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Workpackage 1

**Understanding, Hypotheses and Key Indicators
of Reurbanisation
with Reference to Demographic Change**

Compilation based on the contributions of the
project consortium

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Introductory Remarks

This paper represents one of the main outcomes of Workpackage 1 of Re Urban Mobil. It contains a compilation of contributions of all involved partners of the consortium concerning the understanding of reurbanisation with reference to demographic change, respective hypotheses for the research and core indicators.

The first part highlights the project approach as an European challenge, summarises the background conditions of urban decline and demographic change and sheds some light on the respective scientific state of the art. The second part is dedicated to outline the framework conditions as well as specific potentials and obstacles of reurbanisation in the four chosen cities – Leipzig, Ljubljana, Bologna and León. A third part focuses on reurbanisation from the perspective of the several disciplines involved in the project, i.e. urban sociology, geography, demography, economics, law, urban ecology, planning and architecture. Last but not least, a fourth part of the paper points out some discipline-related hypotheses as well as core indicators of reurbanisation that have to be analysed and which form the base for further work steps.

The contributions summarising the disciplinary approaches of reurbanisation represent at this stage mainly the *understanding of their authors*. It offers the advantage that one can clearly differentiate the juxtaposition of several approaches to the common issue of reurbanisation. It has, of course, simultaneously the disadvantage that so far one cannot speak of a *common* approach to the core issue of the analysis, i. e. reurbanisation processes with special reference to demographic changes. Moreover, the length and structure of the single contributions differ considerably from each other.

Set against this background, the paper has a twofold function: On the one hand, it serves as an important result of the work of the consortium within the first half year of the project. On the other hand, the paper forms the base for the following case studies and the disciplinary analyses foreseen in Workpackages 3-6. Therefore, it represents necessarily a preliminary document, which needs to be under continuous discussion also in the future.

As for a *cross-disciplinary summary* of the single contributions (chapter 10), we suggest the following procedure for the preparation of the next full meeting of the consortium in Bologna in October 2003. First of all, all scientific partners should provide up to the meeting a short summary of their contribution, limited to a few sentences. Secondly, this summary will be presented on one transparency at the meeting and later on submitted as a short message to the UFZ team for the compilation paper.

Part I

Reurbanisation with Reference to Demographic Change

1 Reurbanisation: European Challenges and Project Approach¹

“Voices of Decline” (Beauregard 1996) have been heard in many cities across Europe and Northern America throughout the post-war period. Subsequently, revitalisation and new pro-growth strategies became parts of urban policies in many cities. Yet, due to technological change, globalisation, transition processes in Central and Eastern Europe and new immigration movements, the “voices of decline” have become much more silent in recent years. This is astonishing and short-sighted since both demographic and economic figures of urban regions in Europe indicate radical changes at several scales. In some parts of Europe, entire cities have to come to terms with the negative consequences of deindustrialisation, declining birth-rates, ageing and an inappropriate housing stock for changing demands. In other, apparently prosperous areas, these processes are on-going under the surface of overall growth, limited to selected neighbourhoods.

However, urban research is still predominantly focusing on the prospects and problems of growth. But knowledge, monitoring systems and new practice instruments are demanded for by practitioners which are already faced with massive demographic changes (population decline, ageing and differentiation of household types) in their core cities or which expect these phenomena in the near future. This is all the more true, as these tendencies are not restricted to their demographic consequences but endanger the physical and social cohesion of the urban body in a mid- and long-term perspective.

Therefore, the concept of *reurbanisation* discussed as a possible and desirable stage of urban development in the 1980s and beginning 1990s has to be revived and, at the same time, reformulated in order to work out a theoretical and methodological framework for a promotion of inner-city areas in European cities.

While the traditional notion of reurbanisation is focusing on quantitative population growth in the inner city and sometimes even restricted to middle-class gentrification, within the project the term needs to be used in a different sense: Due to the above-mentioned and apparently irreversible demographic changes in many European countries, reurbanisation should be redefined in the sense of *quality rather than quantity* – i.e. as a process intended at the improvement of the inner-city quality of life for a variety of social strata, household types and generations leaving the notion of population growth and ever higher density behind.

Following this argumentation basically, the partners of Re Urban Mobil agreed during the Kick-off meeting in October 2002 on a common basic understanding of reurbanisation as the

“process of optimising economic, legal, social, built and environmental conditions to provide vibrant living space within the urban core (encompassing identity and cultural heritage) where individuals and households choose to live and which attracts investment.”

¹ Responsible for the content of chapters 1-3: Sigrun Kabisch, Annegret Haase and Annett Steinführer (Leipzig), Philip E. Ogden and Ray Hall (London).

This definition forms an interdisciplinary starting-point which will need further development in the course of the project as well as context-related specification for the conditions in the partner cities involved.

The project is financed by the European Commission in its 5th framework program under the key action “City of Tomorrow and Cultural Heritage”. Therefore, it stresses two benchmarks of the EU philosophy in its structure: On the one hand, it aims at scientific interdisciplinarity. On the other hand, it highlights the combination of scientific excellence and practice partners to find feasible and applicable solutions for the challenges described above.

2 Background Conditions: Urban Decline and Demographic Change

2.1 Urban Decline and Urban Regeneration

The project has its background in the overall societal conditions in Europe in the post-war period. As mentioned above, one of the key features of urban development in this era was the so-called “crisis of the cities” (“urban decline”, “urban abandonment”), mainly in Western Europe but tackling Central and Eastern European cities alike, in particular during the transition period after 1989. Urban decline mirrored and mirrors a *general process of economic and social restructuring* from industrial to post-industrial societies. Hence, mainly old industrial cities were and are most severely effected by developments like industrial decline, job changes, high unemployment, social polarisation, city exodus and abandonment of properties and dwellings (cf. for West Germany Friedrichs 1985; for the U.K. Power, Mumford 1999; for the US Beauregard 1996; comparatively: Martin, Rowthorn 1986; Häussermann 1992).

Whereas in the Anglo-Saxon and North American context the term “urban decline” is widely used, in the West German discussion of the 1980s it was the concept of “Schrumpfung” (shrinkage) which served as a description for the consequences of these general economic processes (cf. Häussermann, Siebel 1988). Although not entirely correct – since only some indicators, such as jobs, population or amenities, show a “shrinking” tendency – the term is at present again increasingly becoming popular in order to describe developments of urban regions which are not characterised by economic and population growth. While this debate is now mainly focused on East Germany (cf. Rietdorf 2001; Herfert 2002), it can be stated that similar tendencies of other regions in whole Europe in the mid- or long-term are anticipated (cf. Hannemann, Kabisch, Weiske 2002). Moreover, the notion of growth itself is being challenged (cf. Hager, Schenkel 2000).

As the debate on urban “shrinkage” came up only in the very recent past, it possesses up to now merely a small number of concepts that try to explain this phenomenon (Hannemann 2000: 99). Even if images of a shrinking city up to now do not seem being proper for the public discourse on future scenarios of a city, shrinkage will be an important research field for the next decades. Furthermore, processes of shrinkage inhere – independently from many problems for the growth-oriented urban planning – also chances. As e.g. Häussermann and Siebel (2000: 84) point out, the process of shrinkage offers opportunities for urban life and housing that is more released from time constraints and lack of space. Especially for inner-city residential areas, shrinkage could lead to a reorganisation of housing conditions what Hannemann calls euphemistically “correction of the town” (2000: 105). The quantitative

interpretation of development processes has – subsequently – to be replaced by a qualitative understanding of growth and shrinkage.²

Both urban decline and shrinkage are phenomena to be identified at several geographical scales. Also under the condition of overall population decrease, the intra-urban development can be very differentiated, and some urban areas – mostly in the inner city – are more effected from population losses and decay than others. That is why urban *regeneration* policy as one reaction of urban decline is usually focused only on parts of the city. Regeneration is meant to be the social, economic, constructional and ecological renewal of derelict and devaluated urban areas (cf. Kletzander 1995: 13; Rodrigues-Malta 2001: 322-324; for an overview: Carmon 1999; Imrie, Thomas 1999). Within the last decades, a number of projects and initiatives on the national and the European level dealt with necessities, priorities and chances of urban regeneration in several European cities all characterised by a dilapidation and devaluation of their inner-city districts while growing at their fringes.³

A leading role within this discussion inheres to the *British debate* on urban regeneration that reaches back to the 1930s. The background of the genesis of this debate was the growing crisis of many British inner city areas already in this time, reflected in population losses, economic decline, dilapidation of the built environment, growing vacancies, social deprivation and marginalisation, feelings of “collective despair” among the residents and “patterns of decline” (cf. Matthews 1991: 6-12; Power, Mumford 1999: 25-41; cf. also the articles in Imrie, Thomas 1999).⁴ Starting from different problem definitions (physical, social, economic), a number of explanations and measures have been discussed and initiated since then to assure those areas a future and to reintegrate them into the urban body.

Carmon (1999) identifies three *phases of regeneration policies* that are each linked with different approaches and incentives to re-shape or re-image core city areas as urban spaces for housing and investment and to improve the entire city’s attractiveness.⁵ The first phase (from the 1930s to the 1950s) was characterised by physical determinism with an emphasis on the built environment. The second phase during the 1960s and 1970s highlighted neighbourhood rehabilitation, preferring a comprehensive approach and focussing on social problems that mattered in the core city. A third phase in the 1970s and 1980s, then, saw the rise of a business-like approach emphasising economic development and co-operation between private investors and public authorities. Several forms of inner-city development could be observed in those years, among them gentrification, upgrading by incumbent residents or by in-migration (“public-individual partnerships”). One of the most important

² In another paper, Hannemann calls shrinkage processes as “new normal case” of urban development in East Germany, a process that shows “clear signs for an enduring development” (2003: 22-23).

³ Cf. a common project that was carried out in six European cities (Birmingham, Manchester, Brussels, Lille, Rotterdam, Valenciennes) in 2000/2001, funded by the common initiative INTERREG IIc, to improve practices for a better consideration towards cities’ specifics in spatial and urban planning (cf. Urban regeneration in Europe 2002).

⁴ For push and pull factors of urban abandonment, see Power/Mumford (1999: 73).

⁵ Also Matthews (1991) identifies several phases of urban regeneration policies (15-26): In his argumentation, the first and second phase are defined similar to those identified by Carmon. Carmon’s third phase, however, is separated into two periods by Matthews, whereby the second period sets the main focus on the regeneration policy of the Thatcher government that Carmon highlights as the last phase in her model.

examples for these processes and accompanying policies were the London Docklands.⁶ In Great Britain, this stage of regeneration policy was connected with the coming into power of the Conservatives in 1979 which was followed by a far-reaching restructuring and renewal of the old-industrialised cities. Some scholars called the conservative approach of the 1980s a “privatisation of urban renewal” that closely interlinked political and private economic intentions.⁷ Different programmes (Urban Programme, public-private partnerships, Urban Development Corporations) were established, several partner-based sponsorships like “local growth coalitions” or “enterprise agencies” came into being (for several examples cf. Couch; Dennemann 2000; DiGaetano, Lawless 1999; Matthews 1991; Power, Mumford 1999; Rosenberg, Watkins 1999; Seo 2002). The “new housing policy” implemented with this phase of urban regeneration highlighted the reduction of the municipal housing stock (cf. the „right-to-buy“-strategy), the support for alternative forms of social housing and several reforms of area-based renovation programmes (Kletzander 1995: 9-10). It was not before the beginning of the 1990s that the British government started to conceptualise a policy of urban regeneration as a cross section task with long-term objectives.⁸

One of the most significant results of the several British approaches toward inner-city regeneration in the post-war period was the experience that a rapid improvement of the neighbourhood status and a rise of property values could be reached, but that in most cases the situation of the incumbent residents was negatively influenced (Carmon 1999: 154). Also Kujath (1988: 1-2, 36-42) argues that regeneration of the core city reveals an ambivalent character, offering chances only for a part of the urban population, while the other part bear the burdens. It seems, thus, hardly possible to integrate the entire population into these processes.

In the course of Re Urban Mobil it will be necessary to come to a deeper understanding of the existing knowledge on the driving forces and obstacles of urban regeneration. Moreover, it is essential to integrate not only the experiences from Great Britain, but not least the know-how and the expertise of the partner cities involved. Therefore, especially the debate in Southern European countries like Spain and Italy, and the German debate on urban regeneration have to be analysed more extensively.

As for the last mentioned discussion, it has been developing in different phases.⁹ While in the 1960s urban regeneration was carried out mainly in the form of restructuring of huge areas (i.e. demolition and new building), the understanding has been changing since the 1970s. It turned to focus more on the maintenance of existing urban (built) structures and was called therefore „gentle“ urban regeneration. As a reaction of resistance and protest of the inhabitants of affected residential areas to be regenerated in the traditional way, in the new concept also the involvement of the people and local stakeholders was given an important

⁶ Cf. Hall/Ogden (1992), Crilley/Bryce/Hall/Ogden (1991), Matthews (1991). Hall and Ogden (1992: 167) stressed especially the completely different socio-demographic structures of the new in-migrants into the London Docklands. They were “dominated by young adults living in small households: they are well educated, concentrated in professional occupations, generally earning medium to high salaries and most have moved in from outside the Docklands boroughs”.

⁷ Within this context, the socio-political orientation of “urban policy” was given up by the Conservatives in favour of new economic achievements and their most efficient realisation (Kletzander 1995: 2).

⁸ Cf. e.g. a current program supported by the British government under the headline „Our towns and cities: the future“ (www.detr.gov.uk).

⁹ Here, one could observe definitely some comparable moments to what is described by Carmon in her phase-model (p. 7-8).

role. From the end of the 1980s, concepts of urban regeneration have been enlarged by programs with a social focus that are referring to district renewal and the restoration of flats (Echelmeier, Kurth 1999; e.g. the program "Social City" that is financed by the state and the federal countries alike). The role of the state in regeneration measures has been reduced more and more to the initiation and moderation instead of the realization of state-run objective targets by means of large-scale support programmes (cf. Häussermann, Holm, Zunzer 2002: 191). These patterns were transferred since 1990 to a large extent to cope with the situation in the new federal countries.

While in the former phases of urban regeneration processes state-run projects were accompanied by numerous scientific studies (cf. e.g. Bodenschatz 1987; Arbeitsgruppe Stadterneuerung 1994), including also a debate with British approaches (cf. Danielzyk, Wood 1993¹⁰), only very few scholars are reflecting in the last years current challenges and problems of urban regeneration, taking into consideration the changed political and financial pre-conditions. Laudable exceptions represent studies of Bernt (2003) and Häussermann, Holm and Zunzer (2002) on urban regeneration issues in Berlin in the 1990s. Especially the dramatically changed situation in East Germany needs to be analysed and discussed. Facing a far-reaching transformation of urban structures and functions (caused mainly by deindustrialisation, massive suburbanisation, loss of population and out-migration), regeneration processes depend to a large extent on private investments and interests. State-run interventions have been reduced considerably there, where it is indispensable needed (Bernt 2002: 42-43). In East German cities and towns one can observe an overlap of physical / building-related and social challenges for urban restructuring, highlighting such issues like restitution, segregation, urban sprawl, polarisation of living conditions and pluralisation of lifestyles (Kabisch, Kindler, Rink 1997; Ottersbach 2003; Nussli, Rink 2003). Additionally, the towns have to cope with the mentioned processes of shrinkage, independently of what chances offers this development trend (Bernt, Kabisch 2003: 42-44). In short, we can state a mismatch of practical needs and theoretical reflection upon. This forms a starting point for the Re Urban Mobil project.

The Southern European debate on urban regeneration came up mainly at the beginning of the 80s, focussing on the restructuring of old industrial, harbour, military and railway areas (cf. Rodrigues-Malta 1999: 399), e.g. in towns like Madrid, Bilbao and Barcelona. Concepts that are under discussion highlight new groups of players, new decision hierarchies and the implementation of complex intervention strategies for different spatial scales in a town. They differ from older planning by giving the primacy to concrete projects instead of control of any development, and by paying more attention to the cultural dimension of urban regeneration (Rodrigues-Malta 1999: 417, 2001: 331, 336-38).

¹⁰ Danielzyk and Wood reflect critically upon the implications for planning from Urban Development Corporations (UDC) in Great Britain and the Emscher Park International Building Exhibition (IBA). One of the main conclusions is that the very broad approach of the IBA corresponds more to the multi-faced challenges of areas in need of regeneration as the concept behind the UDC.

2.2 Demographic Changes: Europe's Second Demographic Transition and Patterns of a "New Demography"¹¹

Beside economic factors – and in close interdependence with them – one of the most decisive influences in the context of urban decline and reurbanisation is the changing demographic behaviour of individuals and households, more precisely the nexus of several demographic changes that can be summarized as the *second demographic transition* (Lesthaeghe, van de Kaa 1986; van de Kaa 1987, 1994, 1999; Lesthaeghe 1995; Kuijsten 1995). The second demographic transition provides a framework for an understanding of the relationship between vital events and household formation and dissolution, which in turn are key to understanding changing population numbers and structures within urban areas.

The second demographic transition is characterised by declining fertility, to below replacement levels, from the mid-1960s onwards in most European countries. Associated with this decline is the postponement of marriage and increased cohabitation, later age of childbearing, increase in divorce and couple separation and an increase in single-parent families. Lesthaeghe and van de Kaa (1986) have argued that this second demographic transition is the equivalent of the first demographic transition of the late nineteenth century in Europe, but while the first decline in fertility was a result of increased concern for children and could be described as altruistic, the second is a result of greater individualism within society (van de Kaa 1987). The shifts in societal attitudes towards a greater preoccupation with the self-fulfilment of individuals are particularly characteristic of those born after the second world war (Lesthaeghe 1983). This greater individualism and the associated demographic changes inevitably impact upon households and are major explanations both for the reduction in the average size of households and the increasing diversity in their structure. Alongside the household changes has been an increase in the both the number and frequency of transitions between different types of households experienced by any one individual (Gober 1990). In addition, divorce and remarriage and the varied parentage of children create more complex ties of kin and friendship, for example through step families (Bornat et al. 1999), as does the increasing recognition of gay relationships (Weeks, Heaphy, Donovan 1999).

As well as these changes in the way people behave and choose to live, we must also bear in mind the effects of past demographic change on current population structures, particularly with reference to age structures. Thus, the post-war European 'baby boom', along with a number of other factors, is responsible for sharp changes in cohort size (Macunovich 2002).

This is also true for most recent developments in the transition countries of Central and Eastern Europe (most notably in East Germany, but also in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic and the Baltic states) and, at first glance even more surprising, in Southern Europe (Italy, Spain). In these countries, rapidly declining birth rates let demographers speak of "lowest-low fertility" and even of a "*new demography*" (Kohler 2000). Already now, consequences are noticeable for urban developments – kindergartens and schools need to be closed and it is a question of time when these quantitatively much smaller cohorts will affect also other urban infrastructure (housing markets, consumption, retail etc.). Moreover, the changes of demographic behaviour will in the mid- and long-term perspective also impact on the physical and social cohesion of the urban body.

¹¹ Most parts of this chapter by Ray Hall.

Beside these spatial variations in the way demographic change has been experienced in the last 30 years on the national scale, also differences between several types of towns need to be stressed. Smaller households and more diverse household types are a particular feature of larger urban areas (Hall 1986; Hall, Ogden, Hill 1997; Ogden, Hall 2000; Hall, Ogden 2003). Increasingly though they are also becoming a feature of medium and smaller sized towns, and although are more common in urban centres are by no means restricted to the city core (Ogden, Hall 2003).

3 Reurbanisation: State of the Art

3.1 Reurbanisation as one Stage of the Urbanisation Process

In 1982, a group of European urban researchers published the results of a project on the "Costs of Urban Growth" (Berg et al. 1982). One of the most influential outputs of this project was a general model of the urbanisation process in Europe from the early 19th century onwards. Four successive stages of urban development were defined with three of them already familiar to urban researchers and practitioners (ibid.: 25-45; for later revisions cf. Lever 1993: 268-271).

The first stage, known as *urbanisation* (centralisation), was characterised by mass migration from rural to urban areas and urban growth due to industrialisation. It was followed by *suburbanisation* (relative decentralisation) in still growing agglomerations. In the city cores, the rate of population growth substantially slowed whereas the suburbs were expanding rapidly because the former city inhabitants were looking for a higher quality of environmental quality and housing beyond the city cores. This relative decentralisation was enabled by the spreading of motorised transport and higher incomes. Consequently, the city more and more lost its function as the central place of living and reference of its inhabitants (cf. also Kujath 1988: 26). Due to economic changes from the 1960s onwards, especially in older industrial regions the continuous suburbanisation led to declining inner-city neighbourhoods and in extreme cases to *desurbanisation* (absolute decentralisation, also named as counterurbanisation, cf. Champion 1989). During this third stage the cores lost even more population and the growth of the suburban ring declined. This has profound consequences for the pattern of urban development: With this stage, the overall population development in the urban regions shifted from total growth to total decline.

The fourth stage mentioned by Berg et al. is *reurbanisation* which takes place "when the share of the core population in the total population of the FUR [Functional Urban Region] is increasing again" (Berg et al. 1982: 36).¹² A slower population loss from the core than from the ring means that the core's share of a (in general rapidly declining) population is growing. The final stage shows a real growth in population numbers in the urban core although this growth is insufficient to offset population losses from the suburbs (cf. also Lever 1993: 269). This process of reurbanisation is influenced by renewal and restoring efforts of several Western European cities in the period of general population decline trying to upgrade the social, physical and environmental conditions in the core cities. However, while in the

¹² The first usage of the term reurbanisation we have found so far is in an article by Alonso (1980: 60): "If people behave as they always have, we shall have an explosive suburbanization. If behavior changes, we shall have clustering an reurbanization" (here quoted after Kujath 1988: 29).

theoretical model urbanisation and suburbanisation are mainly treated in an historical context and desurbanisation is regarded as an on-going process, reurbanisation is seen as a not very likely future of European urban development: "The trend towards the desurbanization in the largest cities seems too general and so strong that only through the application of a most rigorous policy could significant results be expected, and such a policy has yet to be developed" (ibid.: 40; for even more pessimistic visions cf. ibid.: 44).

Nevertheless, after the late 1980s a number of empirical studies in several Western European countries were published that indicated real changes in the patterns of urban development within the context of total population decline. After decades of dispersion and urban sprawl, tendencies of re-densification (Lever 1993: 267) or re-population (Ogden, Hall 2000) of inner-city areas could be observed. Scholars like Helbrecht (1996) or Kujath (1988: 34) identified this even as a "return", "renaissance" or "revival" of inner (historic) cities in Europe that were meant to be already a phase-out model (Rietdorf 2001). The term reurbanisation became widespread in this context (cf. for the UK: Lever 1993; Seo 2002; for France: Ogden, Hall 2000; more general: Kujath 1988).¹³

Even if these processes did not represent a fundamental reversal of the ongoing urban sprawl, they, however, indicated qualitative changes that effect urban infrastructures, planning priorities as well as the social cohesion of the involved cities and the relationship between core city, suburbs and urban hinterland. In other words: The new trends were not simply a reversal of flows or return automatism (cf. Kujath 1988: 29) nor limited to gentrification or a regeneration of a former phase of urban development (Ogden, Hall 2000: 369).

While observing these tendencies the attention of urban researchers has somewhat shifted from the macro scale to the inner city or even to single neighbourhoods where reurbanisation takes place. That is why this topic is being treated in the next chapter in more detail.

3.2 Reurbanisation as a Process of Neighbourhood Change

With respect to the core cities in Europe, according to Kujath (1988: 30-31), the development in the last decades can be divided into two phases. The first is marked by a downgrading, linked with the parallel social upgrading of the urban periphery by suburbanisation. The second, however, brings back the positive appraisal of the core city by more affluent income and urban-focused life style groups who prefer to live in inner-city neighbourhoods thus changing them rapidly and profoundly: "If the counter-urbanisation phase had the effect of socially polarising households, with the poor in the inner city and the affluent in the suburbs and beyond, then it is possible that reurbanisation will have the opposite effect. (...) Such developments may house only small numbers of people, compared with the total population of the urban core, but they may have a disproportionately large effect on changing a city's image" (Lever 1993: 273-274). Kujath (1988: 29; with reference to Alonso 1980: 60) especially exposes the cluster-forming character of reurbanisation in contrast with massive urban sprawl.

¹³ For a discussion of these interdependent or even overlapping terms cf. chapter 6. There is also to be found a proposal for a typology of these concepts.

But all previous stages alike, reurbanisation effects several parts of the city at the same time. Most obvious is the change in the upgraded and repopulated parts of the inner city. Here, counter strategies of urban renewal, regeneration and revitalisation proved to be successful in the sense of re-attracting higher-income groups to live there. However, lower income and marginal groups were often driven out of the respective areas. This is one of the main topics within the large bulk of gentrification literature (cf. e.g. Clay 1979; Gale 1986; Dangschat, Blasius 1990; Helbrecht 1996; Bailey, Robertson 1997). Thus, instead of being the over-all solution for urban problems, new patterns of inner-city polarisation came into being with gentrified and further declining areas nearby (cf. Winchester, Ogden 1989: 186). Also coincidences of urban sprawl, shrinkage of population and reurbanisation processes is not unlikely.

However, there is a need for further research, especially on a small scale. First results indicate that reurbanisation processes are taking place under different pre-conditions, showing several development patterns and leading to different results (cf. Seo 2002).

Also for *Re Urban Mobil*, such a small scale approach has been chosen. This offers the major advantage that the specific built, economic, demographic and social conditions and trends can be taken into consideration in order to analyse potentials and obstacles of reurbanisation processes. Moreover, it is intended to include both the interests and opinions of local stakeholders and of the residential population. As for the practical implementation of municipal instruments and measures, the neighbourhood approach is helpful to come to concrete action programs based on specific conditions, and to strengthen the civic involvement of the residents, as is suggested e.g. by the history of the so-called “neighbourhood democracy” in Bologna (cf. Jax 1989). Finally, the comparison of different neighbourhood studies (a) provides a picture of the variety of reurbanisation processes and impact factors and (b) allows for drawing some general conclusions from these case studies.¹⁴

3.3 Summary: The Ambivalent Nature of the Reurbanisation Concept within the Project

While in the last passages an *analytic concept* of reurbanisation has been introduced (for the detailed perspectives of the several disciplines involved cf. part III), it should be noted that the definition given in chapter 1 has a strong *normative impetus* which is not conform with the common scientific understanding of reurbanisation. So far, urban research has treated reurbanisation as a typical example for an emergent effect, i.e. an unintended consequence of the interdependent decisions of a number of actors, and has tried to explain it with reference to more general changes in society.¹⁵

When in contrast with this reurbanisation is being defined as the “process of optimising economic, legal, social, built and environmental conditions to provide vibrant living space within the urban core”, than another approach has been chosen. This is due to the very nature of *Re Urban Mobil* which intends not only to investigate potentials and obstacles of

¹⁴ There is a wide range of scholars who provide comparative analyses of several urban districts or neighbourhoods, referring to issues like urban renewal, urban regeneration and social development (cf. Lasch 1997; McCarthy 2000; Schnur 2000).

¹⁵ The authors are thankful to the participants of the conference „Aktuelle Projekte und Arbeiten zur Wohnungsmarktforschung“ in Cologne (May 2003), who brought their attention to this problem.

reurbanisation but also to provide instruments for real changes in the cities and the case study areas.

This two-fold nature of the reurbanisation concept needs to be reflected upon – it can be one of the most interesting challenges of Re Urban Mobil. However, the partners involved have to be aware of which concept (normative or analytic) is being applied in which phase of the project.

Part II

The Challenge of Reurbanisation in Leipzig, Ljubljana, Bologna and León

4 Regional Framework Conditions¹⁶

Although our knowledge on the partner cities is still very meagre, in the following we try to outline some of the framework conditions influencing the urban development of the case studies.

The special focus of the chosen approach is on *traditional industrial and commercial centres* in Central, Western and Eastern Europe. Most of them face severe economic transitions and population decline in the inner city, partly already for some decades or as a recent phenomenon (e.g. Leipzig and León). At the same time, the proportion of older inhabitants in relation to the entire city rose accompanied by a declining number of children. Reinforced by deindustrialisation, suburbanisation and out-migration, these cities have to cope with cumulative destabilisation trends differing significantly from problems in expanding regions.

Beside these trends, *new demographic phenomena* emerged in recent years and intensified the negative population development. In particular South European countries (Italy, Spain) and Central Eastern European countries are facing a completely new dimension of demographic change. Recently, total fertility rates declined to levels much below the replacement rate. According to future developments, even the most optimistic immigration prognoses cannot turn these decisive population decreases into growth. Within a very short period, population decline became visible also on the housing markets and the effected cities face considerable housing vacancies, predominantly in the core city (e.g. in Leipzig). Other cities (such as Ljubljana and León) are already faced with a considerable ageing of their population in the inner city. Also this development will effect at least qualitative housing demand in the future.

Two case studies, Leipzig and Ljubljana, face a special situation of demographic, social, economic and urban developments due to the consequences of *post-socialist transition*. The preconditions are, however, different in both cities: While Leipzig – like whole East Germany – was integrated in the legal and economic structures of West Germany, Ljubljana became the capital of a new state that came into being not before 1991, and most of the legal and economic basis had to be built up from the beginning.

For all partner cities (most notably in Bologna) it can be supposed that several forms of *immigration* are getting more and more important for reurbanisation processes and the

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present demographic changes in inner city areas. Different types of immigration (high-status immigration, immigration from outside Europe, asylum seeking or working migration) have to be considered with regard to their impact on demographic developments (fertility, marriage behaviour), social cohesion, household patterns, housing preferences and choices as well as the shaping of the respective urban districts.

The consequences of this complex relationship between economic, social and demographic restructuring, mainly the consequences for local housing markets and the overall urban cohesion, represent a completely new quantity and quality of problems overtaxing local authorities. Therefore, instruments and strategies that could counteract these threats have to be discussed from the scientific as well as from the practitioners' point of view.

5 Potentials and Obstacles for the Development of Inner-City Areas

The involved cities were asked to formulate potentials and obstacles of the current development of inner city areas with particular reference to housing and demographic issues. At this stage of the project, only a first and not very specific information can be given for each city.

5.1 Leipzig

For the City of Leipzig Re Urban Mobil has a special meaning: At the beginning of the transition period in 1990, 76% of the building stock was not renewed and thus in decayed condition. In the first phase of urban renewal it was possible to invert this situation: Today, some 74% of the building stock is entirely renovated. However, the situation is somehow paradox since Leipzig is insofar a typical East German city as it is severely affected by economic crisis and the demographic change. Since 1990, the city has lost 100,000 inhabitants due to out-migration to West Germany, suburbanisation and low birth rates. The unemployment rate rose in the course of the 1990s to about 20% (official figure) and has been on this level for several years now.

Due to the mistaken federal housing and funding policy in the 1990s and the economic and demographic "shrinkage", there exists a huge mismatch between demand and supply today. Population loss and quantitative increase as well as qualitative upgrading of the housing stock were simultaneous – and with classical economic models inexplicable – processes. It is estimated that some 50,000 flats are vacant in the entire city. The huge cultural heritage of building stock of the so-called *Gründerzeit* is most affected by this vacancy. In the core city, one can find nearly 20% vacant dwellings, a half of them in habitable conditions. Some of the central quarters suffer from a vacancy of 60%.

At present, one can observe tendencies of both decline and revitalisation in many *Gründerzeit* areas adjacent to the city centre as well as growing disparities between urban districts (developing, declining). Especially some residential areas in the Western and Eastern parts of the inner city are affected by these developments. Therefore, the chosen case study areas for the Re Urban Mobil project are located here. For a few years now, the City of Leipzig has released the development of a set of strategies called "Neue Gründerzeit" to develop neglected older residential areas. Part of the concept is the reduction of building stock in favour of a qualitative upgrading of the residential environment. In 2001, the city registered a positive migration of 1,500 inhabitants in the core city.

Local authorities and urban planners are in need of new patterns of thinking the city. The basic precondition for reurbanisation in Leipzig is the adaptation of demand and supply at the housing market by holding the resident population in the city and a reduction of redundant housing stock (demolition and enlargement of housing floor area per capita). All strategies of reurbanisation have to consider in particular the mentioned population losses. They need to highlight the competitiveness of the inner city in comparison with the suburban housing locations. The aim is to strengthen the potentials of inner city quality of life and to add those qualities to inner city areas that migrants are looking for in the suburban hinterland. Reurbanisation, in this sense, may not be understood as a comprehensive urban strategy for all districts and parts of the city. Actually, it is foreseen to be implemented or supported only for selected residential areas. A setting of spatial focuses is necessary and desired.

The mentioned population loss and vacancy offer not only threats, but also new chances to reshape urban structures and housing that has to be adapted to the demands of „new households“. The traditional notion of urban landscape has to be questioned. Ideas for empty buildings and concepts for new, more individual living with higher use of surface are needed. Problems that have to be tackled in the project are: the identification of target groups for reurbanisation, identification of current and future demands, integration of new housing forms into historic building stock, establishment of a sustainable policy for the high number of vacant dwellings and derelict areas, an appropriate communication of new policies, the raise of funding for such new concepts, the implementation of new instruments, ideas of housing and living in the inner city.

Core indicators for reurbanisation

- development of housing vacancy
- population losses
- rate of owner-occupied dwellings
- available purchasing power
- diversity of housing offerings
- density of building stock, share of public green areas, traffic noise
- development of land prices
- quality of supply within the urban districts
- balanced relation between inhabitants and employment opportunities in the whole city/urban districts

Potentials for reurbanisation

- attractive building stock of the Gründerzeit areas
- compact structure of the respective urban districts (cultural heritage)
- free/disposable areas due to vacancy and waste land
- well constructed infrastructure facilities.

Obstacles of reurbanisation

- inadequate attractiveness of housing stock and quality of life in many urban districts
- environmental pollution
- high / too high land prices

- inadequate supply within the districts due to not competitive retail trade

5.2 Ljubljana

Ljubljana's special situation consists at first in its function as the capital of a newly emerged state. Secondly, the city faces the consequences of post-socialist transition. That means that the rapid change from the centrally planned economy to the market economy lead to far-reaching changes in almost all spheres of social and urban life (economic recession, fast privatisation, growing social differentiation). Today, the local economy as well as the housing market is dominated by private ownership of business and building/housing stock.¹⁷ Social differences (income, wealth) have been growing within the last decade to reach a remarkable degree today.

Especially the inner city residential areas, where the Re Urban Mobil case studies will be focused on, face a lot of problems. So, the residential function has been more and more replaced by business use of houses and dwellings. The remaining population faces a considerable ageing, the influx of younger population with higher incomes takes place only at selected places. There, abandoned inner city areas are changing, business moves in and property values increases. Market forces will restore the spatial equilibrium in the long run, but this long market cycle may have highly disruptive and irreversible effects in its declining phase, also for historic building heritage. Therefore, it is essential for the municipal authorities to strengthen respective intervention instruments or measures in order to avoid that disruptive effects and negative externalities inherent in market spatial processes and to enable reurbanisation processes not only as an urbanistic, but also as a political goal.

However, most private owner of the housing stock in the inner city lack of the financial background to invest in the renovation of their houses. That means in short words: Ljubljana is presently facing a benign phase of inner city decline, with some early warning signs that point at the danger of possible acceleration of this process.

The City of Ljubljana expects answers on dilemmas according to the problems of deteriorating city centres. Input is needed for the new master plan intended for the entire city and the urban plan for the core city. A toolbox is desired that helps to eliminate problems and to improve the living quality in historic areas. One of the core aims is to strengthen the cultural potential of the city, which is seen as starting point for its physical renovation and its commercial development.

1) Potentials for inner city development

- national capital, possibilities for multi-cultural exchange
- rich and unique cultural heritage
- variety of cultural institutions (museums, galleries, theatres...)
- high concentration of administrative functions at the national and local level

¹⁷ Like in other transition countries in South Eastern Europe, Slovenian housing policy in the 1990 was characterised by a strong focus on owner-occupied housing. After the privatisation (at the end of 1993), 88% of the entire Slovenian housing stock had been transferred into owner-occupancy (Mandic 2000: 226; cf. also Mandic/Clapham 1996).

- high concentration of economic capital
- an environment friendly to pedestrians
- pedestrian paths linking the centre with nature in the city's surroundings

2) Obstacles for inner city development

The decline of inner city Ljubljana manifests on different levels and in various ways:

Spatial planning level:

- traffic problems (inadequate traffic organisation, shortage of parking spaces and consequently poor access to homes and services),
- poor primary infrastructure and a lack of services,
- shortage of, or unsuitable positioning of, equipment in recreational and park areas and children's playgrounds
- inadequate commercial and cultural services
- inefficient distribution of services etc.
- unregulated and poor quality construction on vacant land.

Architectural level:

- poor standard of amenities (lifts, parking spaces, outdated municipal infrastructure) vs. expensive real estate
- poor maintenance of existing buildings
- inadequate quality of renovation

Economic and social level:

- high cost of renovation and maintenance of existing buildings
- low economic and social status of landowners who cannot afford the maintenance and renovation of their property (the ageing of the population)
- high or inadequately selective rents for business space, etc.
- inadequate or non-existent financial mechanisms that would encourage renovation
- lack of financial and expert incentives for the renovation of the existing buildings
- lack (decline) of active businesses
- loss of identity (loss of recognisable local identity)
- the moving of public administrative offices to other parts of the city.

5.3 Bologna

Bologna is part of an important economic area of Italy with a population of about one million inhabitants. The city functions as a hub of communication between the North and the South of Italy and thus plays a strong economic role. 380,000 inhabitants live in the boundaries of the municipality, which encompass 140 square kilometres. During the last decades the density of population decreased from 3,000 inhabitants per square kilometre to 2,700 inhabitants. The last masterplan finished in 1985 assumed a population growth up to 500,000 inhabitants. This figure has never been met. Instead of the population the city surface and

the number of dwellings grow especially along the main streets. Today's main problem is the high demand of mobility and infrastructure. Bologna starts a new masterplan 30 years after the old plan. The new masterplan will leave the idea of zoning in favour of developing a strategic plan. Instruments and analysis are needed and expected from Re Urban Mobil.

Most traffic, residential and social challenges are conglomerating in the northern districts of the city that are separated from the old centre mainly by the railway. Subsequently, there were chosen two residential areas within this zone to be analysed in the project.

Potentials for reurbanisation

Both chosen areas are located very closely to the city centre. So far, the population living in these areas could principally easily participate in the urban life of the inner city. This supports the vitality and urban importance of such residential areas.

As a potential for future development, one could identify the the wide open space that is the old vegetable market behind the railway station in the Bolognina district: It is supposed to be in future the big container of all the municipal offices now spread over the territory of the whole city.

The connection with the city centre will be widely improved thanks to the new planned interventions, like the metro, and the underpass on the west of the railway station, so that the bridge of Via Matteotti and the existing Zanardi underpass will be lightened.

Last but not least, there are existing some social aspects that need to be taken into consideration: At first, it is the rising presence of foreign residential population in the Bolognina district within the last years could be taken as an opportunity to shape a wider identity of this district and to counteract the processes of ageing and exodus of younger population. Secondly, at this stage should not be forgotten the attractiveness of San Donato as a residential place for students of the huge Bologna university, whose main complex of faculties is located next to this residential area.

Obstacles for reurbanisation

One of the most important obstacles for developing the neighbourhoods is the fragmentation of the properties. The big number of owners makes difficult to co-ordinate interventions on the urban structure and the housing stock.

There is – most of all in Bolognina – a significant number buildings that are not occupied. Therefore, at these places it is difficult to implement any new activities. The San Donato district faces a strong process of ageing of the residential population that exceeds the city average. A problem for both neighbourhoods comes from the noise pollution due to the location near main transit axes between city and surroundings and the railway. This has also negative impact on the air quality.

Last but not least, the bad accessibility of parts of the residential housing stock in the residential districts should not be forgotten in the listing of obstacles for reurbanisation processes.

5.4 León

The City of León is one of the main capitals of province of Castilla y León, which is a region of the objective 1 area in Spain.

León is a a bimillenarian town which possesses great charm. It is located in an area where different civilisations joined and some important ways such as the St. James Way, the Spanish Silver Route or the Mesta meet. That means a very valuable cultural and monumental heritage from different periods and styles. This heritage is outstandingly interesting: the gothic catedral, St.Isidoro's Romanesque collegiate church, plateresque St Mark's Hotel and the Roman Wall are the main monuments of the city.

As regards demography, León is a medium-sized town whose population is nearly 150,000 inhabitants. Its more significative feature was the great expansion during the 20th century. The township of León has a complex structure which is defined by its mainly urban characteristics and it goes beyond its municipal limits. That forms a small agglutination including the outskirts cores, whose population is nearly 200,000 inhabitants. The town council must pay attention to them.

The Old Town and el Ejido are the case study areas of the project Re Urban Mobil.

The Old Town

The walled town (area inside the roman and medieval wall) or **Old City** corresponds with the Roman and Medieval enclosures. Its characteristic is great morphological, fuctional and social diversity. Although it has complex socio-urbanistic problematics, it is still an important protagonist of the city life because of both its physical location (downtown) and its historic and cultural meaning.

The Old Town preserves its character as a multifunctional area, but the rate of building restoration is rather slow. That hinders competitiveness in comparison with other city areas which are more dynamical. The town council has made a great effort for eight years in order to recover public spaces of the Old Town such as streets, squares, facades, street lighting, etc.

The main problems found in the Old Town nowadays are: poor quality housing, pollution, slump of handicraft and commercial activities, population aging, movement away from the historic center as a residential area, settlement of activities related to the night leisure and hotel business, and noise pollution.

The general mission of any action of reurbanización is the one to prevent from destruction and from moving away from the Old Town, as well as to also avoid that it is transformed into an only monumental center, losing its active role in the life of the city.

To achive these goals four kinds of strategies according to its content are needed:

1. Strategies for making the economic activity more dynamic in the Old Town (mainly handicraft and commercial activity)
2. Strategies for trying to recover downtown as a residential area, readjusting the present age and social imbalance.
3. Strategies for recovering the urban heritage and enviroment.
4. Strategies for launching cultural activities.

The problems with the Old Town of León are similar to other city centers and other countries. Rehabilitation and reurbanization policies in historic centers is usual in European cities, which have raised collective awareness to preserve and pay attention to the heritage. One of the main problems which have been detected is the risk of the historic centers being transformed into merely monumental centers, interesting only as a museum, losing its economic and residential functions.

Although the Old Town is still located in the geographic center, there has been some important functional changes both inside of it and in the rest of the city.

- The residential function keeps stepping backwards (in 10 years 1,900 inhabitants are gone).
- There is a loss of administrative centralization, as a result of the moving away of some scarce Civil Service offices which still remained in the area. There has not been settled new ones.
- The traditional concentration of the religious and educational function, although it has not reduce its spatial area, its relative importance has considerably decreased as well as the population, due to the reduction of the number of pupils in the different schools and the depopulation of convents, seminaries or religious residences.
- By contrast, these latest years the artistic, cultural and touristic function has been strengthened, but the socio-cultural function has not experienced a similar increase, i. e., the using of the Old Town streets and buildings as a seat of cultural and social activities.
- The commercial function has been strengthened in some streets (Calle Ancha, Rúa, Varillas, Cervantes), while in the rest of the area it has lost its presence and importance.
- Meanwhile, in the south part of this area and in some border streets — the so-called “**Barrio Húmedo**”, keeps strengthening as a major leisure area, mainly at night. Here bars have almost monopolized all the ground floor premises, replacing or expelling other kind of business or services, and making difficult the residential function.

El Ejido

Ensemble formed by detached houses. There are different kinds of houses: ground floor plus two floor houses or ground floor plus one more floor houses. The kinds of houses form groups in different areas. It gathers some values related to a different way of urbanizing a city which is exposed to changes from which it should be preserved. It has been carried out from the 1950's on. In the first stage detached houses are built, but higher buildings (between five and seven floors) were built afterwards.

Houses may have a backyard and a little yard in front of the house or only a backyard depending on its kind.

As regards its composition, semi-detached houses are prevailing, except for the blocks in the streets Carlos Borromeo, general Moscardó, Batalla y San Lorenzo.

1,800 housing have been tabulated in the neighbourhood. 716 are detached houses, which are subsidized housing..

The neighbourhood has got high density, lacking equipment and open spaces. Detached houses are predominant. There are a small economic activity in some cases on the ground floor of the housing (45m² area).

The following trends could be drawn for future development:

- The trend towards loss of population and the aging of the residents seems to keep on. Furthermore, that comes together with the gradual heritage decay due to the lack of rehabilitation unitary initiatives, in spite of being subsidized housing.
- This neighbourhood seems to be strengthened as only a residential zone, where no other significant economic and commercial activities are developed.
- The Old Town pedestrianization has restricted the access from this district to the commercial and administrative center of the city.
- The detached house type proper of this neighbourhood and its central location within the city —which is not usual in Spanish towns— may become its best attraction, provided that a unitary rehabilitation of the housing is achieved.
- Nowadays this neighbourhood is well connected with the University through the inner ring road, but it is still necessary to improve the accessibility to the commercial and administrative center.

Reurbanisation from the Perspective of Several Disciplines

6 An Approach from Urban Sociology and Geography¹⁸

Urban life used to be linked very closely with shortage of territory and with a high density of people, buildings, amenities and opportunities since the beginning of urbanisation. Under the condition of demographic change, this tight connection between urban development and growth has been getting more and more dissolved. Therefore, the concept of “reurbanisation” discussed as a possible and desirable stage of urban development in the 1980s and beginning 1990s (van den Berg et al. 1982; Lever 1993) has to be revived and, at the same time, reformulated in order to develop a theoretical and methodological framework as well as to provide positive visions for demographically restructuring cities (“post-growth period”). In order to guarantee a visually perceptible development of city structures beyond urban growth and ever higher densification, instruments and methods which can regulate the current processes of decreasing density, are to be developed. The consolidation of inner-city residential areas due to their central location, the compact design of the building stock as well as the historic and symbolic importance as part of the cultural heritage of the cities holds a key priority (cf. also Hannemann 2000).

It has been already stressed that under the conditions of economic and demographic change, reurbanisation needs to be redefined in the sense of quality rather than quantity – i.e. as a process aimed at the improvement of the inner-city quality of life for a variety of social strata, ethnic groups, household types and generations. For both new and old household types, including families as potential suburbanites, inner-city areas could be interesting and attractive residential locations in case of a high quality of life. This can only be reached by enhancing and strengthening the advantages of inner-city residential areas via physical regeneration, socio-demographic stabilisation, improvement of the environmental and transport infrastructure and a cultural re-imagining of the respective areas (Seo 2002: 114, Rodrigues-Malta 2001: 332-37), or like Breuer (2002: 49) called it, via cultural armament against the inhospitality of the inner city areas.¹⁹ The return to the core city must be understood to a lesser degree as an expression of re-gained attractiveness of central urban institutions or the central location itself. Instead, it seems more probable that the high density and centrality of the core city offer a variety of urban opportunities and “scopes of experimentation” for individual ways of life the standardised suburban settlement can not provide with. Individualisation, the break-up of classical patterns of social-related distribution of housing locations between city centre and suburbs and the high (real and potential)

¹⁸ Responsible for the content of chapter 6: Sigrun Kabisch, Annegret Haase and Annett Steinführer (Leipzig), Philip E. Ogden and Ray Hall (London).

¹⁹ Seo (2002: 114-121) argues to consider the importance of cultural facilities to improve attractiveness of inner-city neighbourhoods, pointing simultaneously to the threat of gentrification and driving away poorer groups, creating „cultural ghettos“, and the risk of „flagship developments“ of reurbanisation (cultural facilities) that could undermine social processes. Moreover, he tackles the question of sustainability of reurbanisation, because the new and younger residents are often more footloose than older people or families. He comes to the conclusion that effects and shapes of reurbanisation have to be judged more seriously e.g. under condition of local economic recession (121). – Rodrigues-Malta (2001: 336-37) identifies “la fonction culturelle” as “garante de la redynamisation économique et sociale et de la construction d’une image urbaine forte.”

mobility of small households are crucial factors that during the last decades have been influencing more and more the demand of „closeness to centrality“ and to the urban hinterland alike (cf. also Kujath 1988). Therefore, they have to be considered more than hitherto in the debate on urban development, housing preferences and requirements.

Processes that for the chosen context of Re Urban Mobil are meant to be parts of reurbanisation, reflect different changes of urban structures. Thereby, one can reveal several intersections with other terms such as renewal, regeneration, revitalisation, repopulation, redensification, gentrification and so on. But, even if these terms show close interrelations, they could be distinguished by their specific focus. In short words, this would mean: While terms like restoration, renewal and redevelopment set the focus on the physical/built environment, terms like repopulation or redensification highlight the demographic side of changing urban structures. Terms that shed light on these changes from a more general perspective, are e.g. revitalisation (stresses the social components, that means bringing back life to core cities, on the one hand by social networks of inhabitants, on the other hand by „flagship projects“ and re-imaging) or regeneration (closely linked with economic focus and public-private partnerships).

Reurbanisation, set against this background, intersects with all these described processes without being identical with one of them. It is different from processes like gentrification²⁰, urban renewal nor revitalisation that inhere an underlying notion of a “planned intervention for the regeneration of distressed residential areas” (Carmon 1999: 145; cf. also Seidman 2001). Theoretically and in their practical application, revitalisation approaches usually maintain the traditional orientation towards urban growth (cf. Lever 1993: 282) and neglect contrasting demographic tendencies. Furthermore, renewal efforts use to have a spatially as well as a socially selective focus – by and large, they are directed towards deprived neighbourhoods and their potential redevelopment as areas for younger middle-class residents (Dangschat, Blasius 1990; Clay 1979) with the consequence that social and urban problems in the cities are rather displaced than solved (Bailey, Robertson 1997: 577; McCarthy 1999: 324).

Reurbanisation is identified to be a broad, but selective process with many components, focused on smaller areas.²¹ It has impacts for various spatial scales within a city and even a city region and makes necessary multi-level approaches also from the perspective of spatial analysis.²² It is focussing on the entire core city, in particular its historical residential areas adjacent the city centres as highly valuable built cultural heritage of old industrial and commercial centres in Europe. At present, these areas are not only threatened by ecological, physical and social degradation but also by a loss of their traditional function as a material and symbolic link between city centre and periphery. Since it is predominantly demographic features (declining birth rates, rising life-expectancy, increasing number of one-person households, transitory and fluid household configurations) which bring about change but innovative chances and challenges alike (Kohler 2000), *linkages between housing and*

²⁰ As Kujath (1988: 32) exposes, reurbanisation as the comprehensive upgrading of inner-city neighbourhoods inheres a lot of linkages to gentrification, but may not be equated with the formation of upper-class housing enclaves. – Gentrification could be meant to be a catalyst for reurbanisation.

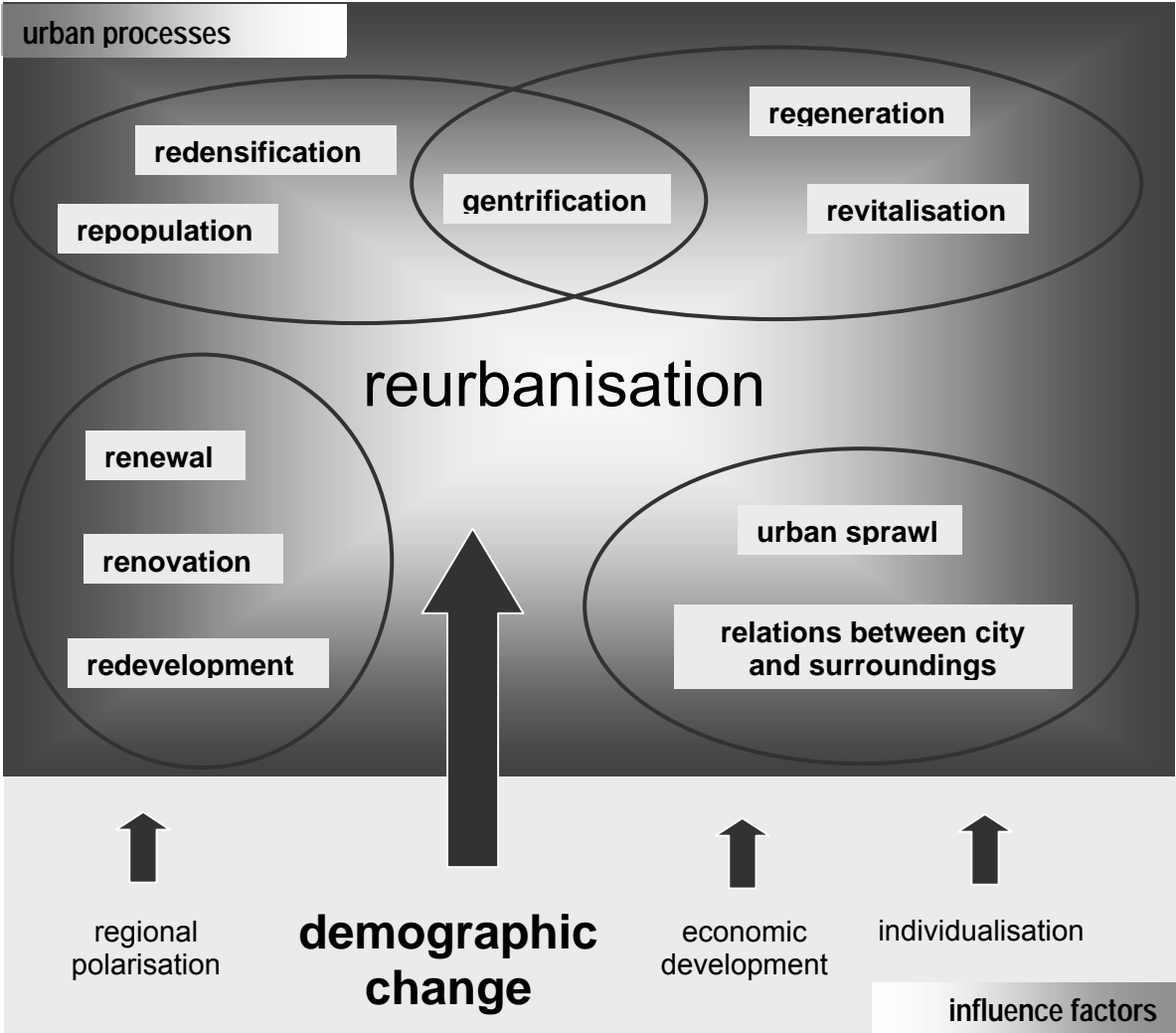
²¹ Cf. Power/Mumford (1999: 45-63) are describing specific processes in urban districts by telling „neighbourhood stories“. Consequently, they propose a „patchwork model of neighbourhood change“ as a possible solution of current problems (103).

²² See e.g. survey given by Power/Mumford (1999: 89) for government programmes, powers and proposals linked to disadvantaged areas in British cities.

demographics so far missing have to be established.²³ Even more, one could observe that household types and housing preferences „between core city and urban peripheries“ are as well changing as theoretically defined location parameters of qualities of urban life (cf. Kujath 1988: 30). All these different processes need to be met with the above formulated approach of reurbanisation.

The following draft intends to sum up the described differences and intersections between the different terms and the processes they are describing (fig. 1). It shows the embedding of reurbanisation in a wider framework of urban development.

Figure 1: Embedding of reurbanisation



draft: Haase (2003)

²³ It is well known that the history of urban research and demography is characterised by a high degree of mutual disregard (Myers 1990; Myers 1999; Rosenburg/Watkins 1999: 1994).

7 Economic and Juridical Framework Conditions²⁴

The definition and meaning of the reurbanisation concept are central to this project. Any adopted definition of reurbanisation is inevitably normative in nature, but the discussion which follows concerns itself with the implementation of such a project and the problems which might be encountered in this attempt. If the concept of reurbanisation means the redevelopment of the city centre and inner city as an area which is not only lived in but which is liveable in, with an acceptable physical and social environment, there are of course strong impacts from the economic and juridical perspective. In the following, the argument is divided broadly into questions of **urban governance** and issues of the **urban economy**. Both have been broadly interpreted, with urban governance extending into questions of property law, and urban economics extending into issues of urban regeneration. The two areas are strongly interconnected but are presented here separately with some cross-referencing.²⁵

7.1 The Urban Economic Perspective

The Re-Urban Mobil project has defined reurbanisation as the "process of optimising sustainable economic, legal, social, built environment conditions to provide vibrant space within the urban core (encompassing identity and cultural heritage) where individuals and households choose to live and which attracts investment". Roberts, on the other hand, defines urban regeneration as "comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change" (Roberts 2000: 17).

Putting aside the semantic, the similarity between the two definitions suggests commonality of vision and intention, thus regeneration can be taken as synonymous with reurbanisation. But, because the term regeneration is more prevalent in the Anglo-Saxon literature it is used interchangeably with reurbanisation in the present context to avoid confusion when reviewing the literature.

A review of post war urban policies suggests that they introduced novel and well-intentioned schemes designed to deal with specific problems within urban areas, implying that these policies have been context specific. The review also reveals that change and adaptation in theory, policy and practice of resolving urban problems have been developmental, in part reflecting the evolution of political attitudes, social values, economic power and changing attitudes to issues of social justice which recognise the likely consequences of allowing urban problems to continue unresolved.

Building on the work of Stöhr (1989) and Lichfield (1992), Roberts (2000) has argued that urban policies have gone through five phases of change and development in the post war period, each phase having its own major strategy and orientation. Accordingly, their main distinguishing features can be listed as follows:

²⁴ Responsible for the content of chapter 7: Ali Dehesh and Caroline Hunter (Sheffield), Ivo Lavrač and Bogomir Kovač (Ljubljana).

²⁵ This argument represents work in progress and we would anticipate deepening of some areas discussed below in later versions.

1. 'Reconstruction' in the 1950s, often based on a masterplan, tackling the reconstruction and extension of older areas of towns and cities;
2. 'Revitalisation' in the 1960s, promoting suburban and peripheral growth, but with some attempts at rehabilitation;
3. 'Renewal' in the 1970s, concentrating on *in situ* renewal and neighbourhood schemes;
4. 'Redevelopment' in the 1980s, flagship schemes and out of town projects;
5. 'Regeneration' in the 1990s, moves towards a more comprehensive form of policy and practice and socio-economic and physical-environmental integration.

During these five decades we also observe a shift away from public sector investment and towards private sector investment, particularly in the 1980s. But in the 1990s, a consensual style of politics returned to dominate the style of governance, which in conjunction with the recognition of a series of new problems and challenges struck a greater balance between public, private and voluntary funding. In particular the development and funding of urban policies during the 1990s reflected the concern with the environmental objective of sustainable development which seems to be the dominant theme in the development of urban policies in the future.

So over the past five decades we observe a process of change and adjustment in policy and practice of resolving urban problems with a shifting emphasis away from concentrating on the physical aspect of cities towards a comprehensive and coordinated attempt at bringing economic, social, environmental and physical considerations together. Urban regeneration is not and should not be confused with urban redevelopment. The main difference between the two policies is that whilst the latter was formed on the basis of a general mission of physical improvement, though with a less well-defined purpose, it was essentially a short term policy, i.e. when the planned physical development or redevelopment of a chosen area was completed the project was deemed finished. In other words the redevelopment policy appears to be a tactical approach. In contrast, the regeneration policy is long term and strategic, and embodies simultaneous adaptation of physical, social, economic and environmental fabrics of a city with a view to the influences of internal (city based) and external (including, regional, national and international) forces of change.

Clearly new approaches to urban regeneration should draw on the lessons learned from previous initiatives. We can look at some of the policies that have been implemented in the UK since 1979 to provide examples of what appeared to work and what did not, based upon the experience of specific programmes. These programmes include the Priority Estates (launched 1979), Urban Development Corporations (launched 1981), City Challenge (launched 1992) and New Life for Urban Scotland (the late 1980s). The following table contains the summary.

Table: Regeneration initiatives 1979-1999: which approaches worked and which did not

Programme	What worked	What was not successful	Transferable lessons
Priority estates 1979-1991 39 estates in 22 Local Authorities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local letting schemes cut the number of empty properties; Estate offices opened all day every week day; resident caretakers and beat policemen; locally based repairs teams; active tenants' associations. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> only marginal impact on rent arrears; lack of focus on improving community facilities; failure to localise sufficient services. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> an estate-based management unit coordinating repairs and lettings; the organisation must harness the energy and goodwill of residents and workers to reverse the decline of unpopular estates.
Urban Development Corporations 1981-1993	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> redevelopment of run-down industrial areas; coordination of public and private investment; successful place-marketing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> failure to adopt a broad social and economic development strategy; few linkages with local labour markets and communities; few linkages with other urban programmes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> provide a comprehensive response to urban decline; interlink with other urban programmes; address a wide range of supply and demand issues; improve competitiveness of the local workforce and the local economy.
City Challenge 1991-1997	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> packaged approach to regeneration which linked projects across objectives; strategies informed by local conditions and programmes of existing agencies; important role for non-physical initiatives-education, training, health, community development; output, and outcome targets and monitoring identification of an exit strategy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> bidding timetable too short to get wide local ownership of strategies; targeting of resources exclusively on area to detriment of areas outside; integration between projects weak in some partnerships; difficult to secure active private sector representation on the board in some areas projects rushed through to ensure spend of flat funding profile; performance indicators too quantitative 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a critical mass of funding is required to assemble a focussed, dedicated team; clearly defined roles and responsibilities local conditions require local responses; monitoring data has significant cost implications; important to link into areas outside; delegation by DETR of responsibility to area partnerships important; effective and efficient project appraisal procedures are necessary
New Life for Urban Scotland	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> tenure diversification; improved accommodation and security; reduce fear of crime; community involvement; 10% funds spent on enterprise, training and employment. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> lack of emphasis on image building through promoting success stories; no links to wider area and mainstream programmes; insufficient attention to education and health issues; failure to understand the dynamics of the estates. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> have a wide vision and focus on themes not traditional service areas; stitch estates and programmes into wider areas; change mainstream public service programmes; reduce the fear of crime not just crime statistics.

Cited in Hull (2000)

From the foregone we can draw some principles and elements of good practice which should be consider for the Re Urban Mobil project. These could be summarised as follows:

- how to regenerate a run down urban area (s) very much depends on understanding of the processes which started the cycle of decline, and on agreement on what is intended to achieve and how (Lichfield 1992);
- adopted policy(ies) must not be short term, fragmented, ad hoc and project based without an overall strategic framework for city-wide development (Hausner, 1993);
- the twin pillars of a sustainable programme of regeneration are cost efficiency and effective delivery of services on the one hand, and effective working partnership between local government agencies and local communities on the other hand (Hull, 2000);
- the effective involvement and participation of stakeholders with legitimate claims in a regeneration programme with a view to create consensus. A 'bottom-up' approach is more effective than a 'top-down' approach. The key is to directly address the greatest concern of residents and to demonstrate commitment to bring about change in the neighbourhood;
- establishing a cost effective method of measuring the progress of strategy and its goal specific achievements;
- understanding and monitoring internal and external forces which have direct and indirect bearing on the development of new conditions in urban areas. This helps to develop flexible policies capable of adaptability in evolving new situations;
- access to finance to provide long-term funding.

7.2 Urban Governance

It is clear from the literature that there has been a sea change in the governance of cities in the last twenty years. This might be characterised in a move from urban or local *government* to urban *governance* (Elander 2002; Friedrichs, Vranken 2001). Two questions may be asked: what are the driving forces behind this change, and what structures emerge as the new form of urban governance?

In answer to the first question it has been suggested that the development towards governance is in part due to a “growing complexity, dynamism and diversity in society” (Elander, Blanc 2001: 94, citing Kooiman 1993), i.e. the fact that we have a more fragmented society. One of the reasons for this fragmentation is undoubtedly the economic changes which have taken place; the decline of many industrial cities, the growth of a global economy with mobile capital. One of the features of these economic changes is that cities have had to become much more competitive.

In analysing this movement away from government to governance and the emergence of urban regimes, commentators have sought both to characterise the structures which have emerged and also the different agendas of cities. These of course provide ideal types and it has been acknowledged that as such do not describe the complexity of any individual city (Elander 2002). Nonetheless they may provide useful tools to try and understand where reurbanisation is most likely to occur and what barriers there may be to it.

In relation to agendas DiGaetano and Klemanski (1999, see also DiGaetano, Lawless 1999) suggest that urban regimes can be characterised as having four types of agenda, which in turn have different governing strategies and programmatic tools. These are illustrated in the subsequent table.

Table: Governing Agendas in Urban Development Politics

Governing Agenda	Governing Strategies	Programmatic Tools
Pro-growth	Regional capital Industrial development	Reduce government regulation of businesses, reduce taxes, provide public subsidies and provide necessary services and infrastructure
	Human Capital	Provide educational and/or employment programs to upgrade the skills of the work force
Growth Management	Growth control	Use planning and land-use powers to regulate the kind and rate of growth
	Environmental Improvement	Develop programs and policies that facilitate improvements in the built environment and or green space
Social Reform	Community Development	Use a mixture of public and private resources for affordable housing and job opportunities for disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Target disadvantaged groups and individuals with educational, training, and employment programs.
	Human Investment	
Caretaker	Routine Service Provision	Limit or reduce role of government in development and other strategic decision-making processes

From DiGaetano and Klemanski, 1999, p.7

In terms of structures DiGaetano and Lawless (1999) identify four different types. First, clientelistic where the governing logic is one of pragmatic exchange among political leaders and constituents. Corporatist structures which institutionalise strategic rather than pragmatic modes of co-operation between governmental and non-governmental elites such as business or community leaders. Managerial structures which are based on formal, often bureaucratic relations among governmental officials and private interests. Finally, pluralist structures involving government as a broker or arena for competing private interests.

Mapping Governance Networks

One way of understanding what is happening in the case-study areas, and how this is impacting on the process (or lack of) re-urbanisation is to map the governance. An example of such mapping can be found in de Magalhaes et al (2002) in relation to an inner city area of Newcastle, England. The authors stress the importance of building institutional capacity to achieve regeneration, and the problems which were revealed through the process of understanding and mapping the relationships between the different actors.

The role of local government and exercise of their powers

While the above analysis would suggest that there is a reduced role for local government in the processes of urban change, this is not to say that the structures and powers of local government are irrelevant to the regeneration process. While cities in different countries may be typologised in different ways, it is clear that the development of local policies will be

influenced by the particular framework in which the city is operating (see Thornley and Newman, 1996).

The planning process is clearly one of the key aspects of any attempt to reurbanise parts of cities. Although planning structures may be set at national level, their use at a local level may be determined by the nature of the urban governance in the city (see Table 1, above). Accordingly it is important to understand both the national legislative framework, and the local implementation. Thus, in addition to understanding the impact of different planning systems on the process of reurbanisation, it will be necessary in each of the case studies to understand how the formal systems relate to the actual development and change of use of properties which in fact occurring.

One of the issues particular to the vision of reurbanisation set out in the project is that of preservation of cultural heritage. Different planning systems have different ways of recognising and protecting cultural heritage, which will have to be explored.

Property rights

One of the issues for urban governance and the planning process is that economic actors within the city have property rights. These rights provide the cornerstones on which the economic fabric of a city is based. Where property rights are uncertain this will impact on both the market and accordingly methods and agendas for urban governance. One particular issue in former communist states is the restitution of ownership to former owners. This has been a long process, which has led to much uncertainty as to ownership rights. In addition it has meant that even where properties have been restituted, many of the owners are absentee property owners, not living in the city in which the property is located.

Private law rights can be an important part of maintaining the fabric and appearance of residential property. In each of the case study areas it will be important to understand the mix of rights and responsibilities which the various property rights give rise to, and how easily they can be enforced in practice (see the examples from different countries in Bailey et al, 1997).

8 Impacts of the Urban and Residential Environments²⁶

Environment is a world, whose significance is not exactly specified. It is often used for milieu, dwelling, more often is changed with the term *ecology*. It is an attribute of quality of life (*cadre de la vie*). Environment is an integrated complex, where it is necessary to take into account interactions in their disequilibrium (Journaux 1979).

By an *environment*, geographers mean the sum total of conditions that surround a person at any one point on the earth's surface (Haggett 2001). In our concept, human environment is a historically formed system of natural, artificial and social elements, which are in interactions to human being, needs and interests. A man both creates his environment and adapts himself to it. Human environment consists of natural environment (both biotic and abiotic ones), artificial environment (buildings, technical equipments, areas and lines) and social

²⁶ Responsible for the content of chapter 8: Antonín Vaishar and Jana Zapletalová (Brno).

environment (the people as a social element). Human environment can be split to residential environment, labour environment, recreational environment etc. according to its function.

Human environment is investigated usually by means of environmental analyses and environmental syntheses. Environmental analyses – all the time more and more detailed and deeper – allow solving individual environmental problems, but do not enable to evaluate the environment as a whole.

Environmental syntheses – methodologically questionable – usually do not answer to the analytical level of the knowledge and do not express quantitative data. But only the syntheses allow evaluating the environment. A total synthesis is a theoretical science fiction. We have to work with partial syntheses.

Partial syntheses form an open set of relatively synthetic approaches, investigating the problem from different viewpoints. Three examples of partial syntheses are suggested for the project: territorial typology as a result of interaction between nature and society and its regional evaluation, evaluation of interrelations among three basic environmental subsystems by means of brainstorming and a definition of main problems or perception of environment and forming the environmental image of the place by local people, stakeholders and visitors. The methodology, which enables to introduce environmental syntheses is the methodology of the environmental geography (Marsh, Grossa 2002).

A concept of sustainable urban development is important for the project solution. A sustainable city may be defined as one in which current resource decisions do not compromise the quality of life of future generations (Digby 1996). Some possible indicators are: an effective transport system, which helps to keep cars off roads, affordable housing and rents, within reach of everybody, a mix of land uses, which would avoid long-distance commuting, a good infrastructure and other good quality-of-life indicators such as parks and green spaces.

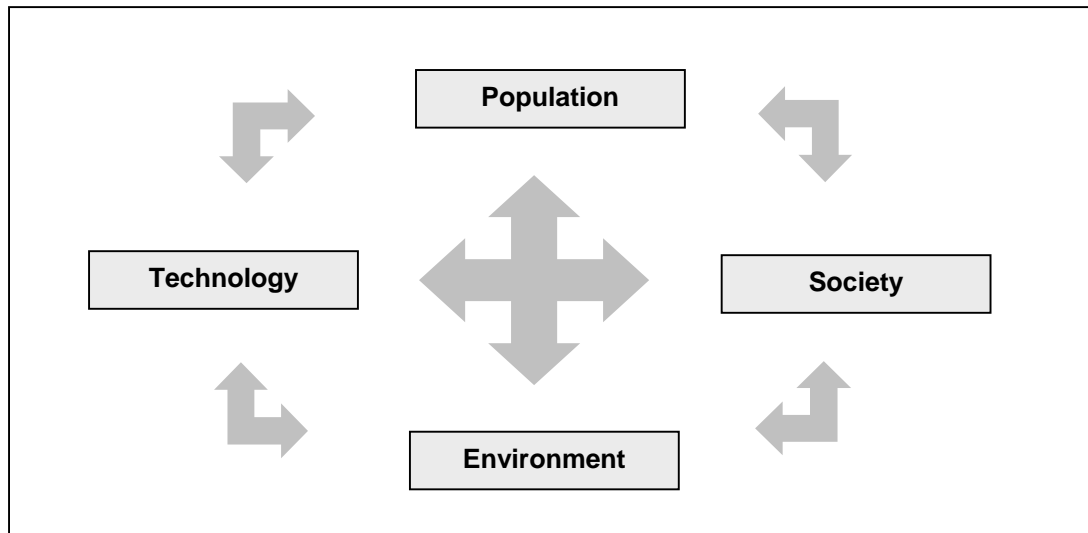
From the topic of the Re Urban Mobil project follows that the concept of the residential environment will be the theoretical frame for our research. Residential environment is that part of environment which is connected with the dwelling function. It can be subdivided in inner residential environment (the flat and the house) and outer residential environment (the neighbourhood as a rule).

The residential environment is one of the main aspects of the urban landscape. Urban landscape is not produced only to be looked at; it is primarily built to be used. The urban landscape serves a vast variety of users, be they residential, commercial, industrial, retail or leisure users (Hall 1998).

Our attention is to be paid to four basic categories of the residential environment: level of housing (problems of technical quality and aerial characteristics), functional conflicts (including all types of pollutions, disturbances and the traffic problem), social milieu (including the questions of social control, social security and occurrence of social pathologies) and greenery (including outskirt areas). Space connections are considered to be important for an evaluation of the quality of residential environment: accessibility of individual activities, neighbourhood effects etc.

Because we are interested in the human environment, the man (fulfilling of his interests and needs) is the main criteria for the evaluation. The man is both a biologic element with his biological needs, which are relatively exactly defined (air, water, food, biological reproduction

etc.) and a social element with social needs (social contacts, labour, education, recreation, entertainment and many others) which develop in time and are more adaptable, but not dispensable. Relation between population and environment is a complex one (Poulain 1995):



Draft: Vaishar/Zapletalova 2003

From the anthropocentric viewpoint, a relation between suitability and risk of using the landscape is the subject of the evaluation (Barsch, Billwitz, Bork 2000). Nevertheless, from the ecologic viewpoint, all living organisms are subjects of environment. Protection of the living nature generally and also protection of landscape are often considered to be a part of environmental solution. We have to make ourselves clear that in the project of reurbanisation, protection of nature and protection of landscape will be taken into account only in such extent in which they impact on the man.

Of course, environmental problems are closely connected with demographic and social questions as well as with topics of architecture and urban planning, production and consumption systems and law. Environmental Impact Assessment is the main tool for the constitution of the critical link between environment and development (Lee/ George, 2002). The aim of scientists is to provide backgrounds for such an assessment. There are five components in addressing an environmental problem: scientific assessment, risk analysis, public education, political action and followed monitoring (Raven/ Berg, 2001).

As for the perspective of landscape architecture, one could add the following aspect:²⁷ With regard to the concept of reurbanisation, no ecological or landscape reference was found in this survey. If under reurbanisation we understand the process of optimizing economic, legal, social and environmental conditions into the historic urban core, it is meaning also physical shape (coherent, compact, consolidates inner-city). So character and morphology of built structure (as any historical, three-dimensional model) with his own, hierarchic system of open spaces with a “heart” – most significant market/ plaza/ street area – and complementary system of green spaces ought to be in harmonious balance of built-green, urban-suburban-

²⁷ The following paragraph is a contribution by Ewa Heczko-Hylowa (Kraków).

rural structures. Reurbanisation thus means re-landscaping understood also as greening the area through keeping built structure coherent.

9 Reflectance in Urban Planning and City Development Processes²⁸

9.1 Basic Principles

The basic aims of the comprehensive reurbanisation are both general and specific. The general principles concern the overarching strategy for the physical organisation and development of the urban space and built structures, while the specific ones are focused on particular issues as part of the positive management of the available space and the existing settlement and building heritage, irrespective of their positive or negative value (CE, Forward planning, 2001). As “the architecture is a formed space with special contents and the contents is a human being” (Zevi 1950), the measure for the quality of life in the reurbanised city centres are social, demographic, economic and cultural parameters.

Actual problems of most European city centres from the point of view of architecture and urban structures are connected at the same time to the high architectural, symbolic or semantic values of the built heritage and to the unsuitability of these structures to the changes of social, demographic and economical needs or expectations. Therefore from the point of view of architecture and urban researchers and planners the reurbanisation process should offer protection of specific values as well as new possibilities for new way of life (ECFE, Trends in research on human settlements, 1990; Habitat Agenda 1996).

The main frames and expected results must consider the fact that all implementations can be done only by formal planning documents and systems. As the reurbanisation indicates at the same time the preservation of cultural and identity values and the development of new qualities, some new aims and indicators must be built in the existing theories and methodologies of analysing, planning and building of architectural and urban structures (Fister 2001):

- Reurbanisation must be in future a strategic part of the spatial planning, organisation, protection and development of the city: incorporation into the long-term plan.
- Active revitalisation is a basic form of protection of the city's cultural heritage: incorporation into the terms of the protected heritage at all levels of the immovable heritage and the culture of living.
- Revitalisation becomes a basic form of regeneration and high-quality urbanisation of degraded parts of the city.
- Revitalisation and reurbanisation is planned also as the "recycling" (adaptation to a new use) of structures of high-quality construction and design and carefully supervised “marketing” of established urban geographic and architectural values.
- Planning for the revitalisation of high-quality (distinctive) areas of the city must be done in at least two steps: a) long-term plan (strategy) of comprehensive urban revitalisation = "master plan"; b) detailed workphase plans for the execution of the comprehensive revitalisation of the relevant areas.²⁹

²⁸ Responsible for the content of chapter 9: Peter Fister (Ljubljana).

²⁹ Please note that Fister at this place uses different terms – reurbanisation and revitalisation – for very similar processes without differentiating them clearly.

9.2 Particular Components of the Working Model

In order for the aims of the reurbanisation to be incorporated into the city's plan (case studies) the following must be defined:

- The criteria of the general orientation of the reurbanisation as part of development strategy of a town: conservation of protected areas and parts of the protected immovable heritage, creating acceptance of the appropriacy and precedence of revitalisation as against new construction, revitalisation of degraded urban areas linked to high-quality (distinctive) urban districts.
- Determination of areas for revitalisation: according to scope, value criteria, expected problems and outcomes.
- Incorporation of the relationship between revitalisation and new construction in the execution plans.
- Involvement of local inhabitants, owners and users is introduced in this phase for the purposes of publicity and as a necessary form of planning and execution of the revitalisation.

Formulation of “expert foundations” for the integral preservation of the protected immovable heritage of the city centre - update of the situation, definition of influential areas, establishment of new terms of protection.

Analysis and determination of degraded sections with respect to social, demographic, economic and spatial conception, construction fabric, content and uses.

- Creation of proposals for appropriate use of poorly used space, for environmental, functional and qualitative amelioration or building-up of degraded sections of the city centre, for economically advantageous solutions to the acquisition of new capacity in degraded sections.

9.3 Some Problems of the Methodology of Planning

Development of built structures ("recycling") and orientation towards high-quality uses requires the creation of quantitatively determined development scenarios: linkage of the comprehensive strategy for the revitalisation of the city centre with particular appropriately selected districts with regard to their physical, functional or semantic characteristics.

An essential prerequisite is the creation, monitoring and analysing of an appropriate central data repository for all categories of space and buildings, followed by the definition of a development strategy and development documentation in the final phase and the interdisciplinary comparable data for social, demographic and economic indicators.

Unifying and updating previously collected or created material, studies, analyses and revitalisation plans - as an appropriate starting-point and a means of shortening the timescale for the creation of the plans. From this material a basic information repository for planning and monitoring the revitalisation process will be created, principles (or help in the establishment of principles) for a long-term strategy will be formulated, and prioritisation of various initiatives required for the creation of the plan and the execution of the comprehensive revitalisation will be undertaken. It will be possible to define detailed components following a review and assessment of the applicability of material created

previously.

Establishing the revitalisation plan at the master plan level will require an appropriate interdisciplinary team, sufficiently strong activity at the city level (public involvement) and appropriate policies on the part of the city authorities.

All conclusions must be backed up by appropriate demographic, sociological and economic indicators and scenarios.

The reurbanisation master plan can be adopted as part of the city spatial planning documents or entirely independently, while constant monitoring (by the appropriate municipal section), formation of a sufficient number of active initiatives (with an orientation towards ensuring the quality of public goods and towards an appropriate development initiative = management) and linkage with the target strategy at national or even international level, must be provided in parallel.

The scope may include defined parts of the city structure, distinctive complexes or individual (especially protected) parts of the architectural heritage. The selection of these priority workphases will proceed from the comprehensive revitalisation plan, current circumstances and the possibilities for implementation. The selected districts that are sufficiently homogenous from a design, functional and development standpoint can begin to be addressed while the comprehensive strategic plan for revitalisation is still in preparation - they are particularly useful as pilot cases.

Relevant demographic, sociological and economic analyses and scenarios, building on the general ones in the basic strategic document, must be conducted in advance (Pickard, 2000).

In order to gain acceptance for the partial comprehensive revitalisation plans it is necessary to ensure an appropriate role in the city's development plans and active involvement of owners, users and potential investors via the formation of special initiative groups. Detailed components will be defined with respect to the specifics of the individual areas or components.

10 Defining Reurbanisation: Summary and Methodological Remarks

... left for the Bologna meeting in October 2003 (see introduction) ...

Part IV

Operationalisation: Hypotheses and Key Indicators of Reurbanisation

Part IV of the paper contains the approaches of each discipline/disciplinary working group concerning the formulation of hypotheses and respective core indicators for the project focus.

11 Hypotheses from the Disciplinary Approaches

11.1 Urban Sociology and Demography/Geography

1. New trends in household structure in Europe may contribute to reurbanisation
2. Changing patterns of demographic behaviour, particularly the rise of individualism, contribute to a set of social values that aid the reurbanisation of central cities
3. Changes in employment structures, particularly the professionalization and feminization of the workforce contribute to reurbanisation.

11.2 Architecture and Urban Structures

The quality of architecture and urban structure does not fit to the needs of people and to adequate functions

11.3 Economics and Law

Property market imbalances are caused by failure (or lack) of public policies and institutions (e.g. legal institutions) and cannot be cured without institutional change and reform.

11.4 Urban Ecology

Objective as well as subjective criteria for quality of life in urban environments influences people's choice for living space in a reurbanisation area.

12 Key Indicators

12.1 Urban Sociology and Demography/Geography

1. Socio-economic decline in post-industrial inner-city areas is associated with:
 - net population decrease
 - decreased fertility rates
 - increase of childbearing age
 - postponement of marriage and increased cohabitation
 - higher divorce rates
 - smaller households
 - net population decrease, despite the growing number of households
 - increase in single-parent and pensioner households
 - less dwelling space per household member
 - lower incomes in general, and greater inequality of incomes

- a greater-than-average housing, health and food expenditure burden on the household budget
- the cost of warmth per unit of dwelling area is higher than average and increasing (due to the low energy efficiency of the housing stock, stemming from lack of maintenance and repair)

2. The socio-economic revitalisation of inner-city areas (reurbanisation-induced?) is associated with:

- net household increase, even if population is declining
- within the household increase: changes in numbers of one- and two-person households
- a greater diversity of household types and situations (i.e. more complex ties of kin and friendship)
- net inward migration - especially of young adults
- higher share of immigrant/ethnic minority families
- rising share of one-person households, non-married couples, and gay relationships
- rising share of service employment
- rising share of employment in high-skill, high-wage tertiary branches (finance, IT, management consultancy)
- increasing feminisation of the workforce
- increase in owner occupied dwellings and decline in empty dwellings
- more dwelling space per household member
- higher aggregate incomes (on average), although income inequality may have remained unchanged
- above-average expenditure on leisure and culture
- decreasing expenditure on energy (partly due to the lower cost of warmth in newly-refurbished dwellings) and personal transport (due to the availability of mass transit, and shorter distances to work)

Notes:

- The spatial and social diversification of households is already evident in the 'decline' phase, but it could also be an early herald of a 'reurbanisation' process, if higher-income households begin to move into the area. This would not alter the demographic structure of the population to a significant level, but it would have drastic effects on its economic status.
- It is questionable to what extent all these processes are inter-linked and simultaneous. We might be assuming a causality and synchronicity that does not exist on the ground. There is a need to examine each trend separately, and try to establish connections later. This is particularly relevant in terms of the relationship between demographic revitalisation and changes in the built environment.
- It would be best if quantitative data for the above trends was available on both a time-series basis, and in spatially disaggregated datasets for the entire urban areas (so that we can compare two indicators over time, or across several different points in the city). In the absence of such possibilities, we would have to resort to comparisons between the study areas and wider national and/or regional averages.

12.2 Architecture and Urban Structures

Issue 1: Age of buildings

Definition: shows the historical framework of a certain urban quarter

Variables: number of buildings dating from a certain period:

- before 1850
- 1850-1918
- 1918-1945
- 1945-2000
- (alternative: 1945-1960 and from 1960 on)

Indicators for reurbanisation:

- growing technical and economical problems as the consequence of the age of buildings
- special problems relating to selected periods

Issue 2: Degree of protection

Definition: shows the cultural (historical) value of a certain area

Variables: number of listed buildings,
surface of protected areas

Indicators for reurbanisation:

- increasing public interest
- higher standards in reurbanisation process

Issue 3: Density of the built-up area

Definition: shows the compactness of different parts of the town and indicates the intensity of social and cultural life

Variables: ratio between built-up areas and open spaces

Indicators for reurbanisation:

- deviation »+« or »-« from ideal coefficient 0,50

Issue 4: Technical condition and maintenance

Definition: shows the state of art of the building fund and consequently the economic capacity of tenants and owners and the need for investment

Variables: new or recently renovated (over 75% techn. value)
good (50 – 75% well preserved)
bad (under 50% of the technical value)

Indicators for reurbanisation:

- decreasing value and interest for certain parts of the area
- decreasing economic interest of the owners for the reurbanisation
- unsuitable social structure of owners and tenants

12.3 Economics and Law

Indicators:

- transaction costs
- ownership indicators
- property prices

12.4 Urban Ecology

Indicators:

- natural value
- cultural value
- social well-being and health

Note:

On this level of generalization, the indicators should be very general. If 4 indicators are at disposal, it is possible to eliminate all kinds of environmental disturbances from the set.

Resulting set of indicators should look as follows:

- natural value
- cultural value
- environmental disturbances
- social well-being and health

Notes:

- The question of a content of the indicators and their measuring is the next step.
 - Under the natural value, natural factors on environment are understood: as greenery, water, microclimate etc.
 - Under the cultural value, man-made factors are understood: architecture, buildings, open spaces, cleanness and order etc.
 - Under the environmental disturbances, all kinds of pollutions, noise and other disturbances are understood
 - Under social well-being and health, social milieu (social control, security, occurrence of social pathologies) and health of population are understood.
-
- The measuring of the mentioned factors is a methodological problem. Of course, it is possible to find indicators of individual characteristics. But neither one indicator or a combination of indicators does not express the stay of environment. From the viewpoint of the mentioned hypothesis, environmental perception is the most important matter, because the perception, not objective situation is decisive for the people's choice.
 - From it follows that it is possible and suitable to characterize the objective stay of residential environment in individual neighbourhoods. It is necessary for searching ways of its future improvement. On the other side, the perception of individual indicators as well as the environment as a whole is decisive from the topical viewpoint.

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