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## Urban development



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# Urban development

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To illustrate the complex development of cities, this article first outlines the dimensions of urban development and then elucidates the effects of specific processes, such as deindustrialisation and globalisation, on the development of cities. The classic urban models and phase models of urban development will also be covered. The article also briefly considers the issue of disadvantaged urban areas. The last section takes a comparative look at urban development in East and West Germany.

# 1 Overview

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Urban development refers to any change in the urban structure, e.g. changes in the population structure, employment structure, jobs, spatial distribution of the population and the land use in a city (▷ *City, town*). The changes may concern the city as a whole or individual areas. Urban development is thus a collective term for different processes including deindustrialisation, ▷ *Suburbanisation*, ▷ *Reurbanisation*, decline and regeneration (distinguished from ▷ *Integrated urban development*). There can be no single theory of urban development in the strict sense of the term because such a theory would have to describe all of the partial processes and explain the changes in all of their dependent variables.

The development, or rather the change or transformation, of a city is a complex process. Fundamentally, two different directions are evident in analyses: structural and spatial. Structural change refers to changes in several dimensions, such as the economic basis of the city, including jobs; spatial change refers to the effects of these changes on land use, including industrial brownfield sites resulting from business closures and the relocation of production, or due to the spatial distribution of the population.

When studying the development of a city, it makes sense to distinguish between five dimensions of change: demographic, economic, social, political and fiscal.

Demographic development (▷ *Demographic change*) refers to natural population movements and migration. At least in most major cities in developed countries, the death rate exceeds the birth rate, which means that a city can only increase in population if net migration is positive. The best theoretical modelling of this process was put forth by van den Berg et al. (1982). Highly-qualified young people migrated to many major cities after 2000, such that a phase of reurbanisation is spoken of.

The economic dimension refers to the changes in the employment structure, which in turn depends on the number of jobs and the qualifications that employees need for those jobs. Cities in highly industrialised countries have been experiencing deindustrialisation since the 1960s. This includes changes in company sizes and structure which, among other things, have led to an outsourcing or relocating of jobs to surrounding areas, other urban regions or abroad. The number of jobs in production (▷ *Industry/trade*) has decreased considerably whereas the number of jobs in the service sector has increased. In 2017, jobs in these economic sectors were divided as follows: ▷ *Services* 68.7%, the production industry 25.6%, construction 4.9%, ▷ *Agriculture* and ▷ *Forestry* 0.7% (*statistica* 2018). According to Florida (2005), the ‘creative class’, made up of knowledge producers and artists, has gained considerable importance in the tertiary sector when it comes to the development of a city (▷ *Knowledge society*; ▷ *Creative sector and cultural sector*).

Social developments include the immigration (▷ *Migration*) of relatives of ethnic minorities and asylum seekers, the associated patterns in their choices of where to live and the related socio-spatial separation of populations (▷ *Segregation*). This also includes social conflicts between immigrants and locals due to competition for jobs and housing. Over the past few years, the high number of those with precarious employment and the increasing poverty associated with this, which in turn has led to a growing number of disadvantaged residential areas or social flashpoints in major cities, have become particularly important.

The fiscal dimension comprises the balance of municipal revenues and expenses. Of significance here are the assessment rates for business taxes, revenue from income tax and federal support grants.

On the one hand, analyses of the political dimension focus on the framework conditions for investment, e.g. prepayments by municipalities, economic development, the supply of ready-to-build, developed plots and, on the other hand, on cooperation with private investors, e.g. ▷ *Public private partnership*, cooperation with neighbouring municipalities (▷ *Cooperation, intermunicipal and regional*) in the form of regional planning (▷ *Regional planning*) or regional applications for EU subsidies. This also includes national programmes to financially promote municipalities in order to address social problems and problems with the built environment, e.g. ‘The Socially Integrative City’ (since 1990; ▷ *Socially integrative city*). On the municipal level, the transnational politics of economic deregulation have led to decreasing tax revenue, which in turn has prompted municipalities to privatise public tasks and businesses such as electricity, water and the housing stock. This strategy is no longer used. The majority of authors agree that urban government has turned into urban governance (▷ *Governance*) due to the inclusion of other stakeholders, whether they are private companies, citizen groups or other municipalities.

It is imperative to study these dimensions of structural change on their own as well as in terms of their interdependence. However, the spatial consequences of structural change remain undetermined, making it necessary to relate these structural changes to the spatial dimension (▷ *Space*). Structural changes do not fully explain the latter, which is why all of the analyses of urban development focus on subareas. For the sake of simplicity, the theories can be considered to fall into three groups:

- 1) Classic models of urban structure, provided they are based on explicit assumptions regarding urban development
- 2) Phase models, provided they go beyond systematic description to formulate hypotheses about the dynamics
- 3) Analyses of change without phase models

## 2 Definitions

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### 2.1 From the industrial to the post-industrial (‘post-Fordist’) city

Recent urban history starts with industrialisation. From approximately 1850 in Europe, in particular in England, commercial and trading cities became industrial cities, a development that continued until approximately 1918. In this phase, cities experienced huge growth in the labour force, construction activity and statutory guidelines pertaining, for example, to sanitary issues and firefighting regulations. This was also the period of major infrastructure services (▷ *Infrastructure*) such as sewage systems and lighting. The first forms of suburbanisation occurred at the end of this phase; to a lesser extent that meant a relocation of dwellings and to a greater extent a relocation of production plants from the centre of the city to the peripheries (▷ *Peripheries/peripheralisation*). The advent of rail transport (▷ *Railway transport*) also made areas that were farther from the urban core accessible – even if only in individual parts of the city.

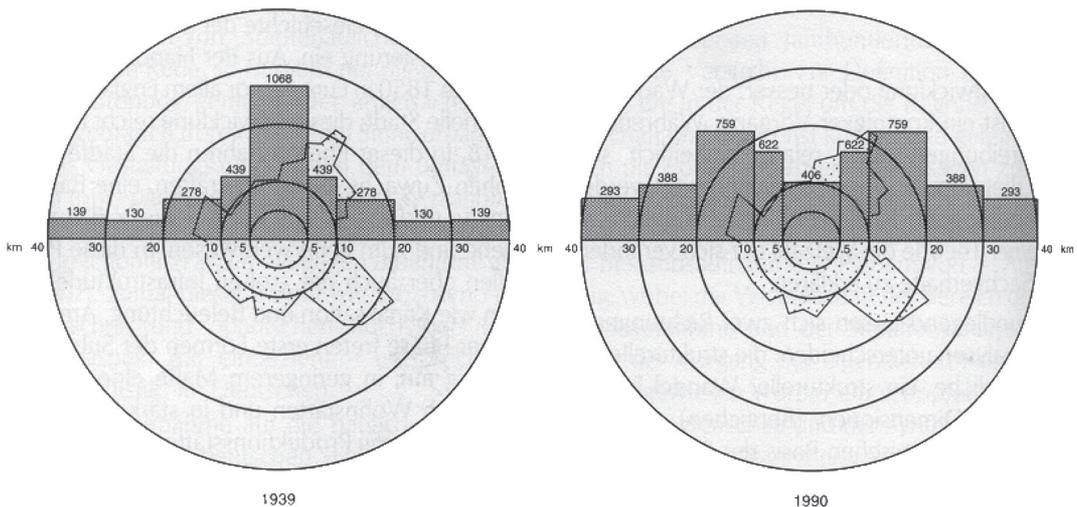
## Urban development

The next phase between the two world wars can be characterised by increased planning interventions and a tendency towards social and cooperative  $\triangleright$  *Housing development*. Some European cities were already experiencing greater tertiarisation (services) of the employment structure as far back as this phase. From 1945 to 1975 there was a reconstruction of pre-war conditions, i.e. an initial increase in population and often also an increase in jobs in the secondary sector. Increased suburbanisation has been observed since the 1960s, manifesting in particular in the relocation of production sites and especially in the simultaneous relocation of residential locations and tertiary workplaces (large-scale  $\triangleright$  *Retail trade*, among others ) to areas surrounding the cities ( $\triangleright$  *Relations between cities and surrounding regions*). In this time period, the population of core cities decreased while that of the surrounding regions increased significantly, triggering considerable building activity (see Fig. 1). This was also the time when many cities developed from a monocentric into a polycentric structure ( $\triangleright$  *Polycentricity*) of the city or  $\triangleright$  *Urban region*.

This phase was further characterised by ongoing suburbanisation and the immigration of foreign workers (in addition to German repatriates returning to the country after the war) to the core cities as well as by a revaluation of dwellings close to the  $\triangleright$  *Inner city* with good building fabric ( $\triangleright$  *Gentrification*), usually associated with groups of more prosperous residents forcing out economically weaker residents ( $\triangleright$  *Urban regeneration*); this process intensified in the 1990s. The term ‘post-industrial’ or ‘post-Fordist’ city has been used since 1975.

The 1980s and 1990s were characterised by sustained deindustrialisation. Although this process started as early as the late 1960s, considerable job losses in production industries were recorded. This led to a ‘mismatch’ between the jobs available and the qualifications of the local workforce in the major cities. Two effects are predominantly associated with this: rising unemployment and a growing number of welfare recipients. Old industrial regions that were home to industries such as mining, shipbuilding, steel and textiles were the hardest hit (cf. Friedrichs 1997 for the change in major West German cities). This led to a polarisation among West German cities, which continues to this day.

**Figure 1: Population in Hamburg and surrounding areas according to distance from the centre in 1939 and 1990 (in thousands)**



Source: Haack/Zirwes 1985, page 286, amended

Politico-economic approaches in ▷ *Urban research* (e.g. Storper/Walker 1989) link the structural changes to spatial change using several hypotheses: the revaluation of dwellings close to the inner city (gentrification), increasing rents and land prices as well as a stark socio-spatial divide between social and ethnic groups (segregation). The latter tendency is known as a ‘divided city’, ‘dual city’ (Mollenkopf/Castells 1991) or ‘polarisation’ (Häußermann/Siebel 1986; Kronauer/Siebel 2013). Ultimately, the claim is that ▷ *Urban planning* had been forced to consider these developments by taking the interests of the high earners and more highly qualified individuals, and thus also companies, into greater account in order to maintain or improve their own economic basis.

## 2.2 Urban development and globalisation

Since the 1990s, deindustrialisation has been driven by ▷ *Globalisation*. This is understood as the increasing international integration of the world economy, and is based on the liberalisation of national markets, such as the GATT rounds. The result is (more intense) global competition, an expansion of transnational companies (including corporate mergers), greater rationalisation of production and a spatial relocation of parts of production (Dicken 2015; Fuchs/Glaab 2011). The debate concerning the effects of globalisation comprises four aspects:

- 1) ‘Global cities’ (Sassen 1994) or ‘international control centres’ (Rebitzer 1995) arise. The headquarters of large corporations are concentrated here and they are important financial centres and stock exchanges featuring a number of business-related service companies (accountants, business consultants, analysts). The criteria delineating such cities from world cities are blurred.
- 2) There is a tendency towards income polarisation (Dangschat 1999) in cities, as the higher ranking employees frequently make use of services that are usually provided by poorly paid migrant workers; as a consequence, ethnic minorities increasingly immigrate to such cities.
- 3) The regulation of global economic activities leads to an increase in the power held by transnational companies, thereby necessitating supranational institutions. This process of ‘denationalisation’ can weaken national sovereignty and regulations, resulting, for example, in a decline in welfare state security (Luft 2011). Some authors have argued that there is another process taking place in parallel with globalisation: a shift in focus towards the regions, i.e. a local level. To capture these different tendencies, Robertson (1994) coined the term ‘glocalisation’. There is a lack of empirical research in this area.
- 4) Global interconnections have dramatically increased through transport and communication technologies, in particular the Internet, and have led to a discussion about the deterritorialisation of social processes and about transnational spaces (Pries 2016) or, more generally, about the new meaning of space.

Until about 2005, the consequences of globalisation for German cities included rising unemployment rates, growing expenditures for social assistance, declining business tax revenue and lower ‘fractional shares’ for investment – in many cases also considerable savings for publicly subsidised institutions. Additional macroeconomic factors in Germany include the high cost of reunification, a low growth rate and the influx of migrant workers and German repatriates returning to the country after the war. The result is urban poverty in two respects. It is evident on

the one hand in the falling investment options for cities; the cities' room to manoeuvre decreased to such an extent that after 2001 some cities had to make use of the legal instrument to safeguard the budget. On the other hand, the number of disadvantaged residential areas increased in conjunction with the increase in poverty among the population. One indicator for this were the 'poverty reports' or 'social reports' published by many cities in the early 1990s. After 2000, these conditions changed due to strong economic growth in most cities (the old industrialised cities experienced the least growth). The problem of disadvantaged residential areas remained.

### 2.3 Disadvantaged urban areas

Due to the increasing number of poverty-stricken areas in many cities in Europe and the US, there was a substantial increase in research and publications about such disadvantaged areas, especially in the wake of the influential study conducted by Wilson (1987). The studies focused on the living conditions in the areas, in particular on the types of deviant behaviour (crime, dropping out of school, educational deficits, social isolation), but also on employment and health. As a result of the studies, the (old) debate was taken up again as to whether disadvantaged residential areas have an independent (contextual) effect on their inhabitants, which drives poverty. Does the proportion of poor households or those with social problems have an added negative effect on the behaviour of the (to some extent already) disadvantaged residents? The quantitative empirical results on such contextual effects conclude that such an impact does exist to a limited extent, even when controlling for individual traits (Friedrichs 2014; van Ham/Manley/Bailey 2012). According to North American research, it is probable that this effect occurs with threshold values when the proportion of welfare recipients in a residential area exceeds 20%, and to an even greater extent when that number exceeds 40% (Galste 2014).

There are three mutually non-exclusive explanations for why disadvantaged residential areas arise: firstly, selective moving away, which leads to the poorer population being left behind in the area; secondly, selective immigration of poor households or 'problem families', partially controlled by municipal occupancy policy; and finally, further impoverishment of the population due to their poor opportunities on the  $\triangleright$  *Labour market*. According to empirical results, the latter explanation carries the most weight (Farwick 2001).

The planning responses to these problems came in the form of regional and predominantly national programmes established in the 1990s to improve the living conditions in disadvantaged residential areas. These included the federal and state government programme 'Urban boroughs with special development needs – the Socially Integrative City' or similar programmes in European countries such as 'Politique de la ville' in France, 'Big Cities Policy' in Belgium, 'Grote Stedenbeleid' in the Netherlands, 'Kvaterlof' in Denmark and 'Home Buy' in the United Kingdom.

## 3 Models

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### 3.1 Classic models

Among the many models of urban structure (urban structural planning, ▷ *Urban hierarchy and urban structure*) there are only a few that come to any conclusions about what gives rise to a spatial structure at various points in time. In the wake of the von Thunen model, models from the Chicago School in the 1920s (Burgess) and from critics (Hoyt, Harris and Ullman) garnered particular attention. They do not start at the structural level but rather at the spatial level, attempting to explain the existing spatial distribution of uses and sociodemographic populations.

In his description of the city, Burgess (1915) defined structure based on the competition for the use of the space with the greatest accessibility. The most profitable use prevails, originally housing and production plants, followed by the tertiary sector (offices and retail trade). The expansion of the CBD (central business district) is the engine behind urban development: the greater the demand for sites (land) in the CBD, the faster the concentric expansion. This gradually pushes residential use to the peripheries. In a subsequent phase there is a ‘decentralised centralisation’, in other words the creation or expansion of district centres in the core city or – more generally for the urban region – of subcentres.

In contrast, Hoyt’s model (1942) contains one central hypothesis: the expansion of the city takes place along major traffic routes while each type of use expands by sector; this is true in particular for the residential use of the high-status population.

Phase models supersede (lacking) theories of urban development. In these models, processes can be grouped into phases with few variables, e.g. the model of the invasion succession cycle used to describe the population exchange in a specific area. Another group of theories on urban development is rooted in the structural changes in the economic and/or demographic dimension. These models assume a regular progression of development in cities, which can be categorised into an orderly sequence of phases. These models are consistently restricted to the structural level; the spatial reference is usually only present through the dichotomy of core city and surrounding areas. The following diagram is limited to two older models which still have high research value: the model by van den Berg et al. (1982) and that of Rust (1975).

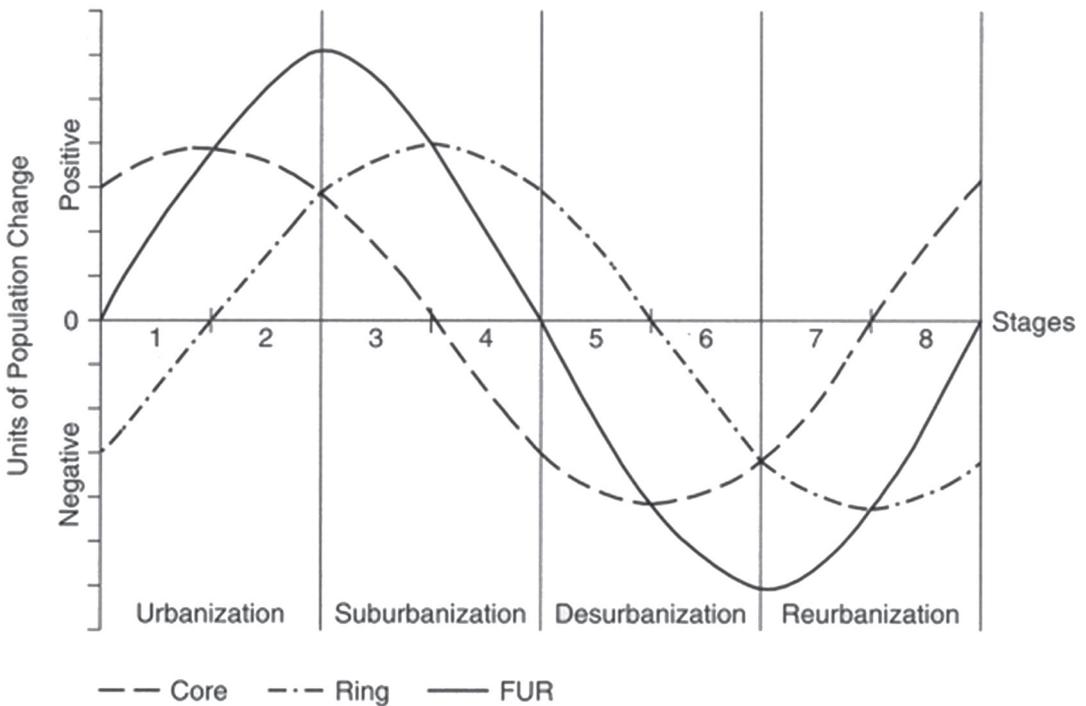
### 3.2 Phase models

Van den Berg et al. (1982) developed a general demographic model of urban development. This model describes population change in an urban region as well as in its two parts, the core city and surrounding areas. There are four phases in this model (see Fig. 2 and Table 1). The model focuses on urban regions (FURs = functional urban regions) and uses only the net population change in the core city (core), surrounding areas (ring) and the urban region as a whole (FUR). The four main phases are broken down into eight individual phases. Economic reasons are stated as the cause of population change. The model was tried and tested in an empirical study of 189 urban regions in Europe from 1960 to 1970. Whether or not the eighth phase of growth in the core city even as the population in the ring declines has been achieved has only been proven in individual cases (Dresden).

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Rust (1975) put forth another general model of urban development. It describes the development of a city based on the interaction of economic and demographic processes. The model focuses on North American urban regions (SMSAs = Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas) and was developed based on the analysis of ten North American urban regions that showed a stagnating number of residents over a prolonged period of time. Demographic and economic characteristics form the theoretical basis of the model. Original economic growth is triggered by an expansion of jobs, resulting in a high rate of immigration. In the next phase, the associated emerging shift in the age structure leads to an increase in population through natural population growth. The result, in turn, is a high demand for jobs on the part of residents who have since attained an employable age. The demand cannot be satisfied due to an insufficient number of jobs. This results in a selective outflow of the younger and/or more highly qualified population, which means that the city experiences both economic and demographic shrinkage. The new phases are illustrated in Table 1.

**Figure 2: Phases of urban development: Population changes in the core city (core), surrounding areas (ring) and the urban regions as a whole (FUR)**



Source: van den Berg et al. 1982: 38

Urban policy intervenes in these processes in a variety of ways, e.g. through the *Preparatory land-use plan*, development laws, the designation of new residential, industrial and commercial areas, preservation statutes or – at a national level – rent controls. This can also occur through programmes, e.g. as part of the federal and state government programme ‘The Socially Integrative City’. However, urban policy remains reliant on the willingness of private investors, especially when it comes to settlement policy.

## 4 Urban development in East Germany

The development of the cities in East Germany was of particular significance to urban research because it was now possible to test whether the transition from a planned economy to a market economy would bring about the same developments that had occurred in the (major) cities in West Germany, as an example of urban development in capitalist countries. There are thus a number of studies dealing with the transformation of these cities (Häußermann 1997). Their fundamental hypothesis is that processes observed in West German cities would repeat themselves in East Germany as well, albeit with a time lag.

**Table 1: Phases of urban development according to Rust**

Phase	Type of classification	Population change		
		Core	Ring	FUR
I Urbanisation	1 Absolute centralisation	++	-	+
	2 Relative centralisation	+	+	+++
II Suburbanisation	3 Relative decentralisation	+	++	+++
	4 Absolute decentralisation	-	++	+
III De-urbanisation	5 Absolute decentralisation	--	+	-
	6 Relative decentralisation	--	-	---
IV Reurbanisation	7 Relative centralisation	-	--	---
	8 Absolute centralisation	+	--	-

Source: Rust 1975

In addition to numerous individual studies on cities or processes, of note here are the interdisciplinary works by the Commission for Research on Social and Political Change in the New Federal States (*Kommission für die Erforschung des sozialen und politischen Wandels in den neuen Bundesländern, KSPW*), which combine individual studies in a six volume report from 1996 (KSPW 1996). The main research findings showed that there was no segregation but that catch-up suburbanisation was evident and that new shopping centres in the surrounding areas weakened and delayed the development of the inner cities. These findings were, however, considered under two constraints. On the one hand, the restitution policy of 'restitution before compensation' led to a lag in urban development and investment due to an ownership structure that was unclear.

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On the other hand, lack of knowledge about planning law and no binding or preparatory land-use plans left the municipalities at the mercy of bids from (largely West German) investors.

At the end of this phase (2000–2010), many large, mid-sized and small cities recorded declining populations, as both the natural growth rate and net migration were negative. Examples of this include Chemnitz (-6.3%), Cottbus (-5.9%), Gera (-11.9%) and Halle (-6.3%). By contrast, the population of other cities grew due to positive net migration, e.g. in Dresden (+9.5%), Jena (+12.9%) and Leipzig (+6.0%). The processes of ▷ *Shrinking cities* and, above all, demographic change (Glock 2006; Göschel 2003; Hannemann 2004) have affected both West and East German cities. This change has a negative effect on the financial strength of the cities, the labour market and ▷ *Housing market* (deserted residential areas, demolition of residential buildings) and the (lower) utilisation of urban social and technical infrastructure (Pohlan/Wixforth 2005; Strubelt/Zimmermann 2005; Wiechmann/Fuchs 2004), while social segregation is on the rise (Großmann/ Haase/Arndt et al. 2014). The theory of urban decline (Friedrichs 1993) is a model of this process.

In an effort to enable cities to adapt, the federal government launched the ‘Urban Redevelopment in the West’ (2001) and ‘Urban Redevelopment in the East’ (2003) programmes, which combined urban development and housing economy objectives (including the demolition of housing).

A phase which could be described as consolidation followed around 2010: major cities and university cities such as Jena grew from 2010 to 2015, experiencing positive growth rates and net migration, such as Dresden (+4.0%), Leipzig (+7.2%), Chemnitz (+5.0%), and Halle (+3.8%). Many mid-sized and small cities had to continue to develop strategies to adapt (Bojarra-Becker/Franke/zur Nedden 2017), as Gera (-13.15%) and Cottbus (-2.2%) continued to decline. In this phase, the development of the cities in the West and in the East were more similar than they had previously been. In fact, in this period the processes of segregation (Friedrichs/Triemer 2009) and gentrification (Glatter 2007; Wiest/Hill 2004) could be observed in major East German cities.

Population gains in the large cities can be attributed, among other things, to the rising number of migrants and refugees. This exacerbated the existing problem of a shortage of reasonably priced housing, in particular social housing. In light of an annual deficit of 350,000 to 450,000 flats to be built (estimates from 2016) and a lack of building land, suburbanisation will likely increase.

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