

# SOFTURBANGENTRIFICATION

**GENTRIFY MARIAHILF = GENTRIFY RUDOLFSHEIM-FÜNFHAUS??**

URBAN ANALISYS III, SS 2012

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## 0. Introduction

“Gentrification does not occur in Vienna.” This sentence was one of the first we heard when we arrived in Vienna. The times of the Red Vienna, the strict rental law and rent control, social housing and soft urban renewal have been mentioned many times. Vienna, with the highest standard of living of all European cities, is seen as a special case, as a best practice city for urban upgrading with social responsibility. “Wien ist anders” was the answer of the sociologist Frey when asked about gentrification in Vienna. (Dipl.-Ing. Mag. Dr. Oliver Frey, Soziologe an der TU Wien Interview: 03/07/2012). Further on he states: “the tenancy law (Mietrecht) is very strong and binding, unlike Paris, London, Berlin...”; “there is a social housing mix around the whole city of Vienna; there is little demand and interest from people with a lot of money to move into or invest in the city as known from Prenzlauerberg or Kreuzberg and there is no mentality of the so-called ‘urbanity’ in Austria that people would appreciate to live in an urban environment.”

The concept of gentrification, thought as neighborhood upgrading with negative outcomes for lower classes that are displaced by the arrival of upper classes in their neighborhood, seemed not to be applicable in the social-democratic ruled capital of Austria. 'Gentrification as a global strategy' (Smith 2002) excluded the aspiring global city Vienna? A first walk through the 6th and 15th district of Vienna, Mariahilf and Rudolfsheim-Fünfhaus showed us at the first glance very typical landscapes of gentrification: renovated facades, construction-sites for high-end-lofts, trendy bars, designer stores and art galleries on the inner-side of the Gürtel, prostitution, ethnic stores and abandoned buildings on the outer-side of the Gürtel. And, after some weeks of studying and living in Vienna, literature on gentrification in Vienna acknowledged these observations: Gentrification occurs in Vienna, but its processes,

spatial and temporal characteristics and its actors are quite specific and differ from many other comparable cities. Especially, the role of the city administration itself is - through its red history – not only very different, but also very present and powerful.

This is why this paper, that we were producing in collaboration with the GB\* Gebietsbetreuung Stadterneuerung 6\*14\*15, has to be read as an attempt to find factors and policies that are influencing gentrification in Vienna. If usual gentrification theories and empirical methods do not apply appropriately to the Vienna case, there has to be found other theories and empirical material to show how upgrading processes could have a negative impact on the social composition and the socio-spatial inequalities of the city. If this paper thus addresses the question if there is gentrification taking place it asks at the same time which policies and processes should be understood as causes for gentrification. The role of city policies is hence one of the main focuses of this paper. Our first research question is:

*How do city policies of the City of Vienna influence gentrification processes in the 6th and 15th district?*

According to this main research question, our research will be guided by the following four steps: In the first part we will revise theories of gentrification and give a general overview of the Vienna case. In a second step (Chapters 3-5), we try to show if and how different empirical outcomes find and explain gentrification processes in the 6th and 15th district. After a short historical introduction to the district, the third chapter contains a statistical analysis comparing the two districts. In the fourth chapter, we will have a closer look to the 6th district and the changes in its built environment. In our view, it is through changes of the built environment and its subsequent impact on the social and cultural life that gentrification can be understood in the 6th district. Finally, as a link between the empirical research about gentrification and the question of socially responsible upgrading processes, the fifth chapter will analyze some basic structures of the 15th district. Here we leave the 'quest' for

gentrification processes and move towards the 'quest' for existing social structures potentially endangered by upgrading strategies implied by city politics. This leads us in the 5th chapter to the assessment of two interdependent policies related to gentrification in the two districts: the project 'die GUMPENDORFER' and ground floor revival strategies. Our aim is to put forward our initial research question to find answers for future policy implications that ask: *how could city policies influence gentrification processes in the 15th district in a way that negative outcomes of gentrification are mitigated?* We want to understand upgrading as a progressive development, but to do so, means a) to learn from former gentrification processes and its negative outcomes and b) to understand the structures of an upgrading district.

# 1. Gentrification

## 1.1 Defining Gentrification

### 1.1.1 Ruth Glass

Ruth Glass (1964) was the first academical that observed gentrification processes in London:

"One by one, many of the working-class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle-classes – upper and lower. Shabby, modest mews and cottages – two rooms up and two down – have been taken over, when their leases have expired, and have become elegant, expensive residences. Larger Victorian houses, downgraded in an earlier or recent period [...] have been upgraded once again. (...) The current social status and value of such dwellings are frequently in inverse relation to their status, and in any case enormously inflated by comparison with previous levels in their neighbourhoods. Once this process of 'gentrification' starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working-class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed.»

Her use of the term gentrification implied the renovation of run-down houses of the inner London, as well as the displacement of working-class population, being replaced by people from the middle classes. These are the common features used to identify and pinpoint “classic” gentrification. For Glass did observe this processes in the 60s in London, she fostered the so-called stage model of gentrification that sees this displacement as a double circle of invasion-succession: First it is the pioneers – lower middle class, students or creatives – that invade a working-class district and help to improve the image of the neighborhood. After this improvement, the attraction for investors and upper middle-class increases which produces a second displacement of the pioneers by the upper middle-class. Over the years, as gentrification took different and evolving forms, the definition of gentrification was extended to also include concepts such as new-built gentrification and super-gentrification. New-built gentrification can for example be brownfields redevelopment projects.

Riegler (2011) writes that *“although no people are actually replaced and no historic residential houses are renovated, this phenomenon can be labelled as gentrification since capital is reinvested into devaluated areas in city centres, gentrifiers are the same middle class people as in generic gentrification processes and worse off people are excluded due to the high prices in such developments.”*

However, some authors disapprove that these developments can be labelled as gentrification phenomenon because some of the main characteristics of gentrification are lacking (e.g. displacement) (see Riegler, 2011). Lees (2000) uses the term super-gentrification to describe the situation where some of the early gentrifiers in particular neighbourhoods are today being replaced by a group of new gentrifiers with even higher income.

### 1.1.2 Stage Model

More recent definitions to gentrification can be divided into two approaches. The first, the cultural approach, follows Glass' stage model by implying the role of the pioneers to a cultural shift in the last years that has produced a new middle class that developed a new urban lifestyle. Philip Clay developed one of the first stage models of gentrification (Riegler, 2011; Van Crielingen, 2011). This model describes the successive events that compose the gentrification process.

**1st stage:** Urban pioneers (artists, hippies, homosexual, etc.) move in run-down neighbourhoods and start to renovate the houses. Most of the time they use vacant spaces and few or no displacement is occurring. They invest their time and their money to renovate their dwelling. Risk oblivious (not aware of risk).

**2nd stage:** More (lower) intellectual middle-class households) people settle down and more houses are renovated. As vacant housing is no longer available, the displacement of former residents starts. While the first stage was only in 2 or 3 blocks, now gentrification is spreading in more blocks.

**3rd stage:** Pioneers are no longer the only actors involved in the process. Young and professional middle class is settling down and some developers see the attraction of the area. Changes are more visible and tensions between the new middle-class residents and the former working class people occur. It is often at this stage that gentrification is recognised as such.

**4th stage:** Real estate actors start to invest in the area. These are usually considered as being risk averse people. New shops and retails are opening. Prices and rents are increasing fast.

However, this terminology of “urban pioneer” was severely criticized by Neil Smith, who wrote that the term was “as arrogant as the original notion of “pioneers” in that it suggests a city not yet

socially inhabited; like Native Americans, the working class is seen as less than social, a part of the physical environment” (Smith, 1996: 17). More than that, he also criticizes the very idea of an existing pioneering class, as he states that “much like a real frontier, the gentrification frontier is advanced not so much through the actions of intrepid pioneers as through the actions of collective owners of capital” (Smith, 1996: 19)

### 1.1.3 Smith’ rent gap

Gentrification is economically seen as an investment in the built environment that happens in when the rent gap of the built environment is important enough to economically justify the investment. The rent gap is produced by the upscaling and reevaluation of a neighborhood. This upscaling happens not only by the invasion of gentrification pioneers, but also by public and private investment in the neighborhoods infrastructure. Therefore, as Clark (2005) stresses, the city administration is itself one of the most important actors of gentrification.

Neil Smith criticizes the cultural approach that we have seen above and draws attention to the economical and social processes underlying gentrification. Indeed, for Smith gentrification processes have to be approached by a socio-economic view that stresses the expulsion of lower classes. He developed the most important theory on the production-side of gentrification. He argues that gentrification is “*a back to the city movement by capital, not people*” (Smith 2002: 67). According to Smith, capital is moving to areas where the highest economic returns are expected. In his theory, the decline of a neighborhood has to be explained by a disinterest of investors to invest in the maintaining of the built environment due to a lack of profit opportunities. This signifies that investments in the built infrastructure is only made when the capital can be invested profitably. This profitability exists only when the potential use of the built environment invested in can guarantee a ground rent that exceeds the current ground rent. This is what Smith calls the rent gap: “*The rent gap is the disparity between the potential ground rent*

*level and the actual ground rent capitalized under the present land use*” (Smith 2002: 65) Built environment follows, according to Smith, a life cycle of dis- and reinvestment. It is important to note that the potential ground rent is strongly dependent on the general valorization of a neighborhood and therefore linked to down- and upgrading processes. This rent gap has emerged due to the continuous disinvestment in the upkeep of inner-city dwellings together with the uninterrupted growth of the suburbia (Hamnett, 2003). It is only when the gap is big enough that capital flows into the area and that the process starts: a developer buys a run-down house for a cheap price, invests money and labour force to renovate it and then sells it on the market with a profitable return. A criticism to this theory (made notably by Hamnett 2003) is that Smith is not taking into account the increased demand for inner-city locations by the middle-class. That leads us to the demand side theories.

#### 1.1.4 Demand-side theories

In these theories, the focus is set on answering questions such as: “who are the gentrifiers and why do they settle in central, working-class neighbourhoods?” For the supporters of these theories, the origin of gentrification is to be found in the move from an industrial economy to a service-based economy. As a result, the occupational structure of the city workers changes with a decrease of the size of the working class and an increase in the amount of white-collars. Hamnett (2003) states that:

“As a result of these changes in class composition, there have also been changes in cultural orientation and preferences and working patterns of this new middle class which have predisposed them to living in the inner city, rather than commuting from suburbia.”

So with the emergence of a new middle class, new tastes and consumption patterns are emerging. For this new middle-class, “*culture is an important form of consumption as it can be seen as a form of investment, a status symbol and a means of self-expression*” (Riegler, 2011). To conclude about the cultural approach, we can say

that a new urban lifestyle has emerged in which culture is a central part that can change the character of a neighbourhood significantly.

#### 1.1.5 The role of the state

A third approach analyses the role of the state actors in the development of gentrification. According to Smith, public intervention is the key in encouraging, promoting, or even initiating contemporary gentrification processes. Smith (2002) argues that “*to different degrees, gentrification has evolved by the 1990s into a crucial urban strategy for city governments in consort with private capital in cities around the world*”. Gentrification in governmental policies is disguised in terms such as revitalization, regeneration or renewal. Hackworth & Smith (2001) point out the interest for cities, as gentrification is associated with middle-class attraction, to support gentrification in order to increase their tax income. Theorizing gentrification is important to understand it. However, as Franz (2011) says, it has its limits:

“The neighbourhood-level processes of gentrification must be understood within the larger contexts of globalisation, neoliberalism, and the changing role of government. No longer can gentrification be explained exclusively by supply-side theory [...] or demand-side theory [...]. Gentrification rather has become very complex on several levels, including mechanisms, social differentiation and perception of affected citizens. It is also no longer sufficient to describe the relevant actors in terms of pioneers, gentrifiers, and other actors. Gentrification now takes place in new modalities, particularly through new construction that in fact may not cause displacement, but still excludes lower income populations – by purpose or not.”

#### 1.1.6 Forms of displacement

Finally, when gentrification means the exchange of land-users, displacement from former land-users is implied. According to Marcuse (1985), there are different forms of gentrification-induced displacement. Displacement can be induced directly or indirectly. Direct displacement means that people are forced to move either by

direct physical pressure or by economically pressure - such as the rise of rents or living costs. On the other side, indirect displacement can be distinguished in exclusionary forms (when households that would like to move in an area but are prevented doing so because of economical reasons such as too high rents) or social displacement, which pressures people to move because the social structure of the neighborhood has changed. It is thus with neighborhood change that social networks, milieus or social infrastructure is destroyed and people do not "feel at home" in their neighborhood anymore. This form of displacement seems very important for the case of Vienna as the following pages try to show.

### 1.1.6 Broad definition used for this paper

To conclude, we would like to define the type of gentrification that we chose in order to conduct our research. It is proposed by Clark (2005):

*Gentrification 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)

In addition, we would like to specify the change in the population of land-users as well as the forms of reinvestment in fixed capital. The change in the population can (but does not have to) follow the stage model proposed by Glass involving actors described by Ley:

The change of population of land-users can be introduced by the invasion of a cultural class that improves the image of a neighborhood to that extent, that the neighborhood becomes attractive for investment in built environment.

At the same time, gentrification also has to be seen as a deliberate strategy of reinvestment in built environment:

The associated change in the built environment through a reinvestment in fixed capital is introduced either by private, public or mixed (PPP) actors investing in the housing market and in the urban infrastructure, including public spaces, transport, streets, shops; in social infrastructure such as schools, nursing homes, and other social services; and by the improvement of security

## 1.2 VIENNA

Following this definition of gentrification, we will now have a look at Vienna and see why gentrification has to be treated differently when it comes to the Austrian capital.

The processes that are at stake in Vienna root back in the development of its population since the 1850s, and the housing stock that adapted to the population's evolutions. Further, we will see how and why Soft Urban Renewal programs were implemented and how they are still working nowadays.

### 1.2.1 Population of Vienna

The capital of the Habsburg Empire knew an economic boom during the second half of the 19th century. Indeed, after the Congress of Vienna was signed in 1815, Vienna became the capital of a gigantic territory. It was a centre for cultural and artistic innovations, really at the heart of any creativity at the time, but soon industrialization would favor the development of Vienna even more, and appeal hundreds of thousands of new inhabitants to the capital. In 1850, the population of Vienna amounted 200,000 inhabitants (within the city borders drawn at the time), while in 1914 it reached its highest peak ever, 2.2 million inhabitants (Fassmann *et al.*, 2006). Industrialization indeed drew migration from all over the Empire and in a 70 years span Vienna's population literally exploded. This also meant that the new inhabitants had to be housed somewhere, and therefore housing became one of the biggest challenges for city actors during the second half of the 19th century on.

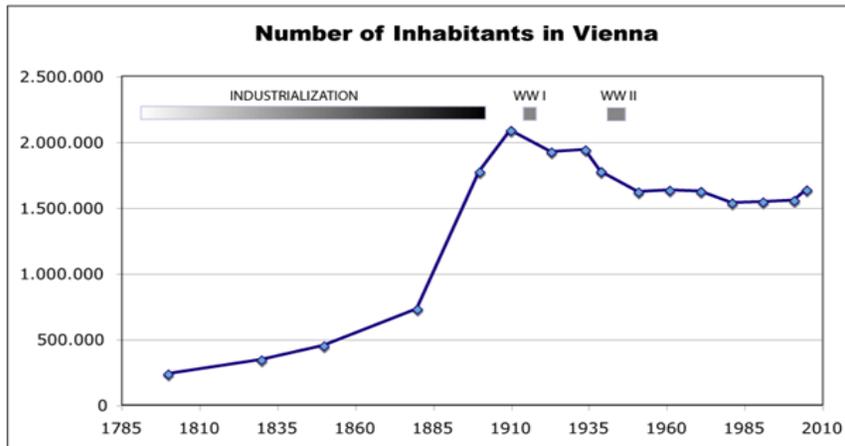


Fig. 1.2.1 - Evolution of population in Vienna - Source: Statistik Austria, own layout..

While from 1850 onwards Vienna's evolution rhymed with wealth and development, the end of the First World War brought a significant change to the capital's status. It went from an Empire capital to the capital of a small country, the Republic of Austria, of 6 million inhabitants, which was experiencing de-urbanization. This had a major impact on the structure and size of Vienna's population, as it has not stopped decreasing from 1919 until a few years ago. Some of the reasons for this decrease of population in Vienna are the emigration from the capital towards the newly established nation-States around Austria following the First World War (Czechoslovakia, Hungary, or the Kingdom of Croats, Serbs and Slovenes) as well as a high rate of unemployment and a low birth rate (Fassmann *et al.*, 2006). Even though the size of Vienna increased from 278 squared kilometres to its present 415 squared kilometres between 1910 and 1954, the Viennese population still declined (Hatz, 2007).

For a few years now, population has started growing again, mainly because immigration has risen since the opening of Europe to the East in the early 1990s, attracting more and more immigrants in hope for a better future. Vienna nowadays lies again at the centre of

Europe and does not suffer of its utter Eastern position in a Western world, position that Vienna had to deal with for 45 years after the Second World War.

## 1.2.2 Viennese housing stock

Fig. 1.2.2 shows the proportion of different types of housing by tenure in Vienna over the last century. As it can be seen on the figure, at the beginning of the 20th century housing was exclusively in the hands of private landlords. Due to the huge boom of migration to Vienna, they rapidly built poor quality housing in order to make as much profit as they could out of it. (Fassmann *et al.*, 2006) These buildings, that are 110 years old on an average today, are a heritage from that very dynamic period of construction. This housing stock is still a big share of the current Viennese stock, and this is what led to Soft Urban Renewal program in the 1970s (see below).

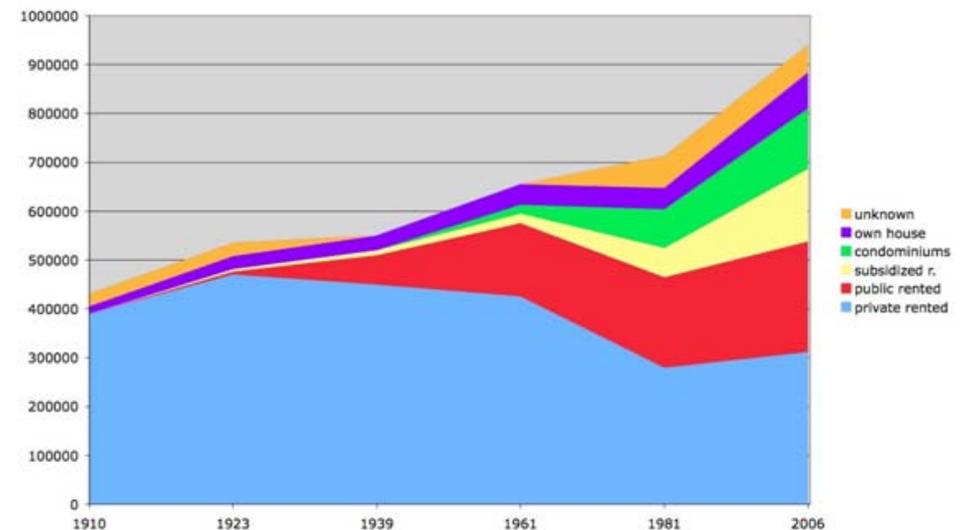


Fig. 1.2.2: Amount of housing units in Vienna by tenure, 1910-2006 - Source : Matznetter W., Principles of Urban Planning and Urbanism (lectures), powerpoint supporting the lecture of May 30 2012, « Urban Planning Type Ila: Zoning, + Garden Cities & Social Housing ».

From 1921 onwards, when Vienna became a province of its own, gaining its independence from the surrounding lower Austria because of clear unmatched perspectives (Vienna was industrial whilst the region around was agrarian), Social Democrats started implementing their social policies, which included housing. Vienna engaged into a distinct political path that would later be known as “the Viennese way”. The city became an internationally acclaimed model of Social Democratic municipal government. The popular term when speaking of this period is "Red Vienna". The main focus was municipal housing, which won acclaim beyond Austria's frontiers (City of Vienna, 2012).



*Fig. 1.2.3: Communal block of flats "Sandeleiten" built in 1927 - Source: <http://www.wien.gv.at/kultur/archiv/geschichte/ueberblick/images/wohnbau.jpg> (access on June 10 2012)*

Between 1923 and 1934, 60,000 new apartments were built in Vienna. Unlike the privately owned flats that were built before, these

new apartments were of remarkable quality regarding architecture and liveability (Hatz, 2007). Fig. 3 pictures one of these housing units, built in 1927.

The rise of the Austro-Fascist regime in 1934 brought an end to the development of housing, as the government’s policies were focused on other perspectives. The construction of housing would only start over after the Second World War. The bombings, which occurred at the end of the Second World War, partially destroyed the Viennese built stock. Even though Vienna didn’t suffer as much from the bombings as other cities, there was still an extensive work ahead in order to provide Viennese inhabitants with housing. More than 20% of the housing stock had been destroyed, and about 87,000 flats had become uninhabitable (City of Vienna, 2012).

The 96,000 dwellings built between 1950 and 1970 are sometimes criticized for lacking a soul, as they were built in a rush in order to reduce the shortage. Higher standards of public housing could be gained again from the 1970s onwards. Whilst during the 1960s, focus was set upon transport or other welfare policies such as health, the 1970s saw interest of the city going back to housing. This marked the beginning of the Soft Urban Renewal programs (see below). The city of Vienna has stopped building social housing nowadays, and focuses its social housing policies on allocating subsidies. Indeed, as fig. 1.2.2 shows, the red proportion of ‘public rented’ stock is stable, while the beige proportion of ‘subsidized rooms’ has been growing since the beginning of the 1980s.

The two ways the city of Vienna has decided to adopt are (Klein, 2012):

1. Administering the existing housing stock that it owns
2. Managing the future housing stock by providing land, subsidies and regulations for social housing.

According to Hatz (2007 : 318), « since the mid-1980s the construction of social housing apartments by the city has decreased and in the recent decade the city’s social housing program has, after

80 years, come to a silent end. The city withdrew as housing developer and handed over this task to private developers and housing associations, marking the political restructuring from corporatist urban governance to managerial governance and to public-private partnerships in the segment of social housing as well.  
»

### 1.2.3 Substandard housing

As a result of the very dynamic period of construction at the end of the 19th century, in 2006 37% of the Viennese housing stock dated from before 1919 (Fassmann *et al.*, 2006). This high share of very old housing became a problem for the city of Vienna over the last decades. Indeed, they didn't meet the minimal requirements allowing for decent living conditions for their inhabitants. Often lacking a bathroom inside the flat or running water, or having neither of these, these apartments were labelled as 'substandard'. In order to overcome this problem of substandard apartments, the city of Vienna decided in the early 1970s to launch a large refurbishing program named the Soft Urban Renewal program.

At the beginning, the City of Vienna wanted to tear down the outdated apartment stock, and re-build from scratch. But local population protested against these "hard" methods of urban renewal claiming for preservation of the built heritage of Vienna on the one hand, and the avoidance of the displacement of local communities on the second hand.

The city of Vienna, through several steps during the 1970s, finally implemented what is known today as Soft Urban Renewal. The main steps are (UN Habitat, 2010):

- **1974:** The City Council's first approach to meeting the challenge of urban decay was to demolish these 'deprived' neighbourhoods. With the passage of the Urban Renewal Act (Stadterneuerungsgesetz – StEG, a 'hard' instrument became available for large-scale refurbishment of specified 'renewal areas' (Förster, 2004 : 14). Subsequently, the first local

renewal office was founded and the strategy of "soft" urban renewal was developed.

- **1984:** passing of the Residential Building Rehabilitation Act (Wohnhaussanierungsgesetz – WSG) and the founding of the Vienna Land Procurement and Urban Renewal Fund (Wiener Bodenbereitstellungs- und Stadterneuerungsfonds – WBSF)" (Förster, 2004 : 15)
- **1989:** decentralization of Austrian housing policies to the "Bundesländer" (Provinces), Vienna being one of them, and adoption of Vienna Housing Subsidization and Housing Renewal Law

In 1985 Soft urban renewal is finally institutionalized and it becomes a principle within the urban development plan of 1985 (STEP 1985, Stadterneuerungsplan).

Since 1989, not only are renovations of single buildings ('Sockelsanierung') funded by public funds, the city also motivated housing developers to invest in block renewal projects ('Block-sanierung'), which does not aim only at physical renovation, but also at improving private and semi-public areas, public spaces, as well as the technical and social infrastructure.

As a result, Fassmann *et al.* (2006) claim that the number of substandard housing went down from 45% in 1961 to 7,5% in 2001. The FIG. 4 shows the evolution of the amount of substandard housing between 1961 and 2001.

Physical Characteristics (in %)	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
Bath and Toilet	27.0	47.8	70.5	83.4	91.0
Only Toilet	27.6	18.7	10.8	6.5	1.5
No Bath, Toilet Outside	45.5	33.5	18.7	10.1	7.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Statistik Austria.

Fig. 1.2.4. –Evolution of proportion of substandard housing in Vienna, 1961-2001. 'No Bath, Toilet Outside' = substandard housing - Source: FASSMANN et al., 2006.

The amount of flats that have been renovated thanks to the Soft Urban Renewal range around 200,000 between 1984 and 2003 (UN Habitat, 2010 ; Förster, 2004; Hatz, 2007) An overall agreement that Soft Urban Renewal was a success regarding the refurbishment of the old Viennese stock seems to emerge. However, some substandard still exist today in Vienna. As a matter of fact, it is interesting to analyse how they are confined to certain areas, i.e. right outside the Gürtel, as Fig. 1.2.5 shows.

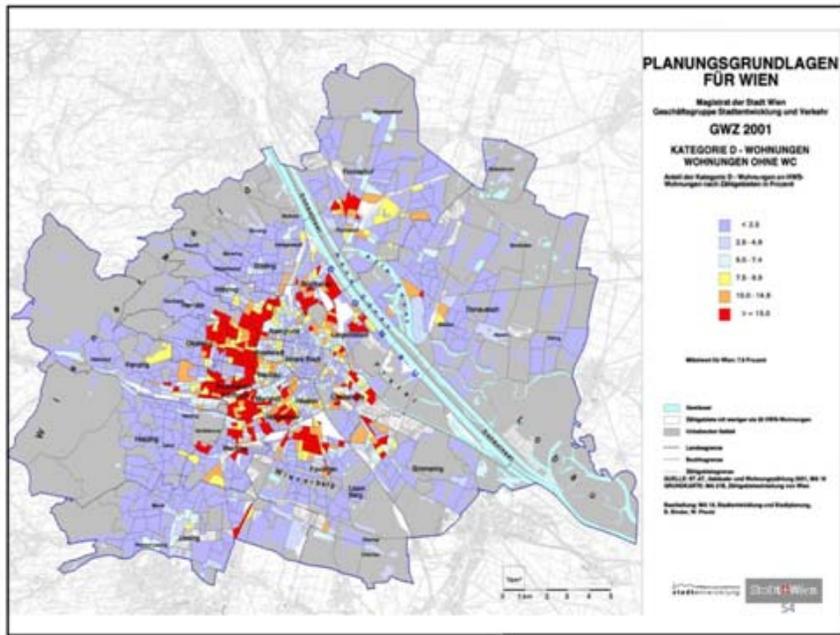


Fig. 1.2.5: Percentage of “D” (substandard) dwellings in Vienna in 2001 – Source: Magistrat der Stadt Wien, Geschäftsgruppe, Stadtentwicklung und Verkehr

## 1.2.4 Soft Urban Renewal Nowadays



Fig. 1.2.6: Construction site subsidized by wohnfonds\_wien in Brunnenviertel - Source : own picture.

The private owners, who apply for subsidies at wohnfonds\_wien (the fund for Soft Urban Renewal program nowadays), and benefit from the subsidies, will have to maintain the rent at its current level for the next ten years.

This method, primarily aimed at allowing the building stock to be renovated and maintained in a good state while avoiding socio-economic segregation in Vienna, has also a drawback. Indeed, the investors do not always want to apply for the subsidies, because, in the end, they would make more money if they invest themselves in the renovation and apply whatever rents they want to afterwards, In general, as Paal (2008) observes, Vienna’s housing policy has shifted from a traditional social-democratic regime towards neoliberal

principles that focus more on place attractiveness and global competition.

Besides the Soft Urban Renewal program, Vienna has had an extensive culture of social housing for decades. This is certainly due to the remains of the 'Red Vienna', and its ongoing Social Democrat governments (only fascism and nazism interrupted this tradition of social-democrat governments). This culture of massive social housing implemented in the city goes hand in hand with the Soft Urban Renewal program or the rent control tool that are aimed at avoiding gentrification and segregation in Vienna. Indeed, *“unlike residual models targeting low-income groups, the Viennese model follows a rather universal approach, covering as it does the vast majority”* and *“social housing is actively engaged in levelling out social inequalities”* (Rumphuber *et al.*, 2012 : 17). The existence of such social housings distributed all over Vienna helps to have a social mixture equally spread all over the city.

The city of Vienna “is still the main player, setting the criteria for the production of housing, actually owning or through subsidies indirectly controlling about 50% of the housing stock in Vienna”. Indeed, “the City owns 27% of the housing stock in Vienna (Public housing, Gemeindebauten). A further 21% of the housing stock is owned (and controlled) by limited profit housing developers: they are socially bound, and through the subsidies and the quality measures indirectly controlled by the municipality”. (Rumphuber *et al.*, 2012 : 05)

However, since some years - and after some failed experiments with star architect social housing constructions - Vienna has completely ceased the construction of fully public owned housing construction.

## 2. Gentrification processes in the 6th and 15th district

### 2.1 Location of the districts

#### 2.1.2 Location of the 6th district

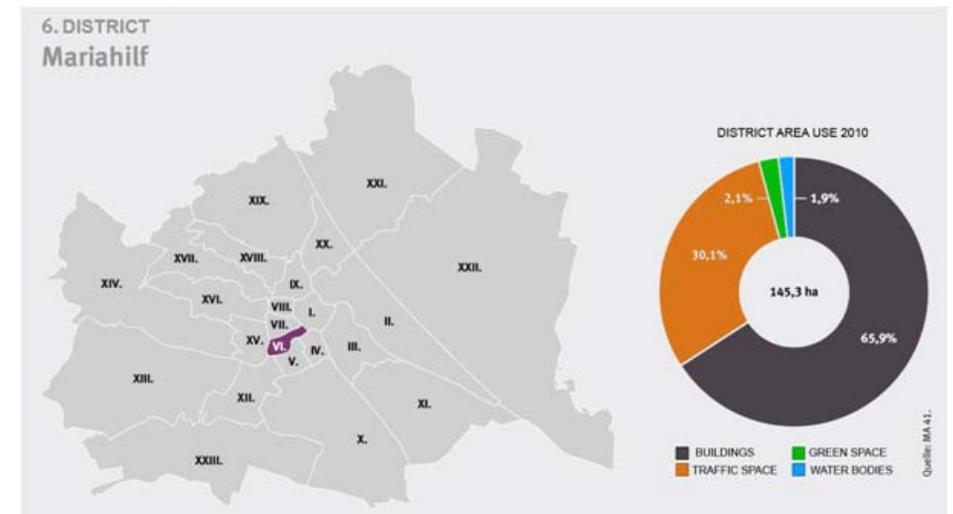


Fig. 2.2.1 District location and the use of the district area in percent  
Source: <http://www.wien.gv.at/statistik/pdf/bezirksportraits11-1-7.pdf>

The 6th district Mariahilf is located in the western city center between the famous Viennese ringroad and the “Gürtel”. The area is about 145,3 ha and its population is around 29,700 inhabitants. (Statistik Bezirksportraits 2011). The 6th district had many urban renewal projects in the last 30 years. The image of the area changed towards the last 100 years from a manufacturing industrial working class district towards a middle upper class residential habitat. Mariahilf is very much effected by the Mariahilfer street who is the main shopping street in Vienna, the Museumsquarter and the

Naschmarkt. Especially the MQ who opened in 2001 had with its public and cultural function a huge influence in the perception of the 6th and 7th district. Young national and international students and artists discovered Mariahilf for their way of life and settled there. Also the Naschmarkt became with its bars and clubs very popular meeting point for the young Viennese scene.

## 2.2 History of the districts

### 2.2.1 History of the 6th district:

Mariahilf and Neubau are the actual factory and commercial district in the Vienna of the 19th Century. In the second Turkish siege of 1683 the existing housing structure was totally destroyed. The restructuring of the building plots were made by a grid system with L and U shaped trade and residential buildings. This construction is mainly found in the belt area and the subsequent redevelopment areas of Wallgasse and Mittulgasse. In 1869 Neubau and Gumpendorf were the quarters for silk - ribbon productions and later for the textile industry.

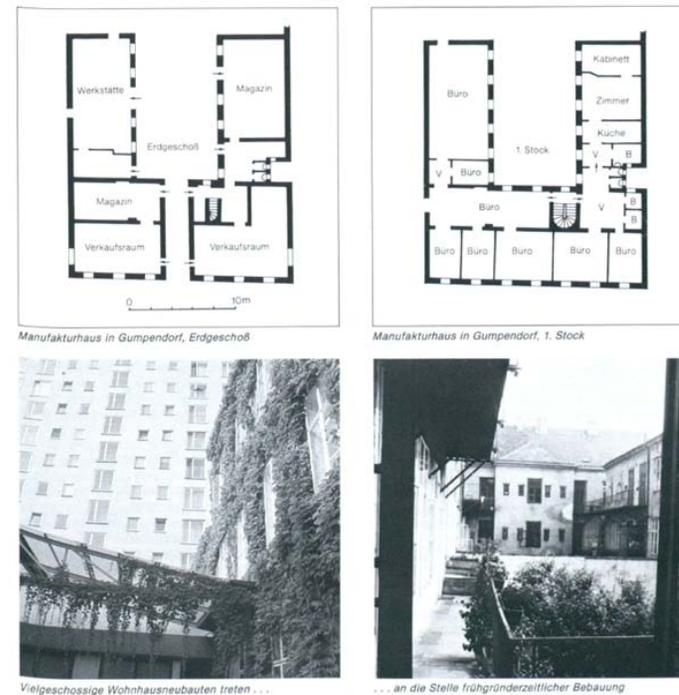


Fig. 2.2.1.1: typical manufacturing building, Source: Berger Horst (1984), *Gebietserneuerung 1974 -1982, Das Wiener Modell, MA21, P. 17*

In the late 19th Century the district transformed into a comfortable middle-class neighborhood without public spaces and parks for maximizing the real estate profit. The Esterhazy Park, which opened in 1868, and the Loquaiplatz were attempts in the 19th Century to upgrade the district to a qualitative residential area. Narrow plots and very little green spaces are the characteristic elements in Mariahilf. Speculators in Gumpendorf: The first Gebietsbetreuung was initiated in 1982 by the housing cooperative SEG, whose main shareholder, Wolfgang Renezeder, Winfried Kallinger and Erwin Wippel were known as big Viennese “building tycoons”. With the increasing mobility of land, long established companies, small tenants and homeowners could not fight against the aggressive policy of the

construction companies and their agents. They had to sell their ownership and rights systematically. After several years as a migrant worker district many new buildings in Mariahilf were constructed.

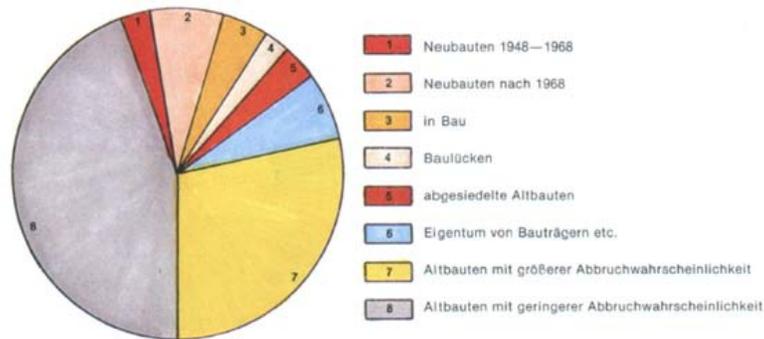


Fig. 2.2.1.2: building conditions 1978 in percent, Source: Berger Horst (1984), *Gebietserneuerung 1974 -1982, Das Wiener Modell, MA21, P. 21*

In December 1975 a new zoning plan was provided and changed the district to the construction class IV. This increased the pressure to demolish the old lower houses and replace them with new buildings to achieve the maximum of profit. August Fröhlich, Wolfgang Forster, Eva Kail and others criticized in 1992 the dense building structure particularly in the 6th and 7th district.



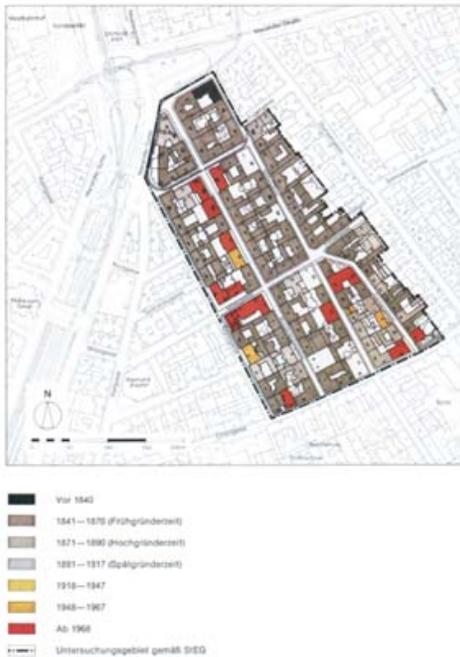


Fig. 2.2.1.3: Block Refurbishment Mittelgasse/ Millergasse, Source: Berger Horst (1984), *Gebietserneuerung 1974 -1982, Das Wiener Modell, MA21, P. 23-24*

In 1989 the buildings at Wallergasse were used as a test area for a block refurbishment. The aim was to create a collective garage, a green courtyard and a preservation of the existing Industrial built structure.

In 1989 the first campaign for public participation started in the Mariahilf district together with the Gebietsbetreuung. The focus was to inform the inhabitants for possible flat restorations. Another focus was to upgrade the Mariahilferstrasse to a well working shopping street. Later a similar project was done with “Die Gumpendorferstrasse”. Vacant ground spaces were used for new shops bars and coffee houses.

## 2.1.2 Location of the 15th district:

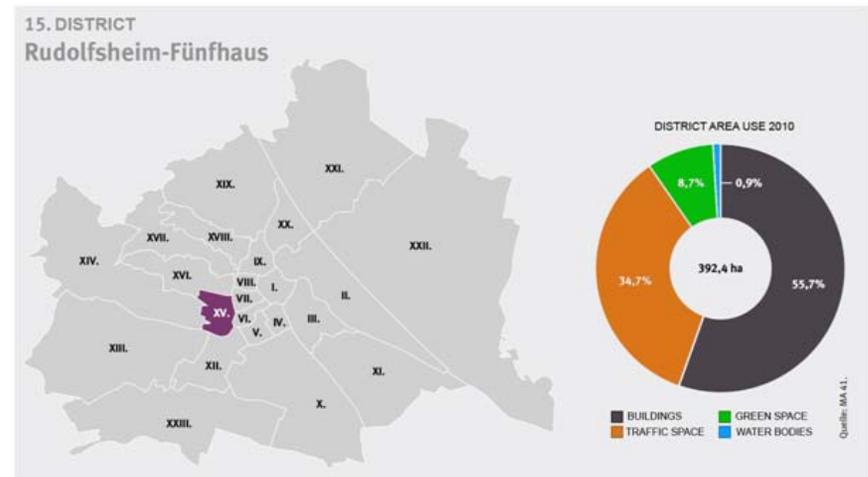


Fig. 2.1.2: District location and the use of the district area in percent  
Source: <http://www.wien.gv.at/statistik/pdf/bezirksportraits11-8-15.pdf>

The 15th district is located in the west part of Vienna next to the “Gürtel”. The area is 392,4 ha and around 72,000 residents. In 2010 23 539 non-Austrian Citizens lived in Rudolfsheim Fünfhaus what is a population of 33,05%. with migration background. (Statistic Austria). The 15th district can be seen as one of the most international districts in Vienna. Many so called guest workers settled in the 60s and 70s at the Gürtel area and in Rudolfsheim Fünfhaus. In contrast to Mariahilf there are no important cultural and public spaces like the Museums Quarter or the Naschmarkt. The area is more stamped by obstacles. The Western Railway Station with its

rails is dividing the district into two parts. The “Gürtel” can be also seen as a “social border” towards the city center.

## 2.2.2 History of the 15th district:

The territory of today’s 16th district was 300 years ago only covered by some few small houses and a castle like villa. Then there was a rapid development and the number of residents in the district area increased a lot. In the 200 years until the World War II the population increased 1000 times.

It is also interesting that the number of residents in 1869 was nearly the same than today, although the entire area of the western railway station was not developed at that time. The demographic changes are related to the historical, economic and social changes in the district. In the second Half of the 19th Century there was a rapid population growth until the first World War.

Concerning the construction of the Western Railway Station (1858-60) many industries and workers settled down in the 15th district. The previously undeveloped areas between Felberstraße and Hütteldorferstraße were used to build new “Gründerzeit” quarters. Many ground-level and one or two-story buildings were replaced with higher ones, especially in the late “Gründerzeit” times. After 1910, the former heath area of the Schmelz, which was used from 1847 until the end of the monarchy as a parade was developed as a residential quarter. The first developed was in the eastern part of the upper middle class “Nibelungenviertel”, after the first World War the still existing garden housing settlements and several social housing buildings of the so called “Red Vienna”. After 1945 the housing situation improved and the number of inhabitants in the district decreased. Many social housing blocks were built in vacant lots around the south of the western railway station area.

The implementation of the Gebietsbetreuung in 1982 made it possible to start the first redevelopment projects. One of these projects was the Storchengrund areal with 132 buildings. The strategie of the Gebietsbetreuung was to restore the individual buildings step by step in the financial framework of their landlords.

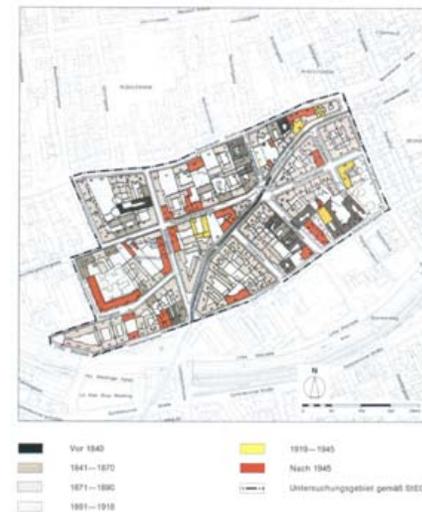


Fig.2.2.2: Block Refurbishment Storchengrund, Source: Berger Horst (1984), Gebietserneuerung 1974 -1982, Das Wiener Modell, MA21, P. 166-167

The Storchengrund is until today a soft urban renewal project. In the 15th district are more than 7,400 public housing flats at the moment. The average floor space in the 15th district is 60m<sup>2</sup> per apartment and 31m<sup>2</sup> per resident, its the lowest of all districts in Vienna. One of the major problems in Rudolfsheim Fünfhaus is the heavy car traffic. The new short parking zone and the improvement of the public transport should solve this problem in the future.

## 2.3 Statistical Analysis of the districts

In gentrification theory, social change is connected to a “social upgrading”, that is the succession of higher classes with a simultaneous displacement of lower classes. Traditionally, the change has been described as a displacement of the working class by a new middle class with higher education, white-collar jobs and higher income (see f.e. Clark 2005). At the same time, the stage model stresses the importance of young pioneers, oftenly very well educated, but with lower income than the middle class. This young cultural class is oftenly seen as making the neighborhood younger and increasing the amount of single-households (see f.e. Ley 1996). In the following analysis we would thus like to combine these different approaches by asking how the social indicators for gentrification and displacement have changed. In order to do this, we focus on the following indicators: Income distribution, education, age structure, foreigners and single households.

Before going into the statistical analysis, it is important to note, that the data used for this analysis come from the Census tracks from 1991 and 2001. Unfortunately, the data from the 2011 census are not available yet. For a later study on gentrification in the 6th and 15th district it would thus be unbearable to include the 2011 data. The following outcomes thus have to be seen critically in the sense as they are not able to represent the whole processes of gentrification, since they do not depict the developments of the last ten years. However, statistical data on the district level do not show enough evidence for gentrification processes in the two districts - changes in time do not differ significantly. However, statistics on the district

level show a clear difference between the inner-city and the outer-Gürtel district. While Mariahilf does not have any extreme values concerning the socio-economic structures, Rudolfsheim-Fünfhaus is one of the most defavored districts. With an unemployment rate (2010) of 8.6% Mariahilf lies slightly under the Viennese average of 9.5%, while Rudolfsheim-Fünfhaus lies above with 11.9%. Similarly, in 2011 there were 22.7% foreigners living in the 6th district, which is close to the 21.5% total in Vienna - while the 15th district with a share of 34% foreigners is significantly higher. The 6th district is slightly richer, concerning the Index of average net income per workforce in 2009 which lies at 105.5. In contrast, the 15th district has an index of 80.2 which is the lowest value for whole Vienna (all data: Statistisches Jahrbuch Wien 2011). To conclude, the statistics show that Mariahilf can be seen as a typical Viennese middle-class neighborhood, while Rudolfsheim-Fünfhaus still should be seen as a working-class neighborhood with a high share of foreigners. But, in order to show processes of gentrification or displacement, this study will focus on the 1991 and 2001 data, since it shows changes on the lower level of statistical areas in the districts.

### 2.3.1 Income distribution

As Fig. 2.3.1 shows, there are important differences in the average gross income per hour per capita between the 6th and the 15th districts. Especially in the eastern part of the 6th district, the income is higher than 13 EUR per hour - while such average incomes are only reached in two statistical sectors in the north of the 15th district. In general, the average income is lower than 13 EUR in the 15th district.

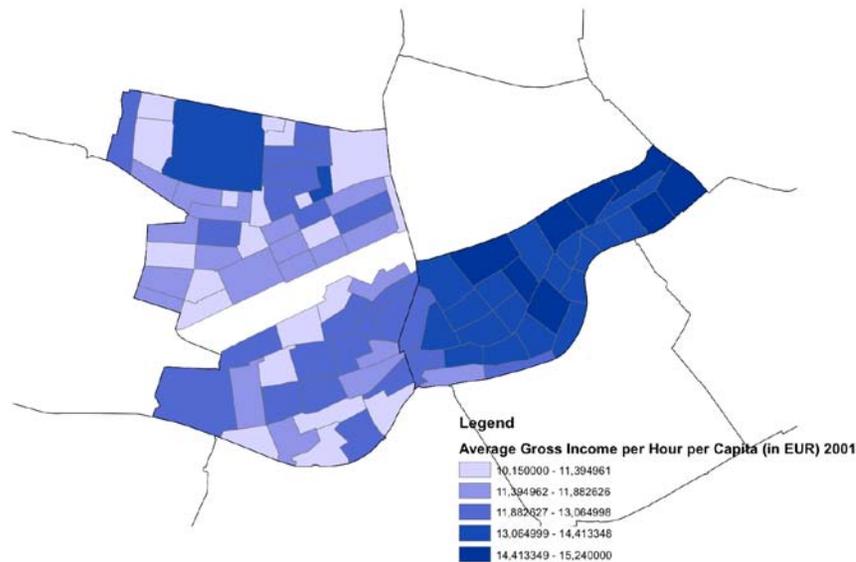


Fig. 2.3.1: Average Gross Income per Hour per Capita in the 6th and 15th district. Source: Statistik Austria, Census 2001. Layout by the Authors.

Here it is important to note equally, that the very southern part of the district, on the south side of the Sechshäuser Strasse is one of the poorest areas of the district in terms of income. Such inequalities between the districts can on one side be explained by the history of the districts (see 2.2). On the other side they reflect the different developments of the last decades: A performing 6th district that attracts people with higher income and a stagnating 15th district that attracts lower income classes, especially foreigners. This dynamic, connected to the income disparities can be seen in the following figures.

### 2.3.2 Foreigners

In Fig. 2.3.2 there is depicted the share of foreigners in the two districts in 1991 and 2001. What we can observe is, that there is a

total increase of the share of foreigners (an increase that is continuing importantly until today, since with the Schengen-treaty, Vienna has experienced an overall increase of foreigners. This increase can partly be explained by the fall of the iron curtain in 1991 and the immigration from Eastern Europe.

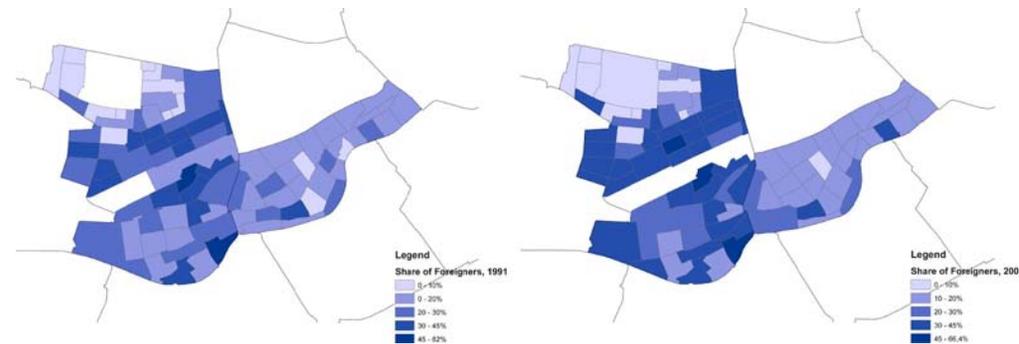


Fig. 2.3.2: Share of foreigners in the 6th and 15th district. Source: Statistik Austria, Census 1991 & 2001. Layout by the Authors.

Nevertheless, we can see that the 15th district has experienced a more important growth of foreigners than the 6th district. Especially the area around the Gürtel and in the northern part of the district, the share of foreigners has increased. In the Mariahilf district, the share of foreigners has widely stagnated. But similar to the 15th district, the share increased in the area around the Gürtel. For the further research it is thus important to note that many of the indicators are connected to the increase of foreigners in the 15th district.

### 2.3.3 Education

One of the most striking developments is the changes in the education of the population. Here, similarly to the share of foreigners, the two districts follow a general trend that is the increase of people with higher education. Fig. 2.3.3 depicts this trend by showing the share of people which have finished tertiary education

(Hochschule). This share is increasing in nearly all statistical sectors. And again, the 6th district is performing remarkably better than the 15th district.

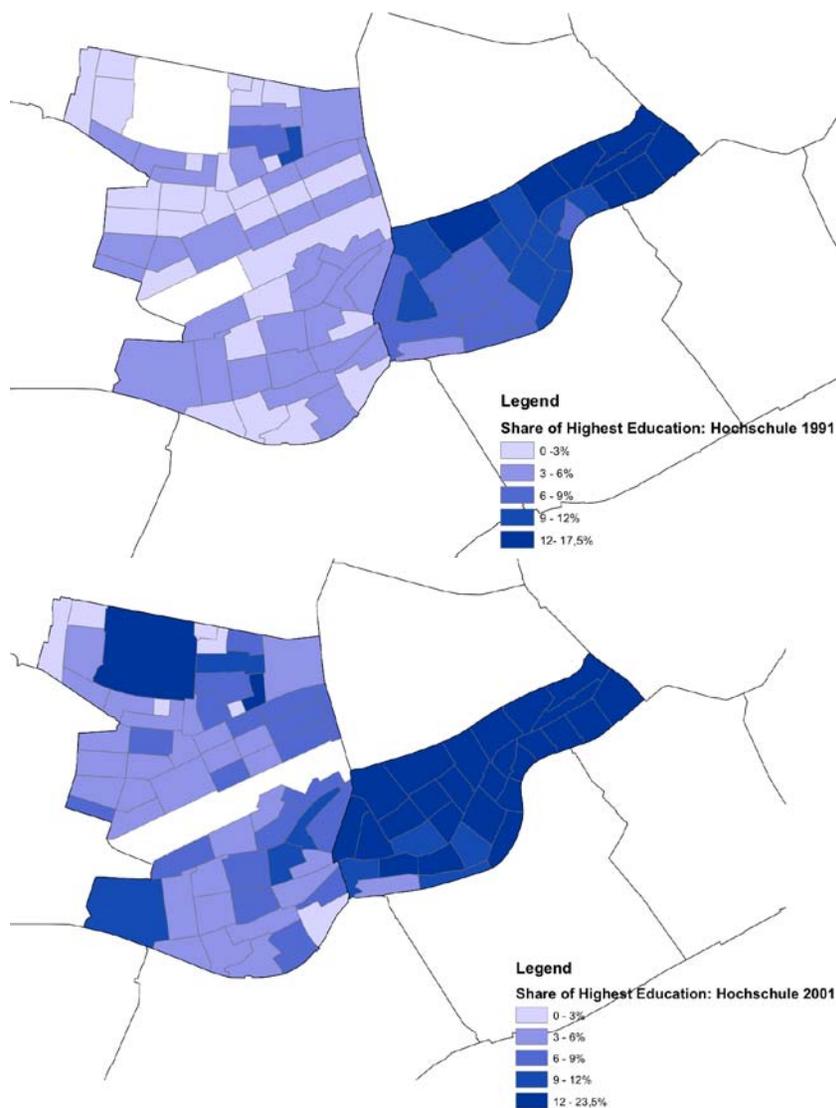


Fig. 2.3.3: Share of Highest Education: Hochschule in the 6th and 15th district. Source: Statistik Austria, Census 1991 & 2001. Layout by the Authors.

In order to guarantee a comparison between 1991 and 2001, the classes of the figures above are equal in both years. However, this does not allow a detailed view of the 6th district, in which most of the areas have a share of tertiary education above 12%. This is why Fig. 2.3.4 shows the shares for 2001 in another class-structure. Here one can observe, that the eastern part of the 6th district locates the highest shares, from 18 - 23.3%. This internal divide of the Mariahilf district is equally reflected in the shares of primary education (see Fig. 2.4.4) But equally, the Gürtel functions as a strong divide between the level of education.

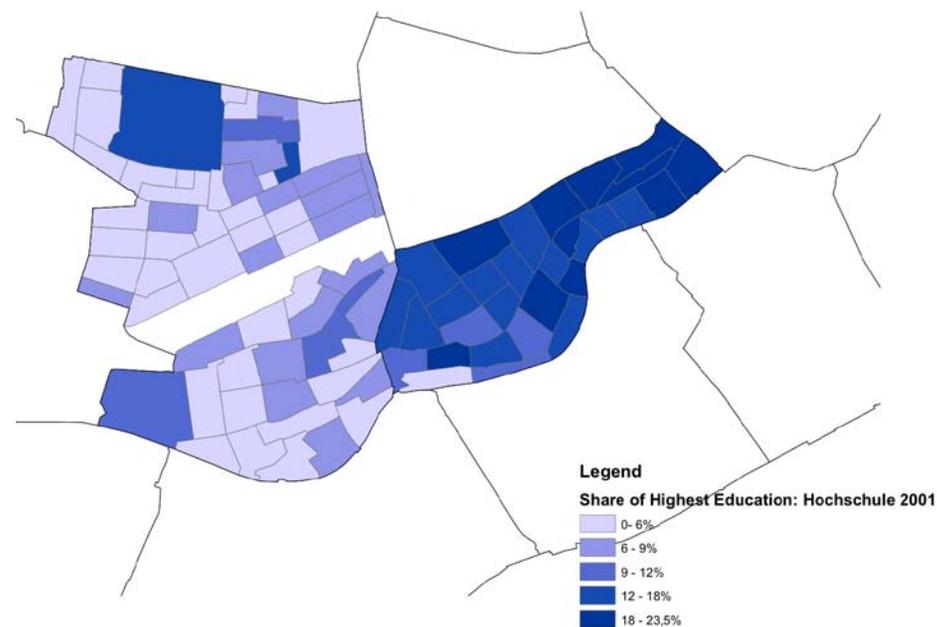


Fig. 2.3.4: Share of Highest Education: Hochschule in the 6th and 15th district. Source: Statistik Austria, Census 2001. Layout by the Authors.

### 2.3.4 Age structure

Considering the age structure of the district, the data show a more ambiguous result. While gentrification theories stress the influx of young, well educated people (between 25 and 39) as indicator, such a shift can not been clearly observed. The share of people aged 25-39 is only importantly rising within the ten years in the area around the Westbahnhof (central 15th district). This could be attributed to the influx of young foreigners, since it is these areas where the share of foreigners was increasing importantly). On the other side, the part around the Sechshauser Strasse seems to loose people of this age group.

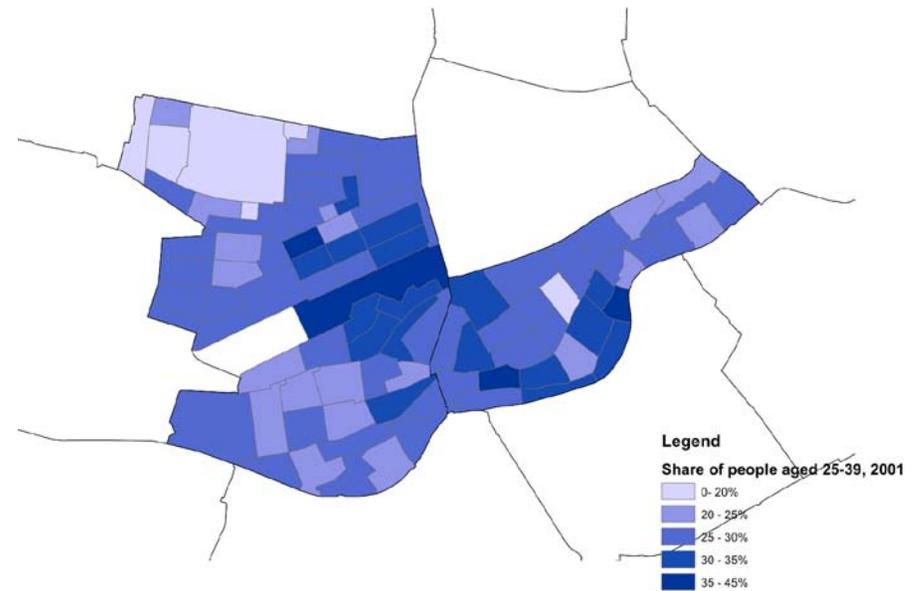
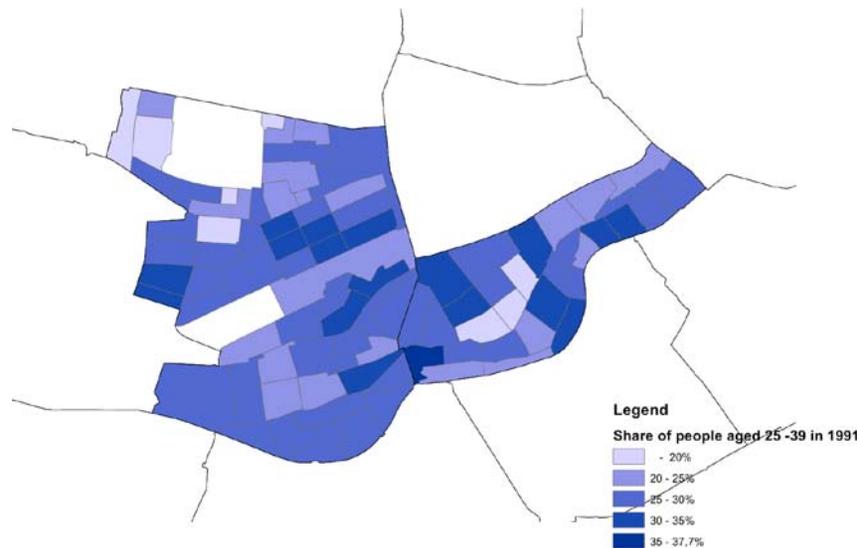


Fig. 2.3.5: Share of people aged 25-39 in the 6th and 15th district. Source: Statistik Austria, Census 1991 & 2001. Layout by the Authors.

Equally, the 6th district does not deliver a clear image: The dynamics of the Eastern part can not be explained by the influx of young people, while the share of this age group is increasing in the south-western part of the Gumpendorfer Strasse.

### 2.3.5 Single Households

Parallel to the influx of young people, often without family, gentrification theories equally focus on the increase of single households in gentrifying neighborhoods. And Fig. 2.3.5 shows, that such an increase can in some points been viewed in the Eastern part

of the Mariahilf district. However, the Western part shows the exact opposed tendency: The share of single households decreased. In the 15th district, there doesn't seem to be a clear tendency: In some parts the share is rising, while in some it is decreasing.



Fig. 2.3.6: Share of single households in the 6th and 15th district. Source: Statistik Austria, Census 1991&2001. Layout by the Authors.

### 2.3.6 Synthesis: Gentrification in the 6th district

By the analysis of the statistical data from 1991 and 2001, gentrification in the two districts can not be observed clearly. Even if there are processes typical for gentrification, one has to recognise, that many of the processes shown above have other reasons. Especially in the 15th districts, the dynamics seem to be stemming from other socio-spatial processes such as immigration. Nevertheless, the 6th district shows first signs of gentrification. These specifics we would like to discuss below. Before, we would like to point out again the weakness of this analysis which is the lack of more current data - data that could allow to show gentrification processes more clearly since the districts seem to have had important changes in the last decade. However, in this analysis we assume that the tendencies discovered in the 6th district have continued by and large until today. First, we can see that the 6th district is insofar special, as it has historically been a working class neighborhood, but not suffered strongly from deprivation (as many gentrifying neighborhoods have). Equally, the share of foreigners has always been low and is stagnating since 1991. Already in 2001 we can observe, that the average income is very high, in comparence to eg. the 15th district. Hence, if we can talk about gentrification processes, they affect the neighborhood on a very high level - and displacement can be expected to be more moderate. Nevertheless, signs of gentrification can be found especially in the Eastern part of the Mariahilf district. In this area, the share of people with tertiary education is increasing, together with a rise of single households. This shows at least the arrival of a well educated class (or equally the displacement of less educated people). However, what seems important is, that this rise cannot be explained by the arrival of young professionals, since the share of people between 25-39 is not increasing significantly. One could assume, that gentrification in this sense occurs by the arrival of better educated people of all ages (that is, already, the higher middle class and not only young professionals). It is further interesting to see, that on the south side of the Eastern Gumpendorfer Strasse, single households and people aged 25-39 is increasing. This area thus seems to be interesting for

young people. Equally, the average income of these areas is not as high as in the Western part of the district, where the highest average incomes can be found. In terms of social change through gentrification we can conclude that there can be observed changes in the 6th district, but they do not simply follow a theoretical framework of gentrification. It seems thus more interesting to ask, in which ways the district has changed its built environment and its urban infrastructure - to see how processes of gentrification have been introduced by city policies and private investors. For this we will focus in the next part on the changes of the built environment in the 6th district.

## 2.4 Changes of the built environment in the 6th district

In the case of Vienna, gentrification is influenced by different city policies aiming at the social cohesion and the prevention of displacement (see 1.2 and ch.3). These policies can help to mitigate gentrification processes in the sense as they effectively prevent displacement in upgrading neighborhoods. However, upgrading is a major strategy of the city of Vienna - a strategy that has successfully been applied for example in the old inner-city Gründerzeiten areas (see Hatz 2008). These policies aimed at the improvement of the built environment, and especially at the renovation of sub-standard housing. Even though such improvements do not lead to displacement, they implement a change of the appearance of the neighborhood what in turn can be a first indicator for gentrification processes. This is why Franz (2011: 201) sees the physical appearance of buildings as a basic indicator for gentrification: *“Mapping the condition of the housing stock is also a suitable approach to analysing the renovation activity or processes of vacancy and urban decay within a neighbourhood.”* In the following part we thus focus on three forms of housing conditions that are widely discussed in the academical and political discourse about gentrification in Vienna: Soft Urban Renewal, Roof top renovations and the ground floor zone.

### 2.4.1 Soft Urban Renewal/Renovations

Policies of soft urban renewal (see 3.1) have also led to the upgrading of the 6th district, and especially the area of the Gumpendorfer Strasse. A field research conducted by students of 4Cities in 2010 (see Fig. 2.4.1, retrieved from Franz 2011: 201) has shown, that a high amount of residential buildings already have been renovated in the Gumpendorfer Strasse.

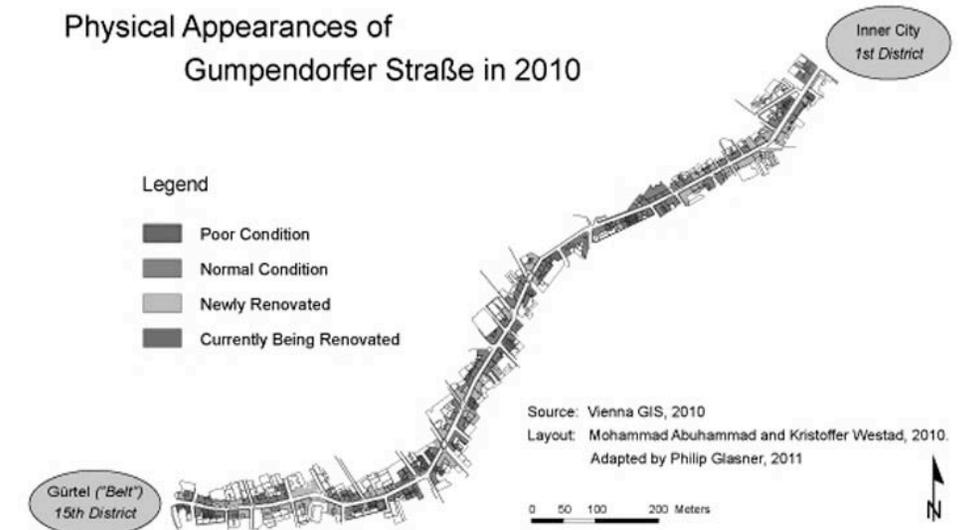


Fig. 2.4.1: Physical Appearances of Gumpendorfer Strasse in 2010, Source: Franz 2011: 201

They identify two main areas where residential gentrification is taking place - in the Western part near the Ring and in the South-Eastern part near the Gürtel. In these areas the amount of newly renovated buildings is remarkable (ibid.) - and signal an important upgrading process in the 6th districts. However, residential gentrification should not only be described as upgrading of the existing building structure through renovation. What we can observe

in the Gumpendorfer Strasse is that with the renovation of Gründerzeiten-buildings, there is an equal change of the composition of the uses of the building in two ways: On one side, there is an observable change of the use of the ground floor. On the other side, renovations often include the renovation of the roof top of the houses where high end attic apartments are built.



Fig. 2.4.2: A typical example of the Gumpendorfer Strasse upgrading: Roof Top apartment, renovated living floors and a vacant and declined ground floor. (Source: own picture)

## 2.4.2 Roof Top Renovations

At the beginning of the "soft urban renewal" in the '70s and '80s the main focus was the "thinning out" the dense built structure by gutting and courtyard landscaping. In contrast, roof extensions can be seen as a densification of the built environment. In the average empty Viennese rooftop is space for 2 - 4 apartments. It means a densification of 7 to 10% per residential building. The rooftop developments are mainly found in "Gründerzeit" quarters. Out of the approximately 32,000 "Gründerzeit" buildings in Vienna around 11,000 are already developed. In the 80s and 90s, roof top extensions have been discussed from a housing policy perspective. After the fall of the iron curtain the population of Vienna increased and rooftop developments were fast solutions for producing new apartments. In 1990 the Viennese building law changed to make rooftop developments easier for their developers. It became a playground for real estate speculations.

The rooftop development has a strong individual mental imagination of urban living. The empty space can be designed to individual needs. Rooftop apartments are thus very convenient for the construction of high end luxury apartments that can be sold or rented for a profitable price. Many private investors thus speculate with roof top renovations: *"Die sogenannten ‚Luxus Wohnungen‘ über den Dächern Wiens werden zu weit über dem Marktdurchschnitt liegenden Miet- und Verkaufspreisen angeboten."* (Bretschneider 2008: 110) As a field study on the 3 July 2012 revealed, this tendency of roof top renovations can as well be found at the Gumpendorfer Strasse (see Figure 2.4.3). The city politics towards suburbanization and a new law for seismic stabilisation who was invented in 2010, makes it more costly to invest in rooftop developments.

### Roof Top Renovations in the Gumpendorfer Strasse

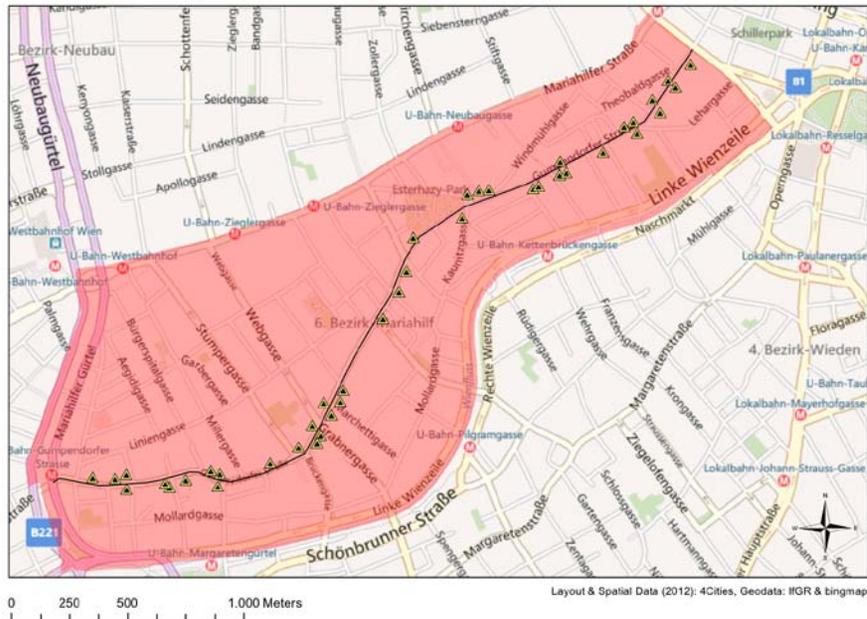


Fig. 2.4.3: Roof Top Renovations, Data & Layout: Authors, 2012.

Roof top renovations must be seen as an important factor of gentrification, since they have an impact on the social mixity of a neighborhood: The expensive, luxury apartments attract classes with higher income. However, roof top renovations are a special case, since they do not lead to direct expulsion of lower classes. Nevertheless, they do change the overall composition of people living in an area and can lead to other forms of social and cultural expulsion (see Franz 2011: 201ff).

### 2.4.3 Ground Floor Zone

The second important change of the physical environment is the transformation of the ground floor zone. What Vienna has experienced in the last years is the increase of ground floor vacancy

in inner-city areas. Psenner (2004) estimates, that in 2004 over 5'000 ground floor spaces in Vienna have been vacant. This phenomena is contradictory to the relatively low vacancy of residential buildings, as Bretschneider (2008: 1) notes: *“Der Leerstand verbreitet sich heute in Wien nur auf dem Niveau der Erdgeschosszone.”* There are manifold reasons for ground floor vacancy that lead from internal difficulties to speculation and rent gap problems or more structural reasons such as the change of consumption patterns (for a further discussion see Aebi 2012).

The Gumpendorfer Strasse is strongly affected by ground floor vacancy, as our field studies have shown. While the Gumpendorfer Straße has been an important shopping street some decades ago, it has constantly lost its value as a shopping street - partly due to its location between the two important shopping streets Mariahilfer Straße and Naschmarkt. In the list of the 20 most important shopping streets (concerning shopping area and sales value in 2009), where the Mariahilfer Straße ranks first, the Gumpendorfer does not appear any more (Statistisches Jahrbuch 2011: 222). A transformation that is enforced by its west-east connection between Ring and Gürtel: *“Die Funktion als Verkehrsachse zieht Folgeerscheinungen nach sich: Eine hohe Verkehrsdichte aus fließendem und ruhendem, vorwiegend privatem PKW-Verkehr sowie Luftschadstoffe und Lärm prägen die Straße; als Freiraum für FussgängerInnen hat sie nach und nach an Bedeutung verloren.”* (Rode & Wanschura 2009: 155) As they (ibid.: 157) estimate, there have been 70% of all ground floor locals vacant at the Gumpendorfer Straße and its neighboring streets in 2004. Figure 2.4.4 shows the distribution of vacant ground floors in 2012.

### Empty Ground Floor Stores in the Gumpendorfer Strasse

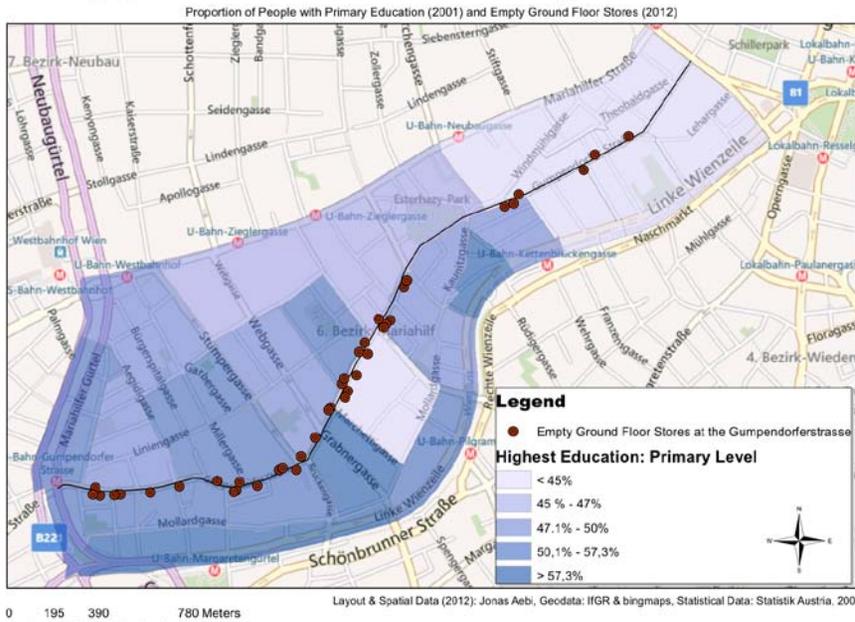


Fig. 2.4.4: Empty Ground Floor stores and Education in Mariahilf, Stores Data & Layout: Jonas Aebi 2012, Statistical Data: Statistik Austria, 2001.

There is a strong connection between ground floor vacancy and gentrification (ie. down- and upgrading processes). In some cases, the ground floor zone works as a semi-public space extending the public space of the street. It creates spaces of social interaction and mixture of uses of the streets. Since local businesses located in the ground floor live from walk-in customers and passers-by, they play an important role in the revival of the streets and squares and have impact on traffic calming (Bretschneider 2008: 3). In this sense, semi-public space plays an important role in the creation of a neighborhood quality and identity (ibid.: 1, see also MA18 2011). The use (or non-use) of the ground floor thus plays an important role in gentrification processes. It is the lost of this “sphere” of interaction, representation and social cohesion that has a direct impact on the devaluation of the neighborhood, going hand in hand

with the lost of identity of its inhabitants (Bretschneider 2008: 1f). On the other side, the revival of the ground floor zone can play an important role in the creation of a “new” identity of an upgrading neighborhood attracting certain inhabitants and visitors. Insofar, we have to accord the ground floor usage a decisive role in the forms of upgrading of a neighborhood. These reflections correspond to the empirical material we have gathered. As Fig. 2.4.4. shows, ground floor vacancy appears in the areas where social upgrading did not yet take place - while in the gentrifying Eastern part of the Gumpendorfer Straße and to some extent near the Gürtel vacancy could be overcome. In a field work conducted by 4Cities-colleagues, the following figure has been created. It shows the distribution of certain commercial spaces that could be described as creative industries (see Florida 2002).

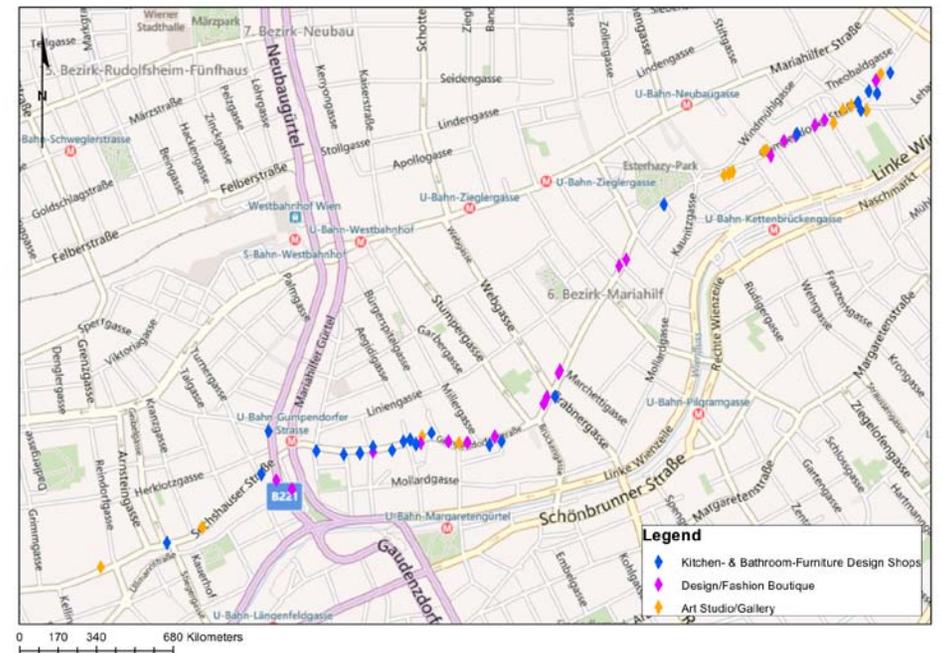


Fig. 2.4.5: Furniture Design Shops, Design/Fashion Boutiques and Art Studios/Galleries at the Gumpendorfer/Sechshauser Strasse. Data: Liam Duffy (2012), Layout: Jonas Aebi/Liam Duffy.

It shows a clustering of Design and Fashion Boutiques and especially of art studios and galleries in the Eastern part of the Gumpendorfer Strasse. This part has become known as “little Berlin”, where many young creatives live, work and consume. The area is promoted together with the 7th district as the nest of the creative class, hosting many designer shops and offices (see 3.3).<sup>1</sup> On the west-end of the street, there is a clustering of Kitchen & Bathroom and Furniture Design Shops. This area is known as ‘Möbelmeile – furniture cluster’ (Franz 2001: 202). However, if we compare the two clusters with the distribution of ground floor vacancy, there is an overlapping of vacant ground floors in the furniture cluster, while in the ‘creative industry’ cluster nearly all vacancy has disappeared. This is why we would like to ask in the synthesis how the combination of physical upgrading and social gentrification could be made in the Gumpendorfer Straße.

#### 2.4.4 Synthesis: Social and cultural gentrification

The analysis of the change in the built environment of the 6th district has shown, that there is a connection between the upgrading processes concerning renovation, roof top renovation and ground floor revival: The different upgrading processes cluster at both ends of the Gumpendorfer Straße. Fig. 2.4.6 depicts these outcomes.

#### Physical and social change in the Gumpendorfer Strasse

Proportion of People with Primary Education (2001), Vacant Stores, Roof Top Renovations and Creative Industry (2012)

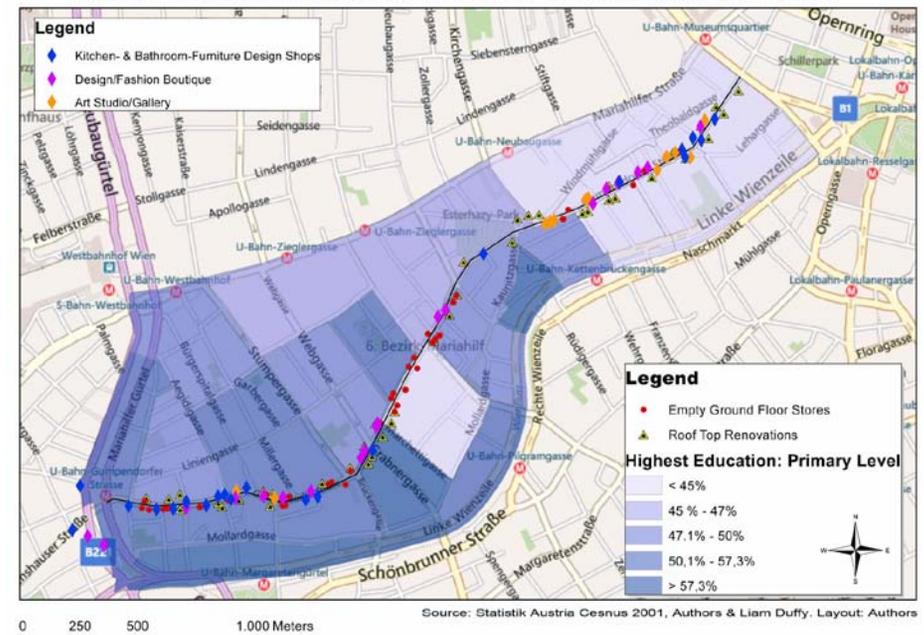


Fig. 2.4.6: Synthesis: Physical and social change in the Gumpendorfer Straße. Data: Jonas Aebi, Liam Duffy (2012), Statistical Data: Statistik Austria Census 2001, Layout: Jonas Aebi.

On the east end of the Gumpendorfer Straße we can observe that many roof top renovations coincide with a cluster of creative industries facilities. This area that can profit from its closeness to the city center, the Mariahilfer Straße and the Naschmarkt can also be seen as a gentrifying part: As discussed in chapter 2, typical processes such as the increase of the average income or of well educated people appear in this area. Equally, the share of people with primary level as highest education is relatively low compared to the rest of the district. Insofar we can assume that the changes of the built environment has had an impact on the social structure. At the same time, such impact cannot be observed in the western, furniture cluster, where there is equally an important part of the roof top

<sup>1</sup> See: <http://www.7tm.at/home/de> (26.06.2012)

renovations in the district to be found. However, it is again important to note that such an impact could maybe be observed with newer data. Nevertheless, our research shows, that within the furniture cluster, problems such as ground floor vacancy have not been resolved. It appears, that there is in some way a qualitative difference between the two clusters: While artistic 'creative industries' attract new target groups that lead to social upgrading, more traditional creative branches such as furniture design do not seem to have the same impact. As said, this can only be seen as a hypothesis demanding for further research.

But, even if processes of direct displacement are modest in the 6th district – equally thanks to city policies such as soft urban renewal (see 1.2) this does not mean that gentrification is not taking place. When physical upgrading is connected with the installation of a commercial, cultural and social infrastructure that aims at responding to the needs of a target group desired to live in the area - it can exclude and displace users of the former infrastructure. In this sense

“gentrification tends to create exclusive places and spaces by economic upgrading and cultural reassessment. When certain places are occupied by social groups with a high level of economic, social and cultural capital, this gentrification process not only results in displacement of individuals or households from a physical place. As lower uses of space get displaced by higher uses, low-status groups get displaced from the public sphere and the social space – respectively the space of certain milieus”. (Huber forthcoming)

This form of displacement we have defined in the first part as indirect social displacement - or as Baldauf/Weingartner (2008) call it: Soft gentrification. Insofar, the attraction of a certain “creative cluster” can work as a means of displacement, even if residential displacement does not take place in the first place. People do not only reside in an area, they live in it. This is what Zukin (2010) has called the lost of ‘authenticity’. Once the neighborhood has changed its cultural life, it loses a certain authenticity that is attributed to it by the social groups (formally) inhabiting the neighborhood. A lost

of this authenticity does not only mean, that people do not 'feel at home' anymore in their streets, but equally that the cultural, social and economical infrastructure that was the base of their lives has disappeared. This form of cultural power can, in the case of Vienna at least, be seen as powerful as economical power in executing gentrification processes. Gentrification does not only take place in the displacement from renovated flats, but in the displacement from the renewed streets and squares of the city. In the case of Mariahilf - and in future probably for Rudolfsheim-Fünfhaus - we have to take special attention for this form of social and cultural gentrification and indirect social displacement.

## 2.5 Specifics of the 15th district

The previous analysis of the statistical data has shown that there can not be observed many signs of gentrification in the 15th district. However, these data do on one side not represent reality since they date from 2001 and because other forms of gentrification are not directly reflected in the statistics. As described in 1.1.1, the history of the district has an impact: Since there are many social housing estates in the district, gentrification is more unlikely to occur. Nonetheless, first signs of gentrification processes can be observed in the 15th district. Fig. 2.4.5 for example shows that there are first art galleries located at the Sechshauser Straße. This does not have to imply that gentrification is taking off, but can be seen as a first indication for an increased interest in the 15th district of certain pioneers. Equally, the Gebietsbetreuung seems to show interest to attract cultural activities to the 15th district. Since upgrading strategies are no universal, pre-built tools but have to be applied within local contexts, it seems important to us to ask for the differences between the 15th and the 6th district. This is why in this part we ask not only for first indicators for gentrification, but for certain social structures in the district. Structures that do not only lay the basis for the further development of the district but that could be affected by upgrading processes.



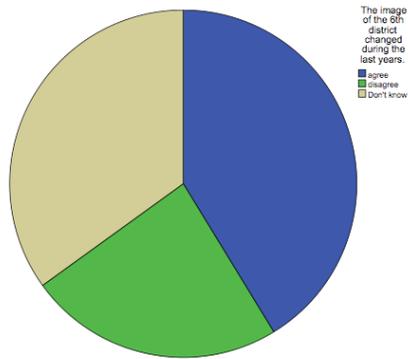


Fig: 2.5.1.3 Image change of the districts 6<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> over the last years

## 2.5.2 Migration patterns

One indicator for an increased interest in the district on the demand-side is the migration patterns of people moving in the district. According to Smith (1996), gentrification does not take place by a 'back to the city movement of people'. Far more, people moving into gentrifying neighborhoods are likely to come from other middle-class neighborhoods inside the city. For the case of the 15th district it is interesting to see that the district is -- as many districts outside the "Gürtel" an 'arrival' district - a place where people immigrating from outside the city arrive at the first place. This applies certainly to people with migration background - as the statistics in 2.3.2 show. If we look at the migration statistics of the district we see that until 2004 more than 35% of the people moving to the district arrived from outside Vienna - while the Viennese average lies under 30% and while it amounts only about 25% in Mariahilf.<sup>2</sup> Compared to other districts, the 15th thus seems less attractive to people from Vienna. In the year 2005 we see a constant approachment of the

<sup>2</sup> In the figure, this values are shown as the difference between total immigration and immigration from other districts, since total immigration includes inner-city and outer-city immigration, but not inner-district migration.

share of inner-city immigration towards the Viennese average. This could imply an increased interest for the district.

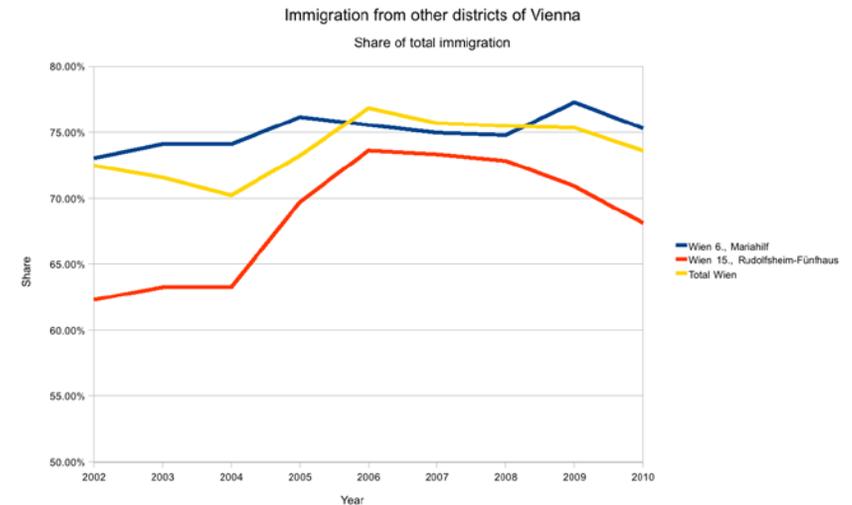


Fig. 2.5.2.1: Immigration from other districts. Layout: Authors. Data: Wanderungsstatistik 2011, Statistik Austria.

At the other side, emigration patterns can show forms of displacement: When people are forced to move out of gentrifying districts, they are either forced to move into lower-class neighborhoods or to even completely leave the city (see for the case of Brussels: Van Criekingem 2008). Emigration to outside a city - in cases of working class neighborhoods - include thus to an important part forms of displacement from the city. Fig. 2.5.2 shows the share of emigration outside the city. Similarly to the immigration, the 15th district had an important share of people moving outside the city since 2004 - while in comparance, the 6th district had a share lower than the Viennese average. The share of the 15th then approaches (parallel to the immigration shares) the Viennese average - just to increase importantly in 2008 again - fact that could be explained by the vulnerability of the working class in the economic crisis.

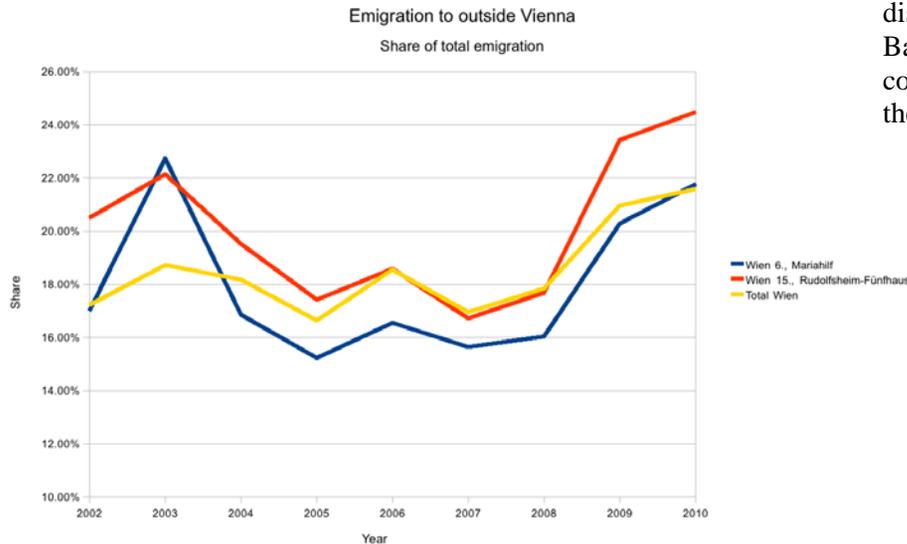


Fig. 2.5.2.2: Emigration to outside Vienna. Layout: Authors. Data: Wanderungsstatistik 2011, Statistik Austria.

To sum up, the 15th must not only be seen as an arrival district, but as a transition district. More people than usual move out of the city. But, the decrease of the share of people moving outside, can equally show that there has been a stabilization of the district that could further show first signs of upgrading in the district.

### 2.5.3 Ethnicities and ethnic infrastructure

As we have seen (see 2.3), the 15th district is still one of the most defavored districts in Vienna. Especially, there is an important share of foreigners living in the district (34% in 2011). Insofar, the question of integration and ethnic communities becomes important for a neighborhood change in the 15th district. With a different ethnic composition as the 6th district, Rudolfsheim-Fünfhaus has a population that could be much more vulnerable to gentrification than the 6th district. It is in our view thus more comparable to the 16th district where gentrification - and in this case especially

displacement of migrants - can be observed (see Baldauf/Weingartner 2008, Franz 2011). Fig. 2.5.3 shows the composition of the foreign population according to nationalities in the 15th district in 2001.

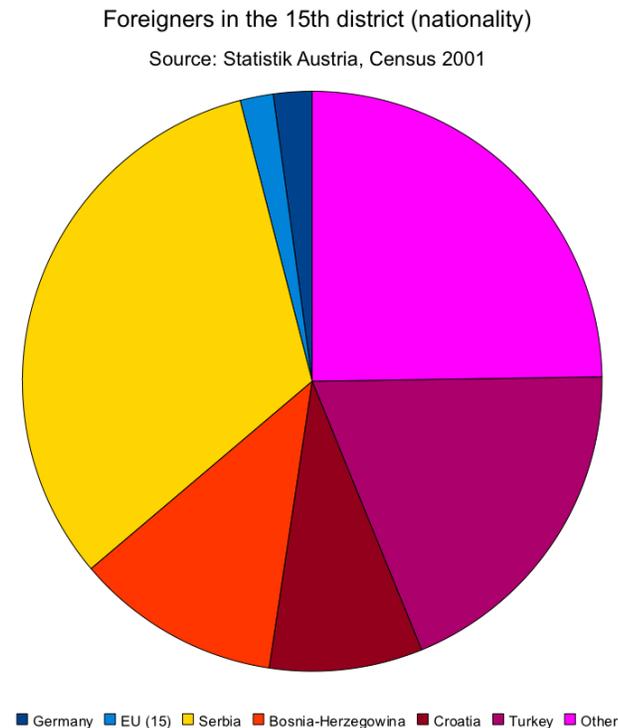


Fig. 2.5.3: Composition of foreigners (nationalities) in the 15th district in 2001. Layout: Authors. Data: Statistik Austria, Census 2001.

In 2001, people from the former Yugoslavia make out more than the majority of the foreign population and people with turkish nationality are the second large ethnic minority of the neighborhood. The high amount of foreigners and their different origins creates a diverse, multi-cultural identity of the neighborhood – an identity that is equally perceived by the inhabitants (see 2.5.1). This identity is also

reflected in space. In the Sechshauser Straße, several ethnic shops are located, as Fig. 2.5.4 shows.<sup>3</sup>

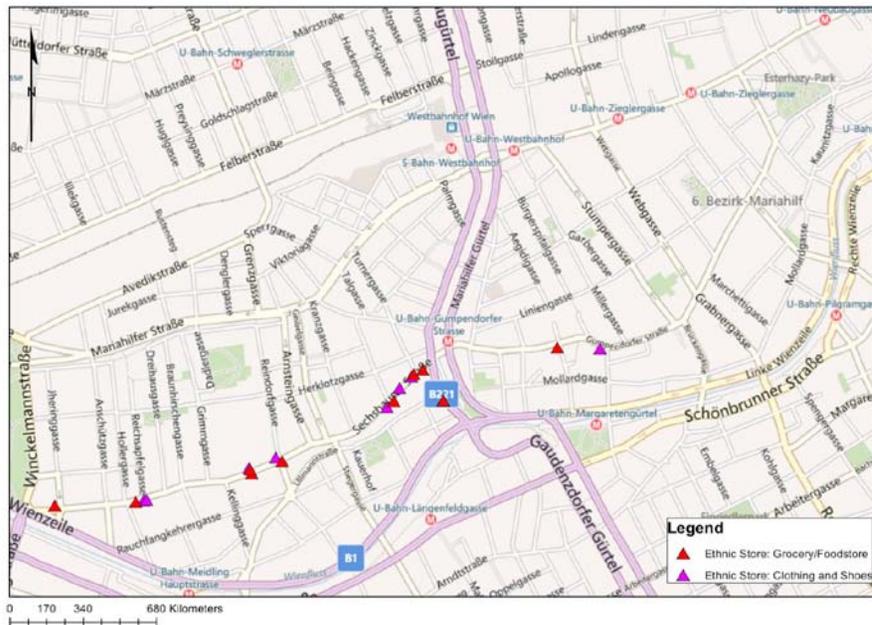


Fig. 2.5.3: Ethnic Shops in the Gumpendorfer/Sechshauser Straße. Data: Liam Duffy (2012), Layout: Liam Duffy/Jonas Aebi.

However, other uses of the street, such as prostitution, night clubs and betting offices impact the street's appearance. But, reality looks different: A research conducted by the Gebietsbetreuung Stadterneuerung 14\*15 (Kirsch-Soriano da Silva/Rebel-Burget. 2011) affirms, that the mixture of the ground floor use in the street has shifted from commercial uses towards services and crafts, of which ethnic enterprises are an important part. While these uses create a negative image, the area has managed to decrease ground floor vacancy from 28% in 1998 to 10-12% in 2010 (ibid. 3). The

<sup>3</sup> And it shows at the same time that such shops are not existing in the Gumpendorfer Strasse

street has a positive performance, in which ethnic infrastructure has an influence.

## 2.5.5 Summary: An upgrading, diverse neighborhood

The previous points have shown, that the 15th district – and especially the Sechshauser Straße suffers from a negative image that is created by xenophobic media reports reflected in the Viennese population and the establishments of the red light district and the 'aggressive' image of betting offices near the Gürtel. The statistical analysis revealed, that there are signs of deprivation, such as high proportions of unemployment and low average income. The district still has to be seen as a 'transition' district, where many immigrants arrive in Vienna and many others leave the city again. Nevertheless, the district approached the average Viennese migration pattern in the last years before the crisis. At the same time, the high share of foreigners has its imprint not only in the diversity of the district, but also in the street life and the social infrastructure of the neighborhood. And, even if there are first signs of upgrading visible, the high share of social housing has prevented displacement and preserved social diversity. With the lessons learned from the 6th district, we can thus conclude, that gentrification in Rudolfsheim-Fünfhaus can equally be expected to be modest in the sense that direct displacement will not take part in important manners. However, the district seems very vulnerable to neighborhood change: Ethnic minorities that depend from ethnic networks and infrastructure could suffer from indirect, social displacement when a structural change of ground floor and public space-uses occur. Insofar, it is important that neighborhood change happens in accordance with and by participation of the inhabitants, as the Gebietsbetreuung states: *“Gerade in der positiveren Sicht der migrantischen LokalbetreiberInnen auf die Straße kann ein Potenzial liegen, wenn es gelingt auch diese verstärkt einzubinden”* (Kirsch-Soriano da Silva/Rebel-Burget 2011: 5). Such a strategy would use starting upgrade processes for the reinforcement of already existing social structures.

### 3. City policies and gentrification

#### 3.1 die GUMPENDORFER

As described in 2.4., the Gumpendorfer Strasse suffered from structural problems, that produced a crisis of the ground floor usage. Since the Mariahilfer Straße has gained attractivity, many local and specialised stores in the Gumpendorfer Strasse had to close. This fueled a negative image of the street. In 2007, the city of Vienna startet a pilot project called “Lebendige Strassen” (lively streets) In the project, 3 streets in Vienna were chosen of which one was the Gumpendorfer Strasse. After the project finished, the Gebietsbetreuung and the district government wanted to extend the project. In 2010 finally, the Gebietsbetreuung got the additional assignment (‘Zusatzauftrag’) to develop a concept for a new project called “die GUMPENDORFER”. According to the project manager Markus Steinbichler, this project aims at different aspects connected with the life at the Gumpendorfer Strasse. On one side, it contains a research of the street, its economy, its inhabitants, its users. On the other side, the project aims at the creation of a positive image, the connection of different stakeholders and the revival of the ground floor zone and the public life in general. “The Gebietsbetreuung adopts the role of a contact point (‘Anlaufstelle’), a facilitator and enables the establishment of contact amongst the actors in the area” (Steinbichler, Interview 2.7.2012)

#### AIM

*"dieGUMPENDORFER" will in future serve as a communication and coordination hub for the Gumpendorferstraße. The promotion of exchange and cooperation between residents, local residents, business people, cultural institutions and policies will form an integral part of the project.*

*The possible involvement of all actors in "dieGUMPENDORFER" to promote identification with the street and their potential. Subsequently the image of the road developed through jointly measures to be strengthened. In addition to economic aspects, but also issues such as housing, social issues, children and adolescents*

*as well as increasing the quality of stay on public roads and in the green and open spaces will be treated on the road.*

During its project process, the Gebietsbetreuung has been organising several activities such as a take-off-festival, a survey of the inhabitants, the creation of a weekly market or street festivals. It adopts multifunctional tasks and ensures a substantial assistance with the aim to create closeness and to intensify identification.

One part of the project with which the Gumpendorferstraße should be given new impetus is the the "Gumpendorfer market" which started running on 26 April after a three day test last november. The market is held every thursday from 10am to 18pm. The idea is through the weekly market to support the local supply offer in the Grätzel next to the Ägidikirche and to contribute to the revival of the Kurt-Pint Square.

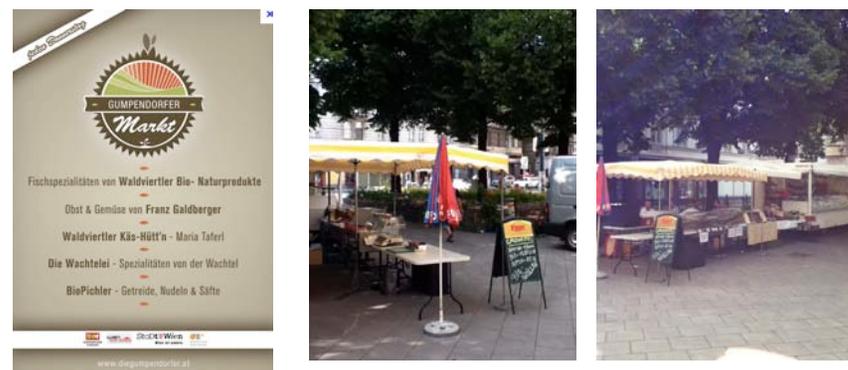


Fig: 3.1.1:  
Flyer Gumpendorefer Markt: <http://www.diegumpendorfer.at/jeden-donnerstag-gumpendorfer-markt/>  
Gumpendorefer Markt at Kurt-Pint Platz, Photos by Authors

### 3.2 Temporary use of the ground floor zone

The problem of the vacant ground floor zone has since some month reached the attention of the city administration. In the coalition contract between the governing parties, SPÖ and Grüne, there is laid down the creation of a “ground-floor-agency.” An agency that would mediate between homeowners and potential users for the (temporary) use of ground floor stores. Until now, several workshop and plenary discussions did take place and the MA18 has published a “Werkstattbericht” about ground floor vacancy (MA18 2012). In some extent, the MA18 aims at implementing mechanisms that are already being executed by the project die GUMPENDORFER at the district level. But, since the development and decision making process on city level is ongoing, there can not be said much about the concrete policies that will be applied. In several publications (Bretschneider 2008, Psenner 2011, MA18 2012), different policies can be found. They contain:

- Deregulation for laws of renovation and deeper information of landlords
- Increasing the flexibility of building use through a “usage neutrality” (Nutzungsneutralität) in zoning laws.
- Acquisition (and re-rental) of ground floors by the city
- The creation of an 'Erdgeschoss-Agentur', as mentioned above

In general, the intention of the different stakeholders can be described as facilitating ground floor rental by information of, mediation between and active search of landlords and potential renters. Even though the instruments all fit in this strategy, there seem to be different views on the purpose of ground floor revival. The Gebietsbetreuung for example sees in the revival an important instrument for social cohesion by reviving the street life and recreating a lost identity „...*das ist die Idee, eine bisschen die Identität oder eine gewisse Identifikation für die Bevölkerung herauszuarbeiten das heisst ihnen zu zeigen was es da alles gibt in*

*der strasse was sie vielleicht so nicht kannten damit eine verbundenheit iergendwo hergestellt werden kann..“.* As Steinbichler says, it is mostly artists and young creatives that seek for ground floor spaces. (Interview Steinbichler 2.7.2012). When it thus comes to the creation of new grounds for creative industries, the city of Vienna takes a clear position:

“Die steigende Bedeutung der „weichen Standortfaktoren“ bezieht sich nicht nur auf Lebens- und Umweltqualität „für alle“, sondern schließt auch den Faktor „Lebensstil“ in der Ausdifferenzierung und Entwicklung soziokultureller Milieus und neuer ökonomischer „Clusterbildungen“ mit ein. Speziell gilt dies für „Creative Industries“ – eine Clusterstrategie, die auch in einer Reihe europäischer Städte betrieben wird, und die sich stadträumlich beinahe immer auf die historischen Stadträume [...] konzentriert. (Auch) Wien könnte im Bereich dieser Clusterbildung mittel- und längerfristig gute Chancen haben – und es ist anzunehmen, dass dafür die Gründerzeit Stadt die entscheidende Raumfigur sein wird.” (step05: 137)

Behind these words clearly stand economical intentions, ground floor revival then means the creation of “soft locational factors”, of a new creative cluster that enables economic growth. Equally, the MA18 speaks of “*Kreativbetriebe mit offenem und kommunikativem Lebensstil*” as the 'new founding pioneers' for the upgrading of the ground floor zone (MA18 2011: 110). This follows widely Richard Florida's thesis that the creative class has to be seen as the major motor of economical growth enforcing urban upgrading. However, our research has shown, that the area in which this “creative cluster” can be found in the 6th district is equally the area where gentrification has progressed the furthest - an observation that is grounded in our empirical research and affirmed in theory: Peck (2007: 10) warns, that “*creativity strategies have been crafted to co-exist with these problems [such as gentrification], not to solve them.*” It thus seems important that possible policies for the ground

floor revival do not simply become an instrument for the (economic) upgrading of an area and a restructuring through “creativity clusters”, but do take into consideration the local socio-spatial structures. Nevertheless the Werkstattbericht Erdgeschosszone from the MA18 remarks: *“In besonderer Weise können Zwischennutzungen in den Erdgeschossen auch dazu beitragen, bürgerschaftliches Engagement und Beteiligung sowie die Verantwortung für Stadtentwicklungsprozesse zu fördern.”* (MA18 2011: 109) Ground floor revival, in combination with new forms of socially grounded upgrading strategies should imply forms of participation and empowerment of local inhabitants - in order to guarantee the social mixity not only in the housing sector, but also in the commercial areas and (semi)public spaces.

## 4. Conclusion and possible interventions

In our paper we tried to show how gentrification has to be understood in Vienna in general, and in the 6th and 15th in particular. The historical development of the Viennese housing market, “shaped” through several periods of urgent needs for housing, and the social-democratic interventions in the market have created a particular situation of the housing stock in the beginning of the 1980s. Until today, the market is dominated by the rental market, in which the city of Vienna holds important shares of the housing stock. Upgrading has since the 1970s been made by soft urban renewal. This historical and political situation could and still can mitigate gentrification processes. However, as we have tried to show the upgrading policies in Vienna have made an important shift: it is no longer the state that puts forward upgrading by its own construction or reconstruction activity – neoliberal policies such as housing subsidies for private investors and PPPs have become major elements of the cities policy. Further more, neighborhood policies

aim at the upgrading of the commercial structure of areas. One important policy is thereby to seek for new economic clusters such as the creative industries. In total, Viennese policies have, despite being still executed by the green and social democratic party integrated neoliberal principles of economic profitability. Such policies mingle with policies aiming at social cohesion, as die GUMPENDORFER. Hence, the question of urban upgrading lies in the conflict field between social sustainability and gentrification as economic growth strategy.

The example of the 6th district has shown us, that gentrification-induced direct displacement does not occur significantly in Vienna. Nevertheless, neighborhood change in Mariahilf, and especially in the 'creative cluster' in the eastern part of the district, have an impact on the population and the users of semi-public and public space. An impact, that can be transformed into gentrification and displacement – as the analysis of the 6th district have shown. Thereby, gentrification works through social and cultural changes in the neighborhood, causing indirect displacement. This form of 'soft gentrification' can hardly been fought by the former and existing city policies such as social housing, rent control or soft urban renewal because it is not caused directly by typical gentrification processes such as the increase of the rent. To use the terminology of the stage model: The four stages mingle together at the same time (see roof top extensions), while the first stage, the creation of a 'pioneer' milieu works as motor of displacement. Far more, we have shown, that gentrification in this sense is closely connected with the use of ground floors.

When comparing the 6th and the 15th district, we have seen that the two districts have a completely different social structure that can in big parts been explained through their different history. By today, Mariahilf has further upgraded and can be seen as a middle-class neighborhood, a tendency that could already be detected in the last decades. The 15th district, as a contrast, has traditionally been a working-class district in which the industry settled down. Since

today, this industrial past – not at least through the western train station – can still be seen. It is in the time of the Red Vienna that the 15th district has experienced a vast construction of social housing. A fact that still today influences the social structure of the area. As a result, the 15th district is still one of the most disfavoured districts in Vienna. Especially, there is an important share of foreigners living in the district (34% in 2011). Insofar, processes of neighborhood change are hard to compare since the original social structures differ importantly. While gentrification in the 6th district has further upgraded an already well-off district, gentrification in the 15th would mean the destruction of a living space of the lowest classes in the city.

What implications would this have for a strategy of neighborhood upgrading in Rudolfsheim-Fünfhaus – and especially for the Sechshauser Straße?

There has to be an intention not to attract only a creative class, but ensuring a social mix. The different interventions and implications should not always follow the same planning trends using similar technical methods and concepts in different contexts. The ground floors should not be used for economic upgrading that is disconnected with the population. Therefore the aim should be to go away from the economic logic of profit maximisation and maximal value extraction from space and instead move towards social cohesion, towards reinforcing the social structures, and especially in the 15<sup>th</sup> to strengthen the ethnic structures and networks. Creative class can be used to give life, but there should be a mix assured amongst the population and occupations. And in case there is no demand for other ground floor uses – The City should ensure new forms of social security: if no longer social housing construction or soft urban renewal is assured, then social intervention could function on public or semipublic space. For example: Workless activation programs that use ground floors (See recyclart ateliers, or restaurants where workless work.), or state paid, but from neighborhood

managed social institutions, or creating community rooms for blocks or even only houses that can be used for everybody.

In short, the city or the Gebietsbetreuung should take a more active role than just facilitator. Of course financial means must come from the city but there has to be the will of not only to tend towards economic boost or locational factors, but to certify social cohesion, fighting social displacement directly by creating a new neighborhood image and a use of semipublic space with the people living there. Empowerment of people!

However for sure the social mix has to be assured as well by rent control and social housing. If not building new ones, at least preserve the old ones.

## Appendix

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