paper has provided some insight into the different residential conditions in which youth inhabit and the associations between these conditions and their school achievement, the results say nothing about the mediating processes driving these potential effects. To better understand how neighbourhoods may affect youth outcomes, more research is needed which considers the relationships between youth, neighbourhoods, schools, and families. It is evident that the daily contexts in which youth live and spend time differ to a great extent; with these differences in neighbourhood conditions comes probable differences in such dimensions as the types of role models, social networks, and peer groups available, the level of social capital, shared norms, the composition of local classrooms, and the services and programmes available or targeted to these neighbourhood. As the neighbourhood is a broad context, which intersects and overlaps with several other contexts important to youth, to understand its potential role in shaping individuals' opportunities and outcomes, we need to examine it in relation to these other contexts. Looking at the links between family/parenting factors and the neighbourhood context, for example, can further our knowledge about how parents may act as mediators or moderators of neighbourhood influences on children (Furstenberg, 1993; Kohen et al., 2008). Several recent studies have also documented the mediating role that schools can play in transferring neighbourhood effects (Brännström, 2008; Kauppinen, 2008), supporting the theory of institutional pathways of neighbourhood effects. In conclusion, the results from this study add to the European evidence that neighbourhood effects may be at play, even in contexts with relatively strong social welfare policies. The results from this study justify looking more deeply into neighbourhood effects, in the Dutch context and elsewhere.

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THE IMPACT OF ETHNIC AND SOCIAL SEGREGATION ON SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT IN GERMAN SCHOOLS AND NEIGHBOURHOODS

Christine Baur

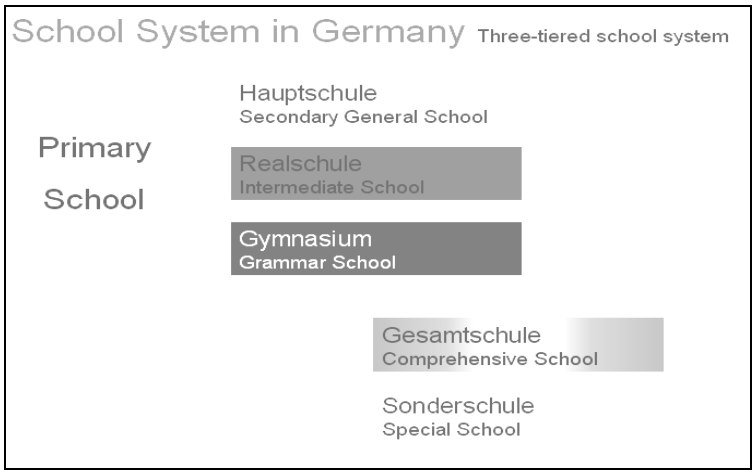
1. Introduction

Educational opportunities of children and young people with migratory background have been receiving more attention since PISA revealed bad results in school achievement. The alarming outcome of the first studies in 2000 was that school achievement in Germany is connected to social background more than in any other tested country (Baumert/Schümer 2001:379-402)

These results have a great impact especially from the point of view of human rights and constitutional law (Kersten 2007). The current demographic situation in Germany coupled with economic necessity for young people to be well educated means, that education is a permanent topic of debate in the German media.

The criticism by the UN human rights inspector Vernor Munoz on the German three-tiered school-system (see Figure 1) and the early selection of students in 2006 outraged the German Minister of Education Annette Schavan and the Ministry of Education and the Arts however it did start debates over reforms.

Figure 1: German school system



Source: Christine Baur

In face of this development the question of this article is: Which aspects make a significant contribution to the dreadful state in the educational achievement, what has been done against until now and which further effective measures have to be taken?

My thesis is that not only the school system is an important factor of a deficient educational opportunity but also the ethnic and social segregation in the schools and the neighbourhoods, where the pupils live. Because of the catchment areas primary school pupils have a short way to their school and students of the 'Hauptschulen' mostly attend their neighbourhood school. The problems of the neighbourhoods of schools are reproduced increasingly in the institutions of learning. Possible solutions have to include the social mixture of the pupils.

After having presented the results of the international achievement Studies PISA 2006 and PIRLS 2006 in the second chapter I will describe indications of discriminating practices of the primary schools giving the recommendations for children with migratory background in the following chapter. The fourth chapter discusses the homogenous social structure and the ethnic segregation in schools.

The fifth chapter shows the described problems in the practice of a main school in a disadvantaged quarter in Berlin. Educational conscientious parents as motor of the social and ethnic de-mixturing process are the subject of the sixth section. The last two chapters take a close look at the previous measures and further recommendations to overcome the educational disadvantage of children with migratory background.

2. Results of the international achievement studies PISA and PIRLS

In all international achievement studies with participation of Germany are the findings that some percentages of students in German schools suffer from a lack of fundamental competencies by reading, writing and calculating. The first test with 15 years old children of literacy competencies with PISA in 2000 was followed by the tests in mathematics in 2003 and natural sciences in 2006. PISA 2000 showed a polarity of very good and very bad reading competencies with a difference of six years in the same age. That means that in Germany's schools are 15 year old pupils, which are not able to read a short text in opposite to pupils, which are able to work with unknown and very complex texts with high flexibility.

The nine years old primary school pupils that were chosen by chance in the same way as the students of PISA, had been tested in 2001 and 2006. Both studies showed the considerable deficit in the German school system.

The inferior position in achievement of children with migratory background is expressed in 48 points that means a backlog of one year, after control of the socioeconomic background it is 27 points (Schwippert et al 2007:264). The scale is from the lowest competence of less than 400 points up to 700 points. A quarter of the children with both parents born abroad have a literacy competence in the both lowest competence categories I and II. They are purely able to recognise simple texts or to draw simple conclusions. In the opposite there are 14,1 percent of children without and 3,6 percent with migratory background in the highest category. They are able to abstract and to give reasons for their preferences.

Even if a child is in the average third competence category there are negative conclusions in the PIRLS studies: Two third of the children with migratory background in the fourth grade are not able to work on ones own with texts. They have to be strongly supported in the secondary school; otherwise they will not be able to get an apprenticeship (Valtin et al 2007:342).

The results of PISA 2006 with the stress on natural sciences show an improvement in the main subject but not at all in reading and mathematics. Young persons that were born in Germany and have immigrated parents have a backlog of two years in comparison to natives in the same age. This fact is dramatic because these children were born in Germany and they were socialized completely in the German school system.

The findings of the school achievement studies show, that Germany has a big challenge in terms of educational policy: To lower the differences in competencies between the social classes, to support the weak pupils and to reach a fundamental level of education (Ehmke/Baumert 2007:333).

3. Discriminating children with migratory background

Beside the disadvantage in school achievement it is the three-tiered German school system that discriminates pupils with migratory background. Mostly in the fourth grade, the children get a recommendation of their teachers for the following school type. On one hand, the recommendation occurs on the marks; on the other hand it occurs in the opinion of the teacher, if he predicts success in the new school type. According to the results of Gomolla/Radtke (2002) teacher often assume, that a child of a lower socioeconomic family will not have enough support in doing their homework or preparing tests, especially, if the home spoken language is not German. Giving a recommendation for a lower education is not a conscious discrimination but has far reaching consequences.

Ditton (2007) and Gomolla/Radtke (2002) found, that children of migratory families have to achieve more than native children to get the recommendation of the highest school type, the grammar school. The findings of the PIRLS study too remarked, that children of less educated families only get a recommendation to the grammar school, if they have significant better marks than children of middleclass families.

Children of underprivileged circumstances get a recommendation with 614 points in contrast to children of college graduates. They will get it with 537 points. Furthermore there is a difference between the behaviour of parents with different socioeconomic background. Parents with the highest one demand the grammar school recommendation already with 498 points and if needs be put pressure on the teacher or the head-teacher either the normal recommendation is given with 550 points. Unskilled labours have the same demands in case of 606 reached points. (Arnold et al 2007:288). This means that children of near-illiterate parents have double disadvantages, because neither their families nor their teachers have confidence in their success in a higher education.

Further the German school system is an important factor of a deficient educational opportunity, because the pupils have different chances of learning in different school types and locations. Pupils in the grammar school have more knowledge gains than in the 'Hauptschule'. The consequences are that pupils with the same cognitive conditions in fourth grade have different knowledge gains two years later after visiting different school types (Baumert et al 2006).

Further problem is the lack of teachers in natural sciences in Germany, especially in the Hauptschule a lack of a quarter of teachers. With this disaster will be no chance to change the bad results of 39% of children with migratory background that are not able to get out of the first grade of competency which is no more than expressing factual knowledge.

4. Homogenous social structure and ethnic segregation in schools

PISA 2006 revealed in Germany a little improvement in natural sciences in comparison to 2003. But the mentioned problems with the school structure implies the risk of pupils to fall behind in the low qualifying Hauptschule, especially in the type of 'Hauptschule in difficult milieu' (Baumert et al 2006:160f; Stanat 2006). In these schools we find a homogenous school composition. Most of the young people live in precarious social circumstances. 40 percent of the parents are unskilled and a third of them are unemployed. More than half of the pupils live in families that speak no German at home. Most of them resit classes and have a willingness to use violence. At least the proficiency level of the school is weak.

These schools are not a mirror of the socioeconomic surroundings and their catchment areas but a stronger concentration of precarious circumstances than in the surroundings. In the following chapter we will see an example of a Hauptschule in a Berlin district. In the surroundings is a percentage of 48,3 persons with migratory background and about 14,1 percent unemployed people. In the Hauptschule 100 percent of the pupils have migratory background and most of their families live of social transfer. Those are bad conditions for learning and Schümer (2004:102) resumes: "Pupils that grow up in unfavourable social or cultural circumstances and have correspondingly more underperforming problems than other pupils are twice disadvantaged if they are part of an extremely unfavourable pupil population" (translation by the author). Scientists of school achievement see indications for the adaptation to a lower level in schools with a high concentration of underperforming pupils.

American studies that compared contextual effects in social and ethnic segregated schools with well social mixed schools found out that educational attainment depends more on the social background of the pupils classmates than of their own social background (Hochschild & Scovronick 2004:192f).

In Germany, researchers on segregation assume, that there is an impact of neighbourhood effects on the socialisation of children and young people if their action space is strongly localised (Häußermann & Siebel 2007:107).

Educational underperforming is the result of social background, socio-spatial concentrated problems and the institutional disadvantage by the lack of social mixture in a low qualifying

school type. In the next chapter I will describe the conditions of a Hauptschule in a deprived neighbourhood in Berlin.

5. Illustration: The Eberhard-Klein-Schule, an integrated Haupt- and Realschule in a deprived neighbourhood in Berlin

The Eberhard-Klein-Schule has been converted in 1983 from a simple 'Hauptschule' to an integrated Haupt- and Realschule which offers the pupils the possibility to get a higher school-leaving-diploma. In the last decade the school has been developing to a school which is exclusively visited by students with mostly Turkish, Kurdish or Arabic background. The development is due to the drop of pupils in Berlin and the repeal of ethnic quotations since 1995.

It is located in the 'Wrangelkiez', which is a part of Kreuzberg, a district with a long multicultural tradition and a majority of migrants with Turkish roots. Most of the students live in the sphere of about 2 kilometres around the school. The Wrangelkiez is a quarter which has been diagnosed in several surveys as deprived and problematic. 43 percent of the people younger than 18 years have a foreign passport, half of them a Turkish one. Nearly 60 percent of the children are poor and live of social aid ('Hartz IV'). Kreuzberg has the highest quote of unemployment in Berlin, every third person is unskilled and every sixth person lives of social aid, a third of them are children.

The 'Monitoring Soziale Stadtentwicklung', which is a survey of development in social structures in Berlin districts and small-scale areas, shows in his third report in 2007 a fall in the unemployment quote down to 14 percent (http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/planen/basisdaten_stadtentwicklung/monitoring/download/2007/Endbericht-Monitoring2007.pdf, visited on the 19th of November, 2008). On one hand it shows an upward trend, on the other hand there is an increase of 23,6 percent of people that get social aid, because they do not work and of 59 percent of people, that are not able to work. These numbers show an increase in children's poverty and probably the declining quote of unemployed is an answer to precarious jobs or small income. The consequence is the support of the children by state transfers.

The government office for youth welfare of the district Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg shows a high charge in youth criminality and educational help in its report. The police statistics describes Kreuzberg as a highly burdened district in "neighbourhood criminality" (Der Polizeipräsident in Berlin 2008:25, http://www.berlin.de/imperia/md/content/seninn/abteilungiii/kriminalitaetsstatistiken2007/bericht.pdf, visited on the 19th of November, 2008)

In 2003, thirty percent of the pupils enrolled at the Eberhard-Klein-Schule with recommendation of a 'Realschulabschluss'. In 2006 no pupil started with this recommendation. The grade point average of this starting pupils was worst than 4 in a scale from 1 (the best) and 6 (the worst). The result of a test of their language skills in German was 2,93 of 10 possible points. These numbers give an impression of the language difficulties and the big challenge the school has to take up.

In 2007 only 13 of 83 school-leavers reached a 'Mittleren Schulabschluss', similar to the O-level and 5 of them all got an apprenticeship. Most of the pupil's families are large and poor. Measured by the exemption from paying learning aid 89 percent of the families live of some kind of social transfer and they are threatened by social exclusion.

The parents often are overstressed to overcome their own everyday life and to care about their children. The class registers are full with teacher's notes of pupils that came late to the lessons or did not come without any letters of excuse. Conversations at school or in their housings often show educational deficits: The children are too late at school because nobody gets up in the morning to wake them up or to prepare a breakfast. Girls have to stay at home to care about their little siblings or boys have to campaign their parents for a trip to the authorities to translate, because their parents do not understand German. Chronic unemployment, a life in poverty and the disorientation because of minor language skills in German seem to be some reasons of their unstructured daily life.

The parents worry about illness and depressions with the consequence of difficulties in their ability to act. Most of the families are less educated and have high expectations in the career of their children but they are not able to support them.

In the project 'Job coaching' in ninth and tenth grade the pupils were asked for the jobs of their parents. Following the pupils answers 96% of the parents are unskilled and most of them are unemployed or have an unsure job. A lot of elder siblings are prepared for an apprenticeship in courses, sometimes for several years and they are really frustrated not to get one.

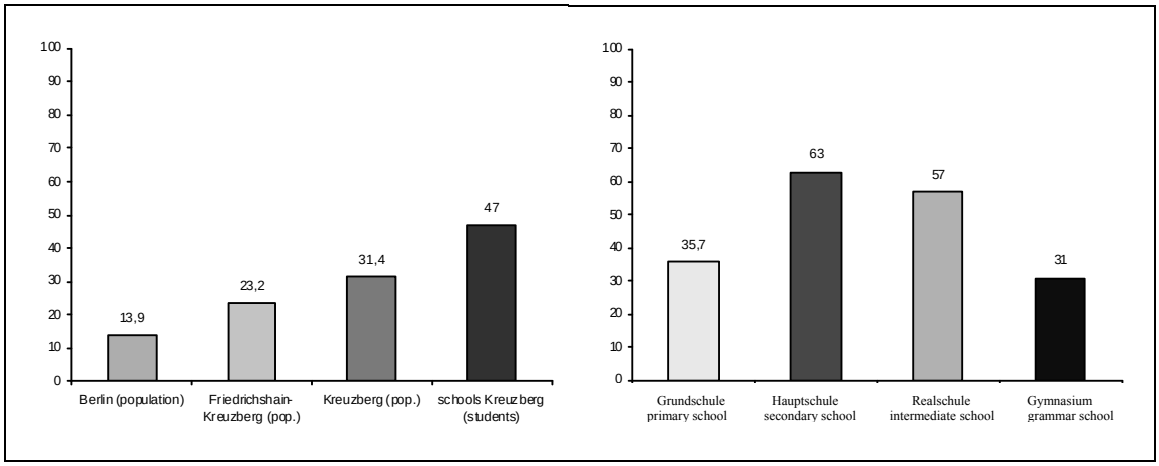
In the project 'Jobcoaching' in 2006 and 2007 all pupils of the graduating class was offered support in writing applications and trainings, how to behave in interviews but only 5 of 83 have got an apprenticeship. Their letters of application were controlled and improved by the Jobcoach, the teachers and the social worker but only a few were invited to an interview. All the active participants in this process had the suspicion that a Turkish or Arabic name, the school type 'Hauptschule' and the housing area were negative criteria in the selection of the applicants. On the other hand interviews by phone with 100 small and medium-sized companies revealed that a lot of small companies are no more willed to take boys with Muslim background in a practical training. They complained about a lack of discipline and of willing to be integrated in the company's process. Also the girls with headscarves are rarely taken by companies with customer contact because of the fear of negative reactions of customers. Turkish or Arabic companies are not apart from. (Baur & Wiese 2007; http://www.gew-berlin.de/blz/7271.htm)

But Germany will have an increasing skilled worker shortage and a falling number of unskilled jobs. So it is obvious that there is an urgent need for intensive educational support that cannot be given from the schools only. A concerted action of educational and other administrations, economy and parents is necessary.

6. Consequences of the 'white flight'

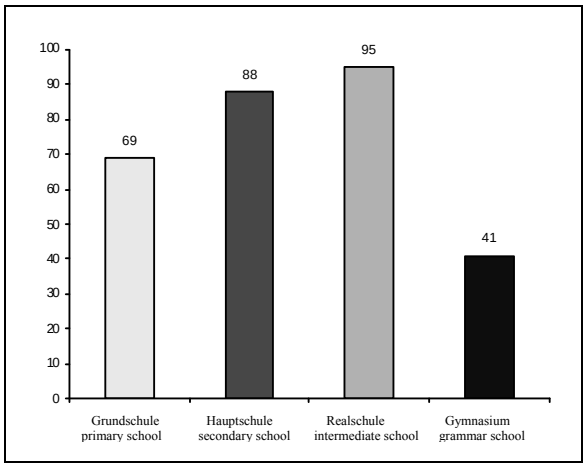
Families with high conscientiousness of education, independent of their ethnic background are leaving deprived areas in the moment of school enrolment. Children of less mobile and ill-informed families mostly with migratory background enrol in the local schools where they are a growing majority (Figures 2 and 3).

Figure 2: Foreigners total (passport) and foreign students in schools of Kreuzberg



Source: Own calculation and graphics with data of Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg; Senatsverwaltung für Bildung und Wissenschaft, http://www.berlin.de/sen/bwf/*, 2008*

Figure 3: Students with migratory background in Kreuzberg



Source: Own calculation and graphic with data of Senatsverwaltung für Bildung und Wissenschaft; http://www.berlin.de/sen/bwf/*, 2008*

In Berlin downtown are areas with high concentration of children and in same time of social problems. In the end the result of a comparison of all the districts shows a kind of divided childhood in the city. More and more children are living in areas with increasing problems in opposite to children living in areas with shrinking problems. (Monitoring Soziale Stadtentwicklung Berlin 2007: 78). In addition parents with high expectations in education of their children are keen to enrol their children in a private or magnet school. Catchment areas may be avoided by feigning a residence in a preferred area or the wish to enrol in a school

with a special educational profile or with the decision for a half-day ore a whole-day school. Some *Länder* like Nordrhein-Westfalen and Thüringen abolished catchment areas.

The consequence is the increasing segregation in schools with homogenous social circumstances. In social and socioeconomic deprived areas are schools with an attractive profile for educational conscientious parents and there are schools for the rest of the-pupils of less mobile and worst informed and mostly poor families.

There are missing children of middle class families with over average human capital as music instruction, dancing, cultural activity and homework tutor. The level of performance decreases with the homogenous school composition with pupils of low socioeconomic circumstances without German in the home spoken languages.

In Berlin we can find a relationship between the quote of the O-level and the quote of children with migratory background in the three downtown districts Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, Neukölln and Mitte. In these three districts the O-level is significant under average in comparison to Berlin as Table 1 shows. The social index is categorized with data of unemployment, social aid, life expectancy and level of education.

Table 1: Mittlerer Schulabschluss (O-Level) in different city districts of Berlin (average 79%)

Negative social index		**Positive social index**	
Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg	74%	Steglitz-Zehlendorf	88%
Neukölln	70%	Treptow-Köpenick	84
Mitte	68%	Tempelhof-Schöneberg	84%

Source: Own tabulation with data of the Institut of Schulqualität der Länder Berlin und Brandenburg 2007; http://www.isq-bb.de/pdf/msa2007/MSA-2007-Bericht-1.pdf*, visited on the 20th of November, 2008*

Radtke (2007) showed in his study that ethnic segregation in schools is the product of an uncoordinated steering mechanism. Parts of it are the quality of the residential area, the range of schools with special profiles and practises of enrolment and recommendations and at least the behaviour of school-choice of the parents. The education authority takes part in the process of segregation in changing catchment areas and allowing special regulations for enrolment out of them.

Not the migrants that are unwilling of being integrated are active in the segregation process but the German and foreign parents with social and cultural capital which allows them to choose the schools (Radtke 2007:207/2008).

The abolition of catchment areas is a preferred solution of education economists discussing segregation. The hope is, to create a marketing situation, which enforces all schools to give the best (Kersten 2007). But the problem is, that performance orientated schools attract and prefer middle-class parents and students. There is a high concurrence between schools in test results and qualifications. School achievement studies like PISA and PIRLS put pressure on schools with the effect, that schools prefer well performing pupils to show good results and have a good reputation (Radtke, 2007).

7. Measures up to now

Current proposals of the way to improve educational opportunities of children with migratory background often refer to a reform of the school system or an improvement of the quality of education. Berlin started in 2008 the so called Gemeinschaftsschule, a pilot project for three years and the fusion of Haupt- and Realschule to reduce the negative effects of the Hauptschule (www.gemeinschaftsschule-berlin.de, visited on the 21st of April, 2008). Other cities are testing neighbourhood schools or abolish the Hauptschulen as solely school form.

In Germany 20 percent of 80000 pupils changed their school form by going up but 60 percent by going down (Konsortium Bildungsberichterstattung 2006:51/52). Pupils with migratory background go down to the Hauptschule with 20 percent twice as German pupils and stay there as a multiple disadvantaged and frustrated group.

Some federal states as Berlin stopped repeating classes in primary school and the first two years in the Hauptschule. All schools have to write education plans for pupils, which are endangered of repeating classes and arrange a meeting with their parents. But the schools have no additional funding to support the low ability pupils.

Language improvement is seen as a central measure because language ability is a key competence for education and social integration.

All educational establishments from kindergarten to high school have to participate in a process of quality development and evaluation (http://www.berlin.de/sen/bildung/foerderung/schueler_nichtdeutscher_herkunftssprache/daz.html)

According to the latest scientific findings training programmes have to be started from infancy on and have to include parents in an equal partnership. The development of half-day schools into full-day ones is especially important for children without family resources for a private training programme.

More chances for pupils to get an apprenticeship are expected from cooperation between schools and organisations especially companies. Neighbourhood managements are willing to have local educational initiatives on top of their acting plans supported by the programme ‘Social city’.

But what are the results of these measures? Until now they are less evaluated. This is one of the tasks of the next years. All schools have got this job but they cannot do it alone. They need urgently support.

8. Summary

The educational problems of children and young people with migratory background need a concerted action plan.

Ethnic and social segregation in neighbourhoods and schools is a problem of all people. While residential ethnic segregation is valued differently and cannot be combated by stops in moving in areas with high percentage of migrants, ethnic and social segregated schools offer a milieu of underperforming and social exclusion. From humanistic, demographic and economic points of view it is important to offer everybody the best education and give him the possibility to participate in the economic, cultural and political society.

Very well funded schools with best qualified and motivated teachers and social workers need to be the basic equipment. A governmental regulation is necessary to prevent, that well-meaning 'Gemeinschaftsschulen' (some kind of comprehensive schools) or merged school types attract a part of the pupil's population because of their profile or location and the others have to make do with other (less attractive) schools. Imaginable is a controlled mixture of pupils not by race but by socioeconomic selection criterion corresponding to the unemployment and social aid quote which are indicated by the number of exemptions from paying learning aid.

The education of children depends strongly on their peer group. Therefore it is important to educate them not *like* but *with* middle-class-children (Hochschild/Scovronick: 201). For that social mixture is indispensable.

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YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN BERLIN: EXPLORING THE CONTEXT, STRATEGIES AND OUTCOMES OF FOUR ORGANISATIONS

Yvonne Hung

1. Introduction

International research indicates, 'adolescent well-being can be most effectively achieved by strengthening their capabilities, enlarging access to opportunities, and providing them with safe and supportive environments' (United Nations Children's Fund, 2001, p.8). One setting in which these criteria can be fulfilled is in organisations that provide activities and programs for young people.

Community-based organisations provide a setting, outside of school and home, in which young people can expand their understanding of themselves and the world through interaction with peers and caring adults. Developmental perspectives on participation in youth organisations are beginning to trace how early participation has immediate benefits (Hart et al., 1997) and long-term implications for political engagement and civic identity (Yates & Youniss, 1998).

At its best, youth work might provide what the German Youth Institute asserts as a basis for the development of '*democratic patterns of communication and action*' (Winzen, 2002, p.149). However in order to create settings in which young people model or practise or join an active informed citizenry, then it is necessary to investigate the contexts, strategies and outcomes of existing youth participation efforts.

2. Method

The research on youth participation in Berlin was carried out from October 2007-November 2008. Building on initial contact with faculty and students at Humboldt University-Berlin[1], I was able to branch out my network to include policymakers, directors and staff, teachers, social workers, artists, civil servants and youth. The ensuing conversations, interviews, and neighbourhood tours with staff, civil servants and youth were crucial for me to develop an overarching understanding of the variety and breadth of programs for children and youth.

[1] Contacts at the Institute for Social Science and the Institute for European Ethnography were particularly helpful.

Over the course of the year, I also sought direct contact with organisations situated in economically or socially disadvantaged areas that offered activities for adolescents and young people. I was fortunate to get a closer glimpse into four organisations that have activities or projects for young people (12-20 year age range) to participate in. The first organisation (A) is a centre for young girls and female adolescents in Kreuzberg. The second organisation (B) offers a peer training program in Schöneberg for young men and women who eventually work as rock climbing assistants. The third (C) is an organisation for gay and lesbian Turkish Berliners in Schöneberg where young people created and performed a theatre project. The fourth (D) is a neighbourhood centre in Marzahn that conducted a community needs survey with the help of five young residents. All four organisations opened their doors to allow me to conduct informal and formal interviews and discussions with staff and youth participants about the context, strategies and outcomes of youth participation. In two of the four organisations (girls-only centre, neighbourhood centre), I have had more extended contact where we met regularly over the course of 2 months and 6 months respectively.

3. Findings

In this section, I describe the organisation's context, strategies and outcomes based on interviews, discussions and observations with adult staff and youth participants.

Organisation A – Girls-only Centre

The organisation is situated on the eastern edge of Kreuzberg whose political borders also include Friedrichshain. Among the population of 18-60 year old in the region of Kreuzberg-Friedrichshain in 2002, 18.6% are unemployed and 16.9% don't have a high school diploma (Statistisches Landesamt Berlin, 2003). The girls-only centre is located in the quarter called 'Wrangelkiez' where nearly 40% of the approximately 12,500 residents have a non-German background (http://www.wrangelkiez.de/).

The organisation has made its home in an interior courtyard surrounded by a play area and the backs of several apartment buildings. One approaches the warmly painted 2-story building by pushing a large metal gate and walking past a small green lawn. The free-standing building has several large windows through which one can make out a computer area, a clustering of tables and chairs, a raised platform with pillows and a tidy kitchen space. During my afternoon visits, I would find 4-6 girls crowded around the computers mostly chatting with friends on the internet, 3-5 girls doing homework or talking, and two of the three female staff sitting at the tables. When asked why they preferred having a separate space for girls only, one 12-year old girl said that it allowed girls to hang out by themselves without boys being able to bother or harass them.

The mission of the organisation is to provide a safe space for female adolescents and young women (10-25 years old). The girls can freely choose to do a structured activity (dance course) or an unstructured activity (hanging out, using the internet). The structured activities are provided by female adults (staff or teachers) and the girls are consulted about what they would like to do, but are not made responsible for organising their own activities. On the days I visited the centre, there were mostly young girls and teens present. They have been involved

in cooking together, dance and sewing courses, playing board games and chatting. The three female adult staff come from non-German backgrounds, as do most of the young girls. However the language of the organisation and its daily running is conducted in German.

The area immediately surrounding the organisation is a play space that has various climbing and swinging equipment. It is used by neighbourhood children but also by boys and young men who can be found hanging out in the play space. The organisation is off limits to them and the surrounding space is used to contest that division. The staff members describe how the physical property of the space is sometimes damaged or that the girls suffer taunts from the boys as they go inside.

During the few months I spent visiting the girls' centre, I also noticed that the 12-13 year old girls would sometimes challenge the authority of the female staff. For instance, openly breaking the rules by eating and drinking while using the computer. One girl talked about how one form of play or activity that she sometimes engages in is basically annoying or hassling the staff [2]. One staff member discussed the testing and confrontational attitude that some of the girls of this age bring in, particularly when they are in a group; saying that this behaviour was less true of the older female teenagers. She attributed it to factors, such as the fact that the adolescent girls are going through puberty, that some may have difficulties and stress at home and that it is a form of testing the (relatively) new staff[3]. Previously another female-only centre was in the building and in one of the interviews, one girl talked with a cynical almost resigned tone about the turnover of staff in the last few years.

Organisation B – Peer Helper Program

A Peer Helper Program is operated out of an organisation that provides mobile children and youth services in Schöneberg-Nord. As of December 2006, the area had 48,565 residents of which approximately 30% have a non-German background (Bezirksamt Tempelhof-Schöneberg von Berlin, 2007).

The male and female teenager Peer Helpers are interested in rock climbing (indoor and outdoor) and undergo training to become climbing assistants to children and other youth. For the afternoons of peer assistance that they provide, they are offered a stipend by the organisation. Although the organisation is based in Schöneberg-Nord, the Peer Helpers themselves come from other parts of Berlin, including Pankow and Marzahn. They also travel to different climbing facilities in Berlin, including outdoor sites in Friedrichshain and an indoor centre in Neukölln.

According to the interviews and discussions with staff and youth, the Peer Helpers are motivated by their interest in rock climbing, the satisfaction they feel from supporting others and being supported by others (essential in climbing) and earning a little extra money. The male staff member felt strongly that the sport of climbing allows both men and women to

[2] ‚Manchmal ärgern wir die (die Erwachsene)... Ärgern und dann aus lachen.'
[3] At the time (October 2007), the female staff members had only been working from 3-7 months in the organisation.

show their strengths. The young men generally had more upper body strength whereas the young women were more flexible and showed strong mastery of technique.

Along with developing the facility and patience necessary to work with children and youth, the Peer Helpers experienced a range of travel that extended beyond their homes and beyond the location of the centre in Schöneberg-Nord. The young men I spoke with lived in the eastern edges of Berlin but had friends in the west and would travel to different climbing sites all around Berlin. This enabled them to experience a sense of mastery in these different settings, from a bare-bones bunker outfitted for climbing that is free, to an elaborate indoor facility that attracts young professionals.

The young men I interviewed spoke about how climbing gave them a sense of pride and accomplishment and taught them about the importance of determination and persistence. One young man shared that the best and worst moments he's experienced as a rock climber were on the same day. He recalled that his lowest moment occurred when he was trying to do a leap that he knew was more difficult than he had tried before. He risked it but he fell on the first try. The most fulfilling moment came after, when he tried it again and he succeeded. It reinforced in him the importance of choosing to continually push the boundary between what one can do comfortably (with the capability one has achieved) and what one (with daring) can accomplish.

Organisation C – Youth Theatre Project

The third youth program is based within an association for gay and lesbian Turkish Berliners. The organisation shares a building with several other social organisations. The building itself is recessed from the street and surrounded by greenery. The centre is located in the region called Tempelhof-Schöneberg and according to figures in 2002, 13.3% of the residents are unemployed and 15.4% have a non-German background (Statistisches Landesamt Berlin, 2003).

The organisation started out in 1997 with the goal of providing a safe space for gays and lesbians of Turkish descent in Berlin. It became a recognized association in 2003, and in addition to offering Movie Nights, readings and advice and support to their members, members are also involved in other projects connected to migration, anti-racism and anti-homophobia. These political engagement efforts link them to broader networks beyond Berlin. The organisation has no full-time staff but had at the time one part-time staff member, who functioned as the administrative core along with a dedicated team of volunteers.

One activity sponsored by the organisation is a youth theatre project. It is facilitated through one adult member, who is able to combine his passion for theatre and his capacity to work with young people in collective projects. Their group of 6 youth members (age 17-25) wrote and developed a piece that would be performed at a Turkish community theatre. It was not supposed to be political nor deal with queer issues or migration explicitly; rather they wanted to use the stage and their art to express a more universal emotion, fear. They chose to tell the story of how fear and paranoia lies close under the surface of society and how these powerful emotions can push one to commit transgressive acts.

Only one of the young people (18-year old male of Turkish descent) is an official member of the organisation; the rest of the members are young actors drawn to the possibility of creating and producing their own theatrical piece. Most had known each other or had some connection to the youth theatre scene in Berlin. The group has members who identify themselves as straight, as well as, as queer. The young people also have diverse backgrounds, including Greek, Turkish and German.

According to those involved in the project, it was clear that the open and accepting atmosphere of the umbrella organisation made possible for the young actors to come to terms and feel accepted no matter their sexuality. As one young 17-year old woman remarked, its not as if they have to declare anything about their sexuality or prove anything; it would be just as normal to be straight as it would be to be queer.

Just as important as the backdrop of the organisation, is that the project involved the young actors in writing and creating their own piece. The adult facilitator under the aegis of the organisation offered space and ideas, but his role was to help support the young actors in developing their own skills. He shared proudly that the young actors had once requested that he pull back in his facilitation because they felt they were ready to take on more responsibility.

Organisation D – Neighbourhood Centre

The community-based organisation in Marzahn-Mitte is a freestanding one-story concrete building surrounded by a metal fence. It is surrounded by large apartment high-rise buildings and has a sand play area and a small football court by the entrance. It is painted dark blue and has greetings in different languages painted on its façade. Although it tries to overcome its concrete heft with quotes about youth and politics and peace, it is not immediately obvious as a social space for the area. However if one looks closer, one sees the white plastic tables and chairs placed near the entrance, from which staff call out and greet neighbours or the fenced off side area in which a menu with affordable lunch options are advertised, it becomes more apparent as a neighbourhood establishment.

The district of Marzahn-Hellersdorf in which the centre is located has a comparatively low percentage of non-Germans (3.1% in 2002) however this figure belies the fact that there is a Russian-speaking (but ethnic German) population, as well as a small Vietnamese community that also reside there. Approximately 16.3% of the residents were unemployed in 2002 (Statistisches Landesamt Berlin, 2003). The built environment consists mostly of large high-rise apartment blocks built in the 1980's with open green space and wide boulevards.

Over the course of six months, I worked with five interns (19-21 years old) to carry out a *Sozialraumanalyse* or research into the community to improve how an organisations functions to meet the needs of its residents. Staff members of social organisations are offered training in social science methods of inquiry and analysis in order to help them analyse the community and evaluate their work. The organisation worked together with public servants from the local *Jugendamt* or Youth Agency and a team of youth interns and myself to develop a community needs survey for the area.

The youth interns are studying or hope to become social workers or kindergarten teachers. One main motivation for their involvement is to fulfil an internship requirement but it was also combined with their desire to improve the area. They wanted to combat some of the negative images of place that are attached to Marzahn with some more concrete ideas about resident's actual feelings and opinions about how the area could be improved. The community needs survey was carried out over four weeks, in which we spoke with residents in the public spaces of Marzahn-Mitte (streets, train stations, shopping malls and parking lots) as well as through leaving surveys in doctors' offices or at local gas stations. The interns' insider knowledge of the area proved invaluable for the planning and execution of the street survey.

Over the course of the 4 weeks in which conducted the survey in the public spaces of Marzahn, we were able to get approximately 1200 participants. Nearly two-thirds of the sample were women. Nearly five-sixths of the sample were residents of the district. Although many of the residents expressed satisfaction with living in the area and amongst the older residents, couldn't imagine leaving the district, there were also many concrete suggestions for how the area could be improved. For instance, the residents wanted more social offerings for singles, expanded educational and training opportunities and increasing safety measures in specific areas[4].

In addition to providing an opportunity for youth interns to conduct community research, they were also supported in the capacity to be community advocates during the presentation of results in various settings. These included: a community fair where results from other organisations' community research were presented, a roundtable of the leaders of neighbourhood organisations in Berlin, and a 4-hour long presentation for public servants, elected officials, youth workers and young people from the area.

4. Discussion

In this section, I relate the organisations' context, strategies and outcomes to ongoing discussions about meaningful youth participation. Each of the four organisations highlighted represent different approaches along a spectrum from youth development to youth leadership opportunities. The Forum for Youth Investment (2004) defines youth development as providing safe spaces for young people to develop skills and positive self-identity with caring adults. The authors distinguish this from youth leadership approaches that make it possible for young people to take greater responsibility in decision-making and deepen their understanding of community issues.

The findings of this qualitative research are exploratory however they do reflect how the organisation defines its scope of action and situates its work in the neighbourhood or beyond. I will relate this distinction in how the organisation situates itself and carries out its day-to-day work with a key aspect of youth participation, namely, the roles being modelled and taken on by youth and adults in these different settings. Winkelhofer (2004, p. 152) asserts,

[4] Most notably, turning on the lights along the pathways of a nearby park.

> *'There are always two sides to participation, which is both a chance and a risk. If adults are serious about the participation of children and young people, they must also be prepared to hand over competencies and responsibilities.'*

Organisation A situates itself in the neighbourhood by offering what one might term a 'safe haven' or a separate enclave for young girls. Girls are invited to take part in a roster of courses but they can also choose to do unstructured activities. The adult female staff is perceived as caring but they are also dealing with girls who have been perhaps conditioned to be wary of the longevity of staff at the centre. The relatively new staff has to establish a new dynamic and enforce a set of social norms that may be different from the previous organisation's. This dynamic of adult setting and enforcing rules could produce a counter-reaction from the girls and perhaps explain the level of boundary testing and rebellion against the rules of the space as exercised by some of the girls.

The enclave dynamic could also characterise the tolerant and accepting space provided by Organisation C. In this example, the youth and adult staff cooperate and share decision-making processes more evenly. The young actors expressed pleasure at having the opportunity to be in a place where they can exercise creative control over the process and appreciated the adult staff as a facilitator and supporter of their work. However it is a group dynamic within a project that has a distinct time span. The organisation provided the space for the meetings and rehearsals of the theatre piece, as well as an atmosphere of acceptance but when asked if she could imagine taking on a greater role in the organisation, one young woman replied,

> *'Not really because it is intended for Turkish people and since I'm not Turkish, I don't really understand when everyone speaks Turkish…Perhaps that is why. Everyone is nevertheless very nice.*

In contrast, the Peer Helper program of Organisation B worked to create a network of spaces in which young people can demonstrate and utilize their growing skills to help others. In this respect, one young man enjoyed the sense of cooperation and helpfulness that is different than one he encounters in other places. During the private training sessions I observed[5] with the Peer Helpers from Organisation B, there was a camaraderie that the young men and the staff members displayed toward one another. As an activity, climbing allows one to display individual skill on the wall as well as a necessary dependence on the partner, with whom you are tethered to, who is on the ground. I witnessed the ways in which the Peer Helpers and the wiry lean male staff member listened to each other and also playfully joshed with one another. Although it is an adult-organised program, the young men shared how they were supported to use their own judgment. The male staff member displayed a couching style that mixed attention and encouragement, while also giving space for the Peer Helpers to try and fail and try again.

[5] For those Peer Helpers who want continue to practise their climbing, they can go at a designated time during the week (unpaid) to an indoor climbing facility to train with the accompaniment and assistance of the male staff member for free.

Similarly, the community needs survey as carried out by the youth interns in Organisation D sought to establish a broader network of spaces that extended to the surrounding area. The youth interns and myself were in the public spaces of Marzahn-Mitte wearing jackets that showed our affiliation not only to the neighbourhood centre but also to the local *Jugendamt* or Youth Agency. We bore the marking and designation of our official ties, as well as signifying our 'community ties' by being on the frontlines to receive public opinions. The nature of the cooperation within the project provided for their feedback to be incorporated into the planning and execution of the survey. One intern remarked,

> *'I found it good that after the presentation of our results, that so many people offered their help. I felt like we really achieved something. I also gained a lot of experience in how to conduct a Sozialraumanalyse, how one works and cooperates with public servants. That an organisation can't simply say that they will do their own project and other organisations could just care less, rather that we need to work together and build a circle of cooperation.'*

As long-time residents of the area, they are witnesses to the transformations of landscape and unwilling to let the stereotypes of the district keep them from seeing the positive and negative qualities of their area. The most transformative dynamic between youth and adult roles was that the interns were involved in asking critical questions about their environments and sharing the results with adults whose work and interests (as policymakers, youth workers, civil servants, teachers and police) directly relate to the survey findings. In doing so, the young people expanded their civic identities as concerned witnesses to engaged actors in their community.

In summary, the four organisations highlighted in this paper represent a spectrum of opportunities and interactions for young people to exercise varying levels of responsibility and action. Spannring (2008, p.40) argues that

> *'the actual practice of everyday democracy strongly influences the perception young people have of participation and the motivation and skills they develop to get engaged in the community, in society and politics.'*

If we take that claim to be true, then investigating the social and physical contexts in which young people learn and practise everyday democracy is necessary. Future research can hopefully provide further insights into how settings for youth engagement can offer opportunities for young people and adults to develop new roles and take on transformed civic identities.

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EUROPEAN CITY DEVELOPMENT IN BERLIN: TOWARDS AN URBAN RENAISSANCE OF THE HISTORIC CITY CENTRE?

Martin Sondermann

1. Introduction

'The Cities are changing. They shrink, age, decline, perforate, drain and disappear - at the same time, however, they grow, consolidate and rejuvenate' (Lang et al. 2004: 3, author's translation). The dynamic of social, economic, cultural and political processes has always had an impact on cities as a built environment and a place to live. The *European city* underwent two thousand years of development and still it is present as an ideal in discussions about the future of the city, especially in the terms of housing. As a model, the *European city* is the basis for recent urban development policies on all political levels in Europe and by all means in Berlin. A recent trend towards a mixing of functions within compact settlement structures is correlated to the *urban renaissance*, which represents the increased importance of city centres as a place to live. An influx of inhabitants to city centres and a subsequent mixing of functions arise. The historic city centre of Berlin is supposed to be a prime example for an *urban renaissance*, as it gained significantly in importance as an upmarket housing location, being widely discussed in the media. This change will be reconsidered in this study as the central question is:

> Does Berlin's historic city centre experience an *urban renaissance* within its politically intended development towards a *European city*?

To answer this question the study is structured as follows:

The second chapter of this study focuses on the *European city* and its impact on urban policies, emphasising city centre housing as a central issue. The *urban renaissance* as it is discussed in literature will also be reconsidered, for the further study seizes on these two subject matters and explores their relation. The third chapter introduces Berlin's historic city centre as the study area. This area has been chosen because its housing structure and its perception as a place to live have changed considerably since 1990. The historical developments will be recapitulated as well as the political framework. In the fourth chapter the development of Berlin's historic city centre as a housing location since 1990 is analysed. Divided into four phases the change of this area from a marginal populated urban frontier to one of Berlin's most favoured and expensive housing locations is analysed. A concluding consideration is provided in the fifth chapter.

2. European city and urban renaissance

The *European city* as a model is subject to the contemporary scientific and political discussions concerning urban development today and in the future. However, there is no unified definition what the *European city* is or what it should be. In this chapter a first approach to the *European city* will be made (2.1), emphasising the importance of city centre housing as a central issue of the political implementation of this model (2.2). An urban development towards a *European city* is coevally a development towards an *urban renaissance*, which will be reconsidered concerning its origin and its use in this study (2.3).

2.1 The European city

Historically seen, the *European city* has a tradition of more than two thousand years of settlement history, which began with the ancient Greek *polis*. Spatially seen, the ancient and later the medieval cities were limited in their spatial expansion due to surrounding defensive walls which enclosed all major city functions. In consequence of the founding of territorial states and their takeover of defence issues, the walls were demolished and the cities expanded into former agriculturally used areas (cf. Kreibich 2001: 42-42).

A leap of development that included a considerable reshaping and reorganisation can be asserted for the time of industrialisation at the end of the 19th century. With a massive outward urban growth and a growing density of buildings and population, the centres gained more significance through the concentration of economic activities and public transport. Subsequently, the compact pre-industrial *European city* with its mixture of housing, working, recreation, and traffic disappeared (Siebel: 2000: 28-29) whilst the spatial separation of functions in terms of the Athens Charter increased (cf. Kreibich 2001: 42 f.). In other words, 'the 20th century has moved to fragment urban complexity and reached out to optimise each individual element in individual spatial allocation' (Scheurer 2001: 170). A proceeding fragmentation and dissolution of compact settlement structures is still present, as the process of suburbanisation has not ended yet.

Despite these changes there is still an idea of a *European city*, as well as there is an aspiration for it. The criteria to define a *European city* are considerably wide-ranged and include the 'presence of history', bourgeois 'emancipation' as well as a 'gap between a private and public sphere' (Siebel 2005: 1-2). Another sociological approach to definition relates the *European city* to an urbanity which is closely connected with the European civilisation and culture (cf. Häußermann 2007: 71). A more comprehensible idea might be the one of a traditional, compact and mix-use *European city* (cf. Stimmann 1999: 547). This rather simple definition is also considered in the European urban development strategy, namely in the 'Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities' (2007). This charter comprehends a 'compact settlement structure' as a 'basis for efficient and sustainable use of resources' and proclaims a 'strategy of mixing housing, employment, education, supply and recreational use' (Leipzig Charter 2007). The *European city* today can therefore be seen as a model for urban development. This model is based on an idealised image of pre-industrial *European cities*, which enclosed all city functions within a compact urban structure.

2.2 City centre housing

One central issue of the *European city* as a model for urban development is a (re-)integration of housing into city centres. This ideal is rooted in a fear of deserted streets at night, like in the City of London and wide-spread suburbs with an expanding traffic infrastructure, like in Los Angeles. Suburban sprawl is a process which is also present in Europe, causing a multitude of problems: First of all, landscape consumption can be stated as well as environmental impacts based on increasing commuter traffic. Secondly, the loss of inhabitants means also a loss of taxes and purchasing power. Thirdly, social segregation and the decline of young and well educated people with a higher income results in the decline of civic involvement (cf. Harlander et al. 2007: 11; Rosenkranz 1998: 147).

'The *European alternative* to the highly spread-out American city' (Tosics 2004: 69) aims at a small-scale integration of all city functions including housing, which contributes to a enlivenment of the city centres (cf. Kreibich 2001, 53-54; Heath 2001: 465). One aim of the small-scale integration of functions is the resulting spatial proximity and a 'City of short distances'. The latter are creating a diverse urban functionality sui generis and also help to reduce commuter traffic and the expenditure of time. Further benefits are lower expenses for infrastructure due to smaller supply areas and higher utilisation rates (cf. Holl, Jessen 2007: 285, Rosenkranz 1998: 147-148). An 'increasing residential community' also contributes 'significantly to the local economy by creating a greater indigenous demand for a diverse range of goods and services' (Heath 2001: 465). There are, of course, disadvantages of city centre housing as well. There are only few shopping facilities for daily needs, for example. Other barely profitable uses like children's playgrounds are also often absent. In addition to this, the traffic noise and exhaust fumes as well as the hustle and bustle are presenting a cause of conflict for the inhabitants' need of rest (cf. Harlander et a. 2007: 12; Rosenkranz 1998: 148).

Despite these disadvantages, it can be assumed that the preservation and redevelopment of housing as a constitutive part of the city centre is a central issue of further development of the *European city*. It is not only in tradition of the European settlement history but also important by means of sustainability, cost reduction and enlivenment.

2.3 The urban renaissance

A development towards the ideal *European city* is the currently discussed *urban renaissance*, which encompasses processes of urban renewal from repopulation, and regeneration up to a new appreciation of cities and especially city centres as places to live. This first definition, however, appears rather blurred and therefore needs to be reflected concerning its origin and defined concerning its use in this work.

In 1955 the *Time magazine* devoted a cover story to the 'Rebirth of the city'. The French equivalent to rebirth was eponymous to another article in 1962, entitled 'Renaissance' which was followed by the cover story 'Bringing the city back to life' in 1987. Referring to these articles, Storper and Manville (2006: 1247) assert that 'The urban comeback has been coming for some time'. Indeed, neither the term nor the process is new. An explicit use of the term

urban renaissance, which is still applicable today, can be stated for Peter Borsay's work 'The English Urban renaissance' (1989). Borsay examines the reconstruction of the English county town of Warwick, which has been destroyed completely in a fire in 1664. He describes Warwick's post-fire reconstruction as a part of a 'wider economic, social, and cultural revival' and concerning this he uses the term *English Urban renaissance* for he sees parallels to the *Italian Renaissance*: From his perspective both are 'urban phenomena' which are 'associated with high culture' and an 'absorption and propagation of classical art and thought' (Borsay 1989: viii). More concrete, he considers 'fashionable and comfortable housing', 'better civic facilities' and 'an appealing new range of recreational services' to be 'critical in attracting the wealthy to visit towns and reside in them' (ibid.: 312). The presence of wealthy people 'stimulated the urban economy as a whole' (ibid.), because of the raising demand for lodging, services, luxury crafts and trade. Borsay also concludes that wealthy residents 'no longer found it necessary to flee the town to pursue status and civilised living', an aim which has been rediscovered ten years after this publication by the British government.

In 1998 the 'Urban Task Force' was launched by the New Labour government, commissioned to explore the reasons for the decline of British cities and to make proposals how to repopulate them. The resulting report 'Towards an Urban Renaissance' (Urban Task Force 1999) 'was very influential and the term 'Urban Renaissance' has permeated in policy discourses and official papers since' (Colomb 2007: 4). Although the term has been introduced before, this report affected the *urban renaissance* in its second meaning, namely as an urban development policy. The meaning of the term *urban renaissance* has been modified compared to Borsay: As a British urban development policy the *urban renaissance* is aiming to construct urban environments which base on the 'principles of social mixing, sustainability, connectivity, higher densities, walkability, and high-quality streetscapes' (Rogers, Coaffee 2005: 323, cited after Colomb 2007: 4) and seeks to attract people back to the city. These aims are congruent with those of the *European city* as a model for urban development (cf. 2.1).

In Germany the contemporary *urban renaissance* debate can be traced back to the publication of *'Rettet unsere Städte jetzt!'* ('Save our cities now!'), published by *Deutscher Städtetag* (German Association of Cities) in 1971. It expounds the problems of suburban sprawl and initiated subsequent discussions and research projects. In 1987 first evidence of a return of certain lifestyle groups from suburbia to the city centres was found, resulting in the idea of 'new urbanity' (cf. Häußermann, Siebel 1987). A more recent publication deals with the *urban renaissance* in terms of living in the city centre (cf. Brühl et al. 2005). This study explores the 'rediscovery' (ibid.: 19) of inner-city neighbourhoods as places to live. Several factors are mentioned, such as the demographic change, changing lifestyles which evolve from a 'service and knowledge society' and an 'information age' (ibid.: 20). It is further stated that suburban living is 'losing its predominant attractiveness for certain sections of the population' whereas the city centre 'is becoming the preferred residential location for people of all phases of life, living in households of all sizes and cultivating a wide range of lifestyles and habits' (ibid.: 21). The explicit use of the notion 'renaissance' represents a positive public perception of city centres as places to live and a positive evaluation of this change on the part of the authors. A changing perception, however, does not necessarily lead to actual and quantifiable effects in terms of an increase of residents within city centre areas. The

suburbanisation process in Germany is on its decline, a return of suburbanites to city centres, however, is yet not detected (Hesse 2008: 420 f.). Therefore, the German *urban renaissance* cannot be equated with an actual repopulation or with a reurbanisation.

Taking these examples into consideration, different uses of the term *urban renaissance* can be seen: Borsay (1989) used the term in a rather descriptive way for an urban regeneration process, emphasising its embedding into a wider economic, social, and cultural revival and the positive impact of the influx of wealthy people. The Urban Task Force (1999) declared the *urban renaissance* to be an urban development policy which is basically aiming at a repopulation of (inner) cities. In Germany the recent *urban renaissance* is a rather qualitative effect, which can be seen as a mental reversal of the trend to prefer living in suburbia. Considering these three approaches, I like to define *urban renaissance* as follows:

The *urban renaissance* is the revival of (inner) cities as places to live. It is embedded into urban regeneration processes, which are characterised by a growing number of (upper class) residents within (inner) cities, who contribute to a vivid and economically prosperous urban environment. Thereby the effects range from a quantifiable to a rather intentional and qualitative nature. Concerning its expected outcome the *urban renaissance* is highly correlated to the *European city* as model for urban development and therefore it is also characterised by the principles of social and functional mixing, sustainability, connectivity, walkability and dense built environments. The *urban renaissance* is both, a descriptive term and an urban development policy.

3. The Berlin case study

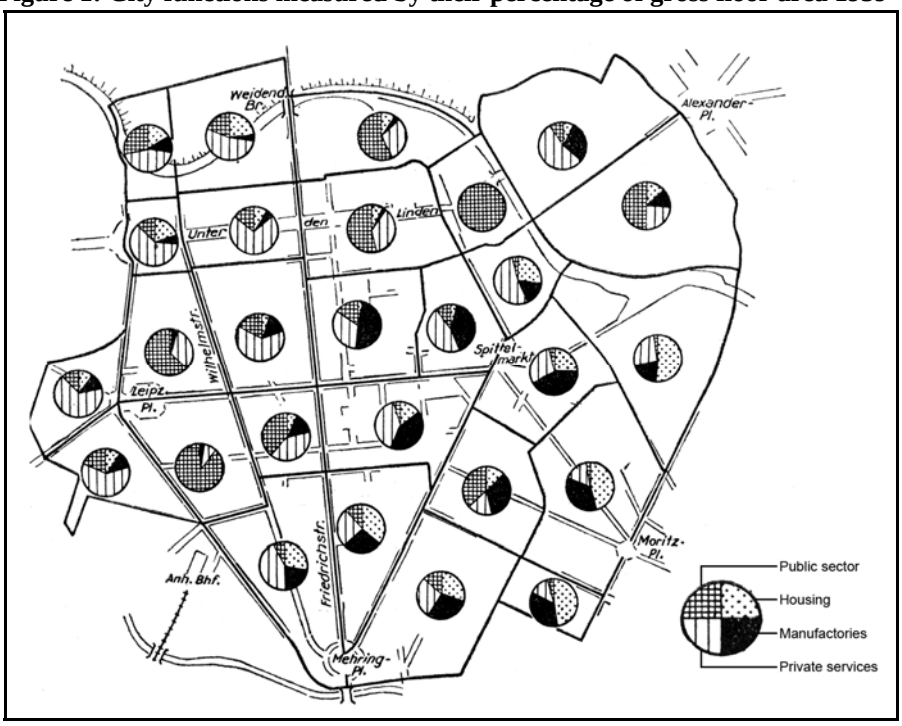
City centre housing in the *European city* became a concrete subject within the discussion about the urban development of Berlin. The fall of the Berlin wall offered unique possibilities for a city centre development through the existence of widespread brownfield sites. In addition to this, a new appreciation of Berlin as the Capital of Germany emerged. Today Berlin appears as a prime example for an *urban renaissance* (cf. Hesse 2008: 416, 423). This chapter introduces Berlin's historic city centre as the study object, considering city centre housing in its historic development until 1990.

3.1 Short history of housing in the historic city centre

The question how housing and living in Berlin's historic city centre are changing today cannot be answered without a reflection of the past: With the formation of the German Reich in the year 1871 Berlin gained significant importance as a political centre. The rebuilding of the historic centre within its medieval borders, which began in 1866, was accompanied by the urbanisation of bordering areas. The industrialisation accelerated the process of growth and spatial differentiation and due to a free property market the urban developments mainly proceeded out of economic interest. Therefore the price became a controlling factor which enabled the tertiary sector to displace the residential population (cf. Wagner 1998: 10-11). Between 1871 and 1910 the population of the historic city centre districts decreased by 40.8

percent in *Dorotheenstadt*, 45.7 percent in *Friedrichstadt* and 66.4 percent in *Friedrichswerder* (cf. Schulz 2006: 31). With the decline of residential estates the night population declined whilst the day population increased due to employment creation. Another result was the domination of the public sector, private services and manufactories compared to housing. This did not change during the time of National Socialism (see figure 1).

Figure 1: City functions measured by their percentage of gross floor area 1939



Source: Krause, R. (1958): Die Berliner City. Berlin: 46; modified by author.

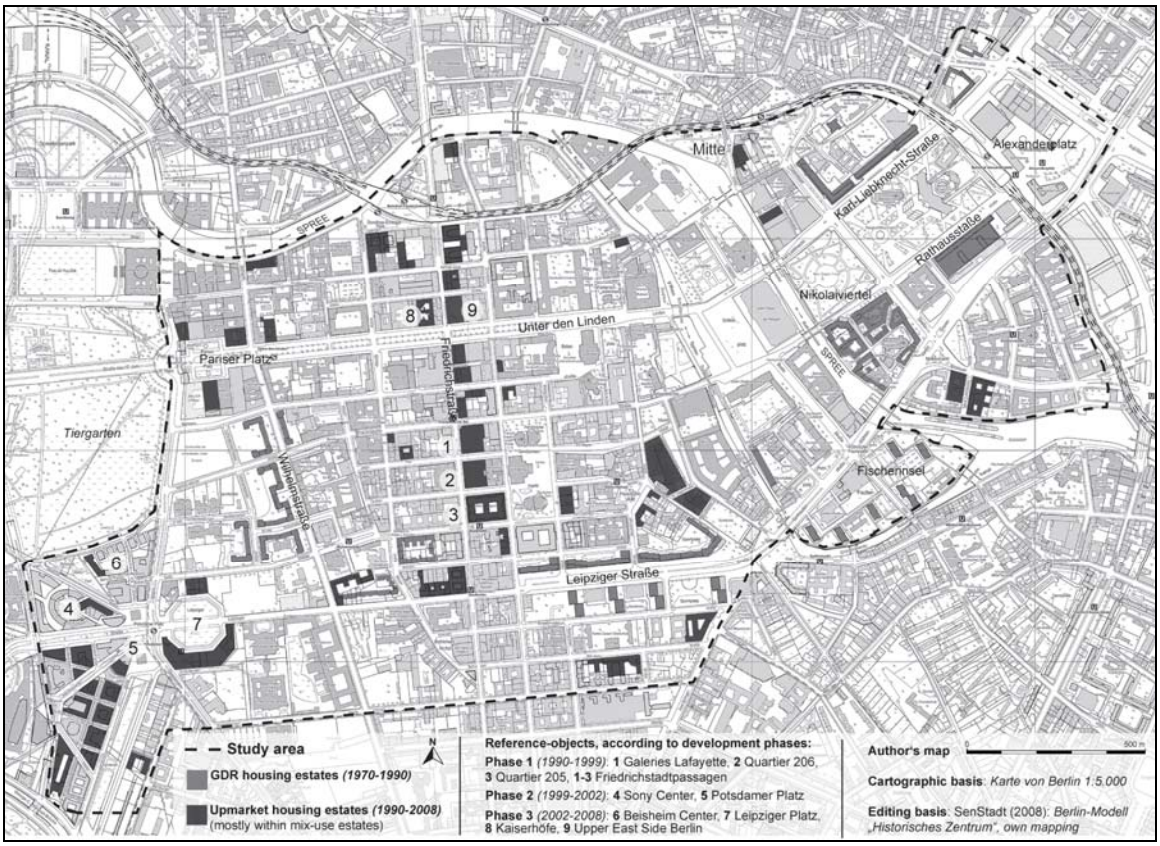
The rebuilding of Berlin's historic city centre between 1949 and 1990 took place in the German Democratic Republic (GDR), where urban planning was handled differently to the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). Urban planning and house building were in the government's responsibility. The system was characterised by the building of prefabricated residential estates in the outskirts. Old buildings in the central parts of the city, however, either deteriorated or were demolished (cf. Schulz 2006: 35). In the 1970s the historic city centre received a new attention and new residential estates within this area were constructed. One of the first projects was the development of estates around *Alexanderplatz* which are still present in *Rathausstraße* and *Karl-Liebknecht-Straße* (see figure 2). Later on, the medieval buildings on *Fischerinsel* were replaced by new residential high risers, which have been built along *Leipziger Straße* as well. One purpose of these projects was to show that socialism enables every citizen to live in the most attractive parts of the city (cf. Schulz 2006: 35-36; Holl, Jessen 2007: 288-289). The urban development during the GDR is important for the situation today, as it changed the layout of the historic city centre completely. The modern approach to architecture and urban planning aiming at a '*Stadtlandschaft*' resulted in an incoherent fragmentation of the built environment. This turning to a radical modernity is still a problem for parts of the historic city centre, such as *Alexanderplatz* and *Leipziger Straße,* which lost much of their former sojourn quality (cf. Stimmann 1999: 546 f.). Despite the

fragmentation of coherent settlement structures, the GDR house building contributed to a residential population of the historic city centre.

3.2 The study area

After the fall of the wall in 1989, the existing brownfield sites on both sites of the urban frontier turned into a 'gap' in the urban structure of the city centre. This 'gap', however, offered a unique possibility for an urban development, especially for the establishment of a new government district and the *Potsdamer Platz* (see figure 2: 4-7), an area which links the eastern part of the city centre to the *Kulturforum* on the western part. After 1990 the whole historic city centre changed considerably. Today it includes the seat of government, capital-associated establishments, such as embassies and representative offices as well as *Potsdamer Platz* and *Leipziger Platz* as examples for a *critical reconstruction* and a development towards a *European city*. Today this area is one of the most favoured and expensive housing locations in Berlin.

Figure 2: Study area



Source: Author's map

4. The urban renaissance of Berlin's historic city centre

The approach to research is an analysis of the *urban renaissance* of Berlin's historic city centre since 1990. The aim of the analysis is to answer the central question of the study, namely if the historic city centre experiences an *urban renaissance* within its politically indented development towards a *European city*.

Contrary to former surveys this study does not focus on one or two projects, but explores the general development in the historic city centre. For that purpose scientific literature, press releases, housing market reports and six semi-structured expert interviews of approximately one hour length have been analysed. The interviews have been conducted with the private research institute GEWOS and five real estate developers, three of which work for two major real-estate companies: Charmatín Meermann Immobilien and Engel & Völkers. The interviews are mainly conducted with real estate developers, because of their precise knowledge of changing consumer needs and developments in supply and demand.

The focus on upmarket housing is based on two assumptions: Firstly, the historic city became a favourite upmarket housing location since 1990 and secondly, the influx of wealthy inhabitants is essential for an urban renaissance. Because they are able to choose their housing location, new wealthy inhabitants are the first proof for a new appreciation of the city centre as a place to live (cf. Harlander et al. 2007: 13; Holl, Jessen 2007: 280). The supply of upmarket housing (definition: 4.1) is not only a result of the return of inhabitants with a higher income, but also requirement for the further influx of inhabitants into the city centres. Urban structures which include upmarket housing are strengthening the trend towards an *urban renaissance*. As a leading function of the city centres upmarket housing promotes other sophisticated uses and supports the development of a multifunctional and diversified urban environment (cf. Kreibich 2001: 54). In other words, it is notable that 'for better or worse, the most reliable measure of a city's vitality is whether rich people are willing to live in the center of it' (Franzen 2002: 192).

The results are structured as follows. Firstly, the term upmarket housing is defined (4.1). Secondly, the developments since 1990 are divided into four phases (4.2), which are characterised concerning their developments towards an *urban renaissance*. Current developments will conclude this subchapter. The essential findings are summarized and discussed in the following chapter five.

4.1 A definition of upmarket housing

There is no unified definition of upmarket housing (German: *hochwertiges Wohnen*) and it appears to be an extendable term, judging by its various uses in public debates and the marketing industry. Related and often synonymously used terms like 'high-quality', 'high-end', 'luxurious' or 'upscale' contribute to a blurred image of what upmarket housing is. In order to get a clearer definition of that term, I asked the experts about their definition in order to find a consensus.

First of all, upmarket housing is high in price. The basic rental charges (*Nettokaltmieten*) of upmarket properties are between 12 and 25 €/sqm and are therefore clearly above the Berlin-wide average of 4.75 €/sqm. Prices for privately owned properties are between approximately 3300 and 7500 €/sqm. The wide price ranges result from a varying valuation of flats in respect to their location within a house or an area. The highest prices can be achieved in 'top locations' like *Unter den Linden* (see figure 2), especially in the top floors. The living space of the flats I took into consideration varied from 38 sqm up to 250 sqm. Therefore, the living space as an indicator is only suitable to a certain extent. A more suitable indicator, for instance, is a sophisticated interior design with spacious rooms and features like precious wooden floors, marble bathrooms and bedrooms en suite. High standard furniture and fixtures are a common standard, although the degree of essential features varies considerably between the different suppliers. A last indicator is the location within the city. Upmarket housing estates are either situated in the most attractive locations in the city centre (e.g. at prime adresses, waterfronts etc.) or in well-established settlements in the outskirts, like *Dahlem* or *Frohnau*.

It is important to note that upmarket housing is still an extendable term, for it includes a variety of housing forms and interior design features. It is crucial for the marketability that the properties are unique and attractive in accordance to the sophisticated needs of the consumers. There are luxurious lofts, individually designed townhouses and medium-sized flats at varying locations, all labelled as upmarket housing.

4.2 Phases of development

Between 1990 and 2008 the historic city centre of Berlin became a favourite location for upmarket housing. This development correlates with the urban development policies *European city* and the *critical reconstruction*, with the relocation of the German government and with the following *renaissance* of Berlin as a leading political and cultural centre. Therefore the development of the housing sector can be divided into four phases: 1990-1999: urban regeneration and reconstruction, 1999-2002: capital-related influx of new inhabitants, 2002-2008: decline and revival of the upmarket housing sector, since 2008: latest developments.

4.2.1 Urban regeneration and reconstruction: 1990-1999

Berlin's historic city centre experienced a resurgence of its built environment since 1990. Although a lot of projects (including most of the government buildings) were realised between 1990 and 1999, the process has yet not ended. The definition of this period is based on two events: the German reunification in 1990 and the relocation of the German parliament and government in 1999.

With the reunification Berlin experienced an urban development sui generis. The privatisation of all formerly state owned properties resulted in sales on a large scale. Especially in the borough of *Mitte*, which includes the historic city centre, all properties were sold for the highest price. Since private investors, not town planners were in charge of the urban

development, social and aesthetical issues were treated with disregard. The land prices increased because a significant demographic and economical growth was expected. The resulting upheavals in urban development sparked a discussion about the future of Berlin as a *European city*, the results of which have been manifested in a guideline plan for the city centre (*Planwerk Innenstadt*) in 1997 (cf. Schulz 2000: 29).

The *Planwerk Innenstadt* includes the idea of housing in the city centre and considers it suitable for social and economical purposes. It also includes the statement that the Athens Charter is no longer a model for the development of the *European city*. This renunciation from modern approaches in urban planning resulted from the experiences in both parts of the city since World War II, which often turned into a 'nightmare' (cf. Stimmann 1999: 547). Being in charge for building and planning at Berlin's Senate Department for Urban Development since 1991, Hans Stimmann himself was an advocate of the *European city* and represented a return to traditional urban structures. He opposed the advocates of modernity, namely Rem Koolhaas and Hans Scharoun and declared their concepts of a modern city to have failed (cf. Stimmann 1999: 546 f.).

Stimmann was responsible for the conception of the *Planwerk Innenstadt*, which included the two related concepts *European city* and *critical reconstruction*. The *critical reconstruction* was designed for areas which had been preserved in their basic structure, such as *Friedrichstadt* and *Dorotheenstadt*. The *European city* was designed for widely emptied areas. Important elements of the *critical reconstruction* are an eaves height of 22 metres and a consideration or even reconstruction of the historical layout of streets and blocks. The blocks, which had been parcelled into up to 25 properties before, could be redeveloped as a whole (see figure 2: 3). The most important element for the development of the historic city centre as a housing location, however, was (and is) the rule that 20 percent use of the gross floor area (*Bruttogeschossfläche*) is used for housing space; a rule which is obligatory to get a building and planning permission. (Stimmann 1999: 548-555)

An actual *urban renaissance* cannot be stated for this period. Four interviewees stated that the influx of wealthy residents into the city centre was marginal during this time. However, the *urban renaissance* of the city centre as a place to live was prepared due to the reconstruction of the built environment and the obligatory 20 percent housing usage being applied. The apartments being built in this period were rather upper-standard than upmarket and more a fulfilment of the duty than a part of investors' strategy. Examples are the apartments within the *Friedrichstadtpassagen* (see figure 2: 1-3).

4.2.2 Capital-related influx of new inhabitants: 1999-2002

With the relocation of the federal government and administration in 1999 a quantity of potential consumers, for instance politicians, federal civil servants, lobbyists and diplomats moved to Berlin, but the influx has been on the decline since 2002. Four of six interviewees declare the influx of capital-related inhabitants to be rather marginal today, whereas the two other still recognise these amongst the most important groups of demand. They also refer to the relocation of further Government-related institutions, such as the *Bundesnachrichtendienst* (Federal Intelligence Service) by 2010. The capital-related influx of inhabitants was important

for the *urban renaissance* of the historic city centre as a considerable number of them moved into the housing estates being built in the period before. That caused a changing image of this area as a place to live, which therefore became more popular for other groups. One interviewee even declared the 'politicians and lobbyists' to be 'the pioneers' of this area. Concerning the motives of these 'pioneers' to move into the historic city centre, the most important reasons are spatial proximity to governmental institutions and prestige. Due to the circumstance that a lot of institutions remained (at least partly) in Bonn and a considerable number of the new inhabitants kept their principal residence somewhere else, the number of secondary residences was notably high. For these working-related residents a spatial proximity to the government was a rather rational decision. Diplomats and especially lobbyists, on the contrary, chose prestigious housing locations, for instance around *Gendarmenmarkt* because of they requirements in terms of representation.

4.2.3 Decline and revival of the upmarket housing sector: 2002-2008

The establishment of the historic city centre as a location for upmarket housing and its *urban renaissance* did not follow the capital-associated 'pioneers' immediately, as in 2001 the 'dotcom bubble' burst. The following recession affected the real-estate sector until 2004 and lead to low-key property sales. Especially the new upmarket housing estates which had been realised by this time were affected. This is because the upmarket housing sector does not supply basic needs of accommodation, or as one interviewee stated: 'A high number of these properties are an additional luxury. Sales are highly dependent on the economic climate' (authors translation). As a consequence, it took years to sell most of the new built upmarket flats, for examples the ones in the *Sony Center* (see figure 2: 4).

The upmarket housing sector recovered after 2004 and a growing influx of inhabitants caused rising rents and selling prices as well as an explicit development of more luxurious apartments. Examples are the *Kaiserhöfe*, the *Upper East Side Berlin* and the *Beisheim Center* (see figure 2: 6-9). Upmarket housing did not only become a more important part of the investors' strategy, but partly even more profitable than office space. The rising demand for upmarket housing in the historic city centre accompanied the renaissance of Berlin as 'the new political, cultural and creative capital' (interviewee statement, author's translation) of Germany. In the period 2004-2008 a change in demand was related to a change of consumers and motives.

Many of the new consumers are working in knowledge-based industries, for example as corporate consultants, entrepreneurs or chair(wo-)men. Another important group is formed by people working in cultural and creative industries, like architects, freelance artists, gallery owners as well as the music and film industry. One interviewee said that the percentage of people with a high income in this sector is considerably low. Nevertheless they are amongst the most important groups, as all interviewees agreed on. Lastly, the well-off people with an unearned income have to be mentioned. Concerning their family status the consumers in the historic city centre, who are singles or couples without children outweigh the number of families (all interviewees). The prevailing age group in the upmarket housing sector ranges from 30 to 50 years. Recently, however, consumers in their early 20s or over 50 years are on the increase, as two interviewee stated. Regarding their origin it can be stated that most of

them are not originally from Berlin. The majority is from other parts of Germany, followed by Western Europe and the United States (all interviewees). Furthermore, four interviewees recognise a growing number of people from other parts of the world, namely from China and Russia.

Concerning their motives to choose the historic city centre for renting or buying flats, spatial proximity is still the most relevant factor. One interviewee said that most of the consumers are working in the city centre and have tight schedules every day. In this matter, short distances are not only comfortable but also necessary in terms of an informal exchange and the establishment of new contacts. These are often mandatory for project-related work and new assignments (cf. also Heath 2001: 470, Häußermann/TSP 2008). A second aspect is the variety of cultural offers, which are either highly sophisticated (*Museumsinsel, Staatsoper, Deutsches Theater*) or of a rather alternative or contemporary nature (*Tacheles*, independent art galleries). One interviewee explains Berlin's attractiveness: 'Berlin is a place for alternative artists and has an authentic underground scene. The city is like London 25 years ago. People have the feeling that things and lifestyles are possible that are not possible anywhere else' (author's translation). Acting out one's personal (urban) lifestyle and a distinct self-development are two more reasons to live in the historic city centre. Urbanity also means anonymity and heterogeneity and therefore individualisation (cf. Siebel 2000: 33). Indeed, three interviewees recognise people moving to Berlin for there is no established high-society. Compared to other cities or well-established settlements in the outskirts, the city centre provides less social control. One interviewee concludes that high-income earners who are 'gay, divorced or for other reasons not fitting into the establishment of other, more dapper cities, take a chance on a new beginning in Berlin' (author's translation). In contrast to that three interviewees remarked that a number of potential consumers prefer other parts of the city, for they are want to live in authentic and heterogeneous and less 'antiseptic' quarters.

Berlin as a whole is popular because of its young and creative inhabitants making up the social structure. Twenty-three Universities and colleges are allocated throughout the city with over 130.000 students attending. Four interviewees considered students and other young and creative people to be a decisive factor for the enlivenment of the city and its good reputation. Another aspect are the comparatively low prices for highly sophisticated properties in 'top-locations' and moderate living expenses. 'Even those with a high-income mind the price-performance-ratio' (interviewee statement, author's translation). There are two more groups to be mentioned whose motives differ considerably from the ones mentioned so far: Firstly, the group of private investors who speculate on value enhancements and buy estates to sublet or resale. Secondly, the owners of secondary residences (or 'deluxe holiday flats'). These residences are only infrequently occupied and bought for prestige-related reasons (four interviewees). The ratio of frequently to infrequently occupied properties is estimated to be fifty-fifty (three interviewees). One interviewee remarks, that this subtracts the effect on the politically intended enlivenment considerably.

4.2.4 Since 2008: Recent developments

The recent worldwide economic crisis with its accompanying credit crunch has led to a re-evaluation of the demand on the part of the suppliers. There are different opinions concerning the relation of supply and demand. Real estate developers and estate agents say that the demand is higher than the supply, which is why new projects are about to be developed in the following years. A more neutral market observation concludes that the relation is balanced while yet some other analysts and developers detect an oversupply. A definite answer as to which statement is correct cannot be given. There are, however, notable impacts on the demand, namely the economic climate and differences in privately-owned and rental properties.

One of the major developers of upmarket housing estates, Orco Germany, has stopped construction works on one of his current projects (*Fehrbelliner Höfe*), deferred its property development at the *Leipziger Platz* (see figure 2: 7) for an indefinite time, and announced its withdrawal from the residential market (cf. Schönball 2008). The reasons are barely affordable construction costs due to the credit crunch and above all the low number of potential consumers (cf. Oloew 2008). On the contrary, the executive of Vivacon AG, Michael Ries, simultaneously announced that there is still a vital and constantly increasing demand. Therefore his company is developing more than 600 new 'high-end apartments' by 2010 (cf. Ries 2008). The reasons for trying to shed a more positive light on the current and future demand are obvious. The real estate industry, especially in this sector, is highly dependent on a prospering demand, which may be real or suggested. A saturated market and an imminent recession deter potential buyers and pushes down the prices, as it has been in the period after the burst of the 'dotcom bubble'.

The problematic situation with the demand for privately owned properties is visible in the latest housing report for Berlin (cf. GSW, Jones Lang LaSalle 2008): Sales are declining, causing an oversupply whilst the demand for rental property is increasing, thereby causing a shortage. Rental flats for the upper middle class, on the contrary, are much easier to put on the market. The *Leipziger Platz* can be adduced as an example, as two interviewees said that all of the existing flats at this place have been rented within a short time.

Despite the different opinions about the supply and demand ratio, a new decline of the upmarket housing sector in the historic city centre is not improbable. The recent economic crisis has its origins in the US-American real-estate crisis, which was caused by false estimations of real estate values. This affects the situation in Berlin, as investors and consumers are deterred to buy flats whose value might be on a decline as well.

5. Concluding consideration

The *European city* is an urban development model reflecting the tradition of European settlement history and aiming at sustainability, cost reduction and enlivenment. The *European city* and its *critical reconstruction* was the leading principle for the urban (re-)development of Berlin's historic city centre since 1990. The reunification and 'gaps' in the structure of the historic city centre offered unique possibilities to apply this principle. One central issue was (and is) the (re-)enlivenment or even repopulation of the city centre by an increase of residential housing. Thereby a decisive recent and prospective development is the return of inhabitants with a high income. Their influx is not only the first proof of a new estimation of this area as a place to live, but also a first step towards an *urban renaissance*.

Concerning the central question it can be stated, that after the reunification Berlin's historic city centre has gained new importance, not only as a cultural and political centre but also as place to live. After a period of reconstruction between 1990 and 1999 which contributed to the *urban renaissance* due to the obligatory 20 percent housing usage, the influx of capital-associated inhabitants between 1999 and 2002 made a decisive contribution to a new image of the historic city centre as a place for sophisticated living. The actual *urban renaissance* period was between 2004 and 2008, whereupon the end of it is yet not determined. In this period the historic city centre attracted a range of people with a high income to buy or rent flats. Reasons are Berlin's distinguished reputation as an open-minded, tolerant and authentic city. In addition, sophisticated housing estates are affordable, even in prestigious locations and living expenses are comparatively low. Moreover, general advantages of city centres, such as the benefits of short distances, a variety of possibilities and social exchange are also important to attract new residents. Especially a social mixture including young and creative people and an authentic environment increases the attractiveness of an area. On the contrary, homogeneous and artificial environments such as the *Sony Center* are often untenanted for a while.

Therefore, an *urban renaissance* of Berlin's historic city centre can be stated, although it is of a rather qualitative nature. An actual repopulation is not detectable. An indicator is the number of officially registered inhabitants with a main residence in the historic city centre, which declined between 1991 and 2008 by approx. 8 percent (own calculation, data: Statistisches Landesamt Berlin). A reason for this decline is the high number of secondary residences which are not included in the statistics. They subtract the effects on an intended enlivenment considerably (cf. also: GSW, Jones Lang LaSalle 2008: 1).

The actual supply and demand in this sector is indeterminate, for there are no official statistics and the developers will to provide information is limited. However it is notable, that there is a recent shortage of rental flats and an oversupply of privately owned properties. The further development depends on the economic climate and its change due to the recent economic crisis. Another important factor will be the development of the residential structure: The more it is getting homogenous, the more consumers will orientate towards other parts of the city which are more exciting and less artificial. Four interviewees noticed that this is the case already, as quarters which are less gentrified are increasingly demanded. In other words: 'However reliable the presence of the rich may be as an indicator, it's merely the final effect in a chain of causes which begins with a city's ability to attract young people' (Franzen 2002: 192).

Taking everything into consideration, it is to note that the *urban renaissance* of Berlin's historic city centre followed the political intended urban development towards a *European city*. There was and is a wide-range of factors which attract wealthy residents to the historic city centre. The decisive change, however, was driven by the influx of government-associated people between 1999 and 2002. This influx is based on the very special situation in Berlin: In 1999 the city became seat of parliament and government and at the same time an urban policy forced to building of residential estates in this area, which then became home of the government-associated 'pioneers'. Therefore the *urban renaissance* of Berlin's historic city centre has three dimensions: Firstly, it is the result of an urban development policy towards a *European city*. Secondly, it is promoted by a historical event, namely the relocation of the government. And thirdly, it is a self-energising process, which attracts more and more people to rent or buy flats in the historic city centre due to a changed perception of this area as a place to live.

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DEMOGRAPHIC IMPACT ON URBAN NEIGHBOURHOODS IN GERMAN CITIES – DEVELOPMENT SCENARIOS AND OPTIONS FOR ACTION

Olaf Schnur

1. Demographic change: Between actionism and analysis

Germany is experiencing a far reaching demographic change, which is influencing municipalities and the housing industry more and more, and faces new challenges (cf. i.a. Gatzweiler et. al., 2003). This megatrend has been vigorously discussed from the most diverse points of view and professions for some years now. Almost all social disciplines, politics, big foundations and the journalistic world have studied this phenomenon in important publications, which have even managed, dealing with demographic issues, to be on the best seller lists. However, alongside serious researchers, we encounter the arguments of thematical free riders and hot-air merchants more frequently. What we occasionally observe today additionally is hectic actionism, since the essential processes have been known in demographical sciences for decades, and the trends clearly understood. But the general public, too, already showed an interest in demographic issues long ago. Thus, a 1975 headline in the 'Spiegel' magazine read: "More sex, fewer babies: Are Germans dying out?".

Nevertheless there are still many blind spots in the broader discussion about demography. It is just in recent years that the *spatial* consequences of demographic changes have started to be analysed and understood. In Germany this task has been carried out mostly by the BBR, the Federal Office for Building and Regional Planning. However, the more we focus on small scale processes, the less we know about spatial consequences of demographic change. Consistently there is relatively little current work about *demographic* processes on the meso-level of urban neighbourhoods, even though they have evolved into the main concern in *area based* urban development policies up to now. At least there is basically no work that goes beyond the case study or good practice level. It is precisely this deficit in knowledge which will be dealt with here. This paper refers to a project, carried out in the Institute of Geography at the Humboldt University of Berlin, aimed at generating different types of relevant development scenarios of urban neighbourhoods and developing adequate prototype representations[1]. The concept of the project and first results are presented below.

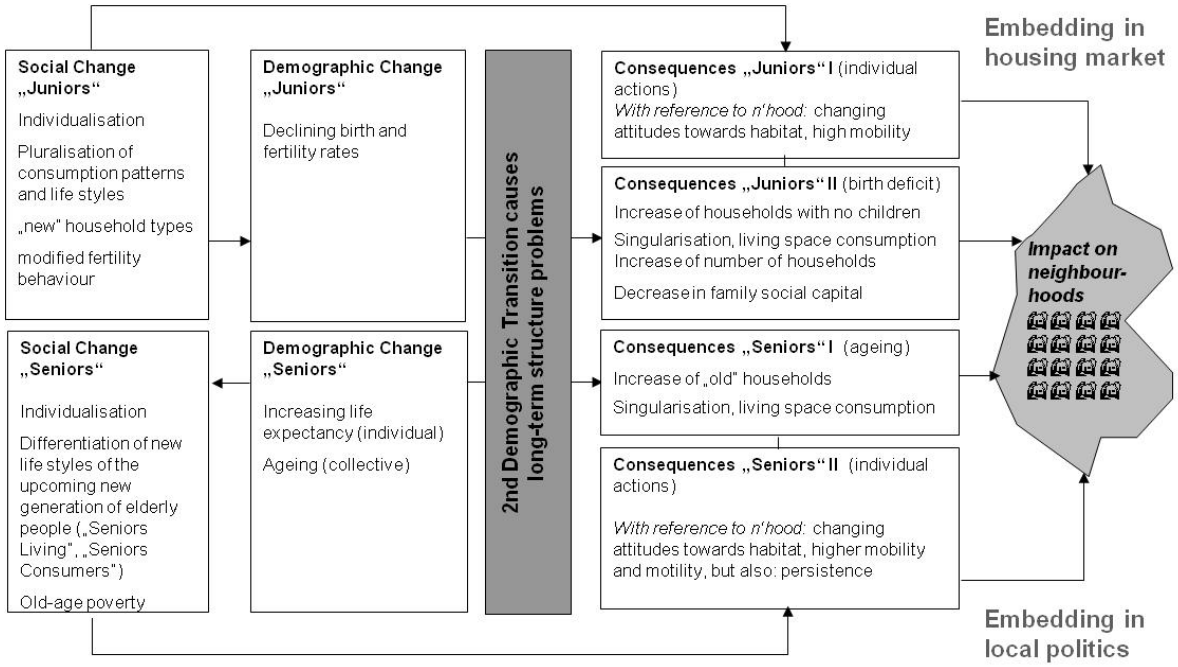
[1] I would like to thank the German Research Foundation (DFG) for their generous support of the project 'Demografischer Impact in städtischen Wohnquartieren' ('DemoImpact' project).

1.1 Demographic impact on typical urban neighbourhoods until 2030

Demographic impact is understood in this paper as the sum of the effects of demographic processes in a specific space and time frame. Demographic processes are processes relating to population and geography, such as immigration and emigration (removals, internal and international migration), and their socio-demographic structural changes within a reference area (lifestyle pluralisation, for instance), as well as the in situ alteration caused by natural population processes in an area more or less centering the daily lives of local residents. The effects of demographic impact on neighbourhoods can be deduced from concrete indicators: changes in age structure (e.g. structural ageing), in household structure (e.g. increase of the number of single-person households), in social structure (e.g. increase of the number of pensioners) and the ethnic structure (e.g. increase of the number of migrants).

While in interregional frames of reference demographic changes depend more on the unequal distribution of economic growth and, therefore, on labour market trends, demographic impact on neighbourhoods is more connected to the housing market context and local politics (cf. Bucher and Schlömer, 2003 as well as Figure 1).

Figure 1: Essential processes of demographic impact on neighbourhoods
„Juniors' = younger households (demanders, target groups), age of adult householders ca. <45 y, related lifestyles
„Seniors' = older households (demanders, target groups), age of adult householders ca. >45 y, related lifestyles



Source: own draft

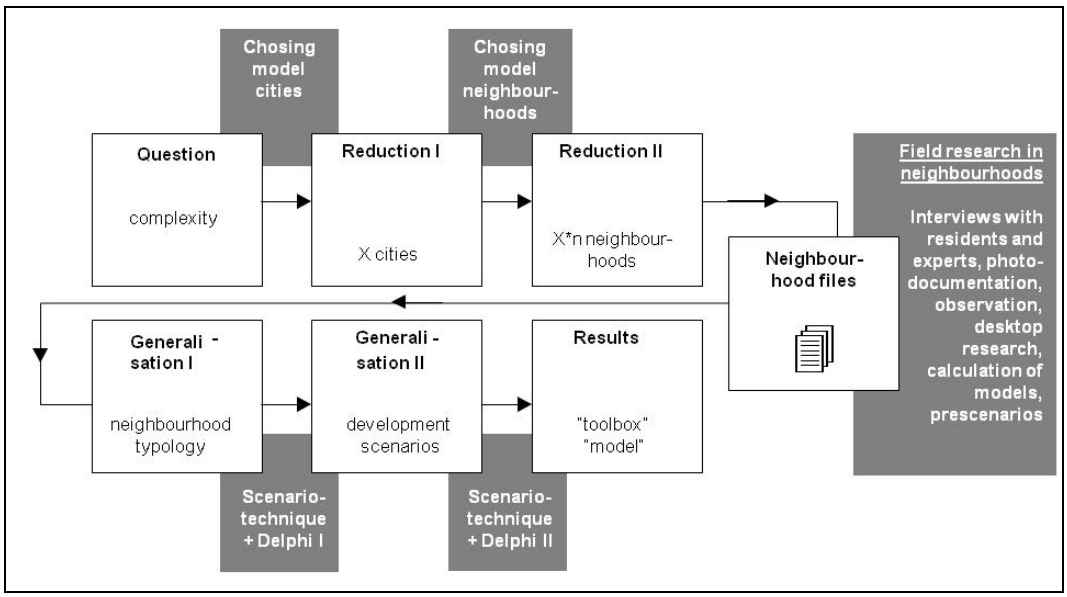
Thereby, and regardless of positive or negative growth at a general municipal level, within any urban agglomeration there is always neighbourhoods that win and neighbourhoods that lose out. It must be assumed that the future development of residential quarters and the 'quality' of demographic impact expected there also depend on the qualitative flexibility of the neighbourhoods to adapt to future market requirements (that is, their adaptability to either a growing or shrinking demand, depending on the type of neighbourhood, as well as to qualitative demand shifts). This adaptability is dependent, on the one hand, on disposable investment related private or public capital and, on the other hand, on how difficult (or expensive) –depending on the type of neighbourhood– it is, due to today's structure, to react with flexibility to future development. Setting and networks of local participants are also key factors. The fact that demographic changes have a direct effect on the housing market makes the analysis at neighbourhood level complex but also attractive, especially because of the corresponding management options.

Because of various factors, such as the fact that in Germany social housing contracts are expiring and social housing estates will be ready to enter the free market, the remanence effect in the lifecycle housing mobility is weakening, the baby boom generation are becoming pensioners, etc, it makes sense to set the end of the period under consideration around 2030. Nevertheless, it is impossible, at neighbourhood level, to predict the development over 20 to 30 years – at least if we rely on classic quantitative prediction tools. On the one hand, there exist many factors and uncertainties that have an influence on the development and, on the other hand, decision makers normally calculate short periods of time. But the long period perspective does not have to be dismissed at all: On a broader and also qualitative-oriented empirical and methodological basis, it is possible, as shown below, to reach acceptable results, applicable in theory and in practice. How this could work will be shown in the next chapters.

2. The 'DemoImpact' study

First of all, real current conditions have to be researched at neighbourhood level. In other words: What is the concrete situation nowadays in different quarters?[2] Thereon prototypical situations must be described, possible development must be shown and then multiple futures can be deduced as scenarios (cf. study design in Figure 2).[3]

Figure 2: Study design



Source: Own figures, DemoImpact project (2007)

The possible future development corridors (types of development) should be associated with individual types of neighbourhoods. Based on that, we can purposefully shape the future of specific neighbourhoods, for example, through impact on the market and strategic refurbishment or space assignment, and by building new houses or demolishing others. For all scenario analyses, the results from the concrete intensive neighbourhood empiricism will always be the starting point and basis for discussion.

However, the scenario process, which the project aims at, is quite complex, particularly as notified scenarios are aimed to be applied to another construction, that is the neighbourhood types. To be able to shape the scenario development quite efficiently, the Delphi method was chosen and carried out additionally in two rounds in the background.[4] The choice of the Delphi experts panel was carried out based on textual criteria. A group of people from

[2] The neighbourhood choice is explained in more depth further on (cf. Table 3).

[3] The scenarios represent possible future situations and are not to be considered as linear 'predictions' of particular possible developments.

[4] The Delphi method is an excellent way to systematically gather und solidify experts' knowledge and opinions in a complex topic, expecially in order to outline future trends. Depending on a pre-defined stop criterion Delphi studies usually are conducted in two or more rounds using questionnaires. After each round the research team provides a summary of the experts' opinions from the previous round to the panel. The experts may then reflect and revise their answers mirroring the anonymous answers of their colleagues. In the end ideally this focussing process leads to a quite probable and balanced set of facts and trends. Here the method is used as a supporting tool for the further scenario process.

municipalities, the German Federal States and Federal Institutions; from the housing industry (associations, enterprises), and from the municipal services or the academic world were sent a survey by post. (the so called 'Paper-and-pencil-Delphi', Fink and Siebe, 2006: 273; cf. the response rate and contents of the survey in Tables 1 and 2.) In the second Delphi round the results are discussed again and become subject to feedback from the remaining experts in the round, and then they are finally weighed up one more time.[5] With the help of the Delphi expert knowledge, factors and key factors, as well as the order of priority, could be deduced more consistently, important trends could be determined, and relations established. All of these could then be applied as a reliable data base in the scenario development process.

Table 1: Experts in the first round of the Delphi survey classified according to their branch

	Total	**Response**	**% Branch**	**Total %**
Public authorities	21	17	81	36
Science	24	16	67	34
Housing industry	13	6	46	13
Consulting	14	6	43	13
Housing industry associations	4	2	50	4
Total	*76*	*47*	*62*	*100*

Source: Delphi survey, DemoImpact project (2008)

Table 2: Summary of the contents of the first round of the Delphi survey (in the order in which it appeared in the survey)

Self-evaluation and relevant questions	Ownership structure (item set) 2030
Assessment profile 'relevant participants'	Social structure, residential milieus 2030 (item set)
Fictional system picture draft	Marketing 2030 (item set)
Assessment profile 'Factors'	Neighbouring 2030 (item set)
Key factors	Precarious neighbourhood types: Evaluation
Evaluation Reurbanisation vs. Suburbanisation	Weaknesses of precarious neighbourhoods
Physical (urban) structure 2030 (item set)	Strengths of solid quarters
Governance 2030 (item set)	Final assessment

Source: Delphi survey, DemoImpact project (2007/2008)

[5] This step had not been totally completed at the time of printing.

3. Model cities: East and West, large and small, demographically unstable

Berlin, Leipzig, Essen and Brandenburg upon Havel were chosen as model cities. Apart from the East-West and the population size differentiation[6], the presence of innovative local governance forms and demographic indicators played an important role (percentage of children under the age of six, the development of this indicator 1995-2000, as well as status quo 2000 and the total fertility rate 2000; data base: INKAR/BBR). Ranking lists based on those data show Essen, Berlin and Leipzig in positions 84, 87 and 91, and Brandenburg upon Havel is number 116 in a list of 118 autonomous cities.[7] The positions above Essen at the level of the big cities are for Düsseldorf, Dresden and Stuttgart, with a clear difference of more than 15 points. At the same time, we can see there is a considerable gap between the chosen cities and the following ones regarding sustainability assessments by the Berlin Institute (Berlin Institut 2004). In their complex grading system, many further indicators, which go beyond pure demographic evaluation (for example with economic indicators), come into play. An important aspect in the DemoImpact project is that, as the basis of explorative empiricism, 'normal' demographic change is already noticeable in the study areas or that its future influence (up until 2030) is expected to intensify. Such a laboratory situation can almost certainly be found even in today's demographically unfavourable (not catastrophic) structured cities. While many of the parameters in the cities under investigation are similar, and therefore can be kept constant, the housing market context largely differs from one city to the other:

- *Brandenburg upon Havel:* Population and employment decline, clear symptoms of a demographic crisis in the housing market (unoccupied dwellings, demolitions).
- *Leipzig:* population and employment decline, which started many years ago, a destabilised demand-driven market with an excess of housing offers and unoccupied dwellings, reurbanisation trends observed recently.
- *Essen:* Population decline despite employment growth, a supply-driven market with high levels of building land and rental fees regarding housing space. Within the big cities in Germany, this is the one with the lowest number of buildings currently being constructed.
- *Berlin:* Population stagnation, consolidation of the labour market following a severe employment decline, recovered suburbanisation recorded in the 1990s as an extraordinary situation, a large number of unoccupied housing units, around 100,000 (2005), a recent but clear upgrading of certain inner city areas.

[6] While the East-West factor is quite important to neighbourhood development because of the differerent path dependencies of the neighbourhoods, the population size of the cities seems to have a (minor) impact, too (e.g. according to the differing housing market situation). Due to space limitations this cannot be discussed further in this paper.

[7] The lower the rank is, the worse is the socio-demographic situation.

4. Model neighbourhoods: Demographically old, young or heterogeneous

The primary characteristic in the neighbourhoods under investigation is the issue of age structure. To choose the neighbourhoods in the model cities, a list was created based on age structure according to the following criteria: 'old' (high percentage of inhabitants over 65), 'young' (high percentage of inhabitants under six) and 'heterogeneous' (as similar as possible to a stationary model population created with the help of Rowland's software template [2003]). Owing to the varying level of data availability, different units of territorial division found in German cities were used: 'Teilverkehrszellen' in Berlin, 'Stadtteile' in Essen and Brandenburg, and 'Ortsteile' in Leipzig. Further criteria were the urban structure, the insularity and character of the quarter, and its local particularities (specially if they were exclusion criteria such as a high percentage of inhabitants living in retirement homes or an insufficient population figure). (See Table 3)

Table 3: Areas of study in the cities, classified according to age structure in their respective urban context

	Berlin	**Leipzig**	**Essen**	**Brandenburg**
'old'	Hans-Loch-Viertel Plänterwald Am Krusenick Karl-Marx-Allee Süd	Mölkau Marienbrunn Schönefeld-Ost	Fulerum-Haarzopf Überruhr-Hinsel	North Kirchmöser
'young'	Fort Hahneberg Pulvermühle Kotti/Wassertorplatz	Volkmarsdorf Schleußig	Katernberg Vogelheim	Hohenstücken
'heterogeneous'	Gartenstadt Neutempelhof Belß-Lüdecke-Siedlung Märkisches Viertel		Margarethenhöhe Horst	

Source: DemoImpact project (2006)

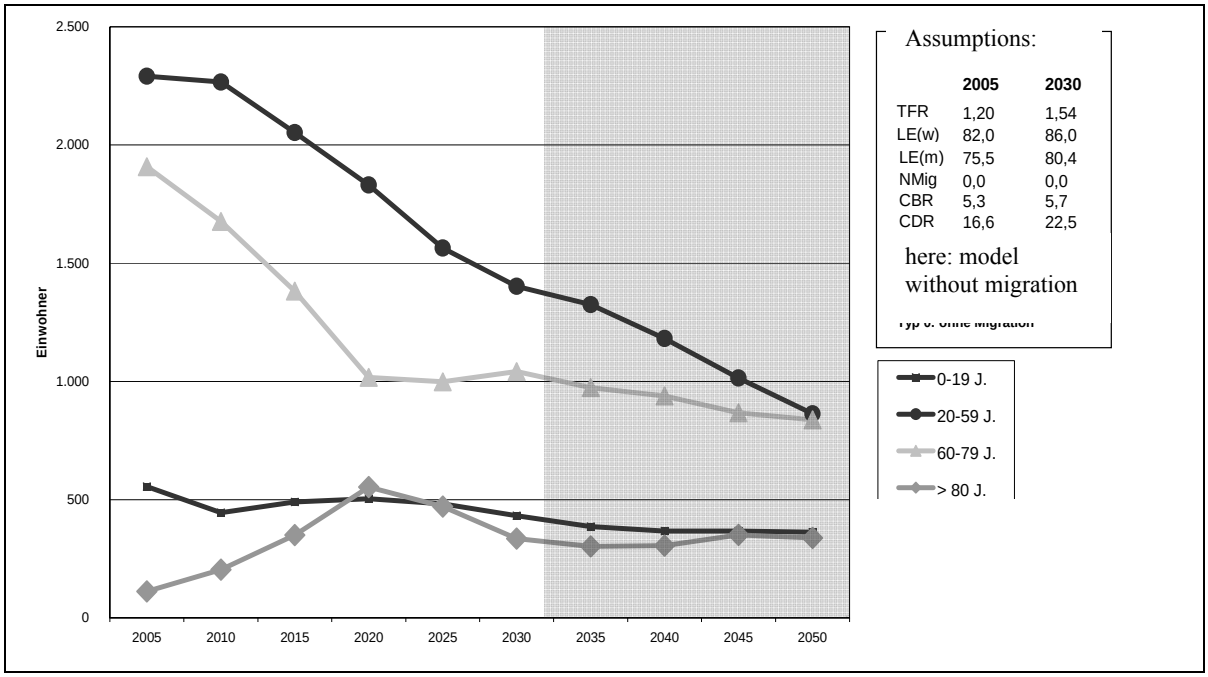
The empirical investigation of the neighbourhoods is structured, among others, on the three following complementary concepts:

- The *life cycle approach*, which plays a main role in demography and particularly covers the demographic characteristics (age, family size, etc.; cf. Kemper, 1985),
- The *life situation approach* ('Lebenslagenansatz'), which (here excluding the life cycle dimension) should essentially include socioeconomic and social class features (for example: work, income, education; cf. Kasper and Scheiner, 2004). And, finally,
- The *lifestyle approach* as a supplementing explanatory model, which has many advantages especially in the housing market context (Schneider, 2005).

The aim of the field research is to achieve a deeper understanding of the demographic neighbourhood processes by means of case studies. As a result there are 24 'neighbourhood files', which can be considered extensive structured sources of heterogeneous information on the neighbourhoods. These consist of data from various sources (maps and tables, interview quotations, indices, in situ observations, etc.), which were purposefully evaluated (cf. Figure 4). Additionally model calculations of natural population development in the areas of study

were considered on an administrative differentiation basis. Rowland's flexible prognosis model (2003) was adapted and used in this project. This model is based on the cohort component method, which uses a differentiated demographic base equation and additional cohort specific age-sex differentiation. The advantage of this widely used method is that we can bear in mind demographic waves, which are already predetermined in age structure (cf. Rowland, 2003: 439).[8]

Figure 3: Model calculation of the population using the example of the Brandenburg-Nord neighbourhood –development of different age groups up to 2030/2050



Source: Own computings based on the model of Rowland (2003), data by the Statistical Office of the City of Brandenburg and the Joint Statistical Offices of the Länder Berlin and Brandenburg (AfS)

When the field research concluded, hypothetical pre-scenarios, which were normally considered contrast scenarios (worst case vs. best case or similar), had been originated for every quarter. On the basis of the empirical overview achieved, the essential characteristics of the neighbourhoods were figured out and possible future development lines set. However, that is just a preliminary stage towards the intended standardised development scenarios, to which we have to come back later.

[8] Migration data at a micro-level were not taken into consideration in the prognosis, since example calculations for migration data from 1996 to 2005 cannot be extrapolated in any case; quite the opposite, they are characterised by dramatic inconsistencies (for instance, as a result of new construction, demolitions, structure breaches in city development or unaccurateness of data in the microanalysis). The choice of a rather qualitative study design seems to be the only sensible approach in this case. Population development up to 2030 was predicted according to the simple model calculations. However, migration can be included, if necessary, in the calculation model with typical migration patterns (Type A: Social ageing tendency 1 [selective immigration], Type B: Social ageing tendency II [selective emigration], Type C: Rejuvenation tendency I [selective immigration by families], Type E: Intergenerational renovation tendency, Type D: Rejuvenation tendency II [selective immigration by young adults]) in order to illustrate different conceivable procedures and to be able to make a contrast with future scenarios (see Figures without migration ['Type 0]).

5. From neighbourhoods to neighbourhood types

Considering the data and information in the files, a neighbourhood typology should originate in the next step. Since the features in urban structure of the residential estates appear to be extremely important for the future action of municipal participants and those in the housing industry (for instance, homogeneous dwelling sizes in certain estates), an urban structure component is also taken into consideration in the typecast and the corresponding indicators are also integrated. A hierarchical cluster analysis of the 24 neighbourhoods, based on the variable setting as shown in Table 4, resulted in ten clusters containing relatively consistent urban types and corresponding examples. (e.g.: Neutempelhof [Berlin], Margarethenhöhe [Essen] and Marienbrunn [Leipzig] as garden city estates in a cluster, Katernberg and Vogelheim [both in Essen] as transformed mining estates (Zechensiedlungen) in a cluster or Hans-Loch-Viertel, Karl-Marx-Allee Süd [both in Berlin] and Hohenstücken [Brandenburg a.d.H.] as large estates from the GDR industrial housing construction in one cluster).

Table 4: Variables setting for the typecast (base year: 2005)

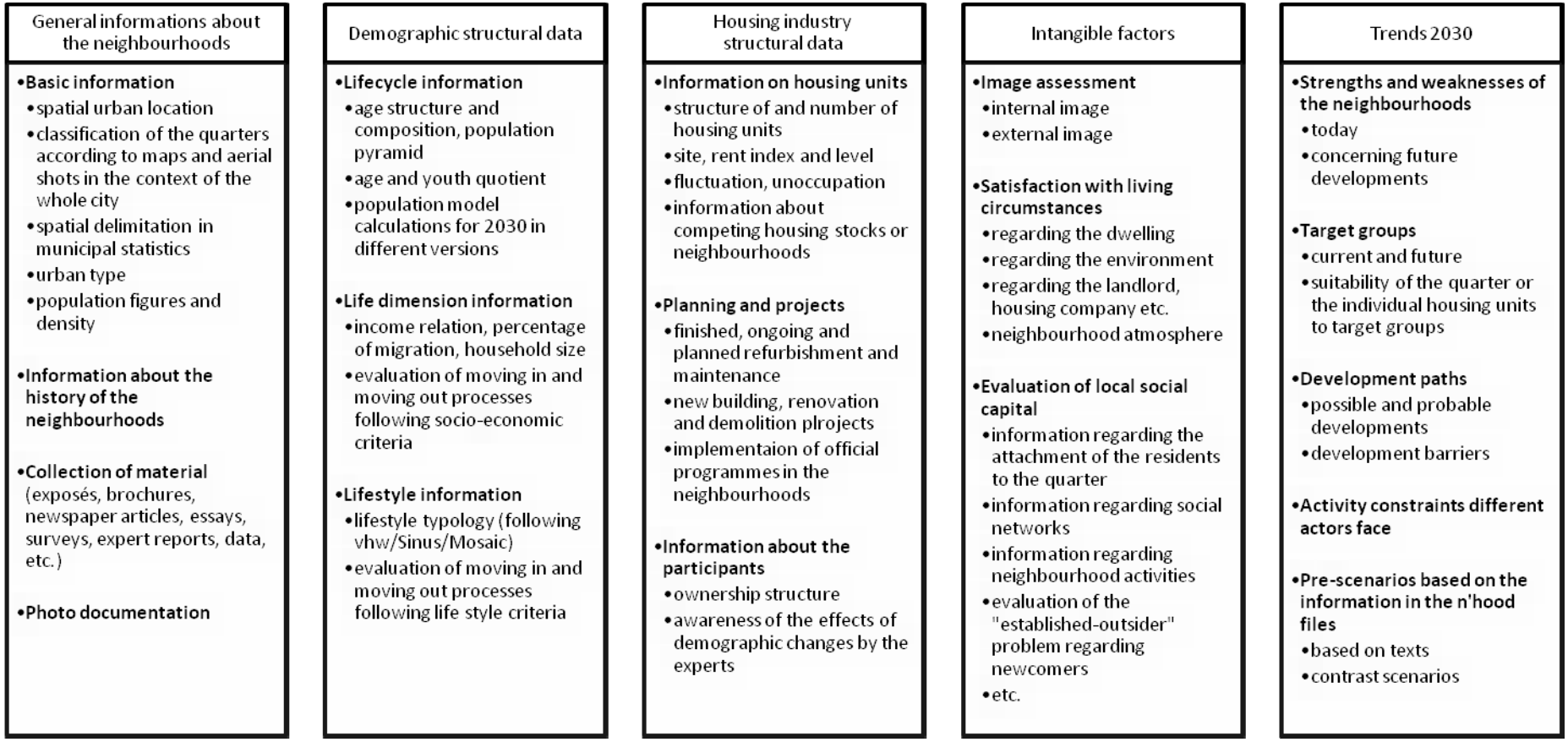
Demography	Quotient young/old (<15 years old and 65 years old in reference to 15-65 years old) Average family size Total fertility rate (TFR49, Leipzig: TFR44)
Urban structure	Urban type (dichotomous) Urban concept ('Leitbild') (dichotomous) East and West Germany (dichotomous)
Urbanity	Inhabitants per km²
Social situation	Unemployed per 100 employable % of single Sinus-milieus in the total neighbourhood population
Internationalism	% of inhabitants without a German passport per 1,000 inhabitants
Housing market	Quality of the site (dichotomous: 'rather bad' / 'rather good'), among others referring to locality indicators by real estate associations

Source: DemoImpact project (2007)

The demographic factors –opposed to what happens in many other variable settings– occupy a secondary position. This is a valuable effect because of the fact that the typology is applied to varying demographic scenarios. From the perspective of this research project, it is essential to highlight the following: while the options for action of the participants gather around the neighbourhood and the marketability of the relatively immobile facilities, demand is, to great extent, relatively mobile, flexible and quick: if conditions worsen, demand seeks a new convenient setting (another neighbourhood of the same type or another neighbourhood type with a completely different character).

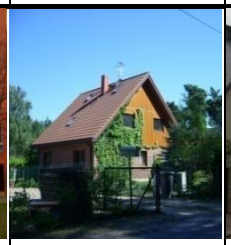
After carrying out a qualitative creative assessment process, with the aid of the already mentioned multivariate statistic methods, eight neighbourhood types consisting of urban examples and their corresponding typical constructions were laid down. (See Table 5) We must consider that hardly any of the quarters in the study entirely matches the assigned type. The allocation was made according to the essential character of the neighbourhoods and can be modified when used as the empirical foundation of the scenarios in the future, that is, the 'drawers' are used in a flexible way.

Figure 4: Content and structure of the 24 neighbourhood files



Source: DemoImpact project (2007)

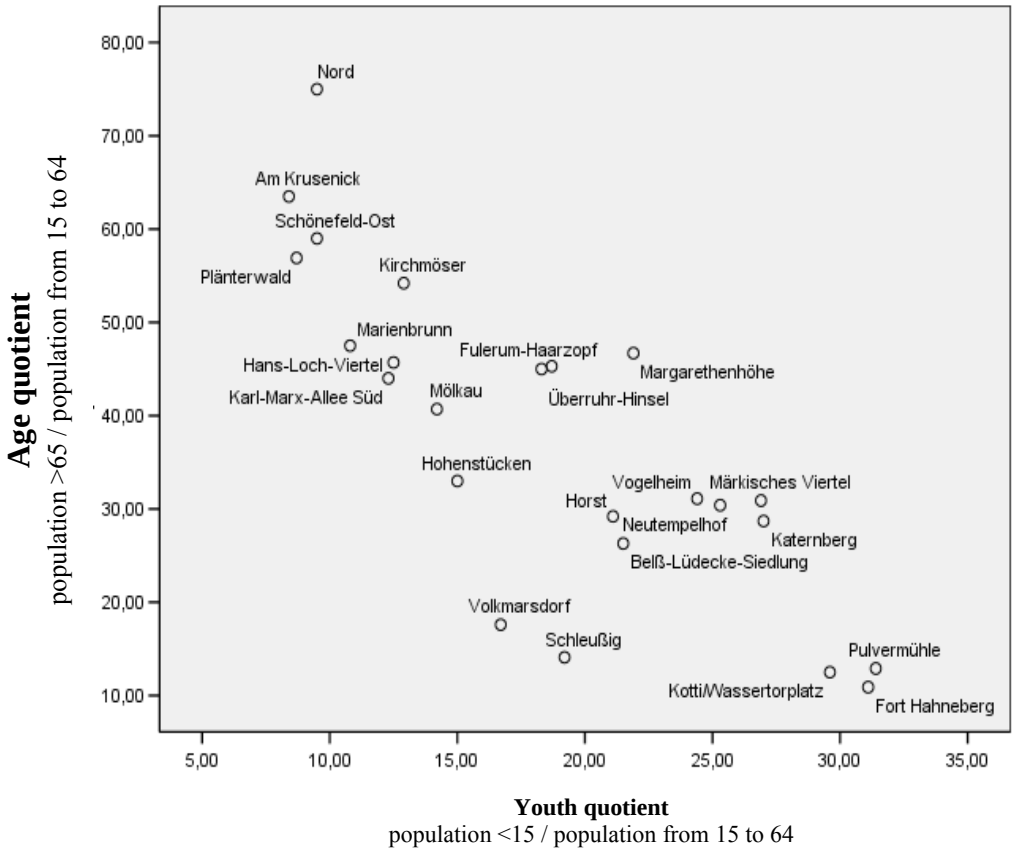
Table 5: Neighbourhood typology

Type	Type A: Industry	Type B: Utopia	Type C: Re-Construction	Type D: Urbanity	Type E: Prefab East	Type F: Postmodernity	Type G: Home Loan	Type H: Village Revisited
Brief description								
	City growth until 1920, after the rapid industrial expansion period, also mining estates	Garden City and reformational housing projects in the 1920s and 1930s	Post war city re-construction in the 1950s and 1960s (e.g. 'Mau-Mau' tenement estates or early Prefabs in the young GDR)	Urban and dense building in large estates, 'New Towns' (Leitbild 'Urbanität durch Dichte' 1960s and 1970s)	GDR industrial housing construction (1970s and 1980s, 'Plattenbau')	Postmodern project development in the 1990s	Anti-urban detached and semidetached houses (since 1960s and 1970s)	Mixed neighbourhoods / transformed old village cores (continuous alteration)
Clusters	*C9 C10*	*C6*	*C2*	*C5*	*C4*	*C1*	*C3*	*C7 C8*
Neighbour-hoods included	Essen-Katernberg Essen-Vogelheim Leipzig-Volkmarsdorf Leipzig-Schleußig	Berlin-Neutempelhof Essen-Margarethen-höhe Leipzig-Marienbrunn	Belß-Lüdecke-Siedlung Brandenburg-Nord Leipzig-Schönefeld-Ost Berlin-Plänterwald	Berlin-Märkisches Viertel Berlin-Kotti/ Wassertorplatz Essen-Horst	Hans-Loch-Viertel Karl-Marx-Allee Süd Brandenburg-Hohenstücken	Berlin-Pulvermühle Berlin-Am Krusenick	Berlin-Fort Hahneberg	Essen-Überruhr-Hinsel Essen-Fulerum-Haarzopf Brandenburg-Kirchmöser Leipzig-Mölkau
Alternative allocation							Fulerum-Haarzopf Überruhr-Hinsel	Horst Vogelheim

Source: Own research, DemoImpact project (2007), Images: own photographs except Type C (provided by anonymous interview partner)

The typecast itself led to interesting observations: an extreme demographic ageing was observed up to certain extent, even in those neighbourhoods with a significant number of inhabitants[1]. Thus, in some neighbourhoods, the average age of the population is comparable to the average age in retirement homes – from an economical and political view a quite severe situation. The relation between demographic and urban structures is also quite surprising: even though particular age structures are definitely more frequent in some neighbourhoods (for example, the trend towards cohort ageing in the 'Prefab East' type), completely different structures are observed in other neighbourhoods, which, apart from that, are quite similar. Figure 5 shows, for example, a divergent situation in the Berlin neighbourhoods of Am Krusenick and Pulvermühle, which, developed as projects in the 1990s (here type F: 'Postmodernity') come up with extreme old and young inhabitants, an effect of a differing target group marketing.

Figure 5: Comparison between age and youth quotients in the 24 neighbourhoods in the study



Source: Own research, statistics offices in Berlin, Essen, Leipzig and Brandenburg a. d. H. (2007), data from 31.12.2005

Even if exceptions are constantly the rule, a generalised question arises: Which neighbourhood types are affected by the effects of demographic change up to what extent? The potential risk threatening individual neighbourhood types in a demographic upheaval were evaluated in very different ways by the Delphi survey experts. Table 6 clearly illustrates that the two types of large housing estates in the East and West, as well as the post-war

[1] The median of the study neighbourhoods is approximately 8,000 inhabitants.

quarters, are classified as problematic types. The interesting point is that, besides being regarded as difficult, those neighbourhood types were also negatively evaluated from a demographic perspective. By far, mono-structured detached houses follow. According to the experts, the better prepared neighbourhoods are the 'Postmodernity' and 'Utopia' types. The industrialised quarters and the transformed old village cores were assessed as ambivalent or less problematic.

Table 6: Potential risk threatening individual neighbourhood types in demographic upheaval from the experts' point of view

Neighbourhood type	Seriously affected	Extremely affected	Total
Type D: Urbanity	25,0	70,5	95,5
Type E: Prefab East	21,4	73,8	95,2
Type C: Re-Construction	50,0	43,2	93,2
Type G: Home Loan	26,7	22,2	48,9
Type A: Industry	24,4	14,6	39,0
Type H: Village Revisited	14,3	11,9	26,2
Type B: Utopia	9,3	2,3	11,6
Type F: Postmodernity	4,7	2,3	7,0

Source: Delphi survey, 1st round, DemoImpact project (2008), n=41-45, data in percentage, missing percentage values refer to the rest of the scale (not represented here)

On the one hand, the action conditions in the neighbourhoods regarded as more vulnerable are, in fact, due to mostly large companies as property owners and powerful players, partly better than those in the more advantageously structured neighbourhoods; and on the other hand, structural factors, social environment or the estate's image can seriously complicate the marketing. Those neighbourhood types assessed as less problematic should simultaneously also be scrutinised because the room for manoeuvring is frequently smaller owing to a large variety of private home owners and small proprietors. In order to also avoid adverse development lines here, action should be taken as early as possible and the impulse should possibly have to come, more in this case than in others, from the municipalities.

6. Future neighbourhood development trends

Where is neighbourhood development heading to in demographic change? Are there any 'megatrends'? The following illustrates the experts' assessment and predictions regarding trends obtained in the first Delphi round which have been chosen for their interest, but which also serve as a methodological basis for scenario development within the DemoImpact study. Subsequently a scenario of a neighbourhood type should be revealed as an example.

6.1 Reurbanisation context factor

Regarding the issue of whether there is an upcoming movement of 'returning to the cities', currently discussed among experts, the predictions in the Delphi group were diverging. The majority of the experts assured that was the case. With that, it was clearly meant that

reurbanising is, in fact, considered a trend, not in the sense of rural inhabitants returning to the city, but as a differentiation in which suburbanisation will, nevertheless, play an important role. In addition, reurbanisation will be selective socially (in age, income and life style groups) and spatially (only certain neighbourhoods in whole areas will benefit from it; a trend only applicable in large and attractive cities), and will, therefore, be 'qualitative rather than quantitative'. The conditions for this process are rising mobility costs, a qualitatively consistent housing offer in the cities and the issue of up to what extent there is a shortage of supplies and infrastructure in the suburbs. The experts who assessed such a trend as being negative assure that both reurbanisation and suburbanisation occur all the time and criticised the reurbanisation debate for producing a trivial and simplistic discourse. Furthermore, they argued the scale of this process was too small for a 'general trend', not least because potential reurbanites represent a population group which will shrink in the future. They added that, in spite of the rising appreciation of the city, the lack of attractive housing offers in the cities will not allow for a large movement. (source: Delphi survey, DemoImpact project 2007/2008, first round) In a demographic context, reurbanisation trend means, from the supply perspective, a relatively favourable market development in inner city areas. A relative demand-driven market in a suburban area is faced with the (relative) supply-driven market in (some!) inner cities. This situation is not, however, pictured as an city-suburb polarisation, but more as a mosaic, differentiated at micro level according to conditions. The strength and shape of this trend will be crucial for the future development of inner city neighbourhoods.

6.2 Market differentiation factor

Concerning future neighbourhood development, the Delphi experts attach great value to specific housing market trends. Thus, they ratified that 'the quarter' itself could increasingly become a unique selling point for dwelling stocks. The first developments in this direction can already be recognised today. According to the experts, competition between neighbourhoods will increase in demographic change. This trend will depend, on the other hand, on the way in which the particular urban region context develops. Most experts agreed that the growth or decline of urban agglomeration will have a decisive impact on the possibilities of urban neighbourhood development. In this context, marketing tools such as neighbourhood branding will increasingly become more relevant. The experts also claimed that there should be a stronger and more differentiated target-group orientation in the marketing process of the dwelling stocks (source: Delphi survey, DemoImpact project 2007/2008, first round).

6.3 Neighbourhood quality factor

According to the Delphi panel, the urban structure quality in the neighbourhoods will increasingly be more important. Urban homogeneity mostly is a disincentive factor while heterogeneity is favourable for the development of a neighbourhood. Demographic infrastructures such as family facilities or retirement homes are also gaining importance. The majority of the Delphi experts agreed that quality-oriented housing construction policies (e.g. combination of new construction and demolitions, as well as renovation in the dwelling

stocks) guarantees solid sustainable neighbourhoods (source: Delphi survey, DemoImpact project 2007/2008, first round).

6.4 Awareness factor

Proactive urban revitalisation is becoming more and more essential to fight the effects of demographic structure upheavals, the experts said. In some of the personal interviews with experts within the DemoImpact study, we were surprised to notice a slight awareness of the problem and a certain sense of taboo – and that concerning precisely the decision makers in the housing industry. The perception that the housing industry is still based on rather short term strategies is also shared in the Delphi panel (source: Delphi survey, DemoImpact project 2007/2008, 1st round). There are many decisive reasons for this situation:

- The problems are apparently already so big for many decision makers that reality is blocked out until the point in which radical steps are demanded. The longer that lasts, the smaller the room for manoeuvring becomes. We can then presume that the length of the working contract, as well as the imminent retirement of certain key people, sometimes play an important role. That means that, in an awkward moment, we are sometimes also dealing with the demographic upheaval at decision making level.
- Another type of decision makers is found especially in housing associations ('Wohnungsgenossenschaften'). Here, the current cash flow often is absolutely ideal. The worrying aspect is the often homogeneous and one-sided age structure of the members or tenants (whose *average* age in the overall housing stock is sometimes > 65). Some associations are threatened by the realistic possibility of going from an occupancy rate of a hundred per cent to a vacancy crisis in just some years. However, that is often not communicated and, as a problem, it is trivialised or simply ignored.
- A third group of decision makers is the one formed by the short-term-planners (often found in the free housing market). Concerning this, we have to note that it would be wise to start discussing long term strategies, also for business administration, when facing predicted demographic upheavals.

People in the municipalities and the academic world seem to be more aware of the problem and ready to discuss it; however, the important far reaching economic decisions are not directly taken by these people.

6.5 Neighbourhood governance factor

When answering the question of how future neighbourhood development should best be directed, the Delphi experts highly valued integrated action concepts. Thus, quarters will be essential for an integrated urban development in the future. An intensive involvement of civil society is needed as an antithesis because private economic logics of valorisation are increasing, according to the experts. They also said that participants tend to be more predisposed to cooperate under the pressure of a demographic impact, although this is a controversial aspect (source: Delphi survey, DemoImpact project 2007/2008, first round).

In personal interviews with experts from the model cities, the local network setting appeared as an essential factor for neighbourhood development. As already implied in the reflection about types of decision makers above, personal predispositions are specially relevant for neighbourhood development. Particularly in situations involving urban restructuring ('Stadtumbau'), that is, proportionally important capital depreciation and new investment, the capacity of cooperation and social capital are essential. (cf. also Bernt 2005: 40 et seq. using the example of Leipzig-Grünau). At the same time, public authorities play an important role. In some places, the relationship between local governments and the housing industry is regarded as being far from optimal. There are also, however, surprising positive case studies (e.g. a cooperative neighbourhood restructuring project founded by private housing companies in Essen-Vogelheim, which does very well against all expectations from local authorities).

The extent up to which cooperation can promisingly be successful depends on the ownership structure, too, as already mentioned above. At first, it can be a case of a local situation with one or a few big property owners (e.g. 'Prefab East' or 'Urbanity' types) or a large number of single property owners (e.g. 'Home Loan' type). The presence of many small property owners, who tend to have relatively few investment possibilities, complicates a neighbourhood based cooperation. However, this can also be a problem in a more favourable situation for big property owners if the direction of the enterprises is too different. Thus, in an expert interview with a big real estate investment company (a former public enterprise), it was stated that the interests, strategies and logics of action of the parties concerned were (in certain cases) too different. It was assured that you cannot sell municipal or public service companies, credit the selling price and then expect the privatised companies to be available to fulfil municipal needs. This statement, which is not uncommon, shows that logics of capital valorisation, on the one hand, and premises of sustainability, on the other hand, often diverge from one another and, at least in the sense of integrated urban development, it calls for big communication and moderation efforts. The emergence of private equity funds in the German housing industry currently has led to relevant development hindrances at neighbourhood level due to the mistrust at participant level. As well, threatening sales of municipal companies often dismiss strategy and in some places lead to insensible management of the housing stock. In relation with the upcoming demographic challenges, this situation is distinctly problematic.

6.6 Local identity factor

Social capital from neighbourhoods –always based on some kind of 'connection' with the area – is, in the experts' opinion, one of the most important basic factors for sustainable neighbourhood development. Furthermore, a good intergenerational social contact within neighbourhoods is considered to have great potential for future neighbourhood development (source: Delphi survey, DemoImpact project 2007/2008, first round).

6.7 Demographic compatibility factor

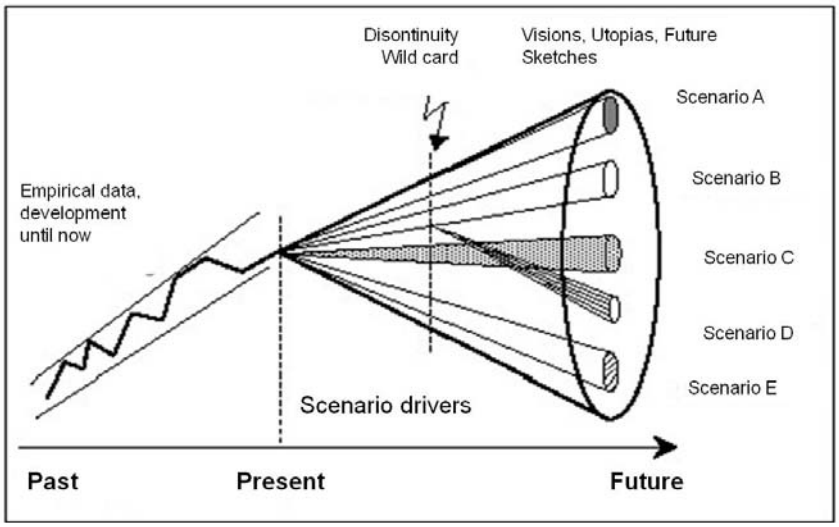
The large majority of the Delphi experts agree that future neighbourhood conceptions should be open to any demand group whatsoever. Thus areas with heterogeneous age structures and mixed milieus and multigenerational neighbourhoods have the best chances. In this sense, the experts are pessimistic about socially homogeneous residential milieus and neighbourhoods in accordance with the requirements of elderly people or families (source: Delphi survey, DemoImpact project 2007/2008, first round).

7. Outlook: A scenario example for neighbourhood type 'Village Revisited'

To give an insight into the further research of the DemoImpact study, we can examine the upcoming scenario development with an example.

But what is a scenario, if we go into detail? Reibnitz defines, analogously to the pioneering Battelle-Institute, a scenario as 'the description of a possible future situation and the description of the development processes that lead to this future situation' (Reibnitz, 1981: 37). Scenarios, therefore, give an outline of different possible conceivable (but not totally random) future events and should not be confused with trend extrapolations, or similar. A usual representation of the principle is the so called 'scenario funnel', which clearly enables us to see the multiple choices of the scenario method. (Figure 6)

Figure 6: Scenario funnel



Source: Graf und Klein (2003), translated, image by wikipedia.de (CC-by-sa)

Developing scenarios is a creative process; however, it should not be based on imaginary future prose. To avoid that, the method used in this study is the so called *scenario technique* (among others, Reibnitz, 1991). To go into all the details here would take us too far. The process is usually based on the following steps:

- To begin with, the whole system is analysed, that is, the whole environment (here: the 'neighbourhood development system'). Based on this brainstorming, an illustration is created showing the complex relationships between the system's elements.
- The next step is to elicit and group the essential factors. In the DemoImpact project, the Delphi survey was used as a support for this purpose. The main factors are then linked by estimating the effects they have on one another.
- The result is a so called 'system grid' that groups the factors according to their passive and active components. Specially active and likewise influenceable factors are called key factors. If we need to give advice, those factors are the most important ones: they are the adjusting screws responsible for most movement.
- The key factors are, once again, linked in a matrix; but this time with different future trends as characteristics. From this 'trend-linking-matrix' we can obtain a computerised consistent (draft) scenario package and from this package we can, in turn, deduce the context of the final scenario.

Figure 7: Scenario matrix

In reference to neighbourhood types: A: Industry B: Utopia C: Re-Construction / Rebuilding D: Urbanity E: Prefab East / Platte East F: Postmodernity G: Wüstenrot H: Village Revisited		Acute and intensive demographic Impact	Latent, but intensive demographic Impact	Steady generation replacement
		OLD	**YOUNG**	**HETERO-GENEOUS**
Blind Flight and Crash (A) Downgrading with a fall in demand (also people moving out)		AA	AB	AC
Nice Weather Diversification (B) Upgrading with boom of demand		BA	BB	BC
Fragile Revitalisation (C) Regulating with an uncertain output depending on demand development		CA	CB	CC
Stabilisation by Targeted Downgrading (D) Marketing aimed at weak households		DA	DB	DC

Source: DemoImpact project (2007)

As an example we will now describe a type 'AA' scenario, that is, '*Blind flight and crash*' in a population with a homogeneous age structure for the neighbourhood type H 'Village Revisited' (see Figure 8). This neighbourhood type frequently features a demographically old population belonging to a good middle class. Here we are mostly dealing with solid

neighbourhoods with a fairly good image. As corresponding lifestyles to the Sinus-Milieu categories the middle class, pro-traditional people, conservatives and the established are represented. There is a great number of detached and semidetached houses (and therefore also a lot of property owners). Other constructions also occur –these neighbourhoods are, in general, very heterogeneous from an urban point of view– tending to unfortunate melanges and multinuclear clumsy structures, in which there is a mixture of transformed old village cores, newly built areas, industrial sites, green areas and waste ground. Those neighbourhoods are often to be found on the outskirts of the cities. Consequently, leisure and recreational value is especially high.

Figure 8: Village Revisited – Examples in Leipzig and Essen

Images: Own photographs, DemoImpact project (2007)

In the subsequent text scenario (see Table 7), parts of which have been omitted, the following trends up to 2030 were assumed: a significant general structural ageing, out-migration and a fall in demand, a deterioration in housing quality, stagnation or decrease in the housing stock, a creeping social decay and a devaluation of the estate or site.

Table 7: Scenario AA for neighbourhood type H 'Village Revisited'

Split of Generations in the Shadow of the City

'Neighbourhood H is making good progress!' the former mayor Charles Oldman had announced at the topping-out ceremony of a prefab house company just before his retirement in November 2005. Thus, municipal planning authorities didn't see any need for action in this neighbourhood and paid more attention to districts with apparently more severe problems. But the peace only lasted for a short time: From 2010 on the **single-family houses** of the 1960's were pushed onto the local housing market. The pioneers of the 1960's, who had lived in these houses all of their lives, had become collectively old. As from 2015 the remanence effect no longer existed, households didn't get just smaller and smaller, but disappeared completely. The local housing market was **overcharged** rapidly. […]

Though some kids had moved back to their parents' houses, these **inheritance chains** didn't occur in numerous cases. In the meantime a lot of the children had found jobs and social hubs in other regions. Anyway, who actually wanted to live in the bourgeois living fantasies and traditional **milieus** of the elder generation? So the **split of generations** had happened – where could one get new tenants or purchasers from? There had hardly been any **strategy**, but politicians and managers had a strong belief that all would be going to get better again soon. Some of them felt that the recently built up **office park** nearby would bring jobs and therefore

some housing demand to the area. But the EU-billions that had been invested here didn't pay off. The office park today is a city-wide well-known investment ruin. To sum up: The most important thing for neighbourhood XY – to attract **additional housing demand** – unfortunately hadn't worked. […]

Rising vacancies followed consequently. Soon real estate agents had to deal with nearly nonmarketable blocks. Subsequently a creeping **image loss** appeared Today, you can see old single-family houses running to seed in some streets. This has clearly changed the **neighbourhood atmosphere**. The washed-out charm of ruins is obviously annoying most of the inhabitants, as we know from a recent survey in 2029. Anyway the inhabitants have already felt the descent of their neighbourhood for a longer time. The apartment buildings some blocks further had been evidently deprived for some years. The **social problems** in these parts of the neighbourhood couldn't have been overlooked. According to the EU program 'Quality Redevelopment 2030' there had been some targeted **demolitions** since 2014. Furthermore a smaller housing company and a housing cooperative **had to go into administration.** […]

One other point turned out to be crucial: The neighbourhood's **peripheral location**, formerly seen as an unique selling point, has proved to be the most important locational disadvantage of today. At present, the neighbourhood is more and more **isolated** in the shadow of the city and competes with districts in more central locations. It has been suffering from its **scattered urban structure** until now: Neither village nor city, neither quite idyllic nor particularly urbane.

Where to go, neighbourhood H? The post-war generation has been dying out – and with them a consistent local submarket serving their traditional ideas of housing and living.'

This scenario is just one of the many possible future situations this neighbourhood type might face and nothing was said about whether this scenario is more probable or less than any other. First of all, it is important to be able to point out such development paths and to generate a debate about specific neighbourhoods and options for action. The neighbourhood type 'Village Revisited' equally offers positive development possibilities, which for reasons of space will not be researched here.

The essential predetermined crucial factors for neighbourhood development can finally be worked out and the corresponding advice on how to act deduced from these text scenarios, which are developed for each neighbourhood type in different versions. The predetermined breaking points in this case were, for example, the diffuse urban structure, the peripheral location, the threatening generation breach, which showed up in milieu based living preferences, the wearing out of social networks or the change in the atmosphere and loss of prestige. If advice is to be given based on such a scenario, certain questions arise. For example:

- Are there micro regimes or multiplexed interests which would want to block or redirect future development? Up to what extent do the interests and aims of local politics diverge?
- How can we make the most of urban heterogeneity for future target or added demand groups? How can we link the advantages of quasi-suburbs (good infrastructure) and

villages (idyll, green areas, peace and quiet) and simultaneously minimise the disadvantages (melanges, urban sprawl)?
- Are disturbance factors conceivable or, indeed, which would disturb the fragile remaining peace and quiet or modify the underlying conditions for further development?
- How much local social capital is there, how can it be shared and optimised (for example, for a better integration of long-time residents and newcomers)?

8. Conclusion

In this background we can deduce options for action for particular types and scenarios, for example, we can establish an anticipatory neighbourhood planning policy and use time advantages by implementing monitoring instruments, we can encourage intergenerational cooperation and social capital projects, support renaturation and 'ordering' of urban patterns on a civil society basis, we can also set up neighbourhood improvement districts, actively produce added demand potential, we can produce neighbourhood concepts ('Leitbilder') involving residents and relevant participants, we can work on participative neighbourhood image campaigns (or even a neighbourhood-branding process) or we can develop neighbourhood strategies designed for specific target groups (urban and social strategies, or strategies based on life style, etc).

Such typical spheres and options for action for different model-like neighbourhood settings can be a starting point and a structural blueprint in the urban development political discussion. At the same time, they can be important aspects to consider when reflecting upon already existing or arising concrete concepts concerning neighbourhood development, regardless of whether such concepts come from municipal agencies or housing industries.

Needless to say that this project can be considered as just one first step into the direction of a systematic neighbourhood development toolbox in terms of the demographic change. After all, some more research will follow to specify the current results. For further studies, the next steps would be to include more neighbourhoods into the exploration, aside from that to examine suburban and peripheral areas in similar terms, and, finally, carry out a city region comparison.

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THE CASE OF KLEINMACHNOW: AN EXAMPLE OF DEMOGRAPHIC RE-SUBURBANISATION IN THE METROPOLITAN AREA OF BERLIN[1]

Henrik Gasmus

1. Introduction

When sociologists and geographers study aspects of suburbanisation in eastern Germany after unification, they usually take into account two different aspects. On the one hand, they start with the assumption that processes taking place on the outskirts are basically comparable with most much less accelerated developments since the 1960s in Germany's western metropolitan areas. On the other, their investigations search for 'transformational' specifics—for effects of the switch from the planned system to market-based development, the switch from a forty-year-long zero level of suburbanisation to overnight opportunities, for example in Berlin's newly accessible hinterland. Only in recent research projects have issues of post-suburban developments and, by contrast, shrinking suburbs arisen. Whereas these latter projects analyse the current effects of the recent 'long decade' of dynamic suburbanisation (dating from the 1990s to the early 2000s), especially of housing, the former perspectives deal with the basics of current trends. In the case of Berlin's metropolitan area, each of these perspectives and project outcomes contributes to the general finding that the suburban belt has to be considered as a finely differentiated formation in several respects. Settlement patterns range not only from small villages situated at Berlin's boundary, which have just undergone suburbanisation for the first time, to large pre-war suburbs, and industrialised towns of the GDR. Suburban local authorities can not only be divided geographically into highly dynamic housing locations, or small settlements with strong 'labour-market centrality' (Wixforth & Pohlan, 2005, p. 24), but at the same time into 'winners' and 'losers' (Matthiesen & Nuissl, 2002a, p. 43) of self-governed local development, and not least into those becoming aware (or not) of 'clashes of cultures' (Nuissl, 2007) between incoming suburbanites[2] and long-established

[1] The findings referred to are based on research by the German Research Foundation project "Suburbanisation in the 21st Century: City-regional Development Dynamics of Housing and Economic Management". In the case of Kleinmachnow, 25 qualitative interviews were conducted with long-established residents and migrants, with members of the municipal administration staff, municipal council members and those involved in citizens' initiatives. Eighteen interviewees were 'suburbanites', people who migrated to Kleinmachnow from Berlin or metropolitan regions in the western parts of Germany. Some of the interviewed suburbanites were heavily involved in local politics or citizens' initiatives; some others were just residents—not involved citizens. A few of the most important interviews were interpreted with the method of sequence analysis which stems from the methodology of Objective Hermeneutics. The survey and short-term participant observation took place in 2004 and 2005. Important information on the early years of suburbanisation in Kleinmachnow and other municipalities around Berlin stems from previous research projects of the Leibniz Institute of Regional Development and Structural Planning.

[2] The term 'suburbanite' used in this paper does not denote a lifestyle concept (as, on the contrary, the term 'new urbanites' usually does) and should be understood as a shorthand concept to refer to all of the urban migrants

residents. All the municipalities around Berlin had to face overnight their own increasing importance for socio-economic and political entities that were constituted from the bottom up, involved in the new 'integration processes' of metropolitan core and suburban surrounding area. Furthermore, many details at the local level illustrate that these integration processes evidently proceeded not just rapidly since 1990, but have to be understood as processes of sometimes rapid local social change too. For this reason, it is municipalities rather than the suburban belt that have become one of the preferred research topics, dealing with places with mixtures of functional integration and outline conditions for locality-based development that have undergone far-reaching changes.

To some extent, the following paper aims to describe selected aspects of one such case. In a general way it focuses on the connection between demographic suburbanisation in a large suburb at Berlin's boundary, and a series of conflicts concerning questions of what the best direction for further development would be, not least in order to do justice to the location's "spirit of place", a place to live in. Kleinmachnow, the example under investigation here, is one of a number of large pre-war suburbanised settlements. As in other suburbs of this type, development is exemplified by rapid valorisation of the place's 'frozen' pre-war settlement structure, in which strong demographic expansion took place, accompanied by extensive population replacement. Whilst this demographic upheaval was taking place, suburbanites, who had finished migrating a few years previously, did not simply accept the extent of local suburbanisation and those associated outcomes—which were of course perspective-dependent—that they conceived of as undesirable side effects or even unwanted land uses. These side effects—above all a decline in the many 'green' sites in Kleinmachnow, overcrowded schools, and the time delay in the migrants' own political representation on the municipal council up to the early 2000s—prompted suburbanites to lay claim to a readjustment of the local planning agenda, and to their effective involvement in municipal politics. The specifics of the case have therefore to be seen in this two-fold focusing of issues concerning local planning and citizen involvement. Issues were not simply individual ones: they can instead, from today's perspective, be regarded as increasingly embedded in the further intentions of suburbanites who wanted to participate in a broader sense. In this respect, the case of Kleinmachnow can also be understood as an attempted change of policy in the local arena, following the change in the ratio between the majority and minority proportions of long-established residents and suburbanites about 2000. This case is, in consequence, not only about suburbanisation, but also about its dynamics insofar as they develop on the social level.

The approach this paper takes when looking into these case specifics is to depict the perspective of involved actors or interested observers (residents who are very interested in local politics), taking into account the manners of speaking, ascriptions, meaning patterns produced by these actors and observers. For instance, opposing parties in disputes were often rightly regarded as identical with 'growth-friendly' municipal authorities and long-established

arriving from Berlin or other metropolitan areas. As with this term, that of 'long-established' residents is used collectively to simplify matters. But it should of course become clear below that these terms reproduce simplistic ascriptions to groups. In addition to this, terms are also used as more neutral metalinguistic ones instead of the loaded ascriptions the interviewees applied: in interviews, for example, the suburbanites would have to be called 'newcomers' ('Zugezogene'), 'West Berliners' or 'Wessis' (people from western Germany).

councillors on one side, and 'growth-sceptical' suburbanites on the other, despite the fact that there are exponents on both sides who cannot be subsumed into general categories. These ascriptions of 'friendliness' and 'scepticism' indicate that attitudes, 'morals' and evaluations that can be ascribed to one group of exponents or another are of great relevance for understanding the dynamics of the disputes. Perceptions, modes of interpreting[3] what seemed to be happening, or even 'spatial-cultural coding forms' of suburbia (Matthiesen, 2004, p. 27) have to be seen for their part as agents for pushing contrasts, gaining a separate explanatory role. That is why we shall not focus on an overview of the sequence of conflicts in detail, but on an illustration of selected conflict-oriented meanings and modes of perception. To sketch the broader context of reasoning, it would be appropriate to introduce the descriptive part of the paper with few basics concerning the recent development of 'old suburban' municipalities—those municipalities which had already developed as suburbs before World War II.

2. Re-suburbanisation around Berlin and in Kleinmachnow

In order to characterise the starting point of suburbanisation after 1989, two basic conditions are generally focused on in the academic literature (cf. Matthiesen & Nuissl, 2002b): municipalities around Berlin were able to acquire large area resources quickly; and in view of the anticipated economic upturn, quasi-autonomous local planning opportunities suggested the motive to develop areas headed by municipal actors and private investors. These conditions applied in principle to most municipalities regardless of size and type (villages, old suburbs, towns at Berlin's boundary). Nevertheless, in the case of large pre-war suburbanised settlements, these conditions gained a particular although not essentially different importance. In pre-war suburbs, there were also large inner-zone area resources, above all many unused plots inside the residential areas. Furthermore, these suburbs had to some extent remarkable 'green' surroundings in inner and outer zones; and housing areas consisted mainly of detached houses from pre-war times. It is fair to say that at the starting point of suburbanisation after 1989, these historic suburbs appeared as 'garden suburbs'; many of which are located along local public transport lines to Berlin city. That is why if settlement development started again, valorisation of this pre-configured settlement structure, which was realised even in pre-war times, would without doubt be expected. Whereas in the outer zone of villages, non-integrated housing developments (so-called 'housing parks') were built, and suburban towns were not infrequently characterised by housing estates from the GDR period and by industrial areas that were now functionless, the pre-war suburbs grew rapidly inside the existing settlement boundaries, attracting people seeking just these plots embedded in green surroundings. Given the fact that large-scale development projects for housing as well as for trade, industry, and technology locations were initiated in the outer zones of many villages, towns, and pre-war suburbs around Berlin, suburbanisation inside the settlement boundaries may be considered as a further form of development which is typical of above all

[3] To attempt to gain deeper insight, researchers would probably choose between strong 'methodologised' concepts such as 'interpretation patterns', 'social meaning patterns', 'meaning formulae'. However, for the purposes of this paper, such concepts need not be emphasised.

large pre-war suburbs. Furthermore, insofar as the suburbanisation of the pre-war suburbs was based on internal development and their garden character was strongly transformed, one may speak of 're-suburbanisation' in order to distinguish both the process and the suburbs involved from villages just affected by suburbanisation for the first time, and from some of those small towns which were industrialised in the GDR and had already long appeared to be towns rather than suburbs. In the case of Kleinmachnow, this impact of re-suburbanisation became one source of that series of conflicts where location might be understood as the cause. This case may therefore show that speaking of re-suburbanisation may not only address the structural or demographic aspects of the development of suburbs. 'Re-suburbanisation' can refer to an extensive upheaval in what the place's location functions and the image of the place, the kind of 'place-making' seem to be.

Before the war, Kleinmachnow was a suburban neighbour of the well-off south-western outskirts of Berlin; after the war, for forty years it was a place located directly on the 'system border' between the West and the East during the cold war. Because of that, it was excluded from any settlement development, apart from the spread of small bungalows belonging to 'weekend suburbanites'[4], and the army troops stationed there. Buildings that had been a technical research institute of the National Socialist postal ministry were used for a training institute for the cadre of the Socialist Unity Party (SED) for just a few years. The last remaining ruins of an armaments factory were left untouched. In 1990, Kleinmachnow was a place of the kind that had been lost in western Germany since the 1960s: a 'green island', as one long-term resident told the researcher, a 'comical Sleeping Beauty', as a suburbanite of the early 1990s remarked; a residential settlement free of high-density areas, a place imbued with 'morbid charm' because of its patina of at least forty years of zero development.

As early as the spring of 1991, the first incomers acquired residential properties, soon followed by citizens of the former Federal Republic of Germany who wanted to assert restitution claims for more than two-thirds of all plots and buildings, as indeed was the case in a number of municipalities around Berlin[5]. From the mid-1990s onwards, the numbers of incoming suburbanites increased, accompanied by enormous numbers of households that had left their long-established residences.

[4] The people referred to are those who stayed in suburbia only at weekends. Staying only at weekends is a common phenomenon of the 'east-Fordist' type of suburbanisation in Germany before unification.

[5] It should be emphasised that the number of properties finally returned was considerably lower. A written reply to the researcher from the 'Amt zur Regelung offener Vermögensfragen', the office responsible for settling questions relating to assets, dated February 23, 2004), gave a proportion of 33 percent of restitution claims in Kleinmachnow being successful. For that reason, successful restitution claims have to be seen as only one factor among others in the rapid migration which essentially started as early as 1990 and has been continuous until the present day.

Table 1: Migration movement in Kleinmachnow (1991–2004)

Year (12/31)	Inhabitants	Moving in	Moving out	Moving in + out	Net migration
1991	11,374	288	420	708	– 132
1994	11,083	543	557	1,097	– 11
1997	12,715	1,969	775	2,744	1,194
2000	15,796	1,955	1,045	3,000	910
2002	17,100	1,625	1,111	2,736	514
2004	17,988	1,571	1,120	2,691	451
Total: (1991–2004)	6,614 (increase only)	17,877	11,345	29,222	6,532

Landesamt für Datenverarbeitung und Statistik 1999, 2008

Such numbers of migrants and such enormous population replacement are exceptionally high; nevertheless, other large pre-war suburbs too have faced extensive increases and population replacement. Moreover, as in other westerns suburbs around Berlin, nearly every one of the suburbanites in Kleinmachnow moved there from western parts of Berlin or from the states of the former western Germany[6]. Like the long-established residents, the suburbanites often have the highest levels of educational attainment. In contrast to the long-established residents, who were often employed in neighbouring Teltow's large semi-conductor industry but also in East Berlin's former large firms or in the public sector there, suburbanites work as professors, scientific assistants, lawyers, journalists, senior civil servants, architects, dentists, mostly in west Berlin or the capital's new city centre. Suburbanites often have a sufficiently high income to acquire property in Kleinmachnow[7]. Many of them are young families: people in their late thirties with two or more small children. In addition, empty-nesters and well-off older people migrated from Berlin. In the course of this migration of suburbanites, Kleinmachnow's socio-demographic structure changed extensively. The majority-minority ratio of long-established residents and suburbanites changed in the late 1990s, modifying the population age structure considerably because of the many children who moved in or were born there. With the new majority-minority ratio of long-established residents and suburbanites, two contrasting professional milieus were opposing each other: whereas the long-established residents are often counted among the 'scientific-technical intelligentsia' of the GDR, the suburbanites represent typical western German professional milieus, not least western Germany's executive class.

But like other suburbs, Kleinmachnow was a changing place not only because of its formerly unused or undivided and now developed plots. In the early 1990s, the local authority acquired at great expense large areas of land for two industrial estates next to the autobahn, and to secure areas which were intended for the future development of Kleinmachnow's town centre. A further large development area was acquired in order to give residents affected by restitution the opportunity to develop private residential buildings on cut-price plots or to

[6] Hinrichs (1999) illustrates in the case of Berlin that suburbanites typically end their migration in area sectors which are adjacent to their former home districts in Berlin.

[7] Kleinmachnow is one of the most expensive housing markets in Brandenburg. Nevertheless, there are two ways of acquiring properties comparatively cheaply: a considerable number of houses are very small buildings; and restituted property is bequeathed to people without the financial muscle to acquire property on the local housing market.

move into a tenement. With this intervention, the local authority responded not only to the large number of affected residents who were without the means to gain a foothold in the local property market, with its rising prices. Restitution had also become the locus of obvious conflict because of confrontations between long-established residents and people who behaved as if they were the legal owners even though they had only just lodged their claims. Residents again went public, and the issue of restitution in Kleinmachnow made news in Berlin's quality newspapers for months. Then, in the mid-2000s, the relatively large town centre at Kleinmachnow's southern periphery was developed, including the town hall, retail outlets, cafes and restaurants, and flats, partly to meet the requirements of elderly people. This centre complex, built up about 2005, is today flanked by new housing areas. As these changes show, and as should be emphasised, since the early 1990s the municipal administration has self-confidently pursued the ambitious idea of establishing a residential location that is not only focused on demographic growth, but one that is functionally integrated; in other words, economically developed through industrial areas and retail trade. Evidently the municipal administration wished to prevent the municipality from becoming a purely residential suburb—a "dormitory town" for commuters working in Berlin. The number of years between acquisition of land and realisation of projects, for instance for the town centre (which have to be regarded as a unique undertaking in the area around Berlin), indicates an assurance of the legitimacy of steering actions on the part of the municipal administration. It can therefore be stated that a consensus had to exist concerning issues of what the right autonomous local development would be—while suburbanisation started again in Kleinmachnow and increased for years. As a result of this consensus, it seemed that ongoing suburbanisation itself would result in congestion in the old stock and demographic expansion would have taken place spontaneously, and ought to be flanked by sustainable 'economic commitment' on the part of the municipality. If one were to try to name this perspective, one would speak not of 'growth-friendliness', but of the need to manage local growth in terms of opportunities, not restrictions.

3. Three examples of a perspective-dependent view

From today's perspective, it is remarkable how early the suburbanites began to react to the changes in Kleinmachnow which have taken place since the mid-1990s. It is noteworthy too how effective their perspectives on Kleinmachnow's changing 'character of place' mobilised the suburbanites to represent themselves politically. Furthermore, the various conflicts can be interlinked retrospectively to form an open-ended sequence that gradually included the various unwelcome aspects of the 'urbanisation' of Kleinmachnow. It is also fair to say that even in the initial conflict at the start of the series of events, one fundamental feature of the conflicts to follow became evident: the suburbanites have to submit issues on the local agenda which seem to be—with respect to that what the place's preserved character ought be—issues that are potentially of interest to everybody.

As early as the mid-1990s, suburbanites and long-established residents started a civic initiative to protest against congestion through residential building within the old stock due to the development of plots which seemed to be taking place without any restrictions by the municipal authorities. Building plots were divisible at will; some new buildings (so-called

'town houses') appeared to be on a disproportionately large scale. There was indeed no binding development plan for any of the many housing areas in Kleinmachnow. All that was available was an initial land use plan designed by students from a university in Berlin. Although the initiative had started as a typical single-issue one (to get a binding development plan for a particular neighbourhood), some activists founded a registered association together with third parties. Within this association, the activists pursued the broader goal of re-aligning the less-restrictive control of residential building the municipal administration preferred. If one asks what other causes can be specifically identified to explain the activists' broader intentions, one must mention a mixture of, on the one hand, 'symbolic' though no less effective factors and, on the other hand, 'hard' facts. Maybe the most crucial symbolic factor is to be found in the maximum number of 28,000 residents stated in the development plan. This specification was used as an opportunity, regardless of the fact that in terms of planning law, such a figure has to refer to the potential maximum number of inhabitants in relation to the settlement area that could potentially be developed – and also regardless of the fact that this figure does not necessarily reflect the number of inhabitants aimed at by the municipal administration. But two further occurrences seemed to prove apprehensions. First, some representatives of the long-established residents launched an initiative to secure the future possibility of maximum divisions of large plots (plots of 1,000–3,000 square metres) and the so-far undivided plots of long-established residents. Secondly, the municipal administration intended to develop a few hundred of new dwelling units around the future new town centre, not including the development of another future housing area on Kleinmachnow's western periphery. From this it followed, according to an activist who was interviewed, that suburbanites themselves—which means those who were favoured by the new opportunity to settle around Berlin—had to preserve Kleinmachnow's 'character of place' against the planning policies initiated by the long-established residents in the administration and in the municipal council. Kleinmachnow's garden suburb character seemed to be threatened because of the successive disappearance of the large green plots which were situated on small streets which previously had low levels of traffic, and because of the administration's housing projects which contributed to the repression of green sites, forcing up the number of Kleinmachnow's residents and causing high traffic levels, an extension of the transport infrastructure, and thus an 'urbanisation' of the place.

At first glance, this interviewee's view can easily be perceived as typical 'nimby'[8] rhetoric: not only the municipal administration but long-established councillors too are simply pursuing or rejecting the wrong ideas, and they are unable to take on board 'the wishes of the citizens', nor they would respect them. However, this perception—one could also speak of 'construction' or 'interpretation'—is largely accepted among suburbanites five or six years later. As with their predecessors, the decline of green sites is one focus of attention. The following extract is just one example of a range of interviews which could be quoted in order to show comparable attitudes:

[8] NIMBY is a well-known acronym, standing for "Not In My Back Yard", comparable with others such as LULU ("Locally Undesirable Land Use").

> *I:*[9] What are people talking about right now in the community? When neighbours chat together, what if anything gets under their skin?
>
> *Meyer:* Well, the dividing line here is of course a really big one. Most of the long-established residents think that building somehow means progress. They think it's great: the denser, the better—you often hear that in conversations these days. And there are also a few others—I got involved in the Local Agenda here too—there are also long-established residents who see things differently [...] But, well the neighbours here for example, they think it's great, they think the new town centre is great too; yes, somehow something is happening, money is coming into the town, build, build, build. And that is of course a concern for the incomers: of course they want things to stay as they were when they moved here, and for no more houses to be built, that makes sense, (I: so they want their) … the green island, and the last municipal administration but one, in other words the one that was practically newly elected after the unification of Germany, they have spoiled the whole town—that's the general tone, I would say [...]

In the interview, these exchanges precede a long list of many things that the administration would have been better off not doing. The interviewee, Mrs. Meyer, is well informed on what has happened in planning policy since the 1990s. As her very first statement already shows ('Well, the dividing line here is of course a really big one.'), she expresses her views clearly too. A distinction based on the circumstances has to be made, which means implicitly that it would not be decisive when talking about long-established residents and suburbanites in other respects. This distinction is then differentiated again because of long-established residents who are 'more engaged' than others, as Mrs. Meyer told me later (in a sequence not quoted above). She is furthermore really 'reflexive' as far as suburbanites (like herself) are concerned, in order to stress the motive of stopping any further development of housing ('no more houses to be built, that makes sense'). The egocentric view that all subsequent incoming suburbanites ought to be debarred from the opportunity to come to Kleinmachnow—an opportunity Mrs. Meyer and her equals have successfully grasped for themselves—is clearly evident. But even with all these differentiations, the underlying statement is unmistakable at the same time: there is a need to distinguish between long-established residents and suburbanites when speaking of the development of housing and the town centre. The long-established residents are imputed to be destroyers of the 'green' Kleinmachnow in a two-fold respect. On the one hand, the municipal administration is doubtless accountable for not stopping the increasing congestion of formerly unused plots, and for planning a new town centre. On the other hand, there are attitudes that can be ascribed to long-established residents and are opposed to those the suburbanites have, so that drawing distinctions between groups (those who are 'long-established', those who are 'suburbanites') seems to be inevitable.

As Mrs. Meyer already explained, the new town centre is a further cause. With the town centre and the many new housing units around it, extensive settlement enlargement has been taking place in order to provide Kleinmachnow with its first centre in the first place. But it not only Mrs. Meyer who is arguing that a crucial opportunity was lost to plan a complex of

[9] All names of persons are pseudonymised. The meanings of a few words have been deliberately altered in order to protect the interviewees' anonymity.

modern architecture sufficiently adapted to Kleinmachnow's dominating historic buildings and houses. Moreover, no provision was made for consulting public opinion among the residents concerning questions of architecture, of how large the town hall should be, and how expensive its construction. No public tendering procedure for the building project was envisaged, even though the building costs of the town hall alone amount to several million Euro[10]. Some suburbanites assumed that these exceptional costs for the town hall would effectively limit the municipality's future financial ability to realise unforeseen but essential public services. Taking all these objections together, the town centre appeared to be a throwback to the aesthetic of the 1970s in western Germany: oversized and not fiscally justifiable. And together with its new housing areas, it provides a further example of 'growth-friendly' planning policies on the part of the municipal administration. The pointed view of Mrs. Vielert, quoted below, is typical of statements made by several interviewees:

> *Vielert:* Well, let's say that Kleinmachnow has its own character, it's attractive, it has the character of a town in the woods, it's just Kleinmachnow, which even in GDR times, and even when Kleinmachnow was founded, had these little town houses and so on. And of course it's like this, that when all those west Germans moved here, Kleinmachnow changed massively and many of these new housing estates were built, which above all were very, very cramped, so not like this old character. Kleinmachnow is after all a residential town and has [...] all these very different housing estates, which however are far more spacious, spread out, than the new housing estates. Well, now I am thinking of [...] this new district at the town hall market, the one that was built there. And I think that essentially, mistakes were repeated here which the Federal Republic of Germany had already made in the Seventies and Eighties. Well, this town hall market is the biggest failure there is. What I mean is that Kleinmachnow now really does look just like any other town in the Federal Republic of Germany, or even in east Germany. There is nothing individual in Kleinmachnow, the bargain basement of the German concrete industry [...]

These passages illustrate once more unmistakably how strongly an ascribed 'character of place' determined the perception of Kleinmachnow's new sites, and furthermore in what respect planning decisions appeared inappropriate. Mrs. Vielert, who had lived for a long time in the Kreuzberg district of Berlin and came to Kleinmachnow in the mid-1990s, stresses the unique qualities of Kleinmachnow's former character, and also implicitly suggests that the administration is unable to acknowledge this character or to plan in the interests of the 'citizen' (rather than the building contractors). The administration's planning decisions, as they appeared to Mrs. Vielert, represent a particularistic perspective on what the right development for the municipality would be, despite the fact that decisions were made with respect to all the citizens of Kleinmachnow. While in this quote, Mrs. Vielert rejects a particularistic perspective which, although being a particularistic one, affects 'every' resident, she makes it clear in other words that her own particularistic view on what is going on in Kleinmachnow would have still to be acknowledged as a kind of view of equal validity. And this need concerning one's own perspective can be—unsurprisingly—understood as the key

[10] An article in the *Potsdamer Neueste Nachrichten* even quotes a figure of about 10 million Euro (www.wir-kleinmachnow.de/presseartikel/pnn031009.pdf).

motive not only of Mrs Vielert, who speaks only for herself and only as an interested observer, but also of those suburbanites who want to represent themselves politically.

If one examines what happened in the course of council election that took place in 2003, and moreover in the following months, then on the one hand it is obvious that perceptions and evaluations like those of Mrs. Meyer and Mrs. Vielert, together with the key motive mentioned above, mobilised the suburbanites effectively. Whereas since 1998 only one suburbanite was on the municipal council, in 2003 fifty percent of councillors were suburbanites. To this end, the local parties of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and the Social Democratic Party (SPD) had been 'taken over' by the suburbanites. Furthermore, the true winner in the council elections since that year has been an election alliance founded by suburbanites and long-established residents who disagree fundamentally with the local planning policies of the 1990s. Although the suburbanites on the municipal council were far removed from concerted action, many decisions were contested between long-established councillors and suburbanites. On the other hand however, it can also be seen to what extent conflicts about decisions were intensified because of the fact that each of the opposing protagonists or council groups wanted to enforce its own particularistic perspective. In committee meetings, mistrust and mutual finger-pointing were not infrequent. In particular, the mayor had to justify explicitly which projects he intended to realise or to put aside. In one case, the mayor filed a lawsuit against a councillor, to no avail. In turn, a few councillors called in auditors from the regional government, the ministry of the interior, and even the European Union, in order to check the contested actions of the mayor[11]. Long-established residents and suburbanites seemed to be engaged in a 'policy of confrontation'.

But outside the arena of the municipal council too there were opportunities for participation that were affected by mistrust. This is seen in the case of overstressed primary schools (and, later on, in secondary schools), and the reactions of suburbanites. Whereas in the case of the town centre, the local administration realised an ambitious idea of improving local facilities, the two existing public primary schools were overcrowded with first-formers for years. The administration preferred a temporary expansion of the two existing school buildings, despite the fact that four, five or more first-year classes would have to be established every year, and extensions for classrooms may be unsatisfactory. On the other hand, the many newcomers in the local branches of the CDU and SPD intended a re-alignment of the 'educational policy' of their long-established fellow party members to take account of the future but obvious problem of providing school capacity for pupils, the majority of whom would be attending secondary school. And two civic initiatives sought a publicly or privately financed solution to found a third primary school. But even after the council election in 2003, when a majority on the council voted for a third school, and the mayor was commissioned to find a location for this school. Mrs. Meyer, who is also a mother of a six–year-old child and very interested in the local authority's handling of education matters, describes in the interview quoted above a round table meeting between the mayor and citizens. The topic was dealing with potential locations for the third public primary school. The mayor had to present the results of his investigations concerning a location for the new primary school. In Mrs. Meyer's opinion, the

[11]This information originates from an article in the *Potsdamer Neueste Nachrichten* (www.pnn.de/pm/index...=http://archiv.tagesspiegel.de/archiv/09.11.2007/3641290.pnn; last visited 10/30/2008).

matter could easily be settled if the preferred solution were for a school with not more than one or maybe two first-year classes every year. Nevertheless, the mayor had sought a primary school with two or more first-year classes. Then at the round table meeting, he reported the results of his investigations and explained at the same time that the larger school that was to be established would have increasing numbers of pupils for ten years, then for just two years it would have a constant number, followed by rapidly declining numbers of pupils. Mrs. Meyer describes her reaction at the round table:

> *Meyer:* And then I said to him, he cannot seriously believe that those of us who are affected believe that he wants to build such a big school, such an enormous thing, there. Right from the start, the search for a site, and the costs that he incurs for it, that cannot be meant seriously, because no-one would build such a thing, for just two years of full capacity you wouldn't build such a giant school; it's obvious that it must be a smaller solution, and then all his arguments about the search for a location are irrelevant, because all the time he is assuming these six year cohorts each with at least two forms [...]

Mrs. Meyer implies that the mayor was only appearing to seek a location to develop a further primary school. She is reinforced in this interpretation on account of the location the mayor was intending to choose. He prefers exactly that location (the yard of an existing primary school) which he had chosen a year before for setting up temporary classrooms for all the first-formers who would not have got a place in the existing school buildings. (At the time, this previously intended solution triggered a citizens' protest against such a provisional way of dealing with the problem). Regardless of whether Mrs. Meyer is really justified in her imputation, her mistrust expresses clearly the perception of a generalised experience that engaged citizens and the municipal administration do not co-operate because the administration does not take the citizens' needs seriously. There seemed to be scarcely any shared interests.

4. The case of Kleinmachnow

It would be an easy undertaking to subsume the very short examples provided above in the generalised findings of studies concerned in the widest sense with participation problems in urban or locality-based contexts. As those studies emphasise (cf. Fritsche, 2008; Roth, 1998; Selle, 2007), the number of cases which have to be reported with cautious or even critical regard increases in line with the increasing importance and publicity of participation as a key issue of local governance. If the review of the relevant literature were to be widened even more, once could possibly compare the conflicts in Kleinmachnow that have been outlined to some extent with concomitant effects, or even scenarios of community-formation processes, taking into account the fact that the broad majority of Kleinmachnow's current residents do not stay there for more than ten years at the most, and insofar as one allows for the fact that we should be referring to local milieus and their old and new 'steering' (or 'governing') elites and networks rather than to "community". In the far-reaching debates about communities as local and political entities in the literal sense (cf. Staeheli, 2008), forms of 'communality' (ibid., p. 8)—that which is fundamental to a community, for instance shared experiences, common concerns for a place (cf. ibid.)—is interlinked with formation processes, "where

contests are waged over membership and the political subjects and subjectivities that 'belong' in a political community" (ibid., p. 7). It is clear to see that the interviewed suburbanites in Kleinmachnow articulate a shared experience of what the 'character of place' is, and which aspects of this character are threatened and why, and that this experience provides a common concern, in contrast to that competing concern which is pursued by the mayor, his staff and exponents of long-established councillors and which is also a common one. There are competing experiences and concerns; and with respect to these concerns there seem to be implicit rules operating to include or exclude actors and observers amongst those who are considered suburbanites or long-established residents. On the one hand, these experiences and concerns appear as they seem of course only in a perspective-dependent view; on the other, conflicts are rooted in real oppositions of interests.

As these few references to other studies show, the examples of conflicts in Kleinmachnow that have been outlined have a common basis with several generalised findings referred to in recent literature. Instead of further stressing those similarities, it might therefore be appropriate to take up again some of the aspects of the cases concerning Kleinmachnow that have already been mentioned. The first one is about civic mobilisation. To an external observer like the researcher, even today it is astonishing to what extent and how effectively the suburbanites react to local policies in order to re-align the local 'path' of development being established as re-suburbanisation takes place. Most of the suburbanites that were interviewed (actors or interested observers) are employed in Berlin—whether they are women or men—and have to meet their family commitments in the evening. The interviewees' daily routines illustrate strikingly the ambitious, demanding daily task of keeping stable the work/life balance between the city, where the workplaces are situated, and the suburban realm of household, family and recreation. Kleinmachnow is in addition a place of rapid immigration and therefore of young neighbourhoods, a place in which a common public face has still to emerge. In this respect, Kleinmachnow indeed appears—as a suburbanite told the researcher—to be nothing more than a dormitory suburb of Berlin. It is, in other words, a pressing concern if, besides empty nesters and retired people, mothers and fathers are to become sustainably engaged in local politics. These suburbanites' needs had still to be adequately represented in the local agenda of the early 2000s.

In connection with this fact, one can focus on a second specific aspect of the case of Kleinmachnow: the conflict-related path that long-established residents and suburbanites follow to enforce their interests. As the quoted interviewees implicitly suggest, the municipal administration and the political protagonists of the long-established residents can by no means appeal to the legitimacy of their actions, since they simply pursued the wrong projects, sometimes followed highly opaque ways of implementing decisions, repeatedly failed to adequately involves the new majority of the population of Kleinmachnow in decisions and in the course of project implementation. The interviewees thus stress a stark contrast between what they want to do, and on the other hand what the mayor and the long-established councillors intend. Regardless of the fact that this antagonism constitutes an ascribed contrast, it may be seen as the most remarkable case-specific detail how dramatically these ascribed intentions, preferences, and ideas diverge from each other, and how important it seems to be for suburbanites as well as old-established residents to point out the differences. In order to explain this intensification, Kleinmachnow might therefore be considered not primarily as a

place of undoubtedly subtle socio-cultural distinctions, but of a scenario that sharpens such differences. Considering that rapid immigration from the western parts of Berlin and from the western *Länder* states, as well as 'urbanisation' on the ground, are a daily experience, Kleinmachnow appears as a place in transition, and a place of different milieus in some respects too. Whereas on the neighbourhood level, long-established residents and suburbanites often co-operate very well, there are emerging needs of belonging to one's own milieu in the case of conflicts that demand public interest, or in the case of contrasts that expose strong interests. At the same time, an expanding though relatively small municipality like Kleinmachnow—and a political 'community' of quite a manageable size—offers self-confident actors embedded in a milieu that supports the needs of far-reaching political representation a rich area of operation. In this regard, finally it cannot be surprising that, as an interviewee summed up, "compared with Berlin-Charlottenburg"[12], "Kleinmachnow is a political and interest-related community of initiative". Both Kleinmachnow's recent transitional development and the amplification effects of the contrasting milieus of the long-established residents and suburbanites lead to an individual mode of social integration covering other and much less conflict-laden levels of everyday life in Kleinmachnow. With that, the case of Kleinmachnow shows once more that the local impact of long-term development can entail high demand on realignment or readjustment. The scene of such a readjustment has to be sought in the political arena at the local level. Rapid transition can accelerate readjustments and strengthen both temporary tendencies of milieu closures and periods of upheaval in local social development; on the contrary, self-amplified contrasts between milieus can destabilise path tendencies of development and growth effectively.

For a closer look at the place, for instance to answer the question why exactly these easily mobilisable milieus of residents dominate in Kleinmachnow, we would have to once more take a more historic view. In this view, going back to the early decades of the GDR, Kleinmachnow's social history would have to be unfolded again, starting with the great many "republic refugees"[13]—those large numbers of Kleinmachnow's residents in the 1950s who migrated in the dead of night to West Berlin in order to leave behind both their properties and the restrictions imposed on their opportunities for personal development. This historic view would then focus on the incoming migrants from all over the GDR, the long period of zero development, the regime change in 1989 and the concomitant rise of new, politically uncompromised actors such as the mayor and his staff, and finally the return of the suburbanites—commuters like their predecessors from before the war. How attractive the simultaneously new and old Kleinmachnow was able to appear to one of these suburbanites, especially coming from Berlin's south-western outskirts, may be illustrated by a quote from a Mr. Blümke. He is the son of a small entrepreneur from the former West Berlin, whose father had had, until the 1950s, a house in a small suburban settlement north of Potsdam[14]. Mr. Blümke moved with his family to Kleinmachnow as early as 1990. In his interview, he reports amongst other things how long he had to search for a small but suitable house in the western

[12] Berlin-Charlottenburg is one of the well-off districts in the western parts of the inner city.
[13] This was the official euphemism used to express the massive flight of GDR inhabitants before the wall was erected.
[14] Potsdam is the second core of Berlin's metropolitan area, and is also situated close to Kleinmachnow.

suburbs, also in Kleinmachnow, and that once a day an offer for sale arrived by postcard. In this context, he then recalls his impression when he came to Kleinmachnow for the first time:

> *Blümke:* In Kleinmachnow in the winter of 1989/90, that was a comical set-up, because everyone had coal-fired heating. And it was not just winter, but foggy too. And it stank dreadfully of coal. And it was really grey, and there were no houses that weren't grey. Everything here was grey [...] There was snow on the ground, and that was—I can still remember—quite dirty, somehow a ... a [...], and it was, you could say it had a kind of morbid charm. And I liked that, for me, as soon as we arrived here, I thought, yes, okay, let's do it!

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A NEW FORM OF URBAN GOVERNANCE? THE POLITY, POLITICS AND POLICY OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN POST-SOCIALIST WARSAW

Florian Koch

1. Introduction

In 2008, the post-socialist transformation in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) became adult: 18 years ago, countries like Poland, Czech Republic and Hungary adopted a new constitution and organized the first free elections. These events can be labelled as the beginning of the post-socialist time. During the years from 1990 to 2008 democracy in CEE countries matured and the countries became part of the European Union. The consequences of transformation not only led to changes concerning the national level but also altered the cities in this region, which is the focus of the following remarks. Therefore my starting point is the question, how post-socialist cities 'grew up' and what they look like today. The close relationship between transformation and cities is demonstrated by Kostinskiy's dimensions of transformation (Konstinskiy 2001: 453):

- the introduction of the market economy and the resurgence of private property and land rents
- the establishing of a multi-party system and the withdrawal of the central state (=the socialist party) as regulator of socio-political life and owner of economic enterprises
- The return of the local governments into politics

Each of these dimensions had major implications for the local (urban) level. One of the most striking and visible changes are certainly the ones observable in the built environment of the city. New elements like shopping-malls, skyscraper-like office buildings and new residential parks can nowadays be found in post-socialist cities (Tosics 2005: 64 ff). But in addition to these visible changes other changes exist, which are probably less apparent but as profound. The main issues include socio-demographic changes, polarisation processes and also the transformation of the urban political sphere which is the main focus of this paper.

The field of urban development is taken as an example to analyse the institutional framework, the processes and the contents of the urban political sphere. Urban development can be defined as the act of spatial planning and the public strategies for the development of the city (Albers 1998: 572). Within this paper, I will analyse the political sphere on the local level in a CEE city and describe some aspects of post-socialist transformation. It is attempted to classify urban polity, politics and policy in the case study city Warsaw and to compare these aspects with the situation in Western European Cities: Is the situation in Warsaw similar to Western European Cities or are – even after 18 years of transformation- still major differences visible?

My research is in two ways strongly connected to Governance. Methodologically, the concept of governance -or more specifically Urban Governance - provides a research perspective to analyse urban development in a more comprehensive way than classical steering theories do. Furthermore, referring to authors like John (2001) or Denters/Rose (2005), the shift from Government to Governance is also used to describe the major characteristics of Western European urban development and therefore offers a basis for comparison with Warsaw.

The paper contains three major parts: The first part describes the main aspects of the political sphere in socialist cities and highlights the role of cities during the socialist system. Second, it follows the introduction of the urban governance concept whereby the definition of governance is based on the three dimensions of polity, policy and politics. This lays the ground for the third part which presents the case study Warsaw and its recent urban development processes. The conclusion deals with the question of how the situation in Warsaw differs from the theoretical governance concept.

2. The political sphere in socialist cities

Even though there were differences between the socialist systems in the Central and Eastern European countries, it is possible to draw some general conclusions about the political sphere in socialist cities. The characteristics of socialist urban development include the strict state control and centralized, politically motivated planning procedures (Tosics 2005: 52). Thus, the main task of politicians in socialist cities was the implementation of objectives developed on the central-state level. Political processes were highly influenced through the local branches of central institutions, like industrial enterprises or local representation offices of different ministries. Sagan (2007: 4) describes this as the domination of vertical structures over spatial sector (=horizontal) structures. The linkages of different spatial levels in one area of activity were stronger than the connection of different areas of activity on one spatial level (like the urban level). These structures led to a sector planning from the national level down to the local level and not towards a sector-crossing planning on local level. In other words: Main issues of urban development like housing or the location of industries were not decided on the local level but were in the responsibility of supra-local institutions. As a result a long-term urban planning approach from the local authorities was neither reasonable nor possible (Häußermann, 1996: 8). Scholars therefore argue, that the 'highly centralist doctrine of the communist period left no room for local self government; local administration was subordinated to higher ties and branches of central government, and local discretion to decide on financial issues or modes of service delivery was next to none' (Swianiewicz, 2005: 100).

With the political change in the Central and Eastern European Countries the system of a centrally planned economy had been abandoned and, as a result, the influence of the central state and sector-related approach on the local level has diminished. The current state of the political sphere in post-socialist cities is therefore completely different compared to former times. The societal and economical organisation of the socialist countries determined another role for cities: Cities were the lowest administrative level of the central state and not independent political units. In post-socialism the political sphere, the institutions, processes and political contents have changed. The concept of Urban Governance seems to provide a

tool to analyse the political sphere and the organisation of urban development in post-socialist cities. The main aspects and research perspectives are described in the next chapter.

3. The concept of urban governance

The use of the term 'governance' has been increasing in recent years but it seems as if also the number of definitions what governance and especially Urban Governance is and what it is not has increased equally. The concept of Urban Governance was contested since its very beginning and until now, there exists no single most important theory or definition (Beaumont et al. 2006: 9). Depending on the point of view, Urban Governance can be seen as a theory, as a normative model or as an empirical study (Pierre, 2005: 451ff).

Originally the concept of governance emerged in the mid 1980s in economic theory, where it was used to describe the influence of hierarchical structures on transaction costs (Benz 2004: 15). But governance exceeded the field of economic theory very soon and became a truly interdisciplinary concept (Schuppert, 2006). In political science the governance concept was linked to the steering discussion and the changing role of the state (Mayntz/Scharpf 1995). The classical steering theory clearly divided between steering subject (the state) and steering object (existing social systems including actors from the civil society and private actors). The emergence of the governance concept challenged the idea of the state as the steering object and thus the general concept of the active state. The state alone could not solve the increasingly complex problems of society anymore. Therefore the role of the state shifted from an active to a cooperative one. Consequently the distinct division between steering subject and object disappeared. Steering subjects became also involved in designing societal rules and in setting the regulatory framework (Mayntz 2004). Many authors described this phenomenon as the shift from government to governance (Einig et al. 2005; John, 2001; Heinelt/Haus, 2006). Governenment can be characterized as a classical, state-centred steering approach, while Governance looks beyond the institutions of the local authorities and searches for processes and mechanisms through which significant and resource-full actors coordinate their actions and resources in the pursuit of collectively defined objectives (Pierre, 2005: 452).

This change of statehood can also be observed for the urban dimension. The classical steering model between municipality and society lost significance while new steering forms emerged that were characterized by a changing role of the local government and a stronger involvement of private actors. The shift from urban government to urban governance was stated as one major tendency in the political sphere throughout Western European cities and brought about various implications for cities, ranging from organisational issues to more general aspects as for example the character of local representative democracy in new governance arrangements (Denters/Rose, 2005; Denters, 2006).

Benz (2004: 19) sees as the main issues of governance the question how collective problems are solved in a society and how political decisions are made. This implies a broad understanding of political processes. As Treib et al. (2007) pointed out in a recently published article, the division of the political sphere in the dimensions of polity, politics and policy

provides analytical categories to describe the term governance. It is possible to define 'the universe within which research on governance may be located' (Treib et al., 2007: 2). Therefore Governance can be divided into polity, politics and policy aspects:

- Polity describes the institutional aspects in which political processes take place. Put differently, political and other actors act in a framework, which consists of institutions, normative aspects and laws. This framework is described as the polity dimension. In the field of polity the shift from Government to Governance can be described as the increasing importance of an institutional structure, which combines elements of hierarchy, systems of negotiations and mechanisms of competition (Benz 2004: 21)
- Politics focuses on the actor perspective and the power relations between political and other actors (Treib et al 2007: 3). One question concerning politics is for example how political guidelines or urban development plans are conceived and in what way different actors interplay in this process. Issues like conflicts and cooperations are also part of the politics dimension. The shift from Urban Government to Urban Governance emphasises the rising importance of negotiations between public and private actors concerning the steering of a city.
- The last dimension is policy which describes the content of political actions. What are the objectives of the political processes and how should particular policy goals be achieved? In the policy dimension of governance aspects like the inclusion of non-public actors to reach political goals and the shift from universal planning approaches to a planning through projects-approach mark the difference to government.

The main differences between Government and Governance in the polity, politics and policy dimensions are described in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1: Government and Governance contrasted

	Government	**Governance**
Polity		
Number of institutions	Few	Many
Bureaucratic structure	Hierarchical, Consolidated	Decentred, Fragmented
Politics		
Networks	Closed/Minimal	Extensive
Power relations	Public authorities as steering subjects, private actors as steering objects	Unclear division between steering subjects and steering objects
Policy		
Mode of policies	Routinized	Innovative learning
Steering mode	Regulations and Norms, Commands or prohibition	Agreements and compromises

Source: Own tabulation on the basis of Albers 1993, Benz 2005 and John 2001

As it is argued above, Governance is seen in this paper as a theoretical approach and as an empirical object of study. The normative aspect of governance as well as possible negative aspects of governance (for example a loss of public steering, democratic deficits through the intransparent influence of private actors on local authorities) surely exist, but are beyond the scope of this paper and therefore not further discussed.

The next chapter analyses Warsaw as one example of a post-socialist city and examines the three dimensions of polity, politics and policy. The goal is to figure out what kind of Government and Governance aspects exist and if a convergence towards the western mode of Urban Governance is visible in Warsaw.

4. Urban development processes in Warsaw

The transformation process of Poland has some peculiarities: Poland (like for example also the Czech Republic, Slovenia and Hungary) was one of the 'fast-track' reforming states, where the transformation process started in the end of the 1980s/beginning of the 1990s (although the origins like the actions of the trade union Solidarnosc were much earlier). Poland chose a shock-therapy approach of transformation which means that a rapid, comprehensive and far-reaching program of reforms to implement 'normal' capitalism has been realized already in 1990 (Sachs 1994). The rapid change of the political and economical system was first visible in the cities. Especially in Warsaw, the biggest Polish city, the transformation had enormous effects on the spatial structure but also on the political constitution of the city as will be shown in the next chapter. Thus Warsaw is one of the Central and Eastern European cities where the shift from socialism to post-socialism is most advanced. The example of Warsaw can therefore give some hints about the future development of cities where the transformation process is unfolding slowlier.

Warsaw has 1.7 million inhabitants and is, besides being the biggest Polish city, also the capital of Poland. The city structure is highly influenced by the destructions of the Second World War. The neighbourhoods on the western side of the river Vistula were almost completely destroyed. Only in the Eastern districts Praga-Poludnie and Praga-Polnoc did the pre-war building structures remain. After the war Warsaw was reconstructed in large parts according to socialist city planning principles. With the fall of the socialist regime in the late 1980s, the political as well as the city structure of Warsaw changed enormously. Being the economic centre of the country the inflow of foreign direct investment was very high and resulted in a huge amount of new investments in the built environment. Skyscrapers emerged and became symbols of a modern, post-socialist Warsaw. The 'North-Americanisation' of the city through skyscrapers as well as new shopping malls turned out to be one of the major trends in the Varsovian urban development during the 1990s.

Another characteristic of Warsaw was and is the housing shortage. During socialist times state programs to increase housing construction in prefabricated buildings were passed in order to provide adequate housing for the increasing population of Warsaw. A huge amount of new apartments was built, but the shortage could not be overcome. In the 1990s and up to now this housing shortage still presents a major problem. Even though the population of Warsaw is increasing only slightly, the decrease of the average household size and the respective increase in the numbers of households leads to a growing demand for housing. After this first glance at the city of Warsaw, it follows the analysis of urban development processes on the basis of the three dimensions polity, politics and policy.

5. Polity: In search for the institutional configuration

Urban Governance in the dimension of polity describes new forms of institutional structures, where elements of hierarchical and negotiational aspects as well as mechanisms of competition are combined. New forms of cooperation between different kinds of institutions gain importance (as for example interactions between institutions on different spatial levels as the European Union, the regional level and the municipalities). Simultaneously, the classical hierarchical institutional structures still exist but are generally more open towards processes of cooperation and negotiation with private and public actors and therefore less exclusive.

In Warsaw, the situation is different: The institutional formation substantially changed in the years after 1990. Already in March 1990 the Polish Parliament adopted the 'Local Government Act'. The law leads to a decentralisation of power from the state level to the communal (=gmina) level. Due to the size of Warsaw a special law was adopted in May 1990: Warsaw was divided into seven independent gminas (now the inner city districts of Warsaw, see Figure 1.1), which were equipped with the same power like all the other Polish municipalities and had insofar far-reaching independence concerning the developments within their boundaries. This meant that the gminas were responsible for resolving urban development plans and issuing building permits. In addition, the gminas had their own financial budget and had therefore also the resources to act independently from the city of Warsaw.

Figure 1.1: The city of Warsaw

Source: Own design on the basis of GUS 2006

This institutional formation provoked many critics; for example Letowski (in Judge 1995: 365) described the situation of Warsaw in the beginning of the 90s in harsh words: 'The city is dying before our eyes. It is not only the victim of the general collapse of the country, but also of the labyrinthine division of the city into independent communes. Above the communes is a mayor who is virtually powerless…'. The next change in the institutional structure of the city took place in 1994. The new Warsaw act had at its core the incorporation of ten surrounding gminas, which form today the outer city of Warsaw (with the exception of Wesola, which was incorporated later). The institutional situation of Warsaw was further complicated: The former seven independent gminas were merged into one big centrum municipality, but still had some legal powers, for example an own financial budget. Thus, Warsaw consisted of 11 independent gminas, with a further division of the biggest gmina Warsaw centrum in seven smaller districts. As a result of the new Warsaw act, the institutional structure of the city was splitted into three administrative levels, the whole city, the municipalities/gminas and the districts of the Warsaw centrum municipalitiy. One of the main problems was as in the years before the far-reaching independence of the municipalities which made it almost impossible to realize goals for the whole city. In the field of urban planning the municipalities had all the competencies, in other words: They could decide without any further coordination with the city authorities or the other Varsovian municipalities what and where to build. Plans for the whole city as for example the Warsaw Development strategy until the year 2010 existed but were almost powerless. The idea that the positive development of the eleven gminas automatically led to a positive development for the whole city, was wrong: The political processes of the gminas were very much focused on the gmina, and as a result the development of the whole city was neglected.

The big administrative reform of Poland in 1998 which reduced the number of voijewodships and created a new regional administrative level (poviat) did not have any influence on Warsaw. The next change in the institutional structure of Warsaw did not happen until 2002. The role of the independent municipalities was heavily criticised and in 2002 a 're-centralisation' was adopted with the 'Act on the structure of the capital city of Warsaw'. This act reduced the competencies of the gminas and merged the former independent gminas to one Warsaw municipality. Power was devolved to the administration of the Warsaw municipality. For example, this new municipality now disposes the full responsibility in the field of urban planning (creating plans or issuing building permissions). The aim of the frequent changes was the search for an applicable institutional configuration for Warsaw.

The development of the institutional structure of Warsaw does not follow the concept of Urban Governance but instead leads to another direction. The element of competition, which was a characteristic of the polity of Warsaw in the 1990s, has changed with the Act of 2002. The new structure is organized far more hierarchical. Elements of negotiation or the inclusion of private actors do not play a major role. Other aspects like voluntary cooperation with the municipalities in the region or the formation of a Warsaw metropolitan region are not seen either. Therefore aspects of governance are not visible in the polity dimension. In contrast, it seems that during the post-socialist transformation period it took some years and different laws to create a functional Urban Government in Warsaw. Governance in the institutional perspective of the polity dimension has so far not been a characteristic of Warsaw.

6. Politics: Influence of private actors on informal processes

The politics dimension of Urban Governance emphasises the heterogeneity of the actors. Compared to the government perspective the number of actors involved in decision making processes is higher. Public and private actors are involved in steering the city, thus the differentiation between steering object (which were the public authorities) and steering subject (which were the private actors) is less clear than in the classical government model.

A short analysis of the urban development in Warsaw supports this view: The housing market for example is now much more influenced through private developers and individual house-builders than it was in the 90s. The share of public authorities in the construction of new housing has decreased. In other fields of urban development like office and retail, private actors have gained a crucial significance as well. In these fields the number of actors has been multiplying in the phase of transformation. However this growing importance of private actors is not yet the proof of new steering forms of governance. On a formal level, the influence of private actors on steering urban development is low: The Study of Conditions and Directions of Urban Development of Warsaw from 2006 as well as the strategy for Warsaw until the year 2020 have been created mainly by the city authorities. Private developers or other kind of enterprises were not involved in the creation of these documents. Also the participation of the citizens cannot be called a new form of steering: There was just the formal participation like the disclosure of the Plans, but no further reaching kind of participation.

Thus these two mentioned plans are products of the city hall and not the result of exchange of different public and private actors. The examples show that the objectives of urban development in Warsaw are generally defined by public authorities (steering subject) and have influence on the private actors (steering object). Hence, as was the case in the polity dimension, the steering form in the politics dimension is based more on government principles than on governance

But in contrast to the formal level of the urban development strategy, the influence of private actors in steering urban development is more pronounced on the informal level. Especially the role of private developers on the politics of urban development can hardly be overestimated. The projects which are realised in Warsaw in the field of housing, office or retail have a big influence on urban development and are heavily influenced by private actors. There are a lot of modes of cooperation between public and private actors which are not formalised, but which are necessary to realize new projects. For example, the number of plots which are not ‘planned’ - meaning that no local plans define the future use of these plots- is very high in Warsaw. Developers can obtain a building permission from the public authorities for these plots, whereby ‘the present situation favours those who know how to negotiate effectively with local governments’, as one developer stated (Eurobuild 2005: 27). This leads towards high influence of private actors on urban development processes on the project level: New building projects depend on the negotiational abilities of the private actors, steering is thus not anymore an exclusive task of public authorities.

Further research about the role of private developers in steering urban development politics is needed. Nevertheless, some first conclusions can be drawn: In the process of strategic

planning hardly any form of cooperation between public and private actors can be seen. But on the project level forms of governance are clearly visible.

7. Policy: Planning through visions and projects

Governance in the policy dimension emphasises the changing role of regulations and norms. In contrast to the government approach, the regulations and norms are more flexible and less rigid. The aim is not to govern through commands or prohibitions but through agreements and compromises which result through bargaining in networks with different actors (Benz 2004: 21). Applied to urban development policies this leads to a different role of spatial planning. The legally binding plan, which determines the future development of the whole city, loses significance and a more project-orientated planning approach gains importance.

Warsaw's Development strategy for the year 2020 names five strategic goals for the city: The amelioration of the living quality and of security, the strengthening of the cultural identity, the creation of metropolitan functions, economic growth and spatial order. The strategic goals are further specified in operational goals. While some of these operational goals have a city-wide dimension, a project-orientation can also be found in the development strategy: The development of the area around the stadium, the future constitution of the palace of culture area as well as the location of the Kopernikus science center are among the main projects. Other important projects are the revitalisation of the central street Krakowskie Przedmiescie, the Saxon axis and infrastructural projects. The exactitude of the description of the projects (architectural layouts) contrasts with the vagueness of implementation strategy. It remains open, how these projects are financed and how private actors, which are necessary to realize the projects (for example the establishment of a business center around Marzalkowska street) are involved.

In the policy dimension some aspects of governance can be seen in Warsaw's urban development[1]: Warsaw's Development strategy for the year 2020 includes aspects of a city wide steering approach as well as a project orientation. But the strategy is more a vision, which delivers a picture of how certain areas of Warsaw should look in the future. Insofar the strategy has more the character of a wish-list, than of a coherent planning document.

Thus, the trend towards a more flexible planning approach, which steers not through commands and prohibitions, but through cooperation, is also a feature of the urban development of Warsaw. But the projects were not chosen in a negotiation process of public and private actors, they are a result of exclusive public will. Compromises and implementation plans for the projects were not part of 'Development strategy until the year 2020'.

[1] The more comprehensive *Study of Conditions and Directions of Urban Development of Warsaw* contains a detailed analysis of the current state of Warsaw and many guidelines concerning aspects of land-use and spatial planning, but aspects of implementation are also neglected.

To sum it up, there are some elements of governance visible in the policy field, but aspects like the creation of compromises to reach objectives can not be found in Warsaw's urban policy.

8. Conclusion: A new form of urban governance?

Even though this paper only provided a short description of the political sphere in Warsaw, some concluding remarks can be made. The division in polity, politics and policy shows that governance is a multi-dimensional concept. The shift from government to governance has institutional, procedural and content related dimensions. The situation in Warsaw has been analysed according to this analytical framework. The result is a rather mixed picture. It can be stated that the political processes in socialist cities were organized according to completely different principles than in post-socialist cities. We can see a shift from a centralised system with no freedom of action to a more democratized system with more power for the local level. But this shift has nothing to do with the shift from Urban Government to Urban Governance. The polity perspective demonstrated that the institutional context of Warsaw was rather unstable. The independence of the city's districts resulted in a powerless city of Warsaw. As recently as in 2002 the city gained room for manoeuvre in the sphere of urban planning and other fields of activity. Polity governance aspects like an institutional structure not only based on hierarchy but also on bargaining and competition are not yet identifiable. By contrast, in the politics and policy dimensions governance aspects like the increasing heterogeneity of private actors, the orientation towards a project based planning approach and the informality at the realisation of building projects do exist. However, the situation is not so clear: Some crucial elements of governance are missing. The participation of private actors, the search for partners to realise urban development projects, bargaining in order to initiate and implement projects can not be seen in Warsaw.

Thus there exists a clear difference between the political processes concerning urban development in Warsaw and the concept of governance as it has been described for Western European cities. In Warsaw, different processes seem to happen similarly:

- The search for and in 2002 finally the creation of a stable local government
- The growing influence of private actors on urban development due to their financial power and the attractiveness of Warsaw as a place to invest
- The need for a strategic document how Warsaw should be developed in the next years
- The growing interest in flagship projects with highly symbolical and city-wide meaning like the Palace of Culture or the Krakowskie Przedmiescie street
- The transformation of the municipalities role from the lowest level of the planned economy during socialism to independent political actors in post-socialist times

The complexity of these processes and the interactions between these factors lead towards a different form of governance. On the one hand, the governance concept gives an analytical frame which allows us to see Warsaw's political sphere in a larger context. On the other hand, the concept of governance seems somehow too limited to describe the complex reality of the

post-socialist urban development in Warsaw. To sum it up and to answer the initial research question: Yes, we can analyse Warsaw's urban political process with the governance framework, but a simple transfer of the experiences from western European cities is not possible. The simultaneity of transformation aspects and capitalist urban development results in a special Varsovian form of Urban Governance. After 18 years of post-socialist transformation and many institutional, procedural and content-related changes the situation in Warsaw is more stable nowadays, but still differs very much from the situation in Western European cities. Therefore it is at least questionable whether a complete convergence of CEE cities towards the development path of Western European Cities will ever happen, or if a new form of urban governance will appear. This touches the old discourse, how long the transformation period lasts and what will be at the end of this process. It is beyond the objective of this paper to give answers to these difficult questions, but as the differences between the theoretical concept of Governance and Urban Governance in Warsaw shows, there is no predestination or determination of the path, the direction and the length of the transformation.

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URBAN GOVERNANCE AND IRREGULAR MIGRATION – THE CASE OF THE HAGUE

Simone Buckel

1. Introduction

Irregular migration has become a relevant issue of public and academic debate during the past decade in Europe. Most of the attention is usually directed outwards towards the European borders, dealing with either the efficiency of migration control measures constructing the so-called fortress Europe or the fatal consequences for people who try to enter European territory. Seldom analysed are the contributions of inner politics in establishing the very same migration regime. Even though past governments undertook various rescalings of immigration policies thereby shifting, migration control upwards, downwards and outwards towards maintaining and expanding the exclusion of irregular migrants. The proclaimed objective is to discourage migrants from coming or at least make the living conditions unbearable for those who have already come. Therein local governments and public institutions play a significant role (cf. Broeders & Engbersen, 2007). While in migration studies the significance of supranational and transnational actors is widely acknowledged, the importance of subnational actors has been rather ignored so far. Scholars who focus on the local level criticise the state-centred lens of migration policy research (cf. Kemp & Raijman, 2004; Alexander 2007). Thereby the tendency of an expanding disjuncture between local and national policies in dealing with irregular migration can be observed throughout Europe (cf. van der Leun 2006; Buckel 2008). The growing number of undocumented migrants is a social phenomenon that is crucial to many migrant communities. The systematic exclusion of irregular migrants from public systems leads to a cumulation of social risks and precarious living conditions within these communities and cities. In the past civil society organisations and social networks within migrant communities have tried to buffer the worst hardships. In doing so pro-migrant actors have established the local level as a strategic site to challenge policies of internal migration control. Here the historically generated "double character" of the local level - on the one hand the executive administrative extension of the nation state and on the other hand as a level which is closely connected to the lively world of society, a terrain for action which displays opportunities for alternative and even counterhegemonic interventions (cf. Wollmann 2002). As a result, tensions and contradictions between the local and the national level with regard to policies and implementation may evolve. In the field of irregular migration this can be observed when local authorities refrain from exercising migration control in schools or in the health sector. However, empirical research on this topic is too scarce for generalisation.

In this paper I will present some empirical findings of my research in The Hague. After a more general introduction to the phenomenon of irregular migration and its emergence in the Netherlands I will centre more explicitly on the case of The Hague. I will analyse the measures taken in The Hague to meet this challenge and attempt to place these policies in the contentious field between migration control and human rights. The empirical data was gathered in March 2008. I conducted several qualitative expert interviews with civil society actors and the local government in The Hague.[1] Drawing from a set of questions, I started the interviews in an explorative manner to investigate to what extent irregular migration is perceived as a relevant issue for local politics and what local policy measures are actually taken. In a second step I inquired about social forces, political processes and institutional settings influencing the development of policy measures and their implementation.

2. The challenge of irregular migration for local politics

2.1 Who are irregular migrants?

The Dutch Ministry of Justice defines irregular migrants as *'foreign nationals who are not in possession of a valid residence permit and are therefore obliged to leave the country'* (2005). This rather clear-cut view on what counts as being irregular and also the consequences adhered to it gets blurred quickly when one looks at more empirically-based classifications of how people become irregular.

The terms 'undocumented' or 'irregular' do not primarily describe a form of migration but foremost a juridical status that refers to the interactions of migrants with political regulations. Many irregular migrants access the European Union on legal terms and only become undocumented when their visa expires. Furthermore an irregular entrance to a country does not automatically imply illegal residency. In earlier phases of the EU migratory system irregular migrants could easily legalise their status especially by presenting a job offer (cf. Sciortino, 2004). Even nowadays some European countries (e.g. Spain) now and then undertake regularisation processes through which irregular migrants can adjust their status.

Georges Tapinos (2000) identifies three sources of irregularity: entrance, residency and work. Rarely does a person meet all three categories. In particular, the irregular crossing of a border which is most commonly associated with irregular migration, only applies to about 1/3 of the irregular migrants living in Europe. Furthermore, irregular residence is not a static situation, especially for those migrants who can re-enter the country on tourist visas. Last but not least illegal employment can end the legal residence permit. In conclusion the concept of illegal migration goes beyond the unauthorized crossing of a border or the lacking of a residence permit. It is a legal, political and social construct that has emerged in the past decades and is maintained and revised constantly by political regulations and their execution.

[1] I conducted two interviews with representatives from the local government (health department and the Mayors advisor for public safety and order), four interviews with non-governmental organisations (Vluchtelingenwerk Den Haag, PRIME, Stichting LOS, OKIA) and one interview with the Big Cities Initiative of The Hague Process on Refugees and Migration (THP).

Since the reliance on social networks is crucial for irregular migrants in order to survive and remain undetected, they migrate mostly to countries and cities where they can encounter some sort of community they can depend on. Therefore, irregular migrants in Europe mostly come from neighbouring countries or move within migration systems related to former colonial ties or migrant labour recruitment programmes. The latter was mainly carried out in the post war period, for example, from Turkey and Morocco to the Netherlands. Also refugee crisis in the past decades contributed to an increase of irregular migrants whenever refugee statuses ended and those rejected did not return (cf. Düvell, 2006). These various pathways of migration show that *'[i]rregular migration systems are the outcome of the interaction of two social processes: the human mobility across social spaces and the enactment of state policies on the very same spaces. The adjective 'irregular' does not belong to the domain of description of the migration flows, but only to their interaction with political regulations'* (Scortino, 2004, 21).

2.2 The emergence of irregular migration as a relevant issue

Irregular migration has become a relevant social phenomenon in two ways which are closely related. On the one hand the number of irregular migrants in the European Union has increased enormously, not least because regular forms of migration have been curtailed massively. On the other hand irregular migration has been transformed into a criminal offence and the fight against it has been set on the political agenda.

Estimations on how many people live and work irregularly within Europe vary enormously. Table 2.1 shows the approximations for various European countries gathered by Frank Düvell (2006, 17) which add up to around four to seven million irregular migrants.

Table 2.1: Estimations on irregular migrants in Europe

Country EU	Pop.	Foreign pop.	Estimations	Regularisations (year)
Total			4,14 – 7,34	>4,26
Germany	82,4	7,3	0,5 – 1,1	none
UK	60,1	4,9	0,05 – 0,5	1500 annually
France	59,3	3,6	1,0	1,26 (90, 96, 98, 02)
Italy	58,0	0,6	0,57 – 1,1	1,26 (90, 96 98, 02)
Spain	40,0	2,4	0,5 – 1,0	1,44 (85, 01, 04)
Poland	38,5	0,04	0,5 – 1,0	Yes, no data av.
Netherlands	**16,1**	**0,6**	**0,11 – 0,16**	**0,016 (75, 78), pardon 07**
Greece	10,5	0,17	0,35 – 0,7	0,37 (99)
Belgium	10,3	0,8	<0,1	0,67 (74, 99, 00)
Portugal	10,0	0,18	0,04 – 0,2	0,2 (93, 96, 01)
Austria	8,1	0,7	0,25	none

Source: Düvell, 2006, 17; in million

Although exact data can not be levied upon to be an exact count and even if considering these numbers as being overstated they show that irregularity has become a relevant social phenomenon in all European countries and therefore also for most European cities. For The Hague scholars speak of 15,000 – 20,000 irregular migrants (Engbersen et al., 2006) which constitute about 3 – 4.5 per cent of the population (474,082 inhabitants in 2007, cf. Gemeente Den Haag, 2007). This is more then double compared to an approximation based on police records undertaken in 1995 which counted 8426 irregular migrants in The Hague (cf. table 2.2). Table 2.2 also shows that irregular migrants form a relevant part of the migrant population. Back in 1995 they constituted already over 7 per cent of the whole migrant population in The Hague. Nowadays it is up to 15 per cent in some districts (Leerkes et al., 2007).

Table 2.2: Irregular migrants in the four big cities of the Netherlands in 1995

	Amsterdam	Rotterdam	Den Haag	Utrecht	Total
Irregular migrants (A)	17,875	11,069	**8,426**	2,677	40,047
Regular migrants (B)	232,236	148,322	**116,202**	48,392	545,152
Total population (C)	739,000	599,000	**458.000**	261,000	2,057,000
A proportional to B	7.7 %	7.5 %	**7.3 %**	5.5 %	7.3 %
A proportional to C	2.4 %	1.8 %	**1.8 %**	1 %	1.9 %

Source: van der Leun, 2003, 16

The multiple categories of irregular migration, along with the number and significance of irregular migration illustrate some of major changes in the past few decades. Irregular migration has existed in all European countries since the invention of borders and their control. However, the steady increase in numbers has to be related to the abolition of many regular forms of migration. Since it is hardly possible anymore to enter asylum processes, obtain a work visa (at least from less developed countries) or immigrate on terms of family reunification, the increase of irregular migration can clearly be read as a reaction to these restrictive migration regulations. The *'combination of restrictive immigration policies and expanding migratory pressures has produced rapid growth in the stock of undocumented aliens in industrialized countries'* (Djacić, 1997, 97). Concurrently the significance assigned to irregular migration by public authorities changed. For the Netherlands we can distinguish three phases in the post war era (cf. van der Leun, 2003; Minderhoud, 2004):

1. Until 1969: irregular migrants were thought of as "spontaneous migrants" and since the need for immigrant work was enormous the path of regularisation was easily accessible for those with a job offer. Irregular migration in this period was considered a welcome addition to the recruitment based on guest-worker programmes and as a sign of motivation to work abroad rather than an illegal matter or a question of security.

1969 – 1991: in response to the oil and economic crisis at the beginning of the seventies the guest-worker programmes were stopped and it became more difficult for irregular migrants to obtain a residence permit. Also claims to curb irregular migration became stronger. Nevertheless the presence of and the illegal employment of irregular immigrants were seldom prosecuted. Irregular migrants could register at the municipal level without a valid residence permit and thereby obtain a social security number. Hence, they had access to the formal labour market and also to social security systems.

Since 1991: the fight against irregular migration is on the political agenda. Although external migration control has become a joint task of the members of the European Union, the Netherlands introduced a system of internal control measures with the aim to systematically exclude irregular migrants from public systems. With the enactment of several laws, irregular migrants were banned from obtaining a social security number and accessing social services. The legal centrepiece is the so-called Linking Act, adopted in 1998, according to which all public and social services are only accessible for legal residents and all public and semi-public workers in this sector are obliged to check for resident permits. *'The crux of this voluminous law is that the entitlement of immigrants to a whole range of (semi-)public provisions such as social benefits, health care, housing and education, is made conditional on their residential status"* (van der Leun, 2006, 312). Thus (semi-) professionals of the social sector, whose practices are usually directed towards providing and safeguarding (basic) social rights, became officers of migration control and exclusion.

Hence, the Netherlands underwent a major shift in their regulatory policies towards irregular migrants. Until the 1990s a valid residence permit wasn't crucial in order to take part in society and to have access to societal systems like the formal labour market, social insurance and public goods. However, in the beginning of the 1990s irregular migration became a criminal offence and irregular migrants were systematically excluded from all societal systems.

In conclusion, irregular migration is boosted rather than reduced by restrictive policies. In the end there is a growing number of irregular immigrants who are excluded from societal systems and thus from social security infrastructure. This leads to a cumulation of social risks and problems for irregular migrants, and also within migrant communities, where irregular migrants form a relevant part. Thus it is mostly in cities where anonymity provides some protection against detection where irregular migrants try to organize their living. Furthermore they depend heavily on social networks within migrant communities and the support from pro-migrant organisations to survive. Consequently it is no surprise that the irregular population is relatively higher in bigger cities than in other places and has become an enormous challenge to local politics.

3. Between inclusion and exclusion – The case of The Hague

The challenge of dealing with irregular migration coincides with a transformation of local politics that assigns a more self-reliant and proactive role to local governments to provide for social cohesion. Hence, before addressing the policies towards irregular migrants in The Hague I will give a brief picture of these transformations and their implication for the urban governance of irregular migration. Then I will turn to my empirical findings from The Hague regarding policy measures taken by public authorities and the role of civil society actors.

3.1 Transformation of local politics

The political, economic and social alterations in the context of globalisation entail a profound transformation of statehood. Though it is true that the nation state still possesses the formal sovereignty, its capacities to govern are undermined by the relocation of these to other levels (cf. Jessop 1994). However, this does not mean that the state retreats entirely from fulfilling responsibilities that are considered as public goods that should be secured. The state rather takes on the position of a manager who controls the outcomes whereas the processes are open for participation. This transformation is twofold: on the one hand there is a shift to (urban) governance and on the other hand there is a change in the conception of the welfare state. Both transformations have an impact on local policies towards irregular migrants.

3.1.1 From government to governance

The terrain of local politics underwent major transformations which are commonly construed as signalling a shift to urban governance (Einig et al., 2005). This shift is mainly triggered by a relocation of capacities to govern by the nation state to supranational (European Union, International Organisations) and subnational levels. Consequently the self-conception of local governments in Europe has changed enormously during the past decades. Up to the 1970s local authorities were predominantly the executive extension of national governments, even in federal government systems like the Netherlands where local governments enjoy a high degree of autonomy. This nexus still persists but at the same time cities are expected to be more proactive in designing policies to enhance economic development, social cohesion and environmental protection. Thus, while the nation state still sets the regulatory frame and assigns the duties and responsibilities to local authorities, the latter are expected to be self-reliant in fulfilling these objectives. Subsequently tensions and contradictions between the local and the national level with regard to policies and their implementation may evolve (cf. van der Leun 2003 & 2006). In the field of irregular migration these conflicts are fuelled by the so-called gap-hypothesis (Cornelius et al., 1994), meaning that despite the steady expansion of migration control measures, the numbers of irregular migrants are increasing and in the end it is the local level that has to deal with the social problems arising from it. But the scope of action for local authorities in this matter is limited by national regulations like the Linking Act which doesn't allow any public services to be accessible for people without resident permits.

At the same time the shift from government to governance calls for proactive involvement and participation of non-governmental actors in political processes. The former rather rigid division between state, economy and civil society is loosened and new arrangements of political decision making are formed. The involvement of civil society organisations, however, also became a means of outsourcing of social welfare provisions. Responsibilities of the local government are taken over by civil society organisations in exchange for funding and professionalisation. The negative effect of this cooperation is the growing dependence of civil society organisations on public funding and the adjustment of their work to public programme funding (cf. Mayer, 2005). For irregular migrants this process is ambivalent. On the one hand public funding may stabilise the continuity of support infrastructures otherwise dependent solely on voluntary work and donations and may also open up channels for influencing the political agenda at the local level. On the other hand public funding may entail restrictions that exclude irregular migrants. Furthermore the precarious consequences of the systematic exclusion of irregular migrants from societal systems are left to be solved by civil society actors.

3.1.2 Transformation of the welfare system

Concurrent to the shift from government to governance there has also been a transformation of the welfare system. In the context of this paper two aspects are crucial: the introduction of market mechanisms and the introduction of a system of budgeting of social provisions.

Over the course of post-Fordism public discourse on the welfare system, the Netherlands experienced a growing inclination towards the introduction of market mechanisms. The hegemonic rationality behind this was, like in many other advanced capitalist welfare states, the alleged practical constraints imposed by globalisation and global economic competition inferred that public expenditure on social welfare had to be made more efficient. Furthermore public institutions were privatised or semi-privatised (like hospitals, energy suppliers, etc.) and tasks of social welfare outsourced to private actors. In consequence the perception that public welfare is a general good that should be accessible for everyone and should ensure a certain living standard within a given territory is superseded gradually by economic principles as a dominant guideline for the allocation of public goods. Aligned with the introduction of market mechanisms is a system of budgeting of social provisions. Instead of financing a public good based on the need for it (in amount and quality) the amount of public expenditure is defined by budgets with which social service providers (public and private) have to get by.

In consequence, it became a lot more difficult or hardly possible for these social service institutions to get refunded for extra costs that are not set by allocated budgets. Hence they tend to turn people away who cannot pay themselves or who do not have the necessary insurance. This certainly strongly affects irregular migrants.

3.2 Local policies towards irregular migrants in The Hague

Irregular migrants face a constant gap between international human rights law and their experiences in daily life in the countries where they reside. This gap is rather obvious at the borders of the European Union where migrants are regularly deported without being given the chance to enter any form of asylum procedure, but it also constitutes the conditions under which irregular migrants are coping with everyday life in cities. Since undocumented migrants face a perpetual threat of deportation any form of public appearance or contact with public authorities involves a huge risk. Subsequently their access to basic human rights like health care, education, legal protection against violence and exploitation, which are usually provided for by (local) public authorities, is massively aggravated. In the end measures by local authorities to implement internal migration control have even more impact on the daily living conditions of irregular migrants than external migration control (cf. Brochmann & Hammar, 1999). In addition the turn in the welfare system towards an economic rationality means further hindrances in accessing social infrastructures.

As shown above, policy approaches towards irregular migrants in the Netherlands underwent a major shift in the 1990ies. Several regulations introduced the systematic exclusion of people without valid residence permits from all public institutions and infrastructure. As a result, people who before were able to lead a rather independent life no longer have access to crucial societal systems. In particular, the exclusion from the formal labour market and from social security systems leads to precarious living conditions: exploitation through informal labour, exorbitant rents and overcrowded houses, protraction of necessary medical treatment and psychological stress due to the constant fear of detection and deportation are only some of the problems irregular migrants have to face.

In the city of The Hague public authorities are aware that the consequences of the exclusion of irregular migrants from social welfare are affecting the city as a whole. The interviews from my empirical research reflect ambivalent policies towards irregular migrants oscillating between migration control and human rights frameworks. In the following passage I will turn to some basic social services and the policy approaches taken within the city of The Hague:

1. Health Care: The Linking Act of 1998 excludes irregular migrants from all societal systems. Exceptions are the access to health care that is medically necessary and education for children up to the age of 18. Irregular migrants still face many problems though in order to access health care. First, it is unclear what care is considered medically necessary leaving the decision to the consulted practitioner. Second, since irregular migrants do not have access to health insurance the financing of their health costs is an unsure matter. Although the national government created the so-called Linking Fund which is designed to reimburse the expenses of practioners in the health sector (doctors, midwifes etc.) they do not have a right to get refunded (PICUM 2007). In The Hague this fund is administered by the Gemeetelijke Gezondheidsdienst (GGD) and a council consisting of the GGD and health workers design the terms of implementation. The GGD sometimes also acts as a facilitator and stays in close contact to many organisations that support irregular migrants. Therefore a code of practice has been developed that is responsive to the actual needs surfacing in the city.

2. Education: Education for minors up to the age of 18 is also exempt from the Linking Act. Therefore children can enrol for primary education usually without any problems. However, within schools that have a higher percentage of irregular students it may cause financial problems since additional funding, e.g. for language classes, is only granted for children with resident permits. Also the access to school material and the costs for excursions are not provided for by the state. Therefore mostly parent initiatives, social networks and some organisations try to meet these needs.
3. Housing: The Linking Act excludes irregular migrants from public housing. Repeatedly families whose asylum status had ended were put on the streets. Overcrowded houses were also discovered and considered threats to public safety and order. The protest of civil society organisations against these evictions and the occupation of city hall for a few days by homeless migrant families prompted the local government to create an emergency fund. This fund is meant to bridge emergency situations which would otherwise result in precarious social situations and/or in disturbance of the public order. In most cases this fund is accessed through civil society organisations that support irregular migrants.
4. Counselling and Information: Apart from societal exclusion another big problem is the lack of information for irregular migrants and asylum seekers about their rights (however limited they may be) and how they can access them. In The Hague this information is usually provided by civil society organisations and mouth to mouth propaganda. The local government finances some civil society organisations indirectly in this matter and with the VluchtelingenWerk the city even explicitly supports the counselling of irregular migrants. Moreover, the city of The Hague financed together with the three other big cities a brochure informing the basic rights of undocumented people in the Netherlands.

The growing number of undocumented migrants living in The Hague constitutes a social phenomenon which challenges political approaches solely based on terms of control and security. The awareness that expanding control policies towards irregular migration led to an increase rather than a decrease in numbers as well as the political engagement of pro-migrant actors at the local level have paved the way for more socially oriented approaches by local authorities. Although internal migration control carried out by the local government persists, access to certain rights and social provisions is (sometimes) granted within the frame of human rights. Looking at these four sectors, health care, education, housing and counselling it becomes obvious that irregular migrants are far from being included in regular systems of society. All the social and public services they can access are mainly based on a parallel system of inclusion, either by separate funds or civil society support. Public expenditure is restrained to emergency situations within the frame of human rights and potentially disturbing situations to public order. Nevertheless it is observable that the city of The Hague is aware of the social problems arising from the irregular status of some of its citizens. The local government takes policy approaches that do not solely follow a regulatory control framework but also display responsibility for safeguarding some basic social rights for irregular migrants. However, civil society engagement and social networks within migrant communities remain the backbone in buffering the worst hardships.

Nevertheless the empirical findings from The Hague point to the fact that cities do take on proactive roles in dealing with irregular migrants. In the Netherlands the four big cities (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht) cooperate in this matter and attempt to also influence national policies. Further indicators for this proactive role can be found at the international level. Here cities have formed various networks to exchange information and best practices and to influence international policy making. Irregular migration is part of the agenda. The European network Eurocities, for example, cooperated with PICUM (Platform for international Cooperation on Undocumented Migration), a non-governmental organisation for the rights of irregular migrants in Brussels, in a campaign for access to healthcare for undocumented migrants. Furthermore the safeguarding of human rights in the city is the subject of several charters, which were passed in the last years and in which the undersigning cities agree to take on this responsibility.

4. Conclusion

Local authorities are affected and addressed the context of irregular migration in two ways: On the one hand, state governments expect their local officials to follow national legislation and thus to perceive of irregular migrants as illegal residents. On the other hand, cities are strongly affected by the social consequences of the growing number of irregular migrants in the EU. They face a cumulation of social risks and problems within their realm. Since social rights and citizenship are linked very strongly and are apart from juridical frames sociopolitically contested, municipalities in the past have mostly refrained from exercising a politics of integration towards irregular migrants. Therefore in most cases NGOs, social initiatives, ethnic communities, and self-organisations of migrants have tried to meet the primary needs of irregular migrants. However the growing number of irregular migrants living in The Hague and other European cities challenges political approaches based solely on concepts of control and security. The awareness that expanding control policies towards irregular migration led to an increase rather than a decrease in numbers, and that the political engagement of pro-migrant actors at the local level have paved the way for more socially oriented approaches by local authorities can be seen in The Hague. Although internal migration control carried out by local governments persists, access to certain rights and social provisions is (sometimes) granted within the frame of human rights. Nevertheless it is highly debateable whether these parallel forms of incorporation, as described for The Hague in this article, can actually be considered as steps to inclusion. These measures might as well indicate a race to the bottom regarding social welfare provisions, beginning with the weakest group. The latter interpretation gains prominence when taking into account that until the beginning of the 1990s irregular migrants were included in almost all societal systems (labour market, social insurance etc.). Against this background the parallel system we encounter today is barely an emergency kit which keeps irregular migrants highly dependent on supporting infrastructures and social networks.

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GOOD URBAN GOVERNANCE IN MARGINALISED NEIGHBOURHOODS: ANALYSING THE EFFECTS OF COMMUNITY HEALTH PARTNERSHIPS

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1. Introduction

"Good governance is perhaps the single most important factor in eradicating poverty and promoting development." This is how the Centre for Urban Health of the WHO Regional Office for Europe announced a new programmatic phase for the European healthy city network in 2001 (WHO Europe, 2001). Poverty, measured for example through socio-economic indicators, appeared to be an important determinant of health in Germany as in other Western democracies. Lampert and his colleagues have shown for example that life expectancy differs by almost 11 years for men and 8 years for women between the lowest and the highest income position (Lampert et al., 2007). Consequently, strategies against poverty are called for to become an important part of the health promotion agenda. Good urban governance and community development has been advocated as such a measure.

Another key strategy to reach socially deprived groups with health promoting interventions is the setting-based approach developed by the WHO. A setting in the WHO definition is: 'The place or social context in which people engage in daily activities in which environmental, organizational and personal factors interact to affect health and wellbeing.' (WHO, 1998) Thus, health promotion according to the setting-approach aims at those social structures and seeks to improve them. Although there is a wide variety on interventions following the setting-approach there is no coherent theoretical concept behind it. In practice frequently selected settings are schools, childcare facilities or companies. Since 2001 the statutory health insurance funds are obliged to offer health promotion with regard to social inequalities. In this context deprived neighbourhoods have come into discussion as potential settings of health promotion. However, to build an evidence basis for such complex setting-interventions basis remains a major task of public health research (Engelmann and Halkow, 2008).

The development of marginalised neighbourhoods is already a key concern of another political programme. In 1999 the German Federal Ministry of Urban Affairs addressed the problem of segregated cities and marginalised neighbourhoods and initiated together with the Bundesländer the programme 'Socially Integrative City'. By 2007 more than two billion Euros were invested through federal, Länder and local authorities. More than 450 neighbourhoods in over 300 local communities take part in the programme (www.sozialestadt.de). Citizens' participation, effective local administration and cooperative structures are key elements of the programme to stop the neighbourhoods' downgrading trends. Thus, a call for good governance is inherent in the programme. Because of the

similarity in the programmatic concept and the development of governance structures in the programme areas, the Socially Integrative City programme incorporated the encompassing setting approach for health promotion as well (Sachverständigenrat, 2005); (AG Krankenkassen, 2008; Gesundheit Berlin, 2008). However, so far the combination of the two approaches has been rather rhetorical. Few attempts have been made to develop a 'healthy neighbourhood' in the areas of the 'Socially Integrative City' (Böhme, 2007).

Besides this limited empirical base, analytical problems arise as well. Definitions of central terms such as 'good governance' are heterogeneous or as in the case of 'setting' rather vague. Thus, it is an open empirical question, if and how the health perspective and reinforcement of good governance plays a valuable role to combat marginalization of certain neighbourhoods. In general, the attempt to solve health and poverty problems through a new form of regulation connects to the research of social innovations at neighbourhood level (Moulaert et al., 2005). It still is a challenge to find an adequate analytical frame for the multidimensional territorial developments. The local adaptations of the ideal type models of good governance lead to a variety of governance constellations. In the concert of actors a control of these local translation processes seems impossible. The dissertation research that is portrayed in this article aims at the analysis of these local translation processes. An analytic framework has to be developed that goes along with the complex developments. Furthermore the patterns of local governance innovations shall be traced. The development and management of community health partnerships are selected as a special focus. The empirical materials are drawn from a research project at the German Institute of Urban Affairs. From 2006 up to 2009 three communities are counselled in implementing the setting approach in a neighbourhood of the 'Socially Integrative City' programme. Through a participatory evaluation process the project is assessed and recommendations will be directed towards neighbourhood organisations, community administration, and health insurance associations. The detailed case study research provides insight into the specific amalgamations of intensions, actors, context factors and local developments that are the basis for local governance coalitions.

This paper starts out with the definition of central terms such as good governance, marginalized neighbourhoods and community health partnerships. In a second part the case study is presented. The planned intervention process and the genesis of local governance structures are described for all three communities. The final section offers first reflections of the empirical findings regarding the scope of governance structures, types of actors involved and the durability of neighbourhood coalitions.

2. Definition of central terms

This section starts with a definition of 'good urban governance'. Local governance and governance in general have been described as terms with three connotations: an analytical perspective, as descriptive empirical research and as a normative concept in several reform debates (Geißel, 2006; Holtkamp, 2007). As it has been stated in the introduction, the creation of good urban governance is the research objective in this study. The normative attributes are spelled out in this section. The question of how to analyse such a policy intervention in a complex community environment will be both part of the discussion and a challenge to the ongoing research. Furthermore, the terms 'deprived neighbourhood' and 'healthy community coalition' are defined.

2.1 Good urban governance

Since 'good governance' is a normative ambition of the approaches analysed here, this paper takes this aspect as a starting point. Out of the broad governance debate those attempts to analyse good governance measures are briefly presented. Urban and local governance is used synonymously.

Although there is a variety of governance definitions available, all refer to governance as forms of social coordination that involve other actors than just the state. Many definitions imply both the coordinating actions and the institutional outcomes of theses actions (see (Benz et al., 2007 for an overview). Good urban governance refers to the normative conception of regulation within urban politics. Implied in the term is an 'enhanced' form of democracy. The concepts of 'deliberative governance' and 'participatory governance' seem to follow similar assumptions (Grote and Gbikpi, 2002; Healey et al., 2003).

Politics and administration are no longer considered to have a monopoly on solving the cities' problems. Civil society and the private sector should equally be involved in local decision-making. The concept has been advocated by several international organisations (such as UN Habitat, WHO, OECD) and has become part of reform programmes like the German federal-Länder-programme 'Socially Integrative City' or the WHO network-initiative 'healthy cities'.

The European healthy city network refers to the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat) definition of good urban governance. It is 'a process that is characterised by seven interdependent and mutually reinforcing norms:

- Sustainability in all dimensions of urban development,
- Subsidiarity of authority and resources at the closest appropriate level,
- Equity of access to decision making processes and the basic necessities of urban life,
- Efficiency in the delivery of public services and in promoting local economic development,
- Transparency and accountability of decision makers and all stakeholders,
- Civic engagement and citizenship,
- Security of individuals and their living environment' (WHO Europe, 2001).

The encompassing approach and some policy goals such as sustainability and local economic development are prominent. The aspects of social cohesion and the reduction of social inequality within the city are just implicitly mentioned and a matter of interpretation as 'sustainability' or 'equity of access'. The process of good governing itself remains also quite unclear in this definition.

In Germany, the Bertelsmann foundation has developed a step-by-step implementation and a checklist for good local governance focussing more on the process characteristics. 'Good governance' aims are in this definition 'local quality of life' and 'vital democracy'. These general aims are broken down to specific aims in the three areas: public policy, organisational and people-oriented aims (Pröhl, 2002).

The Bertelsmann catalogue of good governance criteria includes:

- 'Formation of the future though common goals,
- Problem solving through partnerships,
- Efficient administration and effective cooperation between political council and administration,
- Strategic management and transparency,
- Goal oriented input of resources and public budget,
- Innovation, knowledge and learning.' (ibid., translation gb)

Both definitions show that 'good governance' is usually directed at the public administration and the political system as a new mode of their regulation practices. Geißel and others point out, that good governance has become a new trend of communal reform. After rather administration oriented and efficiency guided New Public Management efforts the good-governance-initiatives bring up aspects of social responsibility of regulation (Geißel, 2006). However, efficiency of public service still appears to be an important part of good governance conceptions. In addressing mainly the state officials with the good governance approaches an asymmetry in terminology seems to slip into the definitions. Civil engagement and empowerment are important; a joint decision making of all partners is not implied where 'transparency' is aimed at. In this respect, the model sounds more like a form of participatory regulation than 'governance' as a form of cooperation on an equal footing between different partners or even a self-supporting coalition of heterogeneous actors.

Looking for a multidimensional analytic framework three important points can be drawn from these observations:

- New forms of governance depend on the consent and support of existing institutions. This is why the call for good governance reads as a pledge to existing government structures.
- It will be important for the analytic framework to capture the degree of participation or the symmetry between partners involved. In this regard it will be important to see in how far the interventions as a 'synthetically induced social reform movement' (Rosenbrock, 2004) connect to local institution of civil society.

– Different good governance aims may conflict with each other. For example, efficiency losses can be made if learning is an important goal. This underlines the need for local negotiations and interpretations of the common governance aims.

2.2 Marginalised neighbourhoods

The term neighbourhood is used here in translation of the German 'Wohnviertel' or 'Wohnquartier'. Thus, neighbourhood includes more than the German 'Nachbarschaft' that is defined as a face-to-face-group bond to the same location of living (Hamm, 1998). The English term neighbourhood includes the inhabitants and their social interactions as well as the institutions located in the area and their representatives. It is used synonymously with the term 'community' as the latter is applied to the sub-city level.

The term 'marginalised neighbourhoods' refers to one pattern of the divided city described by Häußermann and Siebel in 'Neue Urbanität': the marginalised city (Häußermann and Siebel, 1987). It stands for the segregated urban areas where the percentages of socially deprived households are significantly above the city's average. Marginalisation indicates that the neighbourhood is on the edge of the city's social structure. Whether it is still connected to the overall development of the city or if they are already excluded from it is left to empirical research. Residential segregation has been regarded as a social problem as social inequalities are mirrored in a spatial dimension, which in turn amplifies inequalities. There are neighbourhoods in the city where affluent people live and there are areas in town where the poor are concentrated. While the former chose to separate themselves in homogeneous neighbourhoods the latter are limited in choice due to the selective offers of the housing market. The question if and how a segregated neighbourhood might have an accelerating influence on the social situation of its inhabitants is disputed widely (Friedrichs et al., 2005). For Germany there are some studies that indicate 'neighbourhood effects' for certain groups, although the effects do not account for the major trends as Farwick's analysis demonstrates that individual properties show a stronger effect than neighbourhood indicators on the duration of poverty (Farwick, 2004; Friedrichs and Blasius, 2000).

In this study three neighbourhoods are analysed that show signs of marginalisation and were therefore enrolled by the city to the federal-Länder-Programme 'Socially Integrated City'. They were also chosen by the administration as suitable areas to implement the healthy neighbourhood approach as part of the research project. The development of good governance approaches in designated 'marginalized neighbourhoods' is confronted with some problems concerning the participatory claim. First, those who should participate are the ones who on average tend to not organize their interests and engage themselves in local initiatives. Second, the engagement in partnerships does not seem to be the appropriate form (Munsch, 2005). It has been argued that a multitude of 'opportunity structures' for participation has to be developed in order to involve the local people (Keupp, 2002). Neighbourhood partnerships are often dominated by representatives of local organisations rather than by not-organised inhabitants (see for example (Fürst et al., 2004)). Third, participation is more likely if there is some consistency. However, in 'marginalized neighbourhoods' fluctuation rates of the population often times are high. And finally, the participation claim is made under the stigmatizing heading of developing a 'marginalized neighbourhood'. Thus, everyone who

engages as a member of this neighbourhood runs the risk of being labelled as a 'marginalized' member of urban society. It will be interesting to see how the participation claim is dealt with in practice. At this point it can be suspected that the deliberative effect of the setting interventions is rather limited unless additional measures override the hindrances described.

2.3 Community health partnerships

The US-American research literature lists some review articles about the relation between effectiveness of governance partnerships on the community level and a public health concern (Mitchell and Shortell, 2000; Zakocs and Edwards, 2006). The reviewed studies vary widely in terminology, research design and tested indicators. In the English literature various terms are used to describe the form of collaboration at the community level (‚collaborative partnership'/'local strategic partnership', ‚community coalition', ‚community-based initiatives', ‚Healthy community collaborative'). In Germany, 'Community health partnership' is neither a widespread empirical phenomenon nor a keyword in research. In the field of 'good governance partnerships' terminology is also heterogenous, e.g. ‚Netzwerke', ‚intermediäre Kooperationsstrukturen', ‚Stadtteilforen', ‚lokale Innovationskoalitionen'.

Mitchell and Shortell (2000, p. 242) define as a general term: 'Community health partnerships (…) as voluntary collaborations of diverse community organizations, which have joined forces in order to pursue a shared interest in improving community health.' Seven dimensions are introduced to classify community health partnerships: 1. nature of the problems(s) addressed, 2. partnership composition, 3. differentiation in service provided and the resource/funding mix, 4. coordination and integration of member organizations, 5. accountability mechanisms used, 6. centrality and 7. alignment. A taxonomy is developed out of a combination of centrality and (internal/external) alignment while the alignment dimensions include the other dimensions listed above. It will be a task of further research to apply the taxonomy to the empirical cases and see if conclusions can be drawn to the 'good governance' outcome of each partnership. The meta-analysis by Zakocs and Edwards will be taken into account as in a review of empirical literature they found six coalition-building factors positively correlated with indicators of coalition effectiveness. These factors were: formalization of rules/procedures, leadership style, member participation, membership diversity, agency collaboration, group cohesion (Zakocs and Edwards, 2006).

In the course of research it might be useful to differentiate between a) networks as relatively loosely coupled partnerships, b) collaborations where members negotiate common goals and strategies and c) cooperations implying a form of institutionalized coalition. For now coalition and partnership are used synonymously as general terms. The voluntary character, the heterogeneous membership of different organizations' representatives, the orientation towards health aspects and a community focus are important traits of the examined coalitions.

3. The empirical case study

Health promotion in Germany has once been described as a 'no-man's land of organised non-responsibility' ('Niemandsland der organisierten Nichtverantwortlichkeit', von Ferber according to (Trojan and Hildebrandt, 1990). The term certainly is an exaggeration. Since Länder laws of the public health service name health promotion as a field of action and the code of social law obliged the health insurance associations to take action as well. Nevertheless, on the local level there are indeed weak institutionalisations of health promotion, the local health authorities have few resources for prevention activities and there seldom is a strategic focus on socially deprived groups nor is it focused on integrative activities in marginalised neighbourhoods. Thus, interventions on the local level to foster public health are not prominent among socially integrative measures (Böhme, 2007). However, they are not a new field either (Abt and Gieseke, 1983; Trojan, 1989). The community work initiatives ('Gemeinwesenarbeit') of the 1970s had health issues on their agendas already. Nevertheless, the reform of the code of social law in 2001, expert reports and the public debate on social inequalities of health brought neighbourhood development approaches up as one possibility of an adequate prevention measure. In a governance perspective, the weak institutionalization of health promotion at the neighbourhood level raises the question, which actors and institutions will come together to develop a healthy community coalition in a marginalised neighbourhood. It will be analysed how coalition genesis and composition affect health promotion and poverty in the neighbourhood.

3.1 A neighbourhood setting intervention according to the public-health action cycle

The implementation of such a neighbourhood approach of health promotion is currently under examination by the German Institute of Urban Affairs (Difu). Starting in 2006 three communities began the implementation process together with the scientific advisors of the study at Difu. Main target groups were children and adolescents between the age 3 and 25 years. A local process was suggested for implementation following the steps of the public health action cycle:

- Assessment: a report of the health situation on the neighbourhood level should be part of the scientific work in the first year. The report included: The social situation, health statistics, environmental information and community development activities as well as the social infrastructure, important actors and organisations and existing strategies of different policy fields concerning the neighbourhood. Most information was gathered through public documents. Additionally expert interviews were conducted.
- Policy Development: the neighbourhood reports should be discussed with the local project partners and with stakeholders of the neighbourhood. This was supposed to lead to a discussion about priorities for action in the following project phase. Ideally these discussions were going to cumulate into a strategic concept as an integrated part of the neighbourhood development plan. According to the broad definition of health by the WHO, defining health as well-being, fields of action shall be broad. The relation to health can be both explicit or rather implicit – as in the improvement of living conditions. A

strong focus is to be set on structural developments as local process coordinators and neighbourhood funds for health promotion.

- Assurance: The implementation of the measures developed by the local actors is to be the core activity of the project's second year. Financial resources were provided by the health insurance associations, which are partners in the project. The modes of granting these resources have been part of negotiation within the project.
- Evaluation: The starting phase of the project has been used to develop an evaluation concept for the healthy neighbourhood development process. The concept as well as mid term results were discussed with the project partners in all three communities.

3.2 Genesis of project structures and cooperation in the case study communities

- The research project was started on the initiative of Difu and is funded with federal grants from the Federal Ministry of Education and Research. In each partner city a letter of cooperation was a precondition to take part in the project. It was intended to ensure the support through administration and politics this way. In one case the letter was signed by the head of a administrative department (urban planning), in another by the major and in the third by the head of the health promotion division in the city state administration. For easier recognition, the cases will be called case South, case East, and case North.
- The administrative partner chose the intervention area within the city and organised the contact with the neighbourhood actors. The number of inhabitants ranged from 12.000 (South) and 15.500 (East) to 30.000 (North). It was intended to cooperate with the 'Socially Integrative City' neighbourhood managers. As part of the project reimbursements for the additional efforts should have been worked out for each city. As it turned out, in two districts the interventions of the Socially Integrative City had just ended or were in a concluding phase. Thus, in these cases the new project was directed to the neighbourhood to hold up development activities and structures rather than to join forces with the urban planning actors. The inner city was the programme area in case South, where cooperation with the neighbourhood managers was possible. The neighbourhood development programme had come to an end in the case East, a housing area with pre-fabricated high-rise-buildings. Attempts to install a lead agency for coordination on the neighbourhood level failed. In contrast this attempt was successful in the case of North, a mixed residential area including social housing blocks, housing development of the 1950s and 1960s as well as detached houses. Here the neighbourhood management had finished but the task was already successfully handed over to a local community centre. The local coordinators of the centre were engaged into public health topics and public funding to reimburse the additional efforts was acquired.
- A steering group was constituted for each area. Although it was not intended to form completely new structures, in no case the group was identical with the organisational structure of the Socially Integrative City programme. In the South the group consists of (leading) representatives from seven different administrative units and is coordinated by the local management of the programme area. A researcher regularly takes part in the meetings as well. Meetings are every six weeks. In East and North the steering group is invited and moderated by the research institute. In the East the group met about every four month in the first half of the project. Members came from four different administrative

units, covering a smaller spectrum of the administration and less authority than in the case of South. Additionally a social worker of one school, and two non-governmental agencies responsible for after school activities for families, children and young people were part of the group. In the case study North members are from the city state administration (health) as well as the regional departments (health and urban development), the local coordinators of the project, two representatives of health insurance associations and the researchers.

– It was proposed by the researchers to initiate the participation of neighbourhood organisations and stakeholders through a series of workshops where the project is presented together with the local health report and the steps of policy development and assurance, as mentioned above, are being developed.

This process was organised quite differently in each community:

1. In the case South the steering group decided to develop the general concept of the action plan, form two thematic working groups and then invite stakeholders and local organisations to join these working groups. Thus, on the neighbourhood level participants of the first meetings were typically clubs and NGO's that were interested in engaging stronger than they already did in the inner city. Few institutions like schools or childcare places were represented. Some self-employed people for environment child education attended. Inhabitants without any institutional background were not present. The meetings were led by the administrative representatives of the environmental and sports department and by the local coordinators.
2. In the case East a first workshop was held as a 'neighbourhood health conference' but not followed by other gatherings. Here the steering group tried to hold up the process. However, the steering group's members did not develop an own interest in the project's realization and finally the administrative project partner set the thematic focus and initiated project proposals. The community organisations involved in the beginning argued, they would cover the health issues already, extra man power was not available and informal coordination on the neighbourhood level would be in place already to everyone's satisfaction. At the neighbourhood health conference represented were mostly local social organisations like schools, after-school programme facilities. The private sector was only present through a social worker of a housing company and the local policeman, the local manager of the youth administration, the neighbourhood nurse, a social planer, and the healthy city project coordinator represented the state. The meeting was coordinated by the later and led by the research team members.
3. In the case of North the local coordinators established a round table of health promotion that met around five times a year. Here the local health report was discussed, priorities for action chosen, project needs expressed and first ideas presented. Project proposals were partly developed in small working groups that met between round table sessions and partly in a consulting process between the local coordinators and the community organisation that had proposed the idea. All projects planned were presented and decided upon in a neighbourhood forum, which had been constituted earlier in the neighbourhood development process. All schoolmasters of the area were members of the round table, some childcare places were represented, the youth clubs and few representatives of parents' and inhabitants' association. The city's public health association was a regular member. The administration not always took part but if they did the local manager of the urban planning department and a member of the health department represented the district level. Meetings were convened and moderated by the local project coordinators.

In sum, the project organisation on neighbourhood level developed quite heterogeneously between the case studies: One case stands for a strong administrative planning approach, one for reluctant and informal cooperation as well as parallel actions from city and neighbourhood actors, and one for a neighbourhood driven approach with a high degree of institutionalisation. A multitude of different influences have an impact on the specific composition and working process of the community health coalition. This underlines the importance of tracing the different translation processes of the ideal type model into neighbourhood settings; in 'going local' the approach is altered considerably.

4. Discussion and implications for further research

Although the project is currently work in progress, some first conclusions can be drawn to hint at specific features of the governance-structure and -processes at stake and underline important points for further analysis.

4.1 Scope of policy fields

In the empirical study an encompassing development approach at the neighbourhood level was fostered. However, the integration with other active development approaches proved to be rather complicated. The spectrum of themes seems to depend on the actors involved, especially official partners in the administration. These findings shall be tied to other empirical studies about the co-existence of different regimes within a city. The contribution of this research can be to spell out some elements that lead to an urban regime of integration next to the more prominent regimes of growth (Häußermann et al., forthcoming).

4.2 Negotiating membership

The question of community membership or the borders of the neighbourhood is taken as an empirical task. In this research project geographically a clear boarder is defined through the urban planning departments. The participation in the 'Socially Integrative City' programme presupposes a clear spatial definition. On the side of inhabitants and organisations that are located in the area it is also fairly easy to define membership. Concerning other organisations such as clubs or non-governmental agencies it remains a question of negotiation if they engage in community activities in a way, which make them eligible to membership. An important precondition is the 'shared interest in improving community health' as the definition states. Here two traits of the intervention become obvious: the territorial and the thematic logic. This becomes important for example discussion the legitimacy of the coalition. Does it need to be representative to the neighbourhood's composition or is it sufficient if important stakeholders come together. The question of membership shows once more that central elements of the good governance norms are negotiated in the process and lead to different consequences.

4.3 Partnerships of actors from state, market and civil society

First of all the prototypical differentiation between state, market and civil society actors has been difficult. Health insurance associations are market actors by form but bound to public law, social welfare associations have also often times the legal form of a company and need to acquire resources to cover for their running expenses, on the other side they have a mandate for public duties in the city. The same is true for some organisations that have the legal form of a non-profit organisation, yet as in the case of childcare are often fully subsidised by the state. In any case, the multiple logics of the organisations involved have to be reflected in the analysis (for health insurance associations see (Bode and Brose, 2001)).

Furthermore, it seems as if for no party an involvement in a neighbourhood health coalition is taken for granted. A general precondition to health promotion action in marginalized neighbourhoods is that social inequality in health needs to be regarded a 'social problem' to create a policy field and to construct a necessity for further social regulation. State involvement is inevitable to create this field of action. This finding would affirm local policy research that concludes that government is a prerequisite for governance (Holtkamp, 2007). An important form of government engagement appears to be the support of local lead agencies to initiate and coordinate neighbourhood coalitions as well as the provision or co-financing of activities at local level, such as a neighbourhood fund (Trojan and Hildebrandt, 1990); Bär, 2008). Further analysis could also differentiate between the contributions of politics and administration. The involvement of political actors appears to be limited to few occasions. The actual cooperation is left to the administration.

Internal and external alignment becomes a central task of coalition formation. There are special preconditions necessary for each partner. It almost seems unlikely to create a stable coalition. It will be interesting to see how actors and especially the coordinators succeed in cooperation anyway. Some context factors to cooperation of different actors are listed below:

- The involvement of the local health administration varies considerably between the communities investigated. Hierarchy, the multi-level system (federal, Länder, city), the differentiation of tasks within the health department and the integration of new public health ideas influence the presence of the health administration in neighbourhood development processes.
- Health promotion and development of marginalised neighbourhoods both are fields that obviously have low attraction to private actors. Health insurance associations are formally market actors. However, their involvement in health promotion to tackle inequalities in health is a mandatory task ascribed to them by the social law code. Nevertheless, the preconditions to an involvement of neighbourhood level can be worked out through the empirical experiences in this case. Key to the involvement seems to be a mediating process between their logic and the neighbourhood necessities and resources. Important actors in this translation process are the research institution and the local coordinators.
- The involvement of civil society has been found predominantly in the form of social welfare agencies and local institutions (schools, youth clubs, childcare). The former are interested in cooperation when they currently are in need to acquire more resources for their personnel. The latter are present when they feel that their main work cannot be done unless additional projects are created to support them. For example, all schoolteachers

involved feel that they need to offer the pupils a breakfast or lunch as a precondition to concentrated learning. They are willing to spend extra time to organise these additional tasks, however in this they are dependent on a local support in coordination, proposal formulation and local knowledge about funding possibilities. The existence of a local lead agency is a necessary precondition to their involvement.

- The involvement of representatives of 'task groups' or the local inhabitants needs – as indicated above already – special 'opportunity structures'. In the case studies participation is possible where empowerment efforts had been successful in former development projects, where a political culture developed that fosters public engagement, where neighbourhood forums have the authority to decide upon local affairs and a neighbourhood funds provides a local budget. In general, the involvement of civil society representatives in the case studies seems to underline the results of other empirical studies that these kinds of neighbourhood development approaches contribute rather to short term co-governance than to sustainable self-governance structures (Fürst et al., 2004).

4.4 Durability as a characteristic of both governance and urban regime

The stability and continuous reproduction of social structures is an important field of sociological research. Governance and urban regime concepts need to explain transitions of unstable to stable forms and vice versa. Further study of the literature in this field should enrich the knowledge about pre- and post-forms as well as transformations of such structures that influence the ongoing attempts of governance formation. The hypothesis at this point of research is, that these transitions between different forms of regulation are quite fluent and stable regimes rather the exception than the normal case.

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