

# From “Win-Win” to “Lose-Lose”

How Neoliberalism Undermines the Sustainable City – A Case Study of Hamburg

*Eva Wiesemann*

---

Master Thesis Series in Environmental Studies and Sustainability Science,  
No 2014:004

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of Lund University  
International Master’s Programme in Environmental Studies and Sustainability Science  
(30hp/credits)



## LUCSUS

Lund University Centre for  
Sustainability Studies



**LUND**  
UNIVERSITY

---

## **From “Win-Win” to “Lose-Lose”**

How Neoliberalism Undermines the Sustainable City

– A Case Study of Hamburg

Eva Wiesemann

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of Lund University International Master's  
Programme in Environmental Studies and Sustainability Science

Submitted May 15, 2014

Supervisor: Turaj Faran, LUCSUS, Lund University



## **Abstract**

Throughout the last years, more and more cities around the world have integrated sustainability into their development goals to deal with today's multiple environmental and social challenges. Simultaneously, an exploding strand of research stresses the potential of cities in a transition towards sustainability. However, in most cities claiming to be sustainable, policies often remain rather limited to climate change mitigation and environmental protection measures, while social issues fall behind. Many sustainable cities therefore suffer from increasing housing prices and gentrification, which in turn lead to the displacement of poorer parts of the population. This points to an often-overlooked trade-off between environmental and social goals in sustainable cities.

Environmental gentrification literature suggests that the reason for this trade-off lies in the fact that the attractiveness associated with green cities increases the demand for housing and draws in a wealthier population. As rents are allowed to rise uncontrolled, they become a financial burden to the original inhabitants who are eventually forced to move to the outskirts of the city. According to critical urban theory, the reason for the city's failure to secure affordable housing is the neoliberal logic underlying urban planning. Environmental sustainability is hence co-opted for marketing the city and primarily aimed at attracting tax payers and businesses. Embedded in this neoliberal paradigm, sustainable cities fail at achieving quality of life for everybody, since the measures only benefit the wealthier population, while poor residents are excluded from the city.

Using Hamburg as a case study, this thesis investigates the hypothesis that environmental sustainability initiatives can have negative social repercussions when embedded in neoliberal planning. In order to do so, it draws on a mixed-method approach consisting of semi-structured interviews with city representatives and activists, official documents and statistical data. The results show an even stronger effect than expected: not only does the identified neoliberal paradigm create a trade-off, but even a "lose-lose" situation, in which neither environmental nor social sustainability goals can be achieved. A new approach in city planning is thus necessary which better incorporates the needs of the inhabitants, and recognizes housing as a basic need rather than an economic commodity.

Key words: Sustainable Cities, Environmental Gentrification, Housing, New Urbanism, Densification, Social Mix, Critical Urban Theory, Neoliberal Urbanism

Word count: 13,987

## **Acknowledgements**

Writing a thesis is a process full of ups and downs, in which feelings constantly alternate between enthusiasm and uncertainty. I therefore want to thank all the special people who accompanied and supported me during this time. First of all, my gratitude goes to my supervisor Turaj for always having an open ear and for never getting tired of guiding me through the chaos of my own thoughts. My thanks also go to my interviewees for providing me with new insights about city planning, and my proof-readers whose judgments helped me a lot in improving my story. Especially, I want to thank my parents for always supporting me in everything I do, as well as my wonderful siblings, without whom I would never have become the person that I am. Last but certainly not least thank you to my friends in LUMES, not only for your support during the thesis process, but especially for the countless fikas, trips, discussions and shared evenings that greatly enriched my life in the last two years.



## Table of Contents

<b>1 Introduction .....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Working Hypothesis.....	2
1.2 Research Aim and Questions.....	2
<b>2 Literature Review: Sustainable Cities.....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>3 Theoretical Background.....</b>	<b>4</b>
3.1 The Neoliberal City .....	4
3.2 Eco-Branding .....	5
3.3 The Right to the City .....	6
3.4 (Environmental) Gentrification.....	7
<b>4 Methods and Case .....</b>	<b>8</b>
4.1 Research Design: Case Study .....	8
4.2 Research Strategy: Triangulation.....	9
4.3 Interviews .....	10
4.4 Epistemological and Ontological Perspective.....	10
4.5 Relation to Sustainability Science.....	11
4.6 Ethical Considerations.....	11
<b>5 Results and Analysis .....</b>	<b>12</b>
5.1 Background on Hamburg.....	12
5.2 Hamburg's Sustainability Commitments.....	14
5.2.1 Sustainability Documents: Focus on Environmental Issues.....	14
5.2.2 City Planning Vision: Holistic Sustainability Understanding .....	15
5.3 Sustainability Translated into Housing and City Planning Policies .....	16
5.4 Outcomes: The Untold Story .....	19

5.4.1 <i>The Empty Promise of the Green Capital</i> .....	19
5.4.2 <i>Contradictory Outcomes of the Housing Policies</i> .....	20
5.4.3 <i>Participation: Manufacturing Legitimacy</i> .....	22
5.4.4 <i>Lack of Alternatives and Segregation</i> .....	23
5.4.4.1 <i>Demand vs. Supply</i> .....	23
5.4.4.2 <i>Increased Displacement and Segregation</i> .....	24
5.4.5 <i>Gentrification as a Tool for City Development</i> .....	24
5.4.6 <i>Consequences Summed Up</i> .....	26
5.5 <i>The Role of Neoliberalism</i> .....	27
5.6 <i>Alternatives</i> .....	29
5.6.1 <i>Rethinking the Goals</i> .....	29
5.6.2 <i>Concrete Demands</i> .....	30
<b>6 Discussion</b> .....	<b>31</b>
6.1 <i>Paradoxes of Sustainable City Planning</i> .....	32
6.1.1 <i>From “Environmental” to “Sustainability” Gentrification</i> .....	32
6.1.2 <i>Neoliberalism: From “Win-Win” to “Lose-Lose”</i> .....	34
6.2 <i>Towards a New Planning Paradigm</i> .....	35
6.2.1 <i>Overcoming Neoliberal Hegemony</i> .....	35
6.2.2 <i>Key Measure: Regulating and Decommodifying Housing</i> .....	36
6.2.3 <i>Changing the Process</i> .....	36
6.3 <i>Contribution to Sustainability Science</i> .....	37
6.4 <i>Outlook</i> .....	38
6.4.1 <i>Limitations</i> .....	38
6.4.2 <i>Debate on Economic Models</i> .....	39
<b>7 Conclusion</b> .....	<b>39</b>
<b>References</b> .....	<b>41</b>

**Appendices .....54**

**Appendix I: Interview Guides..... 54**

**Appendix II: List of Interviewees ..... 57**

**Appendix III: Map of Hamburg ..... 58**

**Appendix IV: Statistical Data..... 59**

**List of Tables**

Table 1: Data applied to research questions..... 9

Table 2: Overview of plans and policies framed under sustainability concept..... 19

**List of Figures**

Figure 1: Hypothesis ..... 2

Figure 2: Development of official rent index in Hamburg..... 13

Figure 3: Average rent level 2013 (not subjected to price maintenance) ..... 13

Figure 4: Rents for new contracts 2005 and 2013, compared with maximum rent level of affordable housing ..... 20

Figure 5: Number of public housing units and unemployed citizens, absolute numbers..... 21

Figure 6: Poverty, welfare and unemployment rate since 2005..... 23

Figure 7: Rent increases in selected quarters, new contracts ..... 26

Figure 8: Welfare recipients in Hamburg, per cent..... 25

Figure 9: Vicious circle of housing prices ..... 27

Figure 10: Results on the role of neoliberalism. .... 28

## List of Abbreviations

BMAS	Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Soziales (Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs)
BSU	Behörde für Stadtentwicklung und Umwelt (Agency for Urban Development and Environment)
Destatis	Statistisches Bundesamt (Federal Statistical Office)
EC	European Commission
EU	European Union
GdW	Bundesverband deutscher Wohnungs- und Immobilienunternehmen (Federal Association of German Housing and Real Estate Enterprises)
IBA	Internationale Bauausstellung (International Building Exhibition)
igs	Internationale Gartenschau (International Garden Show)
IVD	Immobilienverband Deutschland (German Real-Estate Association)
Nionhh	“Not in our Name, Marke Hamburg” initiative
RISE	Rahmenprogramm Integrierte Stadtteilentwicklung (Framework Program for Integrated Quarter Development)
RQ	Research Question
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschland (German Social-Democrat Party)
sqm	Square meter
UN	United Nations
WCED	World Commission on the Environment and Development
WHO	World Health Organization

## 1 Introduction

Cities have always been the center of change – socially, technologically and culturally. In the global debate about a transition to sustainability, cities are therefore not only discussed as the drivers of sustainability problems, but are also recognized as the places where solutions are created (Fücks, 2011). With 70 per cent of world population estimated to live in cities by 2050 (WHO, 2014), they can become the hubs where global change is planned and implemented, and some authors even claim a shift of decision-making power from the nation-state towards cities (Barber, 2013; Katz & Bradley, 2013).

However, those cities generally ranked as most sustainable have also been found to be some of the most expensive to live in (McShane, 2009; Starkey, 2010). This trade-off is puzzling considering that sustainable city frameworks include aims such as social well-being, equality, and even affordable housing (Lehmann, 2010).

Many authors are in fact very critical of the real impacts of sustainable cities. In practice, their general orientation tends to be limited to environmental protection and climate change mitigation (Choi, 2010), while social aspects like equality and the right to adequate and affordable housing fall behind (Pearsall, 2010). Developments undertaken beneath the sustainable city umbrella thus have caused rising housing prices and gentrification<sup>1</sup>, with critical impacts on social sustainability in these cities (Luederitz, Lang, & Wehrden, 2013).

Critical urban theory and gentrification literature explain such repercussions on social sustainability as a result of city planning being embedded in a neoliberal paradigm aimed at maximizing profits (Smith, 1979). Following this goal, cities use sustainability primarily for “eco-branding”, i.e. to foster a positive image of the city attracting capital and inhabitants (Anderberg & Clark, 2013; Holgersen & Malm, 2014). Housing, which is recognized as a human right (UN, 1948), is left to the market, where the rules of supply and demand make it increasingly unaffordable. This has fundamental impacts on vulnerable groups who are excluded from centrally-located housing, and thus from life in the city itself (Lefebvre, 1996).

By examining the case of Hamburg, I aim at shedding light on the relationship between sustainable city initiatives and gentrification, and at finding solutions to solve this conflict.

---

<sup>1</sup> Gentrification is defined as “the process by which an area is gentrified”, i.e. “change[d] (...) from being a poor area to a richer one, by people of a higher social class moving to live there” (Cambridge Dictionaries Online, 2014) (see also section 3.4)

**1.1 Working Hypothesis**

The starting point of my research is the hypothesis suggested by environmental gentrification literature that urban sustainability initiatives can cause gentrification. The assumption underlying this statement is that sustainable cities often show a one-sided focus on environmental sustainability while social issues are neglected. Consequently, environmental initiatives make the city more attractive and increase demand for housing, while no social countermeasures are put in place to avoid rent increases or gentrification (Checker, 2011).

Following the argumentation of critical urban theory, I expand this hypothesis by assuming that this trade-off is not directly caused by the sustainability initiatives, but is due to the neoliberal economic logic<sup>2</sup> in which they are embedded. This type of planning “has historically inhibited moves toward progressive ends and continues to stand in the way of greater social and environmental justice” (Novy & Mayer, 2009, p. 104). By prioritizing marketable measures that help the city attract outside capital, issues like housing affordability and tenure security fall behind. This implies that in order for sustainable cities to live up to their promises of creating quality of life for all (EC, 1994), what needs to be changed is the underlying neoliberal paradigm, rather than the sustainability measures themselves.

This leads to the following hypothesis (see fig. 1):

*H1: Urban sustainability initiatives increase gentrification tendencies if they are planned within a neoliberal city planning paradigm.*



**Figure 1:** Hypothesis showing the connection between neoliberalism, sustainability initiatives and gentrification. Sustainability and gentrification are hereby *not* causally linked, but are both outcomes of a common cause, namely the neoliberal paradigm underlying city planning. In the special case of sustainable cities, this paradigm takes the form of an eco-branding strategy. Source: Own illustration

**1.2 Research Aim and Questions**

Based on the foregoing considerations, I investigate how a neoliberal paradigm in fact shapes sustainability initiatives in cities, and how it creates a form of sustainability in which environmental

---

<sup>2</sup> Neoliberalism refers to “a modern politico-economic theory favouring free trade, privatization, minimal government intervention in business, reduced public expenditure on social services, etc.” (Collins English Dictionary, 2014)

improvements come at the expense of social problems. The answers to these questions will then be used to identify solutions. The aim of my thesis can thus be formulated as:

**Aim: How can cities become sustainable without compromising access to affordable housing?**

To analyze whether the stated hypothesis holds in the case of Hamburg, the following questions will guide my research:

*RQ1: What are the focus areas of Hamburg's sustainability commitment?*

*RQ2: What expectations and attitudes drive these commitments?*

*RQ3: Do the sustainability commitments influence city planning and housing policies?*

*RQ4: How do these policies affect vulnerable people's access to housing?*

*RQ5: What alternatives are possible to avoid gentrification in sustainable cities?*

Based on these questions, the thesis will proceed in the following way: the next section will briefly review literature on sustainable cities, followed by an overview of the theoretical background in section three. Section four will focus on research design and methods that will guide the analysis presented in section five. Section six will discuss the results in relation to theory and the stated hypothesis. The last section will then summarize the results and provide a conclusion.

## **2 Literature Review: Sustainable Cities**

Sustainable cities have over the last years received more and more attention as possible spaces for solving the sustainability challenges of our time. Many frameworks have been created, which are usually based on a "win-win" assumption stating that environmental, social and economic factors can be achieved simultaneously (Anderberg & Clark, 2013; Gibbs, 2000), a view inspired by the definition of sustainable development used in the Brundtland report (WCED, 1987). According to this perception, there is no contradiction between sustainability and pursuing economic expansion (Keil & Desfor, 2003), which makes more "radical transformations" unnecessary (Haughton, 1999, p. 234).

While more critical views have emerged recently, these concentrate mostly on the fact that sustainable cities lack effectiveness in solving global environmental problems (Choi, 2010; Hornborg, 2014; Rees, 1997). Others criticize that issues like social justice and equity fall behind environmental ones, being "components that are less marketable or politically supported" (Starkey, 2010, p. 9) (see also Agyeman, Bullard, & Evans, 2003). However, comparatively little research has focused on the question what forms these negative social consequences concretely take. Likewise, most studies measure urban sustainability by relying on official commitments and indicators (e.g. Warner, 2002),

without considering whether these goals are actually implemented. In my thesis, in contrast, I go one step further as I will also analyze policies and their effects on the ground. By taking a closer look behind official objectives, my research will help better assess the role of cities in a transition towards sustainability.

In my analysis, I will specifically look at housing prices and gentrification, for several reasons. First, access to affordable housing is strongly related to questions of equity and justice in the city (Kleniewski, 2008). Many authors have shown that inequality is one of the most important barriers to achieving human well-being (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2011), political stability (Haughton, 1999), and environmental quality (Boyce, 2008; Gurstein, 2012; Holgersen & Malm, 2014). Wilkinson and Pickett (2011) even state that inequality is related to high levels of consumption. Therefore, sustainability efforts will be ineffective without a concern for equity, including access to housing. This is especially true when considering that the concept of sustainability itself is, by virtue of intergenerational equity, inherently justice-oriented. This concern, as Anand and Sen (2000) state, cannot solely be directed at future generations, but must take into account intragenerational equity, too.

Moreover, housing is recognized as a human right (UN, 1948) and its availability, quality and location have crucial impacts on participatory opportunities and quality of life (BMAS, 2013). Knowledge about whether sustainability in cities might have negative effects on housing prices is therefore critical for policy design, and thus an important addition to the literature on sustainable cities.

### **3 Theoretical Background**

The following section will give an overview of the theories of the neoliberal city, eco-branding and the Right to the City, as well as of gentrification research, which together will guide this research.

#### **3.1 The Neoliberal City**

The main theoretical basis for my thesis is provided by critical urban theory. According to authors in this field, the influence of neoliberalism has transformed the city into a “growth machine” (Molotch, 1976), whereby planning “is being asked to confine itself to questions of efficient urban functioning, [thereby] instrumentalizing social concerns to serve growth and business prosperity” (Marcuse, 2009b, p. 245). This is manifested in a retreat of the public sector from the city and its replacement by market forces through deregulation, liberalization, and privatization (Holm, 2008a; Novy & Mayer, 2009), as well as in the subordination of values of justice and equity under private property rights and profits (Harvey, 2008). Simultaneously, democratic values and legitimacy deteriorate as

neoliberals become “the dominant voice in policymaking” and social control of capital is minimized (Purcell, 2008, p. 2).

The increasing pressure for cities to keep up in the competition for global capital then leads to the development of the “entrepreneurial city” (Brenner, 2009, p. 15; Harvey, 1989). In order to increase its tax base, the city primarily aims at attracting tourists, investors, businesses and the “creative class” (Florida, 2004). To this end, it makes extensive use of slogans, branding campaigns and other marketing activities.

Neoliberal thinking thereby assumes the accumulated capital to “trickle down” from top to bottom of society (Campbell, Tait, & Watkins, 2014, p. 48; Harvey, 2009; Holgersen & Baeten, 2014), as it drives the creation of jobs and ultimately alleviates social problems. The trickle down mechanism ensures that “the benefits of urban economic dynamism (...) will offset any detrimental political-economic consequences” (Brenner, 2009, p. 456).

However, this assumption is very contested: many scholars argue that neoliberal policies come with severe negative effects for marginalized groups in the city (Higgins, Campanera, & Nobajas, 2014; Leitner & Sheppard, 1998), as they lead to a deterioration of social services and exacerbate local inequalities (Brenner, 2009). Examples of this are the city’s withdrawal from housing provision, and a changed perception of housing from being a social good to an economic commodity (Holm, 2013). As housing becomes a valuable financial investment, especially in times of financial crisis (Holm, 2011), it turns into an object for speculation and profit-making, rather than for the fulfillment of the human need for housing and shelter (Tsenkova, Potsiou, & Badyina, 2009).

### **3.2 Eco-Branding**

Adding to the notion that in the entrepreneurial city “[i]mage becomes everything” (Mitchell, 1997, p. 304), literature on eco-branding suggests that the motivation underlying urban sustainability initiatives is their potential for marketing the city, and that it is the expectation of increasing profits that makes cities choose an orientation towards sustainable or green goals (Anderberg & Clark, 2013). Eco-branding can therefore be understood as a form of neoliberal planning specific to sustainable or green cities.

As a result, not all aspects of sustainability are considered simultaneously, but economic aspects dominate over environmental conservation and social justice. This subordination results in what Checker (2011, p. 213) terms “selective sustainability”, whereby only those aspects of sustainability are cherry-picked which foster the city’s marketing orientation. Due to its vague definition and positive connotation, sustainability is well-suited to fulfilling the double purpose of branding the city

while legitimizing conflictual urban development policies (Krueger & Gibbs, 2007; Marcuse, 1998). The actual aim of urban sustainability might thereby fall behind: such a “sustainability fix” (While, Jonas, & Gibbs, 2004) “may have absolutely nothing to do with concrete, measurable progress on relevant environmental indicators (selectively incorporated or not)” (Holgerson & Malm, 2014, p. 4).

### **3.3 The Right to the City**

Against this background, the Right to the City demands a fundamental change of urban planning towards the interests of the inhabitants (Marcuse, 2009b). It goes back to French sociologist Henri Lefebvre, who coined the term in his 1968 book “Le droit à la ville” (Lefebvre, 1968, 1996). Critical elements are the rights to participation and to appropriation (Purcell, 2002). The first claims an alternative process of decision-making and a shift of power away from the dominant coalition that has formed between “developers, who are backed by finance, corporate capital and an increasingly entrepreneurially minded local state apparatus” (Harvey, 2008, p. 32), towards the inhabitants of the city. Their right to freely access urban space, and also to produce and change it according to their needs, is then described by the right to appropriation (Vogiazides, 2012). This implies a right to centrality, to the urban core, which in neoliberal cities has become a mere “place of consumption and consumption of place” for outsiders (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 73). The Right to the City, in sum, aims at transforming urban life towards a “city for people, not for profit” (Brenner, Marcuse, & Mayer, 2011).

Throughout the last years, the theory has been used by more and more Right-to-the-City movements in all parts of the world (Leavitt, Samara, & Brady, 2009). In Germany, the biggest network under this slogan, consisting of 63 initiatives, was founded in Hamburg in 2009 (Recht auf Stadt, 2014). Although support ranges from academia to social movements, interpretations of how to achieve the Right to the City differ strongly. Mayer (2011, p. 71) distinguishes two forms: the first refers to a radical “oppositional demand, which challenges the claims of the rich and powerful”, giving it a revolutionary and political nature. The second understands the Right to the City in terms of how this idea is institutionalized and formalized by actors on different scales, from local urban development plans to the global “World Charter on the Right to the City” by Habitat International (HIC, 1995) and other alliances (Marcuse, 2009b).

I will draw on both these perspectives, arguing that reform and transformation complement rather than contradict each other. The aim is to identify concrete measures that can already be implemented on the city level now, but nevertheless follow the bigger vision of “a city that is more just, sustainable, and democratic” (Mayer, 2011, p. 64).

### **3.4 (Environmental) Gentrification**

Since Ruth Glass (1964) first coined the term gentrification in the context of urban development in London, the concept has evolved and changed its meaning several times. Generally defined, it is “a process involving a change in the population of land-users such that the new users are of a higher socio-economic status than the previous users, together with an associated change in the built environment through a reinvestment in fixed capital” (Clark, 2005, p. 258).

While Glass still understood gentrification as a local development, others (Atkinson & Bridge, 2005; Smith, 1996) have stressed that it has now become a global urban development strategy. This is connected to a shift from demand- to supply-side explanations: originally perceived as caused by the middle-classes’ changing preferences towards urban lifestyles (Laska & Spain, 1980), gentrification is now becoming increasingly recognized as driven by the production side (Smith, 1979). This implies a change in the role of municipalities: while gentrification has always been observable in cities (Marx & Engels, 1872/1975), it was at most an unintended consequence of local policies. Recently, however, municipalities have shown to take an active role in driving gentrification (Slater, 2005). What shapes many cities today is therefore “state-led” (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008, p. 134) or “municipality-managed gentrification” (Slater, 2004), whereby the local government initiates an urban renewal process in order to attract businesses, wealthy residents and tourists. It is not only these goals that are tied to simultaneous processes like globalization and neoliberalization, but also the means, as gentrification is achieved in an environment of increasingly close cooperation between the municipality, housing companies and real estate business.

The central aspect of gentrification is that it results in displacement of the poor population, for whom “forces outside the household make living there impossible, hazardous, or unaffordable” (Hartman, Keating, & LeGates, 1982, p. 3). This reinforces social problems by reducing opportunities and access to education, jobs, and services for those classes, and is therefore detrimental to social sustainability in general (Denmark, 1998; Newman & Wyly, 2006; Swanstrom, Dreier, & Mollenkopf, 2008). However, this automatic relationship has been questioned by proponents of the process, reframing state-led gentrification as “revitalisation, renaissance, regeneration, renewal, redevelopment, rejuvenation, restructuring, resurgence, reurbanisation and residentialisation” (Slater, 2009, p. 294). In this way, it has been used by municipalities as a positive development strategy. Based on the assumption that the arrival of affluent residents in neglected neighborhoods will improve conditions for the low-income population (Byrne, 2003), this discourse designates “the middle classes as the new savior of the city” (Atkinson & Bridge, 2005, p. 1).

Opponents of this view state that although gentrification does not always directly lead to displacement, it can also take indirect forms, especially “exclusionary displacement” (Marcuse, 1985, p. 206). Here, low-income households are excluded from gentrifying quarters since affordable housing becomes increasingly scarce. As a result, they no longer have the option of moving within these neighborhoods and become “trapped” (Slater, 2009, p. 306).

A specific form of gentrification is environmental (Anguelovski, 2013; Banzhaf & Walsh, 2005; Checker, 2011; Curran & Hamilton, 2012; Pearsall, 2010, 2012), ecological (Dooling, 2009; Quastel, 2009) or green gentrification (Ceaser, 2010; Dale & Newman, 2009; Gould & Lewis, 2009). This fast-growing strand of research claims that environmental initiatives cause gentrification since their purpose is to serve the demand of middle-class residents for environmental quality. Rather than out of a genuine concern for the environment, they are thus primarily planned to attract capital. As the improved image in fact draws in wealthier residents and investors, housing prices rise, and consequently create displacement and financial burden for vulnerable parts of the population “while espousing an environmental ethic” (Dooling, 2009, p. 630). Sustainability, rather than being a framework for a rethinking of urban policies, is then being co-opted for continuing the same redevelopment idea (Checker, 2011).

While my thesis seeks to shed light on whether these assumptions hold, it is important to delimit the topic. The concept of environmental gentrification used here refers to policies aimed at upgrading entire quarters, driven by city authorities rather than individual landlords. It thus does not cover the specific effect of individual energetic modernizations on rent levels (GdW, 2012; Holm, 2011). Nor does it give a detailed account of the demand side of gentrification (Rose, 1984), as it is based on the assumption that demand remains largely without consequences when it is not met by sufficient supply (Gotham, 2005; Jekel & Frölich von Bodelschwingh, 2009).

## **4 Methods and Case**

In order to answer the research questions, I will draw on the case of Hamburg as well as on triangulation, which will be explained in more detail in the following section.

### **4.1 Research Design: Case Study**

The research question will be analyzed using the city of Hamburg as a case study. Case studies are suitable for examining a phenomenon in its specific context, and to shed light not only on relationships between variables, but also on the causal mechanisms linking them (Gerring, 2007). This approach fits the purpose of this paper since my objective is not simply to confirm a concurrence

of sustainability initiatives and gentrification, but also to scrutinize how these two phenomena are connected. This demands an in-depth and context-specific analysis (Bryman, 2012).

Hamburg is chosen as a case due to its polarization on the variables of interest – the municipality’s dedication to sustainable city objectives on the one hand, which is most visible in the title as European Green Capital 2011 (Stadt Hamburg, 2014b), and rapidly increasing housing prices on the other (F+B Forschung und Beratung, 2014). With this trade-off being clearly observable, Hamburg is a typical case (Gerring, 2007), in that it is representative of a broader category of cases (Yin, 2009). This will potentially allow for making broader statements about other sustainable cities.

**4.2 Research Strategy: Triangulation**

Within this design, I will rely on the research strategy of triangulation, which “entails using more than one method or source of data in the study of social phenomena” (Bryman, 2008, p. 379). Triangulation allows for the crosschecking findings and leads to greater confidence in the results as the disadvantages of different research approaches can be balanced out (Deacon, Bryman, & Fenton, 1998). The three methods chosen for data collection are document analysis, semi-structured interviews, and descriptive statistics (see table 1). Since both official documents and interviews data are originally in German, quotes presented throughout this thesis are my own translation.

**Table 1:** Data applied to research questions. The table shows how the different methods of document analysis, semi-structured interviews and statistical data relate to the research questions formulated in section 1.2. Source: Own illustration

Research questions	Applied methods
RQ1	Document analysis of the city’s sustainability strategy, as well as interviews with urban planners and politicians
RQ2	
RQ3	Document analysis of urban development plans, especially related to housing, as well as interviews with urban planners and politicians
RQ4	Quantitative data on housing prices over time as well as socio-economic data of residents. Statistical data from public and private sources <sup>3</sup> will be complemented by interviews with experts and representatives of the Right-to-the-City movement as well as with news articles
RQ5	Interviews with representatives of the Right-to-the-City movement on possible alternatives in housing policy

Using different data sources comes with several advantages: While much of the information on the city’s sustainability approach is available through official documents, my aim is also to understand the underlying motivations as well as barriers to actions, and thus to investigate possible “[g]aps

<sup>3</sup> For detailed information on statistical data sources, see Appendix IV

between official versions of reality and the facts on the ground” (Marx, 1997, p. 113). Such gaps are likely, as neoliberalism is rarely promoted directly, but is rather part of a “broader social climate” (D. Rose, cited in Slater, 2005, p. 55). For this purpose, I conducted semi-structured interviews with city planners, politicians, as well as city activists. This is complemented with statistical data on actual developments on the housing market as well as on their social consequences. Wherever possible, I used official public data, which I supplemented with data collected by private research companies and secondary sources. The main advantage of combining these different approaches is complementarity, as it helps address different aspects of the investigation (Bryman, 2012).

### **4.3 Interviews**

Eleven expert interviews were conducted between the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 21<sup>st</sup> of February 2014, lasting approximately one hour each, with outliers of 29 and 101 minutes. Semi-structured interviews were chosen as most suitable for the purpose of my thesis since their flexible approach better allows for identifying underlying motivations and understandings (Doody & Noonan, 2013). All interviews followed an interview guide, which is presented in Appendix I. To interpret the data, I relied on theoretical analysis, which focuses on testing the material for congruence with theoretical assumptions (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009).

The selection of interviewees (see Appendix II) followed purposive sampling in order to ensure their relevance for the research topic (Bryman, 2012): Three of the interviewees were city planners from the Agency for Urban Development and Environment, three were politicians (from the Green, Liberal and Christian-Democrat Party), four representatives from the Right-to-the-City movement, and one was an expert from the “Future Council”<sup>4</sup>. In addition, I conducted six shorter interviews of approximately five minutes each with participants of the final participatory meeting of the “Mitte-Altona” development project.

### **4.4 Epistemological and Ontological Perspective**

My thesis takes a clear stand in critical realism, which is based on the assumption that an objective reality exists, but that, unlike in empirical realism, this reality cannot be directly observed. Rather, the real essence of the world is filtered through individual perspectives, and can only be understood by identifying structures and power relations shaping its perception. In this way, critical realism is situated between interpretivist and positivist epistemologies. An important characteristic of critical realism is that the goal is not only to understand reality itself, but to initiate positive change in society and to improve the human condition (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). It thus answers the call for

---

<sup>4</sup>“Zukunftsrat”, independent sustainability organization for Hamburg

more “use-inspired, basic research” following the approach of Louis Pasteur, which serves to produce knowledge while at the same time benefitting society (Stokes, 1997).

Critical realism fits the purpose of my research as it corresponds to both critical urban theory and the methodological approach: Testing hypotheses is in line with the “fallibilist” nature of critical realism (Benton & Craib, 2011, p. 122), which assumes that a given state of knowledge of the world can be proven wrong by additional research. Knowledge is furthermore created using retroduction (Ragin & Amoroso, 2011), according to which theory and evidence are continuously compared. Rather than merely testing the stated hypothesis, this allows for the incorporation of patterns emerging from the data in order to modify and advance the underlying theory (Bryman, 2012).

#### **4.5 Relation to Sustainability Science**

My work contributes to sustainability science in several ways. In terms of content, it adds to the literature on sustainable cities by shedding light on the relationship between sustainability and affordable housing. It thereby explicitly looks at the interaction between the economic, environmental, and social components of sustainability, all of which are present in housing and city development policies. The study also advances practical knowledge for sustainable cities by identifying enablers and barriers to achieving their goals and thus adds to the commitment of sustainability science to find solutions to the world’s most pressing problems (Kates et al., 2001).

Methodologically, this is further supported by drawing on the “transformative potential” (Connolly & Steil, 2009, p. 1) of critical realism and urban theory. Moreover, the combination of geography, urban studies, critical theory and sustainability science follows a transdisciplinary approach, which is one of the main characteristics of sustainability science (Max-Neef, 2005). The same is true for the mix of methods, which allows integrating qualitative findings on motivations and perceptions into the often rather technical study of urban geography.

#### **4.6 Ethical Considerations**

The main ethical considerations are related to the conduct of interviews. Following the four ethical principles stated by Bryman (2012, p. 135) – avoiding deception and harm to participants, as well as ensuring privacy and informed consent – all interviews contained a briefing about myself, the purpose of the study, sending institution, and level of confidentiality (Frey & Oishi, 1995). Moreover, the interviewees were given the option of anonymity, even though none of them made use of this possibility.

Considering my role as researcher, two main considerations are important. First, the semi-structured interviews are prone to an interviewer bias, such as withholding information (Kvale & Brinkmann,

2009) or socially desirable responses (Frey & Oishi, 1995). A special focus was therefore put on minimizing these biases, especially by avoiding sensitive questions (Doody & Noonan, 2013).

Furthermore, I try to manage any bias from predefined personal opinions by maximizing transparency and replicability (Bryman, 2012). I also maintain a critical perspective towards the theory, considering that the aim of this research is not to simply confirm it, but to identify how and under which conditions it applies to the case of Hamburg.

## **5 Results and Analysis**

In the following section, I will analyze the sustainability goals and existing policies of the city of Hamburg. The section will first provide short background information on Hamburg and its housing market, and will then go on to present data collected from statistical sources, city documents and interviews.

### **5.1 Background on Hamburg**

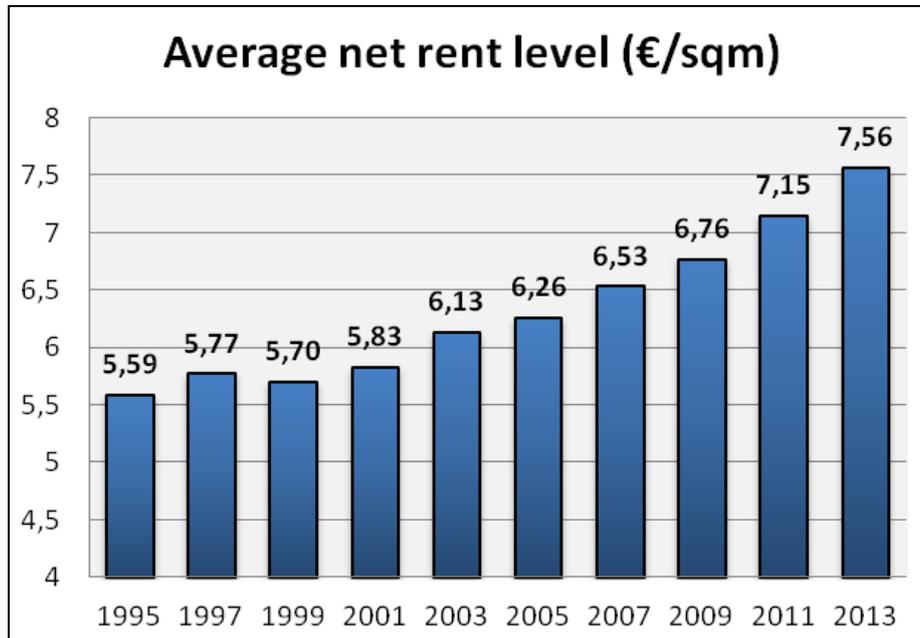
Located in the very north of Germany, about 100km from both the North and the Baltic Sea, Hamburg has traditionally been a trade city characterized by its harbor. With its 1.8 million inhabitants, it is not only Germany's second biggest city, but also one of three city-states. Hamburg is both an industrial centre and a cultural one: With its famous red light district, musicals and cultural offers, the city attracts about 4.7 million visitors every year (EC, 2011b).

In 2011, Hamburg was awarded the title "European Green Capital". The criteria that convinced the jury were a high percentage of parks, water and green spaces, the availability of public transport, as well as ambitious climate protection goals of reducing CO<sub>2</sub> emissions by 40 per cent by 2020, and 80 per cent by 2050 (EC, 2011a; Stadt Hamburg, 2014b).

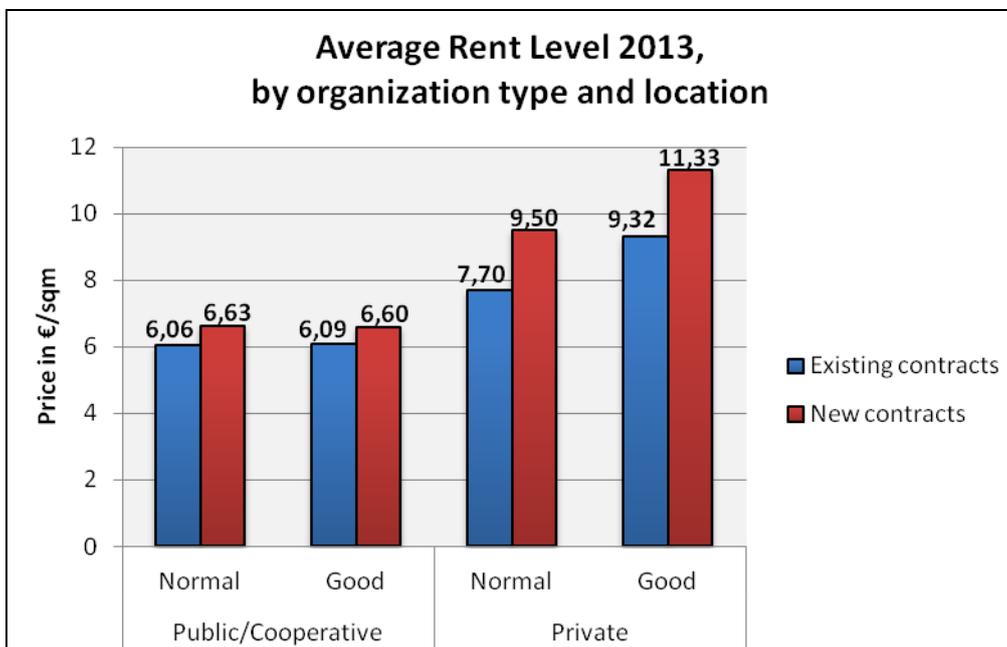
The city's housing market is comprised of 925,000 apartments. Apart from private housing, 130,000 apartments are provided by cooperatives, and another 130,000 are owned by the public housing company SAGA-GWG. Of the latter, 97,000 apartments are currently subsidized (Kock, 2013). The large majority of Hamburg's apartments, almost 80 per cent, are rental apartments, which is a considerably higher rate than the national average of 42 per cent (Statistikamt Nord, 2008).

During the last years, Hamburg has experienced the fastest rent increase of all German cities (Focus, 2012, Dec 20th). The average rent per square meter has risen from 5.59€ in 1995 to 7.56€ in 2013 (see fig. 2). However, there is an immense difference between average costs shown in the public rent

index and investigations based on current offers (see fig. 2 and 3) (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 2013).



**Figure 2:** Development of official rent index in Hamburg. The average rent, including both existing and new contracts, has steadily increased throughout the last years, currently reaching 7.56€/sqm. Source: Own illustration, based on GEWOS (2013)



**Figure 3:** Average rent level 2013 (not subjected to price maintenance). In contrast to the official rent index, the data presented here shows a clear difference between existing and new contracts on the one hand, and between publicly/cooperatively and privately provided housing on the other. Source: Own illustration, based on IVD-Nord (2013a)

According to a study by IVD-Nord (2013b), rents on the private market are up to twice as high compared with public housing or cooperatives, with new contracts in good locations reaching an

average price of 11.33€. Moreover, the private market also displays considerably larger differences between “normal” and “good” locations (see fig. 3), and also covers a wider range of rents: While public and cooperative housing costs between 3.85€ to 9.00€, the private market shows square meter prices of up to 19.44€. The official average data therefore hides how fast the housing market is currently being separated, as new contracts on the private market are becoming increasingly expensive (IVD-Nord, 2013a, 2013b).

## **5.2 Hamburg’s Sustainability Commitments**

The first section of the analysis deals with the question what characterizes Hamburg’s sustainability commitments. The analysis covers official plans and policies, complemented with results from the interviews with city planners and politicians.

### ***5.2.1 Sustainability Documents: Focus on Environmental Issues***

Hamburg has been actively engaged in sustainability issues since the mid-1990s. In 1996, it signed the Aalborg Charter and thus committed itself to a set of holistic sustainable urban planning principles (EC, 1994). In particular, the municipality’s commitment to the environment has been internationally recognized and awarded with the EU’s Green Capital title in 2011 (EC, 2011b).

Key features of Hamburg’s official sustainability approach are (Bundesregierung, 2013):

- 1) The Environmental Program 2013-2015,
- 2) Green Economy and Energy Turnaround,
- 3) The Master Plan for Climate Protection,
- 4) The educational initiative “Hamburg Learns Sustainability”, and
- 5) An initiative for environmentally-friendly procurement.

Apart from these initiatives, Hamburg’s most recent plan is the construction of a “green network” of parks and bike lanes from the city center to the outskirts (EC, 2011b). Over the next 15 to 20 years, the stated aim is to make Hamburg entirely accessible by bike and foot, thereby decreasing the city’s CO<sub>2</sub> production and combating climate change.

While these explicit commitments concentrate on green objectives, social sustainability is given more attention as implicit or subordinated aim of these documents, even though the commitments remain rather vague:

In the introduction of Hamburg’s Environmental Program 2012-2015 (Stadt Hamburg, 2012), for example, social sustainability, and housing affordability specifically, are mentioned as key themes for a sustainable Hamburg in 2015. However, these features are not dealt with in detail later in the

document. Housing issues are more explicitly mentioned in the 2013 Master Plan for Climate Protection, in the context of energetic modernizations of rental apartments. These renovations have to be implemented in a socially sound way, i.e. “tenants need to find, in accordance with the rate of income development, equally affordable rents”. In order to solve the “landlord-tenant-dilemma”, the city commits itself to supporting the “advancement of appropriate models” of socially acceptable financing (Bürgerschaft der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg, 2013, p. 6).

Finally, the “Hamburg learns sustainability” initiative and the according “Action Plan” (Stadt Hamburg, 2013b), too, have a social component, as they describe engagements by various actors on education for sustainability, from early childhood education to universities. The projects themselves, however, predominantly focus on the environmental component of sustainability.

### ***5.2.2 City Planning Vision: Holistic Sustainability Understanding***

While the vague commitments above suggest that social sustainability is not a priority in the cities’ sustainability strategy, the analysis of interviews with city planners concerning the general city vision shows a broader sustainability understanding.

A first sign for this is the development of the mission statements Hamburg has given itself for many years. The first of these urban development guidelines was “enterprise city”, coined by the mayor Klaus von Dohnayi in 1983 (Sudmann, 2013, own translation). Another influential mission statement was titled “growing city”, established by the coalition of Christian Democrats, Liberals and the right-wing Schill-party in 2002. This image concentrated on indicators such as above-average employment growth or increased internationality and was generally perceived as successful for the city (A. Köhler, personal communication) since it “created a fantastic impulse for Hamburg, (...) a fantastic dynamic” (H.-D. Roock, personal communication). However, this one-sided orientation also became subject to criticism and was consequently qualified into “growth with foresight” (Senat Hamburg, 2010) to include more sustainability-related indicators (M. Ziehl, personal communication). Under the current government it has been further modified to “We create the modern Hamburg” (Senat Hamburg, 2011). However, growth, especially population growth, still remains the precondition for city development, so that city does not deal so much with the question of whether this growth is desirable but how to manage it and reach “sustainable growth” (S. Böhling, personal communication).

Moreover, both city planners and politicians showed high awareness of the importance of qualitative development indicators, regardless of their political orientation. Goals include general livability, a “thriving social life” through diversity and social cohesion, and offering everybody the opportunity to

live the life they want. This also includes a strong commitment to fighting segregation (S. Böhling, personal communication). Sustainability is thus seen as a principle implicitly guiding most policies, from education to housing construction. However, these goals are not always framed as sustainability commitments, partly because sustainability has come to be considered as an “empty word”, which, due to its long-term perspective, is unable to obtain large-scale public support (A. Köhler, personal communication).

### **5.3 Sustainability Translated into Housing and City Planning Policies**

The mentioned commitments have strongly influenced Hamburg’s current dedication to housing construction. While environmental targets were the focus during the ruling coalition of Greens and Conservatives, the change of local government to Social Democrats in 2011 has come with a shift towards social sustainability objectives (J. Menzel, personal communication): The city has now dedicated itself to housing construction, partly as a response to public criticism (Recht auf Stadt, 2014), since Hamburg’s tight housing market had become the city’s most pressing issue. In fact, housing was one of the main topics in the election campaign, since the main reason for the shortage was seen in a lack of construction activity during the previous years (Stadt Hamburg, 2014d), especially of affordable rental apartments (Menzel, 2008).

To counter rent increases and gentrification, the city’s key measure is to increase supply, based on the assumption that “[n]ew housing construction is the best and only sustainable rent brake” (A. Ibel<sup>5</sup>, cited in IVD-Nord, 2013a, p. 3, own translation). The overall approach is summarized in the “pact for housing” (Stadt Hamburg, 2011), which the city has developed in cooperation with the housing industry. In this document, the city dedicates itself to the construction of 6000 new apartments per year, following a so-called “thirds-mix”: one third of newly constructed housing will be owner-occupied, one third private rental apartments, and one third public housing. By this, the city also hopes to fight segregation: “there must be a mixed price level of apartments in a given quarter, because this is the decisive factor: ‘Can I afford the rent?’” (C. Köster, personal communication). In addition to classic public housing for low-income households with an initial rent of 6.10€ per sqm, the new Senate has introduced a second type of public housing for medium-income people. This type accounts for 800 of the planned 2000 new public housing apartments and has an initial rent of 8.20€ per sqm (Stadt Hamburg, 2014a). The public housing company SAGA-GWG will provide 1000 apartments per year, while the rest is to be built by private investors.

---

<sup>5</sup> Federal chairman of Bundesverband Freier Immobilien- und Wohnungsunternehmen BFW (German Association for Private Housing and Real Estate Companies)

Apart from these quantitative goals, qualitative objectives regarding more sustainable land use are being incorporated into city planning under the umbrella “sustainable urban growth” (EC, 2011b, p. 55), stating a commitment towards inward growth rather than further outward expansion, based on principles of sustainable city planning (Congress for the New Urbanism, 2013; Jabareen, 2006). In line with this, goals such as densification or social mix are formulated in the program “More city in the city – Chances for more quality of life in the city” (Stadt Hamburg, 2013c). The document argues how this approach can increase livability, strengthen social cohesion, and lessen environmental impact.

Moreover, the city commits itself to “holistic and sustainable city development, which makes districts and quarters more attractive through investments in infrastructure and public space” (Stadt Hamburg, 2011, p. 5). This is incorporated into the “burden reduction strategy”, which is aimed at fighting the publicly discussed problems of gentrification and displacement. Since most of the demand concentrates on a few inner-city quarters, the city is trying to increase the attractiveness of other quarters (A. Köhler, personal communication). The reason for low demand in these areas despite cheaper rents is seen in their “bad image”, typically associated with high rates of unemployment, migrants and poverty. To solve this problem, the city is launching upgrading projects, most notably the RISE<sup>6</sup>-programme (Stadt Hamburg, 2014d), in order to attract a wealthier population and thus create the desired social mix.

A focus area for such upgrading is currently the river island in the south of Hamburg, most notably the quarter Wilhelmsburg (see map in Appendix III), which is targeted in the so-called “Leap across the Elbe” (Senat Hamburg, 2011, p. 17). Shifting the demand in such a way is assumed to have a twofold benefit of improving quality of life while at the same time fighting exploding rents. A second part of this policy is the new construction of Hamburg’s biggest inner city development, the sustainable quarter “Hafencity” (Breckner, 2013).

These upgrading initiatives across the Elbe were initiated by the international construction exhibition (IBA) and federal garden show (igs) in Wilhelmsburg (Breckner, 2013), which are judged positively by the city administration for successfully attracting middle-classes. Other measures to reach this aim are the provision of affordable work spaces to local artists which makes the respective quarters more culturally attractive (D. Behring, personal communication), and the construction of student apartments in these areas (J. Menzel, personal communication).

---

<sup>6</sup> „Framework program for integrated quarter development“ (Senat Hamburg, 2011, p. 16)

To avoid displacement through rising housing prices, the city has launched the so-called Social Preservation Regulation and Conversion Regulation (Stadt Hamburg, 2013d). These policies are aimed at preserving the social mix in quarters most affected by gentrification<sup>7</sup>. Demolition of apartments, conversion of rental apartments into owner-occupied apartments or offices, as well as luxury modernizations have to be authorized by the city (Stadt Hamburg, 2014c). Before being able to implement this policy, the responsible district offices have to prove that residents are in fact displaced due to high rents and that the social structure of the quarter is radically changing (O. Duge, personal communication).

Finally, all construction plans are subject to public participation. In 2012, the city has established a process called “City Workshop” intended to “foster a new planning and communication culture” by including citizens in the decision-making process as early as possible. Instruments are predominantly informational evenings, participation at round tables, different workshops and consulting of planning teams (Stadt Hamburg, 2013a, p. 4). In addition to the formal participation process, the city also increasingly experiments with different forms of participation (Stadt Hamburg, 2013a), since the commonly used evening events are dominated by middle-class citizens rather than a representative sample of the population. Therefore, the city has recently launched a pilot project in 2013 specifically focusing on migrant women and other underrepresented groups (A. Köhler, personal communication).

Table 2 shows Hamburg’s extensive commitment to sustainability. As can be seen from the table, even though most official commitments are in the environmental dimension of sustainability, all three pillars are covered if implicit commitments are taken into account.

---

<sup>7</sup> Among the quarters currently under Social Preservation Regulations are St. Pauli, Sternschanze as well as parts of St. Georg (Stadt Hamburg, 2014c, 2013d).

**Table 2:** Overview of plans and policies framed under sustainability concept. The table shows that Hamburg’s commitments, mentioned in official documents as well as in interviews with city representatives, cover all three pillars of sustainability. However, environmental goals tend to be explicitly stated, while social and economic goals are implicit principles underlying policies in these fields. Source: Own illustration

Policy	Environmental	Social	Economic/ Financial
<b>HOUSING/CITY DEVELOPMENT</b>			
Housing construction		x	
Public housing construction		x	
Upgrading		x	
Thirds-mix rule		x	x
Densification	x		
Social Preservation Regulation		x	
Hafencity (Sustainable Quarter)	x		x
Participation		x	
<b>OTHER</b>			
Balanced budget			x
The Environmental Program 2013-2015	x		
Green Economy and Energy Turnaround	x		x
Master Plan for Climate Protection	x		
Educational initiative “Hamburg Learns Sustainability”	x	x	
Initiative for green procurement	x		
Green Network	x		

## 5.4 Outcomes: The Untold Story

The next section will deal with the actual effects of these commitments and policies once put into practice, based on interviews with planners, politicians and activists, as well as statistical data.

### 5.4.1 The Empty Promise of the Green Capital

As has been shown above, Hamburg’s sustainability commitment is extensive and its environmental activities are especially well-documented. It seems surprising, then, that most of the interviewees including the city representatives do not consider Hamburg a green or sustainable city.

One of the main reasons for this is that, as most interviewees agreed, the Green Capital Award was not deserved, since the policies stated in the application were never implemented. The award provided the city with special funds which expired after one year, immediately leading to the end of the initiatives (G. Möller, personal communication):

“(…) this Green Capital (…) has somehow degenerated into a marketing project, you really have to call it that. I had the impression, ‘we in Hamburg know what is good for the environment, we’ll show the Europeans, what we find great – not what we *do*, but what we *find* great.’” (K. Duwe, personal communication).

Also more generally, the city is not considered green or sustainable. Different decisions over the last years are criticized for being environmentally harmful, such as the controversial deepening of the

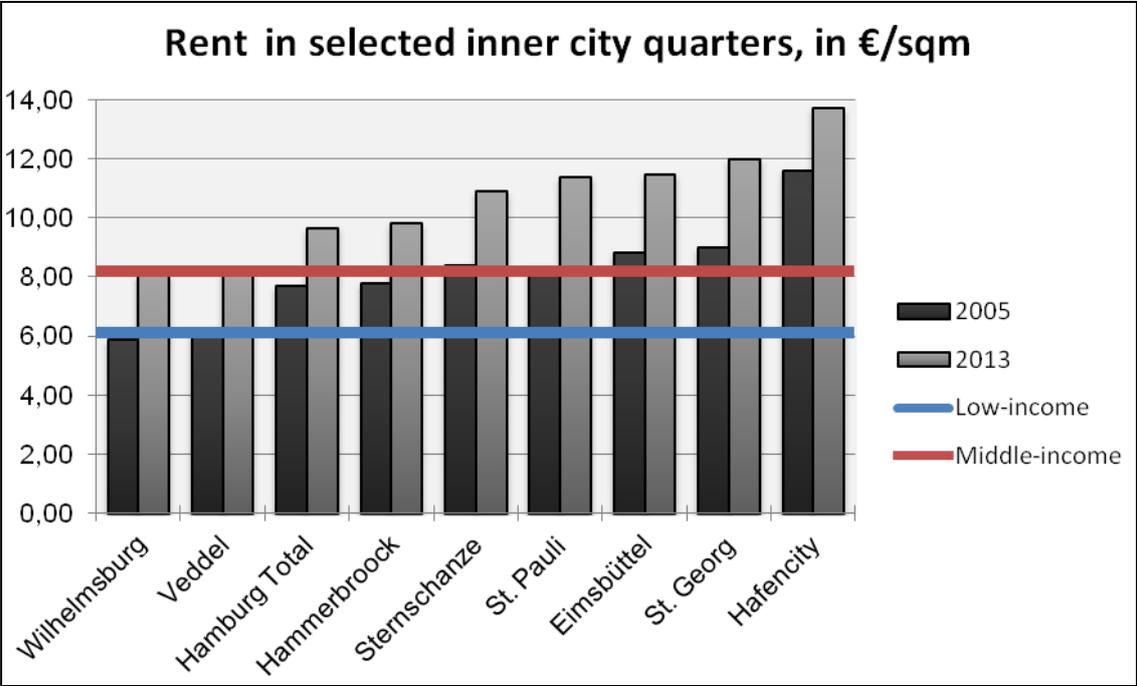
river Elbe in order to improve conditions for the harbor industry (A. Köhler, personal communication), the insufficient funding for nature conservation (K. Duwe, personal communication), or largely absent bike paths (C. Köster, personal communication).

**5.4.2 Contradictory Outcomes of the Housing Policies**

Concerning the newly agreed housing policies, a closer look into what the numbers and commitments actually mean provides a very different picture of their effects.

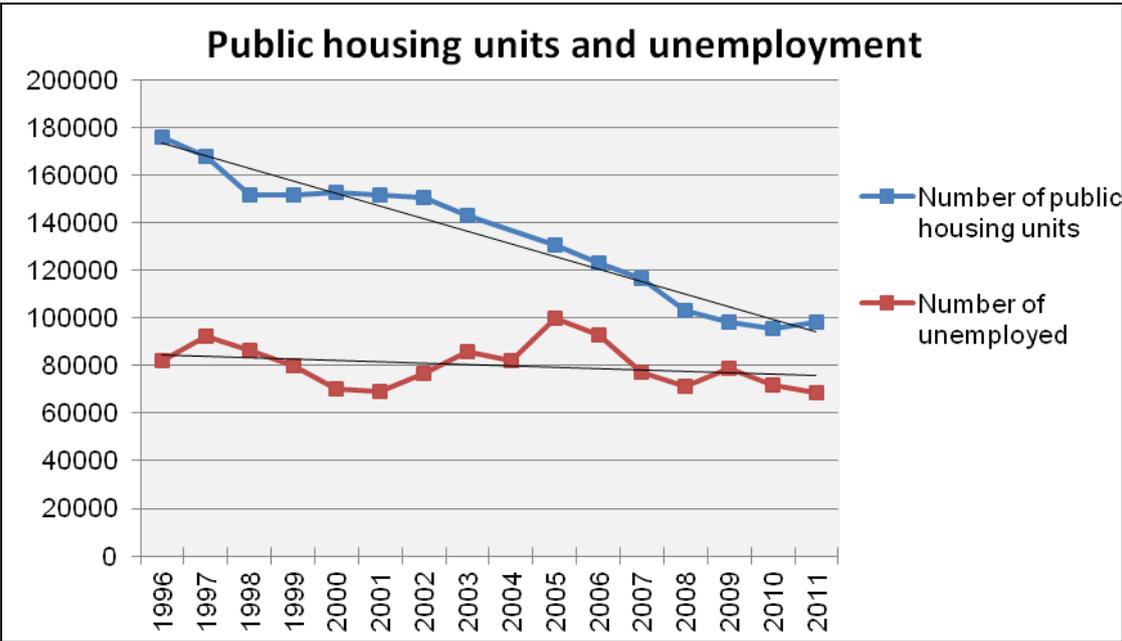
First, the actual number of new apartments is likely to be considerably lower than proclaimed. The target of 6000 apartments per year is measured in building permits, rather than completed buildings, and also does not take into account apartments lost through previous demolition (D. Behrens, personal communication).

Even if the targets are realized, however, the numbers do not live up to existing demand, especially for affordable housing: As many as 56 per cent of the citizens of Hamburg are entitled to public housing according to their income, corresponding to 512,000 households which are in need of housing for 8.20€ per sqm or less. Of this number, almost three quarters even qualify for the low-income type of housing with an initial rent of 6.10€ per sqm (Kock, 2013; Stadt Hamburg, 2014a), whereas the supply of such housing is steadily decreasing (see fig. 4 and 5).



**Figure 4:** Rents for new contracts 2005 and 2013, compared with maximum rent level of affordable housing. The figure shows that less and less areas in Hamburg have average rents that are affordable for low- and middle income households. The thresholds used for comparison are those provided by the city of Hamburg (6.10€ and 8.20€ per sqm). Source: Own illustration, based on F+B Forschung und Beratung (2014)

The reasons for this are not only increasing rents on the private market, but also that the public housing stock has been radically diminished over the last years: In 2013 alone, 12,210 subsidized apartments were converted into market-rate housing (Bürgerschaft der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg, 2012), with currently less than 97,000 public apartments left (Statistikamt Nord, 2014). These developments have to be viewed against the background that socio-economic indicators such as unemployment, in contrast, have been stagnating (fig. 5) (see also section 5.4.4).



**Figure 5:** Number of public housing units and unemployed citizens, absolute numbers. The graph documents the continuous decrease of Hamburg’s public housing stock. This is not aligned with the demand for such housing, which is exemplified by the stagnating number of unemployed people in Hamburg. Source: Own illustration, based on Statistikamt Nord (2012)

Consequently, the decision to build 30 per cent affordable housing does not live up to the demand, especially when considering that in 2012, the Senate split the public housing program in two parts (Stadt Hamburg, 2014a): One third is now built for middle-income households, which makes these apartments already too expensive for most poor people (J. Füllner, personal communication).

Another problem is that periods of retention for public housing, which traditionally lasted 30 years, have now been reduced to only 15 years. After expiration, the apartments are privatized, which allows rent increases of up to 15 per cent (Stadt Hamburg, 2014e). The reduction reduces obligations for the municipality, and ensures that investment in public housing is attractive to investors. However, public housing with such short retention periods cannot substantially solve the problem; it can merely postpone it:

“If you only create obligations of 15 years, then actually you are already planning the problems in 15 years, (...) this is not very anticipatory, and is very much oriented towards short-term successes. A little bit like ‘Devil may care’” (O. Duge, personal communication).

Moreover, the thirds-mix in fact supports the construction of owner-occupied housing considering that Hamburg has almost 80 per cent rental apartments. The current ratio is thus skewed towards owner-occupied housing (M. Ziehl, personal communication). Newly-built expensive apartments moreover raise the rent index, which defines how much rents are generally allowed to increase in an area (Sudmann, 2013).

Finally, although social mix is a goal in all parts of the city, measures almost exclusively take place in low-income quarters, while wealthy neighborhoods resist such changes:

„(...)and we want to put 60 new apartments there, 20 of which shall be public housing, and immediately there is a gigantic uproar, and people are so financially strong that they can easily buy the property. They put 2, 3 million Euros on the table just like that, no problem at all” (O. Duge, personal communication).

Most interviewees also doubted the effectiveness of the Social Preservation Regulation, since it only applies to rent increases in relation to construction measures (Stadt Hamburg, 2014c). Moreover, it can take up to two years until such a measure is implemented, during which time the social structure has already transformed. The only possibility to make it work would therefore be in a preventive way:

“When it [the city] does renewal areas, (...),it should so to speak as a very first measure implement a social preservation regulation, and only then the other steps, because as soon as the motto ‘We want to renew this area’ is out, then it is already an object for speculation, that is the problem” (J. Menzel, personal communication).

In fact, in the now highly-gentrified quarter of St. Georg, the regulation only came into force in 2012, thirteen years after it had first been claimed by the inhabitants (Joho, 2013). Despite such experiences, quarters currently experiencing gentrification, such as Wilhelmsburg, are not considered “endangered” (O. Duge, personal communication).

#### **5.4.3 Participation: Manufacturing Legitimacy**

The final difference between stated goals and implementation refers to the city’s approach to participation. Participation can rank from anywhere between manipulation to citizen control (Arnstein, 1969). The city administration is very transparent and open about the options for participation, but these options are very limited: participation is a tool for opinion formation (Stadt Hamburg, 2013a), aimed at increasing transparency, understanding and acceptance, but explicitly not at allowing influence on the final decision: “honestly, it has to be said that what is meant by participation is rarely participation in the [actual] decision, because decisions are always made by elected parliaments - always” (A. Köhler, personal communication). Activists and citizens alike see this understanding as insufficient, as a way “only to legitimize existing power” (G. Möller, personal communication), but not to actually change pre-defined plans. Most citizens therefore share the

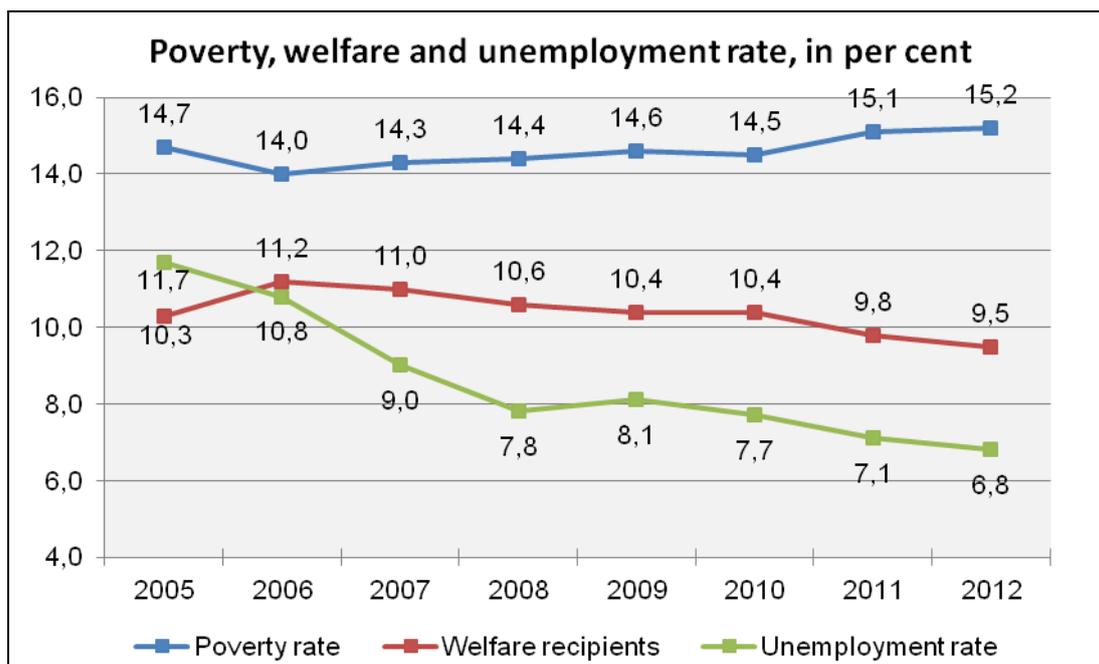
impression that it is economic interests that shape the final decision (participants of Mitte-Altona meeting, personal communication).

#### 5.4.4 Lack of Alternatives and Segregation

The next section looks at the effects of the policies by contrasting the supply of affordable housing through the cities' policies with the existing demand, based on statistical data on the socio-economic status of Hamburg's citizens.

##### 5.4.4.1 Demand vs. Supply

The decreasing availability of affordable housing in Hamburg has to be seen critically since the rate of people in risk of poverty has increased over the last years. It is especially the unemployed, people of migration background, as well as children and young adults that are endangered by poverty (Statistische Ämter des Bundes und der Länder, 2013a). Likewise, the rate of unemployment or low-income employment is almost twice as high for migrants compared with the average population (Bundesagentur für Arbeit, 2010).



**Figure 6:** Poverty, welfare and unemployment rate since 2005. While the decrease of indicators such as unemployment and welfare recipient suggest an improvement of the socio-economic status of Hamburg's inhabitants, the figure shows that the rate of poverty endangered people has in fact increased. Source: Own illustration, based on Der Paritätische Gesamtverband (2013)

Although indicators such as rates of unemployment and welfare recipients have somewhat improved over the same time period (fig. 6), most of the new jobs are in the low-wage sector (Buch, Seibert, & Stöckmann, 2012). Thus, incomes are becoming increasingly precarious: in 2010, 18.4 per cent of employed persons earned less than 900€ per month (Statistikamt Nord, 2013). Accordingly, demand

for affordable housing has further increased, since it is no longer limited to only welfare recipients, but now also affects people in formal employment.

Despite this increasing demand for affordable housing, the housing market has been developing in the exact opposite direction: Approximately 245,000 apartments with a rent of less than 6€ per sqm vanished from the market only between 2008 and 2011 (Sudmann, 2013), and by March 2013, only in very few neighborhoods, new contracts below 600€ per month were still on offer (see Appendix IV). The maximum support for welfare recipients, in contrast, amounts to 522€ per apartment, which applies for a six-person household (Bundesagentur für Arbeit, 2013). This means a high financial burden for low-income households, who spend up to 60 per cent of their income on rent (Destatis, 2013). But even on average, this number has risen to over 40 per cent (F+B Forschung und Beratung, 2007), compared with a rate of 30 per cent which is generally considered affordable (Gurstein, 2012).

#### ***5.4.4.2 Increased Displacement and Segregation***

The developments mentioned above ultimately result in segregation, although the opposite is the city's stated goal. As the numbers of both affordable private and public housing constantly decrease (Günther, 2013), the location of remaining public housing becomes the main determinant for where vulnerable sections of the population can move, so that these groups become increasingly concentrated in the few affordable areas left. This is supported by Dohnke and colleagues (2012) who show that quarters of already concentrated poverty in Hamburg have become even more monostructured. In Hamburg, with a Gini-Coefficient of 0.32 the most unequal of Germany's federal states<sup>8</sup> (Statistische Ämter des Bundes und der Länder, 2013b), social segregation thus continues to increase, despite overall positive economic development (Friedrichs & Triemer, 2009).

The exploding rents are now also starting to affect middle-classes (Günther, 2013), who find it more and more difficult to move within Hamburg without accepting a loss in the quality of housing (J. Füllner, personal communication). This results in a relatively low fluctuation rate of only 8 per cent in Hamburg (Cric, Tillmann, Wegner, & Wessels, 2013). The final consequence of the city's policies is thus "not upgrading, but downgrading quality of life" (D. Behrens, personal communication).

#### ***5.4.5 Gentrification as a Tool for City Development***

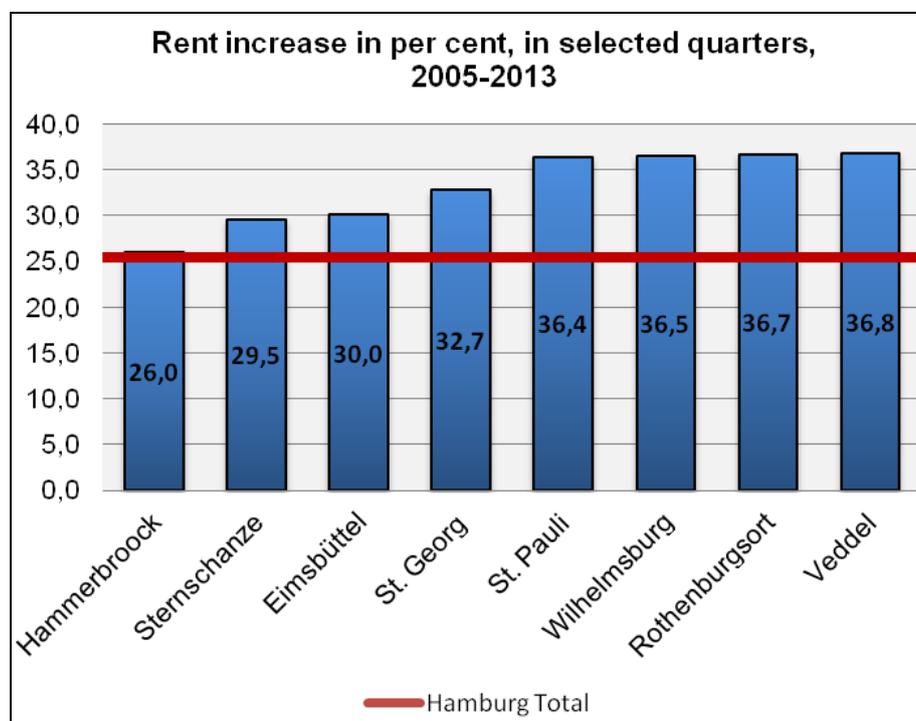
Although the ongoing developments are alarming, the city accepts little responsibility for these processes. The reason is the dominant perception of gentrification: City employees consider upgrading as a process detached from gentrification, which benefits the inhabitants if properly

---

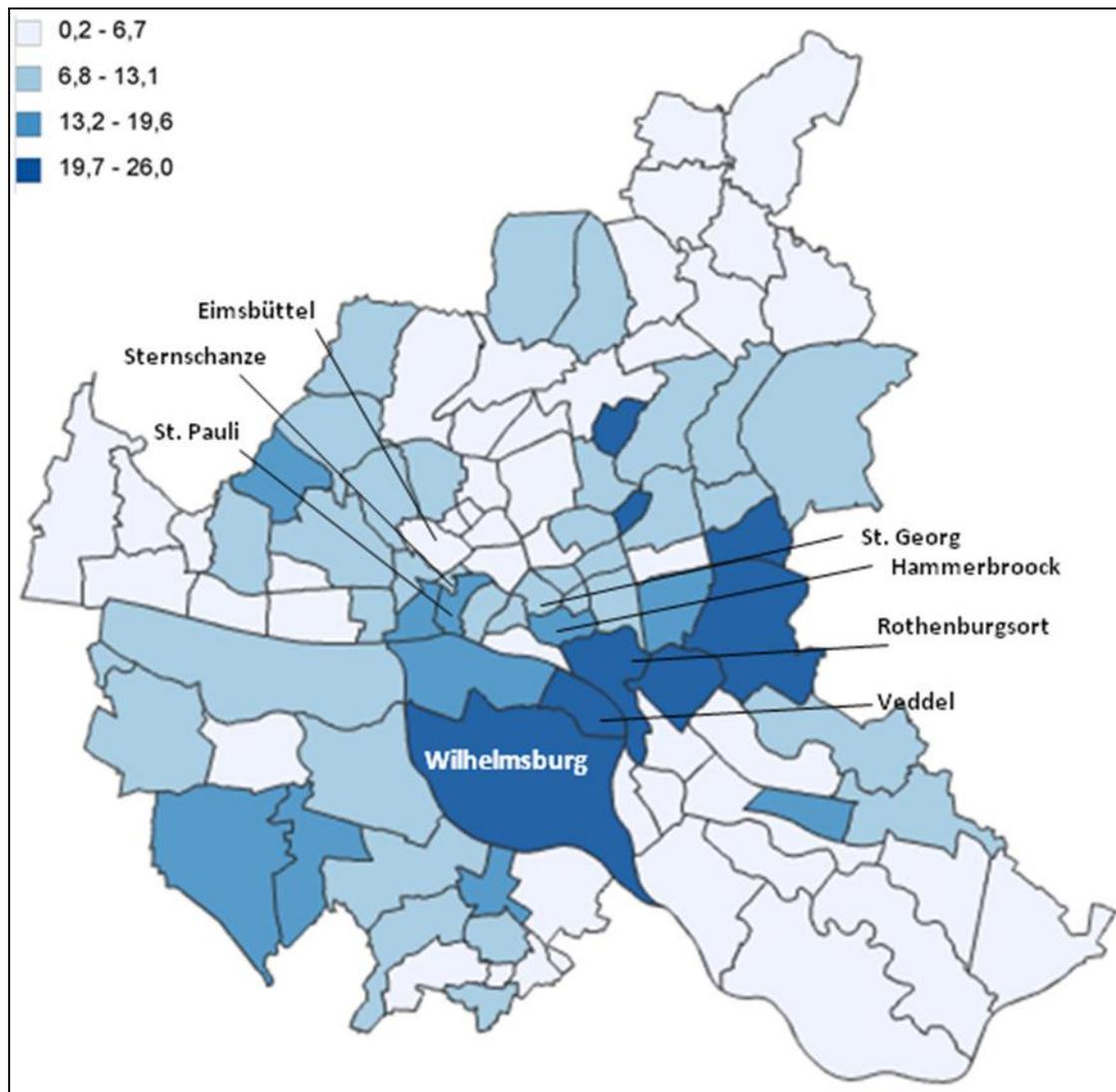
<sup>8</sup> The Gini coefficient is a measure of inequality, whereby 0 reflects complete equality and 1 complete inequality (World Bank, 2011)

controlled (S. Böhling, personal communication). Upgrading is not assumed to lead to displacement since middle-class housing is added to these quarters rather than replacing existing residents. Moreover, although there is a general awareness that the upgraded city areas „are suffering from their own attractiveness“ in terms of housing affordability (C. Köster, personal communication), most city representatives stated that gentrification was simply unavoidable if living conditions in poor quarters were to be improved. Others claimed that it was overstated in the media and in fact only a minor problem in Hamburg (H.-D. Roock, personal communication). Astrid Köhler (personal communication) even explained that the marginalized population had a “wish for gentrification”, since „finally something is happening“ in their quarters, and that for many of those who are displaced “the urban lifestyle doesn’t play a role, that’s also not why they lived in their old quarter. [They say] ‘I don’t care anyway about such an inner-city flair’”.

However, the evidence speaks against the statement that controlled upgrading initiatives do not raise housing prices. In fact, it is exactly the quarters that were earlier identified as “focus areas” for municipal upgrading programs – due to their high rate of welfare recipients and low average income, such as St. Pauli, Veddel or Wilhelmsburg (Stadt Hamburg, 1996; Sudmann, 2013) - that show some of the highest rent increases of up to 36.8 per cent since 2005 (fig. 7 and 8) (F+B Forschung und Beratung, 2014). In St. Georg, where gentrification has been an issue since the 1990s, this has led to an almost complete exchange of the population during the last two decades (Joho, 2013).



**Figure 7:** Rent increases in selected quarters, new contracts. The figure shows that rents in quarters currently subject to upgrading and social mixing policies have increased up to 36.8 per cent in only eight years. Source: Own calculations based on F+B Forschung und Beratung (2014)



**Figure 8:** Welfare recipients in Hamburg, per cent. The quarters with the highest percentage of welfare recipients are areas in the south and east, such as Wilhelmsburg and Veddel. Quarters like St. Pauli, Sternschanze or St. Georg still show a high percentage, but have already experienced a sharp decrease during the last years. Source: Adapted from Statistikamt Nord (2014)

#### **5.4.6 Consequences Summed Up**

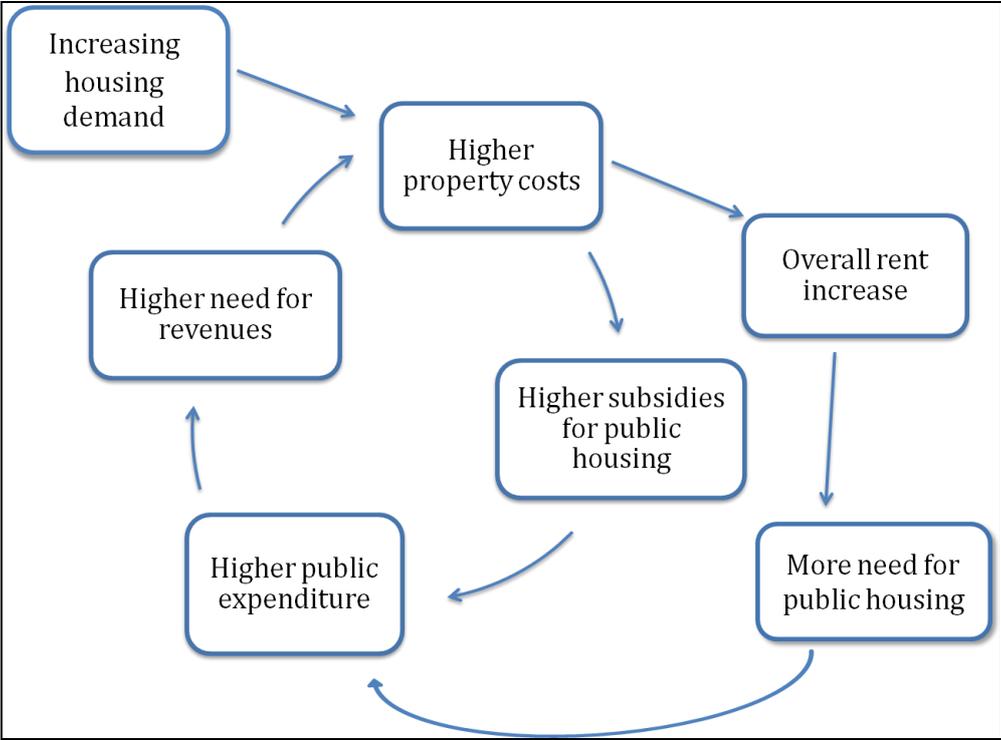
The results suggest that despite an official commitment to increasing affordable housing, the city's policies even exacerbate the current problems.

Two simultaneous processes drive the continuous decline of affordable housing: Firstly, the overall stock of public housing continues to decrease, since retention periods for many subsidized apartments have recently come to an end, and will continue to do so in the next years (see Appendix IV.4). The new commitments to resume public housing construction are far from being able to stop this trend and remain a mere "drop in the bucket" (J. Füllner, personal communication), even more so as the retention periods are limited to henceforth only 15 years.

Secondly, private housing, too, is becoming increasingly unaffordable. The city plays a critical role in this: Not only does it shy away from rent controls, but it even further increases attractiveness to middle-class residents choosing measures such as social mixing, densification and upgrading. Rather than fighting gentrification by this strategy, the city expands the process to more and more areas. Unable to pay the high rents in the inner city, low-income households are displaced and become increasingly concentrated in the few affordable areas left.

**5.5 The Role of Neoliberalism**

The consequences stated above are clear outcomes of neoliberal city planning. As long as housing is on the free market, it creates a vicious circle of rents (see fig. 9): High rents on the private market do not only increase the absolute demand for public housing, but also the subsidy per apartment needed to make the construction economically feasible for investors. The resulting higher public expenditure is a financial burden for the municipality and has to be balanced with higher income. To get more taxes, the city tries to attract more people, particularly a wealthier population. This only further increases property costs and rents, since prices follow the higher demand (K. Duwe, personal communication). As long as housing is on the market and the city additionally fuels the demand for housing, therefore, this circle cannot be broken.



**Figure 9:** Vicious circle of housing prices. The circle shows how rising property costs, against the background of stable demand for affordable housing, increase public spending for subsidized housing. These expenses have to be balanced with higher income, for example via new tax payers or profits from selling public property. Both strategies further increase housing prices, directly through increased property costs, or indirectly through higher demand on the market. Source: Own illustration

Despite this situation, leaving housing prices to the market is considered rational from a neoliberal perspective, which assumes that “society functions better under a market logic than any other logic” (Purcell, 2008, p. 13), since the market is the most efficient way to allocate resources, maximizes wealth and consequently secures welfare for all.

In all its policies, Hamburg displays characteristics of such thinking, partly in response to the economic constraints of nationally-imposed spending restrictions (S. Böhling, personal communication). This shows not only in the city’s continued withdrawal from housing provision, but also in the fact that private investors gain considerable influence on political decisions due to the municipality’s close cooperation with real estate business: As private actors are also responsible for the biggest part of the new constructions, the city has to ensure that conditions are attractive to them, for example by allowing the construction of an overly big share of profitable owner-occupied housing via the thirds-mix, as well as a reduction of retention periods for subsidized housing to only 15 years.

Hamburg also strongly acts as an entrepreneurial city. The imperative to find the “highest and best use” (Purcell, 2008, p. 21) makes it necessary to align urban development policies with the demands of solvent groups. This explains most of the city’s decisions, for example that Social Preservation Regulations only come into force when a gentrification process is already far advanced and the profitability of an area is at its peak. It is only here that the city finally starts preserving a quarter’s social make-up, since “even for the yuppies it becomes boring if they only live among other yuppies” (M. Schreiber<sup>9</sup>, cited in Varschen, 2009, own translation).

The necessity to meet the demands of the middle and upper classes also underlies the city’s motivation to pursue urban sustainability:

“If this wasn’t the case anymore, attractiveness would of course decrease, consequently also demand, for example of the young professionals, to settle here in Hamburg, which then again makes it more unattractive for companies to relocate their headquarters here for example. So I believe that Hamburg benefits very strongly especially from this status of being a green and blue city.” (A. Köhler, personal communication).

While the marketing orientation for environmental policies is most visible in the Green Capital, even the “green network” is motivated by the assumption that green as well as bike- and pedestrian-friendly cities “attract more of the people they need to remain competitive” (S. Schulze<sup>10</sup>, cited in Braw, 2013). Likewise, one of the goals of 2013’s Master Plan for Climate Protection, is “tapping the

---

<sup>9</sup> Director of St. Pauli district office

<sup>10</sup> Analyst at the Hamburg Institute of International Economics (HWWI)

economic potentials (e.g. job creation and location attractiveness)” (Bürgerschaft der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg, 2013, p. 2).

Moreover, even social policies are subordinated to economic goals: in order to fight gentrification and improve the housing situation, the city focuses on social mix, densification and upgrading which are chosen for their potential to increase attractiveness and competitiveness: social mix is considered to make a city more “colorful” (S. Böhling, personal communication), densification creates liveliness, and measures such as offering work spaces to artists in certain quarters make these areas more culturally interesting (M. Ziehl, personal communication). While this in fact draws in middle-class residents and businesses, the assumed positive effect of improving the housing situation for the low-income population and of lessening gentrification fails to appear.

The motivation to make the city attractive for the “right people” also underlies Hamburg’s “urban boosterism” policies (Pow & Neo, 2013, p. 2257), particularly the continuous creation of flagship projects and events such as the “money pit” Elbe Philharmonic Hall or the celebrations of the “Harbor Birthday” (J. Menzel, personal communication). While the efficiency rationality promotes such expenditure, it leaves planners with little room to manoeuvre in the provision of public services, since funds for unproductive purposes such as affordable housing are scarce: The question of “what do I want to spend this Euro of taxpayer money on?” (S. Böhling, personal communication) is then used to explain that environmental goals had to be abandoned for social ones after the change of government. In sum, Hamburg clearly follows “the agenda of neoliberalization (...) to reduce state spending that does not benefit capital in order to free up revenue for spending that does” (Purcell, 2008, p. 18). This also makes the city less open to suggestions from the public in participatory processes: On the final planning session for the Mitte-Altona area (18<sup>th</sup> February 2014), the Chief Building Director Jörn Walter openly announced that „chances are higher for all the measures that don’t cost anything”.

## **5.6 Alternatives**

The final section deals with the question of how a different city planning could look like, drawing on the interviews with members of the Right-to-the-City movement.

### **5.6.1 Rethinking the Goals**

In line with the Right to the City, the activists claim to completely rethink the goals of city planning, redefining it as planning for the inhabitants, rather than for outside capital. Several general themes emerge from this.

First and foremost, the city is to make better use of its possibilities to control urban developments, rather than simply leaving them to the market. Particularly the city's suggestion for poorer households to move to other quarters as a response to exploding housing prices is strongly criticized by many Right-to-the-City activists:

„Who creates the right of residence? Is that a market, or is that planning? When city planning says that there is also housing elsewhere, then it's not planning at all! Then it simply lets things happen. Then it says: well there will be room for them somewhere. That's not planned. That's arbitrary“ (G. Möller, personal communication).

A crucial step is moreover to redefine housing as a public good, like healthcare or education. It therefore needs to be taken out of the market, which has proven unable to provide such goods. The goal is “that the question of rent is not regulated via the wallet, but according to other ideas” (J. Füllner, personal communication). How exactly such reorganization should look like is yet to be defined, even though there is a general agreement for common or public ownership of housing, which is neither profit-oriented nor state-led socialist.

In addition, a new and open dialogue about the city is considered necessary in order to deal with the inherently conflictual nature of urban policies, rather than subordinating all decisions to efficiency rationality. The focus is thus on a changed democratic process and more possibility for meaningful and open-ended participation.

This requires that predefined agendas and constantly changing mission statements are abandoned, and that the agenda is instead based on the inhabitants' ideas and existing initiatives (M. Ziehl, personal communication). To make this possible, more exceptions or – in the long run – changes to existing laws are needed, which currently serve as a barrier to such support.

### **5.6.2 Concrete Demands**

Starting from the general ideas stated above, more concrete demands and starting points are formulated, such as:

- *Sufficient public housing*: A first claim is the construction of affordable housing which meets the actual demand in the city (J. Menzel, personal communication). At the very least, this would mean building as many new units as are being turned into market-rate housing every year (J. Füllner, personal communication), and increasing retention times (O. Duge, personal communication).

- *Housing cooperatives*: In line with a closer cooperation with existing initiatives, the city should better support housing cooperatives, which are generally seen as positive models for not-for-profit housing provision, even by city planners (C. Köster, personal communication). This approach also has the advantage of not demanding continuous payments, as is the case with subsidized housing, but

rather a one-time investment into an initial capital stock. This could solve problems such as decreasing retention periods for public housing due to financial pressure (D. Behrens, personal communication).

- *Funds for supporting bottom-up initiatives*: One way of organizing support for cooperatives, as well as other welfare-oriented initiatives could be a publicly financed fund (D. Behrens, personal communication).

- *Rent limits*: Another suggested measure is to define an upper rent limit. This is explicitly not aimed at making all housing the same in quality or price, but to make speculation less attractive. Below this cap, competition and price differences are still possible (J. Füllner, personal communication).

- *Stop selling public property*: Instead of only modifying criteria for the sale of public property, the activists claimed stopping its sale altogether (G. Möller, personal communication). Rather, other models such as “lease in perpetuity” with low ground rents are suggested, which only give a right of use to the tenants, with the property going back to the public after the agreed period (D. Behrens, personal communication).

- *Stop expenses for prestigious projects*: An important change is also to cut funds for prestigious flagship projects, which take up enormous sums and moreover drive gentrification (Vicario & Martinez Monje, 2005).

- *Use vacancies*: Despite the housing shortage, many vacant spaces can be found throughout the city (M. Ziehl, personal communication), quite often for speculative purposes. These spaces should be made available to social initiatives and welfare-oriented projects. A more radical way would be to appropriate them for public use after a certain time period, for example six months (G. Möller, personal communication).

## **6 Discussion**

The findings suggest that Hamburg fails at achieving its self-proclaimed goals, both environmental and social. Despite specifically aiming at improving the housing situation, the city’s policies exacerbate rather than alleviate the problem, especially for the low-income population. The paradox between good intentions and bad outcomes will be the focus of the first section. The second part will deal with the question of how alternative planning could look like. The last section will discuss possible limitations and will give an outlook for future research.

## **6.1 Paradoxes of Sustainable City Planning**

The first part of the discussion will relate the results to the original assumptions as well as to existing literature.

### ***6.1.1 From “Environmental” to “Sustainability” Gentrification***

Despite an active commitment to sustainability, the results show that Hamburg is still strongly suffering from rising housing prices and gentrification. However, the concept of environmental gentrification in its narrow definition cannot explain the situation in Hamburg since most of the environmental improvements announced by the city have never taken place. This makes Hamburg a case very different from cities where real environmental achievements accompany the green image (Holgersen & Malm, 2014).

Another unexpected finding is that the sustainability definition found in the city administration is not as narrow as previously assumed. In addition to green objectives, both the city documents and the interviewees stressed social sustainability commitments, particularly towards a socially mixed and densely-built city. Even though these goals only rarely explicitly contain the term sustainability, they are in accordance with principles such as sustainable urban design or green and new urbanism (Congress for the New Urbanism, 2013; Lehmann, 2010; Stanley, Currie, & Stanley, 2007; Talen, 2002). This shows that politicians and planners are in fact very dedicated to making Hamburg sustainable, and that, contrary to the expectations, the city is very aware of the importance of social sustainability for creating a livable city for all.

Regardless of this awareness, the city fails at achieving these goals. The reason for this is that all sustainability commitments remain embedded in neoliberal planning. While this is quite obvious for the green goals with their only purpose to market the city to the outside, it is surprisingly also true for social measures: In order to fight rent increases and gentrification, the city works closely together with the private market, so that investors play an important role in deciding over which type of housing is to be built. Even more importantly, the city strongly relies on the measure of upgrading poor neighborhoods in order to shift demand away from the inner city. While reducing pressure on the inner city and increasing social mix sounds reasonable, the actual improvements open the way for private investments and the ruling of the free market. Housing prices then “[go] on rapidly until all or most of the original (...) occupiers are displaced, and the whole social character of the district is changed” (Glass, 1964, p. xviii). The city plays a crucial role in this since gentrification is first started through its active upgrading measures (Knödler, 2008). This process is accompanied by a decrease, rather than increase, in public housing. Finally, social repercussions are tackled only through small counter-initiatives, implemented too late to effectively halt gentrification. This is unsurprising

considering that gentrification is considered as mostly positive by city representatives, since it comes with an improvement of economic and social indicators in the respective quarters, and therefore helps achieve the goals of city planning.

However, these improvements do not reach the poorer part of the population: The combination of risky upgrading and ineffective countermeasures leaves these groups with even less affordable housing options than before, and further concentrates them in areas “with fewer opportunities for social mobility, collective action, and political power” (Narefsky, 2014) (see also Goebel, Gornig, & Häußermann, 2010). Despite claims of being beneficial for everybody, livability is thus only increased for the newly-attracted middle-class (Smith, 1982).

The findings support the notion that upgrading and gentrification are two sides of the same coin (Atkinson & Bridge, 2005; Marcuse, 1985). This can currently be observed in Wilhelmsburg or Veddel, where the “cascade of urban renewal” that has characterized Hamburg’s inner city for the last decades has now arrived (Holm, 2008b, own translation) and instantly drives housing prices. The measures used there are typical of state-led gentrification, ranging from the construction of student apartments – what Smith (2005) terms “studentification” – to the strategic support of artists (Wyly & Hammel, 2005). The latter provided the background of the “Not in our name, Marke Hamburg” manifesto (Nionhh, 2009), in which artists claimed: “We don’t want a cheap workshop in the city of the rich” (J. Füllner, personal communication).

For such reasons, many authors are critical of social mix (Butler & Robson, 2001; Davidson, 2008; Fainstein, 2005; Lees, 2008; Merrifield, 2002) or densification (Quastel, Lynch, & Moos, 2012; Tu & Eppli, 1999). Relying merely on physical design has been shown to remain ineffective for building sustainable communities (Berke, 2002; Larsen, 2005). Ostendorf and colleagues (2001, p. 371) thus call social mix a “zero-sum game”, as social problems are not solved but merely relocated. Slater (2005, p. 56), too, argues that “social mix increasingly appears to be a shield under which gentrification is being actively promoted as a means of (...) improv[ing] local tax bases rather than civic pride and disparate social interaction”.

In sum, the results suggest that, paradoxically, it is policies under the umbrella of social rather than environmental sustainability that help Hamburg’s quest for investors and wealthy residents, and that are responsible for negative social repercussions on the housing market. Rather than speaking of merely “environmental gentrification”, thus, the term “sustainability gentrification” might be more accurate.

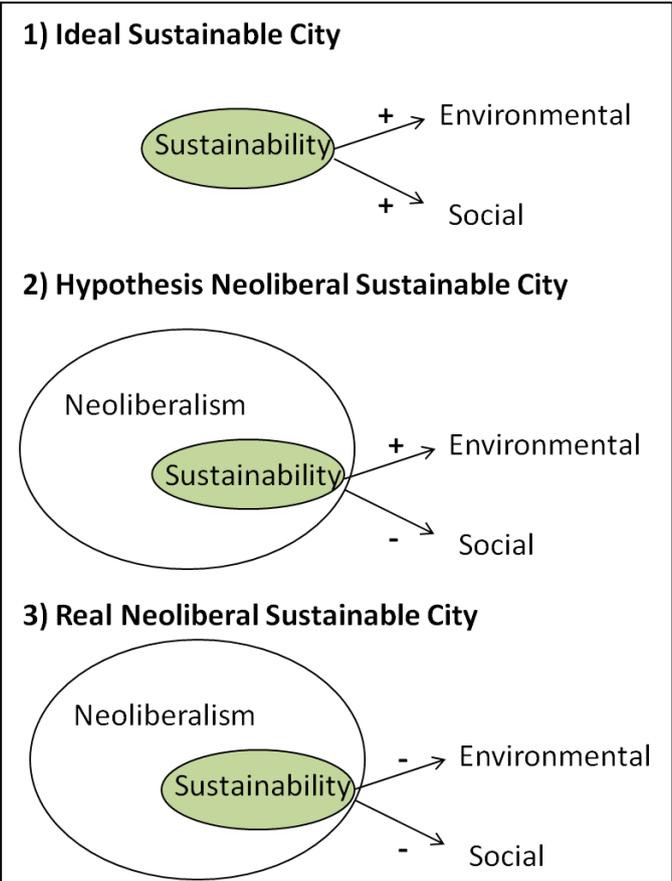
However, such policies are not based on bad intentions, which differs from the assumptions that underlie critical urban theory. Measures such as the Social Preservation Regulation can be understood as direct attempts to tackle market failures such as exploding housing prices and social segregation. This is important since it shows that the cause for the social repercussions is the neoliberal structure rather than wrong intentions or behavior. However, these measures remain ineffective responses as they do not proactively tackle the underlying market forces driving the process (Leitner, Peck, & Sheppard, 2007; Novy & Mayer, 2009). The main finding of the analysis is therefore the effect of neoliberalism on sustainability, which will be the topic of the next section.

**6.1.2 Neoliberalism: From “Win-Win” to “Lose-Lose”**

My thesis started from the assumption that neoliberal rationality underlying sustainability initiatives in cities would lead to a trade-off between environmental and social goals. The results show that the role of neoliberalism in the failure of cities to achieve social well-being is even stronger than assumed.

As expected, the results suggest that a neoliberal planning paradigm underlies Hamburg’s city planning. Not only are policies consistently aimed at increasing outside capital, but these goals are also disguised by “consensual” terms such as social mix or densification (S. Böhling, personal communication) which lead to a depolitization of the issue (Checker, 2011; Ferreri, Pesavento, & Theis, 2009; Holm, 2011), and leave no option for resistance.

Concerning the impact of neoliberalism, however, the results show that it creates even more problems than assumed (see fig. 10): The sustainability initiatives in Hamburg neither created the aspired “win-win” effect of sustainable cities, nor the “win-lose” situation assumed in the hypothesis, whereby social goals are neglected due to a



**Figure 10:** Results on the role of neoliberalism. The figure shows that within neoliberalism, sustainable cities can neither reach their environmental nor their social goals, creating a “lose-lose” situation. Source: Own illustration

trade-off with environmental aims. Rather, the social problems of housing affordability, displacement and segregation were exacerbated when the city made social improvements the focus of its policies. Neoliberalism could be shown to be the root cause of this failure (see section 5.5), since the social policies merely “combine market-driven processes with civic involvement and ‘capacity-building’ efforts even while ‘liberalized’ housing markets destroy the right to housing for more and more groups” (Novy & Mayer, 2009, p. 109). These results suggest a “lose-lose” situation, whereby neither environmental nor social sustainability can be achieved.

The analysis shows that free-market solutions, such as increasing supply or extending demand to more quarters, increase existing social tensions rather than lessening them. Indirect forms of displacement – especially resulting from “new-built gentrification” (Davidson & Lees, 2009) – are overlooked or not seen as outcomes of the policies (Holm, 2011; Marcuse, 1985). Although outside capital is successfully attracted to the city, it has so far failed to improve the situation of the poor. This suggests that the assumed trickle-down effect does not take place, and that policies assuming that it does are unable to solve urban sustainability problems.

## **6.2 Towards a New Planning Paradigm**

The foregoing considerations suggest that as long as the free market decides over housing and property values, the problem of increasing rents and gentrification cannot be solved. Only under changed conditions can sustainability initiatives achieve their goals. The following sections will therefore discuss possibilities to overcome the current “survival of the fittest” (Glass, 1964, p. xx) paradigm.

### **6.2.1 Overcoming Neoliberal Hegemony**

The interviews with city representatives suggest that the “rise of neoliberalism to hegemonic status” (Connolly & Steil, 2009, p. 5) leaves no way out of the current system for city planners. In fact, although almost none of them believe that rents in the inner city will decrease due to existing policies, this does not lead to any change of strategy. Hamburg claims to do “the maximum of what is possible” (A. Köhler, personal communication) against constraints such as national laws, the rules of the private market, and especially the status of property rights (S. Böhling, personal communication). However, many authors have shown that even within the constraints of this “actually existing neoliberalism” on a national and supra-national scale (Brenner & Theodore, 2002), cities are able to exert more control over city development than is currently the case (Breckner, 2013; Logan & Swanstrom, 2008; Novy & Mayer, 2009; Shaw, 2005; Woisin, 2013). Hamburg, being not only a relatively wealthy city, but also a federal state of Germany with many independent political

competences, could potentially be one of the role models towards a new, normative city planning model (Marcuse, 2009b).

Based on this, the following section discusses alternative approaches for city planning in line with the ideas of the Right-to-the-City movement and puts them into context with existing literature.

### **6.2.2 Key Measure: Regulating and Decommodifying Housing**

The most important element out of the suggestions mentioned by the activists is the decommodification of housing (Holm, 2013). This is crucial since it is the free market organization of housing that leads to the failure to achieve sustainability, as it allows the instant capitalization of all achievements on the free market. “[A] shift in perspective from one which upholds housing as yet another cog in the wheel of the market to one which views it first and foremost as a social good” (Lawton, 2012) is thus the only effective way to ensure adequate housing provision, as it follows a rationality guided by actual need rather than economic efficiency. Redefining housing as a non-tradable basic right would impede decisions that force “urban residents from having to sacrifice quality of life for financial gain” (Fainstein, 2009, p. 25).

Concretely, this can be achieved by regulating the market, and by supporting alternative forms of housing ownership and production such as cooperatives (Lees et al., 2008), which already now are successful in providing housing without profit-orientation. In this way, they challenge an “economic orthodoxy that simply views policy in terms of a dichotomous choice between state and market”, and open a new discussion about the urban commons (Harvey, 2012, p. 68; Ostrom, 1999).

### **6.2.3 Changing the Process**

The following process-oriented points are suggested to support the transition towards city planning based on its inhabitants’ needs, since both process- and outcome-oriented principles have to go hand in hand in order to achieve a better city (Marcuse, 2009a).

First, social issues must already be covered in the production, rather than only in the redistribution of welfare. Currently, there is a clear distinction between these two phases (Holgersen & Baeten, 2014), which must be overcome in order to “[transform] the processes that gave rise to urban inequality in the first place” (Connolly & Steil, 2009, p. 4), and to avoid falling back on ineffective counter-measures to solve social repercussions.

Secondly, such an incorporation of the inhabitants’ needs into the production stage requires better cooperation and participation since, as Purcell (2008) argues, the counter-project to neoliberalizing cities is to democratize them. Central to this is a local government which prioritizes citizens’ needs,

transforms the participatory process from its current state of “tokenism” towards levels such as partnership, delegated power or citizen control (Arnstein, 1969, p. 217), and cooperates with grassroots initiatives in the implementation of goals (Camponeschi, 2010). This is in line with the ideas of both activists and authors from different disciplines, who claim that allowing experiments and supporting small “niches” (Geels, 2004, p. 912) is the most promising pathway to create change (Foucault, 1993; Gibson-Graham, 2006; Merrifield, 2011; Ring, 2013). Urban social movements hereby gain influence by becoming “critical urban planning agents” (Souza, 2006).

Nevertheless, the city’s role remains pivotal: first, as “even incremental collective gains are under threat” from forces defending the old model, it can help protect the emerging initiatives (Potter & Novy, 2009, p. 231); second, it can guide the process by ensuring bottom line criteria, such as aligning housing supply with real demand. This can ideally create a form of “[p]rogressive urban planning led by the local state but consistently open towards popular participation and committed to the reduction of inequalities” (Souza, 2006, p. 327).

### **6.3 Contribution to Sustainability Science**

The analysis of sustainability initiatives in Hamburg provides new insights for research on sustainable cities. First, by combining research on the causes and effects of gentrification with sustainable city literature, this work shows that sustainable city commitments have to be treated carefully since they bear the risk of causing or exacerbating gentrification tendencies. In order to avoid undesirable side effects for social sustainability, sustainability measures have to be combined with broader changes in city planning. This also has important implications for the design of sustainable city frameworks, which should incorporate such important preconditions rather than uncritically accepting the simultaneous achievement of economic, environmental and social goals.

By suggesting measures towards such changes, the thesis also reacts to criticisms of the Right-to-the-City concept for not offering concrete solutions (Fainstein, 2009). This is also a problem common in sustainability science, where only few attempts specifically focus on how a transition can be achieved. To contribute to this discussion, the interviews with activists have shed light on what alternatives are currently being envisioned within the sustainability “niches” (Geels, 2004; Rotmans, 2005). These can provide possible starting points towards a new paradigm in city planning.

In a broader context, the results also add to the knowledge on the potential of market mechanisms for achieving sustainability (e.g. Heynen, 2007). Supporting the notion that the trickle-down effect traditionally assumed in economic theory is not manifested in reality (e.g. Greenwood & Holt, 2010),

it sides with those authors arguing that public goods should not be provided by the free market (e.g. Lynch, 2006).

## **6.4 Outlook**

The following section will first discuss possible limitations to the results and will then go on to identify main directions for further research.

### **6.4.1 Limitations**

Several themes point to a careful interpretation of the findings. The first is related to the interview method. It has to be noted that neither politicians of the ruling party SPD, nor representatives from the city's sustainability department or from the Program for Integrated Quarter Development agreed to an interview. It is especially from these sources, however, that more insights on the development, motivation and constraints of Hamburg's sustainability agenda could have been expected. If this non-response was systematic, it might have distorted the results. Another problem might be due to the theoretically-guided reading of the interviews. Although I constantly reflected on my assumptions and role as a researcher (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009), this type of analysis is prone to biased interpretations.

Moreover, since the analysis was limited to Hamburg as a single case study, the results might not be generalizable to other cities. Whether the phenomenon of "sustainability gentrification" is also observable in other cities, and how sustainability initiatives affect vulnerable communities should therefore be subject to further investigation. More knowledge about this question is crucial, since such measures are increasingly promoted by international organizations as positive "soft renewal" initiatives (Tsenkova et al., 2009, p. 83). Comparative and multi-case studies can help shed light on this question and identify best practices.

Due to the fact that hardly any of Hamburg's green plans were implemented, a direct causal link between green sustainability initiatives and gentrification tendencies could not be shown, calling for the examination of different cases. Moreover, environmental justice literature can be a valuable addition to the question of how specific environmental or social benefits of sustainability initiatives are distributed in the city. An important addition to research on either topic would be to follow and interview displaced residents over time, as a complement to quantitative socio-spatial data.

Finally, I did not look into the specific question of the effect of energetic modernizations on rent levels (Ástmarsson, Jensen, & Maslesa, 2013). This is a complex topic for itself, as such individual modernizations possibly play an important role in overall rent increases in sustainable cities. This is especially true against the background of recent EU-wide directives on energy efficiency in buildings

(EU, 2010). Such research could also add to my thesis by identifying additional policies to confine rent increases related to energetic modernizations.

#### **6.4.2 Debate on Economic Models**

While my research has concentrated on reformist suggestions to a better city planning, the results can also be used to formulate more radical claims. After all, critical urban theory often targets not only neoliberalism, but capitalism itself (Harvey, 2012). From this perspective, the findings can be related to a wider debate on economic growth as a measure of well-being. Criticisms about this indicator have arisen since the 1970s, starting with “Limits to Growth” (Meadows, Meadows, Randers, & Behrens, 1972). Many of the alternative approaches developed since then have already shown their usefulness for city planning. Nussbaum’s (2000) and Sen’s (2008) Human Development approach, for example, has especially been referred to for its social choice model that takes into account existing trade-offs of city politics rather than downplaying them under consensual concepts (Fainstein, 2005). The current post- and de-growth debate also offers potential starting points for city politics as it „has its basic foundations in urban self-sufficiency rather than in romantic city flight” (Paech & Paech, 2011, p. 58, own translation) (see also Schneider, Kallis, & Martinez-Alier, 2010).

Whether reformist or revolutionary, however, the common ground of all these approaches is an interest in building a city that achieves human well-being directly. In this way, they might provide a suitable way to creating sustainability for all, and with it “a transformed and renewed right to urban life” (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 158).

## **7 Conclusion**

Simultaneously achieving environmental, social and economic sustainability is one of the biggest challenges for cities today. My thesis started with an assumption that sustainable cities in their current form typically concentrate on environmental goals while social issues of housing affordability fall behind. This suggested a trade-off between environmental and social goals, whereby gentrification represents the unintended consequence from the increased attractiveness associated with green cities. Using Hamburg as a case study, my aim was thus to shed light on the link between sustainability and gentrification. Drawing on official documents, semi-structured interviews and statistical data, I investigated the hypothesis that sustainability initiatives lead to gentrification since they are embedded in a neoliberal planning paradigm. Such planning, as critical urban theory suggests, uses sustainability as a mere tool to market the city, and to score high in the global competition for capital.

The results offer several new insights: First, contrary to the assumption, Hamburg's sustainability commitments do not follow a one-sided focus on environmental goals. In fact, social goals have become the priority of the new Senate's politics. But even policies directly aimed at improving the housing situation build on a neoliberal city model: Both social mix and densification policies focus on attracting investments, middle- and upper-class residents, and upgrading low-income areas, while housing prices are allowed to rise almost uncontrolled in upgraded areas. Therefore, by improving the image of the targeted quarters, the city further fuels gentrification and displacement of poor households. Sustainability is primarily used as a tool for marketing the city and to continue "business-as-usual", rather than to fundamentally change city planning. Despite good intentions, the city thus seems unable to achieve either environmental or social sustainability as long as it relies on the market's trickle-down effect. The analysis of socio-economic indicators, in fact, suggests the absence of such an effect.

Consequently, neoliberalism does not only create a trade-off between environmental and social goals, but a "lose-lose" situation in which neither environmental nor social sustainability can be achieved. Based on these findings, the thesis concludes that in line with the claims of the Right to the City, a new type of city planning needs to be established, based on a decommodification of housing and better incorporation of inhabitants' needs and voices in the planning process.

Making cities tap their full potential of fostering the living conditions of their inhabitants, rather than leaving them to the market, can then allow them to live up to the often-cited visions of cities being not only a problem for sustainability, but also the places where solutions are created.

## References

- Agyeman, J., Bullard, R. D., & Evans, B. (2003). *Just Sustainabilities: Development in an Unequal World. Urban and Industrial Environments*. London: Earthscan.
- Anand, S., & Sen, A. (2000). Human Development and Economic Sustainability. *World Development*, 28(12), 2029–2049.
- Anderberg, S., & Clark, E. (2013). Green Sustainable Öresund Region - Or Eco-Branding Copenhagen and Malmö? In I. Vojnovic (Ed.), *Urban Sustainability. A Global Perspective*. (pp. 591–610). East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.
- Anguelovski, I. (2013). Neighborhood Greening as Double-Edged Sword: Emerging Environmental Justice Challenges of Displacement and Resistance in Urban Environment. *Planning for Resilient Cities and Regions*. AESOP/ACSP 5th Joint Congress 2013. July 15th -19th, 2013. Dublin: University College Dublin.
- Arnstein, S. R. (1969). A Ladder of Citizen Participation. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 35(4), 216–224.
- Ástmarsson, B., Jensen, P. A., & Maslesa, E. (2013). Sustainable Renovation of Residential Buildings and the Landlord/Tenant Dilemma. *Energy Policy*, 63, 355–362.
- Atkinson, R., & Bridge, G. (2005). Introduction. In R. Atkinson & G. Bridge (Eds.), *Gentrification in a Global Context. The New Urban Colonialism*. New York: Routledge.
- Banzhaf, H. S., & Walsh, R. (2005). *Do People Vote with Their Feet? An Empirical Test of Environmental Gentrification*. Retrieved from <http://ideas.repec.org/p/rff/dpaper/dp-06-10.html>
- Barber, B. R. (2013). *If Mayors Ruled the World: Dysfunctional Nations, Rising Cities*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Benton, T., & Craib, I. (2011). *Philosophy of Social Science: The Philosophical Foundations of Social Thought*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Berke, P. R. (2002). Does Sustainable Development Offer a New Direction for Planning? Challenges for the Twenty-First Century. *Journal of Planning Literature*, 17(1), 21–36.
- BMAS. (2013). *Lebenslagen in Deutschland. Der Vierte Armuts- und Reichtumsbericht der Bundesregierung*. Bonn: Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Soziales. Retrieved from [https://www.bmas.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/PDF-Publikationen-DinA4/a334-4-armuts-reichtumsbericht-2013.pdf?\\_\\_blob=publicationFile](https://www.bmas.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/PDF-Publikationen-DinA4/a334-4-armuts-reichtumsbericht-2013.pdf?__blob=publicationFile)
- Boyce, J. K. (2008). Is Inequality Bad for the Environment? In W. R. Freudenburg & R. C. Wilkinson (Eds.), *Equity and the Environment. Research in Social Problems and Public Policy, Vol. 15*. (pp. 267–288). Amsterdam: Emerald Group Pub.
- Braw, E. (2013, October 31). Hamburg's Answer to Climate Change. *The Guardian Professional*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/hamburg-answer-to-climate-change>
- Breckner, I. (2013). HafenCity: Ein neuer Stadtteil im Spannungsfeld unterschiedlicher Interessen. In G. Pohl & K. Wicher (Eds.), *Hamburg: Gespaltene Stadt? Soziale Entwicklungen in der Metropole*. (pp. 145–157). Hamburg: VSA Verlag.

- Brenner, N. (2009). Cities and Territorial Competitiveness. In C. Rumford (Ed.), *The SAGE Handbook of European Studies*. (pp. 442–464). Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- Brenner, N., Marcuse, P., & Mayer, M. (Eds.). (2011). *Cities for People, Not for Profit. Critical Urban Theory and the Right to the City*. New York: Routledge.
- Brenner, N., & Theodore, N. (2002). Cities and the Geographies of 'Actually Existing Neoliberalism'. *Antipode*, 34(3), 349–379.
- Bryman, A. (2008). *Social Research Methods* (3rd ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bryman, A. (2012). *Social Research Methods* (4th ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Buch, T., Seibert, H., & Stöckmann, A. (2012). Die Entwicklung der Beschäftigung in Hamburg – Anzeichen für eine Spaltung des Arbeitsmarktes? *Arbeiten in Hamburg. Entwicklungen und soziale Folgen. 3. Konferenz zur sozialen Spaltung in Hamburg*. February 16th, 2012. Hamburg: Arbeitsgemeinschaft Soziales Hamburg. Retrieved from [http://hamburg-stadtfueralle.de/wp-content/uploads/06.03.\\_Entwicklung-der-Besch%C3%A4ftigung-in-HH-Anzeichen-f%C3%BCr-eine-Spaltung-des-Arbeitsmarktes.pdf](http://hamburg-stadtfueralle.de/wp-content/uploads/06.03._Entwicklung-der-Besch%C3%A4ftigung-in-HH-Anzeichen-f%C3%BCr-eine-Spaltung-des-Arbeitsmarktes.pdf)
- Bundesagentur für Arbeit. (2010). *Beschäftigungsstatistik: Sozialversicherungspflichtige Bruttoarbeitsentgelte. Bericht der Statistik der BA*. Retrieved from <http://statistik.arbeitsagentur.de/Statischer-Content/Statistische-Analysen/Statistische-Sonderberichte/Generische-Publikationen/Entgeltstatistik.pdf>
- Bundesagentur für Arbeit. (2013). *Wohn- und Kostensituation, Kreis Hamburg, Freie und Hansestadt, November 2013*. Retrieved from <http://statistik.arbeitsagentur.de/Statistikdaten/Detail/201311/iiia7/kdu-kdu/kdu-02000-0-pdf.pdf>
- Bundesregierung. (2013). *Nachhaltigkeitsstrategie - Länder und Kommunen. Hamburg*. Retrieved from [http://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/StatischeSeiten/Breg/Nachhaltigkeit/Steckbriefe\\_Laenderstrategien/hamburg.html](http://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/StatischeSeiten/Breg/Nachhaltigkeit/Steckbriefe_Laenderstrategien/hamburg.html).
- Bürgerschaft der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg. (2012). *Schriftliche kleine Anfrage des Abgeordneten Tim Golke (DIE LINKE) vom 30.07.12 und Antwort des Senats. Betreff: Umgang mit Belegungsbindungen. Drucksache 20/4077*. Retrieved from [www.buerferschaft-hh.de/parl-dok/Cache/60C1850E67150CC0BF0107A0.pdf](http://www.buerferschaft-hh.de/parl-dok/Cache/60C1850E67150CC0BF0107A0.pdf)
- Bürgerschaft der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg. (2013). *Masterplan Klimaschutz. Mitteilung des Senats an die Bürgerschaft. Drucksache 20/8493*. Retrieved from <http://www.hamburg.de/contentblob/4050236/data/masterplan-klimaschutz.pdf>
- Butler, T., & Robson, G. (2001). Social Capital, Gentrification and Neighbourhood Change in London: A Comparison of Three South London Neighbourhoods. *Urban Studies*, 38(12), 2145–2162.
- Byrne, J. (2003). Two Cheers for Gentrification. *Georgetown Law Faculty Publications and Other Works*. Retrieved from <http://scholarship.law.georgetown.edu/facpub/930>
- Cambridge Dictionaries Online. (2014). *English Definition of "Gentrify"*. Retrieved from <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/gentrify>
- Campbell, H., Tait, M., & Watkins, C. (2014). Is There Space for Better Planning in a Neoliberal World? Implications for Planning Practice and Theory. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 34(1), 45–59.

- Camponeschi, C. (2010). *The Enabling City: Place-Based Creative Problem-Solving and the Power of the Everyday*. Retrieved from [http://enablingcity.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/10/the\\_enabling\\_city2010-3.pdf](http://enablingcity.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/10/the_enabling_city2010-3.pdf)
- Ceaser, D. (2010). Green Gentrification: Examining the Relationship between Environmental Attitudes and Development in Sustainable Development. *Conference Papers - American Sociological Association*, 1454.
- Checker, M. (2011). Wiped Out by the “Greenwave”: Environmental Gentrification and the Paradoxical Politics of Urban Sustainability. *City & Society*, 23(2), 210–229.
- Choi, K. (2010). Re-Conceptualizing Environmentally Sustainable City. *16th Annual International Sustainable Development Research Conference*. May 30th - June 1<sup>st</sup>, 2010. Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong.
- Clark, E. (2005). The Order and Simplicity of Gentrification - A Political Challenge. In R. Atkinson & G. Bridge (Eds.), *Gentrification in a Global Context. The New Urban Colonialism*. (pp. 256–264). New York: Routledge.
- Collins English Dictionary. (2014). *Neoliberalism*. Retrieved from <http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/neoliberalism>
- Congress for the New Urbanism. (2013). *Charter of the New Urbanism*. Retrieved from <http://www.cnu.org/charter>
- Connolly, J., & Steil, J. (2009). Introduction: Finding Justice in the City. In P. Marcuse, J. Connolly, J. Novy, I. Olivio, & C. Potter (Eds.), *Searching for the Just City. Debates in Urban Theory and Practice*. (pp. 1–16). New York: Routledge.
- Cric, L., Tillmann, C., Wegner, N., & Wessels, J. (2013). Menschen in Erwerbsarmut. Mit besonderem Blick auf den Lebensbereich Wohnen. In G. Pohl & K. Wicher (Eds.), *Hamburg: Gespaltene Stadt? Soziale Entwicklungen in der Metropole*. (pp. 54–67). Hamburg: VSA Verlag.
- Curran, W., & Hamilton, T. (2012). Just Green Enough: Contesting Environmental Gentrification in Greenpoint, Brooklyn. *Local Environment*, 17(9), 1027–1042.
- Dale, A., & Newman, L. L. (2009). Sustainable Development for Some: Green Urban Development and Affordability. *Local Environment*, 14(7), 669–681.
- Davidson, M. (2008). Spoiled Mixture: Where Does State-Led ‘Positive’ Gentrification End? *Urban Studies*, 45(12), 2385–2405.
- Davidson, M., & Lees, L. (2009). New-Build Gentrification: Its Histories, Trajectories, and Critical Geographies. *Population, Space and Place*, 16, 395–411.
- Deacon, D., Bryman, A., & Fenton, N. (1998). Collision or Collusion? A Discussion and Case Study of the Unplanned Triangulation of Quantitative and Qualitative Research Methods. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 1, 47–64.
- Denmark, D. (1998). The Outsiders: Planning and Transport Disadvantage. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 17(3), 231–245.
- Der Paritätische Gesamtverband. (2013). *Zwischen Wohlstand und Verarmung: Deutschland vor der Zerreißprobe. Bericht zur regionalen Armutsentwicklung in Deutschland 2013*. Berlin: Deutscher Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband - Gesamtverband e.V. Retrieved from <http://www.der-paritaetische.de/ab2013/trends>

- Destatis. (2013). *Anteil der Wohnkosten am verfügbaren Haushalteinkommen. Staat & Gesellschaft - Wohnen*. Wiesbaden: Statistisches Bundesamt. Retrieved from [https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/GesellschaftStaat/EinkommenKonsumLebensbedingungen/Wohnen/Tabellen/AnteilWohnkostenHHeinkommen\\_SILC.html#Fussnote1](https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/GesellschaftStaat/EinkommenKonsumLebensbedingungen/Wohnen/Tabellen/AnteilWohnkostenHHeinkommen_SILC.html#Fussnote1)
- Dohnke, J., Seidel-Schulze, A., & Häußermann, H. (2012). *Segregation, Konzentration, Polarisierung - sozialräumliche Entwicklung in deutschen Städten 2007 - 2009. Difu-Impulse*. Berlin: Deutsches Institut für Urbanistik.
- Doody, O., & Noonan, M. (2013). Preparing and Conducting Interviews to Collect Data. *Nurse Researcher*, 20(5), 28–32.
- Dooling, S. (2009). Ecological Gentrification: A Research Agenda Exploring Justice in the City. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 33(3), 621–639.
- EC. (1994). *Charter of European Cities and Towns towards Sustainability. European Conference on Sustainable Cities and Towns: Aalborg, May 27th 1994*. Brussels: European Commission. Retrieved from [http://ec.europa.eu/environment/urban/pdf/aalborg\\_charter.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/environment/urban/pdf/aalborg_charter.pdf)
- EC. (2011a). *European Green Capital. Winning Cities: 2011 – Hamburg*. Retrieved from <http://ec.europa.eu/environment/europeangreencapital/winning-cities/2011-hamburg/index.html>
- EC. (2011b). *Hamburg. European Green Capital 2011*. Retrieved from <http://www.hamburg.de/contentblob/2943274/data/pdf-2011-06-21-broschuere-eu-engl-hamburg.pdf>
- EU. (2010). Directive 2010/31/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 19 May 2010 on the Energy Performance of Buildings. *Official Journal of the European Union*, L 153/13. Retrieved from <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2010:153:0013:0035:EN:PDF>
- F+B Forschung und Beratung. (2007). *Wohnungsmarkt Hamburg - praxisorientierte Daten für Immobilienprofessionals*. Retrieved from [www.hammonia.de/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/PM\\_WoMaMonitor\\_Hamburg\\_2007\\_20070823.pdf](http://www.hammonia.de/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/PM_WoMaMonitor_Hamburg_2007_20070823.pdf)
- F+B Forschung und Beratung. (2014). *Marktmonitor 2014*. Hamburg: F+B Forschung und Beratung für Wohnen, Immobilien und Umwelt GmbH.
- Fainstein, S. S. (2005). Cities and Diversity: Should We Want It? Can We Plan For It? *Urban Affairs Review*, 41(1), 3–19.
- Fainstein, S. S. (2009). Planning and the Just City. In P. Marcuse, J. Connolly, J. Novy, I. Olivio, & C. Potter (Eds.), *Searching for the Just City. Debates in Urban Theory and Practice*. (pp. 19–39). New York: Routledge.
- Ferreri, M., Pesavento, A., & Theis, B. (2009). Isola. Arts and Communities Against Eco-Gentrification in Milan, Italy. In K. de Souza & Z. Begg (Eds.), *There Goes the Neighborhood. Redfern and the Politics of Urban Space*. Sydney: You are Here. Retrieved from <http://eipcp.net/n/1244798405>
- Florida, R. L. (2004). *The Rise of the Creative Class. And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life*. New York: Basic Books.
- Focus (2012, Dec 20th). Mietpreiskluft in Deutschland. Retrieved from [http://www.focus.de/immobilien/mieten/mietpreis-kluft-in-deutschland-1000-euro-reichen-fuer-eine-bude-oder-eine-villa\\_aid\\_885317.html](http://www.focus.de/immobilien/mieten/mietpreis-kluft-in-deutschland-1000-euro-reichen-fuer-eine-bude-oder-eine-villa_aid_885317.html)

- Foucault, M. (1993). Andere Räume. In K. Barck (Ed.). *Aisthesis. Wahrnehmung heute oder Perspektiven einer anderen Ästhetik. Reclams Universal-Bibliothek, Vol. 1352*. Leipzig: Reclam. Retrieved from [http://www.uni-weimar.de/cms/uploads/media/Foucault\\_AndereRaeume\\_01.pdf](http://www.uni-weimar.de/cms/uploads/media/Foucault_AndereRaeume_01.pdf)
- Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (2013, April 5). Steigende Wohnkosten: Wenn die Miete arm macht. Retrieved from <http://www.faz.net/aktuell/wirtschaft/wirtschaftspolitik/steigende-wohnkosten-wenn-die-miete-arm-macht-12138549.html>
- Frey, J., & Oishi, M. (1995). *How to Conduct Interviews by Telephone and in Person*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- Friedrichs, J., & Triemer, S. (2009). *Gespaltene Städte? Soziale und ethnische Segregation in deutschen Großstädten*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Fücks, R. (2011). Der Moloch erfindet sich neu. In Oekom (Ed.). *Post-Oil City. Die Stadt von morgen. Politische Ökologie, Vol. 124*. (pp. 16–23). Munich: Oekom Verlag.
- GdW. (2012). *Ergebnisse der Umfrage Wohnungsneubau: Ergänzungsumfrage zur GdW Jahresstatistik 2010*. Berlin: GdW Bundesverband. Retrieved from [http://web.gdw.de/uploads/pdf/publikationen/120100\\_GdW\\_Umfrage\\_Wohnungsneubau.pdf](http://web.gdw.de/uploads/pdf/publikationen/120100_GdW_Umfrage_Wohnungsneubau.pdf)
- Geels, F. W. (2004). From Sectoral Systems of Innovation to Socio-Technical Systems. *Research Policy*, 33(6-7), 897–920.
- Gerring, J. (2007). *Case Study Research: Principles and Practices*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- GEWOS (2013, November 12). Mietenspiegel 2013 Hamburg. Hamburg: GEWOS/Behörde für Stadtentwicklung Hamburg. Retrieved from <http://www.hamburg.de/contentblob/4139794/data/d-praesentation-mietenspiegel.pdf>
- Gibbs, D. (2000). Ecological Modernisation, Regional Economic Development and Regional Development Agencies. *Geoforum*, 31(1), 9–19.
- Gibson-Graham, J. K. (2006). *A Postcapitalist Politics*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Glass, R. (1964). Introduction. In Centre for Urban Studies (Ed.), *London: Aspects of Change*. (pp. xiii–xlii). London: MacGibbon & Kee.
- Goebel, J., Gornig, M., & Häußermann, H. (2010). *Polarisierung der Einkommen: die Mittelschicht verliert. Wochenbericht des DIW, 24/2010*. Berlin: Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung. Retrieved from [https://www.diw.de/documents/publikationen/73/diw\\_01.c.357505.de/10-24-1.pdf](https://www.diw.de/documents/publikationen/73/diw_01.c.357505.de/10-24-1.pdf)
- Goldflam, A. (2014). *Hamburg Details. Bezirks- und Stadtteilkarte*. Hamburg: Buch- und Presse-Großvertrieb Hamburg. Retrieved from <http://www.bpvh.de/index.php?index=hamburgdetails>
- Gotham, K. F. (2005). Tourism Gentrification: The Case of New Orleans' Vieux Carre (French Quarter). *Urban Studies*, 42(7), 1099–1121.
- Gould, K., & Lewis, T. (2009). The Environmental Injustice of Green Gentrification: Socio-Ecological Change in the Neighborhoods of Brooklyn. *Conference Papers - American Sociological Association*, 1-30. Retrieved from <http://ludwig.lub.lu.se/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=sih&AN=54431119&site=eds-live&scope=site>
- Greenwood, D. T., & Holt, R. P. F. (2010). Growth, Inequality and Negative Trickle Down. *Journal of Economic Issues*, 44(2), 403–410.

- Günther, S. (2013). Kalkulierbare Segregation? Drei Perspektiven auf die sozialräumliche Polarisierung in Hamburg. In G. Pohl & K. Wicher (Eds.), *Hamburg: Gespaltene Stadt? Soziale Entwicklungen in der Metropole*. (pp. 34–53). Hamburg: VSA Verlag.
- Gurstein, P. (2012). *Affordable Housing as a Sustainability Strategy: Policy Implications for Canadian Cities*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia. Retrieved from <http://housingjustice.ca/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/Canadian-Studies-Chapter.pdf>
- Gymnasium Ohmoor. (2013). *Wohnungsmarkt in Hamburg 2013*. Retrieved from <http://www.bautschweb.de/mieten/mieten.htm>
- Hartman, C. W., Keating, W. D., & LeGates, R. T. (1982). *Displacement: How to Fight It*. Berkeley: National Housing Law Project.
- Harvey, D. (1989). From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation in Urban Governance in Late Capitalism. *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography*, 71(1), 3–17.
- Harvey, D. (2008). The Right to the City. *New Left Review*, 53, 23–40.
- Harvey, D. (2009). *Social Justice and the City. Geographies of Justice and Social Transformation, Vol. 1*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
- Harvey, D. (2012). *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution*. New York: Verso.
- Haughton, G. (1999). Environmental Justice and the Sustainable City. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 18(3), 233–243.
- Heynen, N. (2007). *Neoliberal Environments: False Promises and Unnatural Consequences*. New York: Routledge.
- HIC. (1995). *World Charter for the Right to the City*. Giza: Habitat International Coalition. Retrieved from <http://www.hic-net.org/document.php?pid=2422>
- Higgins, P., Campanera, J., & Nobajas, A. (2014). Quality of Life and Spatial Inequality in London. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 21(1), 42–59.
- Holgersen, S., & Baeten, G. (2014). Beyond a Liberal Critique of 'Trickle Down': Class and Urban Planning in the City of Malmö. In S. Holgersen (Ed.), *The Rise (and Fall?) of Post-Industrial Malmö*. Lund: Lund University.
- Holgersen, S., & Malm, A. (2014). "Green Fix" as Crisis Management. Or: In Which World is Malmö the World's Greenest City? In S. Holgersen (Ed.), *The Rise (and Fall?) of Post-Industrial Malmö*. Lund: Lund University.
- Holm, A. (2008a). Die Vergesellschaftung der Stadt. Neuordnungen des Städtischen in kapitalistischen Gesellschaften. *Marxistische Blätter*, 46(5). Retrieved from <http://www.linksnet.de/de/artikel/23801>
- Holm, A. (2008b). *Hamburg: Aufwertungskaskade*. Gentrification Blog. Retrieved from <http://gentrificationblog.wordpress.com/2008/11/27/hamburg-aufwertungskaskade/>
- Holm, A. (2011). Ein ökosoziales Paradoxon: Stadtbau und Gentrifizierung. *Politische Ökologie*, 29(124), 45–52.
- Holm, A. (2013). *Wohnen als soziale Infrastruktur*. Retrieved from [http://www.links-netz.de/pdf/T\\_holm\\_wohnen.pdf](http://www.links-netz.de/pdf/T_holm_wohnen.pdf)

- Hornborg, A. (2014). Urban Sustainability as Myth and Practice. In G. McDonogh, M. Checker, & C. Isenhour (Eds.), *Sustainability as Myth and Practice the Global City*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- IVD-Nord. (2013a). *Große Studie zum Hamburger Mietwohnungsmarkt zeigt: Hamburger Wohnungsmarkt funktioniert*. Hamburg: Immobilienverband Deutschland.
- IVD-Nord. (2013b). *Immobilienpreisspiegel 2013. Zahlen, Daten und Fakten für Bremen, Hamburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Niedersachsen und Schleswig-Holstein*. Hamburg: Immobilienverband Deutschland.
- Jabareen, Y. R. (2006). Sustainable Urban Forms: Their Typologies, Models, and Concepts. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 26(1), 38–52.
- Jekel, G., & Frölich von Bodelschwingh, F. (2009). Stadtpolitik und das neue Wohnen in der Innenstadt – Wohnungsangebot, Anbieterstrukturen und die Bedeutung neuer Wohnformen für die Stärkung des Wohnstandorts Innenstadt. In G. Jekel (Ed.). *Im Brennpunkt: Innenstadtwohnen. Neue Herausforderungen für die Städte. Deutsche Zeitschrift für Kommunalwissenschaften*, 47(1). Berlin: Difu.
- Joho, M. (2013). St. Georg: Soziale Verdrängung als Leitmotiv. In G. Pohl & K. Wicher (Eds.), *Hamburg: Gespaltene Stadt? Soziale Entwicklungen in der Metropole*. (pp. 158–181). Hamburg: VSA Verlag.
- Kates, R. W., Clark, W. C., Corell, R., Hall, J. M., Jaeger, C. C., Lowe, I., ... (2001). Sustainability Science. *Science*, 292(5517), 641–642.
- Katz, B., & Bradley, J. (2013). *The Metropolitan Revolution: How Cities and Metros are Fixing our Broken Politics and Fragile Economy*. Washington: Brookings Institution.
- Keil, R., & Desfor, G. (2003). Ecological Modernisation in Los Angeles and Toronto. *Local Environment*, 8(1), 27–44.
- Kleniewski, N. (2008). Introduction: Contemporary Issues in Urban Sociology. In N. Kleniewski (Ed.), *Cities and Society*. (pp. 1–13). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Knödler, G. (2008, November 14). Reiherstieg droht Schanze. *taz*. Retrieved from <http://www.taz.de/1/nord/hamburg/artikel/?dig=2008%2F11%2F14%2Fa0082&cHash=395ca90874>
- Kock, M. (2013). *Die Hamburger Wohnraumförderung*. Hamburg: Behörde für Stadtentwicklung und Umwelt. Retrieved from [http://www.srl.de/dateien/dokumente/de/Vortrag\\_Kock\\_SRL\\_Ahrensburg\\_2013-11-18.pdf](http://www.srl.de/dateien/dokumente/de/Vortrag_Kock_SRL_Ahrensburg_2013-11-18.pdf)
- Krueger, R., & Gibbs, D. (2007). Introduction: Problematizing the Politics of Sustainability. In R. Krueger & D. Gibbs (Eds.), *The Sustainable Development Paradox. Urban Political Economy in the United States and Europe*. (pp. 1–11). New York: Guilford Press.
- Kvale, S., & Brinkmann, S. (2009). *Interviews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing*. Los Angeles: Sage Publications.
- Larsen, K. (2005). New Urbanism's Role in Inner-city Neighborhood Revitalization. *Housing Studies*, 20(5), 795–813.
- Laska, S. B., & Spain, D. (1980). *Back to the City: Issues in Neighborhood Renovation*. New York: Pergamon Press.

- Lawton, P. (2012). *Housing Need: When, Where, and for Whom?* Retrieved from <http://irelandafternama.wordpress.com/2012/06/08/housing-need-when-where-and-for-whom>.
- Leavitt, J., Samara, T. R., & Brady, M. (2009). The Right to the City Alliance: Time to Democratize Urban Governance. *Progressive Planning*, 181, 4–12.
- Lees, L. (2008). Gentrification and Social Mixing: Towards an Inclusive Urban Renaissance? *Urban Studies*, 45(12), 2449–2470.
- Lees, L., Slater, T., & Wyly, E. K. (2008). *Gentrification*. New York: Routledge.
- Lefebvre, H. (1968). *Le Droit à la Ville*. Paris: Anthropos.
- Lefebvre, H. (1996). *Writings on Cities*. Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers.
- Lehmann, S. (2010). Green Urbanism: Formulating a Series of Holistic Principles. *S.A.P.I.EN.S.*, 3(2). Retrieved from <http://sapiens.revues.org/1057>
- Leitner, H., Peck, J., & Sheppard, E. S. (2007). *Contesting Neoliberalism: Urban Frontiers*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Leitner, H., & Sheppard, E. (1998). Economic Uncertainty, Inter-Urban Competition and the Efficacy of Entrepreneurialism. In T. Hall & P. Hubbard (Eds.), *The Entrepreneurial City. Geographies of Politics, Regime, and Representation*. (pp. 285–308). Chichester: Wiley.
- Lister, M. & Biegler, P. (2013). *Studie zum Hamburger Mietwohnungsmarkt*. Studie des Center for Real Estate Studies (CRES) im Auftrag der wohnungswirtschaftlichen Verbände (BFW Nord, Grundeigentümer-Verband Hamburg, IVD-Nord, VNW) unter dem Dach 'Bündnis für das Wohnen in Hamburg'. Hamburg: Center for Real Estate Studies.
- Logan, J. R., & Swanstrom, T. (2008). Urban Restructuring: A Critical View. In N. Kleniewski (Ed.), *Cities and Society*. (pp. 28–42). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Luederitz, C., Lang, D. J., & Wehrden, H. von. (2013). A Systematic Review of Guiding Principles for Sustainable Urban Neighborhood Development. *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 118, 40–52.
- Lynch, K. (2006). Neo-Liberalism and Marketisation: The Implications for Higher Education. *European Educational Research Journal*, 5(1), 1–17.
- Marcuse, P. (1985). Gentrification, Abandonment, and Displacement: Connections, Causes, and Policy Responses in New York City. *Washington University Journal of Urban and Contemporary Law*, 28(1), 195–240.
- Marcuse, P. (1998). Sustainability is Not Enough. *Environment & Urbanization*, 10(2), 103.
- Marcuse, P. (2009a). From Justice Planning to Commons Planning. In P. Marcuse, J. Connolly, J. Novy, I. Olivio, & C. Potter (Eds.), *Searching for the Just City. Debates in Urban Theory and Practice*. (pp. 91–102). New York: Routledge.
- Marcuse, P. (2009b). Postscript: Beyond the Just City to the Right to the City. In P. Marcuse, J. Connolly, J. Novy, I. Olivio, & C. Potter (Eds.), *Searching for the Just City. Debates in Urban Theory and Practice*. (pp. 240–254). New York: Routledge.
- Marx, G. T. (1997). Of Methods and Manners for Aspiring Sociologists: 37 Moral Imperatives. *The American Sociologist*, 28(1), 102-125.
- Marx, K., & Engels, F. (Eds.). (1975). *Collected Works, Vol. 23: 1871-1874*. New York: International Publishers.
- Max-Neef, M. A. (2005). Foundations of Transdisciplinarity. *Ecological Economics*, 53(1), 5–16.

- Mayer, M. (2011). The 'Right to the City' in Urban Social Movements. In N. Brenner, P. Marcuse, & M. Mayer (Eds.), *Cities for People, Not for Profit. Critical Urban Theory and the Right to the City*. (pp. 63–85). New York: Routledge.
- McShane, O. (2009, June 19). How Can Cities with Unaffordable Housing be Ranked Among the Most Livable Cities in the World? *New Geography*. Retrieved from <http://www.newgeography.com/content/00862-how-can-cities-with-unaffordable-housing-be-ranked-among-most-livable-cities-world>
- Meadows, D., Meadows, D., Randers, J., & Behrens, W. (1972). *The Limits to Growth. A Report for the Club of Rome's Project on the Predicament of Mankind*. Washington: Potomac Associates. Retrieved from <http://www.donellameadows.org/wp-content/userfiles/Limits-to-Growth-digital-scan-version.pdf>
- Menzel, J. (2008). *Wie nachhaltig nutzt Hamburg seine Fläche?* Hamburg: Zukunftsrat Hamburg. Retrieved from [http://www.zukunftsrat.de/fileadmin/pdf/stadtentwicklung/studie\\_flaechennutzung\\_ZR.pdf](http://www.zukunftsrat.de/fileadmin/pdf/stadtentwicklung/studie_flaechennutzung_ZR.pdf)
- Merrifield, A. (2002). *Metromarxism. A Marxist Tale of the City*. New York: Routledge.
- Merrifield, A. (2011). The Right to the City and Beyond. *City*, 15(3-4), 473–481.
- Mitchell, D. (1997). The Annihilation of Space by Law: The Roots and Implications of Anti-Homeless Laws in the United States. *Antipode*, 29(3), 303–335.
- Molotch, H. (1976). The City as a Growth Machine: Toward a Political Economy of Place. *American Journal of Sociology*, 82(2), 309–332.
- Narefsky, K. (2014, January 4). What Ed Glaeser Can't Grasp: Trickle-Down Gentrification is a Myth! *Jacobin*. Retrieved from [http://www.salon.com/2014/01/04/what\\_ed\\_glaeser\\_ignores\\_and\\_the\\_myth\\_of\\_trickle\\_down\\_gentrification\\_partner](http://www.salon.com/2014/01/04/what_ed_glaeser_ignores_and_the_myth_of_trickle_down_gentrification_partner)
- Newman, K., & Wyly, E. (2006). The Right to Stay Put, Revisited: Gentrification and Resistance to Displacement in New York City. *Urban Studies*, 43(1), 23–57.
- Nionhh. (2009). *Not In Our Name, Marke Hamburg! Manifest*. Retrieved from <http://nionhh.wordpress.com/about>
- Novy, J., & Mayer, M. (2009). As "Just" as it Gets? The European City in the "Just City" Discourse. In P. Marcuse, J. Connolly, J. Novy, I. Olivio, & C. Potter (Eds.), *Searching for the Just City. Debates in Urban Theory and Practice*. (pp. 103–119). New York: Routledge.
- Nussbaum, M. C. (2000). *Women and Human Development: The Capabilities Approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ostendorf, W., Musterd, S., & Vos, S. de. (2001). Social Mix and the Neighbourhood Effect. Policy Ambitions and Empirical Evidence. *Housing Studies*, 16(3), 371–380.
- Ostrom, E. (1999). Revisiting the Commons: Local Lessons, Global Challenges. *Science*, 284(5412), 278–282.
- Paech, B., & Paech, N. (2011). Stadt und Postwachstumsökonomie. Suffizienz plus Subsistenz ergibt ökonomische Souveränität. In Oekom (Ed.). *Post-Oil City. Die Stadt von morgen. Politische Ökologie, Vol. 124*. Munich: Oekom Verlag.

- Pearsall, H. (2010). From Brown to Green? Assessing Social Vulnerability to Environmental Gentrification in New York City. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, 28(5), 872–886.
- Pearsall, H. (2012). Moving Out or Moving In? Resilience to Environmental Gentrification in New York City. *Local Environment*, 17(9), 1013–1026.
- Potter, C., & Novy, J. (2009). Conclusion: Just City on the Horizon. Summing Up, Moving Forward. In P. Marcuse, J. Connolly, J. Novy, I. Olvio, & C. Potter (Eds.), *Searching for the Just City. Debates in Urban Theory and Practice*. (pp. 229–239). New York: Routledge.
- Pow, C. P., & Neo, H. (2013). Seeing Red over Green: Contesting Urban Sustainabilities in China. *Urban Studies*, 50(11), 2256–2274.
- Purcell, M. (2002). Excavating Lefebvre: The Right to the City and its Urban Politics of the Inhabitant. *GeoJournal*, 58(2-3), 99-108.
- Purcell, M. (2008). *Recapturing Democracy: Neoliberalization and the Struggle for Alternative Urban Futures*. New York: Routledge.
- Quastel, N. (2009). Political Ecologies of Gentrification. *Urban Geography*, 30(7), 694-725.
- Quastel, N., Lynch, N., & Moos, M. (2012). Sustainability-as-Density and the Return of the Social: The Case of Vancouver, British Columbia. *Urban Geography*, 33(7), 1055-1084.
- Ragin, C. C., & Amoroso, L. M. (2011). *Constructing Social Research: The Unity and Diversity of Method*. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
- Recht auf Stadt. (2014). *Recht auf Stadt*. Retrieved from <http://www.rechtaufstadt.net>
- Rees, W. E. (1997). Is 'Sustainable City' an Oxymoron? *Local Environment*, 2(3), 303–310.
- Ring, K. (2013). *Selfmade City: Self-Initiated Urban Living and Architectural Interventions*. Berlin: Jovis.
- Rose, D. (1984). Rethinking Gentrification: Beyond the Uneven Development of Marxist Urban Theory. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 2(1), 47–74.
- Rotmans, J. (2005). *Societal Innovation: Between Dream and Reality Lies Complexity*. Rotterdam: DRIFT, Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam.
- Schneider, F., Kallis, G., & Martinez-Alier, J. (2010). Crisis or Opportunity? Economic Degrowth for Social Equity and Ecological Sustainability. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 18(6), 511–518.
- Sen, A. (2008). The Idea of Justice. *Journal of Human Development*, 9(3), 331–342.
- Senat Hamburg. (2010). *Leitbild Hamburg: Wachstum mit Weitsicht. Mitteilung des Senats an die Bürgerschaft. Drucksache 19/5474*. Retrieved from <http://www.hamburg.de/contentblob/2115436/data/download-objekt-leitbild.pdf>
- Senat Hamburg. (2011). *Arbeitsprogramm des Senats*. Retrieved from <http://www.hamburg.de/contentblob/2867926/data/download-arbeitsprogramm-10-mai-2011.pdf>
- Shaw, K. (2005). Local Limits to Gentrification: Implications for a New Urban Policy. In R. Atkinson & G. Bridge (Eds.), *Gentrification in a Global Context. The New Urban Colonialism*. (pp. 168–184). New York: Routledge.
- Slater, T. (2004). Municipally Managed Gentrification in South Parkdale, Toronto. *Canadian Geographer*, 48(3), 303–325.

- Slater, T. (2005). Gentrification in Canada's Cities: From Social Mix to 'Social Tectonics'. In R. Atkinson & G. Bridge (Eds.), *Gentrification in a Global Context. The New Urban Colonialism*. (pp. 39–56). New York: Routledge.
- Slater, T. (2009). Missing Marcuse: On Gentrification and Displacement. *City*, 13(2-3), 292–311.
- Smith, D. (2005). 'Studentification': the Gentrification Factory? In R. Atkinson & G. Bridge (Eds.), *Gentrification in a Global Context. The New Urban Colonialism*. (pp. 73–89). New York: Routledge.
- Smith, N. (1979). Toward a Theory of Gentrification. A Back to the City Movement by Capital, Not People. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 45(4), 538–548.
- Smith, N. (1982). Gentrification and Uneven Development. *Economic Geography*, 58(2), 139–155.
- Smith, N. (1996). *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City*. New York: Routledge.
- Souza, M. L. de. (2006). Social Movements as 'Critical Urban Planning' Agents. *City*, 10(3), 327–342.
- Stadt Hamburg. (1996). *Sozialplan für Sanierungs- und Stadterneuerungsgebiete in Hamburg*. Retrieved from <http://www.karo4tel.de/STEG/sozialplan.htm>
- Stadt Hamburg. (2011). *Bündnis für das Wohnen in Hamburg*. Retrieved from <http://www.hamburg.de/contentblob/3459978/data/buendnis-fuer-das-wohnen.pdf>
- Stadt Hamburg. (2012). *Umweltprogramm 2012-2015*. Retrieved from <http://www.hamburg.de/contentblob/3529414/data/umweltprogramm-2012-2015.pdf>
- Stadt Hamburg. (2013a). *Hamburg gemeinsam gestalten: Bürgerbeteiligung und -information in der Stadtentwicklung*. Retrieved from <http://www.hamburg.de/contentblob/4128462/data/broschuere-buergerbeteiligung.pdf>
- Stadt Hamburg. (2013b). *Hamburger Aktionsplan (HHAP)*. Retrieved from <http://www.hamburg.de/nachhaltigkeitlernen/aktionsplan>
- Stadt Hamburg. (2013c). *Mehr Stadt in der Stadt: Chancen für mehr urbane Wohnqualitäten in Hamburg*. Retrieved from <http://www.hamburg.de/contentblob/4133346/data/d-fachbeitrag-wohnqualitaeten-72dpi.pdf>
- Stadt Hamburg. (2013d). *Sozialer Schutz für Szeneviertel verlängert*. Behörde für Stadtentwicklung und Umwelt. Retrieved from <http://www.hamburg.de/pressearchiv-fhh/4238210/2013-12-10-bsu-soziale-erhaltungsverordnung.html>
- Stadt Hamburg. (2014a). *Geförderter Wohnungsbau in Hamburg*. Retrieved from <http://www.hamburg.de/bsu/wohnungsbaufoerderung>
- Stadt Hamburg. (2014b). *Hamburg: European Green Capital 2011*. Retrieved from <http://www.hamburg.de/green-capitel-en/3311440/die-auszeichnung.html>
- Stadt Hamburg. (2014c). *Soziale Erhaltungsverordnung und Umwandlungsverordnung*. Behörde für Stadtentwicklung und Umwelt. Retrieved from <http://www.hamburg.de/soziale-erhaltungsverordnungen>
- Stadt Hamburg. (2014d). *Wohnen und Stadtentwicklung*. Retrieved from <http://www.hamburg.de/wohnen-und-stadtentwicklung>
- Stadt Hamburg. (2014e). *Wohnungsbestand in Hamburg*. Retrieved from <http://www.hamburg.de/wohnungsbestand-in-hamburg>

- Stanley, J., Currie, G., & Stanley, J. (2007). The Way to Go? In G. Currie, J. Stanley, & J. Stanley (Eds.), *No Way to Go: Transport and Social Disadvantage in Australian Communities*. (pp. 16.1-16.11). Melbourne: Monash University ePress. Retrieved from <http://books.publishing.monash.edu/apps/bookworm/view/No+Way+To+Go%3A+Transport+and+Social+Disadvantage+in+Australian+Communities/133/xhtml/chapter16.html>
- Starkey, M. (2010). *Sustainable for Whom? An Analysis of Housing Affordability in Proto-Sustainable Cities*. Burnaby: Simon Fraser University. Retrieved from <http://summit.sfu.ca/item/9988>
- Statistikamt Nord. (2008). *Wohnungen in Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein. Eigentümerquote 2006 in Schleswig-Holstein deutlich höher als in Hamburg. Statistik informiert 103/2008*. Retrieved from [http://www.statistik-nord.de/uploads/tx\\_standdocuments/SI08\\_103\\_F.pdf](http://www.statistik-nord.de/uploads/tx_standdocuments/SI08_103_F.pdf)
- Statistikamt Nord. (2012). *Stadtteildatenbank*. Retrieved from <http://www.statistik-nord.de/fileadmin/regional/regional.php>
- Statistikamt Nord. (2013). *Verdienststruktur der Arbeitnehmer und Arbeitnehmerinnen in Hamburg. Ergebnisse der Verdienststrukturerhebung 2010. Statistischer Bericht N I 5 - 4j/10 H*. Retrieved from <http://www.statistik-nord.de/daten/erwerbstaetigkeit-einkommen-und-arbeitskosten/einkommen-und-verdienste>
- Statistikamt Nord. (2014). *Stadtteildatenbank und Karten für Hamburg*. Retrieved from <http://www.statistik-nord.de/daten/datenbanken-und-karten/stadtteildatenbank-und-karten-fuer-hamburg>
- Statistische Ämter des Bundes und der Länder. (2013a). Armutsgefährdungsquote nach soziodemografischen Merkmalen in % gemessen am Bundesmedian. In Statistische Ämter des Bundes und der Länder (Ed.), *Amtliche Sozialberichterstattung*. Retrieved from <http://www.amtliche-sozialberichterstattung.de/A1armutsgefahrdungsquoten.html>
- Statistische Ämter des Bundes und der Länder. (2013b). Gini-Koeffizient der Äquivalenzeinkommen. In Statistische Ämter des Bundes und der Länder (Ed.), *Amtliche Sozialberichterstattung*. Retrieved from <http://www.amtliche-sozialberichterstattung.de/Tabellen/tabelleA3.html>
- Statistische Ämter des Bundes und der Länder. (2014). *Arbeitslose nach ausgewählten Personengruppen sowie Arbeitslosenquoten - Jahresdurchschnitt - regionale Ebenen*. Retrieved from <https://www.regionalstatistik.de/genesis/online/data;jsessionid=DD63F609D11755581CF17880F2D865F3?operation=abruftabelleBearbeiten&levelindex=2&levelid=1398263065821&auswahloperation=abruftabelleAuspraegungAuswaehlen&auswahlverzeichnis=ordnungsstruktur&auswahlziel=werteabruf&selectionname=659-71-4-B&auswahltext=&nummer=10&variable=2&name=DLAND&werteabruf=Werteabruf>
- Stokes, D. E. (1997). *Pasteur's Quadrant: Basic Science and Technological Innovation*. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution.
- Sudmann, H. (2013). Leitbilder: die Reichen drinnen, die Armen draußen? In G. Pohl & K. Wicher (Eds.), *Hamburg: Gespaltene Stadt? Soziale Entwicklungen in der Metropole*. (pp. 127–144). Hamburg: VSA Verlag.
- Swanstrom, T., Dreier, P., & Mollenkopf, J. (2008). Economic Inequality and Public Policy: The Power of Place. In N. Kleniewski (Ed.), *Cities and Society*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Talen, E. (2002). The Social Goals of New Urbanism. *Housing Policy Debate*, 13(1), 165–188.

- Tsenkova, S., Potsiou, C., & Badyina, A. (2009). *Self-Made Cities: In Search of Sustainable Solutions for Informal Settlements in the UNECE Region*. New York: UNECE Information Service.
- Tu, C. C., & Eppli, M. E. (1999). Valuing New Urbanism: The Case of Kentlands. *Real Estate Economics*, 27(3), 425–451.
- UN. (1948). *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Article 25*. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml#a25>
- Varschen, J. (2009, June 2). Macchiato-Stop auf St. Pauli. *taz*. Retrieved from <http://www.taz.de/1/nord/hamburg/artikel/?dig=2009%2F06%2F02%2Fa0032&cHash=795c40bab0>
- Vicario, L., & Martinez Monje, P. M. (2005). Another 'Guggenheim Effect'? Central City Projects and Gentrification in Bilbao. In R. Atkinson & G. Bridge (Eds.), *Gentrification in a Global Context. The New Urban Colonialism*. (pp. 151–167). New York: Routledge.
- Vogiazides, L. (2012). 'Legal Empowerment of the Poor' Versus 'Right to the City': Implications for Access to Housing in Urban Africa. *NAI Policy Dialogue, Vol. 6*. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.
- Warner, K. (2002). Linking Local Sustainability Initiatives with Environmental Justice. *Local Environment*, 7(1), 35–47.
- WCED. (1987). *Our Common Future*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Retrieved from <http://www.un-documents.net/our-common-future.pdf>
- While, A., Jonas, A. E. G., & Gibbs, D. (2004). The Environment and the Entrepreneurial City: Searching for the Urban 'Sustainability Fix' in Manchester and Leeds. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 28(3), 549–569.
- WHO. (2014). *Urban Population Growth*. Retrieved from [http://www.who.int/gho/urban\\_health/situation\\_trends/urban\\_population\\_growth\\_text/en](http://www.who.int/gho/urban_health/situation_trends/urban_population_growth_text/en)
- Wilkinson, R. G., & Pickett, K. (2011). *The Spirit Level: Why Greater Equality Makes Societies Stronger*. New York: Bloomsbury Press.
- Woisin, M. (2013). Sozialstaatsgebot und Schuldenbremse. In G. Pohl & K. Wicher (Eds.), *Hamburg: Gespaltene Stadt? Soziale Entwicklungen in der Metropole*. (pp. 13–33). Hamburg: VSA Verlag.
- World Bank. (2011). *Poverty Analysis - Measuring Inequality*. Retrieved from <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTPOVERTY/EXTPA/0,,contentMDK:20238991~menuPK:492138~pagePK:148956~piPK:216618~theSitePK:430367,00.html>
- Wyly, E. K., & Hammel, D. J. (2005). Mapping Neo-Liberal American Urbanism. In R. Atkinson & G. Bridge (Eds.), *Gentrification in a Global Context. The New Urban Colonialism*. (pp. 18–38). New York: Routledge.
- Yin, R. (2009). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. London: SAGE Publications.

## Appendices

### Appendix I: Interview Guides

<b>1) General</b>	
<b>Sustainability</b>	
1	How would you describe the vision for Hamburg's city development for the next years?
2	What indicators describe a successful city?
3	What aspects of sustainability are especially important for Hamburg?
4	What new opportunities for the city does the new sustainability orientation come with?
5	Does Hamburg's sustainable image make the city more attractive (esp. Green Capital title)? Is this also part of the intention?
6	The sustainability initiatives also cost a lot of money for the city. Do you think that these measures pay off economically?
7	Is there a consensus between different stakeholders –e.g. politicians, companies, inhabitants, - concerning the decision to make the city more sustainable? Is there a consensus among the citizens?
8	Which are the constraints that in real life make the implementation of sustainability goals difficult?
9	What are the trade-offs between sustainability and city development goals?
10	If such constraints were not there, in your opinion which goals or measures should be incorporated more for sustainable city development?
<b>Housing</b>	
11	Hamburg is known for its rents having rapidly increased over the last years. In your opinion, what are the main reasons for the rising rents?
12	Do you think that rents in the inner city will decrease due to the new apartments?
13	The media usually represents gentrification as something negative. Some researchers however claim that gentrification can have positive effects on city development. In your opinion, is gentrification an overall positive or negative development?
14	Who, in your opinion, mainly drives gentrification?
15	What are the benefits of living in Hamburg's inner city?
16	Some researchers think that sustainability initiatives accelerate gentrification. What effect do you think the sustainability agenda in Hamburg has on living costs?
17	Imagine living in Hamburg was more affordable for more people, but the city would not be as green – how would that effect the overall sustainability of the city?
18	What are your wishes for better city development?

<b>1a) Extra questions for participation</b>	
<b>Participation</b>	
1	What are the benefits of participation for city planning?
2	Are the participatory mechanisms successful? In what way/ in what way not?
3	In which steps of the planning process are inhabitants involved? Are the inhabitants also involved in formulating the goals of city development?
4	On which criteria is the decision based whether a participatory process will take place as information, consultation or cooperation?
5	If there is a conflict between political goals and inhabitants' interests, based on which criteria is the final decision made?
6	What are the barriers of integrating socially disadvantaged groups in the planning?
7	How does the city include opinions from outside the formal participatory process, e.g. of social movements or the media?
8	How binding are the results of the participatory process?
9	What can be reasons not to accommodate the inhabitants' wishes in the final decision?

<b>1b) Extra questions for general city planning</b>	
<b>Sustainability</b>	
1	What was originally the motivation behind the decision to make Hamburg a sustainable city?
2	Have the general city development goals changed since the sustainability commitments were introduced?
3	Hamburg wants to be a city for everybody. How does the city try to achieve this?
<b>Housing</b>	
4	Are there currently measures to ensure that green living is accessible for lower incomes?
5	How binding are the sustainability commitments?
6	The city of Hamburg has decided to build 6000 new apartments per year, of which a third are public housing. How were these numbers chosen?
7	In some quarters of Hamburg, a "social preservation regulation" is in force. What is the city's motivation for this regulation? Would you consider it successful in averting gentrification so far?
8	What measures does the city take in order to impede rent increases which are not happening due to renovations?
<b>Integrated quarter development</b>	
9	What are the benefits of a socially mixed neighborhood?
10	Are there also measures to increase social mix in unproblematic areas? Why/why not?
11	Does increasing social mix affect the rent level of the neighborhood?

<b>1c) Extra questions for Right-to-the-City movement</b>	
<b>Participation</b>	
1	Are the current participatory mechanisms successful? In what way (not)?
2	In which steps of the planning process are inhabitants involved? Are the inhabitants also involved in formulating the goals of city development?
3	If there is a conflict between political goals and inhabitants' interests, based on which criteria is the final decision made?
4	How does the city include opinions from outside the formal participatory process, e.g. of social movements or the media?
5	How binding are the results of the participatory process?
6	What can be reasons not to accommodate the inhabitants' wishes in the final decision?
7	Do you know people that had to move from their neighborhood into a cheaper neighborhood? Why?
<b>Movement</b>	
8	What are the main goals of your movement? Who are its supporters?
9	What is your main criticism of the current city planning?
10	Does your movement represent the city's entire population?
11	What, in your opinion, is the goal of the current city planning? Could you imagine another goal?
12	Is sustainability part of your goals?
13	What measures do you concretely demand from the city?
14	What are barriers for your movement to achieve more?
15	Which structures and actors is your movement directed against?
<b>Housing</b>	
16	In some quarters of Hamburg, a "social preservation regulation" is in force. What is the city's motivation for this regulation? Would you consider it successful in averting gentrification so far?

<b>2) Questions for participants of Mitte-Altona participatory process</b>	
1	Are you content with the public participation process?
2	Does the city act on behalf of the city's inhabitants?
3	Based on which criteria are conflicts between inhabitants and the city decided on?

## Appendix II: List of Interviewees (17th-21st February 2014)<sup>11</sup>

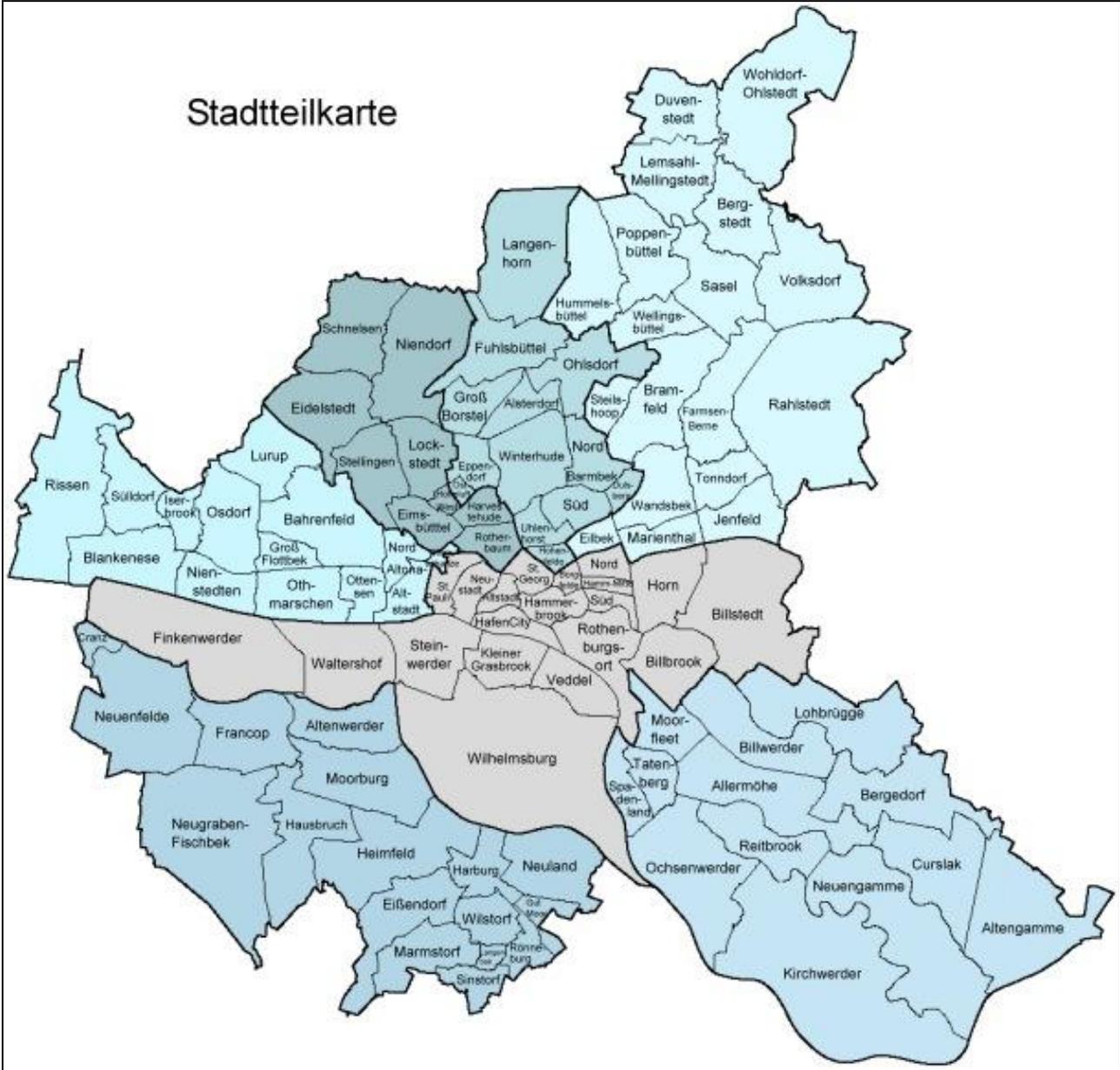
Name	Group	Position/Representative of
Sven Böhling	City Administration	BSU, office for housing, urban renewal and land division, unit for housing support
Astrid Köhler	City Administration	BSU, "City Workshop" and participatory processes
Claudia Köster	City Administration	BSU, office for regional planning and landscape management, unit "General urban and thematic development planning"
Olaf Duge	Local Politician	Green Party, spokesperson for urban development committee
Hans-Detlef Roock	Local Politician	Christian Democrats, chairman of urban development committee
Dr. Kurt Duwe	Local Politician	Liberal Party, spokesperson for urban development committee
Daniel Behrens	Right to the City	Frappant e.V.
Jonas Füllner	Right to the City	"Stop rent insanity"
Georg Möller	Right to the City	„BaSchu e.V.“, St.Pauli-manifesto, Gängeviertel
Michael Ziehl	Right to the City	"Vacancy detector"
Jochen Menzel	Other	"Future council"
Various (6)	Other	Participants of final participatory meeting for the "Mitte-Altona" development project

---

<sup>11</sup> Organization names: Own translation

**Appendix III: Map of Hamburg**

Administrative districts Hamburg. Source: Goldflam (2014)



## Appendix IV: Statistical Data

### IV.1 Summary of Sources for Statistical Data Used in the Thesis

Overview of data sources. Source: Own illustration

Data	Source
Rent level, by type of housing	IVD-Nord (2013b), Lister & Biegler (2013)
Rents by city quarter, new contracts	F+B Forschung und Beratung (2014), Gymnasium Ohmoor (2013)
Official rent index	GEWOS (2013)
Socio-economic data	Der Paritätische Gesamtverband (2013), Statistikamt Nord (2012)
Poverty rate	Destatis (2013)
Rent expenses	Bundesagentur für Arbeit (2013), Destatis (2013)
Segregation	Dohnke et al. (2012), Friedrichs & Triemer (2009)

### IV.2 Rents

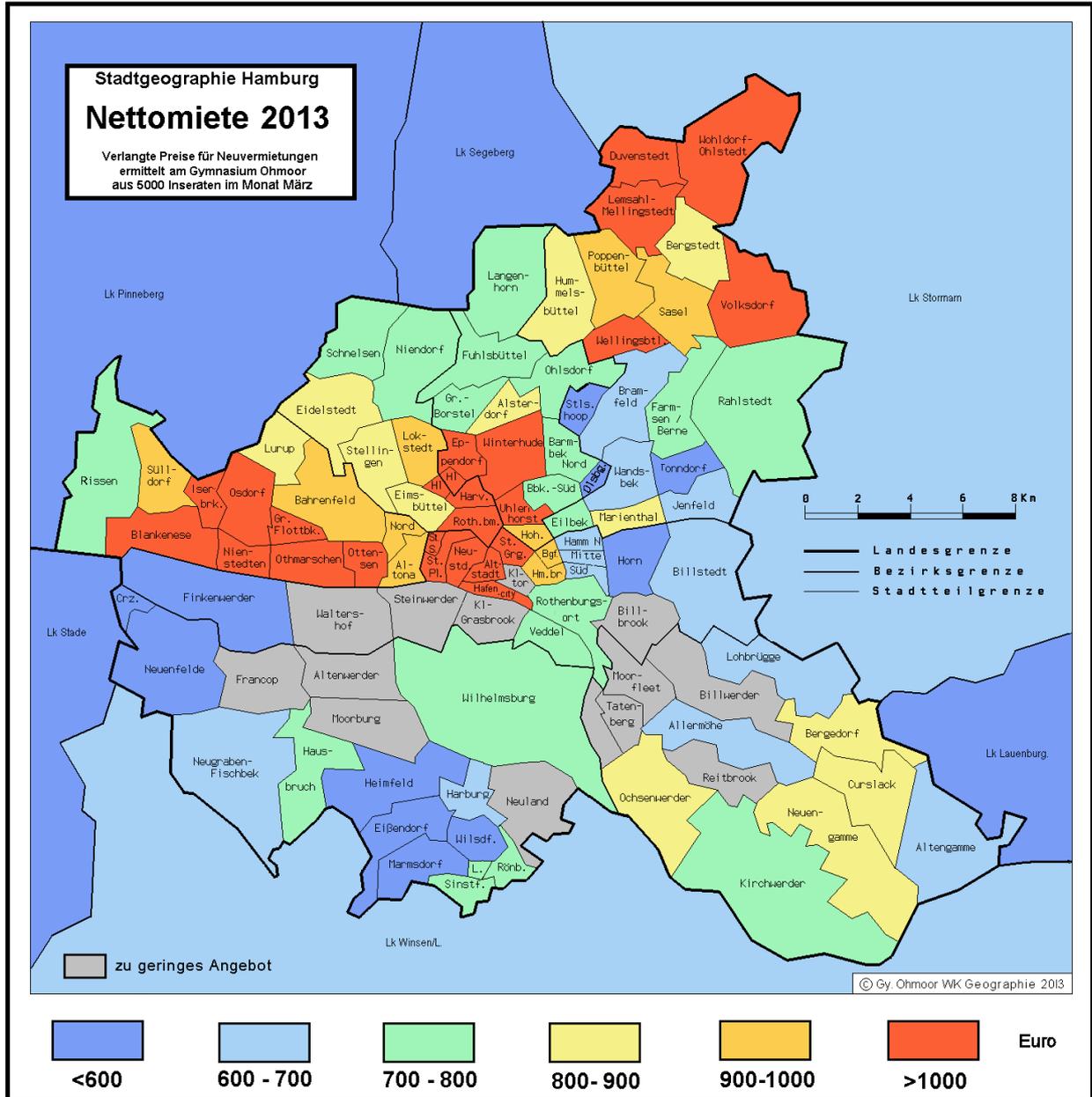
New contract rents in selected quarters. Source: F+B Forschung und Beratung (2014), own calculations

Year	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	Increase 2005-2013	Increase per cent
<b>Hamburg Total</b>	7.68	7.71	7.92	8.23	8.55	8.99	9.27	9.48	9.63	1.25390625	25.39
<b>Wilhelmsburg</b>	5.89	6.03	6.33	6.64	6.86	7.24	7.42	7.85	8.04	1.36502547	36.50
<b>St. Georg</b>	9.01	9.11	9.49	9.85	10.32	10.46	10.89	11.61	11.96	1.32741398	32.74
<b>St. Pauli</b>	8.33	8.7	9.16	9.61	9.96	10.45	11.14	11.42	11.36	1.3637455	36.37
<b>Sternschanze</b>	8.4	8.84	9.11	9.54	9.94	10.27	10.88	10.88	10.88	1.2952381	29.52
<b>Hammerbroock</b>	7.78	7.98	8.06	8.64	8.66	8.88	8.91	9.51	9.8	1.2596401	25.96
<b>Veddel</b>	6.08	6.07	6.41	6.65	6.87	7.23	7.72	8.29	8.32	1.36842105	36.84
<b>Rothenburgsort</b>	6.08	6.06	6.4	6.64	6.87	7.22	7.72	8.29	8.31	1.36677632	36.68
<b>Eimsbüttel</b>	8.82	9.01	9.24	9.56	9.99	10.71	11.04	11.26	11.47	1.30045351	30.05
<b>Hafencity</b>	11.6	12.19	13.13	13.24	13.13	13.66	13.73	13.71	13.71	1.18189655	18.19

Rents in Hamburg, €/sqm. Source: Lister & Biegler (2013, p. 16)

	Type	Location	Price maintenance	Observations	Arithmetic mean	Standard deviation	Minimum	Maximum
<b>Public/ Cooperative housing</b>	New contract	Good	No	611	6.60	0.83	4.39	9.00
	New contract	Normal	No	10.447	6.63	0.97	3.85	9.00
	New contract	Good	Yes	429	5.74	1.16	3.93	8.96
	New contract	Normal	Yes	4.251	5.85	1.09	3.84	9.00
	Existing contract	Good	Yes	5.151	5.61	1.01	3.92	8.98
	Existing contract	Normal	Yes	54.988	5.59	1.04	3.84	3.84
	Existing contract	Good	No	6.730	6.09	0.84	3.91	9.00
	Existing contract	Normal	No	115.200	6.06	0.90	3.84	9.00
				<b>197.807</b>	<b>5.95</b>	<b>0.99</b>	<b>3.84</b>	<b>9.00</b>
	Type	Location	Price maintenance	Observations	Arithmetic mean	Standard deviation	Minimum	Maximum
<b>Private Housing</b>	New contract	Good	No	806	11.33	2.46	5.50	19.44
	New contract	Normal	No	3.943	9.50	1.98	4.84	17.21
	New contract	Good	Yes	11	6.70	1.41	5.06	8.91
	New contract	Normal	Yes	211	6.12	1.06	4.64	8.87
	Existing contract	Good	Yes	133	6.21	1.01	5.00	8.98
	Existing contract	Normal	Yes	2.503	6.09	1.04	4.52	9.33
	Existing contract	Good	No	5.204	9.32	2.35	4.58	19.35
	Existing contract	Normal	No	25.778	7.70	1.73	4.53	18.89
				<b>38.589</b>	<b>8.06</b>	<b>2.09</b>	<b>4.52</b>	<b>19.44</b>

Net rents in Hamburg (online and newspaper offers) 2013. Source: Gymnasium Ohmoor (2013)



### IV.3 Poverty and Income

Rate of poverty endangered people in Hamburg, by socio-demographic characteristics, in per cent, in relation to national median.

Source: Statistische Ämter des Bundes und der Länder (2013a)

Characteristic	Year							
	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
<b>Total</b>	15.7	14.3	14.1	13.1	14.0	13.3	14.7	14.8
<b>Labour status</b>								
Working	9.0	7.9	8.3	7.4	7.6	7.7	8.0	8.1
Self-employed (incl. Unpaid family workers)	(7.8)	(7.5)	9.7	(7.2)	(6.1)	(7.3)	9.0	9.0
Employed	9.1	8.0	8.1	7.5	7.9	7.8	7.9	8.0
Unemployed	43.7	44.5	46.5	46.5	49.5	46.4	51.8	50.7
Inactive	19.3	17.8	17.3	16.9	18.2	17.0	20.3	20.6
Retired	7.6	5.9	7.0	7.2	8.0	8.1	9.9	11.7
Younger than 18 years	23.4	21.2	20.9	22.2	21.9	20.0	22.2	21.3
Other inactive	35.0	35.0	33.6	30.3	33.3	30.7	39.2	39.4
<b>Level of qualification of person with highest income in the household (main income earner)</b>								
Low (ISCED 0 - 2)	32.6	32.0	32.5	31.4	34.1	35.8	39.9	39.6
Medium (ISCED 3 - 4)	13.0	11.7	11.8	11.5	11.6	11.4	12.6	12.8
High (ISCED 5 - 6)	7.9	6.0	5.8	5.0	5.5	4.7	5.7	5.1
<b>Citizenship</b>								
Without German citizenship	33.8	34.4	33.6	32.4	31.5	28.5	30.2	30.6
With German citizenship	12.8	11.2	11.2	10.3	11.3	11.1	12.5	12.5

Unemployment rate in Hamburg, referred to total civilian labour force, by personal characteristics, in per cent. Source: Statistische Ämter des Bundes und der Länder (2014)

Year	Unemployment rate			
	Men	Women	Foreigners	Age 15-25
2013	7.9	6.9	14.8	5.8

**Income for employed people in Hamburg, by monthly net income classes, status October 2010.**

Source: Statistikamt Nord (2013)

Monthly net income from ... to Less than ... Euro	Total	%	Men	%	Women	%
	Number					
< 100	(2 750)	0.4	(1 224)	0.2	(1 526)	0.2
100 - 200	7 145	1.0	2 939	0.4	4 206	0.6
200 - 300	12 322	1.8	5 575	0.8	6 747	1.0
300 - 400	33 123	4.8	14 060	2.0	19 063	2.7
400 - 500	14 470	2.1	6 816	1.0	7 654	1.1
500 - 600	13 510	1.9	5 495	0.8	8 015	1.2
600 - 700	16 014	2.3	6 764	1.0	9 250	1.3
700 - 800	14 459	2.1	5 539	0.8	8 920	1.3
800 - 900	13 677	2.0	4 397	0.6	9 280	1.3
900 - 1000	16 899	2.4	6 392	0.9	10 507	1.5
1000 - 1100	18 974	2.7	6 890	1.0	12 084	1.7
1100 - 1200	20 366	2.9	8 397	1.2	11 969	1.7
1200 - 1300	22 684	3.3	9 600	1.4	13 084	1.9
1300 - 1400	24 216	3.5	10 512	1.5	13 704	2.0
1400 - 1500	27 231	3.9	12 037	1.7	15 194	2.2
1500 - 1600	30 137	4.3	13 548	1.9	16 588	2.4
1600 - 1700	32 562	4.7	15 971	2.3	16 591	2.4
1700 - 1800	30 765	4.4	15 055	2.2	15 710	2.3
1800 - 1900	31 201	4.5	16 064	2.3	15 137	2.2
1900 - 2000	29 282	4.2	16 363	2.4	12 919	1.9
2000 - 2100	27 896	4.0	15 627	2.2	12 269	1.8
2100 - 2200	25 593	3.7	14 922	2.1	10 671	1.5
2200 - 2300	23 092	3.3	14 203	2.0	8 889	1.3
2300 - 2400	21 419	3.1	14 024	2.0	7 395	1.1
2400 - 2500	17 827	2.6	12 371	1.8	5 456	0.8
2500 - 2600	17 388	2.5	12 038	1.7	5 350	0.8
2600 - 2700	14 167	2.0	9 564	1.4	(4 603)	0.7
2700 - 2800	13 018	1.9	9 233	1.3	(3 785)	0.5
2800 - 2900	12 321	1.8	8 900	1.3	(3 421)	0.5
2900 - 3000	10 867	1.6	7 845	1.1	(3 022)	0.4
3000 - 3200	17 943	2.6	13 871	2.0	(4 072)	0.6
3200 - 3400	14 502	2.1	11 836	1.7	(2 667)	0.4
3400 - 3600	11 748	1.7	9 705	1.4	(2 043)	0.3
3600 - 3800	8 823	1.3	7 306	1.0	(1 517)	0.2
3800 - 4000	7 225	1.0	6 257	0.9	(968)	0.1
4000 - 4200	6 630	1.0	5 879	0.8	(752)	0.1
4200 - 4400	5 402	0.8	4 795	0.7	/	0.1
4400 - 4600	4 075	0.6	(3 585)	0.5	/	0.1
4600 - 4800	(3 116)	0.4	(2 886)	0.4	/	0.0
4800 - 5000	(2 603)	0.4	(2 313)	0.3	/	0.0
5000 - 5200	(2 427)	0.3	(2 180)	0.3	/	0.0
5200 - 5400	(1 956)	0.3	(1 781)	0.3	/	0.0
5400 - 5600	(1 493)	0.2	(1 385)	0.2	/	0.0

5600 - 5800	(1 347)	0.2	(1 173)	0.2	/	0.0
5800 - 6000	(1 235)	0.2	(1 138)	0.2	/	0.0
6000 - 6200	(907)	0.1	(824)	0.1	/	0.0
6200 - 6400	(954)	0.1	(811)	0.1	/	0.0
6400 - 6600	/	0.1	/	0.1	/	0.0
6600 - 6800	(876)	0.1	/	0.1	/	0.0
6800 - 7000	/	0.1	/	0.1	/	0.0
7000 - 7200	/	0.1	/	0.1	/	0.0
7200 - 7400	/	0.1	/	0.1	/	0.0
7400 - 7600	/	0.1	/	0.1	/	0.0
7600 - 7800	/	0.1	/	0.1	/	0.0
7800 - 8000	/	0.0	/	0.0	/	0.0
8000 - 8500	/	0.1	/	0.1	/	0.0
8500 - 9000	/	0.1	/	0.1	/	0.0
9000 - 9500	/	0.1	/	0.1	/	0.0
9500 - 10000	/	0.0	/	0.0	/	0.0
10000 - 12000	/	0.1	/	0.1	/	0.0
12000 - 14000	/	0.1	/	0.1	/	0.0
14000 - 16000	/	0.0	/	0.0	/	0.0
16000 - 18000	/	0.0	/	0.0	/	0.0
18000 - 20000	/	0.0	/	0.0	/	0.0
20000 and more	/	0.0	/	0.0	/	0.0
Total	696 041	100.0	387 566	55.7	308 476	44.3

#### IV.4 Public Housing

Public housing in Hamburg, 1996-2011. Source: Statistikamt Nord (2012)

Public housing																
	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
<b>Per cent of all housing</b>	21.1	20.0	17.9	17.9	17.8	17.6	17.3	16.4	14.9	14.9	14.0	13.2	11.6	11.1	10.7	11.0
<b>Absolute number</b>	175833	167859	151610	151407	152657	151615	150339	142790	-	130365	122868	116487	103004	98470	95499	98495

Public housing in selected quarters and Hamburg total, status January 2013. Source: Statistikamt Nord (2014)

District	Housing			
	Public housing, Jan 2013, absolute numbers	Public housing, Jan 2013, per cent	Public housing to turn into market-rate housing until 2018, absolute numbers	Public housing to turn into market-rate housing until 2018, per cent
HafenCity	0	0.0	0	0.0
St. Pauli	2 158	17.3	589	27.3
St. Georg	850	14.8	199	23.4
Hammerbrook	114	10.6	0	0.0
Rothenburgsort	839	18.4	286	34.1
Veddel	414	20.0	0	0.0
Wilhelmsburg	6 463	29.1	2 335	36.1
Sternschanze	478	11.2	36	7.5
Eimsbüttel	652	1.9	90	13.8
<b>Hamburg Total</b>	<b>96 854</b>	<b>10.4</b>	<b>33 561</b>	<b>34.7</b>

**Public housing units and unemployed citizens. Source: Statistikamt Nord (2012)**

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
<b>Unemployed, rate</b>	6.5	6.9	7.7	7.3	6.8	5.9	5.8	6.5	7.3	7.0	8.5	7.8	6.5	6.0	6.5	6.1	5.7
<b>Public housing, rate</b>	-	21.1	20.0	17.9	17.9	17.8	17.6	17.3	16.4	14.9	14.9	14.0	13.2	11.6	11.1	10.7	11.0
<b>Public housing, absolute number</b>	-	175833	167859	151610	151407	152657	151615	150339	142790	-	130365	122868	116487	103004	98470	95499	98495
<b>Unemployed, absolute number</b>	78095	82073	92152	86110	80080	70398	68932	76465	85736	82035	99720	92707	77229	71335	78830	71940	68495