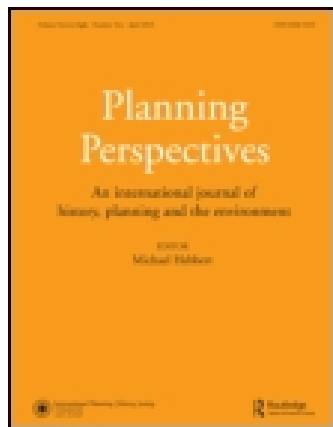


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### The economies of urban diversity. Ruhr area and Istanbul

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**The economies of urban diversity. Ruhr area and Istanbul**, edited by Darja Reuschke, Monika Salzbrunn, and Korinna Schönhärl, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, 265 pp., £74.00 (hbk)

Being designated European Capital of Culture (ECoC) offers many benefits to a city, not least of which is academic funding that is closely tied to public attention. Urban studies can also profit from this opportunity. The volume under review is the result of one of at least two conferences that compared the Ruhr area and Istanbul, both of them ECoCs in 2010. At first glance, it seems evident to select for comparison these two large urban agglomerations (the Ruhr area with 5 million and Istanbul with 13 million inhabitants) and leave aside the Hungarian small town of Pecs, the third ECoC nominee of that year. But how can we really justify such a comparison and what do we expect to gain from it?

The most obvious connection between the two metropolitan areas are the hundreds of thousands Turkish workers who were called to the Ruhr between 1961 and 1973, and whose children and grandchildren, together with later Turkish migrants, still constitute the largest group of immigrants in the area. In his chapter, Yunus Ulusoy addresses different phases of this migration also including a discussion of the reverse migration in recent years of well-educated Turkish-German professionals to Turkey. Underlining Istanbul's role as both gateway and a catchment area for labour recruitment to Germany, the chapter calls into question the stereotypical image of the Southeast Anatolian migrant. However, the author does not tackle the question of whether this migration established a special relationship between the Ruhr and Istanbul.

Starting with the phenomenon of Turkish migration to Germany, which is very prominent in German public debates and academic research, the volume discusses questions of urban diversity, migration and migrants' economic activity as general points of comparison between the Ruhr and Istanbul. In the three sections – on migration, ethnic entrepreneurship and residential segregation – each consist of four chapters. They focus on the Ruhr and four on Istanbul addressing the overarching topics from various angles. Moreover, there are two introductory chapters. The one by Monika Salzbrunn analyses the evolution of the concept of diversity in urban studies, while the other by Edhem Eldem presents cautionary remarks on the comparability of diversity/cosmopolitanism in historic Istanbul with contemporary urban diversity.

Apart from Ulusoy's chapter mentioned above, the first section on migration offers a very interesting historical case study on Polish migration to the Ruhr at the turn of the twentieth century. Michaela Bachem-Rehm gives a concise overview over the history of these migrants who were largely Polish-speaking German citizens from the regions of Posen, Silesia or Masuria, and the role of Catholic associations that enabled their complete and relatively easy integration into German society. Her chapter offers material for internal comparisons between the histories of Polish and Turkish migrants who came to the Ruhr under different circumstances. However, this comparison is not extended to Istanbul, which had its own history of migration and integration of various groups such as Bosnians, Bulgarian Turks in the 1980s or Kurds since the 1990s. Instead, the volume's next section on ethnic entrepreneurship focuses on a group that finds no equivalent in the Ruhr: the Istanbul Greeks, who are an autochthonous ethno-religious community that is a minority in modern Turkey.

The topic of Maria Chatziioannou's and Dimitris Kamouzis's chapter is the success of this community in economic terms since the middle of the nineteenth century and its subsequent

exclusion from Turkish society after 1908, which destroyed its economic basis by 'Turkifying' economic life. In the following chapter, Ayşe Ozil portrays the specific contribution of Christian architects to the modern built environment of Istanbul. The dominance of Greek Orthodox as well as Armenian architects has to be seen in direct connection with the formation of Christian bourgeoisie, as is detailed in the preceding chapter. These new groups needed a business infrastructure, as well as new community places like schools, which were among the most modern buildings in Istanbul in the nineteenth century. The section's concluding chapter by Ivonne Fischer-Krapohl returns to the context of Turkish migrants to the Ruhr area, focusing on the city of Dortmund. The author offers a detailed spatial analysis of businesses of different migrant groups. One of her most important findings beyond the purely local context is the diversified nature of such businesses that seriously calls into question the category of an 'ethnic economy' as such.

The last section about residential segregation starts with a detailed analysis of the Turkish migrant community's settlement patterns in the Ruhr by Darja Reuschke and Sabine Weck. The authors present the individual and structural reasons for the emergence of segregated quarters and their perpetuation under the dire economic conditions that these communities faced because of de-industrialization. Even today, there is a clear correlation between class-based and ethnic segregation, despite municipal welfare and development programmes that tried to break this correlation. The chapter's point of comparison is 'other Western European countries' and not Istanbul, but, regarding its focus on class as one important aspect of segregation, it offers a potential for comparison with the case of contemporary Istanbul as described by Deniz Yonucu in the succeeding chapter.

Here the author examines working-class neighbourhoods of Istanbul that first were created as squatter settlements (*gecekondu*) by rural migrants in the 1950s and 1960s, subsequently developed into socialist strongholds and experimental spaces of self-administration before they were criminalized and affected by economic restructuring after the coup in 1980. The easy picture the author presents could have been analysed in a more sophisticated way by introducing regional, ethnic or religious differentiations among Istanbul's working class.

In the section's last chapter, Nil Uzun zooms in on Istanbul's historic centre and examines gentrification as a result of Istanbul's economic transformation and changing cultural choices. Focusing on three inner-city neighbourhoods, she explains the patterns of gentrification from the 1980s until today. The article also identifies Istanbul's preparation for its ECoC status as one factor in this process. Large sums were spent by the municipality to make certain historic parts of Istanbul more attractive for tourism. These measures vitalized the property market and attracted outside investors. Such developments, which can also be observed in other European metropolises, are hardly imaginable in the Ruhr area.

Overall, the volume under review offers a series of interesting case studies that illustrate the mechanisms of integration and exclusion of migrants and minorities in modern urban societies and examines them with regard to economic activity and settlement patterns. The studies on Istanbul, on the one hand, focus on historical minorities that are a legacy of the Ottoman Empire and in this form do not exist in the Ruhr. On the other hand, they are informed by the contemporary developments that transform Istanbul into what has been called a 'global city'.

The papers on the Ruhr largely offer a more local perspective and present empirically rooted pictures of specific localities. They are too narrowly focused on Turkish migration to the region. Other results of modern migration – for example, with regard to the concept of urban super-diversity that was introduced in the volume's introduction – are not included in the volume. They do not seem to offer a useful research perspective for the Ruhr, and they are not really

addressed in the case of Istanbul. These questions could inspire future research that perhaps will be freer in choosing its objects of comparison.

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**Urbanität und Dichte im Städtebau des 20. Jahrhunderts**, by Wolfgang Sonne, Berlin, DOM Publishers, 2014, 360 pp., €98 (hardcover)

Wolfgang Sonne's impressive book on 'Urbanity and Density in 20th-Century Urban Design' is based on more than 10 years of extensive research. Nonetheless, it succeeds in summarizing his findings under the heading of his opening hypothesis: that throughout the twentieth century there were convincing examples of dense urban design, and that the periodization of an 'anti-urban' modernist era between approximately 1930 and 1970, in which architects and town planners exclusively promoted sparsely populated and functionally separated urban agglomerations, is flawed (7).

Sonne embarks on a comparative analysis of dense twentieth-century urban design in various European cities. His examples are taken from London, Berlin, Paris, Milan, Madrid, Lisbon, and Warsaw, but also from smaller places like Durham, Genoa, or Lemgo. The book opens with several chapters on the 'reform blocks' of the early twentieth century – those spacious and luminous alternatives to the overcrowded 'slums', and which were neither garden city homes nor towers-in-the-park but rather typologies derived from the nineteenth-century multistorey tenement. Sonne then dedicates a few chapters to typological analyses of squares, streets, and high-rise buildings in the early and mid-twentieth century, before concentrating once again on what he deems the bone of historiographical contention: the continuing prominence of dense urban design plans during the heydays of post-war functionalist renewal. Some of these plans, including the rebuilding of the city centres of Münster, Le Havre, or Warsaw, were at least partially realized. Many others succumbed to the appeal of tower blocks and motorways to 1960s planners and politicians.

In these chapters, Sonne succeeds in writing a different history of urban design theory, one that is, for example, in the German context, not dominated by the famous post-war proponents of the 'scattered and dispersed city', such as Johannes Göderitz or Bernhard Reichow, but by far lesser known, but according to Sonne equally influential, contemporaries who propagated dense and pedestrian-orientated spaces: the urban design professor Heinz Wetzlar, the Düsseldorf city councillor Albert Deneke, or the architect Wolfgang Rauda. These narrations of early twentieth-century architecture and post-Second World War reconstruction are the most powerful portions of Sonne's book. He convincingly explains his claim that *Athens Charter*-style functionalist urban design – theorized in the 1920s, realized in the 1950s and 1960s – was a matter of choice rather than a lack of alternatives.

The final chapters on more recent projects – post-1970s examples of dense, mixed-use projects – are more schematic, more descriptive, and less tied to a historical account. This might be