

Nuremberg, a European City
The Noris, in a Europe of cities

Evolution and adaption of urban citizenship in Nuremberg

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Thesis Pitch: Urban Network Integration at a glimpse

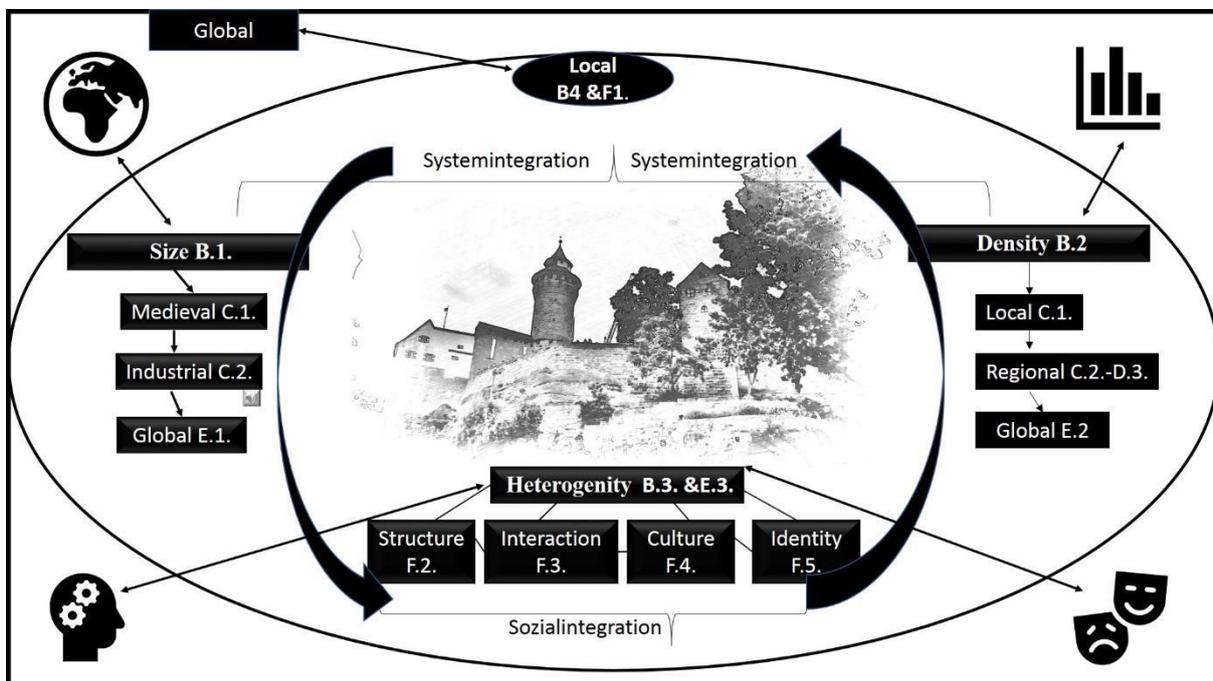
We have entered a new age, the age of global urbanisation. Already today, more people than ever before live in urban rather than rural areas and the trend continues in the future. At the same time “*globalization is a compression of time and space*” (Harvey 1989: 284). Both aspects affect the urban identity and urban integration, having to combine local and global patterns. Discussing the global and local integration of and within the city will be the focus of this thesis.

Basically defined, a city is a “*global, urban self-organizing system*”. Its inhabitants, “*urban agents*”, are “*local, cognitive, self-organizing systems*”, leading to the “*dual complexity*” defined according to boundaries between cities. In other words, cities are complex as the citizen living within the city are complex as well, the urban is “*dual complexity*” (Portugali 2011:211). Those systems require interaction to come into existence (Portugali 2011:14). Over time a social network of interdependent specialists evolves, where everybody fulfils a task (Bettencourt et. al. 2014:5). Thus, a city depends on its ability to govern this increasing complexity and diversity, (Bettencourt et. al. 2014:5), connecting the complex parts (Bettencourt 2013:7f.), bringing the right actors together (Lefebvre 2003:117). On a global level the same patterns are to be observed, surfacing a “*network society*” (Castells 2010) of “*global cities*” (Sassen 2001) as every city depends on the capacity to contribute a certain task, to be integrated into the global system.

Facing dual complexity, “*the urban space is concrete contradiction*” (Lefebvre 2003:39), processing those contradictions, every city develops its “*Eigenlogik*” (Löw 2008). Urban agents are shaped by the rhythm of their city, as they shape the city (Portugali 2011:62), every society creates its own city (Siebel 2015:15). Unique, the “*European city*” is political subject of emancipated citizens, determining the urban evolution of their city (Siebel 2012:201ff.). Having a say in the urban evolution of a city, the “*right to the city*” (Harvey 2003: 939ff.) is essential to be part of the city. Depending on migration, European city always served as “*integration machines*” (Häußermann 2006:257), enabling new citizens to shape the city as well. Citizenship is as a process of participation, identification (van Bochove et. al. 2010:346). European cities create identity (Kunzmann 2011:40) and participation (Wukovitsch 2011:96). However, facing globalisation, every city must define its identity and integration in the global system, as ensuring identity and integration within the certain urban system itself. Here, the

global system shapes the city. These patterns lay the conditions for successful urban integration. Facing the dual complexity of urban agents and the urban, a city is a category as every city is a category for itself, to be understood from within (Portugali 2011:216f.). In this thesis, Nuremberg will serve a case study to show, how the European city features of citizenship and integration changed and evolved through time, adapting citizenship, creating the Noris identity.

The first part will show general common features of cities according to Wirth (1974: 50-57). The aspects of size, measured in built space, the aspect of density, expressed in increased interaction, as heterogeneity, experienced in an ever-diversifying urban society, define cities. Those complex systems exchange materials, information, interact with their environment (Portugali 2011:38), in other words define the conditions for urban integration as identification. The second part focuses on local integration under these global conditions. Merging integration theory by Esser (2001), the CLEAR Model (Lowndes et. al 2006), as Eigenlogik (Löw 2008). Here, politics define the access to the network (structure), interaction defines the social patterns and dynamics of the network (interaction). Based on this the common features evolve (culture), as finally, the Noris identity as a social system reveals itself (identity), giving a look from inside.



Urban Integration of and within Nuremberg (Numbers indicate chapters)

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A) My city, your city, our city, what is a city?

“Telling where you are from seems to tell who you are.” Every space and region triggers imaginations, provokes expectations and experiences, shapes the identity of people, using it. Telling about the place of residence tells about the peculiar habits and characteristics, attractions. Every city has something, some things that attracted people to come together and to stay together (Chide 1950). Today, more people than ever before in mankind’s history are about to live or already live in urban areas. Already today, more than half of the world population lives in cities, and the trend of urbanisation continues to hold on especially in the Global South (United Nations 2015:1). *“What will be remembered about the twenty-first century more than anything else expect perhaps the effects of a changing climate, is the great and final, shift of human populations out of rural, agricultural life and into cities.”* (Saunders 2011:1).

Facing globalisation and its *“compression of time and space”* (Harvey 1989: 284), this is rather astounding, as modern technologies enable to work nearly from everywhere at the globe. Conversely, *“global cities”* (Sassen 2001) evolve. They *“function as commando points in the organization of the world economy, as sites for production of innovations in finance and advanced services for firms and as key marketplaces for capital”* (Sassen 2001:344). Here, the space of flows is processed. *“The space of flows is the material organization of time-sharing social practices that work through flows”* (Castells 2010:442). Those flows are not bound to time or space, reflecting the technological features of globalisation (Castells 2010: 442f.).

Nevertheless, as already mentioned, cities are back in town, and they are about to stay. Generally, *“the city is a global, urban self-organizing system”* based on the urban agent and the urban, shaping each other (Portugali 2011:62). *“Each agent operating in the city is a local, cognitive, self-organizing system, while the city is a global, urban self-organizing system”* producing *“dual complexity”* (Portugali 2011:211). In other words, cities are complex systems as the citizens living within, constituting *“dual complexity”*. Those systems require interaction to come into existence (Portugali 2011:14). What is striking about the city, they are social networks of interdependent specialist (Bettencourt et. al 2014:5). Consequently, cities produce diversity, increasing resilience while accelerating evolution (Bettencourt et. al. 2014:1). Always creating new diversity can be considered as the cornerstone for urban evolution, emanating

productivity, innovation and prosperity (Youn et. al 2016:6). Cities produce diversity as complexity, assuming that “*the urban space is concrete contradiction*” (Lefebvre 2003:39).

Dealing with this diversity, is the cornerstone for the success of a city (Bettencourt et al. 2014:5). Expanding connectivity per person and of social inclusion unleashes the full socioeconomic potential of a city (Bettencourt 2013: 7). Foremost in the European context urban development and migration are to be called twins. In that sense, urban is always the processing of the foreign, assigning special places to it (Hillmann 2013: 151). At this point, due to interaction of the urban agents every urban, better said every city, develops its own patterns “*Eigenlogik*” (Löw 2008).

Such an assumption became sensible by the urban experience of four different cities. Growing up in Nuremberg, moving to Bamberg for studying, doing an internship in Munich and Berlin gave food for thought for the thesis at hand. Living, working and socializing in various urban environments led to the quite banal corollary; - *cities are different*. All are examples of a sheer uncountable number of cities, however every urban experience had its own peculiarities. Bamberg is a small friendly, welcoming city. Moving there for university, it was quite easy to orientate in the city. Meeting new friends happened quite smoothly, nevertheless, some would argue, that Bamberg is a place, where it is recommended to think in smaller dimensions. Conversely, Munich appeared as a mixture of a metropolis and a village, yet entering the well-established circles was quite a hard job. Finally, Berlin presented itself as the open, welcoming metropolis at the Spree. Meeting people and making new friends happened quasi automatically, yet most of this friendship were very short lived as many contacts got lost in the tremendous jumble of people and imaginations. This thesis will focus on the *Eigenlogik* of Nuremberg. Posing as dual complex system, a city is a category based on common features. Nevertheless, facing its own internal complexity every city is a category itself to be understood from within (Portugali 2011:217). Growing up there, being urban agent of Nuremberg serves as basis for a case study, analysing the evolution and adaption of the European city model in the local context. Furthermore, once being the global city of medieval times, this case serves best to retrace the urban evolution and integration over time. The impacts of globalisation become observable, affecting the industrial city, especially in Eberhardshof-Muggenhof. Industry attracted many guest-worker, bringing their families with them. This led to “*superdiversity*” (Vertovec 2005). At the same time the different trajectories of Quelle and AEG, facing similar conditions at the beginning, reveal the increasing need to recombine global and local, becoming more glocal.

After all, “*cities become the solution of their own problem*” (Baecker 2009: 264). Every city provides “*Leerstellen*” an over abundance of meanings in the city, (Baecker 2009:264). Therefore, it is essential to process those symbols, making them understandable for the human mind (Portugali 2011:233). Every city is an order, a map, a civilisation (Lefebvre 2003:12). However, as every society builds its own city (Siebel 2015:15), different cities evolve. Contrasting the American city is based on the grid-scheme shaped by the forces of market demands (Hannemann; Mettenberger 2011:57f.). The European city is determined by the public influence on the city (Hannemann 2011:62). “*As a consequence of these historical developments still today the core of the model of a European City is the public influence on urban development, and the perception of the city as a collective identity*” (Tosics 2011:4).

The striking about the “*European city model*”, is the evolution of urban citizenship, being an emancipated citizen with certain rights and responsibilities (Siebel 2012:202f.). What Weber once called “*Autokephalie*” (Weber 1922:569), can be interpreted as cities being the masters of their own fate. The European city promotes identity (Kunzmann 2011:40), serving as “*integration machines*” (Häußermann 2006:257). The European City stands for a social model defined by governmental mediated integration of diverse societies (Wukovitsch 2011:96). Actors are about to shape the urban space according to their needs, the “*right to the city*” (Harvey 2009:940). Diverging interests in the creation of the public sphere, is what makes the city development highly political (Lefebvre 2003:180), the city political (Siebel 2012:201f.).

The urban space as concrete contradiction comprises two aspects. The space of flow and the space of place. The space of flow describes the pattern of a global network of cities, production chains, a network society. The space of place describes the city itself, where all the time and space-less flows of asset, decisions, people becomes visible (Castells 2010:458f.). As every complex system is defined by its boundary, a dual complex system must be defined, by two boundaries (Portugali 2011:211). “It is “*the necessity for all cities under contemporary capitalism to manage two divergent dynamics: their internal contradictions and their external integration*” (Brenner; Keil 2014: 13). Taking the integrative patterns into mind, the European city depends on ensuring integration into the global system, as maintaining urban integration. This is done by *Glocalisation* (Swyngedouw 2004: 38), to set boundaries between what is considered local components and what is considered global components (Machimura 1998:192).

The research question to be analysed in this thesis is twofold:

How did the European citizenship evolve in the city of Nuremberg? How does the Noris maintain global and local integration, governing participation and identification of citizens in the changing area of Eberhardshof-Muggenhof, being the master of fate of its own change?

Elaborating on this question, firstly the general patterns of cities will be presented according to the definition by Wirth (1974: 50-57). Cities are determined by three factors, which are, size, density and heterogeneity. In chapter B the general definition of cities will be presented, stating reasons for urbanisation. Cities are defined by their size (B.1.) in built space, their density (B.2.), measuring interactions, as their heterogeneity (B.3.), characterising the urban agents of a city.

After that, those general patterns will be applied to the context of Nuremberg. Cities already bear and predict the future in the present, meanwhile the present retrieves to the past, to overcome the present (Baecker 2009:260). Cities are “*built social history*” (Siebel 2011:202). This history will be presented in chapter C, presenting the medieval Noris, the industrial Noris, as its status as “*the most German of all German cities*” during the Third Reich (C.3.). Especially, those medieval Noris patterns influenced the reconstruction of Nuremberg after the Second World War. For that purpose, chapter D will show the reconstruction (D.1.), the post-war influx of migrants (D.2.) as the first approaches towards a multicultural urban society.

Facing global and local integration, chapter E will set the general patterns of global cities in term of size (E.1.), the density of global networks (E.2.), as the increasing heterogeneity (E.3.). Searching for being integrated globally, defines how European cities can integrate internally. Based on this chapter F will show the general plans of Nuremberg (F.1.), as how citizens are empowered to be part of it (structure), how they make use of their right to the city (interaction) (F.3.), the common patterns of a city (culture) (F.4.), as finally the identity of the Noris as a dual complex urban system (F.5). Here, first the general patterns of Nuremberg will be presented, as Eberhardshof-Muggenhof will serve as a case study, where this becomes visible. Conceiving the Noris as a political subject, “*cities have the capability of providing something for everybody, only because and only when they are created by everybody*” (Jacobs 1961:238).

B) Cities are back in town- Defining Cities

B.1. The size of a city - Geographic City

“There is no common global definition of what constitutes an urban settlement” so far agreed. (United Nations 2014:4). Even a global definition is still pending, the global impact of urbanisation is already visible globally from outer space, as this NASA map shows. Following the first definition of category according to Wirth, here the dimension of size becomes obvious.

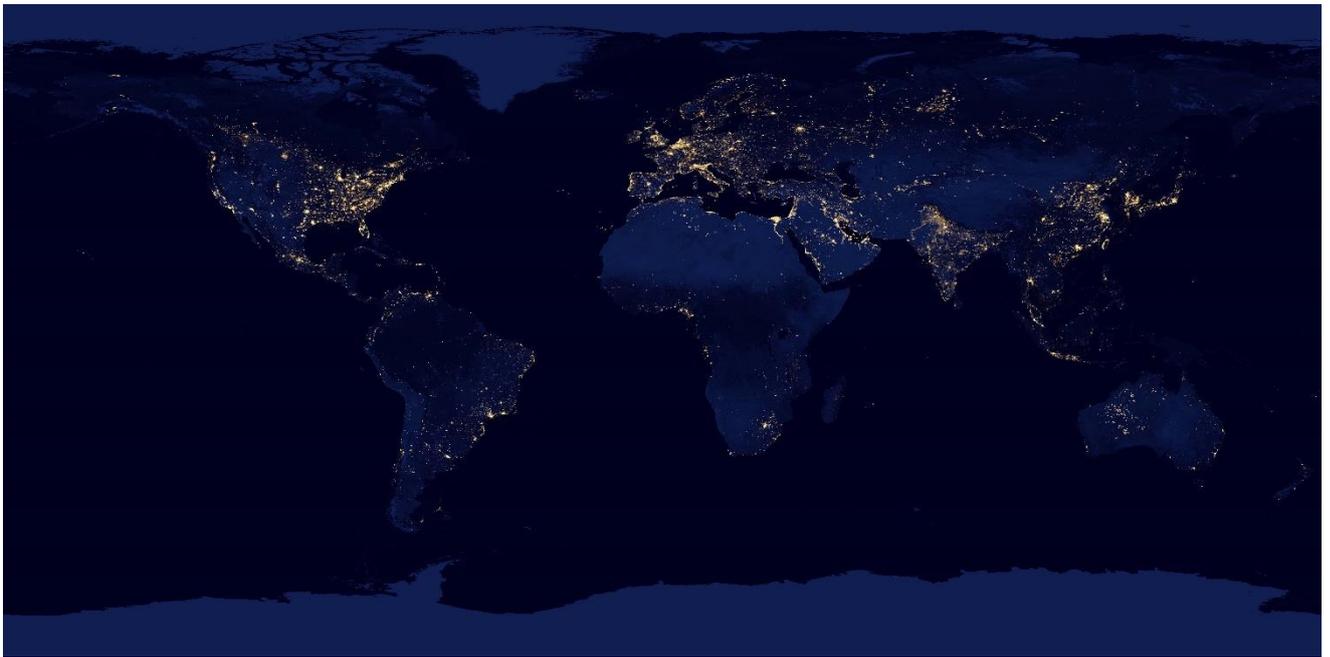


Image 1 The world at night

The European Union orders areas into clusters of one km² each. Every cluster with a population density of at least 1.500 inhabitants per km² is defined as city centre. Starting from there, every cluster is added to the city, which at least contains half of the population in the city centre. Following this definition, the European Economic Area possess about 900 settled areas defined as cities (European Union 2017:11f.). On the average one of 77 typical German big cities (more than 100.000 inhabitants) has 199.460 people, one of the 600 medium city (between 1000.000 and 20.000 here 600) 32.300 people and one of the 2.000 the small city (between 5.000 and 20.000 here about 2.000) 10.425 people. The cities range from 139km² for big cities, to 76km² for medium cities to 60km² for small cities (Bundesregierung 2016: 6ff.).

Nuremberg fulfils the definition of size, spanning an area of 186,4km², populated by about 530.000 people, a population density of 2.843 people per km². From this whole population about 21, 2% are foreigners and at least 43, 4% (Stadt Nürnberg 2016a: 5) have a foreign background, ranking among the cities with the highest percentage in Germany besides Frankfurt am Main. (27, 2%), Munich (24%), Stuttgart (22, 8%) (Stadt Nürnberg 2016a: 12).

B.2. The density of a city - Economic City

“Similarly, to natural complex systems they come into being by the process of emergence out of the interaction between the many parts of the systems” (Portugali 2011:14). Cities need a market to come into existence, as it is the basic institution for the exchange of goods and ideas of urban agents (Pounds 2005:12). Markets are the basic for economy and economic is hardly to be separated from urban, as for *“centuries the world economy has shaped the life of cities”* (Sassen 2001:3), acting as economic fulcrums, creating density of institutions and interactions.

Most of its trajectory the human species was migratory (Pries 2001:5). Mankind was roving around in small bands, if there were villages, as in special fishing areas, they were mostly only populated during winter. The oldest cities are about 5.000 years old, yet mostly the first “cities” resembled more an allotment of dwellings with not more than thirty small huts, rather than houses. If population reached a certain amount, some part of it, had to leave for a new settlement. It was the invention of the wheel, when the urban revolution was on a roll. Inventions of the Neolithic revolution such as the wheel, chars, irrigation enabled farmers not just to keep their families alive but also to sustain more and more people. Increasing production and finally also reaching a nutritional surplus were the basic for the diversification of human society. From this point, a class of craftsmen, priest, administrator and rulers could be nourished without being harnessed for agricultural food production (Childe 1950:4-8). As such the basis for cities is the local market, where its citizen can provide themselves with the daily needs. The goods can be produced by the local hinterland or brought there through trade. So, more citizen and especially the overlords, as typical urban residents, could provide themselves through means of local markets instead of sorage, compulsory labour by thralls, so more the city comes into existence. Otherwise, the city would be just an amended part of the “Οἶκος “(Oikos), the classical antique household (Weber 1922: 561ff.). A German saying states *“Stadtluft macht frei”*¹, which

¹ breathing urban air makes you free

emphasizes the type of European city. Urban citizens, members of an urban society, were not longer subordinated to the “Οἶκος“, as thralls, yet as citizens, producer and consumer free to sustain themselves not by serfdom however through means of the market (Siebel 2015:123). Instead of an overlord, the actors are working for the “urban machine” (Siebel 2015:13).

Being relieved from certain tasks enables the specialization, externalising certain tasks to other actors, growing networks of interdependent specials evolve (Bettencourt et. al 2014:4f.). In that sense, different than the countryside, exploiting nature, the city produces its prosperity through the productivity of bringing the right actors and goods together (Lefebvre 2003:117). Today, about 21% of Nuremberg’s workforce is still working in the production sector, 23% are employed in trade, and about 55, 4% in other service industries (Stadt Nürnberg 2016a:9).

If increasing demands cannot be corresponded by local production traders become important for the urban environment. They are foreigners, met by locals with some suspicion, nevertheless they are integrated through the market to a certain degree, as they bring goods and news from far away, migrating between various locations, being somehow somewhere in-between (Simmel 1908). Due to its freedom, cities did not just attract migrants, it rather depended on them as urban population could not reproduce itself due to sanitary conditions (Wirth 1974:50). Even today, in 2015 Nuremberg faces a fertility of 5.142 new-born and mortality of 5.882 (Stadt Nürnberg 2016a:5). Today, about 70% of the European Union population, about 350 million people, live in cities with at least 5.000 inhabitants. Furthermore, the urban surplus becomes obvious here. About 59% of population in the European Union resides in metropolitan areas, being responsible for about 67% of the whole European GDP (Europäische Union 2011:4). Migrants are required to fulfil the niches, keeping the amenities of the city running. A modern single household would not possible without the city (Siebel 2015:13). A common example is, that people can stop preparing their own meals and rely on deliveries, guaranteeing an amenable life independent from nature and its uncertainties (Siebel 2015:30).

Simply walking along the pedestrian zone of Nuremberg one thing becomes obvious, cities are becoming more and more complex, providing more and more specializations. As cities are increasing in size, accommodating thousands even millions of people, the question arises, how those systems can sustain themselves. Regarding the global trend of urbanisation with

metropolis such as Tokyo, Beijing, Mumbai, Moscow, Lagos or New York, in how far can cities sustain their own growth? Recurring to biology, the natural growth of an organism is limited. Following the rule of Bergman, growth enhances energy consumption and slows down life. In that sense, a fly lives faster, with higher energy, than an elephant. However, the natural growth is limited by natural resources required to keep the organism working. At this point, urban areas can be compared to biological organism, as they also depend on energy resources. But in contrast to that, cities produce economies of scale, fostering each other. Increasing size reduces costs for infrastructure, as streets and public transports and rises income and innovation. The backside of the coin is an increase in crime and prices. Would cities not be dependent on energy resources, cities would be able to grow sheer limitless. Yet, proving this assumption as not being realistic to be fulfilled, cities bear the potential of and depend on innovations to sustain themselves to overcome their own limitations. As such cities are the fulcrum and engine of innovations, yet, increasing size also speeds up the demand for innovation, speeding up the urban life at all. In that sense, cities are “open ended” and in permanent adaption, dissociating themselves from the biological rhythm, creating their own nature (Bettencourt et. al 2007). *“The capacity to generate open-ended diversity is one of the most important characteristics of many complex systems, from ecosystems to modern human societies”* (Youn et. al 2016: 6). The success of every urban system depends on its connectivity governing the diversity (Bettencourt 2013:7). Consequently, cities are *“a product of nature of human nature”* (Park et. al 1967:1).

B.3. The heterogeneity of a city - Sociopolitical City

At this point cities are recognizable as cities, due to the fact, that they evolved fulfilling the same basic needs (Marshall 2009:201). Diversity appears to be the most striking advantage of social systems such as the city, making them resilient (Bettencourt et.al. 2014:1). However, here evolution bifurcates, where urban evolution dissociates from natural evolution, becoming *“dual complex systems”* of cities. Surely, anthills or bird flocks are complex systems, bearing the property of complexity, however they are not dual complex. Admittedly, ants or birds are complex itself, yet natural evolution is comparable slower than cultural evolution. This becomes obvious by simply comparing Nuremberg in 1900 and today (Portugali 2011:136). At this point cities are recognizable as cities, due to the fact, that they evolved fulfilling the same basic needs (Marshall 2009:201). *“The city, belonging to one man, is no city”*, the ancient Greek philosopher Sophocles once stated (Antigone cited in Mumford 1984:139) *“The presence and*

ever-changing admixture of individuals, ethnicities, cultural activities, businesses, services and social interactions is a defining characteristic of urban life” (Youn et. al. 2016:1).

When mankind became sedentary, first villages appeared. Such communities were bound together by a common ancestor or at least the believe into that (Childe 1950:5). Conversely, a city is a settlement, where inhabitants do not know each other (Sombart 1931:527 quoted in Siebel 2015:286). “*Cities arise out of man's social needs and multiply both their modes and their methods of expression strange men and women, strange interests, and stranger gods loosen the traditional ties of blood and neighbourhood” (Mumford 1970:4).* In the city even the local becomes a foreigner. The prototype in the village is the neighbour, in the city it is the foreigner. Of course, family bonds or friendship are still existent, yet the sheer size and complexity of the urban environment sets limits to establish and maintain (Siebel 2015:288f.).

Facing the many *Leerstellen* (Baecker 2009:264), an over abundancy of meaning, the individual who immigrates to a new city must learn the city and adapt to its rhythm (Portugali 2011:62). As the urban agent cannot process all those impressions, those must be processed, ordered to become cognitive understandable by the human mind (Portugali 2011:233). A classical text, written by of one of the founding fathers of urban studies Georg Simmel, once attributed the inhabitant of a metropolis with three characteristics. As the metropolitan inhabitant is exposed to many impressions and absurdities every day, the metropolitan inhabitant develops a kind of urban intellect, treating things sober without emotions. Taking the taxi-driver, he is not interested in the reason for the trip, and the passenger does not care for the personal life of the taxi-driver. Furthermore, as the urban environment is full of unexpected absurdities and new impressions its habitants develop a form of *blasé attitude*, becoming immune against the daily strangeness of urban life. Finally, people act more reserved with their counterparts on a neutral level, as economic bonds replace the personal bonds of interaction (Simmel 1908:185ff.). Hereby, the urban life tends to polarize, taking place, expressing itself either in the public or the private sphere of the individual (Bahrtdt 1998:83).

The graphics beyond indicate the polarisation of Nuremberg, where especially the southern part of the medieval inner city and the southern part of the city in general are characterized by a high percentage of population with foreign background associated with a high percentage of

unemployment. In this thesis, the case study of Quelle and AEG located in the quarter of Eberhardshof- Muggenhof was chosen for that reasons and will be discussed latter on.

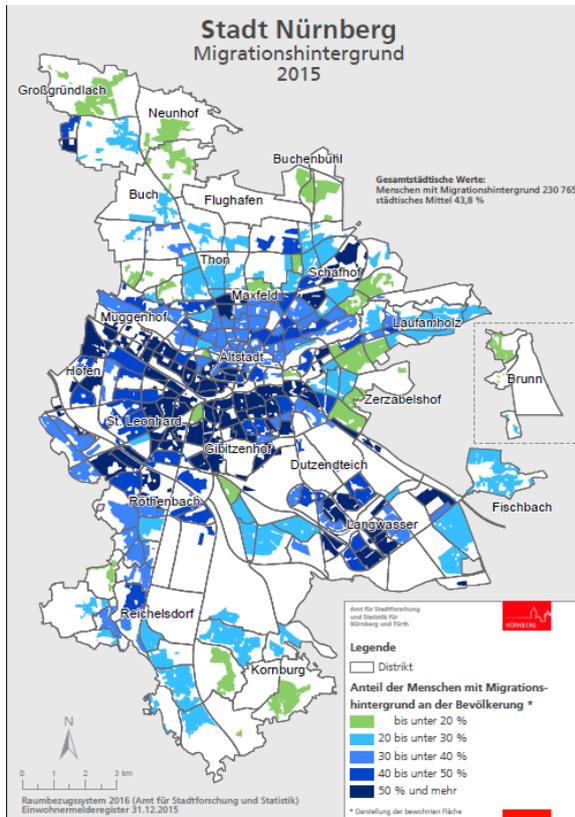


Image 2 Foreign Background by Quarter

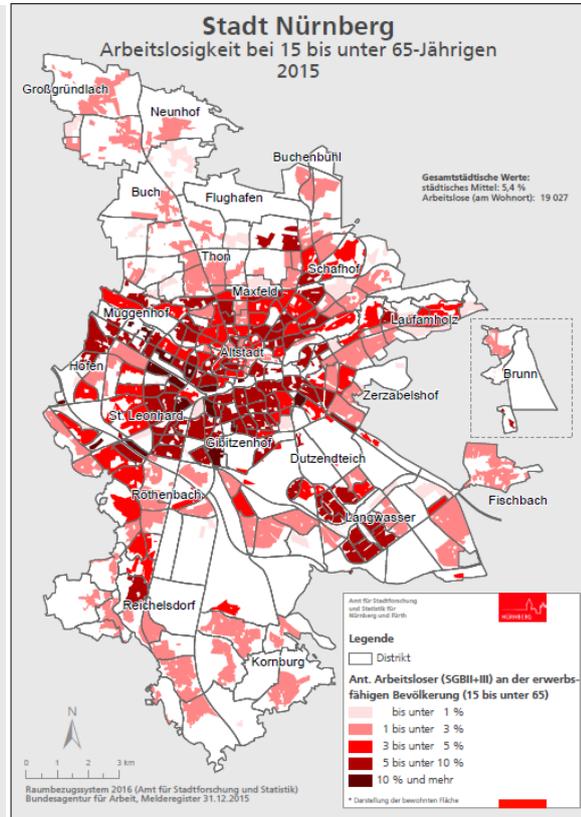


Image 3 Unemployment by Quarter

Hereby, every society, even local society, creates its own type of city (Siebel 2015:15), the city is “built society” (Zukin 1995:268). China reacts to the urbanisation trends by a simple increase of building, meanwhile the United States rely on the power of the market, as the European city model tries to equilibrate living standards within cities through the influence of urban planning (Tosic 2011: 5). Arab cities are marked by clans and tribes, the European city is marked by a general urban identity. Arab houses are more turned to the inner, where all the life takes place, meanwhile European cities with their representative facades attract people until today, giving identity to the city, distinguishing them from each other (Siebel 2015:60f.). What distinguishes European cities is their urban freedom. Even the early beginnings of Nuremberg were an act of emancipation. Already the first mention of the city in the “Sigenaurkunde”, at the 16th of July 1050, tells about the emancipation of a thrall called Sigena to marry a nobleman Richolf. Nothing more is known about the fate of Sigena or Richolf, yet this mythic example is striking (Kusch 1989:6). European cities are places, where the individual is not just defined by its societal position, yet rather cities allow incomplete integration, empowering individuals to fulfil

themselves, pursuing their own lifestyles (Bahrdt 1974:66). “*Cities are artefacts the product of humans’ intentions, aims, politics, learning, and hopes*” (Portugali 2011:14). Urban agents shape the urban and are shaped by it (Portugali 2011:62). The Noris is home for many different types of urban lifestyles (Stadt Nürnberg 2013:13).

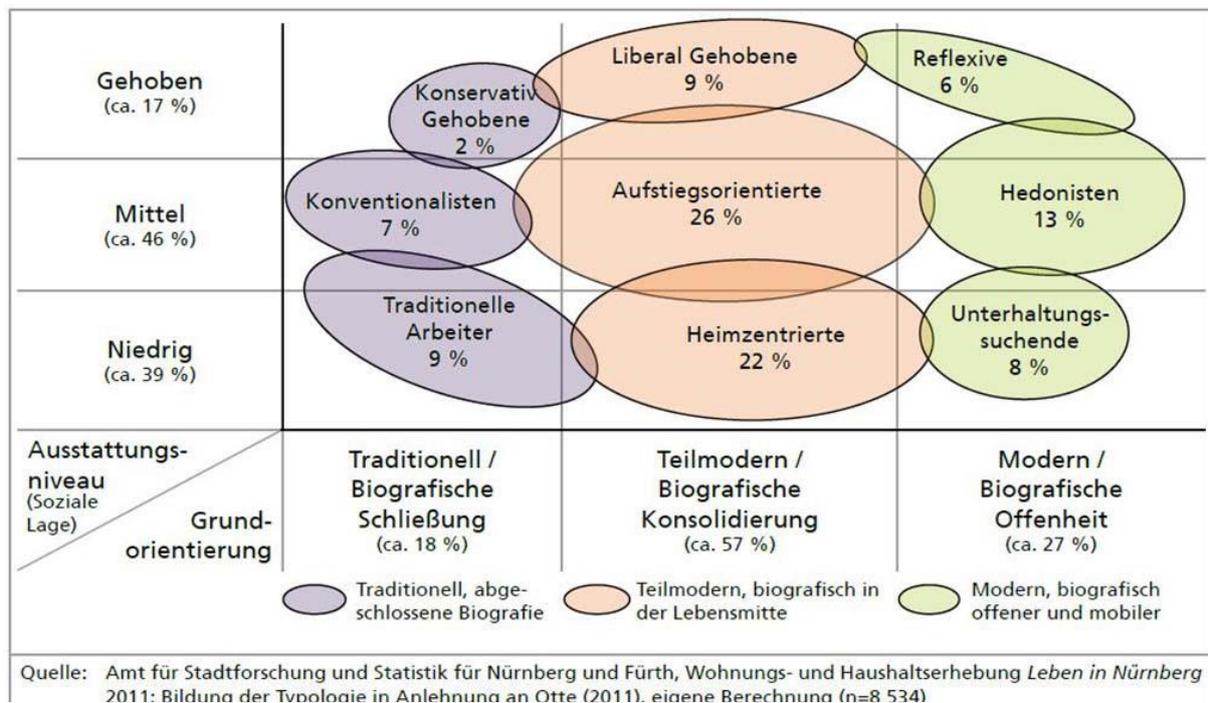


Image 4 Milleustudies in the city of Nuremberg

What becomes obvious here is the distribution of lifestyles in Nuremberg. Especially the “*Aufstiegsorientierte*”² and “*Heimzentrierte*”³ seem to be the prevalent types, ranked at a lower and medium social status. *Aufstiegsorientierte* are located mostly in the middle class, focussed on family and neighbourhood, striving for a solid professional career balanced with family life. This group considers itself belonging to the average middle class. *Heimzentrierte* poses lower to medium education. They are more focussed on home and family. Their interests are rather in traditional entertainment such as funfairs. Voting or social commitment seem to be less important, rather taking place on a casual level (Stadt Nürnberg 2013:8f.). Nevertheless, the classical distribution of milieus in German metropolitan areas does not seem to apply to Nuremberg so easily. Especially, the dominance of a middle class, pragmatically balancing tradition and future seem to distinguish the Noris (Stadt Nürnberg 2013:13). Referring to the

² upcomers

³ home centred

question, regarding to the constitution of the Noris, here it becomes obvious. Nevertheless, “cultures come into existence by emphasizing common values, norms and material goods shared by their members and by emphasizing and often exaggerating the differences between their common elements and those of other groups” (Portugali 2011:9). The thesis delves into these aspects, elaborating in the characteristics of Nuremberg as a city and the Noris as a social network, a system itself, to be understood from within the system of Noris.

B.4. Shaping a shaped city - Integrative City

Cities are dual complex systems as their elementary parts and its urban agents (individuals, households, firms or public agencies) are complex as well. “Cities are artifacts, that is to say, the product of humans’ intentions, aims, politics, learning, and hopes” (Portugali 2011:14). Urban planning, influencing the urban evolution is not just about technocracy, it is highly political (Lefebvre 2003:39). “Individual free agents determine the city which can thus be the external representation of their actions and behaviour; and the city in its turn determines the internal representations (e.g., cognitive maps) of individuals and through these their action and behaviour in the city, in a circular causality” (Portugali 2011: 90). Urban agents conceive the city, they are shaped by it, and they shape the city (Portugali 2011:62). Internal cognitive processes order the over abundance to be feasible for the human brain. Processing, cognitive maps evolve as internal representation of the city. Those maps indicate, how individual urban agents perceive the city, what is important for them, how they are emotional attached to it. Based on these external representations in form of memes, gestures, feelings, in other words determine the interaction within the city. However, those communication never expands beyond the body. Artefacts, such as buildings are different to that going beyond (Portugali 2011:142). In cities as “build societies” (Zukin 1995:268) “buildings talk about democracy and aristocracy, about openness and arrogance, about threats and friendly welcome, about sympathy for the future or the desire for the past” (de Botton 2008:71f.).

Recurring to the case study of Nuremberg, in 1992 an opinion poll conducted by the magazine “Der Spiegel” revealed, that only one out of hundred would call Nuremberg a big city, meanwhile about 28% of people asked, spontaneously answered, that they would never consider moving to Nuremberg. The “Nürnberg Komplex” was marked there as a city, mostly self-centred, reluctant to innovations and change (Spiegel 1992:43ff.). About twenty years later Nuremberg is ranked 24th of the most liveable cities in the world, prior to Singapore (26th) and

San Francisco (28)⁴. Today, more about 95% of the Nuremberg citizen are satisfied with living in Nuremberg (Stadt Nürnberg 2016b:1) in contrast to 90% of the German urban average (Urban Audit 2016:67). Furthermore, about 60% agree, that migrants are well integrated within the urban society. Nuremberg ranks higher with 62% yet, above Mannheim (54%), but below Stuttgart (73%) (Urban Audit 2016:54). Nevertheless, talking about Nuremberg in other parts of Germany, the city is still considered as provincial, stuffy and rather boring. This are different internal vs external conceptions of Nuremberg, as an urban area or the Noris a a social system.

Artefacts are the “*information carriers*” differing from one another, fulfilling different tasks about how people’s image of the city is shaped. They are the external representation, of how urban agents perceive the city (Portugali 2011:174). Recurring to the case, of Nuremberg, meanwhile the lion share of the city still lay in dust in ruins after the second world war, the castle was already rebuilt a sign of hope. The general vision was, might the castle stand on the sand rock once again, the city itself will live once again as well. Urban evolution, the social network “*it is strongly affected by expectations and plans, that is to say, its network of connections extends to the future to events that haven’t yet happened and in fact might never happen*” (Portugali 2011:135). This aspect, makes the city political. The “*right to the city*” implies, that citizens can create the city according to their needs, “*living within their own creations*” (Harvey 2003: 939ff.). Here, the city produces surplus by bringing the right actors and goods together (Lefebvre 2003:117). Such a surplus is not just to be measured in economic terms, but foremost in “*Leerstellen*”, an over abundancy of meanings. These “*Leerstellen*” serve as transitory spaces between the past and the preparation of the future in the present society (Baecker 2009:259). The city is order, culture, civilisation, but exactly this surplus is point of conflict (Lefebvre 2003: 12). So more intense the dispute concerning the fulfilment of the *Leerstellen*, so more alive the urban democracy (Lefebvre 2003:178).

At this point the *European city* becomes political. Tracing back to ancient Greek πόλις was the basis for democracy, the government by and for the people, governing their living together in the first urban societies (Vorländer 2003:14). The European City let the emancipated civil society thrive and vice versa, in other words, the city was always a place to enshrine the civil

⁴ see Nürnberger Nachrichten (24.02.2016): Lebensqualität: Nürnberg toppt Singapur und San Francisco
retrieved from : <http://www.nordbayern.de/region/nuernberg/lebensqualitat-nuernberg-toppt-singapur-und-san-francisco-1.5012284?sarched=true>

liberties of its citizens (Siebel 2015:42). Cities became the master of their own fate, serving as “*integration machines*” (Häußermann 2006:257) processing the foreign (Hillmann 2013: 151). European cities create identity and promote attachment (Kunzmann 2011:40). Such a model is unique in history (Weber 1922: 570-577). Bamberg is something else than Berlin and Munich is something completely different than Nuremberg, to be put in other words. The European city stands for the unique mediation of integration through government (Wukovitsch 2011:96).

Summarizing the special features of the European city model are:

- Freedom: The city is governed by an emancipated, self-determined civil society of urban citizens with rights and duties.
- Presence of History: Cities are the cradle for the evolution of modern societies, but also preserving features of the former societies.
- Separation between public and private sphere: Cities enable but do not force separation, giving the opportunity for contact at the same time.
- Gestalt: Cities can be distinguished from the countryside.
- Political Subject: European city are an empowered, democratically legitimated, subject of their own development.
- Urban development is a progress in economy and society.

(Siebel 2012:201ff.)

It has become obvious, that urban evolution is not just technocratic, but highly political, based on diverging conception. Being a “*concrete contradiction*” (Lefebvre 2003: 39) “*every urban space bears within its possible- impossible, its own negation*” (Lefebvre 2003: 39). Every space is a topos for the urban agent, either as *isotopy*, *heterotopy* or *utopia*. *Isotopy* implies, that a certain space is just like any other space. Having a look at the world at night in section B.1. the different urban areas are just equal flashpoints on a map. In contrast to that, *heterotopy* distinguishes spaces, where for instance Nuremberg is a different city than Berlin. Finally, *utopia* expresses, how the space should be conceived by its inhabitants, shaping and being shaped by the space (Lefebvre 2003:38f.). “*Anything can become a home, a place of convergence, a privileged site, to the extent, that every urban space bears within it this possible-*

impossible, its own negation” (Lefebvre 2003:39). Realizing a certain utopia follows, special tenets of society, where every actor involved is trying to give the space its own “ideological” meaning (Lefebvre 2003:78). Global industry as an actor treats urban space indifferently as a mere productive factor (Lefebvre 2003:34), meanwhile residents of an urban space associate emotional attachment to the concrete built and designed areas (Lefebvre 2003:88f.). In the European city, the public sphere as such stands for the hope, utopia of an equal access of all for social, economic and political institutions of the society (Siebel 2015:81). Increasing polarization, alienation and marginalisation of whole parts of the urban society, as low-income classes and especially diversification through migration let new challenges surface for the preservation and adaption of the European city model (Kronauer et. al 2013b: 331).

These contradictions become even more striking, when comparing the global and the local system. “*Space of flow*” are not bound to a certain place, yet claiming certain demands, to land there. Those space of flow can be assets, industry but also people (Castells 2010:442f.). Every city must process and govern these contradictions. The study of urban development in that sense is the study of urban politics (Cox 1993: 433). Here every city develops its *Eigenlogik*. Requiring “*not to just study within the city, but rather making the special city a subject of research itself* (Berking; Löw 2008:7) the “*Eigenlogik*” structures to five indicators.

- Structures of space: how is the city ordered, where is the centre, where is the periphery?
- Structures of time: what buildings tell the history of the city, as the Nuremberg castle presents the medieval past of Nuremberg?
- Structures of Society: how is the relation of poor to rich, established to migrant, urban ways of doing economy, urban experience with poverty and migration?
- Structures of Politics: how is the city governed, how are parties formed, citizens, involved, urban politics governed?
- Structures of emotion: how does the city feel itself, might this be rather modern, progressive, liberal, conservative or traditional?

(Löw 2008:32f.)

“Treating the city as such raises a twofold question regarding the boundaries of the system under investigation: the boundary of the city as a global urban system; and the boundary of the

cognitive system used in the categorization of cities” (Portugali 2011:211). Boundaries define, what the city is and who is allowed to be part of the city, dealing with integration and identity.

Integration can be considered as the “*coherence of systemic whole*”, where the whole system cannot be understood without its parts. Every component becomes an integral part of the system, as the system integrated itself (Esser 2001:1). Urban integration is twofold, being integrated into the city as the city being integrated into the global system (Brenner; Neil 2014:13). Here, the city, shaped by its interaction with the global system defines the pattern for local integration. “*Systemintegration*” is the integrative task to be fulfilled by the system, might this be a national state, the economy or the city. Such an integration depends on the features of the system itself, providing the integrative conditions. In contrast, “*Sozialintegration*” depends on the individual (Esser 2001:3f.). Both depend on each other, determining the integration into the social system.

“*Sozialintegration*” is structured in to four different dimensions. Firstly, the structural integration, also known as placement, decides, on which position will be given to an individual entering a society, in how far an access to societal resources is given. Secondly, the social integration, also known as interaction, deals with the exchange of migrants and majority society, as exchange of people, belonging to different societal and migratory backgrounds. Indicator for social integration are interethnic marriages and friendships or common activities. Based on this cultural integration, also known as acculturation, deals with the formation of a common culture, as in how far different cultures approach to each other and create a common culture. Finally, on top of integration stands the identificatory integration, also known as identification. This is the highest status of integration, where people feel emotionally attached to a society and identify with it. This is the highest status as no economic or social needs can enforce the individual. Just the individual itself, can decide according to its personal trajectory how to identify, feeling responsible for certain social subject (Esser 2001:9-15).

As the “*right to the city*” is defined by the patterns of the system, including or excluding urban agents from shaping the urban space, the CLEAR Model (Lowndes et. al 2006) correspond to that aspect, by examining the opportunities for urban democracy. In general, the CLEAR model states, that citizens are only enfranchised to make use of their rights, if certain circumstances are given. These are measured according to five principles. *Can do* examines, if citizens do possess the necessary skills for influencing the urban space. If people are not firm in

construction law they have a strategic disadvantage. *Like to* refer to the aspect, whether people are just willing to become influencer, identify with space. *Enabled to* analyses if there any efforts by the city government or local initiatives for improving the can-do aspect, acquiring the necessary skills to take part in urban evolution. *Asked to* then raises the question about participation channels as for example civil reunions. *Responded to* finally describes the feedback culture, recoiling to the liked to principle. It is about whether the municipality is really interested in civil involvement, fostering the identification with the city (Lowndes et. al 2006).

Key factor	How it works	Policy targets
Can do	The individual resources that people have to mobilise and organise (speaking, writing and technical skills, and the confidence to use them) make a difference	Capacity building, training and support of volunteers, mentoring, leadership development
Like to	To commit to participation requires an identification with the public entity that is the focus of engagement	Civil renewal, citizenship, community development, neighbourhood governance, social capital
Enabled to	The civic infrastructure of groups and umbrella organisations makes a difference because it creates or blocks an opportunity structure for participation	Investing in civic infrastructure and community networks, improving channels of communication via compacts
Asked to	Mobilising people into participation by asking for their input can make a big difference	Public participation schemes that are diverse and reflexive
Responded to	When asked people say they will participate if they are listened to (not	A public policy system that shows a capacity to respond –

Image 5 Factors promoting participation

City, the urban space cannot be explained by a single science, rather it is the product of various single interdisciplinary resources (Lefebvre 2003:55), new theories are needed and about to evolve (Sassen 2001:363). Such an approach will be envisaged in the following.

First Interim Conclusion - The European City

Cities are a category, as all urban systems have some features in common, which are size, density and heterogeneity. This thesis deals with the special of European cities as integration machines (Siebel 2015:15), and political subjects of emancipated citizens (Siebel 2012:201). Yet, due to complexity every city is a category itself (Portugali 2011:217). Therefore, this thesis envisages to discuss the aspects of urban integration of and within the city, participation and identification firstly in general and then applied to the special context of the city of Nuremberg. Merging Eigenlogik (Löw 2008), the Integration theory (Esser 2001), as the CLEAR Model (Lowndes et. al. 2006), sets the analytical frame for approaching integration. In general, integration can be parted into two pillars, *systemintegration* and *sozialintegration*. Systemintegration takes place via a superior system such as a national country or a city. Sozialintegration depends on the individual efforts. Those degrees are the structural integration, having access to the societal resources, social integration, the interaction of the members of urban society, cultural integration, the compliance with common rules, as the personal identification with the city itself. As *dual complex systems* a city is shaped by the interaction with its environment, here the global system (Portugali 2011:38). Consequently, searching to be integrated into the global system of global cities, this defines the patterns of the city as systemintegration. Nevertheless, the urban agents are shaped by the city, as they shape the city (Portugali 2011:62), becoming political. “*Cities are artifacts, that is to say, the product of humans’ intentions, aims, politics, learning, and hopes*” (Portugali 2011:14).

These questions reflect integrating dual complexity, guiding the reader through each chapter.

- What is the *System*? Here the general patterns for systemintegration will be shown, characterizing the respective epoch in terms of geography, economy and society.
- What can be done? Here the general patterns of structural integration into the societal resources of Nuremberg will be discussed,
- What is asked to be done? Here the general patterns of social integration, taking part in the interaction between various societal actors will be discussed.
- What is responded to be done? Here the general patterns of cultural integration, the establishment and compliance with common rules will be discussed.
- What is it like to be done? Here the general patterns of identifying with the urban environment of Nuremberg will be discussed.

C) The Old Noris - A castle on the rock

C.1. Emperors and Merchants - The medieval city

*„Dort wo der Wind jede Nacht um die Stadtmauern weht, dort wo die Pegnitz sich ihr Bett gesucht hat, wo der Sinnweltaurm auf dem Burgberg draufsteht, da komme ich her, da ist meine Stadt“*⁵ summarizes the Franconian songwriter Dieter Weigl his home town⁶.



Image 6 The castle of Nuremberg

Many legends grow around the origins of the city. One founding myth purports, that Nuremberg was founded by the Roman Emperor Tiberius Claudius Nero (42 BC to 37 AC), during a warfare against rebelling cities at the Rhine and Danube. Surprised by the sudden onset of winter, the emperor decided to set it winter camp at the huge sandstone rock by the river of Pegnitz. This point, Tiberius found, was very suitable for a winter camp, as it provided food and water and served as a natural watchtower. When the spring came up, Tiberius moved further to fight against the king of Thuringia, yet the buildings of the winter camp remained to be taken

⁵ Where the winds blow through the alleys the night, where the Pegnitz has set its riverbank, where the Sinnweltaurm stands on the castle hill, there, that is my city.

⁶ see Dieter Weigl: Mei Stadt

available https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6ms_js1OaC4

as first makeshift settlement for Bavarian settlers. The settlement was called “Neroberg”, the mountain of Nero, which should become Nuremberg. Another legend says, the city was founded by local settlers, building a castle as shelter against the Huns. Furthermore, some legends purport, that it was Emperor Karl the Great, who founded the city between the years 790 and 800 (Böck 2002:12ff.). The most plausible explanation to be historically proven so far has been, that Nuremberg was founded due to its strategic location to control the surrounding area between Eastern Franconia, Bohemia, Saxony and Bavaria. Establishing a palace there, attracted administration and several craftsmen, providing the daily needs for the population close by, where the castle should flaunt the urban prosperity (Bach-Damaskinos et. al 2016:17).

Cities as system are interacting with their environment. Different than the countryside, exploiting nature, the city produces its prosperity through the productivity of bringing the right actors and goods together (Lefebvre 2003:117). “*Each town is unique, the product of local opportunities and the initiative some possessed to exploit them*” (Pounds 2005:61). This holds especially true for the case of Nuremberg. In 1473, the astronomer Regiomontanus stated, that Nuremberg was the centre of Europe, where 12 of the most important trade routes passed by the city (Kusch 1989:153). Having a palace established there, the city served as a nexus for the medieval region (Eichhorn 1995:10). Having no own natural resources, the city mostly served as refiner for natural resources and distributor of goods. Famous products such as toys, textiles, metal industry and weapon production let the city thrive (Bach-Damaskinos 2016:26).

Especially, the relations with the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, let the city thrive and prosper. In 1219, the German emperor Friedrich II, granted the status of a “*Freie Reichsstadt*”, a free sovereign city, only subjected to the emperor (Bach-Damaskinos 2016: 22). In 1313, the power for own legislation was given to the city council. This Nuremberg legislation became a role model for many other cities throughout the empire, such as Amberg, Bamberg, and Neumarkt in der Oberpfalz or Breslau (Bach-Damaskinos et. al 2016: 49). In 1356, Emperor Karl IV made Nuremberg a prime city of the empire, where every new emperor had to hold his first Imperial Diet (Bach-Damaskinos 206:35). Toll exemptions fostered the economic prosperity of the city (Bach-Damaskinos 2016:29). “*Nürnberger Pfeffersäcke*⁷” as the

⁷ Nuremberg Peppersack

Nuremberg merchants were called, covered an area of more than 400 square kilometre, the city became the global city of the medieval times (Pounds 2005:75).

Another form of interaction was given with the environment. Cities were rather death traps of illness, dirt and diseases. Facing high mortality, the urban society could not reproduce itself, depending on migration (Saunders 2011:135). Medieval society was a very mobile society in terms of rootedness. Mobility was the survival strategy of the medieval epoch. Simple huts made it easy for people to move, when conditions at one place deteriorated. Hereby, cities seemed more as a place for survival than for living for the maids, servants, journeyman filling gaps, compensating for the skill and population shortage (Schubert 2002: 46- 55). The majority, about eighty percent of the migrants to Nuremberg, came from a circle of around 100km distance, the other 20 percent had their origins especially in Bohemia, Saxony, Thuringia, Austria but also some from farer away as Maastricht (Diefenbacher 2011:28). For many refugees, especially for wealthy and skilled merchants, after the reformation by Martin Luther Nuremberg served as a highly appreciated place for finding shelter (Zahllaus 2014:37). As already seen here, the Noris was a migratory city, attracting and integrating newcomers.



Image 7 Nürnberger Tand geht durch alle Land

Having discussed the interaction of the city with its system, now the focus will be on the city itself. As a *global, urban self-organizing system* the city interacts with its environment, establishing an order within (Portugali 2011:211). Access to the urban community was firstly restricted through the city wall. A city without a wall could not be called a city. This wall served a filtering function, deciding on who was welcome in the city and who was about keeping

undesired people outside the urban society (Pounds 2005:29). The quarter St. Johannis, St. Leonhard, St. Peter and St. Jobst outside the city walls, served as “*Siechenköbel*” as quarantine stations for lepers (Eichhorn 1995:32). Banning people from the city was a common penalty in that times (Schubert 2002: 54). Valuable but suspicious groups such as Jews were assigned to special places into the society, trying to incorporate their resources, dependent on, yet trying to control this groups at the same time (Siebel 2015: 300). About this aspect and others decided the “Small Council” of 42 persons from Patrician, noble Nuremberg Families. As a concession further eight representatives from the craftwork were allowed, yet with limited franchise. Furthermore, deserved citizen of Nuremberg could become member of the “Big Council”, consisting of 500 members, as craftsmen or merchants. Yet, this organ only served as rather a tool for acclamation than participation (Diefenbacher 2014: 16).

Hereby, the need to respond to urban issues was rather low, as the cities grew quite slowly. Apart from pest, war or fire catastrophes no major ruptures were expected in the urban evolution. In the 1479 Nuremberg developed its regulation regarding buildings, addressing safety aspects such as fire protection (Stangel 2001: 10f.). After all regulations on buildings were mostly adapted to a single project, ensuring the “*Baufreiheit*”, the freedom to build on a terrain according to the own demands (Stangel 2001: 18). A general planning due to the lack of needs, yet was missing (Stangel 2001:13). Rather important was the issue of the general yardstick, where buildings had to be built along. For that reasons, streets in the medieval city, where without curves, wide and straight (Eichhorn 1995:31f.). Consequently, the city was shaped according to the habits of the citizens. In the case of Nuremberg, the urban landscape, mostly focused on the measurable, focussing on a dense settlement without tendency to the monumental style of building, keeping the aspect of harmony in mind (Eichhorn 1995:9). Having a stroll through the city, passing Schildergasse, Weingasse, Judengasse, Färbergasse, Fleischbrücke, Obstmarkt or Kornmarkt and finally Hauptmarkt, this pattern is still visible.

Nuremberg, as many other medieval cities, was marked by five classes, firstly Patricians and members of the small council, then wholesalers and members of the big council. The third class were merchants and traders, followed by craftsman and retailers. The fifth class were everybody else, such as servants, maids, apprentices and paupers. According to the fashion members of each group were to be recognized very easily (Diefenbacher 2014: 16f.). The urban community was determined by a tremendous identity belonging to a certain class, yet borders between

classes were flexible, enabling, even so admittedly in rare cases, a social improvement of upper class citizens, opening them opportunities not given on the countryside (Pounds 2005:138). Hierarchies could not fully prevent the free flow of people and ideas (Cesareti et. al 2015:12). Migrants and merchants brought information, innovation and skills, contributing to the urban economy. In 1620/30 Nuremberg had about 40.000 inhabitants. Here, from six to eight percent belonged to the rich upper class, about 1, 3% of them were wholesalers. Up to ten percent were masters in craftwork, about thirty percent were apprentices, maids and servants, about thirty percent unskilled workers. Apart from that, about thirty three percent poor people without any affiliation to the urban society, trying to make their urban living (Diefenbacher 2014: 15).

Nevertheless, being a citizen of Nuremberg was the essential aspect of having a franchise in the urban process. *“A citizen, is a person, who lives in a city, enjoying particular rights, however also contributing to the common good of the community”*, the Nuremberg legislation 1780 clarified (Frommer 2011:13). Citizenship was hereditary. In the case of migrants, the economic use decided upon the naturalization of the candidate. Skilled craftsmen or highly valued persons, considered to be lucrative for the city could be naturalized more easily. In other cases, a trustworthy, good reputation was essential. Having acquired citizenship, the new citizen had the same rights in court as all other citizens independent of social status, might this be craftsman or patrician. Furthermore, citizens could enjoy tax exemptions and the right for migration as stated in the peace treaty of Augsburg 1555. In other cases, a facilitated naturalization also served as an incentive for new migrants to the city, filling shortages in the urban economy, settling at open urban space (Frommer 2011:15f.). This reveals the structure of the system.

“The unattached person during the Middle Ages was one either condemned to exile or doomed to death: if alive, he immediately sought to attach himself, at least to a band of robbers. To exist, one had to belong to an association: a household, a manor, a monastery, a guild” (Mumford 1970: 29), in other words, everybody was integrated through a special task assigned as police or trash removal. Furthermore, citizens were organized in guilds, exerting some influence over the perceived needs of the society (Pounds 2005: 101). In Nuremberg, guilds were quite weak, yet the opportunity for common purchase of raw material as the mutual control of the craftsmen increased the quality of the goods. In some fields, where the city council considered a strategic advantage, the masters were not allowed to leave the city, to avoid product privacy (Kusch 1989:176f.). Here the aspect of interaction to emerge a city is shown.

“Every society creates its own city” (Siebel 2015:15). In other words, the social history of an urban society is literally written in stone. The same is true for Nuremberg. Strict building restrictions determined the constructions of new buildings, trying to preserve a harmony of the various streets. The civil houses in Nuremberg were rather sober, exposing only little decoration at its façade. Houses were focused on the interior, emphasizing the importance of the family and private. Apart from that, the style was conservative, using old architectural styles even when they were already considered old fashioned (Schwemmer 1982:26f.). Here, the rather proud, community oriented but also tinkering culture of the Noris becomes obvious. At the Rathaus this mentality can be made visual. Four figures represent the former world empires as for instance Babylon, Greece or the Roman Empire. The city understood itself as legitimate successor of these empires and still shows this at the entrance portal (Fehring et. al 1997:181)

In the case of Nuremberg, this enabled a climate of innovative thinking, also commonly known as “*Nürnberger Witz*”⁸ (Schultheiß 1997:15). Thanks to the permanent exchange of goods, people and ideas an environment for innovation was established, or as the editor Friedrich Campe noted in 1828: “*This particular city has contributed more to inventions, art and science than many countries in total.*” The globe, the first lift, the first pocket watch, are just three out of many examples (Kusch 1989:182). Many splendid personalities of their time as Melanchton, Albrecht Dürer, Veit Stoß, and Sybille Merian were living and acting in the city of Nuremberg. In general, the city appeared more pragmatic than lyric, enabling an environment of religious tolerance, dominated by economic rather than religious interests, promoting a sober and pragmatic stance (Diefenbacher 2014:26). During the times of witch hunt, there is no case of witch-burning reported in Nuremberg (Kusch 1989:58). After the reformation Nuremberg obeyed to the thesis of Luther, yet other than in other cities, refrained from destroying their catholic past, trying to balance old and new times (Eichhorn 1995:41). Regarding the deteriorating relations to the catholic emperor, having converted to the protestant faith, the aftermaths of the thirty years war, leaving a tremendous stack of debts, increasing influence of the oversea trade, the upcoming mercantilism and autarky as the lack of willingness to innovate the areas of strategic advantages, the prosperous medieval city sank to demise in the 17th. Century, losing its predominant position in Europe (Kusch 1989:373). This skittish strategy, being innovative and not, became known as “*vernürnbergern*” (Kusch 1989: 28).

⁸ Nuremberg Wit

C.2. Efficient and diverse - The industrial city

“In Nuremberg we had breakfast; - what an ugly city”, the German emperor Leopold II noted on his way to coronation in 1793 (Kuscher 1983:383). At the threshold to industrialisation the former prospering “Freie Reichstadt” appeared to be fallen out of time. „*Auf dem Rathaus, in Kirche und Schule, im Handel und Wandel, überall stand das Leben still*”⁹, noted the local historian Georg Wolfgang Lochner describing the condition of Nuremberg at the threshold of the 19th century (Kuscher 1989:381). Still in 1806, the city gates were guarded by gatekeepers, maintaining the castle character of the city from its medieval times (Stadt Nürnberg 2012: 7).

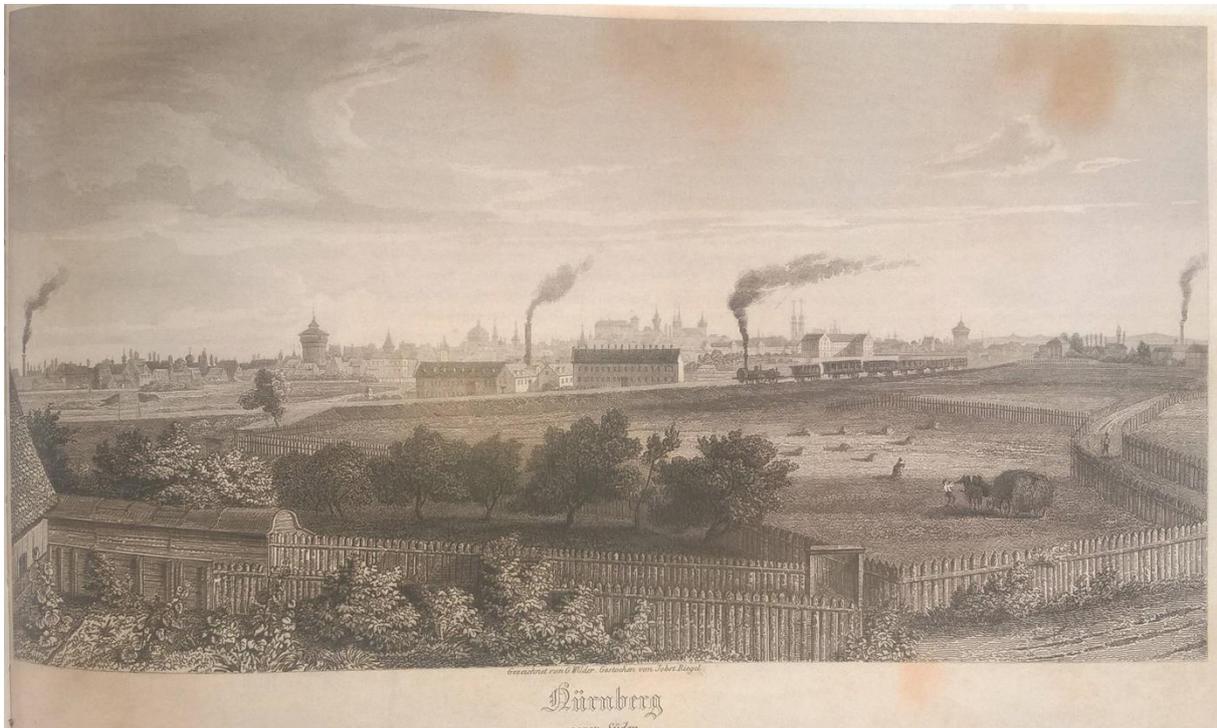


Image 9 Nuremberg in 1845

At the seventh of December 1835, the first German railroad connected Nuremberg and its neighbouring city Fuerth, transporting some passengers and as first freight two barrels of beer. Other than in Great Britain, where industrialisation fostered traffic and infrastructure, in Nuremberg it was the way around, taking the maintained well connectedness of the city into consideration (Bach-Damaskinos et.al. 2016:121). Farber, Cramer Klett, MAN, Schuckert, just

⁹ At the municipality, in church and school, in trade, everywhere life was standing still.

to mention a few settled at the outskirts of the city, thanks to the advantaged access to the railroad systems as prices for land were quite cheap (Stadt Nürnberg 2012: 10). Owing to this entrepreneurial spirit, the city evolved into a hub for engineering, metal industry and electronic industry, as production of bicycle and motorcycle (Stark 1996:9).

Following the general city category, in industrial time's size increased tremendously. In 1859, firstly in history of Nuremberg the city had reached a peak, forcing to burst the city walling, expanding to the outskirts. Yet, as still clinging to the former heydays of the medieval times, the municipality reacted quite reluctant to this development. The first settlement beyond the city walls still followed the principle of the Baroque cities, build in squares along rectangular streets (Stangl 2011:32f.). Rather relaxed general building law, emphasizing economic gain, led to an uncontrollable expansion of the city (Stangel 2001: 60f.). The consequence was a scattered area of industrial sites (Stadt Nürnberg 2012: 10). One example is the Werderau, where living there was bound to being employed at MAN (Köhler 2016:44). In 1872/73 the first general plan was conceived, tearing down the city wall in favour of establishing boulevards around the medieval centre (Stadt Nürnberg 2012:10). Thanks to royal interference by the Bavarian kings Ludwig I. and Ludwig II such project was never realized (Eichhorn 1995:33). Nevertheless, making the city walls permeable, instead of enclosure against its environment forced the city to reconsider itself, searching order into itself (Siebel 2015:413).

At this point density increased from a regional to a world level. Now, modern transport vessels enabled a faster and easier exchange of people, travelling the world in eighty days. The world trade increased, strengthening the immune system of mankind (Saunders 2011:136). Prior to that, wealth between regions in Europe was quite balanced. Now industrialisation created booming centres, depending and attracting migrants from closer and farer regions in search for making their living in better living conditions (Sassen 1999:18f.). At the same time, agricultural production became more productive nourishing more people, letting the population grow, yet the countryside could not sustain this increase any longer (Saunders 2011:141). Out of the human distress on the countryside due to the increasing overpopulation, „*many thousands of villagers from the surrounding countryside, driven by economic necessity, sought refuge within the walls of the capital*“ (Rude 1974:35f.). Cities nourished hope, giving opportunities for a better life (Saunders 2011:153). This people were needed for the bulging industry, attracting

many migrants to the production sites or as workforce for the modern infrastructure projects for the upcoming industries, maintaining and accelerating the industrialisation (Sassen 1999:41).

Heterogeneity growth can be best described by a comparison. In 1806 about 25.2000 people lived on an area, which corresponds to about one percent of the whole Nuremberg area today (Stadt Nürnberg 2012:4). Counting about 333.000 inhabitants in 1910 about 309.000 came from Bavaria, about 16.500 from the rest of Germany and, what made the urban society even more diverse, about 7.900 people from all over the world from the French Colonies in the Pacific Ocean to Iceland. In 1818 about 96% of the urban residents identified themselves as Protestants, about a century latter 31% of the population were Catholic, as 2,3% Jewish in comparison to 1% on the average of German cities (Bauernfeind 2008:47f.). In the medieval times, about eighty percent of migrants to Nuremberg came from about 100km. Even in 1871 still about 52, 1% of the citizen were native Nuremberg citizen. In 1890 it was only about 45, 1 %, indicating, that the city population was about to diversify (Bach-Damaskinos et. al. 2016:276). The idealization as the “*most German of all German cities*” as glorified by the upcoming Nuremberg romanticism to that time (Kusch 1989:384), did not really fit into the urban landscape of Nuremberg anymore (Bauernfeind 2011:56). Nuremberg, had become a hub for migration once again, attracting newcomers, querying the boundaries of the Noris identity.

Having described the environment of the system to interact with, now the focus will be on the city as a system again, questioning and redefining its boundaries and identity. Reminding the conservative patterns of Nuremberg, the city needed some time to become aware of that fact. Even, in the case of Marienvorstadt, the city of Nuremberg was asked to show plans how this quarter shall be build, but no need was seen to think about that aspect (Stangel 2001:32). Yet, also in this changing time the “*Nürnberger Witz*” was still alive, setting up the first “planning office” in 1898. The idea was to save costs for the proscriptio of competitions regarding building new quarters. This office should elaborate a general plan and then be dissolved again. However, this conception turned out to be a self-deception for the future urban development (Stadt Nürnberg 2012:11). Admitting this fact in 1927 the “*Jansenplan*” by the Berlin professor Herman Jansen was presented. This plan calculated with a population of one million habitants, General ideas were to spare the medieval core city, curtail the urban sprawl, and solve the traffic issue by clear traffic lines. To that time already the quarter of Langwasser was conceived (Kusch 1989: 204f.). In the next chapter D.1. it will be shown, that many of that ideas were

implemented for the reconstruction of Nuremberg after the Second World War. Expanding 34 times to the space of the medieval core city (Stadt Nürnberg 2012: 11). Here, other than Munich, Nuremberg had no duty of representation, being able to fully concentrate on the industrial expansion of the city. Yet, quite unique for Nuremberg, neighbours of areas to be built by the city, were informed to have a general look on the general plans (Stangel 2001:67).

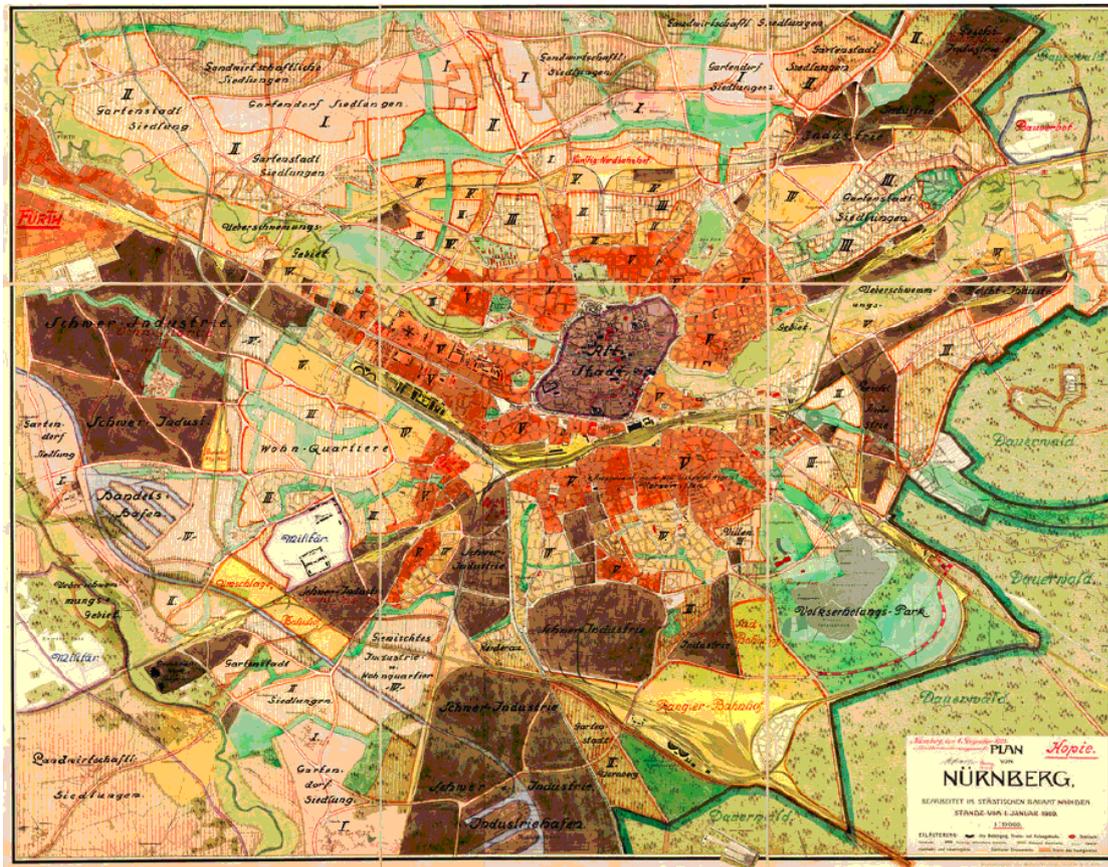


Image 20 Jansenplan

This period was a very disruptive period for the former proud sovereign city becoming part of the new founded Bavarian kingdom. Prior to that about 1/4 of the whole urban population were “Unbürger”, living in the city but without citizenship (Frommer 2001:17). Being part of Bavaria now “Bürger” and “Unbürger” became “Staatsbürger”, holding a Bavarian citizenship, independent of ancestry, being put on a more equal level, regarding rights within the city, regarding urban influence, shaping the urban space (Frommer 2011:22). In that sense, the structure of cities in general as of Nuremberg in detail had changed adding new actors to that.

Interactions changed from the medieval workshop, where the craftsman had his workshop or the merchant his store, living in the same house with the family (Faller 2002:139). Now the

paradigms of efficiency and rationalisation determined the rhythm of the cities. The industrialisation led to the dissolution of this old association, separating home from works, work from leisure and public from private (Siebel 2015:139). Analogical to industrial rationalisation the urban development became a development of rationalisation itself, providing clear formal rules and structures (Siebel 2015:134). This was favourable for Nuremberg mentality marked by sober, rational pragmatism of merchants rather than the penchant to lyric (Kusch 1989:263). The consequence was a juridification and objectification (Siebel 2015:130), setting up various institutions such as sport stadiums, bank quarters, schools, universities, shopping facilities, where to spend money (Siebel 2015:14). Important to mention here, is the “*Wanderunterstützungsverein*”, established in 1850, a facility to place jobless apprentices into the job market. Since 1896 several private and public employment agencies were set up. Later, after 1945, the “*Bundesagentur für Arbeit*”, the official job service centre, was established here (Stark 1996:13ff.). Cities acquired new authorities for dealing with their own urbanisation.

Side effects of the increasing urbanisation, were hygienic distress in the densely settled working quarters. Crime and poverty become a perilous feature of this quarters. Although parks were established to bring air and light into those areas, societal aspects were of lower importance, the focus was of expanding the build area to fulfil the demand for the increasing population living and entering the city (Stangel 2001: 76f.). These patterns are still visible for example in areas such as Gostenhof or Eberhardshof. Many authors, such as Friedrich Engels, examined the social conditions in the cities and considered, what they found as an “*open declaration of the war each against the other*” (Engels 1970:257 cited in Höhne 2015: 41). Wilhelm Friedrich Riehl glorified the village as the ideal form of living together, imprecating the modern cities as “*against nature*”, where the countryside would stand for community and solidarity in comparison to up rootedness, alienation and anonymity of the upcoming metropolis of the industrial times (Riehl 1855:91 cited in Höhne 2015:42). Conversely, exchange and integration became always more important, including a permanently increasing workforce. The surfacing bourgeois class depended on a crowd of servants, taking care of children and daily needs. Meanwhile, the proletarian class mostly accommodated “*Schlafgänger*”, non- relative workers, sharing a bed with working families to obtain additional income for the rent (Siebel 2015:126f.). The city as a social system has created its own culture, marked by the efficiency of industrialisation.

Especially, the aspect of identity changed during that time. Industrialisation and nationalisation, the forming of modern national states, went hand into hand. Conversely to France, determined by its revolution and republican values, Germany until today can rather be conceived as a nation based on ancestry. In 1870, when the German national state was founded, first guest-worker programmes started, recruiting up to one million foreign workers up to the beginning of the First World War (Sassen 1999:52). However, migration was considered as a temporary issue, implying any integration superfluous (Sassen 1999:60f.). The formation of national states, the abolition of sovereign cities, lead to a consciousness of national identity and cultural heritage. In that times, many German clubs such as the “*Badenesser Verein*” or the “*Plattdeutscher Verein*”, representing born Badener or people speaking Low German, spoken in Northern Germany, were founded. Other associations were set up, representing the “*Conversation Francaise*”, founded 1891 for French people in Nuremberg, or the “*Societa Dante Alighieri*”, founded for Italians in 1901 and still existing until today. Other associations were “*Verein Skandinavien*”, taking care of Scandinavians working or passing some time in Nuremberg. Here not the social status but the common cultural background was the uniting, common identifying model, working in a democratizing way. However, due to a fast assimilation, after the First World War, many of this associations became associations for promoting tourism then (Bauernfeind 2008a:96). Nuremberg become a place, a system where foreigner live together.

C.3. Nürnberg, more German than German?

„*Nürnberg ist die deutscheste aller deutschen Städte*“¹⁰, was a common idealization of Nuremberg as the build personification of a pure German medieval city (Kohler 2011:18) The romanticism as the springing nationalism discovered Nuremberg as symbol of German medieval culture, as „*des Reiches Schatzkästlein*“¹¹ (Bach-Damaskinos et. al. 2016:105), even so the previous section refuted this assumption. The national socialist ideology, propagating National Socialism as the final purpose of German history, orchestrated this city for their own means. Regarding the following time of the third Reich, the world has already held court over the events, taking place in Nuremberg, might this be mentally or real, as the Trials of Nuremberg of 1946 and will continue to do so (Kuscher 1989:407f.). For that purpose, this epoch is intentionally held very short, taking the tremendous effort to cope with this dark chapter of

¹⁰ Nürnberg, the most German of all German cities

¹¹ Treasure shrine of the Holy Roman Empire

German and Nuremberg history into mind. Only the main events with special impact for Nuremberg will be mentioned here, very briefly, giving an understanding for the identity today.

Already in 1922, a local branch of the NSDAP was established, led by the fervent national socialist Julius Streicher. Here, the party magazine “*Der Stürmer*” was located, disseminating the nationalistic, ideology of the “Third Reich” with all its denegation of principles of humanity (Bach-Damaskinos et. al. 2016:222). For that reason, and being reached easily through all Germany, in 1927 and 1929 first party congregations were held here. After the empowerment, Hitler’s personal architect Albert Speer was charged, to build the Nazi party rally grounds. Linking the old medieval town to the new location for rallies, a direct association between the medieval past and the national socialist future should be propagated linking both periods (Bach-Damaskinos et. al. 2016:224ff.). Modern buildings not fitting into the medieval perception of the NS administration as the synagogue or the public observatory, resembling a synagogue were erased to emphasize the medieval character (Kusch 1989:408).



Image 8 The Congress Hall

Here, in 1935 the “*Nürnberger Rassegesetze*¹²” were approved, manifesting the racial separation and extermination of Jews, Sinti and Roma and many other people, falling victim to an inhumane ideology (Bach- Damaskinos et. al. 2016: 227). Today, presenting itself as the

¹² Nuremberg Racial Laws

“*city of human rights*” is one conclusion to be drawn out of this inflicting past. Preserved relicts of this past remain as silent witnesses of the darkest chapter in the history of the city. For that and some other reasons as the arm production, Nuremberg had to suffer tremendously from the airstrikes. The second January in 1945, within one-hour British air force transformed more than eight centuries of culture and history into a dessert of ruins and dust (Stadt Nürnberg 2012: 25). It seems to be an irony of history that the city was liberated from this ideology the 20th of April 1945, the birthday of Hitler (Klaus 2009: 41), leaving a heavy burden to be dealt with. It seems, the Noris had ended its fate, being wiped out from the map, thousand years just dust and ruins. The post-war patterns of size in form of reconstruction, density through migration as finally the increasing heterogeneity will be discussed in the next chapter.

D) The New Noris - Modern ideas on medieval soil

D.1. Reconstructing the Noris - Nuremberg again

What should be done with the ten million tons of debris formerly known as Nuremberg? About 91% of all buildings were affected by damages through bombing as 38% were destroyed completely. In comparison, Munich had a total damage of 17% (Bauernfeind 2009:16). The world was holding court on the future prospect of the destroyed European cities as on the moral conclusions to be drawn out of the atrocities of the Second World War. Thanks to the “*Nuremberg Trials*” Nuremberg once more was in the centre, convicting the leading figures of the national socialist dictatorship. The “*Nuremberg Principles*” laid the cornerstones for the international people’s law for the court in Den Haag (Bach-Damaskinos et. al. 2016:238f.).

One proposal regarding the future fate of the war torn medieval city Nuremberg was brought forward by the German author Alfred Kerr. He envisaged to relocate the whole city, rebuild it another spot, leaving the ruins as a giant monument for the cruelties of the Third Reich and its aftermaths (Schultheiß 1997:155). Removing the debris out of town happened fast. In 1952 about two third were brought out of town, leaving the so called “*Steppe*” with the scars of bombing and a vast deserted ruin landscape behind (Zahlaus 2009:29).

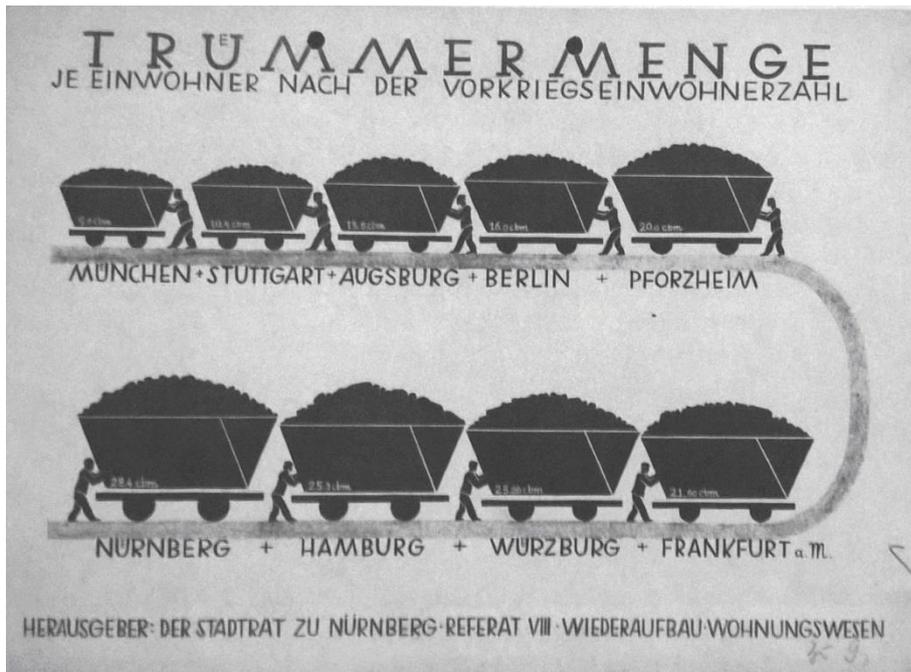


Image 11 Debris per capita according to pre-war population

In general, the urban planner zeitgeist according to the “*Athens Charta*”, conceived in 1922, was to create a functional city, complying with the economic needs of a modern economy. Hereby, the city had to fulfil four functions, providing an amenable living standard, offering spaces for recreation, as minimizing distance between work and home, as providing sufficient infrastructure for the always increasing traffic. Old buildings should only be maintained if the public interest would be influential enough to keep those building (Tyrwhitt 1946). In these times urban planning was considered a craftwork, to be performed by “apolitical experts”, where a learning process in planning seemed superfluous to the assumed profound amount of expertise, doing it right just at the first trial (Hall 2011:376). Therefore, this compulsory restart was also considered as a chance for improvement. Taken the narrow crowded medieval city into consideration, this “window of opportunity” gave the opportunity to improve the use of soil as create a better stream of traffic, while maintaining the characteristics of this historical place (Rosner et. al 2005:28). What is astounding here, emphasizing the medieval roots of Nuremberg, the city was widely rebuild according to its medieval rooster (Helfrecht 2009:192).

In accordance to that tenet, Nuremberg was distributed into five categories. Firstly, buildings unharmed by the bombings, second, buildings to be restored easily. After that, buildings with symbolic character but with modern adaption as free building using the old road system and free new building (Wachter 2009: 69). Surely, it might have been an advantage, that the

principal architects Heinz Schmeißer and Wilhelm Schlegtendal were locals, being familiar with the regional circumstances. The propagated “*Das Alte lieben, das Neue leben*”¹³ combining the medieval tradition with the contemporary requirements of the modern industrial society (Wachter 2009:71). Here again the “*Nürnberger Witz*” became obvious, as the plans for the square in front of the central station also took a hidden space for a black market into consideration (Kniep 2009:59). Soon landmarks such as the castle or the house of Albrecht Dürer, the most famous son of the city, were rebuild, sometimes facing protest by parts of the urban society bemoaning the lack of appropriate houses and the presumable wrong priorities in rebuilding (Käs 2009:122f.). Hereon, the city reacted with a competition addressing the civil society of Nuremberg. Citizens of Nuremberg were invited to hand in their ideas about how the city should be rebuild. About 650 citizens took part with up to 1200 proposals, ranging from a total reconstruction to a skyscraper city in the middle of the medieval town. The general idea behind was to receive an overview of the public stance as to contravene the powers of market during reconstruction. As this idea seemed revolutionary for its time the “*Nürnberger Witz*” was still alive, yet a lack of interest by the jury, composed of architects and members of the city administration, let the valuable contributions made here “*vernürnbergern*” (Kniep 2009: 57).

Four years after the end of the second world war at the “Congress Hall”, at the Nazi area for party rallies an exhibition was held about the reconstruction of German and European cities (Stadt Nürnberg 2012:26). Here, the creation of a new city quarter *Langwasser* was presented, which should once accommodate about 36.000 people (Rossner et. al 2005: 46). “*Denn alt und jung zugleich ist Nürnbergs Angesicht, das viele Züge trägt. Ihr zählt sie alle nicht! Da ist der edle Platz. Doch ihm sind zugesellt Hochhäuser dieses Tags, Fabriken dieser Welt. Die neue Stadt im Grün.*”¹⁴ Nevertheless, Nuremberg more focused on small projects, than the big plan, concentrating on the feasible (Holtmann 1996:291). At the beginning the construction of Langwasser following modernist pattern of separation living and working areas in this new area (Stadt Nürnberg 2012:31). Yet, as the settlement developed in the 1970ies the old city model was rediscovered, building the northern district of Langwasser with small alleys, as keeping it free from cars and most important promote a social mixture between high risen buildings and

¹³ Loving the old, living the new

¹⁴ Nürnberg is old a new and has various features. You cannot count all of them. There is the noble square. However high risen buildings of our times, factories of the world are added. The city in green.

¹⁵ Nürnberger Christkindlesmarkt: Was das Christkind sagt- Der Prolog
available at: <http://www.christkindlesmarkt.de/was-das-christkind-sagt-der-prolog-1.1746240>

modern single-family houses. This approach latter became known as the “*Nürnberger Model*” (Stadt Nürnberg 2012:38). Following the Jansenplan, the city autobahn “*Frankenschnellweg*” in 1959 and the harbour in 1965 were set up, as the tube began to connect the city even faster, establishing a new network within the city as for the citizens (Stadt Nürnberg 2012:29).

Many medieval city centres were not recovered from war as Cologne¹⁶, or Mainz. Frankfurt am Main fondles the “*Römer*” as the tiny rest of the medieval past reassuring its past as city for coronation. Wiesbaden in contrast spared from the destruction of the second world war, is less affective towards its medieval past, emphasizing its status as spa town (Vinken 2011:76). This refers to the *Eigenlogik*, where not just the historical but also the local, the city itself is to be examined (Vinken 2011:82). European cities have an identity, distinguishing cities, making them recognizable as such as, promoting local attachment (Kunzmann 2011:40). In Nuremberg it the pragmatic balance between the old and the new, using a plan, never realized, from the 16th century to rebuild the area around the city hall (Bencker 2009:202). Rebuilding the castle prior to anything else (Friedel 2009:216), reflects this. Throning over the city, the castle served as point of reference, might the castle stand on the rock again, Nuremberg will also live again.

D.2. On the move home? - Post-war Migration to Nuremberg

After the Second World War, an unprecedented migratory influx took place. Facing the turmoil of the last war days, many people were fleeing the devastated cities, fleeing the former eastern territories or were displaced by the red army. During the first decade the young and fragile Federal Republic of Germany had to integrate about 12, 5 million refugees and displaced people, taking care of more than 10 million bombed and evacuated people, about 5 million former soldiers returning from war as finally being responsible for about 11 million former forced labour. In Nuremberg at the later quarter of Langwasser the “*Valkalager*” as biggest refugee camp in Bavaria was set up. It was called after Valka, a city bordering Estonia and Latvia, thanks to its many Baltic inhabitants. Here, in 1953 the predecessor of the latter *BAMF*, the German migration office was set up, to deal with those people ¹⁷(Kreienbrink 2013: 397f.).

¹⁶ see: Die vom Krieg verschonte Stadt Köln

available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oXAoEnUotOc>

¹⁷ For a documentation of the Valkacamp see: Answer for Anne (1949)

Due to its location, close to the Soviet occupied zone as the former German areas of Bohemia and Moravia, Nuremberg was the first destination for many migrants. In 1960 about 65.600 people, which corresponded to 14, 3% of the population were refugees, or displaced people, adding 25.600 people, about 5, 6%, having relocated from the GDR. The economic boom of the post war period as the recovery of Nuremberg's industry helped to integrate this people into the economy (Zahlaus 2008:97ff.). Unemployment of this group in whole Bavaria was 40% in 1949 but only 9, 1% in Nuremberg (Zahlaus 2011:63). Consequently, soon „*Gastarbeiter*”¹⁸ “were recruited to fill in the gaps of workforce, leading to a wider diversification of the Nuremberg population. In general, there were about 500.00 registered foreigners in Germany in 1950, corresponding to 1, 2% of the whole population, yet in 1980 this share had risen to 4, 5 million people, or in percentage 7, 2%. Nuremberg, due to its industrial productions, depended especially on guest-workers. After the first “work agreement” between Italy and Germany in 1955, as later with Spain and Greece (1960) as Turkey (1961), Portugal (1968) and Yugoslavia (1968), many from migrants abroad entered the German and Nuremberg job market. Counting 8.179 foreigners in 1953, it increased to nearly 57.000, 11, 8% in 1980 (Zahllaus 2014a:168ff.).

Even so many guest-workers were recruited, this programme was conceived as a provisionally instrument dealing with the labour shortage. For that purpose, only few materials are available about the early beginnings of the “*Gastarbeiter*” in Nuremberg (Markwirth 2011: 88) Hereby, the guest-worker filled in the margins of the job market (Hillmann 2013:154), enabling Germans to enter higher employment status (Markwirth 2011: 94). In the scope of this program, Italians were envisaged to work at constructions sites and in the agricultural sector, meanwhile Spaniards were planned for work in factories (Zahlaus 2014a:170). Those patterns are still visible in the distribution of population with foreign background, determined by the recruiting patterns of the local employers. MAN, in Gostenhof for example, recruited especially Turks and Italians, meanwhile Schweinau with Bosch recruited especially Greeks. The vestiges of the guest-worker period are still visible in this quarters having a look at the local demography (Reisser 1982), creating “*arrival cities*”. These are the bridge between the country of origin and the country of reception, enabling a transition between both countries (Saunders 2011: 10). Eberhardshof-Muggenhof can be considered as one example of them, serving as focal point.

available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z9lrh8hlWFI>

¹⁸ Guest-worker

Generally, the guest-worker program was conceived short term, yet soon enterprises became interested in keeping their workforce, leading to a permanent settlement of the firstly guest-workers (Zahlaus 2014a:170). As the oil crisis of the 1970 struck the German economy this group was affected disproportionately in relation to the German workforce. The economic downturn led to a demise of employment of 2, 5% in general, but about 25% in the group of recruited guest-workers (Seidel 1988:50). Increasing heterogeneity is part of the next section.

D.3. Arriving or still on the arrival? - Becoming part of the Noris

At the middle of the 20th century democracy experienced its heydays. The public sphere stood for the utopia of an equal access of all for social, economic and political institutions of the society (Siebel 2015:81). Having defeated fascist regimes, as the young memories of the pre-war political crisis, enthusiasm for democratic institutions was solid. The economic upturn as in Germany the “*Wirtschaftswunder*”¹⁹, empowered the democratic goals of ensuring equal access to decision making processes and equal chances for all citizens. Strengthened by Keynesianism the welfare state waged a balance between accepting capitalism but in compensation accepting restrictions to contravene imbalances produced (Crouch 2008: 14ff.).

Inequalities are part of the urban society, yet the welfare state in the European city had at least a levelling effect on these differences. This is a special peculiarity of the European city. A prototype of a European city can be characterized according to five principles. First, enough public property is inevitable to exert sufficient influence on the decisions. Secondly, the public service provides infrastructure and services, whereby any interference into the urban development is, thirdly, legitimized according to national and regional legislation, empowering the local government. The purpose is, fourthly, to provide social services, social affordable living space as taking care of the wellbeing of the citizen. Finally, as fifth and last criteria, the goal is to improve quality of life and to overcome social inequality within the urban society (Häußermann; Haila 2005:54). The period until the 1970ies was marked by city renewal and the establishment of social flats (Wukovitsch 2011:92). Afterwards, Nuremberg tried to

¹⁹ economic miracle

maintain its reservoir of affordable social living space, yet the burgeoning globalisation of the 1980ies burdened this eager goal to be reached (Holtmann, Schaefer 1996:302).

It has been shown in the previous sections that urban development and migration are to be called twins. In that sense, urban is always the processing of the foreign, assigning special places to it (Hillmann 2013: 151). In the case of the displaced people this integration happened quite smoothly were in 1953 about 77% were engaged to locals (Zahlaus 2011:80). During this time integration mostly took place via the job market (Sassen 1999: 145). But to make use of this opportunities of the urban democracy of the European city, first an access to civil rights is required as to the job market regarding integration (Siebel 2015:373). In the case of the guest-workers it seemed, that they were part of the job market but not of the urban society, rather, as the name implies, conceived as guest (Hillmann 2013:154) or as the famous quote attributed to Max Frisch stated: *“Es wurden Arbeiter gerufen, doch es kamen Menschen an”²⁰*.

The effects of this outlook are measurable until today. Many of these migrants coming and living in Germany only dispose of a very low education. 13, 3% of people with foreign background have not at least graduation from school and 38, 2% do not have a vocational education (Statistisches Bundesamt 2017:7). In 2014, Nuremberg had about 16.00 children in the age of elementary school, whereby about 10.000 or 63, 3% have a foreign background. Measuring for higher education in group from ten to sixteen, the rate is 60% and above until 18 still 52, 3% (Stadt Nürnberg 2015:72). At the Gymnasium²¹, the percentage of migrants ranges from 3% to 38% depending on the city quarter (Stadt Nürnberg 2015:83). Figures indicate, that students with foreign background are more likely to graduate at evening school besides professional education (Stadt Nürnberg 2015:100). Today, most of this children as the descendants of the first generation of guest-workers hold German citizenship, yet structural integration per se is no guarantee for social and cultural integration (Siebel 2015:374).

Since the 1970ies, the cities are facing another change, from the industrial to a service industry. Thus, the integrative power of the job market is declining (Siebel 2015:356). The final part of

²⁰ Calling for workers but humans arrived

²¹ academic high school

this section shall serve as harbinger for changing patterns, affecting the European city and the urban citizenship anew and tremendously. Here, it is important to mention, that Nuremberg took measures of integration, dealing with the upcoming multicultural society in a time, when politics were still unaware of Germany having become a country of immigration.

In 1972, Nuremberg as one of the first cities in Western Germany established an “*Ausländerbeirat*”²², representing the affairs of the guest-workers. Prior to that, in 1969 already two taskforces were conceived to establish such a panel. At the beginning, the members of this council considered themselves more as “*Alibiausländer*”²³, establishing this council as some symbol of goodwill. Thus, Alpay Sakar, chair of the council from 1979 to 1982, and the other pioneer members, even considered, react to that by stepping down in a symbolic act. (Ausländerbeirat der Stadt Nürnberg 1993: 14-21). The first elections turned out to be quite disappointing, as only 18, 6% of all franchised to vote were making use of their voting rights. Every foreigner above 18 years, living in Nuremberg for at least three months, was applicable to cast its vote, where only voting representatives of the own nationality was possible. The council started without an own legal framework, receiving one in 1976 by the city council without being discussed with the “*Ausländerbeirat*” (Llorens 1993:22). Starting its work, this council was considered as a pure advisory board, taking care only on issues regarding foreigners in Nuremberg (Hoffman 1993:9f.). Slowly, the council acquired more competences. Since the 1990ies the council has a right to be heard by the city council regarding questions of migration affairs (Llorens 1996: 11). The first report analysing the situation of students with foreign background is one example of this (Llorens 1996:20). Nowadays, the council has one president and one executive committee, supported by one fulltime employee supporting the work of the now called “*Integrationsrat*”²⁴(Llorens 2007: 7). Nevertheless, the work of this council was facing tremendous hurdles, as work was mostly based on voluntary work (Llorens 1996:30)

Facing the increasing diversification, hurdles for mutual exchange, establishing a common urban identity, are increasing. For that purpose, the city council, namely Herman Glaser, came up with the idea of “*Kulturläden*”. Appealing to the classical “*Tane-Emma-Laden*”, old small

²² Foreigners Council

²³ Alibi foreigners

²⁴ integrative council

retailer stores. The idea was to bring culture into the quarters apart from the traditional cultural institutions such as opera. City council member Herman Glaser considered, that culture should fulfil the task to improve quality of life. The cities would bore out, if failing to bring culture to the citizens (Kusch 1989:464). The general idea was to create meeting points in the quarter promoting “*Kultur für alle von allen*”²⁵, offering low scale culture for interested citizens. Run by an association of volunteers and supported by the city council, these institutions should provide a place for exchange and cultural entertainment. In 1975, the first “*Kulturladen*” was set up in St. Leonhard followed by several others. Today, the city provides eleven facilities distributed over the whole city (Seiderer 2011: 252f.). Primarily not intended for integrative work, it soon evolved into a central hub, offering courses for integration (Seiderer 2011:257) as the facility *südpunkt* in the southern part of the city. Already in 1992, this cultural infrastructure was appreciated, considering Nuremberg as a stronghold for communicative and cultural quarter centres in comparison to other cities (Schulze 1992: 484).

Focusing on the question of responding to need of the city, in the early phases, it seems, that the city reacted mostly by creating an awareness for the presence of migrants. In 1979, the “*Ausländerwoche*”²⁶, was established, giving migrants the opportunity to present their country of origin (Llorens 1996: 28). In 1973, indicating to the severe living conditions of guest-workers the city council organised a satirical competition finding the “*shabbiest guest-worker flat*”, raising awareness for this group. One year later the first contact point for guest-workers was established at the main union building (Zahlaus 2014: 175). However, in general integration was conceived from a deficit perspective, focusing on issues such as language or job qualification (Hillman 2013:156). Yet, taking the 1982 programme into mind, the city council recognized, that the former guest-worker as their migrating family members were about to stay, emphasizing the need for an integrative programme, enabling equal chances for all citizens with a special focus on the youth (Markwirth 2011a:33). This is quite astounding, considering the fact, that after the end of the guest-worker program in 1973, many in politics and society sought to bring these migrants back to, to the countries where they had come from (Zahlaus 2014:175). After that, due to family reunification as asylum seekers or “*Spätaussiedler*”²⁷, kept on

²⁵ Culture from all by all

²⁶ Foreigners´ Week

²⁷ Descendants of German settlers in the Eastern Europe, as former German territory

diversifying the urban society of Nuremberg even further, becoming location for people from all over the world, diversifying the Noris even more.

Regarding the question of identification, already in 1961, the oldest migration association in Nuremberg was established “*Centro Español*” (Kusch 1989: 448). Today, about 230 associations founded by migrants, might this be Greek, Italian, Spanish, Polish, Russian or even African ones are dealing with issues ranging from politics, to religion, culture, school support, or sport. Most of them are based on voluntary commitment, what will become a point of further research later. Most of these facilities started as contact points for self-help by guest-workers, facing similar problems. At that time, some even bore the name of the city of origin within the name, serving as bridge to the new country, helping with orientation during the first time being new (Aybar-Edmonds 2011:263ff.). Today, one special pillar is the organisation of intercultural events such as Turkish, Greek or Kurdish film days or such events such as the “*Afrikafestival*” (Aybar-Edmonds 2011:268). The efforts were successful insofar the tolerant mood of the city could be maintained, as no severe attacks between migrants and locals were reported in this years (Kusch 1989: 448). Yet, as the integrative power of the job market is shrinking, the task of integration will be on the side of family, friends, school, neighbourhood or associations (Sassen 1999:145). Cities are systems set by their boundaries, defining who is empowered to be part of it and who is not. Facing globalisation, this issue will become even more difficult.

Second Interim Conclusion - Complexity through Interaction

Cities are “*dual complex system. “Dual in the sense that each agent operating in the city is a local, cognitive, self-organizing system, while the city as a whole is a global, urban self-organizing system”* (Portugali 2011:211). Here, Nuremberg can be considered as a category of city, however the Noris, as every other city can be considered a category on its own, due to its complexity (Portugali 2011:216). Social systems such as the city only emerge out of the interaction between the many elements within, diversifying everywhere (Portugali 2011:14). Every city depends on its ability to manage this diversity properly, making use of its potential. Already Herbert Spence noticed in “*First Principles*” (1860-62), that every system is succumbed to evolution. Evolutionary forces can either strengthen, dissolve or revitalize systems fostering integration on a higher level, making the system more complex. “*Evolution*

is thus analysis of societal movement from simple or homogenous forms to differentiated or heterogenous forms as well the mechanism for integrating these forms in their environment (Turner et.al 2002:57). Urban evolution means, that “cities become the solution of their own problem” (Baecker 2009:264). There, cities can be compared to the “creative destruction” by Schumpeter. He argues that, economy should not be conceived in mechanical terms, as it was done at his time, stating, sure, rather economy is flexible to adapt (Schumpeter 1947: 149). This approach is called “adaptive response” or expressed in other words: “the defining characteristic is simply the doing of new things or the doing of things that are already being done in a new way (innovation)” (Schumpeter 1947: 151). Cities as well, are “complex adaptive system” being able to adapt to the self- produced problems (Bettencourt 2013:1). Taking the Eigenlogik into mind, every European city finds its own way to integrate and being integrated.

In chapter B the common features of cities were presented. Taking the first guiding question, chapter C and D discussed the medieval the industrial and the modern environment of cities. Here it could be shown, that the size multiplied from the immured medieval city to metropolis, accommodating more urban agents than ever before. Meanwhile density levelled up from a local market, to a regional as finally a world market. Letting urban society diversify over again. Nuremberg was integrated as “*Freie Reichsstadt*”, connecting trade routes of its respective time.

As complex systems, those systems are defined by their boundaries, distinguishing a certain system from its environment (Portugali 2011:216). Every city provides *Leerstellen*, an over abundance of meaning (Baecker 2009:264), serving as transitory spaces, reminding the past, while predicting the future in the present (Baecker 2009:259). Human mind has to process, order this meaning, producing expectations (Portugali 2011:135). Local interaction of urban agents let certain properties emerge at the global scale of a city (Portugali 2011:97). “*Every society creates its own city*” (Siebel 2015:15). Here, the “*urban space is concrete contradiction*” (Lefebvre 2003:39), as diverging utopia imagination are competing for the shaping of the space.

Expressed, the *right to the city*, people shape the city and being shaped by the city itself (Portugali 2011:62). Thus, the urban is the processing of the foreign (Hillmann 2013: 151) in other words cities serves as “*integration machines*” (Häußermann 2006:257). The European City stands for a social model defined by governmental mediated integration of diverse societies (Wukovitsch 2011:96), as an empowered, democratically legitimated, subject of their own

development". Here, urbanisation can be considered as emancipation, relocating boundaries (Siebel 2012:202), fostering contact through distance (Baecker 2009:261). The city becomes more complex, just as its environment. Planning was rather weak in the medieval times, reflecting a rather well-organized environment. Planning became essential in the industrial times, when medieval certainties were replaced by the paradigm of efficiency and technocracy.

Recurring to the guiding questions, foremost structural access to shape urban evolution can be conceived as a process of emancipation. At the beginning restricted to a selective group, boundaries were relocated, giving more actors the right to the city. The social integration changed from a personal acting via guilds to a formal technocratic, anonymous interaction based on fulfilling certain tasks. Thus, the city acquired new authority in administration setting up public institutions. In terms of cultural integration, the European city implied freedom, and opportunities for a better life. During industrialisation the paradigm of efficiency prevailed, ordering technocratic through a fixed plan. This fits to the Eigenlogik of Nuremberg, being rather pragmatic than lyric. Although, presenting the *Nürnberger Witz*, being innovative, the Noris habit is quite skittish, tending to *vernürnbergern*. Therefore, interaction with the environment is essential, as being rather communal, phlegmatic, innovations are brought from outside. Concluding, the Noris identity might be best described by a characterisation from 1950:

„ [The Nuremberger] is determined by its enthusiasm and the tremendous capacity to fathom and perform tasks imposed from the exterior. Here, he has proven his fantasy and ingenuity for more than nine centuries. His ideas are seldom completely new, but remain in the scope of the feasible. Genius ideas and revolutions do not suit the Nuremberger. He always sticks to the feasible and imposed, here he has an unbeatable talent for. [...] When it is about to improve its community, under the proper guidance, he is as inventive as rather no other folk. Yet, without guidance, the Nuremberger is often without any initiative, stubborn, sticking to the old continuing with stupid habits. (Seiler 1950:42-46)

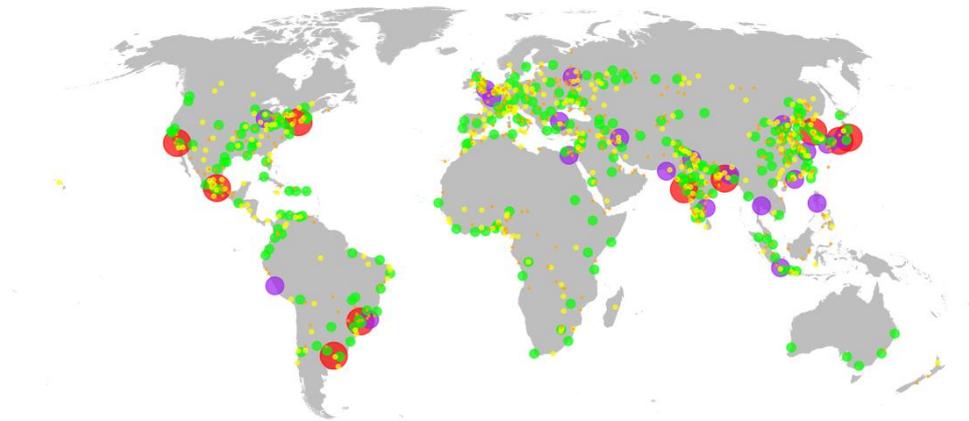
E) World Cities in a World of Cities

E.1. Global Urbanisation - Measuring Globalisation

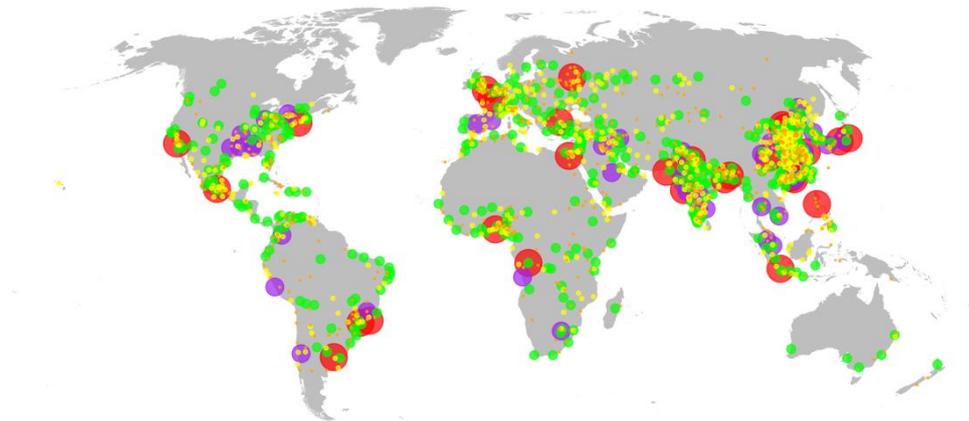
We have entered a new age, the age of global urbanisation. Already today, more people than ever before live in urban rather than rural areas and the trend continues in the future. Having retraced the emergence and evolution of cities in general, as Nuremberg in detail, the thesis now has reached the global age, the contemporary age. “*Globalization is a compression of time and space*” (Harvey 1989: 284), relocating the boundaries of “*what is a city?*” or more precise “*what is a global city?*” Following the categories by Wirth, this chapter will deal with the size, expressed in built space. The next section will deal with density in form of increased interaction within the global network society. The third section will elaborate on the increasing heterogeneity, due to increased global migration, setting new integrative hurdles. The most striking moment is probably the “*great and final, shift of human populations out of rural, agricultural life and into cities*” (Saunders 2011:1). Every week, about three million people in the world are moving into cities (International Organization of Migration 2016:1). In 1950ies, about 30% of world population were living in cities. In 2014, the majority, in concrete figures 54%, were urban residents with a tendency to increase. In 2050, about 66% of world population will reside in urban areas. Up to 2050, about two and a half billion new residents are expected (United Nations 2015:1). Currently, about four billion people are urban residents, compared to three and a half billion rural residents. Urbanisation will mainly take place in Africa and Asia. Considering the year 2050, in 80% of all nations at least half of the people is about to live in urban areas (United Nations 2015:7). The graphics beyond emphasize this trend.

Based on the year 1990, there were about ten cities, accommodating more than ten million inhabitants, in concrete figures about 153 million people. Today, there are about 28 cities of that category, housing about 453 million people, especially in the countries of the Global South (United Nations 2015:16). Megacities are Shenzhen (10, 6 million), Manila (12, 7 million), Mumbai (20, 7 million), Jakarta (10, 1 million), Lagos (12, 6 million), Kinshasa (11, 1 million), or Luanda (5, 3 million), to name just a few new metropolises (United Nations 2015: 93).

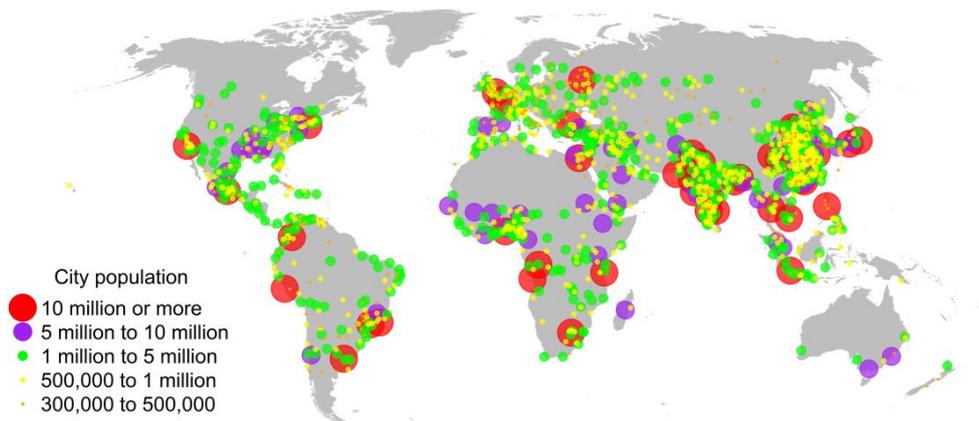
1990



2014



2030



- City population
- 10 million or more
 - 5 million to 10 million
 - 1 million to 5 million
 - 500,000 to 1 million
 - 300,000 to 500,000

For cities with 300,000 or more inhabitants in 2014.
The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.

Image 12 Urban change measuring change of urban population worldwide

„Globalisation is a mindset, an idea set, an ideal visualisation, a popular metaphor, and finally, a stylized way of thinking about complex international developments (Spich 1995:10f.). To show “the key idea by which we understand the transition of human society into the third millennium” (Walters 2001: 1), recurring to the interaction between the city as a system and its environment, global urbanisation is also observable in Nuremberg. In the last decade, the city population has grown of about 5,6%, or in concrete figures, about 36.000 new inhabitants have settled in Nuremberg during the last decade (GEWOS 2015:25), more than the whole population of the city of Forchheim, a smaller city close by to Nuremberg.

The local impacts of the global phenomenon can be found even in daily life, as the excursus to Thon, a former village, latter suburb and now part of the city of Nuremberg will show.

In earlier times cities were demarked by walls and drawbridges. Today, the edges of the city have overtaken this function. The urban edges show, what define the city, by a “to be” instead of a “wanna be” (Böhm 2011:153f.). Such areas are still unplanned and open space, emphasizing the character of the city, showing something (Böhm 2011:160). This was still valid for the last decade of the last millennium. Growing up in Thon, the changing patterns of these area can be described directly from the interior of the Thon system, or latter Noris subsystem.

Rising welfare as rising demands for quality of life, coupled with a flight from crowded and run-down city centres populated by the immobile class of unemployed and migrants, let suburbs prosper. Rising mobility in terms of private owned cars gave the opportunity to settle down in the outskirts combining advantages of rural and urban life. New industrial plants, located there due to the limited space within the cities, provided new employment opportunities for the suburban residents (Siebel 2015:154f.). Since the 1980ies, the housing market of Nuremberg was determined by an expansion of the city to the suburbs (Holtmann, Schaefer 1996:44).



Image 13 Vestiges of old Thon

The evolution of Thon can be best experienced by approaching via the tramway. Along the main road, still old country houses from the 1950ies can be seen. Nevertheless, during the last decade, high risen buildings are about to dominate the urban landscape of Thon. Riding from Friedrich- Ebert Platz until the terminal station, still differences between an urban area of a city and rural features of a village can be distinguished, yet these boundaries are blurring.

Settling in the outskirts of the city, a rise in density was literally set on the ground. At the former fields and shrubberies, now the *Gesellschaft für Konsumforschung*²⁸ or the *Industrie- und Handelskammer*²⁹ have established their branches. Various local traders as a Chinese restaurant now provide more employment within the quarter. The *Knoblauchsland*, as this area is called, is famous for its vegetable cultivation, forming the economic basis of the local villages here. Still, agriculture forms a constitutive part of the local economy, yet facing competition with competitors from Spain and the Netherlands, many hothouses were set up, accompanied by houses for harvest hands. Here, interaction was relocated from a local to a global level.

²⁸ Society for Consumer Research

²⁹ Chamber for Industry and Trade

Regarding the increasing attractiveness of Thon, the heterogeneity of the quarter increased as well. Converting from a village to a city quarter impacts on the social fabrics. Meanwhile, the prototype of the village is the neighbour in cities it becomes the foreigner (Siebel 2015:288f.). This is true for Thon as well. Reminding of earlier times, the streets of the still young settlement were crowded with children spending their leisure time. Today, it seems, that cars have reconquered this area, rather used for parking than playing. Apart from some aborigine, most of the people passing by are just stranger. Even so just living around the corner, they are quite anonymous. Interaction is promoted through the local sport club. *Turnerbund Johannis 1888*, remains the most important institution in Schnepfenreuth. Even so two churches were set up, these institutions seem to play a minor role in the quarter, apart from the kindergarten, as to some extent the local elementary school keeps at least some parents into contact. The changing patterns can be best by *Kirchweih*, a local festival organized once a year by the village community. Here, the residents of the village come together to meet each other and talk about god and the world. During the years, many of the visitors of this festivities are hardly to be identified as being locals or just passing by from other areas. Most striking here, the location of Kirchweih was relocated from the middle of the village to the edges, as the areas were built on.

The city administration purports to maintain the rural characteristics of the villages within the landscape of Nuremberg (Stadt Nürnberg 2014:38), yet only when riding to the terminal station of the tramway, still some of these features are to be seen. The boundaries between the Thon system and the Noris system are to blur, the village of Thon has become a subsystem of the city. *“Globalization can thus be defined as the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa”* (Giddens 1990:64).

E.2. Glocal interaction - Local Cities in a global world

As it could be shown dual complex systems emerge through the interaction of its many parts (Portugali 2011: 14). Every city started with a market, where locals could provide themselves with all the needs not produced by the οἶκος (Weber 1922:561f.). Cities need a market to come into existence, as it is the basic institution for the exchange of goods and ideas of urban agents (Pounds 2005:12). The productivity of urban areas depends on its capacity to bring the right actors together (Lefebvre 2013:117) to establish division of labour, contriving a sophisticated

network of interdependent specialist (Youn et. al 2016:6). For “centuries the world economy has shaped the life of cities” (Sassen 2001:3). Modern communication technologies enabled a global division of labour between cities. „Some cities now function as commando points in the organization of the world economy, as sites for production of innovations in finance and advanced services for firms and as key marketplaces for capital” (Sassen 2001:344).



Image 34 Agriculture in the Knoblauchland

“Globalization represents the triumph of a capitalist world economy tied together by a global division of labour” (Wallerstein 1974:11). Such a development can be best described by coming back to Thon, entering the main shopping facility. Here, regional vegetables such as salad or tomatoes, grown in the *Knoblauchland*, are sold next to bananas, pineapples or kiwis, coming from all over the world. Regarding international fruits, the effects of globalisation seem obvious, but the same counts for example wise tomatoes, produced just in front of the house door. Their production requires a sophisticated network of production, trade and logistics. Apparently, the tomatoes are cultivated in a hothouse, made in the Netherlands. Furthermore, fertilizers are applied coming from special producers all over Europe. Finally, the full-grown plants are harvested by harvest hands mostly from Eastern Europe. In that sense, unconsciously, even the local farmer, bound to its fields, or better said hothouses has become part of globalisation, bringing global actors together, contributing local factors, combining them with global ones.

“*Globalization is a compression of time and space*” (Harvey 1989: 284)” Combining the deregulation of the financial sector in the 1970 with modern communication technology, the global financial industry began to skyrocket (Sassen 2001:65ff.). In total, the volume of asset grew 2,5 times the pace of world GDP, calculating bonds, speculations with foreign currency as equity deals grew even 5 times (Sassen 2001: 76). Modern technology empowers transnational corporations to act globally, in very sophisticated networks over the globe, to be managed from the desk. (Sassen 2001:11). Consequently, it could be argued, that cities are about to become superfluous allowing to manage those networks from every spot at the globe.

Returning to example of the Franconian farmer, the production depends firstly on the farmland provided, as the skills to manage the international network. The same is valid in global terms. To harness the opportunities offered by modern technology, such networks depend on a very elaborated infrastructure providing the technological means as the skilled workforce to keep such networks running (Sassen 2001:19). For that reason, transnational corporations do not simply create financial hubs, they depend on them, providing infrastructure, services and skills (Sassen 2001:175.). Local intermediaries, specialized on certain issues such as accounting, marketing, are filling niches, keeping the network together (Sassen 2001:98f.). Such services are to be found in financial centres, where such services are offered, but also the expertise of skilled workforce, knowing how to keep the network together, is available (Sassen 2001:120f.). Such networks include everything from the high paid banker to the cleaning lady, tidying up the bankers’ office. All are contributing to smooth function of the transnational system of asset, goods, ideas and decisions, creating always more complex global networks (Sassen 2001:10).

Global centres today function different than in earlier times. In ancient times Rome was the centre of the Roman Empire, yet only covering a regional sphere around Europe and the Mediterranean Sea. Later, London, as the hub of the British Empire, where the sun never sets, also “only” governed a quarter of the whole world. Contemporary, world cities are defined according to their integration into the world system. Apart from some religious centres such as Rome, Jerusalem and Mecca, world cities are classified according to the amount of capital, they control. Reminding the hub function of Nuremberg in the medieval times, it can be argued, that *Freie Reichsstadt* was the global city of its respective time. Consequently, cities today have four functions, working as commando centres for world economy, being key locations for finance and for specialized service firms, function as centres for production of innovations as

finally the pose as market for production and investment. Reasoning that aspects, global cities are not simply the product of globalization they are also the space of globalization, where it takes place and where the impacts of globalisation become visible (Sassen 2001:3f.).

All this foster the evolution of global production chains, with a hierarchical distribution of labour. Meanwhile the *Global South* is producing goods for the export, it is importing asset as foreign direct investment. The strategy is to make the best use of the advantages of various locations, combining high skilled work in the service sector on the one side with low skilled manual labour on the other side (Sassen 2001:25f.). In that sense, the contemporary developments promoting global economy have created “*a spatially dispersed, yet globally integrated organization of economic activity*” (Sassen 2001:3). According to the economic prospects this new world system be distributed into three different categories. Firstly, the *Core* describes the former industrial centres in North America, Europe and Japan. Transnational corporations have their headquarters located here. Secondly, the *Semiperiphery*, describing centres, which are industrialising fast such as Mexico, Brazil or Korea. Finally, there is the *Periphery*, in simple words, what is left from the global networks. Such areas comprise the Ural, Kazakhstan, Afghanistan and parts of Africa. There, only little industry can be found, the economy is more marked by agrarian production as political conservative up to backward. Depending on the status attributed to a country and city within the network determines the potential for development and success in the global world (Friedmann; Goetz 1982:310ff.).

Global cities are the place, where the flows of the global networks are processed, and local actors become connected to the global system (Sassen 2001:347). So more globalized, so more commando centres, in other words headquarters can be found in a city (Sassen 2001:5). Regarding the region and market, such aspects can impact quite differently (Sassen 2001:348). The most striking aspect of this global system is the issue of integration into this global economic system. Karl Marx bemoaned in “*Das Kapital*” the exploitation of the proletarian work for the increasing revenue of the bourgeois capitalist (Poller 2011:319). Today, the revenue produced by the employee is still processed by the employer increasing their capital flow even further. Normally, employees can acquire or struggle for certain rights, but in the global split labour market this organizational power is weakened (Sassen 2001:30ff.). In such a global production chain, the worst thing seems to be not the exploitation in sweatshop, but the ignorance not being exploited or in friendlier terms not being part of the system. Lack of

perspectives and a lack of job opportunities lead to a reconsideration of the local, of the traditional, opposing globalisation through radicalisation (Swyngedouw 2004:28f.). Such an ignorance, standing outside the global system can also be observed at the regional level.

As cities are searching to be integrated in the global system, the quarters and inhabitants of the city are searching to be integrated into the city. Meanwhile, the City of London is an international fulcrum, global economy does not care for Soho (Sassen 2001:192). Comparing the quarters of Erlenstegen and Eberhardshof-Muggenhof this becomes visible. The first is home to lawyers, tax consultants, consulting, the latter is marked by high percentage of foreign born people coupled with high unemployment. Having a stroll through both quarters, it becomes even more striking, contrasting the Erlenstegen mansions in green belts against the noisy high risen buildings as islands in the traffic of Eberhardshof-Muggenhof.

The Global and World City Index defines cities according to their connectivity to the global system, in other word the functional tasks they fulfil. Here, global cities are conceived as “*global service centres*,” *linking together the communication of information, ideas, knowledge and instruction through virtual and material flows within service office networks.* Based on this assumption the “service value” index depicts the degree of importance for a city in the global system, as considered by the transnational enterprises. Hereby, power is measured by the degree offices are empowered to decide on other offices and enforce a strategy, measured in share of revenue. Taking 316 probable world cities into consideration, enterprises were chosen, having offices in at least 15 cities, three of them in the *prime areas* of North America, Western Europe and Pacific Asia. One hundred enterprises qualified for such criteria, ensuring, that these enterprises are to follow a global strategy. Then the size of the office in terms of presence was measured as the function of the office. Both aspects were merged into a “*service value*”, by multiplying the size of the office with the function, where 0 stands for a typical office and 5 for an international headquarter (Taylor et. al 2002: 233).

Such a service value illustrates the network connectivity of a city, multiplying the service values of all firms there. Normally, measured in terms of size of the office, this indicator measures the connectedness, as also small offices can have a high decision power. When one city ranks higher than the other, the higher one exerts connectivity through dominance, meanwhile the lower one through subordination (Taylor et.al 2002:235). Yet, cities ranked lower are not per se powerless,

as they function as gateways to regional markets such as Moscow for the Russian and Beijing for the Chinese market, or Caracas fulfilling a regional function (Taylor et. al 2002:239). Nuremberg appeared firstly on this list in 2010³⁰ with as a high sufficiency city, serving a local market. Now 2016³¹, the city ranks at the status of a Gamma minus city, equal as Leipzig, Strasbourg, Wroclaw, Wellington, Medellin or Pittsburgh, serving a wider regional market.

What is to be concluded so far, is that the global production chains are marked by a delocalization, wherein some sites deal with high-tech, mostly core areas meanwhile other sites deal with routine tasks, mostly semiperiphery (Castells 2010:417f.). However, such information driven networks, depend on commando centres managing networks (Castells 2010:409). Here, corporations with similar focus are coming together as “*milleux of innovation*” fostering synergies and innovations, making use of a sophisticated infrastructure (Castells 2010:419). Examples of such clusters are Silicon Valley or the City of London (Sassen 2001:31). In that sense, globalization does not consist of just a few “*global cities*”, but rather out of a network of cities, collaborating on a global, national and regional scale (Castells 2010:411). At this point it is important to mention, that not the location per se is important, but the access to the global system (Sassen 2001:123). In general, every city, wanting be part of the global system, must integrate itself by fulfilling a special function. Taking the European city model, world cities, cities integrated into the global system, are mostly specialized on specialized issues such as Rotterdam for transport, Milan for fashion, Frankfurt am Main for banking or Zurich for insurances. In countries of the semiperiphery, mostly the capital cities functions as gatekeeper to the global system, representing the country to the outer world, while receiving input from abroad there. Such world cities are to coin the culture and life of the world, acting as the main centres for orientation (Friedmann 1986: 71ff.). This leads to the creation of a global hierarchy of cities with New York, London and Tokyo at the top, followed by cities as Frankfurt am Main, Paris or Munich (Sassen 2001:333) or even regional cities such as Nuremberg.

³⁰ GaWC 2010

available at: <http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/world2010t.html>

³¹ GaWC 2016

available at: <http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/world2016t.html>

What is striking here, apart from London and Paris, there are no megacities in Europe, rather Europe itself could be considered as a global city itself (Maznetter; Musil 2012:10). “*The necessity for all cities under contemporary capitalism to manage two divergent dynamics: their internal contradictions and their external integration*” (Brenner; Keil 2014: 13) becomes more essential, not to be ignored by the network, ” searching for becoming a “*critical node within the global system*”. However, as every system is defined by its boundaries (Portugali 2011:211), global city projects will individualize in every city. Consequently, “*no global city story can be understood without reference to the local processes, which give it its substantial form*”, (Machimura 1998: 184). A conflict of capital and labour, or transnational corporations and citizens determine the patterns of the urban space (Friedmann; Goetz 1982:312). Tensions arise between the “*Scale of Regulation*” and “*Scales of Network*”. The first are setting the general rules through institutions such as national states or local governments. The later are searching for the best conditions for getting a network settled (Swyngedouw 2004: 33f.). “*Glocalisation*”, as this process is called (Swyngedouw 2004: 38), is a strategy to deal with the forces of globalisation, to set demarcations between what is considered local factors and what is considered global (Machimura 1998:192). In that sense, global cities are not simply a product of globalisation but also a political strategy to deal with it (Feagin; Smith1987:17).

The city of Nuremberg and other regional neighbours such as Erlangen, Fuerth, Bamberg or even Weiden in the Upper Palatine reacted with the “*Europäische Metropolregion Nürnberg*” shortly EMN. Analyses reveal, that most of telecommunication takes place within the demarcation lines of the EMN (von Dobschütz 2014:75f.), meanwhile commuters are mostly commuting within this area (von Dobschütz 2014:68). Migration flows come and go to mostly Poland, Rumania, USA but also Turkey, Greece and Italy, the former sending countries of guest-workers (von Dobschütz 2014: 57ff.). On a regional scale most moves take place within the region with a special concentration on Nuremberg, Fuerth, Erlangen, Bamberg and Bayreuth (von Dobschütz 2014: 63). Comprehensively, the whole area is polycentric around cities of at least 20.000 people (von Dobschütz 2014:84), whereby the regional “*natural*” connections mostly correspond to the demarcation of the EMN (von Dobschütz 2014:109).

The Conference of Ministers for the order of space (MKRO) defines a European Metropolregion as a „*spatial and functional location, which functions spill in an international degree beyond national borders.*” Such regions are considered to maintain the efficiency and

the competitiveness of Germany and promote the European integration (BMBAU 1995, S. 27). A metropolis can be understood as spatial density of a region exceeding the political administrative borders of a city. For that purpose, metropolitan regions serve as centres for innovation, have a symbolic value and function as gateways. They differ from so called “*Verflechtungsräumen*”, closely knit regions, by their conscious political planning, laying the basis for collaboration (Blotevogel; Danielzyk 2009:24ff.). Entrepreneurial headquarters, political institutions as NGOs coordinate the flow of capital and information, as they deal with societal developments. Furthermore, clusters enable “face to face” contacts with colleagues and competitors, as university provides education (Blotevogel Danielzyk 2009:28).

Already in 1995, the “*Europäische Metropolregion Nürnberg*” was established, yet recognized in 2005 (EMN 2016:7). In the *Declaration of Bad Windsheim 2007* the basic principles of the EMN were enshrined. Important to mention here are especially the focus on polycentric patterns, where not one city is dominating, but all cities are collaboration. Furthermore, countryside and urban areas should complement each other, enabling equal opportunities for people either on the countryside or in the city. Finally, the declaration emphasizes the rootedness within tradition, history and culture³². These patterns are reflected in the organising board (here Rat) of the EMN. Independent from size or economic clout, every representative of a district, as mayors or district administrators, 55 in total, have the same voting rights. Based on this, a chair is elected consisting of one *Oberbürgermeister*³³, one district administrator, *Landrat*, as one *Bürgermeister*. The work is supported by various forums, dealing with several aspects ranging from economy and infrastructure over traffic and sport to culture and science. Final decisions are to be taken into consensus with all the members of the board (Standecker 2011:29ff.).

³² Declaration of Bad Windsheim 2007

available at:

https://www.metropolregionnuernberg.de/fileadmin/metropolregion_nuernberg_2011/07_service/02_downloads/01_grundlagenpapiere/BadWindsheimer_Erklaerung.pdf

³³ Oberbürgermeister refers to the mayor of a bigger city or an independent city

see: Gemeindeordnung Bayern article 34

available at: <http://www.gesetze-bayern.de/Content/Document/BayGO-34?AspxAutoDetectCookieSupport=1>

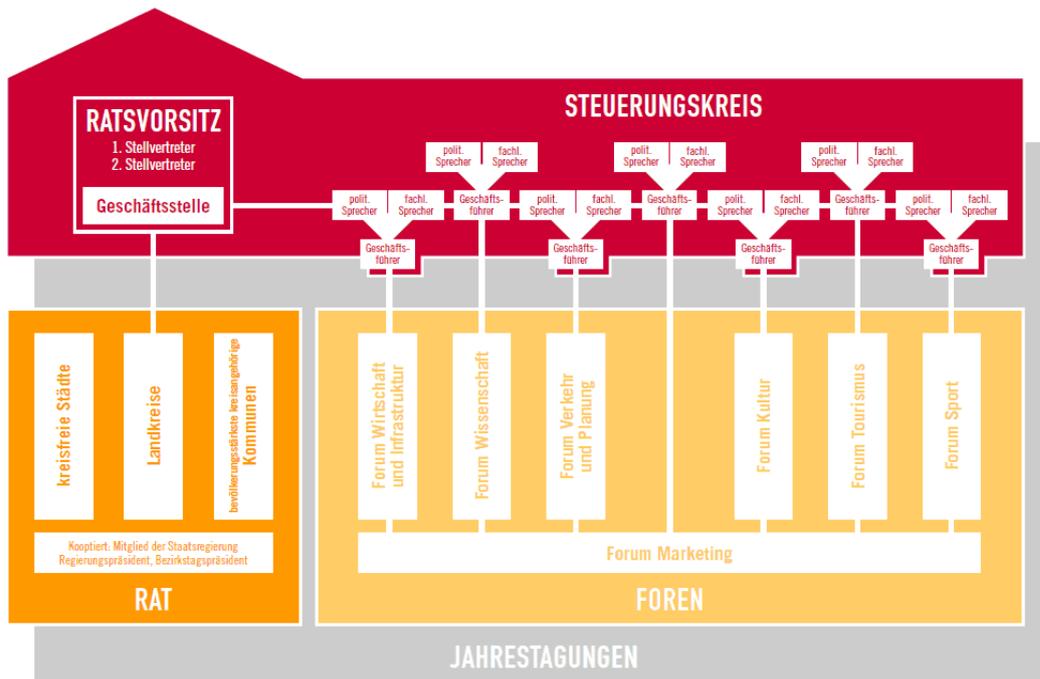


Image 15 Governance of the EMN

“The Metropolregion is not imposed, enforced or invented. It is based on historic predecessors”, states Gerd Greismann, member of the city council of Sulzbach Rosenberg in Upper Palatine (Standecker 2011:5). The rootedness within tradition, history and culture becomes obvious looking at the internal and external corporation of the EMN. A discovery passport “Entdeckerpass” gives free admission to more than 130 institutions such as museum or parks can be visited for free or with discount (EMN 2016:18). Newcomers often receive this as a present from their new employers to get known to the region. Chapter C gave an insight into the prosperous history of Nuremberg. Based on these historic roots, the city of Nuremberg envisages to retrieve its old medieval connections (Stadt Nürnberg 2014a:8). One highlight was the joint exhibition between Prague and the EMN, showing the rich history of the “Golden Street”, a trade route connecting both regions (EMN 2016:12). Moreover, Nuremberg maintains partner city programmes with partners worldwide, based on various purposes. Cities such as Prague, Venice or Krakow were chosen retrieving the medieval past of the merchant city, meanwhile cities such as Antalya, Kavala and Skopje were chosen due to the recent history of guest-worker becoming part of the city. Kharkov in Ukraine was chosen due to the many “Spätaussiedler”. Krakow and Kharkov are such important that the “Nürnberger Haus” is located as municipal representation in both cities. Recognizing its historic responsibility during the third Reich, various partnerships emphasize the character of the “city of peace and human

rights". Nizza is one example of the French-German friendship, as Córdoba, the city of the three religions, Atlanta the birthplace of Martin Luther King, Haderea in Israel a symbol of reconciliation. International development is provided by supporting the reconstruction of Kalkudah in Sri Lanka. Here close by, "Little Nuremberg", was founded, a settlement for victims of the Tsunami. Partners such as Shenzhen were chosen having a connection to the prospering markets in Asia. These partnerships pursue various goals, might this be economical, political corporation or the mutual exchange and friendships with its partner cities, presenting their projects at the Christmas Market of partner cities once year (Stadt Nürnberg 2014a).

Resuming the first decade of the Europäische Metropolregion Nürnberg, the gateway function could be emphasized. About the size of Hessen (21.800 km²), with the population of Berlin (3,5million people), the EMN produces a GDP (118 billion euro) equal to Shanghai or the whole republic of Hungary. Hereby, the export quota is 47% reaching 27 million people in a radius of 200 km² (EMN 2016: 16). Between 2005 and 2017 the GDP was increased by 25% and unemployment reduced by 57%, emphasizing the success of the EMN (EMN 2016:13). "*What has been reached, was to set the Metropolregion Nuremberg national and international on the map, setting a light point*", concludes Markus Löttsch CEO of the IHK of Middle Franconia twenty-five years latter (Standecker 2011: 5). Recurring to its boundaries, defining *Eigenlogik*, identity, the region concentrates on the feasible. *Hidden Champions*" medium sized enterprises filling special niches (Standecker 2014:6ff.). This are about 40%, employing not more than 50 employees, 1/3 is global enterprises (EMN 2012:39). The focus is set on the middle class (EMN 2012:44). Even so providing a lower average income than Munich, about 1/5 of all Bavarian patents were developed within the EMN (EMN 2012:64), especially in the fields of traffic and logistic, IT. Healthcare, Energy and new material (Standecker 2014:10). Combining the benefits of a metropolis, with the quality of life of the countryside, can be considered the competitive advantage of this area. *In a visionary union, we provide the opportunities of an international metropolis but without the typical disadvantages. We are the net with many strong nodes*" (EMN 2012: 9). The mayor of Nuremberg Ulrich Maly adds to that: "*The global competition is a competition of regions not of cities. Having about 500.000 people, the city of Nuremberg would not be recognized worldwide*" (Standecker 2011:5). Willing to be instead of wanting to be can describe the contribution to the global system as also its peculiar identity.

E.3. Urban Agents, Global Cities - The Network Society

“The capacity to generate open-ended diversity is one of the most important characteristics of many complex systems, from ecosystems to modern human societies” (Youn et. al 2016:6). During evolution and especially urban evolution, diversity ensured the survival of a system, strengthening its resilience (Bettencourt et. al. 2014: 1). Addressing heterogeneity, it could be shown, that urban is always the processing of the foreign, assigning special places to it (Hillmann 2013: 151). Cities are the place, where foreigners live together (Siebel 2015:288f.). The most striking aspect of the European city has been allowing contact through distance, enabling the living together of people even or just because they do not know each other (Baecker 2009:261). Cities itself can be considered as *“social networks”*. *“Cities are not just a large collection of people, they are an agglomeration of social links. Space, time and infrastructure play a fundamental role in enabling social interactions”* (Bettencourt 2013:6). Facing the technological ruptures of modern information technologies, every aspect of human life will be pervaded, changing the way we live. (Castells 2010: 70ff.). Everything is about to become a *“network society”*, bringing even more actors together on a global scale (Castles 2010: xvii). *“We have entered a new age, the Information Age”* (Castells 2011: 573). Not just physical spots (Sassen 2001), *global cities* should be conceived rather as processes (Castells 2011).

Following the network theory by Castells (2011), such networks consists of two dimensions, the space of flows and the space of place, shaping the urban evolution according to their needs. Flows are defined as the *“purposeful, repetitive, programmable sequences of exchange and interaction between physically disjointed positions held by social actors in the economic, political, and symbolic structures of society. [...]The space of flows is the material organization of time-sharing social practices that work through flows”* (Castells 2010:442). Space of flow encompass three dimensions. First, there is the material component of providing the necessary infrastructure. As such this dimension serves similar purposes as the railroad did in earlier times, yet with the difference, that these flows only have one purpose, to that the flows do not have a certain place to go other than ending at the main station. This dimension encompasses the electronic infrastructure. *“In this network no place exists by itself”* (Castells 2010:442f.). The human side of this dimension is a transnational elite of business people, considering the city rather as a hotel, providing all amenities for daily life. Consequently, any commitment to urban affairs, any form of participation or identification seems superfluous (Siebel 2015:55).

The second dimension are the “*nodal hubs*”, where the flows embark space. Nodal hubs can be called the “*digital central stations*” of the information age. Here, the flows worldwide come together, to decide (flow as process) or to produce something (flow as product). The space of flow is not placeless, even so the general logic is. In other words, the space of flow is linking various places with each other. Examples are headquarters of transnational enterprises or “*milieux of innovation*”. According to their function in the network, might this be coordinating or dominating, a certain position in the network hierarchy is assigned to every city. However, this hierarchies are not fixed, if activities or processes change. Depending on the function to be fulfilled by the system, the network defines the requirements to become the privileged place, as the “*Europäische Metropolregion Nürnberg*”, focussing on “*Hidden Champions*” serving special niches of middle class, being its own global city (Castells 2010:443).

The third important layer of the space of flows refers to the spatial organization of the dominant, managerial elites. This elite consists of the elite, in charge of the management of the networks. Being mobile on their own, the form a constitutive part of the network, while cultivating their own cosmopolitan lifestyle, with exclusive codes of conduct, consuming special foods and goods. In this elite sphere, the lifestyle does not depend on a certain city, as all the amenities to maintain such a lifestyle are provided through modern technology. They define the requirements, the conditions for becoming a node. Here the elite is cosmopolitan, the people, due to a lack of economic means, are local immobile (Castells 2010:445ff.). This shows, why urban planning is not technocratic but “highly political” (Lefebvre 2003:180). Both competing groups pursue different strategies, following different utopias. As discussed, the European city model expresses the utopia of public sphere ensuring equal access of all to social, economic and political institutions of the society (Siebel 2015:81), a unique social model defined by governmental mediated integration of diverse groups (Wukovitsch 2011:96).

At this point the “*space of place*” becomes important, simply understood as the “*real life*” where people even in digital times spend most of their day. Here, the mechanisms of the network become visible in time space and circumstances (Castells 2010:458ff.). Recurring to the example of Thon, the establishment of hothouses is such a requirement, ensuring harvest throughout the whole, being able to maintain competitiveness from cheaper, warmer regions. As stated, the “*information age*” is incurring into every aspect of human life, especially the local impact of global economy. Such change can be seen best at Eberhardshof-Muggenhof,

located at Fürther Straße. Once being the most industrious street of Bavaria, this street had transformed into a monument of better days, when remarkable enterprises such as Quelle, AEG, and Triumph were producing there. Earlier with the guest-worker programme, different societal classes were integrated through the job market, where the European city, especially after the war, was striving to balance economic demands and social goals (Wollmann 2013:243ff.). A contract between capital and labour, being the main consumers of their own products was established. The combination of mass production and affordable mass consumption had fostered a middle class, leaving for the green suburbs as a welfare state (Sassen 2001:227). Guest-worker, filling niches, promoting the societal upturn, were settling in the old city centres close by the industrial sites (Sassen 2001:256). However, the effects of globalisation and structural change, have weakened the national welfare state. Formerly skilled tasks were downgraded to routine work (Sassen 2001:226f.), as many former fulltime jobs became part time or temporary work (Sassen 2001:293). Structural change deletes a bunch of current jobs, as makes the people superfluous exerting them. In earlier times even, run-down quarters were needed as reservoir for cheap labour and soldiers. Today, this quarters simply have become superfluous (Häußermann 2011:33). Social exclusion in that sense, can be conceived as a status and a process, depriving a person or a category of persons from access as participation in opportunities, resources and rights, the urban development itself (Achermann 2013:93).

Globalization and the impositions of the neoliberalism, have transformed the cities, letting the city recede (Günter; Walther 2013:288), changing the focus from socioeconomic balance to the economic side. The *entrepreneurial city* focuses on the needs of the market, managing the urban like an enterprise (Preteceille 2013:37). Bringing global orientated enterprises and services to the city, was conceived as leading principle of urban planning (Läpple 2013:132). The consequence was an increase of inequality, unequal chances on the job and housing market, as political influence. In formal terms, all social and political rights remain intact and stable, yet the slashing of many social welfare as unequal distribution of chances has undermined the efficiency of this tools (Kronauer 2013a: 29). Still in 1979, the city of Nuremberg declared the “1000-Wohnungsprogramm³⁴” building additional 1000 social housings, yet realities outpaced this goal, changing from extending to maintaining (Holtmann; Schaefer 1996:301f.). During

³⁴ 1000 flats programme

the last decades, social housing has dropped from 65.000 in 1980 to 19.000 in 2012. Between 2000 and 2012 only 2.000 social houses were built in compensation (Gewos 2015:71f.).

Nevertheless, it has been shown, that cities are back in town. Ever more people coming to the city to make their living in better living conditions. At the same time, searching for employment, employees are forced to move into the cities, if they want to receive their share of the economic benefit produced there (Häußermann 2011:25). The world is becoming always more complex and cities are about to help, ordering these complexities. In the city, foreign capital is introduced, processed, meanwhile national capital will be exported to other cities (Sassen 2001:173). In that sense, the inner cities have experienced a revival. Where in former times migrants and the lower to middle class was settled, serving the small to medium sized economy, new luxury apartments and offices are to be build, appropriating the inner centres of the cities (Sassen 2001:257). Side-effects of a liberalized housing market are to become visible, especially in the former labour quarters. Rising rents and structural change of the job market affect quarters with a high percentage of migrant population in a disproportionate way, taking the low qualification of many foreign-born population into mind, being recruited for low skill employment. Today, the need for this kind of workforce has slumped, leading to a high percentage of unemployment. Coupled with poverty and lack of opportunities to move, “*ethnic colonies*”, immobile classes evolve, being conjoined by a common ethnicity (Läpple 2013: 130f.).

Nuremberg as an example for many other cities in Germany and Europe is not spared from this effect. Calculations estimate, that until 2030 the population of Nuremberg will increase to 538.000 inhabitants, making the expansion of housing inevitable (Gewos 2015:93). Up to 10.000 new flats are needed till then, if migration to the city increases even up to 32.400 new flats are needed, even forcing to galvanize building activities (Gewos 2015:106ff.). The downside is a rising of prices. Since 1988, costs of living skyrocketed about 61% as rents have nearly doubled meanwhile (Gewos 2015: 83f.). Currently, about 19% of Nuremberg households are threatened by poverty, especially people with foreign roots (Gewos 2015:118).

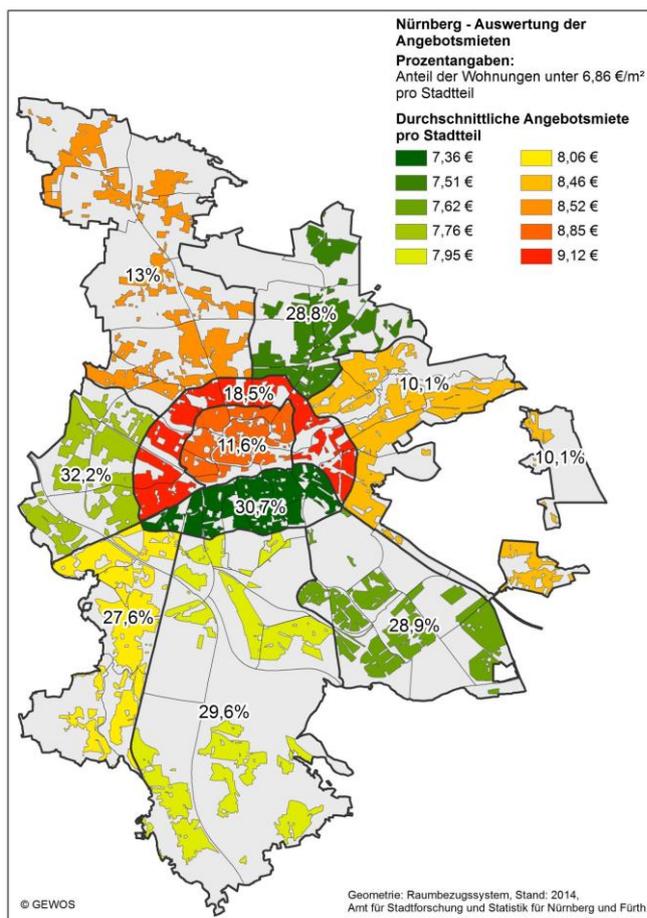


Image 16 Rise of Rents per quarter in Nuremberg

What can be concluded from the image, is that quarters mostly affected by the increase are often the quarters with lower to medium purchasing power. World cities are polarising, splitting society into rich, educated and mobile inhabitants as poor, low educated and immobile urban inhabitants being stuck to the city (Friedmann 1986: 73). Nevertheless, the global cities are still a place of attraction, attracting international, highly skilled as regional, less skilled inhabitants, searching for better opportunities within the cities (Friedmann 1986: 75). About two classes of urban citizens evolve. There is the urban elite, searching for urban exotic. “*The workers holding of the good jobs translate their income into lifestyles*

that clash with the traditional middle-class values” (Sassen 2001:343). In contrast, there is the class of low paid workers, especially migrants, performing tasks, which cannot be outsourced to other countries, such as caring or cleaning. This is not just a strategy of survival but a result of market forces. Here, migrants are filling niches, providing goods and services not provided by the regular market, posing low entrance hurdles. Even so, it does not appear this way, the network as the urban elite depend on these niche fillers (Sassen 2001: 295-299).

This thesis has shown, that migration and urban are to be considered twins, processing the foreign (Hillmann 2013: 151). The same patterns shaped and are still shaping the urban fabrics. Observing the effects of global cities is also possible in Nuremberg, right in front of the own house door. At a construction site for an upper-middle class apartment in Thon, foreign languages especially from Eastern Europe are to be heard. The same counts for the pedestrian zone. At lavatories often, foreign languages can be noticed. Such labour force support local entrepreneurs to remain competitive on the global market (Sassen 2001: 324). In other words, “*migrations do not simply happen. They are produced*” (Sassen 1999:155). About 27% of the

30.000 migrants, came to the Noris during the last three years, especially from Rumania, Bulgaria, Poland, Croatia, but also Iraq and Syria (Stadt Nürnberg 2016c:56). The federal job office next to the migration office in Nuremberg emphasize this correlation in concrete building.

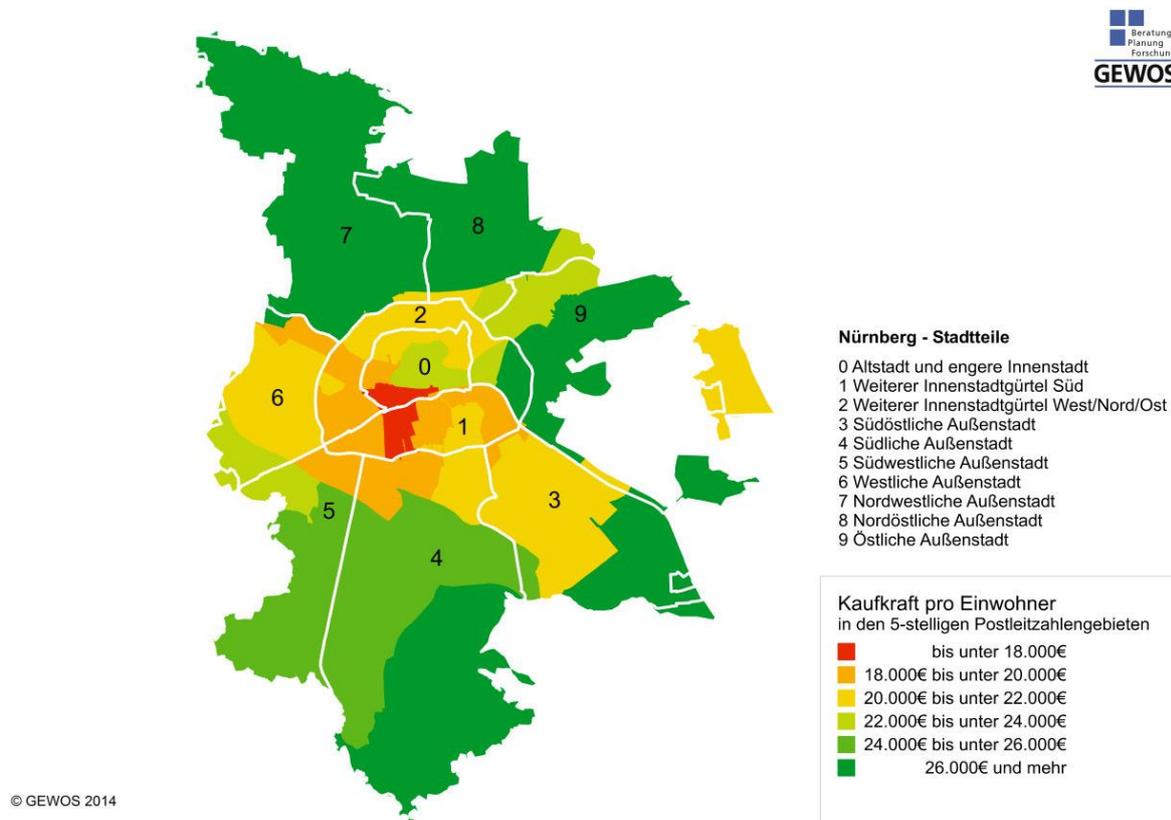


Image 47 Purchasing power per quarter in Nuremberg

Consequently. “arrival cities” evolve. These areas are spaces of transition, “bringing villagers and entire villages into the urban sphere, into the centre of social and economic life, into education and acculturation and belonging into sustainable prosperity” (Saunders 2011:10f.). Probably, nobody would expect iron-corrugated shacks in London or even Nuremberg, but arrival cities exist in all bigger cities around the globe as having Tower Hamlets in London (Saunders 2011:30), Thorncliffe in Toronto (Saunders 2011: 318), Les Pyramides in Paris (Saunders 2011: 229), Gecekondus, makeshift settlements in Istanbul (Saunders 2011:167), or Langwasser in Nuremberg, where many *Russlanddeutsche*, settled in the 1980ies and 1990ies. Even looking different these areas have something in common. In the arrival cities, the general wealth of a country as a city is lower, as shown above. Nevertheless, they have one valuable resource called *social capital*. This implies all factual and potential resources, available thanks to a miscellaneous, institutionalized network of relations, as neighbours, families, friend providing support (Bourdieu 1983:191). As such arrival cities are on the edge, but these areas

are striving to become a part of the centre, serving as entry mechanism, providing a network for societal ascension, climbing the societal ladder (Saunders 2011:19ff). “*Here you can turn your grandchildren into successful people if you find the right way to make a living - in the village you can only live*” (Saunders 2011: 9). Such arrival cities can serve as integration machines, promoting societal progress (Saunders 2011:33), however this success depends on its permeability or stickiness, serving as “waiting halls” for integration (Saunders 2011:36).

Segregation in neutral terms does refer to the unequal distribution of population groups within the city, reflecting the spatial implementation of societal distance (Häußermann 2008:335). Currently, no exhaustive survey about social segregation in Germany are available, but first studies indicate an increase of social segregation, where richer and poorer groups are about to segregate (Farwick 2012:287). Hereby, nationals, without foreign background, are more affected by social segregation, meanwhile migrants are more affected by ethnic segregation, indicating a higher percentage of a migrant group in a quarter. Nevertheless, in general, the societal segregation, based on economic means, prevail over ethnic segregation in the German case (Goebel; Hoppe 2015:7f.). Especially, in quarters with low social and economic resources, this development produces negative side effects, as natives here, mostly consider themselves, the losers of the system, blaming migrants for their failure, hampering the process of integration (Siebel 2015:361). One example of such issue is Kreuzberg in Berlin. Fulfilling all criteria for a thriving arrival city, centrality, social service as contact to natives, the mainly Turkish inhabitants became more traditional, reviving religious customs already outdated in Turkey. The reason for that is, that these people were perceived as guests, making them rely on the tradition, not becoming part of the society, staying outside of it (Saunders 2001:245ff.).

The consequence is the creation of two cities in the city. On the one side there is the *gated community* separated through fences and private security guards. In Germany, this process happens less through the erection of fences but rather by increasing price and aesthetic refurbishment, legitimizing an increase in prices (Siebel 2015:355). Here, an ultra-urban elite is located, pursuing a special lifestyle no longer focused on living and mass consumption, but focussing on design and fashion, goods not available for everybody (Sassen 2001:323). At the same time, migrant quarters surface, serving the own economy as the local market, producing these goods consumed here (Sassen 2001:342). Poverty was always an aspect of the city as

wealth, yet the difference become more obvious than ever. For the case, New York has the highest ratio of billionaires and homeless people in the United States (Wacquant 2001:482).

Everything is about to become a network of flows (Castells 2010: xvii). Migration is literally the personification of this development. Cities are about to diversify in unprecedented ways, creating “*superdiversity*” stating that, “*the new conjunctions and interactions of variables, that have arisen over the past decades surpass the ways- in public discourse, policy debates and academic literature- that we usually understand diversity*” in other words, cities experience the “*diversification of diversity*” (Vertovec 2005:1f.). Many different types of migrants are residing in the city, such migrating once, such staying just temporary to return home. There are Diaspora migrants, establishing for a long term in another country, but maintaining bonds to the country of origin, as transmigrants, wandering through several countries, covering an extensive scope of regions (Pries 2001:39f.). People from all over the world come to the city might this be, asylum, studies, family, work, or the search of better life (Vertovec 2005:33).

It could be shown, that everything is about to become network, the world is thinking, working in networks (Castells 2010: xvii), identifying through networks, confirming the economic, social or political status by sharing a common trait (Baecker 2009:274f.). Members of a certain network are sharing “*imagined worlds*”. Based on a common history, culture, shared experiences, scapes, perceptions of the world are shaped. Here scape is used to emphasize, that no classical centre-periphery perspective is applicable any longer. Rather it is about perspectival constructs depending on historical, linguistic and political situatedness. Global cultural flow is determined by five dimensions. Ethnoscares are constructed by migrants, business travellers, as tourist, affecting the politics of one nation and between nations. A village dweller in India does not just consider moving to Madras but even to Canada or the USA. Technoscares describe the flow of technologies, reflecting the high complexity of technologic progress today, involving international interests and distribution of labour, based on an ever-complex relationship of production. Financescares describe the international flow of capital through the global cities. Finally, mediascares and ideoscares are closely related to each other. They disseminate information through media such as newspaper, television or the Internet, shaping ideas and notions about the various worlds, especially of ethnoscares. Ideospaces, finally, are the ideologies, general views of national states. As an example, democracy follows different interpretations in Germany, the European Union, then in the United States, Russia or China

(Appadurai 1990 296-300). Conversely, globalization is not enforcement of homogenized patterns, but rather a mixture of sameness and difference. So more the world is becoming global, focussing on same patterns, so more obvious the differences become (Appadurai 1990:308).

These networks do not just connect people, they are also about to individualize people, dissolving the traditional bonds (Castells 2011:576). Modern technologies enable to choose the membership into several networks as the degree of engagement. The contemporary *glocality* enables to choose between local neighbourhood and global neighbourhood, better known as chatroom. “*We are free, as well, to shape our degrees of connection to local space. As a result, we can each create our own customized – and evolving – fusion of local and global identities*” (Meyrowitz 2005:27-30). But even today, it is still valid, that all experience is local, providing also basic daily needs as food or housing (Meyrowitz 2005:21). Yet, today many experience is predetermined by the media (Meyrowitz 2005:22). The direct environment is rather perceived through the global lenses of our networks, putting people into categories such as smoker or non-smoker, gender, native or migrant (Meyrowitz 2005:25). Consequently, the Facebook friend at the other edge of the world sometimes appears closer than the own neighbour, just next to the own home. Nevertheless, globalisation also lead to fear not being able to hold pace with the changes of the global world. According to recent surveys, the local is about to regain importance as point of reference, of closeness and community (Fernow et. al 2017:66f.). In such an atmosphere, local governments gain influence, becoming more responsible for managing the contradictions between the local and the global (Castells 1994:31). Rephrased, that asserts, that „*the return to the local is often a response to globalization*“ (Hall 1991:33). The requirement for the local level is to permanently react to changing patterns of global ideas, adapting it to the traditional, local systems, repeatedly defining and renegotiating the own identity, the peculiar features, the “something” cities and citizens have (Machimura 1998:185).

The city of Nuremberg has given itself an identity as the „*city of peace and human rights* “. Drawing conclusion from its past in the Third Reich (see C.3.) In 1993 the “Street of Human Rights” was built by the Israeli artist Dani Karavan. Here 27 pillars and one tree present the 28 articles of the universal declaration of human rights, approved in 1948³⁵. Sixty years after the

³⁵ Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948

available at: http://www.un.org/en/udhrbook/pdf/udhr_booklet_en_web.pdf

approval of the “*Nürnberger Rassegesetze*” and 50 years after the end of war, the “*Nürnberger Menschenrechtspreis*” was assigned for the first time. Since 2001 the *Dokuzentrum* elucidates about the dark past of the Third Reich. At the court of Nuremberg, the former courtroom can be visited, where once the Nuremberg Trials took place. Institutions such as the “*Nürnberger Menschenrechtsbüro*”³⁶ “*Nürnberger Menschenrechtszentrum*”³⁷ as the „*Academia for the Nuremberg Principles*” deal with these aspects (Bach-Damaskinos et.al 2016:298f.). In 2000 the city of Nuremberg was awarded with the UNESCO awards for education in the field of human rights, as first city ever, since the establishment of the award (Stadt Nürnberg 2011:13).



Image 18 Nuremberg Street of Human Rights

Resuming, “*globalization is the moment of mass migration, multiculturalism, and cosmopolitanism.*” (Szeman 2003: 94). The success of a city depends on its ability to govern urban diversity (Bettencourt et. al 2014: 5). Cities depend on integrating within itself as within the global system. Facing increasing diversity and complexity of this system, the city itself as the tasks to be fulfilled become more complex. “*In the early 20th century the quest was for the assimilation of urban subcultures into the urban culture. In the early 21st century the challenge is the sharing of the city by irreversible distinct cultures and identities*” (Castells 2011:577).

³⁶ Nuremberg Office for Human Rights

³⁷ Nuremberg Centre for Human Rights

F) The Global Noris - Local answers to global questions

F.1. Conceiving a city- Planning the Noris

Nuremberg just like Bamberg, Berlin or Munich is an of the category “city”. Having analysed the common patterns of all cities according to Wirth (1974: 50-57), it can be stated, that the social system of Noris, is a city in a Europe of cities. Analysing the boundaries with and integration into the global system, it can be said, that Nuremberg is a gateway city in Europe. However, is Nuremberg as well a European city or to ask more precisely “what is the Noris?” Due to its complexity, every city is a category itself (Portugali 2011:216). Therefore, the concluding chapter will delve with into the Noris system, revealing the system identity itself.

What is characteristic for the European city, is the “political subject” (Siebel 2012:201f.). Every intrusion into the public sphere needs to be legitimized. The European city itself poses enough property to influence its own urban evolution, pursuing a long-term perspective. The long-term planning, envisaging to improve urban quality of life, at the same time trying to balance social differences within the city (Häußermann 2005:54). Municipal policy, can be considered as the “*conception and enforcement of societal binding decisions in a physical binding and socio-spatial system of interaction* (Heinelt; Mayer 2001:63). Urbanism leaves the patterns of a technocratic discourse, being political (Lefebvre 2003:180). Cities are order, culture, civilisation (Lefebvre 2003: 12), processing the complexities of globalisation as commando centres (Sassen 2001:344). Facing the contradiction between space of flow and space of place, it is the task of the city to reconcile the global and local sphere (Castells 2011:576).

Planning in general follows the impulse, initiating civil participation. Then information and the access to information is important, determining how citizens will be able to participate. After that, communication defines the further opportunities of exchange between city, planners and citizens. Having established this first steps, the corporation within the networks will be the essential issue. Finally, after implementation the evaluation of the results will be the major focus, drawing conclusions from the project (Dopfer; Below 2011:226ff.). Recurring to the system analysis a similar approach is pursued, by defining and conceiving the city system.

In 1971 the city municipality established the “*Arbeitsgruppe Nürnberger Plan*”³⁸, working interdisciplinary on the development of the city. Here, various branches of the city administration were collaborating on the implementation of development plans. During the 1970ies it became obvious, that a city cannot simply be planned. Therefore, the city focussed on small scale, feasible projects implemented by special project group. Yet soon, red tape took the overhand, hampering the interdisciplinary feature. Furthermore, the plans were rather considered as guidelines than having a binding character (Holtmann; Schaefer 1996: 288-292). Between 1990 and 2000, the importance of urban development kept on decreasing more and more (koopstadt 2008: 64). The *koopstadt* project under the patronage of the Federal Ministry for Traffic, Construction and Urban Development, could break up this resort egoism, as Michael Ruf, head of the local urban development department asserts (koopstadt 2012:9).

The goal of *koopstadt*, running from 2008 to 2015, was to set an impulse for the urban development in Germany. Three cities, Leipzig, Bremen and Nuremberg should establish a network of mutual assistance and assessment, involving public stakeholders in the process of developing the city (koopstadt 2008: 7). These cities constitute different patterns, but all of them are determined by the structural change away from industry to the service sector (koopstadt 2008: 11). The goals to be followed here, were fostering the urban participation of citizens, improve social cohesion and access, and ensure economic sustainability of the cities as to improve environmental friendliness of the city (koopstadt 2013:7). Every city remained responsible for its own development, but worked as assessor for both others, combing local expertise with an external perspective (koopstadt 2013:5). In Nuremberg, “*Gebietsteams*”³⁹ were responsible for a certain quarter, analysing strengths and weaknesses of the quarter (koopstadt 2008: 65) setting impulses for the further development (koopstadt 2008:70). This project was guided by the “*forum Stadtentwicklung*”, where all departments of administration come together discussing further projects. The most striking result, a first comprehensive vision of the city was conceived (koopstadt 2008: 64). As such the *koopstadt* vision follows the “*Charta of Leipzig*”, enshrining an integrated urban policy, involving all actors from municipality, economy and society, creating consensus between stakeholders (BMU 2007:3).

³⁸ Working Group Nuremberg Plan

³⁹ District Teams

One principle of *koopstadt* was to foster the European city model, emphasizing the social dimension of urban development (BMU 2007:7), by pursuing the goal of a compact, energy sustainable city, and mixed use of living and working within the city quarters (BMU 2007:5). As a result, the “*Masterplan*”, a general vision of a “*compact green Nuremberg 2030*” could be conceived (Stadt Nürnberg 2014:9). Other achievements were a general plan for public transport 2025, living in Nuremberg 2015, as a conception for green spaces. What become obvious here, that Bremen, Leipzig and Nuremberg pursue similar strategies of urban governance, being the basis for mutual collaboration (*koopstadt* 2013:38). Nevertheless, every city developed its own patterns adapting it to their needs (*koopstadt* 2013:91). Important for the further development is the INSEK, conceiving individual developments strategies for every single quarter as here Eberhardshof-Muggenhof in the western part (*koopstadt* 2008:26).

Nuremberg is a typical European city, characterized by a dense building with few green spots. It is one of the most densely settled German cities, posing various challenges (Hilker 2014:6). The general masterplan envisages to follow three strategies. First, “*Unverkennbar Nürnberg*”⁴⁰, is about to strengthen the local identity of Nuremberg, revaluating typical characteristics of the city such as small parks. The second strategy, “*Alltag im Grünen*”⁴¹ tries to improve the access to the green spots of the city. Due to the dense settlement, as medieval and industrial history, Nuremberg new parks are hardly feasible in some parts of the city putting the focus on better reachability (Hilker 2014:13). As rule of thumb small green spots up to 0,2-1 ha shall be reached within 5 minutes or 250m, small parks 1-10ha in 10 min or 500m, as city parks 7-40ha in 20min or 1000m (Stadt Nürnberg 2009). “*Nürnberg auf neuen Wegen*”⁴² finally deals with future options of wasteland, transforming it into green spots, fostering a dual or multipurpose use for different activities (Hilker 2014:13). Hereby, the major focus is on the inner development avoiding so called “*Flächenfrass*”, urban sprawling into its rural outskirts (Stadt Nürnberg 2014b:1). In new building projects 30% of flats shall be reserved for social housing, improving conditions for affordable living space (Stadt Nürnberg 2014b:5).

⁴⁰ Unmistakable Nuremberg

⁴¹ Daily Life in the Green

⁴² Nuremberg on new ways

Such a general vision was also applied for each quarter. Every member of “*Familie Nürnberg*”, stands as a symbolic urban agent of a quarter, reflecting the quarter’s history and identity.

The medieval city is the grandmother, born 1935. Having recovered from the aftermaths of the war the vestiges of age become visible. Yet, thanks to some treatment as the visit of her granddaughter she has regained lots of joy for life. Expressed in planner terms, the Altstadt shall function as the symbol of identity representing the biography of Nuremberg. Creating quality, improving the attractiveness of the inner city, by improving the public space bringing greener to the medieval city, as fostering side-streets with smaller retailers, shall contribute to reach these ambitions. The focus is on “*Qualität*”⁴³ (Stadt Nürnberg 2012a).

The southern city is represented by the nephew, born 1975. After an apprenticeship at MAN he soon got married and father of a son. Shortly after that, the wedlock failed, and the couple separated. On top of that the nephew lost his job at MAN. Yet, things improved, when he fell in love with his new wife, having Turkish roots. Today, he works in the vegetable store of his father in law. Regarding urban development, the southern city can be considered as the most modern part of the city. Consisting only 6% of the whole urban surface, about 20% of population is living here, from various backgrounds, migrants, unemployed, young and old people. The focus here is to harness this diversity, “*Mehrwert*”⁴⁴, for strengthening the quarters, improving local economy and creativity, as green spots (Stadt Nürnberg 2012b).

The common task for the future is represented by the granddaughter, born 1985. Having graduated from high school, she rather focused on partying than on their studies. After a while the decision was taken to study law, giving a new constant to her life. Now she is about to move in her grandmother’s flat, bringing grandmother and daughter closer to each other. Expressed in terms of urban planning “*Nürnberg am Wasser*”⁴⁵ envisages to bring the water into the city, making access to rivers and lakes more liveable improving quality of life within the city. Such a task is considered as a “*Gemeinschaftsaufgabe*”⁴⁶ (Stadt Nürnberg 2012c).

⁴³ quality

⁴⁴ additional value

⁴⁵ Nuremberg at the waterside

⁴⁶ common task

Finally, the western part of the city is especially affected by the changing patterns of global change. This is represented by the Sunny boy, born 1955. His father an engineer at Siemens, his mother owner of a shop in the inner city. After school he became a dentist, soon having the opportunity to overtake his own medical practice. His whole life seemed to be an adventure of partying and an extensive lifestyle. Yet, he had not noticed, that times were changing, the economic decline had begun. Today, he has converted from a hedonist to an environmental activist, providing voluntary work once a year in Africa. Expressed in formal terms, the western part of the city is a typical industrial quarter. Build up after the Second World War along Fürther Straße, where the first railroad of Germany rode, many enterprises such as AEG, Quelle, and Triumph established their headquarters there. The gigantic industrial buildings until today give this quarter their typical character. Negatively to mention here, is the lack of public space and especially green spots. During the structural change from industrial to service society, most of the industries closed. Having attracted many guest-workers, Eberhardshof-Muggenhof presents a special social fabric. Most of the 9.500 people in Eberhardshof and 2.500 in Muggenhof are younger than the average of Nuremberg. Many have a foreign background, 61% in Eberhardshof as 75% in Muggenhof, coming mostly from the European Union, Turkey. Currently, unemployment is at 8, 3% in comparison to the general unemployment of 7, 2% in the city, affecting especially foreign-born citizens (Stadt Nürnberg 2016:18&45&116).

The general idea is “*Dynamik*”, transforming the quarter into a mixed area combining living and working, as creating new green spots. Hereby, a special focus shall be set on creativity and sustainability, attracting enterprises, science and artists. At the same time, taking the high percentage of unemployment and social care spending here into consideration, another focus is set on improving opportunities for education in the quarter (Stadt Nürnberg 2012d). What is striking here is the difference between AEG and Quelle. Both former brands of industrial Nuremberg shut down nearly at the same time. Now, only separated by Fürther Straße at AEG a cultural hub could be established, meanwhile Quelle remains an industrial ruin. Analysing this case study, will emphasize one subsystem of Nuremberg, indicating how the urban agents shape the city and being shaped by the city. Meanwhile the former industrial wasteland of AEG has transformed into a cultural centre, “*Auf AEG*”, the Quelle building, still flaunts the second biggest industrial ruin in Germany (Auer 2013 n.p.). This case study was chosen according to the words of the Mayor of Nuremberg, Ulrich Maly considered this area as “*burning lens for the challenges the city is facing not just since the end of Quelle and AEG*”⁵².

European cities create identity. *“Buildings talk about democracy and aristocracy, about openness and arrogance, about threats and friendly welcome, about sympathy for the future or the desire for the past”* (de Botton 2008:71f.). The special pattern of the European city is maintaining urban community although or just because people are foreigner to each other (Baecker 2009:264). Here, every city produces its own fashion, exchange of goods, communication, simply way of living (Siekermann 2011: 84). Some fancy the Berlin tube as a socio-cultural hub, others are just annoyed by sharing a train with passengers, selling magazines, begging for money or, even worse, attention (L6w 2008:29ff.). Quality of life is a decisive factor for urban life, for the urban, *“how to deal with the foreign, populating the city, the treatment of social imbalances in a city and between them”* (Kronauer; Siebel 2013:9).

As every city is a category itself, the system can be understood best out of itself, or as Luhmann defined it being self-referential. The reduce complexity through selection (Luhmann 2017:85f.). The urban is shaping the global and vice versa, citizens shape the city and be shaped by it (Portugali 2011:62). Being exposed to an over abundancy of meanings, urban agents must process their perceptions, ordering cognitions into identities (Portugali 2011: 233). The same counts for the city itself, processing its perceptions into identities. As urban agents translate their perceptions into cognitive maps, the city translates their perceptions into urban planning. Unique in history, the European city let the European civil emancipation thrive and vice versa (Siebel 2015:42), *“cities become the solution of their own problem”* (Baecker 2009:264). *“Each agent operating in the city is a local, cognitive, self-organizing system, while the city as a whole is a global, urban self-organizing system”* Consequently, the question surfaces about *“the boundary of the city as a global urban system; and the boundary of the cognitive system used in the categorization of cities”* (Portugali 2011:216). The question is, what Nuremberg is and who is empowered to be part of it. In the following, the general planning patterns will be presented. Based on these systems set, the boundaries within the Noris system will be analysed.

Each section of this chapter deals with one of the guiding questions.

- What is the *System*? Here the general structures of time and space will be shown, characterizing the respective epoch in terms of geography, economy and society
- What can be done? Here the general access to the structure of societal resources will be discussed.
- What is asked to be done? Here the general patterns of interaction between various societal actors will be discussed.
- What is responded to be done? Here the general aspect of creating a common culture towards different groups of interest will be discussed.
- What is it like to be done? Here the general aspect of identifying with the urban environment will be discussed.

Having the general system analysed in the previous chapter, now it is about delving in Nuremberg as a system itself. In the following F.2. will discuss the access to and the structure of the system. F.3. will elaborate on the dynamics of the system expressed in interaction. F.4. will focus on the common features defining the culture. F.5. finally summarizes the findings, revealing the identity of the system itself. *“The suggestion is to see the artifact city as the collective product of a synergistic process involving thousands and millions of participants, each acting locally in a relatively independent manner”* (Portugali 2011: 218)

F.2. Participative Noris – Structure of the Noris

Cities are dual complex systems, they are social systems global, urban self-organizing system, defined by their boundaries (Portugali 2011: 211). Citizens as urban agents are shaping the urban of a city, as they are shaped by it (Portugali 2011:62). Consequently, the question arising deals with, who is part of the city, access defines the structure, defines *“what can be done?”*

Notably, what distinguishes the European city is citizenship. The European city let the emancipated citizen thrive and vice versa (Siebel 2015:42). Consequently, citizenship can be defined according to three issues. What is citizenship? Here, the legal status of an urban agent

is addressed. Where does citizenship take place? Here, the participation in the urban society is dealt with. Who is citizenship? Here, urban agents either do or do not identify with the social construct of the city (Bosniak 2006:20). Publicity thus implies the hope for equal access to the societal, economic and political institutions of a society (Siebel 2015:81). Structural access is basic for becoming part of a system, the urban society, defining the status (Esser 2001: 17).



Image 19 Future Prospect of Nuremberg West

Applied to the urban context, it is the *“right to the city”* *“Put simply, the Right to the City defends two elements of citizenship: the ability of all groups and individuals to live in the city, being present and enjoying in all its parts; and partaking in the control over the decisions that shape the city, using its spaces to exercise their citizenship”* (Fernandes 2007:208). The main tenet here is to ensure, that citizens *“can live with their own creations”* (Harvey 2003:939). Not only an elite, but all citizens shall have the right to create the city (Harvey 2008: 39f.). Contrasting the idea of the right of access to what already exists, it as rather to be understood the *“right to claim rights”* (Plyushteva 2009:92ff.). Today, apart from federal and municipal elections all citizens, independent of their status enjoy the same rights of taking part. Thus, urban citizenship today is more an issue of norms and values (Slootman; Duyvendak. 2015:148).

Participation of all citizens, independent of ethnic background or status, making use of the opportunities offered by the municipality is enshrined in the integration programme of Nuremberg (Stadt Nürnberg 2004). This is in line with the new urban agenda of the United Nations *Habitat III*, where for the future prospect, cities are envisaged, to be “*participatory, promote civic engagement, engender a sense of belonging and ownership among all their inhabitants*” (United Nations 2016:13), corresponding to the principles of the *Charta of Leipzig* (BMU 2007:3) or the *koopstadt* project (koopstadt 2008:7).

The city of Nuremberg has taken that into mind, publishing reports⁴⁷ of intercultural openness in accordance with the integration programme. About 20% of the new employed in 2015 in general administration had a foreign background. Here, every section of the city tasks is listed with its own report. Furthermore, every report includes an extensive list of intercultural programmes such as Xenos PIK⁴⁸, preparing the municipal employees for the various requirements of different ethnic and cultural groups within Nuremberg. Nevertheless, what becomes striking here is, that the urban planning department did not publish any numbers about intercultural openness. The general argument is, that no hurdles for participation were considered⁴⁹. Yet, participation rate of 5, 7 % in voting for the integrative council query this assumption (Stadt Nürnberg 2016d). What becomes striking here, is the importance of distance as proximity, determining the opportunities for participation (Köhler; Bartla 2014:29). There is the “*Offenes Büro*”⁵⁰, exhibiting future options for the urban development. Other options for participation are initiating a referendum, joining a civil rally with municipality or a “*Bürgerantrag*”, when at least one percent of citizens supports this motion, the city council must debate on this issue. Here, coming to any decision is not compulsory⁵¹. However, all those

⁴⁷ Intercultural Openness Reports

available at: <https://www.nuernberg.de/internet/integration/teilberichte.html#20>

⁴⁸ Xenos PIK

available at: <http://www.xenos-pik.de/index.htm>

⁴⁹ Baureferat und Planungsamt

available at:

https://www.nuernberg.de/imperia/md/integration/dokumente/integration/161208_teilbericht_fuer_den_geschaef_tsbereich_des_planungs-_und_baureferats.pdf

⁵⁰ Open Office

available at: https://www.nuernberg.de/internet/stadtplanung/offenes_buero.html

⁵¹ Bürgerbeteiligung

available at: <https://www.nuernberg.de/internet/stadtportal/buergerbeteiligung.html>

opportunities require time, stamina and especially the specific legal skills to exert its opinion. Referring to the right to the city exerted by all its citizens, this can lead to a distortion of opportunities, favouring educated and equipped actors.

The basic structural problems for the active participation are lack of funding, lack of expertise and lack of time as many of activities in civil organisations especially migrant organisations are on a voluntary basis (Naumann 2010:29). For that reason, a professional further training for migrant associations and integrative boards in corporation with the Bavarian agency for voluntary work and Nuremberg took place. Between 2007 and 2010 about 113 participants from 29 countries received further training in areas coordinated with the participating organisations. Such aspects were legal aspects, project management or also the use of IT for publicity. There, the special aspect was, that it was not simply education but adapted to the needs of the participating organisations, providing new skills (Müller 2010). What became obvious then, in Eigenlogik the city of Nuremberg needed some impulses from outside its systems to get active.

The “*Ladder of Citizen Participation*” shows, that there are different steps of participation. Arnstein (1969) distinguished eight steps, yet many other steps could be inserted as well. At the bottom citizen participation only serves to “manipulate” public opinion. Here, citizens’ representative are included, but only consult without a real saying. In the middle of the ladder the involvement serves to inform citizens about already approved decisions. Such form can be found with *Bürgerversammlungen*⁵², where local stakeholders are informed about the potential plans of the quarter. Further above, the rank of consultation is to be found. One example was the extension of the tram in the quarter of Thon. After an initial informational event, 20 representatives from the citizens were chosen, accompanying the process of preparing the extension (Nürnberg 2016c: 92f.) On the higher ranks, there are to be found partnerships, enabling a corporation of equal partners. As the next section shows, this is the core of Nuremberg strategy, involving citizens to receive a feedback from them. These are networks such as the support of intercultural associations or sport clubs with financial and advisory support, but also migrant based economic corporations such as “*Ausbildungsring ausländischer Unternehmen e.V.*”⁵³. A higher rank on this ladder, delegated power implies, that citizens have

⁵² civil conventions

a veto right in decisions, have a real say. Regarding the refurbishment of Nordostbahnhof, a former industrial settlement in the Northeast, this was applied to art on the street. A delegation of citizens was chosen to discuss with planners and the municipality about future art here. After a consultation of all proposals submitted by artists, this delegation in corporation with planners and municipality decided on the final piece of art. At this project citizen delegates had one vote more than institutions, strengthening the franchise of the citizens (Stadt Nürnberg 2014c:21). On top of the ladder stands citizen control, where citizens create their quarter totally on their own, run own schools. Probably, as even Arnstein (1969:223) presumes, to be implausible, this model is not feasible for the European city.

As it could be shown, planning as urban development is not simply a technocratic discourse but highly political (Lefebvre 2003: 180). Norms and preferences mark the different goals of the actors (Sack 2012:314). However, cities are the cradle for new forms of taking influence beyond the established channels. Civil Associations, initiatives, founders constitute a new political clout besides the established forms of participation such as parties (Sack 2012:317). The city administration has recognized this fact, as mayor Ulrich Maly emphasizes, that: *“the juridification of opportunities for participation in building and planning law do hardly fulfil the qualities of democratic participation, they rather serve as giving a legal insurance for the plans”* (Maly 2013:5). Therefore, low-threshold opportunities for participation are important. Conservative, rather apolitical, social, community centred is a typical feature of the Noris inhabitant (Stadt Nürnberg 2013:8f.). Conscious about that, the strategy appeals to that fact.

Notably, the focus of Nuremberg is based on low-threshold opportunities for participation. Successful citizen participation requires information, time as opportunities for participating without being an expert on planning (koopstadt 2011:32). One example is *“Mobile Bürgerversammlung”⁵⁴*, where citizens are cycling with the mayor and responsible representatives from the city administration. Directly at the spot, citizens can ask questions or get in contact with the city administration. The plan is, to visit every quarter at least once in four years, assessing changes, receiving feedback from the residents (koopstadt 2011:16).

⁵³ Association of foreign entrepreneurs for professional education
available at: <http://www.aauev.de/wir-uber-uns/>

⁵⁴ Mobile Citizens Rally

Today, cities are complex facing *complex problems*. Such problems cannot be solved by right or wrong but rather by worse or better. Hierarchical structures do not longer serve these requirements, leading to a more horizontal approach (Kapucu 2014:30). Regarding those complex problems require the observing skill of external actors, often directly affected by measures, as experts can become blind on expertise (Termeer et. al. 2015:681f.).



Image 20 Mobile Bürgerversammlung at Street of Human Rights

Already in 1976, the city administration changed its focus from the principle of the affected to the principle of everyone, even so, still hurdles existed. The main intention was to use those new opportunities for safeguarding against change (Holtmann; Schaefer 1996:408). Yet, times have changed as with them opportunities. The erosion of classical institutions has opened the way for new actors, emphasizing the role of city as a mediator (Leubolt et. al.2007:51f.). Since 1996 the “*Kinderversammlung*”⁵⁵ offers every child to give its view on the city. Between 2011 and 2013 about 197 proposals were made, whereby about 101 could be implemented, dealing with the quality of playgrounds (Stadt Nürnberg 2015:253). Another example to mention here is *laut*, appealing to children between the age of 16 and 21. Established in 2009, these adolescents get the opportunity to directly have a say. Four times a year, *lautTV* records broadcasts for the local television, as once a year the mayor is summoned, appealing to the requests of the youths. One example, a consensus between sprayers and the city administration

⁵⁵ childrens´ rally

could be found, together searching for spots, where the young artist got the opportunity to spray and show their art, shaping the urban environment (Stadt Nürnberg 2014d).

Finally, the city administration is working on improving opportunities for e-Participation. Making use of modern electronic means a dialogue between citizens and the city administration is envisaged, to receive a feedback from the citizens' side, conceiving consensual concepts. The final decision yet remains in the hands of the elected public officials (Stadt Nürnberg 2013a: 3). At the 25th of April 2017, a first informational event was performed, elaborating plans with the citizens on how to shape a future park at the part of Quelle area, acquired by the city. This was accompanied by an online participation, where at the end about 30% of the proposals were submitted via the Internet and 70% in analogue way during the informational event. Having assessed the proposals by more than 1.500 participants, a first feedback was already given, explaining, which proposals are feasible and which not⁵⁶. Maintaining the urban dialogue, observing the implementation citizens keep being directly involved in the project's realization.

Regarding the case study of Quelle and AEG, such models were also applied, to conceive a general plan of Nuremberg West. In 2009, the "*Geschichtswerkstatt*"⁵⁷ began to deal with the city quarter, researching on the historic beginnings as a small farm, transforming into an industrial centre. Furthermore, the *koopmobil* rode through the city quarter, informing about the koopstadt project. In 2011, a theatre play "*Muggeley*" was established. Students from the local schools orchestrated a play, appealing to the positive and negative sides of the western quarters (Stadt Nürnberg 2012d:36). This was supported by a "*Weststadtweatherstudio*"⁵⁸, where 40 participants could state their view on various aspects of the city using weather symbols. Changes on the former industrial wasteland AEG were conceived positive, yet the Fürther Straße, cutting the city into two halves as the huge amount of wasteland were conceived negative (Stadt Nürnberg 2014c:39). Comparing AEG and Quelle the separation is influential.

⁵⁶ Neues Grün für Eberhardshof

available at: <https://www.onlinebeteiligung.nuernberg.de/dialoge/neues-gruen-eberhardshof#href=%2Fdialog%2Finformationen%2Fkonkrete-planungen-starten-mit-ihren-ideen&container=%23main-content>

⁵⁷ History Workshop

⁵⁸ Western city weather studio

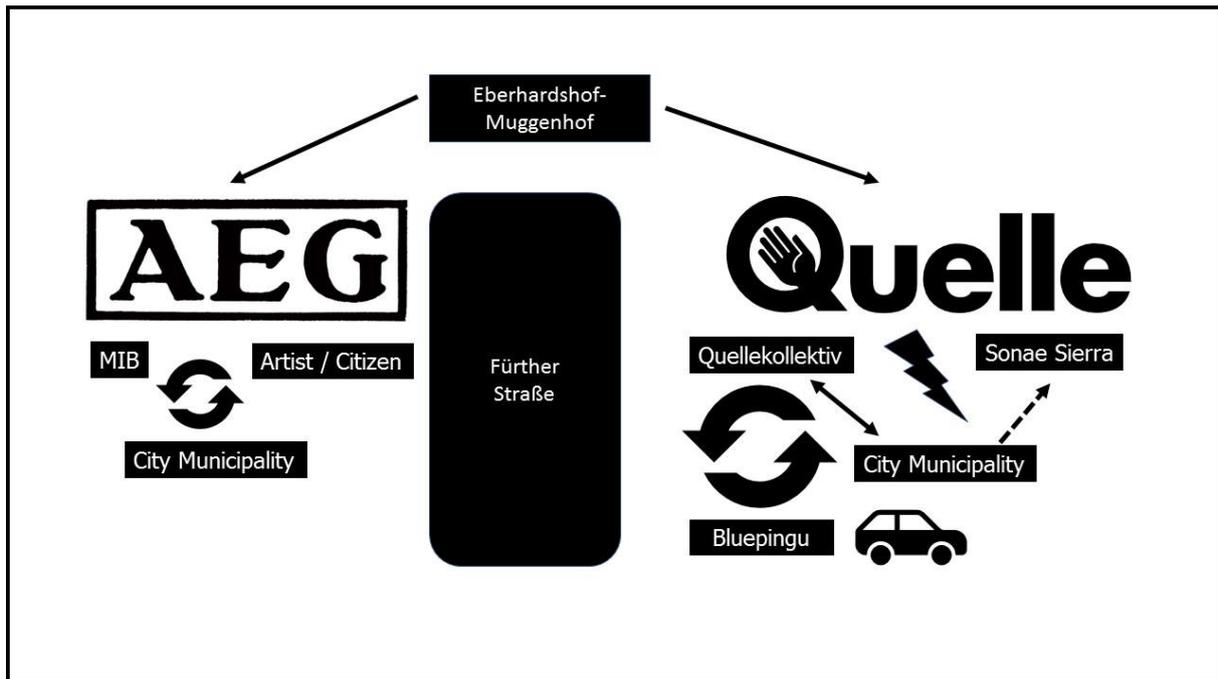


Image 22 Structure of AEG and Quelle

When AEG closed its door in 2007, followed by Quelle in 2009, an epoch of Nuremberg's recent history had come to an end. Until that point, both complexes were sharing a common history, determining the quarter as the identity of the city. Leaving the tube at the station Muggenhof, on the left, a creative hub could be established, facing an industrial ruin over there.

The reason can be found in the establishment of different structures following different utopias, bringing competing or collaborating actors together. Firstly, having a look at the bright side of the street the evolution of the AEG system will be analysed. Secondly, Quelle will be analysed.

Shortly after the closure of the former production site, the investment group MIB acquired the ground of AEG. This group had already acquired fame for the refurbishment of *Alte Spinnerei* in Leipzig, transforming a former industrial wasteland into an international acknowledged cultural centre. On its website, it is stated, that no standard concept is sold, yet the group claims to gain its reputation through giving others an identity⁵⁹. At first, the new owner tore down some of the recent buildings to create more space. After that, the focus was on transforming the

⁵⁹ MIB

available at: <http://www.mib.de>

existing into something new.⁶⁰ Funded by the European fund *second chance*, here the chance of transforming a former industrial wasteland into a cultural hotspot were harnessed⁶¹. A mono-structured location thus could be transformed into a colourful mix, giving space for science, service and art⁶². Today, private enterprises, law firms the *Centro Español* could be relocated into modern facilities as the “*Kulturbüro Muggenhof*”⁶³ or the “*Musikhochschule*”⁶⁴ have found space on the area. For that purpose, the city has acquired hall 3 of the former AEG complex (Stadt Nürnberg 2012d:49). Now, also the university has moved into some parts of the complex establishing the “*Energie Campus.*” Regarding the structural access, most important to mention here, the investment group established their office *Auf AEG*, saying that, if there is something to discuss the local renters or the city administration have a short distance and a concrete person in-charge, in this case Bertram Schultze, CEO of MIB⁶⁵.

Looking right at the other side of the street, things are completely different. In 2009, a real Nuremberg institution closed its doors forever. *Quelle* stood for a concrete symbol of the economic upturn after the Second World War, as the thriving post-war years of the city. Different, then AEG, the area of *Quelle* came to disposition due to bankruptcy of the *Quelle Corporation*. After that first the Dutch real estate fund *Valbonne Real Estate B.V* acquired the property rights, establishing first talks with the local real estate fund *EBiG Entwicklungs- und Beteiligungsgesellschaft für Immobilien GmbH & Co. KG* and the city. However, those plans were thwarted as the Dutch fund went bankrupt itself. Credit Suisse took over the fund initiating a compulsory auction. Here, the Portuguese investment fund *Sonae Sierra* had some pre-

⁶⁰ Heuer-Dialog: *Auf AEG-Creating Communities*, 12.08.2011

<https://www.heuer-dialog.de/aktuell/12.08.2011-auf-aeg-creating-communities>

168.000 m² Nutzfläche sowie 20min bis zum Flughafen

⁶¹ Nürnberger Nachrichten: *Auf AEG blühen Kulturlandschaften*; 24.03.2010

available at: <http://www.nordbayern.de/kultur/auf-aeg-bluehen-kulturlandschaften-1.657272>

⁶² Heuer-Dialog: *Auf AEG-Creating Communities*, 12.08.2011

<https://www.heuer-dialog.de/aktuell/12.08.2011-auf-aeg-creating-communities>

168.000 m² Nutzfläche sowie 20min bis zum Flughafen

⁶³ Cultural Office

⁶⁴ Municipal Music School

⁶⁵ *Auf AEG*

available at: <http://www.aufaeg.de/vermietung>

emptive rights for buying the area⁶⁶, acquiring it for 16, 8 million euro. Reactions were quite negative by stakeholders, hearing about the plans of the investor to establish a mall in Quelle⁶⁷.

At this point, the current structure of the Quelle system was set. Although, the municipality argues, that no pre-emptive purchasing rights were possible due to bankruptcy law, the city had lost its access, rather becoming somehow between. Here, issues became political, the interaction of the network was established. Following the utopia (Lefebvre 2003:38f.), different visions for the future of the Quelle area were competing. Plans were made to establish parts of the university there, yet cost appeared to be too high, arguing with the high expenses for refurbishment (Husarek 2013). Covering the maintenance costs for the Quelle area, artists were settled at the former emporium⁶⁸. They began to appropriate the wasteland to their needs, instilling new life into the old walls⁶⁹⁷⁰. Being aware of the auctioning of Quelle, the local civil initiative “*Wir kaufen die Quelle*” envisaged to purchase the area via crowdfunding, yet failed.⁷¹ At the time Sonae Sierra took over, about 10% of the scope was covered by an interim use. After negotiations some spots at the former parking space were sold to a construction enterprise, building apartments there. The city could acquire some part of the area, envisaging to establish

⁶⁶ Nürnberger Nachrichten: Wird das Quelle Areal zwangsversteigert? 16.05.2013

available at: <http://www.nordbayern.de/region/nuernberg/wird-das-quelle-areal-zwangsversteigert-1.2909317?searched=true>

⁶⁷ Nürnberger Nachrichten: Quelle geht für 16,8 Millionen Euro and Sonae Sierra; 09.06.2015

available at:

<http://www.nordbayern.de/region/nuernberg/quelle-geht-fur-16-8-millionen-euro-an-sonae-sierra-1.4437452?tabParam=comments>

⁶⁸ Stadtplanungsausschuss 07.04.2011

available at:

https://www.nuernberg.de/imperia/md/baureferat/dokumente/planen/quelle_zwischenbericht2_arealeberhardshof.pdf

⁶⁹ Nürnberger Nachrichten: Von Designer bis Musiker- In der Quelle sprudelt das Leben; 06.02.2014

available at: <http://www.nordbayern.de/region/nuernberg/von-designer-bis-musiker-in-der-quelle-sprudelt-das-leben-1.3435848?type=article&article=1.3936636&gallery=1.3435848&zoom=18¢erLat=49.4904742¢erLng=11.0986834&selectedType=Artikel&defaultDateRange=-%20alle%20-&selectedDate=-%20alle%20->

⁷⁰ Bayerischer Rundfunk: Das Quelle Areal

available at:

<https://story.br.de/quelle-areal/#/chapter/1/page/1>

⁷¹ We will buy Quelle

available at: <http://www.wir-kaufen-die-quelle.com/>

a park there⁷² Meanwhile, the social-democratic party supported the plans of Sonae Sierra, the conservative party defended their stance, arguing for building new living space and green spot here⁷³. Even so the *Institut für Heterotopie* even made a concrete proposal for establishing a cultural quarter hub here⁷⁴, this could never be realized, as the city had lost its access to the Quelle area. Referring to the European city model, at Quelle it has ended to exist. The faction leader of the conservative party, Sebastian Brehm, argued, that it would have been a “*gigantic fault*” not to use a joint venture with the federal country of Bavaria, as it was done in other cases, to develop the area on own means⁷⁵. Already in 2015, a farsighted citizen commented on the future plans of Sonae Sierra:” *Giving away a whole city quarter to these blinders, is just another example of the Nuremberg tradition for faulty decisions in urban planning and cultural political issues. The building will stand empty for ten years and then it will be torn down, let’s bet?*”⁷⁶ Unfortunately, the commentator should somehow be right. As no concrete plans were submitted or are visible on the Internet presence of Sonae Sierra⁷⁷, the future of this area is as insecure as in 2009. Other than the case of AEG, even so no local presence or representative is reachable. Recently, the city administration announced to consider purchasing the area, returning to the status of the year 2015⁷⁸.

⁷² Stadtratssitzung 02.07.2015

available at: <https://online-service2.nuernberg.de/Eris/MeetingPanel/proceed?meetingId=4091&action=selectAgendaItem&agendaItemId=52841>

⁷³ Nürnberger Nachrichten: Nutzung des Quelle-Areals- Wer will was? 04.02.2014

available at: <http://www.nordbayern.de/nutzung-des-quelle-areals-wer-will-was-1.3401453>
04.02.2014

⁷⁴ Institut für angewandte Heterotopie

available at: <http://www.i-fah.com/>

⁷⁵ Nürnberger Nachrichten: Wieder am Nullpunkt- Langer Leerstand bei Quelle; 26.08.2016

available at: <http://www.nordbayern.de/region/nuernberg/wieder-am-nullpunkt-langer-leerstand-bei-quelle-1.5442968?searched=true>

⁷⁶ Nürnberger Nachrichten: So soll das Einkaufszentrum auf dem Quelle-Gelände aussehen; 31.07.2015 available at: <http://www.nordbayern.de/region/nuernberg/so-soll-das-einkaufszentrum-auf-dem-quelle-gelände-aussehen-1.4557335?searched=true>

⁷⁷ Sonae Sierra

available at: <https://www.sonaesierra.com/corporate/en-gb.aspx>

⁷⁸ Nürnberger Nachrichten: Notfall Plan: Stadt würde gesamtes Quelle Areal kaufen; 05.08.2017

available at: <http://www.nordbayern.de/region/nuernberg/notfall-plan-stadt-wurde-gesamtes-quelle-areal-kaufen-1.6459447>



Image 22 Quelle a source of inspiration?

The question to be pursued in this thesis is to define city, as the actors being part of it. Constituting dual complex systems these systems come into being by the process of emergence out of the interaction between the many parts of the system (Portugali 2011:14). Here, every system develops its own rhythm (Portugali 2011:62). Addressing the aspect of boundaries, it can be concluded so far, that the Noris system is a rather inclusive system bringing various actors together. High politics remain in the hand of the municipality, yet urban agents are involved in rather low politic local questions such as the designing of a park. Rather inclining the feasible than the lyric (Holtmann 1996:291) here the *Eigenlogik* as *Nürnberger Witz* becomes alive, being innovative in the small things. This could be proven at AEG, being part of the AEG system, fulfilling its task. Conversely, not suiting grand visions, Quelle can be considered as *vernürnbergern*, “*urban space as concrete contradiction*” (Lefebvre 2003:39).

F.3. The Noris Network – Interaction within the Noris

“*Networks constitute the new social morphology of our societies, and the diffusion of networking logic substantially modifies the operation and outcomes in processes of production, experience, power, and culture* (Castells 2010: 500). During this thesis it has become obvious, that cities are giant social networks. *The city, belonging to one man, is no city*“, as Sophocles stated (Antigone cited in Mumford 1984:139). Since the early beginnings, “*centuries the world*

economy has shaped the life of cities” (Sassen 2001:3), cities need a market to come into existence, as place for exchange of goods and ideas (Pounds 2005: 12). Simultaneously, migration should be conceived as “*a form of geographic mobility to realise chances of inclusion into systems of functions and their organisations*” (Bommes 1999:14). Bringing the right actors together is the basis of success for a city to thrive (Lefebvre 2003:117). Cities produce diversity to become more resilient (Bettencourt et. al. 2014:1), however this diversity can also become a stumbling stone if not managed right. As the previous chapter has shown, cities today are more complex than ever before, *facing superdiversity* (Vertovec 2001:1), polarisation into a transnational elite and a local immobile lower class (Siebel 2015:55), as an individualisation of society (Castells 2011:576). Where is the boundary of an urban society to be set?

“*As soon as any man says of the affairs of the State: "What does it matter to me?" the State may be given up for lost*” (Rousseau; Jean Jacques 2010: 49), would be the consequence of system exclusion. The “*integration machine*” (Häußermann 2006:257), distinguishes the European city, enabling contact through distance, letting people live together even so, or just because they do not know each other (Baecker 2009:261). Facing impacts of globalisation, cities slacken their integrative power (Holm; Lebhun 2013:204) querying boundaries.

Groups are always defined according to the outer border (Tajfel 1982:2), so less intergroups contact, so more the groups are conceived as homogenous (Tajfel 1982:13). Without mutual intergroup contact, the local is perceived through the global lenses (Meyrowitz 2005:25-30). Important to take in mind, so higher the diversity within a quarter so more difficult dealing with it, as residents could feel overburdened or threatened by this diversity (Stolle et. al. 2008:58). A common goal can reduce the tensions of a conflict, bringing actors suspicious to each other together, based on mutual interest (Tajfel 1982:28). *Social capital* is created, “*encompassing the whole amount of resources, being based on the factual or potential membership of a group*” (Bourdieu 1983:190f.). Trust through reciprocity can reduce transactions costs. Corresponding, strengthening the group, incentives for bandwagon are reduced, as the perspective changes from the I to the We, based on the characteristic of interaction (Putnam 2000:225).

“*Cities have the capability of providing something for everybody, only because and only when they are created by everybody*” (Jacobs 1961:238). Different than legal status, citizenship today

has rather to be understood as a process of participation and identification with the urban processes and development (van Bochove et. al 2010:346). Different than in industrial times, in global times everything must be conceived in and through networks. Being member of a certain network, defines identity, confirming the economic, social or political status by sharing a common trait (Baecker 2009:274f.). Networks can create social trust, glue keeping a community together (Putnam 2000a:20). Nevertheless, interaction does not happen out of itself. There have to be incentives provided by the trading partner to interact. Every group needs goods lucrative for the other group, establishing a mutual contact (Esser 2001: 10ff.). Those incentives can be found in the city system itself. Urban politics “*can better plan, design and manage the environment for and with people, if we now how they image the world*” (Lynch 1976: xi). “*All rational politics must begin with the concrete facts of regional life, not as they appear to the specialist, but as they appear first to those who live within the region*” or in other words, the locals know best, what is the best for the local (Mumford 1970:383).

Local policy should be conceived as the “*production and enforcement of societal binding decisions*” (Heinelt; Mayer 2001:63). Norms and preferences mark the goals to be pursued by the actors especially dealing with societal differentiation (Sack 2012:314). But here always the materiality of a city is decisive, independent of, what is to be planned or what is to be build (Zimmermann et.al 2014:168f.). Here, every city develops it owns constellations, contextual knowledge and expressions, determining the habits of the citizens residing in those cities (Terizakis 2011:11). More concise, the principal question is does it fit into the local context? (Streets 2011:134f.). Buildings do not appear ugly to us, because they might be ugly per se, but because they contradict the individual understanding of living (de Botton 2008:73).

Cities offers *Leerstellen* to answer the questions of the respective time, becoming the solution of its own problem (Baecker 2009:264). However, those solutions cannot longer be found in hierarchies, as the issues of today are not simply to be answered by right or wrong but rather by worse or better. Network approaches provide more flexibility to adapt to the contemporary challenges, yet also increasing complexity with an increase of actors integrated into the network (Kapucu 2014:30f.). Nevertheless, networks help to solve problems, by collaborative activity of multiorganizational arrangements, which could not be solved by a single organisation at all (Agranoff; McGuire 2003:4). Just repairing one house on its own in a quarter of demise does not pay off (Fürst 2007:353), a new approach is surfacing called “*urban governance*”.

“Governance is a negotiation mechanism for formulating and implementing policy that actively seeks the involvement of stakeholders and civil society organisations besides government bodies and experts” (García 2006: 74). In that sense, “governing capacity” is less about domination and resistance between community groups—who wages ‘power over’ whom—and more about enabling a capacity to act; a ‘power to’ (Mac Leod 2011: 2634). This reflects the remarkable aspect of the European city model, where the private, individual rights and public control go hand in hand, to shape the urban space (Benevolo 1999:233). Here, the urban publicity serves as mediator between the demos and the deciders (Meyer; Peintinger 2013:180). Other than in times of checklist a fixed plan, urban planners should dissociate from being an “expert”, rather focussing on becoming a “co-learner”, establishing a network of mutual learning (Reed 2005:26). Summarizing so far, everything is about to become a network, even the process of urban policy, establishing what can be called for Nuremberg the “*Noris Network*”.

Governance networks thus can be described as a tool “to describe public policy making and implementation through a web of relationships between government, business and civil society actors” (Klijn; Skelcher 2007: 587). The effects are yet ambiguously discussed, some arguing, that new actors are included, stating, that democracy is fostered. Others argue, that new elites are created, as making use of this opportunities depend on resources to be used for making use of it, simply said, dominating the network (Klijn; Skelcher 2007:588). Four strands of argumentation determine the debate on the rule of governance in traditional politics.

The *incompatibility conjecture* argues, that such networks sideline representative democracy, by favouring access for organized groups such as experts and lobbyists over the influence of the average voter (Klijn; Skelcher 2007:593f.). This could somehow be proven for the case of Quelle, as investment funds took overhand, influencing the whole procedure against the will of the local stakeholders. The *instrumental conjecture* argues, that governments make use of governance to put the political agenda on a wider basis. Mostly the case, where first the political agenda is set and afterwards the network is established (Klijn; Skelcher 2007:599f.). Such an approach can be seen in the case of Quelle establishing a Quelle park, where the general plan should be supported by feedback from the civil side. Even new approaches for participation are opened, here the power remains in the hand of the government (Klijn; Skelcher 2007:602f.). Furthermore, the *complementary conjecture* argues, that governance is a complement to governmental activities. Here, the local government acquires knowledge about the desires and

needs of its citizen, meanwhile, the citizens get the opportunity to critically accompany the process. Yet, as a complement, such an approach will currently remain to be applied low politics (Klijn; Skelcher 2007:594ff.). Such an approach can be found by the Nuremberg way of introducing *Stadtteilkordinatoren*⁷⁹, dealing with urban development in the quarter. Finally, the *transitional conjecture* argues, that governance embodies the systemic change from a representative democracy to a network democracy. Politicians should become mediators and facilitators, determining the rules of procedure of such networks. Legitimacy can be strengthened, accountability is more dispersed among actors (Klijn; Skelcher 2007:597f.). Apart from this last transitional as the incompatibility conjecture, all other approaches, consider, that there is still a general interest to be pursued by an involvement and deliberation of actors (Klijn; Skelcher 2007:602f.).

Two types of network can be distinguished in Nuremberg, goal oriented and non-goal oriented networks. Instead of a responsible for integration, the city entertains a whole integrative board as collective institution for issues of integration (Markwirth 2011a:338). Sometimes, the network of the own cultural or ethnic group can provide valuable resources for the integration into the society (Portes; Zhou 1993:81). Solidarity and support within the own group can foster a societal upward, climbing up the social ladder (Portes; Zhou 1993:86). INSEK for the southern part of the city focuses on the *Mehrwert*, where an additional value through these networks can be created (Stadt Nürnberg 2012b). Eberhardshof-Muggenhof interpreted as an arrival city as such is a place of production and distribution of social capital (Saunders 2011:21). The city of Nuremberg supports the creation of ethnic entrepreneur associations, such as *Deutsch-Türkischer Unternehmerverein*⁸⁰ helping this groups to deploy their own potentials (de Araujo; Weber 2014:372). In 2009, the first Russian entrepreneur association was founded in Nuremberg⁸¹ followed by a Polish⁸² as a Greek association⁸³.

⁷⁹ Quarter Coordinators

⁸⁰ German Turkish Entrepreneur Association

⁸¹ Stadt Nürnberg: Bundesweit erster russischer Unternehmerverein gründet sich in Nürnberg; 17.06.2009
available at: https://www.nuernberg.de/presse/mitteilungen/presse_24069.html

⁸² Nürnberger Zeitung: Polnische Unternehmer gründen Verband; 21.02.2011
available at: http://www.pu-nbg.de/download/11.02.22_NZ-Artikel.pdf

⁸³ Stadt Nürnberg: Griechische Unternehmer gründen Unternehmerverein; 07.05.2010
available at: https://www.nuernberg.de/presse/mitteilungen/presse_26473.html

Focussing on the quarter, *Stadtteilkoordinatoren* were introduced. The areas being provided with a Stadtteilkordinator were chosen very typical for Nuremberg on a very pragmatic way⁸⁴. Having a look at the sociodemographic indicators of a quarter are taken as reason for further investigation. Such measures are percentage of people beyond and above 64, the percentage of foreigners, as Germans with foreign background and the unemployment rate in the quarter. The governance approach can be interpreted as an actor induced network, producing collective goods and rules, setting a certain structure (Benecke 2008:8). Regarding the five different functions⁸⁵ of the Stadtteilkordinator this is reflected. At first, local actors shall be involved in the planning process, as these actors the experts on their quarter (Porter 1995:69f.). Having established local knowledge about the aspects of building structure, social infrastructure, educational system, a *Seismographentreffen*⁸⁶ takes place. Here all stakeholders are invited to present the strong and weak points of the quarter, conceiving plans for action. Additionally, the *stadtteilforum*⁸⁷ gives an overview over all actors present in the quarter, fostering mutual awareness of the actors. One pillar is to establish the necessary infrastructure for the plan. In the case of Eberhardshof-Muggenhof the “*Kulturwerkstatt Auf AEG*”, is one example for such a meeting spot. Stadtteilkordinatoren accompany the implementation as evaluate the progress made within the network. Finally, the success of a governance network depends on who has benefitted from the common goods provided through the network (Benecke 2008:11f.). Such a general evaluation takes place at least once a year with all members of the network.

⁸⁴ Stadt Nürnberg: Jugendhilfeausschuß 27.09.2007;

available at:

https://www.nuernberg.de/imperia/md/sozialreferat/dokumente/sonstige_downloads/stadtteilkoordination_konzept_und_auswahl.pdf

⁸⁵ Stadt Nürnberg: Jugendhilfeausschuss, the 06.02.2012

available at:

https://www.nuernberg.de/imperia/md/sozialreferat/dokumente/sonstige_downloads/filename_1407499577877.pdf

⁸⁶ Seismographic Meeting

⁸⁷ Stadtteilforum Nürnberg: <http://www.stadtteilforum.org/home.html>



Image 23 Culture in the quarter “Auf AEG”

Important aspects are to get an understanding of the situation of the members in a network, creating a common frame for strategies, as fostering so called “*go-between solutions*”, bridging positions between organizations, policy sectors or administrative levels, always taking the context into mind (Termeer et. al 2015:686ff.). In the case of Eberhardshof-Muggenhof as in general of Nuremberg, the Insek, serves as a kind of frame for the creation of a joint vision (Stadt Nürnberg 2012d:10). Regarding the aspect of *resilience*, it is essential to develop a feeling for hints, indicating a change, as developing capacities through “*learning by doing*”, establishing a toolkit of flexible strategies to be used. Hereby, some degree of uncertainty must be accepted (Termeer et. al. 2015:690f.). Here, purpose oriented networks, might this be networks for elder people, healthcare networks, or networks organizing quarter festivals⁸⁸, serve a valuable source of inspiration. In the case of Eberhardshof-Muggenhof, the Stadteilkordinator took his office in 2007⁸⁹. When the coordinator began his work, there were only few spots to

⁸⁸ Stadt Nürnberg: Jugendhilfeausschuss 06.12.2012

available at:

https://www.nuernberg.de/imperia/md/sozialreferat/dokumente/sonstige_downloads/filename_1407499577877.pdf

⁸⁹ Stadt Nürnberg: Stadtteilbericht Eberhardshof und Muggenhof/Eberhardshof 2015;

available at:

meet, mostly the vestiges of the industrial past were still visible here. Since then the *Kulturwerkstatt Auf AEG*, the playground *Fuchsbau*, as the youth centre *Jugendhaus TetriX*, or the family centre *Familienhaus Globus* could be build, providing close meeting spots within the quarter. Local initiatives, initiated by the city government are taking care of this infrastructure. Other opportunity for learning by doing is the organizing team for the city festival. *Orga-Kreis Stadtteilfest Muggeley*, meets at Kulturbüro Muggenhof up to four times a year, organizing the festival. *Muggeley* serves as a tool bringing culture into the quarter but also serving as a platform for the various actors in the quarter to present itself.

To sustain the network, *responsiveness* is essential, getting a feeling of what stakeholders mostly emphasize as important. Filtering information is a useful strategy to direct the focus of the stakeholders on a certain aspect (Termeer et.al.2015:693f.). The *Nuremberg way* focuses on a pragmatic network term, building learning, intentionally low formal, consensus oriented networks. Such networks shall serve as platforms for information, exchange and corporation (Burschil; Glaser 2016:5). In the case of Eberhardshof-Muggenhof the *Stadtentwicklungsarbeitkreis STARK*⁹⁰ serves this function. Up to 30 different actors are meeting here with the Kulturbüro and the Stadtteilkordinator up to five times a year. On a regular basis responsive actor from the city government join these meetings to inform about the latest plans and developments in the quarter. Other networks are the *Planungsrunde West*⁹¹ and *Gebietsteam West*⁹². In *Planungsrunde West* the local and regional responsive persons from the administrative section for youth, family and social affairs are meeting once a year to discuss the needs for developments and gaps in offers. The *Gebietsteam West* meets three times a year to discuss interdisciplinary on the implementation of the INSEK Weststadt.

Finally, to give the network a long-term perspective, it is about *revitalization*. Here an external view can mend biased perspectives from interior, discovering, debunking taboos and cleavages (Termeer et. al 2015:696f.). Different than hierarchies, constituting a clear chain of command, networks consist of actors willing to participate. It is the task of the network manager, in that

https://www.nuernberg.de/imperia/md/sozialreferat/dokumente/berichte_konzepte/2015-09-03_stadtteilberichte_gostenhof_und_muggenhof.pdf

⁹⁰ Quarter Development Working Group

⁹¹ Planning round West

⁹² Local Team West

case the Stadtteilkordinator, to establish, enforce the rule of procedures. “*The aim of the network manager, however should be to nurture and sustain the self-steering capacity of networks to avoid falling back into relations of order and command*” (Esmark 2007:259.). Having a look at the quarter of St. Leonhard/Schweinau the effectiveness of the small-scale approach could be proven. In the quarter six working groups were established since 2005, addressing especially children and youths (Köhler; Bartla 2014:9). Hereby, the actors consider the corporation in projects the most valuable component of the networks, even so it is considered more valuable than useful at all (Köhler; Bartla 2014:13). The exchange of information seems to be the most valuable aspect of membership in a network, yet still hurdles are seen, in coordinating joint projects and using joint resources (Köhler; Bartla 2014: 19). Network members found proximity as most important for local activities (Köhler; Bartla 2014: 29).

After all, synergies and complementary benefits are seen by membership, even so some doubts about the general network vision remain (Köhler; Bartla 2014:32ff.). Corresponding to that, the stability of the network could be strengthened as the value of the corporation itself increased (Köhler; Bartla 2014: 37f.). Conversely, time constraints and a lack of resources due to voluntary commitment are bemoaned (Köhler; Bartla 2014:11). However, the main aspect is the process itself, bringing actors together (Agranoff; McGuire 2011:273).” *It is both the ‘significance and meaning of relationships and practices’ that constitute the most desirable effectiveness assessments*” (Sydow; Windeler 1998: 280). This process is supported by a culture of feedback, through the network meetings or as well through a yearly reporting of the current state of art with the INSEK (Stadt Nürnberg 2016f:15f.).

Nevertheless, the effectiveness of this approach depends on the own initiative of local actors (Woidke; Olk 2016:167f.). But the city is tackling this issue by using the *Nürnberger Witz* finding an innovative way, to deal with it. The power of network depends on the resources provided, such as expertise or funding, strengthening the capacity to act, to take measures (Agranoff; McGuire 2011: 267). Since the beginning of the global age the public private partnership has gained importance, as source for such resources (Fürst 2007:354). However, as the borders between public and private activity are blurring a clear definition of roles assigned to each other is essential (Fürst 2007: 363). Here *Nürnberger Witz* becomes active once more.

The city of Nuremberg has established the *Stadtteilpate*⁹³, supporting the social sustainable development in the quarter, as contributing to enable equal chances for people living in the quarter, creating a liveable quarter for all its inhabitants⁹⁴. The *Stadtteilpate* serves as a multiplier for media and publicity, supporting the implementation of projects within the quarter. For that purpose, the *Stadtteilpate* provides up to 20.000 up to 25.000€ a year for the implementation of projects. The general idea is to create a triangle between the city of Nuremberg, the entrepreneur and the respective quarter. Such a partnership is not bound to a specific duration, yet the partnership is envisaged to be long term. *Stadtteilpaten* are involved in the planning process, given a permanent channel of communication between local actors in the quarter and the *Stadtteilpate*. The funding provided by the mentor is intended for microprojects, coming bottom up from local actors within the quarter. Once a year, a planning meeting with all urban actors takes place involving the *Stadtteilpaten*, where the success of the projects shall be discussed (Brochier et. al 2017: 225ff.). Today, every quarter covered by Insek has acquired its personal *Stadtteilpate*. The first mentor was Alexander Brochier, owner of the Brochier Stiftung. He himself grew up in Gostenhof, having a special relation to this quarter. For that reason, apart from a personal commitment in the quarter, likewise offering internships for pupils in the quarter, he sees his role in promoting the project *Stadtteilpate*, attracting new mentors. Yet, the mentors take different roles. Gibitzenhof is covered by Siemens, having a production site there. However, the corporation here is more concentrated on financial funding of projects. In St. Leonhard/Schweinau Schwan Stabilo Cosmetics has become the mentor, even so based in Heroldsberg. The enterprise chose for the area, as a many employee live there and the potential for people interested in the activities of cosmetics seemed promising. Every member of the management is the mentor for one micro project as offering a day for pupils, to get known to the job opportunities offered by Schwan Stabilo Cosmetics. In Langwasser Hoffman Personal has become the mentor, aiming to support small projects, where the employees can become active themselves. For Galgenhof-Steinbühl the Rotary Club Kaiserburg, as for Eberhardshof-Muggenhof the Rotary Club Nürnberg Fürth could be gained as mentors. Their focus is on the “hands-on principle”, being involved personally in the quarter

⁹³ Quarter Mentor

⁹⁴ Stadt Nürnberg: Orientierungsrahmen für eine nachhaltige Jugend-, Familien-, Bildungs-, und Sozialpolitik in Nürnberg

available at:

https://www.nuernberg.de/imperia/md/sozialreferat/dokumente/orientierungsrahmen/nbg_folder_orientierungsrahmen_web.pdf

(Brochier et. al 2017:228-231). Stadtteilpaten are no simply charities, but corporation partners, getting known to their quarter, contributing to shape this quarters as part of the quarter networks, being present there (Brochier et. al 2017: 231f.).

Avoiding the stumbling stones of hierarchical structures at the beginning of a corporation an early fixation should be avoided. Regarding AEG the main task of the municipality was to establish the “*Kulturwerkstatt Auf AEG*”, leaving most of the rest to the investor. Conversely, Quelle it was about all or nothing, either developing the area as a whole, or tear it down as a whole. Additionally, a platform for mutual learning has to be established. Being settled on the area of AEG, the Kulturwerkstatt as the Stadtteilkordinatoren enabled the municipality, the investor of AEG, Bertram Schultze, as other actors affected to come to together discussing the further implementation of the plans. Contrasting, on Quelle artists, settled in Quelle as interim renters, are now in limbo, as they are still in a limbo, what will happen after the contract in the makeshift shelter of Quelle expires⁹⁵. Furthermore, no real exchange forum between Sonae Sierra and the city municipality could be established. Finally, a joint image building searching for common ground for joint interaction, recognizing enduring differences is the decisive step in making use of the benefits of a network approach (Koppenjan; Klijn 2004:162). Facing the ruptures of the changing patterns from industry to service industry on AEG the joint vision of a cultural centre could be created, bringing culture into the quarter by using traditional approaches of quarter based projects. On the other side of the street it was uncertainty, letting the development of Quelle fail so far, still looking into a gloomy uncertain future.

First, the *technical uncertainty* hampered any development right from the start. Appealing to the often vague and insufficient knowledge of the causal relations, uncertain, incomplete approaches are the consequence (Van Bueren et. al 2003:194). Taking into mind that Quelle was sold out of insolvency this technical uncertainty, about how to acquire the area, was determining the further process. Second, the *institutional uncertainty*, worsened the situation even more, as the responsibility was scattered over various institutions as the investment fund, the municipality or the Federal Country of Bavaria (Van Bueren et. al 2003:196). First it was a

⁹⁵ Nürnberger Nachrichten: Stadt und Sonae Sierra wollen über Quelle verhandeln; 10.08.2017

available at: <http://www.nordbayern.de/region/nuernberg/stadt-und-sonae-sierra-wollen-uber-quelle-verhandeln-1.6480739?searched=true>

Dutch investment group, Valbonne Real Estate B.V., going bankrupt itself⁹⁶. After that, Credit Suisse overtook the area finally selling it to the current owner, the investment fund Sonae Sierra.

Finally, this is the most striking part, the *strategic uncertainty*. Many actors are involved, and every actor perceives the problem from another perspective, determined by a certain framing (Van Bueren et.al 2003:194). Especially recurring to the Eigenlogik, this is quite difficult for Nuremberg, not being prone to evolve visions, sticking to the feasible (Seiler 1950:42-46). Taking the identity form character of Quelle into mind, various actors were pursuing different approaches. Sonae Sierra envisages to build a shopping mall on this area. About this proposal the city council is split, where the social democrats are in favour, the conservative searched for limiting the commercial area. Finally, a deal for limiting the commercial area could be waged out⁹⁷. The current owner and prospective future owner Sonae Sierra offered 70.000m² to the city to establish a university campus here. Meanwhile the social democratic party was in favour of this proposal, the conservative party opposed it severely, arguing about the high costs, the small scale provided, rather settling for tearing down the area. Furthermore, the Bavarian conservative minister of finance Markus Söder even went so far, as to blame the municipality, stating it would their turn now to show off plans for the future prospect (Auer 2013 n.p.). Being a monument to be preserved⁹⁸, things become even more complicated. Artists having moved into the Quelle as interim renters in corporation with the *Institut für angewandte Heterotopie*⁹⁹ conceived their own plans, establishing a cultural meeting point, reminding the industrial past of the quarter. Only better interaction of actors can solve and overcome the current uncertainty (Van Bueren et. al 2003:194). It depends on the existence or absence as the quality of network management, whether the network is successful (Van Bueren et. al 2003: 196). Nuremberg has a strategic disadvantage, as visions do not suit it, rather it is about tinkering with the feasible

⁹⁶ Nürnberger Nachrichten: Quelle: Wissenschaftsmeile statt Einkaufstempel; 27.02.2013

available at: <http://www.nordbayern.de/region/fuerth/quelle-wissenschaftsmeile-statt-einkaufstempel-1.2718355?searched=true>

⁹⁷ Nürnberger Nachrichten: Nutzung des Quelle Areals: Wer will was?; 04.02.2014

available at: <http://www.nordbayern.de/nutzung-des-quelle-areals-wer-will-was-1.3401453>

⁹⁸ Nürnberger Nachrichten: Nutzung des Quelle Areals: Wer will was?; 04.02.2014

available at: <http://www.nordbayern.de/nutzung-des-quelle-areals-wer-will-was-1.3401453>

⁹⁹ Insitut für angewandte Heterotopie

available at: <http://www.i-fah.com/ueber-das-institut>

(Seiler 1950:42-46). Initiative for Quelle has to come from outside, as for instance by the Federal Government of Bavaria, or a visionary, assigning tasks to the city to be fulfilled.

Cities are social networks, consisting of diverging networks. This could be proven in this section presenting the various forms of networks. Cities are the place of diversity, sometimes being conceived as overburdening or even threatening the own identity. Nevertheless, networks can have beneficial effect for the city at all, making it more resilient, by bringing the right actors together. However, just setting the structures is not enough, it requires a shared interest among partners (Köhler 2016:60). Brining the right actors together produces the urban surplus (Lefebvre 2003:117). Being part of an organisation and a community can create community confidence in the future of the town or neighbourhood, feeling responsible for the own quarter (Perkins et. al 2002: 40f.). “*What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place when we endow it with value*” (Tuan 1977: 6). Meanwhile MIB was giving an ideal value to AEG, it seems that Sonae Sierra was rather considering the aspect of shareholder value. Consequently, different structures provided different incentives for interaction as diverging results in the West. In general, Nuremberg has established a network approach, directly involving local stakeholders and urban agents into the urban evolution. Nevertheless, using Nürnberger Witz, this also implies, that the municipality is outsourcing some of its responsibilities to the citizen.

F.4. Living a city - Culture of Nuremberg

“*Cultures come into existence by emphasizing common values, norms and material goods shared by their members and by emphasizing and often exaggerating the differences between their common elements and those of other groups*” (Portugali 2011: 9). Hereby, the city can be considered as “*built social history*” (Siebel 2011:202), in other words “*city, is not a natural objective entity but an artifact – a product of the historically specific socio-spatial relations between humans*” (Portugali 2011:235). So far, the structure of the Noris as social system, as its interaction could be show. This chapter will deal with the aspect of culture of the system, defining what the actors of the Noris have in common, *what is responded to be done?*

Culture can be understood “*as the entirety of human expressions, produced by the forming nature through means of planning techniques*” (Noll 2011:69). Culture defines belonging, regulates the behaviour of its culture members as it structures their perception and interpretation

of the environment (Kumbier; Schulz von Thun 2006:33). What defines urban culture is migration, as migration is a sign of urbanity (Bauernfeind 2008:41). The peculiar culture of the European city is to maintain contact via distance ((Siebel 2015:60f.), enabling the living together of people although or just because they do not know each other (Baecker 2009:261). Having argued, that the city is dual complex system as also a political system, the success of a city depends on its connectivity per person as the social inclusion to make use of the full socioeconomic potential of a city (Bettencourt 2013:7). Obviously, such networks require rules to bring actors together, organizing the interaction within the dual complex system. Cultural integration implies, that the actors know the rules, “*actors have sufficient knowledge and particular competences for a sensual, consensual and successful acting and interaction*” Similar to social, cultural integration requires opportunities to learn and practice these rules, enabling mutual contact (Esser 2001:13ff.). Those opportunities are given within the urban space itself. Ethnicity, being part of a certain group finds its expression in daily urban practices and interactions, making symbolic as cultural differences visible (Alba 2005:22). The public sphere is the stage, where the miscellaneous cultures sharing the city become visible. A tourist at the *Hauptmarkt*, determines our cognition of what a tourist might behave or be like. Conversely, observing pattern of foreign born population shapes the perception of those group, raising questions, about the own culture in contrast to the culture of other groups.

“*An understanding of public space is an imperative for understanding the public sphere.*” Public Sphere is the political, public place the physical and public realm, the space where everything converges together (Low; Smith, 2006: 6). Here, political opinions are expressed on neutral ground, social exchange and communication takes place, as it is symbolic, representing an area enabling social contact (Varna; Tiesdell 2010:579). A good public space offers opportunities for contact but does not force them, leaving individual choices of seeking contact (Varna; Tiesdell 2010:585). Yet, contact is not simply contact. Punching someone’s nose, or giving a hug both constitute a form of contact (Häußermann 2001:74). Facing an over abundance of symbols, urban agents depend on processing, conceiving those patterns, giving them an order (Portugali 2011:233). The own conception hereby can differ from the actual one.

Notwithstanding, prejudices hamper a common culture. “*Prejudices are negative and rejecting attitudes of a person or a group of persons due to stereotypes of particular features ascribed to a certain group. Due to rigidity and emotional tension such attitudes are difficult to correct*

even by contradicting experiences” (Davis 1964:78). In general, culture, always needs distinction from the other culture to be recognized (Sauerwein 2011:102). This finding is reflected in the integration programme of Nuremberg, emphasizing, that “*a city lives on the positive tensions, brought in by different cultures*” (Stadt Nürnberg 2004). Conversely, being confronted with a huge amount of diversity can lead to a feeling of being threatened by diversity (Stolle et. al. 2008:58). *Ethnic competition theory* states, that an increasing group size also increases the perceived threat (Savekoul et. al. 2010:750). Such threat manifest itself in realistic threat, threatening the existence of a group by blocking access to resources for power or welfare. Symbolic threats as religion threaten the own group’s tenets, meanwhile intergroup anxiety states, that unexpected consequences from mutual contact are to be expected. Finally, negative stereotyping allegedly predicts, what to expect from the other group (Stephan et. al. 2000:241).

Corresponding to the aspect of interaction, the evolution of a common culture depends on its ability, to provide resources incentivizing contact, merging diverging cultural patterns. Consequently, *contact theory* requires four conditions to be meet. *Equal status* determines, that different ethnical groups do perceive each other as equal to the own group. A *common goal* is required to unite the groups, which obviously requires *intergroup corporation* as a *support of authorities, law and customs*, in other words, the environment supports interethnic contact (Allport 1954:537ff.). An evaluation of the Allbus 2016 for this thesis, a general survey of social data conducted every two years in Germany, confirms the positive effects of contact. Using a log regression between the poles of rejecting migration (1) and being in favour of it (0), it could be shown, that having contact to people has a stronger influence than income and age. The numbers indicate, the probability of a person, bearing certain traits to have a certain attitude. A male person living in eastern Germany having contact with migrants has a probability of 47% for being opposed against migration, meanwhile a male from Western Germany with no contact has around the same probability. Due to history percentage of migration is lower in the East, providing less opportunities for contact (Statistisches Bundesamt 2017:7).

Male	West	Contact	0,42
Female	West	Contact	0,36
Male	East	Contact	0,47
Female	East	Contact	0,42
Male	West	No Contact	0,46
Female	West	No Contact	0,40
Male	East	No Contact	0,51
Female	East	No Contact	0,46
Mean Income			0,43
Effect of 1% income change			-0,0000358
Mean Age			0,43
Effect of 1% Age change			0,002
Contact			0,42
No Contact			0,45

Image 24 Influence of contact on attitudes towards migration

The relation between various groups in general is determined by the quality of prior intergroup relation, establishing experiences and rules of thumb how to behave in a certain situation. Hereby, prior mutual knowledge of the groups decides over the quality of the first encounter (Stephan; Stephan 1985:161f.) The structure of the situation for the first meeting, lays the basic. A situation being perceived corporative or competitive decides on the further direction of intergroup contact (Stephan; Stephan 1985:164f). After that, the experiences made are interpreted according to the own social cognition (Stephan; Stephan 1985: 167). A metastudy of 515 studies dealing with contact theory revealed, that contact reduces prejudices but with restrictions, especially in case of uncertainty (Pettigrew; Tropp 2006:766f). Intergroup anxiety, being insecure how to deal with the other group increases prejudices. So higher the cohesion within the group, the group salience, so stronger the effect (Voci; Hewstone 2003:43f.). Hereby,

negative contacts are very influential, confirming stereotypes, meanwhile positive contacts are to compensate for that, balancing the effect. In problematic quarters those negative conflicts, regarding ethnic competition theory could prevail (Graf et. al. 2014: 544f.). For that reason, a strategy of urban development should be to create places of encounter, meeting points for positive contacts (Paolini et. al 2014: 559f.). One example here are the *Stadtteilarbeitskreise*.

In the case of Nuremberg, it could be shown, that intercultural contacts increase voluntary commitment by 14%, where people with such contacts are 10% more often active on a voluntary basis (Paiva 2015:29). Hereby nationality does not have a significant influence on commitment (Paiva 2015:20). About 62% of the people in Nuremberg state, that migrants are well integrated, as 84% are of the opinion, that the people here are trustworthy (Stadt Nürnberg 2016b:4). Between 2001 and 2013 the percentage of people having no contact with migrants could be reduced from 28% to 21%, meanwhile school, work and neighbourhood remain the most important locations for interethnic contact. Hereby, the percentage of interethnic friendships increase from 33% to 48% at the same time, being the prime reason for mutual contact. Nevertheless, people above 65 years have the lowest contact with migrants, meanwhile so younger so more contact through work and school. About 38% state, that migrants are well integrated to 27% opposing this statement. What is quite important to note here, that about 35% do not know, how to answer this question (Stadt Nürnberg 2016e). What becomes obvious here is, that contact per se is not sufficient, as people with stereotype are shunning these places, hindered due to their attitudes (Paolini et.al.2014:559f.). Consequently, those public spaces are important, as there the rules of living together are negotiated (Siebel 2015:72f.).

Everything is about bringing life on the streets, places, helping to sustain contact and social order within the quarter (Jacobs 1961:35f.). About 1,5m² for playground as 8m² for sport activities are provided for every citizen, being one of the most densely built cities in Germany (Hilker 2014:17). Walking through the area of Eberhardshof-Muggenhof this becomes even more plastic due to the lack of green space, settling the quarter foremost at Fürther Straße. Nevertheless, simply the amount of space available does not predict its quality, as it depends on what can be done on these grounds (Cording 2007:35). In the neighbouring district Gostenhof, the lack of public space was made use of, by transforming shops into meeting points as organizing festivals in the backyards of the housing blocks (Köhler 2016:59f.). Many voluntary commitments concentrated around "*Nachbarschaftshaus*" take care of their quarter.

Consequently, “*the rules on the use of space as a result of social production and perception are more relevant for the actual use of public space than the existence and availability of these spaces as such*” (Köhler 2016:63). Being concentrated rather on the feasible, the small things, focussing on the community, these aspects become alive in daily practices as in culture itself.

The city of Nuremberg uses its “*Nürnberger Witz*”, to make the best out of this situation, offering cultural events in the public space such as Bardentreffen or Klassikopenair, bringing people onto the street (Stadt Nürnberg 2015: 239ff.). Hereby, the *Inter-Kultur-Büro* advertises the cultural events in German, Turkish and Russian (Stadt Nürnberg 2015:215). After all, the general strategy is to create a central institution in the centre of the city, but also providing the quarters with cultural spots. This approach deals with the main hindrance of making use of this offers, time and reachability (Glaser 2012:4). Having shown in the both previous chapters F.2. and F.3. dealing with structural and social integration, asking who can do something and what is to be done, the city of Nuremberg uses a dual track system. On the one side capacity building is done, trying to improve the resources of the various actors, yet at the same time the city also tries to circumvent the obstacles, creating new opportunities for participation, not requiring many resources. The same is valid for the aspect of cultural integration, the aspect of creating a common city culture. As it has been shown in opinion polls, low threshold cultural events such as street festivals or clubs are more preferred and visited, than formal elections or being part of a formal institution such as party or union (Burkard 2002:22).

On the 02.12. 1975 the first „*Kulturladen*“ was inaugurated in St. Leonhard/Schweinau, as pilot project, to contravene the anonymity of the metropolis, providing “*culture from all for all*”. The term “*Kulturladen*” should remind to “*Tante-Emma-Laden*”, mom-and-pop stores, providing more than just shopping, place for chatting and meeting. Some are run by the city others by associations supported by the city (Bach-Damaskinos et. al. 2016: 281). Today, there are eleven “*Kulturläden*”, as *südpunkt*, inaugurated in 2009, as the *Kulturbüro Muggenhof*, established in 2016. About 55.000 people made use of this offers last year (Stadt Nürnberg 2015:212). The approach seems to suit as the average of the population in Nuremberg is making use of this offers, where especially low to middle incomes use these institutions. Moreover, especially people above 50 are visiting this places on a regular basis (Hautmann 2013: 3ff.).

Especially, in lower income groups information is dispersed mouth to mouth bringing people into the *Kulturläden*, bringing them together (Hautmann 2013:8).

A city implies order, culture and civilisation (Lefebvre 2003: 12f.). However, those culture depends on the will for mutual contact, agreeing on common rules. Places also known as *third places* enable people to come to together on a neutral ground out of interest and curiosity, choosing how and if to interact (Oldenburg 1999:23). But there must be some activity, attracting people to come together (Zimmermann 1978:170). In the case of Eberhardshof-Muggenhof, *Auf AEG* established such a place. Formerly a single use space for industrial production has been transformed into a cultural hub, offering several activities for various interests. The university having a department there, presents its achievements once a year at “*Lange Nacht der Wissenschaften*¹⁰⁰” together with other industry and science settled there again. Other bright actors are *Kulturbüro* or *Centro Español* offering a wide range of cultural activities as presentations, workshops or film festivals. “*Offen auf AEG*¹⁰¹” or “*SupermArt*” gives local inhabitants of AEG the opportunity to show their pieces of art. An industrial wasteland has developed a new identity. In the case of AEG, the investor and the city municipality could agree on a common culture, setting general rules. In this network MIB was responsible for the vision, meanwhile the municipality established the *Kulturwerkstatt*, dealing with the feasible, being strong in the small things. Here, bringing the right actors together, determined the successful transformation of a former single purpose space into a cultural hub (Lefebvre 2003:117).

The task of the city is to reconcile the global and local sphere (Castells 2011:576). Recurring to section E.3, “*in the early 21st century the challenge is the sharing of the city by irreversible distinct cultures and identities*” (Castells 2011:577). At Quelle the global culture of the investor Sonae Sierra was competing with the local culture of the city, defining the history of this place, as a landmark of the quarter. Being unable to establish a network based on mutual interaction, no common culture could be set here, as both cultural perceptions seem to diverge too much.

¹⁰⁰ Long night of science

¹⁰¹ Open on AEG

As a social system, a political system, as foremost a political subject of its own development, the city as a network depends not just on bringing actors together, but also by establishing common rules, to ensure trust, stability and resilience of the system at all. Facing *superdiversity* (Vertovec 2005), different actors shape the city and be shaped by it (Portugali 2011:62). The common culture of Nuremberg could be seen in the pragmatic feasible, being concentrated rather on the small things. This could be shown with AEG, however with Quelle, no shared interest could be established to overcome diverging cultural cognitions. A common goal is essential to overcome mistrust and prejudices, enabling the full potential of the socioeconomic capital. However, apart from equal status, especially the common goal is essential. Such a goal can be found within the joint planning of the city. Therefore, some form of “*Leitkultur*”, guiding societal principles should exist. However, this does not imply, that a certain local culture is superior to another one (Esser 2001: 21ff). This will be the issue of the final chapter, revealing the identity of the Noris, defining its boundaries but also its peculiarity to other city systems.

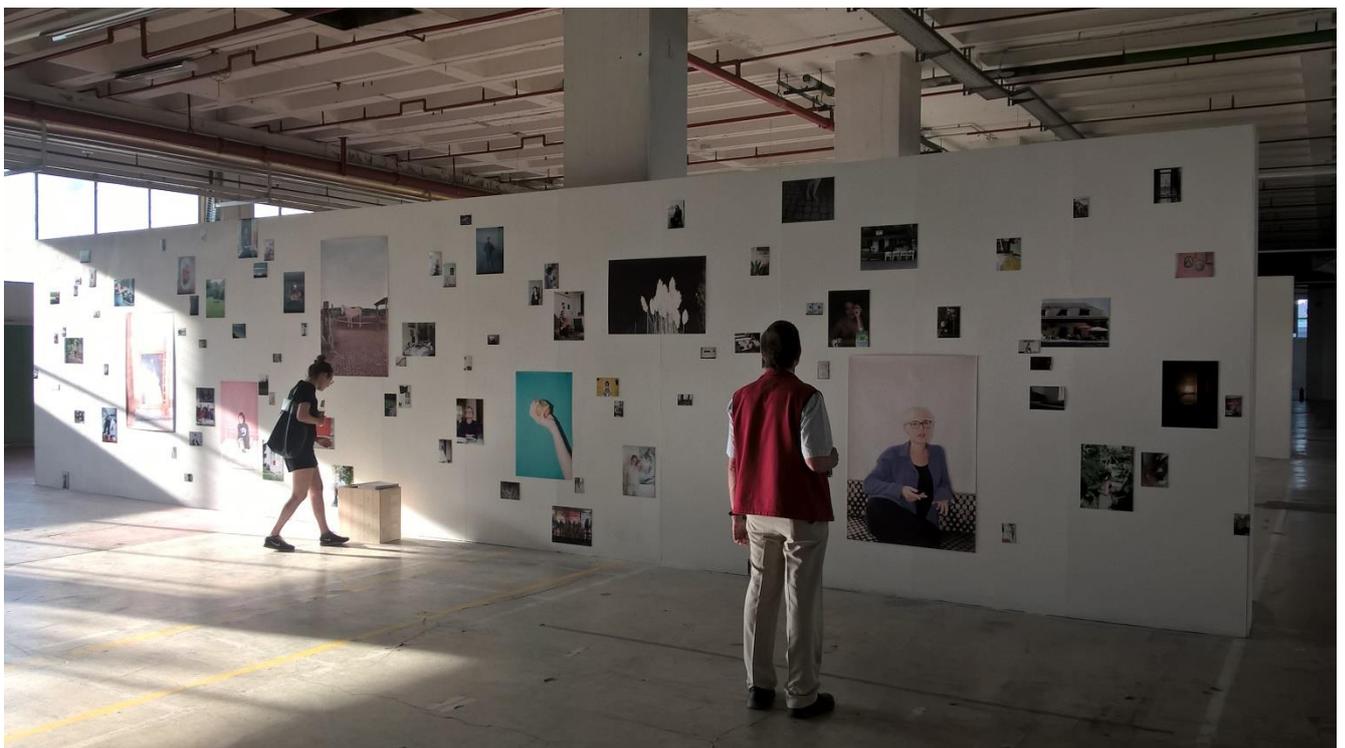


Image 25 Cultural life on industrial soil

F.5. Being a city- Noris Identity

“*Identity starts with a name*”, was a successful campaign of the local football club to acquire the trademark of the local football stadium. In popular mouth called the *Frankenstadion*,

officially known as *Easy Credit Stadium*. An initiative¹⁰² run by local supporters of the *Glubb*, as it is called colloquially, wanted to rebrand the stadium into *Max-Morlock-Stadium*, named after the most iconic player of this football association, being part of the German nation football team winning the world championship in 1954. Having discussed the structure, the interaction as the culture of the city as a dual complex system, the last section will deal with the identity of not just cities such as Nuremberg, but the peculiarity of the Noris. “*What is like to be done?*”



Image 26 Max Morlock Stadium now! Manifestation for rebranding the Nuremberg football stadium

This thesis pursues a simple question, *what is a city?* However, city per se is a category, nevertheless, due to its dual complexity every city is a category itself (Portugali 2011:219f.). What is striking for the European city, it is the creation of identity (Kunzmann 2011:40). A stadium as the *Frankenstadion* should and does include the local patterns of the chequered history of the football club Nuremberg, shortly “*Mir san der Glubb*”¹⁰³, not standing per se but with the locals (Bockrath 2011:122). If it is campaigned for instance for such a rebranding, the question to be strived for, is, what is the good life, or what is the particular of a particular city (Streets 2011:133). Buildings tell about the people, building and using it (de Botton 2008:73). Everybody has an imagination when hearing of Bamberg, Berlin, Munich (Hatzfeld 2011:358).

Consequently, “*the city is a local, cognitive, self-organizing system, while the city as a whole is a global, urban self-organizing system. Treating the city as such raises a twofold question regarding the boundaries of the system under investigation: the boundary of the city as a global*

¹⁰² Max Morlock Stadion 2017

available at: <https://max-morlock-stadion-2017.de/>

¹⁰³ We are the club

urban system; and the boundary of the cognitive system used in the categorization of cities” (Portugali 2011: 211). Expressed in other words, what the city is and who is empowered to be part of it, relocating boundaries. Here, the European city served as “*integration machine*” (Häußermann 2006:257), allowing contact through distance (Baecker 2009:261f.).

Integration can be understood as “*becoming an essential part of a system*” “*becoming an integral part for the function of the whole system*” (Esser 2001:1). However, identifying with the city or a social construct is different, and can be considered as the highest stage of integration (Esser 2001:17). All other forms are based on gaining access or trading resources, a market for exchange, for instance paying taxes does not require to identify with anything (Esser 2001:30). *Identificatory integration*, identifying with a community states, that the social construct and the actor consider themselves as equal and corresponding, promoting emotional attachment (Esser 2001:12). Such form of integration cannot be enforced, the individual just likes to become part of the society, feeling responsible, taking care of the urban community.

A city as a social system is defined by its boundaries, the same is valid for social groups. Typically, groups are defined by their border to other groups, sharing common traits different to other groups (Tajfel 1982:2). Also, societies require borders, as without setting borders, no social cohesion in the interior of the society would be given (Etzioni 2002:85). Being part of the society defines about the rights and values a society is based on (Etzioni 2002:90ff.). Not being bound to family bounds, the privacy opens space for the individual to fledge its own individual identity (Bahrtdt 1974:77). A good society is defined by finding a balance between the two values of social order and autonomy (Etzioni 2002:90ff.). European cities are based on an urban community (Ada; Fritzsche 2012:121), a historical unique community of emancipated, self-determined civil society of urban citizens with rights and duties (Siebel 2012:201f.). Dealing with the aspect of urban integration, the *ethnosizer* clarifies four different options of becoming part of the society. Assimilation, integration, separation or marginalisation express the commitment of an individual with the society living in (Constant; Zimmermann.2007:2fff.). Here, **0** indicates no and **1** indicates full identification, emotional attachment to a certain society.

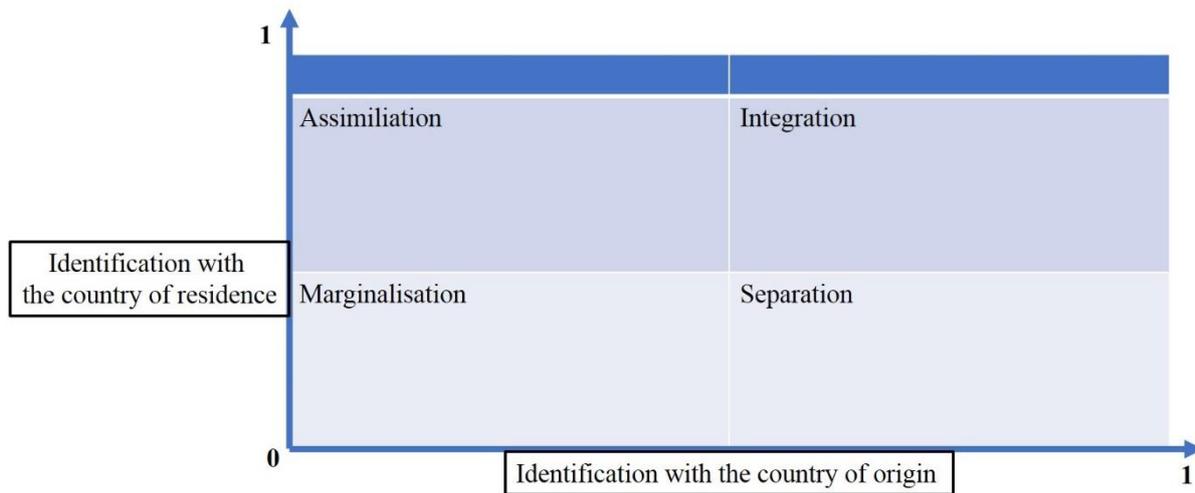


Image 27 Ethnosizer indicating identification by Constant, Zimmermann: 2007:8

Consequently, the aspect of boundaries can be characterized according to four potential expressions. Predominantly the desired boundary was seen in assimilation. Alleging the case of the United States of America migrants should become WASPs, White Anglo-Saxons Protestants, adapting to the habits of this group, dominating American politics at that time (Eastman 2012:162). Some groups such as Mexicans, Irish, Chinese migrants yet were conceived as incompatible, not be integrated within American culture (Kao et. al. 2012:4). During the time of guest-worker the aspect of separation dominated, conceiving any form of integration redundant. As guest no permanent residence was envisaged (Hillmann 2013:154). However, filling niches in earlier times, due to the structural change, those workforces have literally become superfluous, becoming, and marginalised (Häußermann 2011:33). In scientific debate the term assimilation has been discussed controversially. Nevertheless, it has to be understood as a mutual process, where migrants and host society are adapting to each other (Hans 2010:58ff.). Assimilation accepts cultural and economic differences, while tackling a systematic distribution of traits and resources. In other words, assimilation envisages to tackle systematic disadvantages due to ethnicity. Due to ambiguities, here the term integration is used.

Cities are dual complex systems in that sense, that the urban agents are complex systems itself, shaping and being shaped by the urban space (Portugali 2011:62). They conceive and process the over abundance of impressions ordering the urban space, giving it its own conceptions and identity (Portugali 2011: 219f.). Place attachment, identifying with a particular place can be seen as:” *as a substructure of self-identity consisting of memories, ideas, feelings, attitudes,*

values, preferences, meanings, and conceptions of behaviour and experience that occur in places that satisfy an individual's biological, psychological, social, and cultural needs” (Prohansky et. al 1983: 58f.). Identification and social identity, being part of a group, imply appreciation, faithfulness as responsibility for a certain group, to be a member of, feeling integrated (Lutz; Heckmann 2010:207). Place identity confirms the own identity, represented in the built space, corresponding the own way of living (Prohansky et. al 1983:66). This is the political subject of the city, expressed in “*the right to the city*, creating the urban space according to the own needs (Harvey 2009:940). Citizenship can be understood as a process of participation and identification, not a right but a willing to (van Bochove et. al. 2010:346).

As “*no global city story can be understood without reference to the local processes, which give it its substantial form*” (Machimura 1998: 184), the same is valid for identity. Being part of a network defines identity, reassuring the own membership (Baecker 2009:274). As the task of the global city is to reconcile the global and the local (Castells 2011:576), the same is applicable for identity. „*The return to the local is often a response to globalization*” (Hall 1991:33), where the individual must adapt and re-discuss its own special identity over and over again, facing globalisation (Machimura 1998:185). Here, the local is often perceived through the global lenses (Meyrowitz 2005:25-30). *Imagined worlds* determine, how each one perceives the world, as perceive his position within it (Appadurai 1990:297). Based on a common history, culture, shared experiences, scapes, perceptions of the world are shaped. Here, scape is used to emphasize, that no classical centre-periphery perspective is applicable any longer. Rather it is about perspectival constructs depending on historical, linguistic and political situatedness. Ethnoscapes are the impacts of tourists, business travellers or migrants, affecting at least two countries. Today, a migrant let’s say from Turkey, does not just consider moving to Istanbul, but also takes the option of Berlin or even Nuremberg into mind. Financescape describe the international flow of capital, shaping the local space. Technoscapes are the global encroaching of technological means such as foremost information technologies. Ideoscapes and mediascapes finally, disperse the *imagined worlds* worldwide on a global level. (Appadurai 1990 296-300).

It is the local, especially on the local level to deal with the global level (Hall 1991: 33), the processing of the foreign (Hillmann 2013: 151). These aspects become striking, taking the case study of AEG and Quelle in Eberhardshof-Muggenhof into mind. As the castles thrones over the city, the Quelle tower welcomes the visitor already from far, telling about the biography of

this quarter. MIB, responsible for AEG claims to gain its reputation through giving others an identity¹⁰⁴. Especially, the emotional attachment of Bertram Schultze, originally coming from Franconia himself, contributed to the success of transforming a single- purpose area into a cultural hub. Taking the past, as the identity forming into mind, here innovative life on industrial soil could be established. The success of a city depends on its ability to bring the right actors together (Lefebvre 2003:117), as in this case of local available investor and the city municipality, distributing tasks to be fulfilled. As a social network “*every society builds its own society*” (Siebel 2015:15), evolving its “*Eigenlogik*” (Löw 2008). Being focused rather on the feasible, the small details, respecting the *Eigenlogik*, was the successful factor, leaving the vision to influencer from abroad, yet enabling an opportunity to show the *Nürnberger Witz*.

In the case of European city, it is the public space defining identity, through “*a predictable, continuous conception of place, which in turn helps create social meaning based on a long-term, continuous interaction with place*” (Arefi 1999:190). Looking at the other side of the street, at Quelle, the European city had at least weakened. Taking the structure of the Quelle network into mind, no incentives for an interaction could be established. Removing the interim users, creative pioneers from the building, here no common culture could be established. Initiatives such as *Quellekollektiv*¹⁰⁵ or *Institut für angewandte Heterotopie*¹⁰⁶ reflect the identity of the former industrial hub of Quelle, shaping the fate of this quarter. Conversely, Sonae Sierra as global investor, did not consider this history, when proposing to establish a shopping centre there. “*The urban space is concrete contradiction*” (Lefebvre 2003:39), expressed here in the space of flows and space of places (Castells 2010:442ff.). Different norms and values determine the process of urban development, shaping of urban space (Sack 2012:314). Due to the complexity and over abundance, urban agents have to process and order the urban space, conceiving it differently (Portugali 2011: 233). The city itself, offers “*Leerstellen*” to predict the future in the present, while being reminded to the past (Baecker 2009:264). Recurring to concept of topoi, mostly all network members, or better said

¹⁰⁴ MIB

available at: <http://www.mib.de>

¹⁰⁵ Wir kaufen die Quelle

available at: <http://www.wir-kaufen-die-quelle.com/unser-plan-zum-quelle-kauf.html>

¹⁰⁶ Insitut für angewandte Heterotopie

available at: <http://www.i-fah.com/ueber-das-institut>

stakeholders, did consider *Quelle* as more than just *isotopy*, being different than other places, being a *heterotopy*. At this point, the right to the city comes into action, the city becomes a political subject. Pursuing a *utopia*, what *Quelle* should be, “*anything can become a home, a place of convergence, a privileged site, to the extent, that every urban space bears within this possible- impossible, its own negation*” (Lefebvre 2003:37ff.). At this point, the European city has ceased, or at least vanished, being the master of its own fate. “*Cities become the solution of their own problem*” (Baecker 2009: 264). Due to a lack of influence this was not given with *Quelle* anymore. Eberhardshof -Muggenhof epitomize the changing patterns of European city.

What has become obvious, social systems require boundaries, defining who is empowered to be part of it and who not, distinguishing systems from each other. Today, cities are transcultural, a hub of local, national and global culture, becoming visible (Espahanagizi 2011:61). Being part of the city, being integrated depends on the issue of boundaries. Some of those boundaries are very bright and clearly discernible, meanwhile others are blurred, where the differences are not that obvious (Alba 2005: 22f.). Religion is a quite bright boundary in Germany, where it is not possible to be Christian and a Muslim (Alba 2005:32), however, speaking Turkish and German is a blurred boundary (Alba 2005:35). Meanwhile bright boundaries solidify an either or, being either part of one or the other group, blurred boundaries enable an in-between, opening leeway (Alba 2005:23ff.). At this point the urban freedom becomes visible again, allow a kind of incomplete integration into the urban society, empowering its member to pursue their own lifestyles (Bahrdt 1974:66). Blurred boundaries are more permeable, easier to overcome than bright ones. Meanwhile, the first generation mostly remains attached to its roots, it is the second generation to become the *agents of change* (Crul; Schneider 2010:1251).

Every European city develops its *Eigenlogik*. It reflects how cities are built, which history and biography do mark the city, showing social structures, political structures of who governs the city, as finally the feeling of the city its special habit (Löw 2008: 33). Based on a survey from the year 1992, Nuremberg was considered as “*placid*” “*stuffy*” as also very “*provincial*” (Spiegel 1992:43). The Nuremberger is a tinkerer, dealing with the small things, enriching and facilitating the daily life (Kusch 1989:28), more focused on small projects, than the big plan, concentrating on the feasible (Holtmann 1996:291). Being a merchant, industrial city, the habits are to be described more rather pragmatic than lyric (Kusch 1989:263). During time the city has excelled as a haven for religious refuges. During the time of witch hunt, no case of any

witch burning is reported for the Noris (Kusch 1989:58). As section B.3. has shown, the Nuremberg is rather pragmatic, shunning politics, more centred on family and home. This liberal stance could be proven recently, facing the controversial constitutional referendum in Turkey. In Nuremberg, a large share of migrants belongs to the group of so called *traditional workers' milieu*. This group is determined by having left the dream of returning, back to the country of origin, establishing itself, in Nuremberg. The second biggest group are the adaptive civil, upwards oriented milieu, marked by a pragmatic balance between family and work, as between cultures (Huss 2010: 2). The recent referendum in Turkey, triggered a debate about faithfulness of migrants in Germany. Turkish president Erdoğan was agitating Turkish rooted Germans against Germany, pledging not to integrate. Nuremberg had one of the lowest participation rates of all Turkish communities in German cities, proving this rather pragmatism.

Stadt	Religiös-verwurzeltes Milieu	Traditionelles Arbeitermilieu	Entwurzeltes Milieu	Statusorientiertes Milieu	Adaptives Bürgerliches Milieu	Intellektuell-kosmopolitisches Milieu	Multikulturelles Performer-milieu	Hedonistisch-subkulturelles Milieu
Augsburg	8,6	16,2	8,3	11,6	15,3	10,7	12,6	16,7
Berlin	6,7	14,4	11,8	11,4	13,2	11,0	11,3	20,2
Frankfurt a. M.	6,2	11,8	7,0	13,2	16,9	13,1	16,3	15,6
Hamburg	6,3	14,3	7,9	12,1	16,4	11,9	14,2	17,1
Heidelberg	5,6	10,8	8,3	12,6	18,5	13,0	18,5	12,8
Ingolstadt	11,3	14,0	8,0	12,5	15,0	12,0	13,2	13,9
Köln	7,0	12,5	8,0	12,6	15,4	12,3	15,0	17,3
Konstanz	5,8	13,6	10,3	12,3	16,7	11,4	15,3	14,7
München	5,5	8,6	6,3	14,3	17,9	15,3	19,6	12,5
Nürnberg	7,1	15,4	8,6	12,0	15,1	11,4	12,7	17,8
Regensburg	5,7	12,7	7,7	13,4	17,4	13,2	17,2	12,7
Stuttgart	6,6	12,1	7,3	13,0	17,3	12,3	16,6	14,7
Wiesbaden	6,5	12,2	7,4	12,8	16,7	12,5	15,8	16,1
Bund	7,0	16,0	9,0	12,0	16,0	11,0	13,0	15,0

Image 28 Distribution of Migrant Milieus in German Cities 2008

In the case of Nuremberg, this is important, as young migrants, searching to find their identity are found between both cultures, are the biggest type of milieu here (Huss 2010:2). A study conducted in 2001 revealed, that especially Turkish adolescents born in Germany only identified themselves as German in 8,2%, Turkish in 58,2%, but in most cases, in figures 60,3%, as being a citizen of Nürnberg (efms 2001: 68). Reactive ethnicity is produced, when people do not feel accepted in the country of living, arguing on their alleged “*roots*” (Ersanilli 2009:43). During its history mankind has mostly been leaving when situations deteriorated, serving as survival strategy (Pries 2001:5). Therefore, people stay and begin to identify with an area if, the expectation and real conditions are to be meet (Petzold 2009:164). Today, about 96% are happy (Urban Audit 2016: 67) to live in the 24th most liveable cities in the world, prior to

Singapore (26th) and San Francisco (28)¹⁰⁷. Concluding, what is a city, or better stated, what is Nuremberg, who is part of the Noris, can be emphasized, with the *Integrationsprogramm*:” *the peaceful living together of people from different background and origin shall continue to determine the self- conception of the city*“(Stadt Nürnberg 2004). Cities are determined by the living together of people unknown to each other (Baecker 2009:261ff.). Here, a city is a category, as every city is a category itself, defined by its boundaries (Portugali 2011: 211). Even the city cannot reconcile, what is not to be reconciled, yet the city can take a middle position (Siebel 2015:421), processing its own contradictions and complexities. Cities are social systems defined by their boundaries, where the city itself can be conceived as a social blurred boundary, allowing not just an either or of being part of it, but being in-between the urban society. Every society builds its own city, identifying the Noris identity, it can be said, that: “*Neronberger wöllent nit gehalten werden für Baiern noch für Franken sondern ein drittail*”¹⁰⁸.

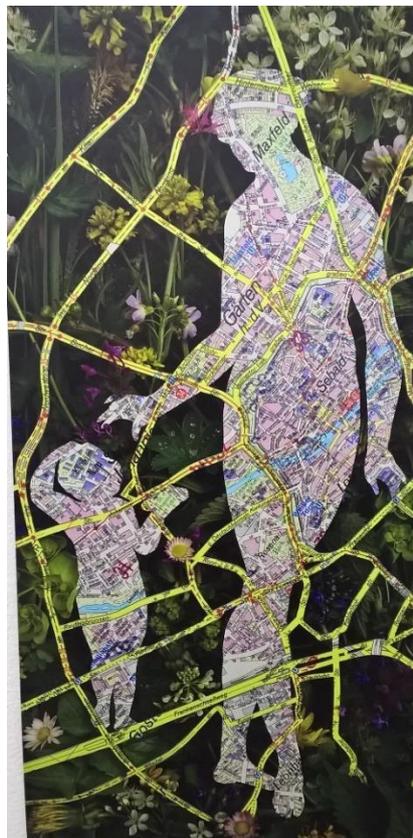


Image 29 The long way of the Noris.

¹⁰⁷ see Nürnberger Nachrichten (24.02.2016): Lebensqualität: Nürnberg toppt Singapur und San Francisco
retrieved from: <http://www.nordbayern.de/region/nuernberg/lebensqualitat-nurnberg-toppt-singapur-und-san-francisco-1.5012284?searched=true>

¹⁰⁸ Nürnberg citizen do not consider themselves Bavarian, nor Franconian however a third thing.

Third Interim Conclusion-The Network

We have entered a new age, the age of global urbanisation. Already today, more people than ever before live in urban rather than rural areas and the trend continues in the future. Contrasting, the “*globalization as a compression of time and space*” (Harvey 1989: 284), cities are back in town, becoming more essential than ever before for the global system. The former general secretary of the United Nations Ban Ki Moon emphasized, that: “*To transform our world, we must transform its cities*”¹⁰⁹. Cities are the space, where globalisation becomes visible in daily life. Combing local and global patterns, urban and urban agents, cities are dual complex. Essential for such systems are their boundaries (Portugali 2011:211), what distinguishes the category city, as every city is a category itself (Portugali 2011:216), being conceived by the people inhabiting it, giving the urban its conception, order and identity (Portugali 2011:233). The peculiar about the European city, has been the relocation of this boundaries. Serving as “*integration machines*” (Häusermann 2006:257) cities need to integrate and being integrated.

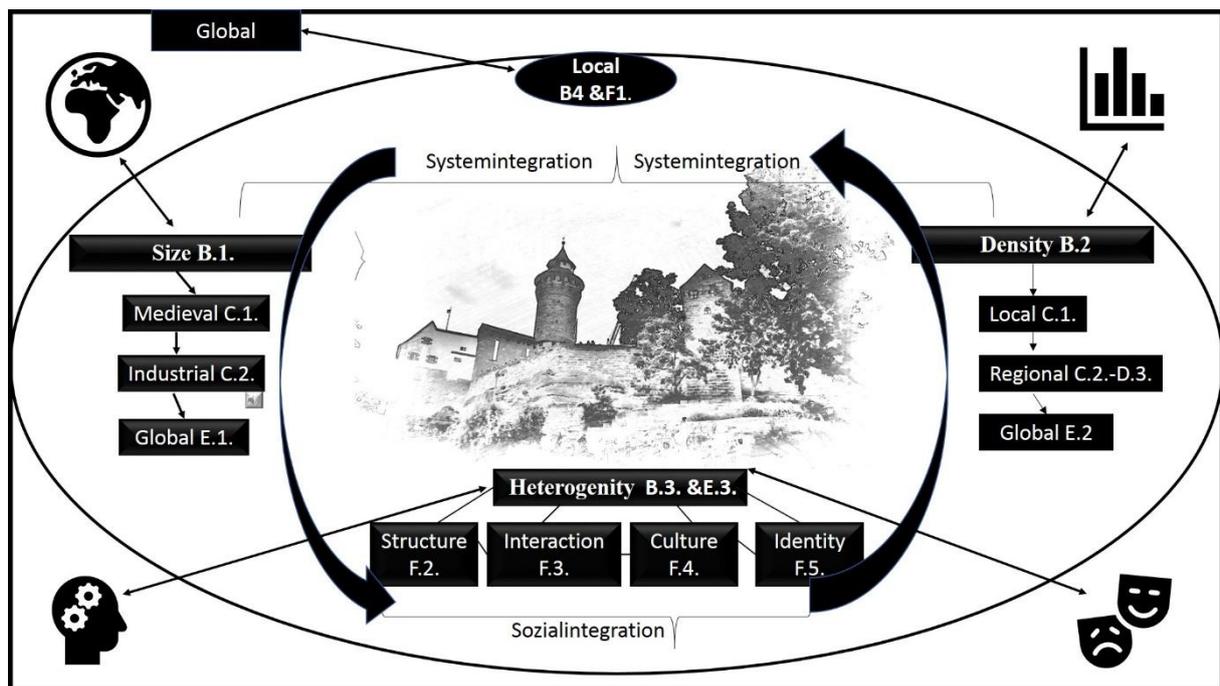


Image 30 Nuremberg as a city, the Noris as dual complex system

It is essential “*for all cities under contemporary capitalism to manage two divergent dynamics: their internal contradictions and their external integration*” (Brenner; Keil 2014: 13). Complex

¹⁰⁹ UN News Centre: “To transform our world, we must transform its cities” says UN chief on World Cities Day available at: <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=55441>

systems exchange materials, information, interact with their environment (Portugali 2011:38). Approaching the urban integration, the thesis was structured according to five general guiding questions, ordering and analysing the city as a dual complex network, analysing its external and its internal integration, the city as a category, as a city as a category. Additionally, the “*right to the city*” (Harvey 2003: 939ff.) defines who is empowered to take part in the urban evolution.

- What is the *System*? Here the general patterns for system integration were shown, characterizing the respective epoch in terms of geography, economy and society.
- What can be done? Here the general patterns of structural integration into the societal resources of Nuremberg were discussed,
- What is asked to be done? Here the general patterns of social integration, taking part in the interaction between various societal actors were discussed.
- What is responded to be done? Here the general patterns of cultural integration, the establishment and compliance with common rules were discussed.
- What is it like to be done? Here the general patterns of identifying with the urban environment of Nuremberg were discussed.

Based on the definitions by (Wirth (1974: 50-57), the aspects of size, measured in built space, the aspect of density, expressed in increased interaction, as heterogeneity, experienced in an ever-diversifying urban society, constitute the general patterns of cities globally over time. Regarding size, global urbanisation creates new metropolis, especially in the global south, accommodating millions of inhabitants. Such effects could be observed in Nuremberg as well, taking the former village of Thon being transformed into a subsystem of Nuremberg itself. “*Similarly, to natural complex systems [cities] come into being by the process of emergence out of the interaction between the many parts of the systems*” (Portugali 2011: 14). Chapter E presented the environment global cities are searching and need to interact with. As the first part of this thesis has shown, it is the market to bring cities into existence. The local market can be conceived as the built institution of exchange. Markets are the basic for economy and economic is hardly to be separated from urban, as for “*centuries the world economy has shaped the life of cities*” (Sassen 2001:3). Primarily acting on a local, latter regional market, today everything has to be thought in global terms. Global Cities order the complexities of globalisation, acting as “*commando points*” (Sassen 2011:344). Nevertheless, a market depends on the resources to be exchanged, enabling, incentivizing interaction. Reconciling the placeless space of flow and the space of place bound to the city is the shared interest of global and local actors, letting cities

adapt to global times, serving as global market places (Castells 2011:442ff.). Every city searches to be integrated into that global system. „*No global city story can be understood without reference to the local processes, which give it its substantial form*”, in other words global city projects will individualize in every city (Machimura 1998: 184). *Glocalisation*, as this process is called (Swyngedouw 2004: 38), is a strategy to deal with the forces of globalisation, to set demarcations between what is considered local factors and what is considered global (Machimura 1998:192). Consequently, the heterogeneity of the urban society increases. Migration and urban are to be considered twins, processing the foreign, assigning it a position, defining boundaries (Hillmann 2013: 151). The chapter E has shown, the external integration of Nuremberg into the global system, contributing to the global system, becoming an “*integral part for the function of the whole system*” (Esser 2001:1). Nuremberg came together with its local surrounding, establishing the “*Europäische Metropolregion*”, based on the “*aspect of not wanna be, but willing to be. “In the Metropolregion Nürnberg there are no megacities, but nobody is searching for that*” (Standecker 2014:4). “*In a visionary union, we provide the opportunities of an international metropolis but without the typical disadvantages. We are the net with many strong nodes*” (EMN 2012: 9). Facing the gateway function of Nuremberg, it could be proven, that the city of Nuremberg is a city in a Europe of cities again.

Due to its complexities every city is a category itself, being “*built society*” (Zukin 1995:268), where urban agents shape the city and being shaped by it (Portugali 2011:62). Being part of this process of urban evolution, the *right to the city* (Harvey 2003: 939ff.), being a political subject of emancipated citizen (Siebel 2012:201ff.), “*cities become the solution of their own problem*” (Baecker 2009: 264). Serving as “*integration machines*” (Häusermann 2006:257), the aspect of relocating and defining boundaries becomes more difficult. The long-term planning, envisages to improve urban quality of life, at the same time trying to balance social differences within the city (Häußermann 2005:54). Following different utopias, the city planning becomes political.

Contrasting the aspects of *systemintegration* and *sozialintegration*, the city being shaped by the global system as shaping the global system, elucidated the environment for the internal integration. Hereby, when talking about integration, the structure, or to be more precise, the structural access is essential, determining status as the trajectory of the system (Esser 2001: 17). Regarding access, it could be shown, that in formal terms, apart from federal elections, all inhabitants dispose of equal rights to the city. Possessing enough property, to influence the

urban evolution is striking for the European city, having to legitimize every intrusion into the public sphere (Häußermann 2005:54). Even so, in the case of AEG, an investor acquired the area. Being involved in the development of the area, the European city could be adapted to the global times. Conversely, with Quelle, such an access was not given, hampering the influence of the municipality in shaping this identity giving part of Eberhardshof-Muggenhof.

Having set the structure of the system, cities require interaction to come into existence. Nevertheless, social integration depends on the provision of “*shared interest*” (Köhler 2016:60). Such a shared interest can be found within the network character of city planning, taking the “*forum stadtentwicklung*”, the “*stadteilkordinatoren*”, the “*stadtteilpaten*” bringing city, economy and locals together. Netzwerktreffen as an example serve as a market for exchanging a valuable good, the local insight. “*All rational politics must begin with the concrete facts of regional life, not as they appear to the specialist, but as they appear first to those who live within the region*” (Mumford 1970:383). Having established interaction, the goal shall be following a joint vision, bringing various actors together. Facing Quelle, no joint vision could be established, leaving no actual leeway for the evolution of this tremendous industrial ruin.

Just strolling a street, a city could be considered as chaotic, yet cities imply order, civilisation, culture (Lefebvre 2003: 12). “*Thus, space and by implication a city, is not a natural objective entity but an artifact – a product of the historically specific socio-spatial relations between humans*” (Portugali 2011: 235). Every society builds its own city (Siebel 2015:15), reflecting its own patterns its “*Eigenlogik*”. Being exposed to an over-abundance of information, having to be processed and conceived, creating individual images of the city (Portugali 2011:233). Recurring to cultural integration in Nuremberg, the Noris can be described as a rather pragmatic sober culture, focused on the community, on the small and feasible. Visions seem not to fit, rather the tinkering, being an expert in the small things. However, it requires an opportunity, to show this ingenuity. Looking at AEG such a vision was provided, enabling a chance for Nuremberg to show its *Nürnberger Witz*, transforming the existing single-purpose into area into a cultural hub. At the other side of the street no vision could be established, as different cultural conceptions, could not be mediated. Contrasting the global space of flow, conceiving Quelle just as an investment opportunity, as the local space of place, conceiving Quelle as an essential part of the quarter identity of Eberhardshof-Muggenhof, no reconciliation was possible.

“As soon as any man says of the affairs of the State: “What does it matter to me?” the State may be given up for lost” (Rousseau; Jean Jacques 2010: 49), in other words, European cities create identity (Kunzmann 2011:40). “Buildings talk about democracy and aristocracy, about openness and arrogance, about threats and friendly welcome, about sympathy for the future or the desire for the past” (de Botton 2008:71f.). Cities are dual complex systems in that sense, that the city is complex, as its inhabitants are a local, cognitive, self-organizing system (Portugali 2011:211). Place attachment can be considered as a *substructure of identity* (Prohansky et. al 1983: 58f.). Place identity confirms the own identity, represented in built space, corresponding the own way of living (Prohansky et. al 1983:66). Appreciation, faithfulness as responsibility for a social system to be part of are promoted (Lutz; Heckmann 2010:207). Such an identification cannot be enforced, as it does not require any incentives such as goods for interaction. Searching for a job in Nuremberg does not require to identify with the Noris system. Therefore, identification is the highest form of integration (Esser 2001: 17). Setting boundaries, the city must be understood, as the citizens understand their city. Citizenship is as a process of participation, identification, not a right but a willing to (van Bochove et. al. 2010:346). Facing the urban freedom (Siebel 2012:201f.), the city is the place, where even the local becomes a foreigner (Siebel 2015:288f.). Yet, this is the biggest achievement of the European city, enabling contact through distance, enabling freedom to fledge, even so or just because the citizens do not know each other (Baecker 2009: 261f.). During its history, European cities attracted migrants, to diversify the urban society. Here, the European city managed to relocate boundaries, serving as “*integration machines*” (Häußermann 2006:257) for its citizens.

“*Cities become the solution of their own problems*” (Baecker 2009:264). Those are especially, superdiversity, polarisation and differentiation, undermining the integrative capacity. “*Cities have the capability of providing something for everybody, only because and only when they are created by everybody*” (Jacobs 1961:238). Defining Nuremberg as the Noris, it is essential to ask the locals Nuremberg is a city, covering a built space, based on interaction by a heterogenous society, yet the people make it, what can be conceived as the Noris. “*Viele suchen was wir lieben, doch keiner hat, ich lebe im Zeichen der Burg, Nbg ist meine Stadt. Viele kamen, sind geblieben, keiner reist hier wieder ab, leben im Zeichen der Burg, Nbg ist unsere Stadt.*”¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ Brak Lul: NGB

available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PM-yr0PGFbs>

Many searching, but nobody has, I live in the shade of the castle, NGB is my city. Many came, stayed, nobody is departing living in the shade of the castle, NGB is our city.

G. A rock in wild shores- The future Noris?

“Telling where you are from seems to tell who you are.” Every space and region triggers imaginations, provokes expectations and experiences, shapes the identity of people, using it. This thesis examined a simple question to be found in a dual complex system. Simple in that sense, that, more people than ever before are to live in urban areas, dual in that sense, that cities are not just build space, but areas inhabited and uses by its citizens, as complex, that every city provides a sheer uncountable amount of options, occurrences and paths within the urban.

“City building is complex. It consists of various interactions between actors on different levels (street, neighbourhood, district and city). This diversity produces unpredictable processes and outcomes” (Edelenbos et. al. 2015:189). At the same time, every city is also a social system, of interdependent specialists (Bettencourt et. al. 2014:5). *“Evolution is thus analysis of societal movement from simple or homogenous forms to differentiated or heterogenous forms as well the mechanism for integrating these forms in their environment* (Turner et.al 2002:57). Urban evolution means, that *“cities become the solution of their own problem”* (Baecker 2009:264). Every city requires interaction via a market to come into existence. Based on this interaction, every social system develops its own patterns, habits, its own *Eigenlogik*. What distinguishes the European city, it integrates and stands as political subject of its own development. Nevertheless, cities have set boundaries, to be recognized as cities and to be conceived as a city.

This thesis can be structured into two parts, firstly examining external integration into the environment of the city, secondly integration within the city itself. During the urban evolution, the patterns of size, observed in built space, density, expressed in increasing networks, as heterogeneity, experienced in daily urban life. *“Each town is unique, the product of local opportunities and the initiative some possessed to exploit them”* (Pounds 2005:61). Successful cities depend on their ability to bring the right actors together (Lefebvre 2003:117). The aspect of integration becomes decisive for *“the necessity for all cities under contemporary capitalism to manage two divergent dynamics: their internal contradictions and their external integration”* (Brenner; Keil 2014: 13). They define the integration efforts of a city at all.

Having retraced the trajectory of Nuremberg from its early foundations on the sandstone rock, to the Europäische Metropolregion, the increasing complexity of cities to set boundaries becomes obvious. Meanwhile, the medieval city had literally built boundaries in form of city walls. Here, inconvenient could simply be kept out of the city, ensuring internal stability. Density in form of interaction was rather on the regional, the European. Furthermore, giving the urban freedom as the high mortality, heterogeneity of the urban society, can already be found here. Mostly from the hinterland, here niches could be filled. Nevertheless, urban evolution happened quite slowly. Things changed during industrial times, when Nuremberg burst its city walling, extending in size. Density of interaction changed from a regional to a world level, attracting newcomers worldwide. At this time, urban planning evolved, facing the unprecedented fast increase in urbanisation. Today, the size of the city, is bigger than ever before, still expanding, attracting newcomers from all around the globe. Patterns of interaction have changed from the local to the global level, influencing each other. Those changes could be seen by the change of Thon from a village to a subsystem of the city of Nuremberg.

In global times, it is the task of the city to reconcile the local and the global sphere, as here globalisation becomes visible, experienced in the daily urban life. Cities must set boundaries, what is to be conceived local, as what to be conceived global. The same counts for the urban agent, being exposed to an over-abundance of symbols, requires the individual to process the city, conceiving its own order and identity. *“Different than ants, cities are strongly affected by expectations and plans, that is to say, its network of connections extend to the future to events that haven't yet happened and in fact might never happen* (Portugali 2011: 135). It could be argued, that globalisation leads to homogenization, but the reverse is to be expected. *„No global city story can be understood without reference to the local processes, which give it its substantial form”* (Machimura 1998: 184). So more the world is becoming global, focussing on same patterns, so more obvious the differences become (Appadurai 1990:308).

What distinguishes the European city, history, integration and identity. Having analysed the integrative patterns, it could be shown, every time left its traces on the soil of Nuremberg. Might this be the medieval city centre with the castle, telling about the heydays of an emporium of the medieval times? Might this be southern part of the city, telling about the industrial times, the latter quarter of Langwasser with its buildings of the Third Reich? Might this be Fürther Straße, telling the story of the city of structural change from an industrial centre to an innovative hub?

It could be proven, that Nuremberg follows an integrative approach, trying to bring the right actors together, circumventing issues such as lack of resources and skills, trying to create small threshold opportunities for taking part in the urban evolution, making use of the right to the city. On the global level, the city tries to integrate by establishing the Europäische Metropolregion, setting a mark on the map, focussing on *Hidden Champions*, not want to be but willing to be. Nuremberg is a European city as the Noris in a Europe of cities, defining identity and integration.

Currently, the city of Nuremberg is considering applying for becoming the European Capital of Culture in 2025. The objective of this European project is to “*safeguard and promote the diversity of cultures in Europe [...] to increase citizen´s sense of belonging to a common cultural area.*” (European Union 2014: Article 2). The goal of becoming a European Capital of Culture is specially to improve self-conception of the city by its citizens, as to create a long-term vision for the city (Garcia; Cox 2013:13ff.). As it could be shown every European city develops its *Eigenlogik*, its own patterns and habits, distinguishing the Noris from other categories of cities. Friedrich Campe noted in 1828:” *This particular city has contributed more to inventions, art and science than many countries as a whole.*” The globe, the first lift, the first pocket watch, are just three out of many examples (Kush 1989:182). Many small things enriching the daily life were invented here, just taking the mp3 player invented in the Metropolregion. The urban space is concrete contradiction, enabling the existence of everything as also its opposite (Lefebvre 2003:39). This could be proven with AEG and Quelle, contrasting *Nürnberger Witz* and *vernürnbergern*. The Noris is rather pragmatic, concentrating on the feasible, being an expert on the small things, however vision do not fit the merchant habit, requiring impulses from outside. Those impulses were given by the emperor in medieval times, latter the railroad set new impulses, as after war, rather undesired, the reconstructions served as revitalizing the *Nürnberger Witz*. Nevertheless, the Nürnberger is rather concentrated on the community, on, slightly prone to continue old patterns if no impulses from outside are given. Becoming the European Capital of Culture in 2025 could provide another opportunity for the *Nürnberger Witz*.

Cities provide “*Leerstellen*”, a surplus of meaning, how to shape the urban space and answer the societal questions of its respective time (Backer 2009: 264). These “*Leerstellen*” serve as transitory spaces between the past and the preparation of the future in the present society (Baecker 2009:259). Using the Tram 4 this becomes most visible, starting in at the still countryside at *Am Wegfeld*, passing the former village and now city quarter of *Thon*, climbing

up to the castle at *Tiergärtnertor*, passing by the migrant quarters of *Gostenhof*, ending up in *Gibitzenhof*, all the history of Nuremberg becomes visible. Nürnberger are shaped by the Noris, as the Noris is shaped by the Nürnberger. Looking back, nearly thousand years have left their traces, as time is going to shape the urban space in the future. Times are changing and cities with their people will change with them. Cities always served as centres for innovation. The Noris poses as an integrative and innovative social system, a European city in a Europe of cities. Having retraced the evolution from its early modest beginnings to its status as Europäische Metropolregion, every epoch and its people have left their traces and will continue to do so. We have entered a new age, the age of global urbanisation. European cities are searching to be integrated into this global system, as they have to ensure integrating their citizens itself. Concluding, Nuremberg as the Noris has proven their *Nürnberger Witz*, being prepared for the future challenges to come. Many global changes will impact on the Noris as well, yet predicting the future, while being reminded of the past in the present, whatever might come, can be best described by letting the Noris and its citizens speak for themselves : “*Werd scho, basd scho*¹¹¹”



Image 31 A look from the past in the future

¹¹¹It will be fine, it is fine.

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Annex:

Table 1: Attitude towards Migration

Foreigner in the own country	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
STIMME GAR NICHT ZU	273	28.98	28.98
..	144	15.29	44.27
..	110	11.68	55.94
..	140	14.86	70.81
..	86	9.13	79.94
..	71	7.54	87.47
STIMME VOELLIG ZU	118	12.53	100.00
Total	942	100.00	

Table 2: Income

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
income_cat	773	1563.336	1182.983	-50	10000

Tab 3: Gender

Gender	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Male	385	49.81	49.81
Female	388	50.19	100.00
Total	773	100.00	

Tab 4: Origin

Location	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
West	503	65.07	65.07
East	270	34.93	100.00
Total	773	100.00	

Tab 5: Age

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
age_cat	772	52.28109	18.1831	20	99

Tab 6: Contact

Contact with Immigrants	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Yes	310	40.26	40.26
No	460	59.74	100.00
Total	770	100.00	

Tab 7: Attitudes towards migration Pro and Contra

mig_attitude	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Pro	435	56.57	56.57
Contra	334	43.43	100.00
Total	769	100.00	

Affidavit

I declare according to § 5 Abs. 3 PuStO, that I edited the master thesis at hand, autonomously, not having applied any other than the cited sources and means

.....

Place, Date

.....

Signature (handwritten)

Ich erkläre hiermit gem. § 5 Abs.3 PuStO, dass ich die vorstehende Masterarbeit selbstständig verfasst und keine anderen als die angegebenen Quellen und Hilfsmittel benutzt habe.

.....

Ort, Datum

.....

Unterschrift (handschriftlich)

„Es ist eine Ehre, für diese Stadt, diesen Verein und die Bewohner Nürnbergs zu spielen. Möge all dies immer bewahrt werden und der großartige FC Nürnberg niemals untergehen.“

Heiner Stuhlfauth