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INHALTSVERZEICHNIS – *CONTENTS*

(Band – *Volume* 165/2023)

Urbane Räume – *Urban Areas*

ROGOJANU Ana und WOLFMAYR Georg:
Knappheitskonstellationen auf dem Wiener Wohnungsmarkt. Einflussfaktoren und Aushandlungsprozesse aus der Perspektive von Wohnungssuchenden 9–38
Constellations of Scarcity on the Viennese Housing Market. Relevant Factors and Negotiation Processes from the Perspective of Housing Seekers
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1553/moegg165-086

TODORIĆ Jovana, VUKSANOVIĆ-MACURA Zlata, and DOLJAK Dejan:
Exploring the Spatiality of Shopping Patterns in Belgrade, Serbia 39–62
Analyse räumlicher Muster des Einkaufsverhaltens in Belgrad, Serbien
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1553/moegg165-074

Historische Geographie – *Historical Geography*

HILBERT Bálint:
New Aspects in Historical-Geographical Research of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy: The Legal Nature of the Customs Union and Migration Links between Austria and Hungary (1870–1910)..... 63–89
Neue Aspekte der historisch-geographischen Forschung zur Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie: Die Rechtsnatur der Zollunion und die Migrationsströme zwischen Österreich und Ungarn (1870–1910)
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1553/moegg165-085

Kulturlandschaftsforschung – *Cultural Landscape Research*

SVOBODA Stanislav:
Friedhöfe als spezifische Elemente der historischen Kulturlandschaft, analysiert am Beispiel der Entwicklung mittelböhmischer und niederösterreichischer Friedhöfe 91–136
Cemeteries as Specific Elements of the Historical Cultural Landscape, Analysed Using the Example of the Development of Central Bohemian and Lower Austrian Cemeteries
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1553/moegg165-077

Spezialthema: Migration, Tourismus und Gesundheit – Fallstudien aus Asien
Special Section: Migration, Tourism, and Health – Insights from Asia

PETERS Marie, KILIAN Pamela, and KRAAS Frauke:
The Role of High-Skilled Return Migrants in China's Urban Development. Policies and Resettlement Factors in the Cities of Guangzhou and Dongguan, Pearl River Delta / China 137–165
Die Rolle hochqualifizierter Rückwanderer in der Stadtentwicklung Chinas. Politiken und Ansiedlungsfaktoren in Guangzhou und Dongguan, Perlflussdelta / China
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1553/moegg165-089

HE Ke and SASIWONGSAROJ Kwanchit:
International Retirement Migration-Related Real Estate in Thailand: Global Context, Current Situation, and Industry Outlook 167–198
Immobilienmarkt und internationale Ruhestandsmigration in Thailand: Globaler Kontext, aktuelle Situation und Perspektiven der künftigen Entwicklung
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1553/moegg165-090

ONO Mitsuko and DOUNGPHUMMES Nuntiya:
New Paths for Social Adaptation in Transnational Migration: The Case of a Migrant Community in Tokyo, Japan 199–216
Neue Wege der Sozialen Anpassung in der transnationalen Migration. Fallstudie einer Migrantengemeinschaft in Tokio, Japan
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1553/moegg165-091

HUSA Lukas Christian:
Dark Tourism in Thailand – The "Touristification" of Wartime Atrocities and Crime 217–234
„Dark Tourism" in Thailand – Die „Touristifizierung" von Krieg und Verbrechen
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1553/moegg165-093

DUANGKAEW Sutpratana:
Unravelling the Global Care Chain and Human Capital Dynamics: Thai Caregivers in Japan 235–253
Einblicke in die globale Pflegekette und die Dynamik der Zunahme des Humankapitals: Thailändische Pflegekräfte in Japan
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1553/moegg165-092

YOKOYAMA Akiko:
Transformation of Socially Constructed Disability: Social Practice of Disabled People in Thailand..... 255–280
Transformation von sozial konstruierter Behinderung: Soziale Praxis behinderter Menschen in Thailand
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1553/moegg165-088

Physische Geographie – *Physical Geography*

RADEVSKI Ivan, GORIN Svemir, ZLATANOSKI Vladimir, PETROVIĆ Ana M., KUZMANOSKI Arse, MANEVSKA Emilija, and MARKOSKI Blagoja:
Determining Streamflow Patterns in North Macedonia Using PCA and AHC Analysis 281–305
Analyse von Abflussmustern im Flusssystem Nordmazedoniens mittels PCA- und AHC-Analyse
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1553/moegg165-081

Geoinformation – *Geographic Information Science*

GUECHI Imen, GHERRAZ Halima, ALKAMA Djamel, and KORICHI Ayoub:
Spatial Suitability Analysis for Sustainable Urban Growth Using the AHP-GeoTOPSIS Model. A Case Study in Guelma, Algeria 307–338
Räumliche Eignungsanalyse für nachhaltiges Stadtwachstum unter Verwendung des AHP-GeoTOPSIS-Modells. Eine Fallstudie in Guelma, Algerien
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1553/moegg165-083

Berichte und Kleine Mitteilungen – *Reports and Notes*

BÄTZING Werner:
Der Wandel anthropogen geprägter Raumstrukturen von den Jäger- und Sammlergesellschaften bis zur Gegenwart. Ein geographischer Blick auf die materiellen Auswirkungen sich verändernder Mensch-Umwelt-Beziehungen vor dem Hintergrund der aktuellen Umweltprobleme 339–350
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1553/moegg165-b01

CALDERÓN Marietta und STANI-FERTL Roman:
Bericht über das AKO-Gedenksymposium „Geographische Namen im Gebrauch – Angewandte Toponomastik in ihrer Vielfalt“ 351–353
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1553/moegg165-b02

JORDAN Peter:
Josef Breu – Atlasredakteur und Toponomast 354–366
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1553/moegg165-b03

LUSCHÜTZKY Hans Christian:
Die hohe Schule der Polyglottie. Otto Back und die Vielfalt der Toponymie .. 367–379
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1553/moegg165-b04

Jordan Peter:
Die großen geographischen Tagungen des Jahres 2023 380–393
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1553/moegg165-b05

Gartner Georg:
Die Internationale Kartographische Konferenz 2023 der ICA 394–396
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1553/moegg165-b06

Pangerl Karl Martin:
„Bold Europe“ – European Forum Alpbach. Die Erneuerung Europas im Dialog 397–402
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1553/moegg165-b07

Personalia – *Biographical Notes*

Riedl Helmut:
In Memoriam Em. O. Univ.-Prof. Dr. Bruno Backé (1932 – 2023) 403–408

Lieb Gerhard K.:
Herwig Wakonigg (1942 bis 2023) – Ein Nachruf 409–410

Schwarz Wolfgang:
Humangeographin, Kartographin, Förderin der ÖGG – Maria Bobek-Fesl 90 Jahre 411–414

Buchbesprechungen – *Book Reviews* 415–430

Bätzing Werner (2023): Homo destructor. Eine Mensch-Umwelt-Geschichte. Von der Entstehung des Menschen zur Zerstörung der Welt
Wolfgang Schwarz 415
Martin Seger 417

Franz Yvonne, Heintel Martin (Hrsg.) (2022): Kooperative Stadt- und Regionalentwicklung – *Franz Dollinger* 420

Hedtke Reinhold (2023): Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft. Eine Theorie der sozioökonomischen Bildung – *Christian Fridrich* 423

Lüdecke Cornelia (2019): Militärische und zivile Geographie – Von Carl Ritters Geographie in Berlin bis zu Karl Haushofers Geopolitik in München – *Thomas Palaschewski* 425

Milanović Pešić Ana, Jakovljević Dejana (Hrsg.) (2020): Water Resources Management: Methods, Applications and Challenges – *Igor Leščešen* 426

Werber Niels (2022): Geopolitik zur Einführung – *Thomas Palaschewski* 428

Informationen der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft –
Information of the Austrian Geographical Society

WOHLSCHLÄGL Helmut: Gesellschaftsnachrichten 2022/2023 431–446

Autorenhinweise – *Information for authors* 447–448

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Urbane Räume

Urban Areas

Knappheitskonstellationen auf dem Wiener Wohnungsmarkt. Einflussfaktoren und Aushandlungsprozesse aus der Perspektive von Wohnungssuchenden

Ana Rogojanu und Georg Wolfmayr, Wien*

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mit 2 Abbildungen im Text

Inhalt

Zusammenfassung 10
Summary 10
1 Einleitung 11
2 Theoretischer Rahmen: Differenzierung von Wohnraumknappheit 12
3 Methodik 14
4 Angebot sowie formale und ökonomische Zugangsvoraussetzungen zu Wohnfeldern in Wien 16
5 Einflussfaktoren von Knappheitskonstellationen in Fallstudien der Wohnraumsuche 20
6 Schluss 28
7 Literaturverzeichnis 33

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Zusammenfassung

In diesem Beitrag wird am Beispiel Wiens ein differenzierter Blick auf Knappheit am Wohnungsmarkt entwickelt, der über eine allgemeine Betrachtung des Verhältnisses von Angebot und Nachfrage bzw. dessen Zuspitzung auf Fragen der Leistbarkeit oder der formalen Zugänglichkeit hinausgeht. Neben der Betrachtung des Wohnungsangebots und der Zugangsregelungen zu Teilen dieses Angebots wird durch die qualitative Analyse der Erfahrungen von Wohnungssuchenden, die in explorativen Fallstudien dargestellt werden, die Nachfrageseite in den Mittelpunkt gerückt und danach gefragt, für wen und aufgrund welcher Faktoren Wohnraum knapp wird. Dabei werden insbesondere soziokulturelle Ressourcen der Wohnungssuchenden wie Herkunft und Sprache, Wissen über den Wohnungsmarkt, Praktiken und Strategien der Wohnungssuche und Zeitinvestition als zusätzliche, bisher eher am Rande betrachtete Einflussfaktoren von Knappheit identifiziert. Zugleich zeigt der Beitrag, dass die Art und Weise, wie sich Wohnbedürfnisse durch das Handeln der Wohnungssuchenden als Nachfrage auf einem Wohnungsmarkt manifestieren, das Ergebnis komplexer Aushandlungen und Abwägungen ist, die vor dem Hintergrund subjektiver Einschätzungen der Knappheit und der Erfahrungen der eigenen Chancen in diesem Rahmen stattfinden.

Schlagwörter: Wohnraumsuche, Wohnraumknappheit, Wohnungsmarkt, Wohnkrise, Wohnzugang, Wien

Summary

Constellations of Scarcity on the Viennese Housing Market. Relevant Factors and Negotiation Processes from the Perspective of Housing Seekers

Using Vienna as an example, the article develops a differentiated view of scarcity in the housing market that goes beyond a general consideration of the relationship between supply and demand or its focus on issues of affordability or formal accessibility. In addition to looking at housing supply and access regulations, it focuses on the demand side through a qualitative analysis of the experiences of people looking for housing, presented in explorative case studies, asking for whom and due to what factors housing is scarce. The results suggest that the socio-cultural resources of housing seekers, such as origin and language, knowledge of the housing market, housing search practices and strategies, and time invested in housing search, are additional factors influencing scarcity that have only been marginally considered. At the same time, the paper shows that the way in which housing needs are manifested as demand in a housing market through the actions of housing seekers is the result of complex negotiations and trade-offs that take place against the background of subjective assessments of scarcity in parts of the housing market and experiences of one's own opportunities in this context.

Keywords: Housing search, housing shortage, housing market, housing crisis, housing access, Vienna

1 Einleitung

Dass Raum in vielen westlichen Großstädten knapp ist, scheint heute eine grundlegende Voraussetzung stadt- und wohnforscherischen Denkens zu sein. Besteht über die Diagnose der Knappheit Einigkeit, so sind die Erklärungen dafür vielfältig: als Resultat städtischen Bevölkerungswachstums (Reurbanisierung und Zuwanderung), welches bei nicht mithaltender Neubautätigkeit das Wohnraumangebot knapper macht (Ritt 2015); als Effekt einer verstärkten Kommodifizierung und Finanzialisierung von Wohnraum als Anlageform in Zeiten niedriger Zinsen (Heeg 2017; Aigner 2022); als Konsequenz eines Rückzugs des Staates aus der Wohnraumproduktion (Kadi 2015); als Folge von Bodenknappheit und -verteuerung (Gerber et al. 2018; Baron et al. 2021), welche vor allem den Bau von leistbarem Wohnraum schwieriger machen; als Auswirkung der Zunahme von Kurzzeitvermietungen, die einen Teil des Wohnraumangebots der langfristigen Vermietung entziehen (Seidl et al. 2017; Garcia-López et al. 2020). Heterogen sind aber nicht nur die Gründe der Wohnraumknappheit, sondern auch ihre gesellschaftlichen Auswirkungen, die jenseits der Feststellung einer allgemeinen Wohnraumknappheit der Präzisierung bedürfen.

Während in vielen Studien anhand der Gegenüberstellung von Einkommens- und Mietpreisentwicklung eine Spezifizierung von Knappheit in Richtung bezahlbaren Wohnraums überzeugend vorgenommen wird und Wohnungsknappheit insbesondere als Problem von Haushalten mit niedrigem Einkommen thematisiert wird (z. B. Lee et al. 2022; Tsenkova 2022a; Gutheil-Knopp-Kirchwald und Kadi 2014; Mundt 2018), werden andere Faktoren, die Knappheit für Wohnungssuchende beeinflussen, weit weniger thematisiert. Studien zur Diskriminierung in verschiedenen Wohnkontexten arbeiten oft detaillierte Dynamiken bezüglich formeller und informeller Zugangshürden für spezifische Gruppen heraus (z. B. Auspurg et al. 2017; Aigner 2019; Verstraete und Moris 2019; Wolifson et al. 2023). Ebenso wird die Frage der Nutzbarkeit von Wohnungen im Sinne der Übereinstimmung mit den Wohnbedürfnissen der Bevölkerung fallweise diskutiert (z. B. Gruber et al. 2022), aber nicht im Kontext von Knappheit. Eine systematische Auseinandersetzung mit Fragen der Wohnraumknappheit versuchen quantitative Submarktstudien, die beispielsweise die Diskriminierung von Wohnungssuchenden aufgrund ihres Migrationshintergrunds oder ihres sozialen Status mit höherer Knappheit und damit höheren Wohnkosten in Verbindung bringen (z. B. Ipsen 1981; Watkins 2001). Diese Submarktstudien stellen wiederum zwar wertvolle Differenzierungen von Knappheit dar, gehen aber wenig auf andere Einflussfaktoren von Knappheit ein.

Ziel dieses Beitrags ist es dementsprechend, einen differenzierteren Blick auf Wohnraumknappheit zu gewinnen, indem in explorativ-qualitativen Fallstudien über Wohnungssuchende in Wien im Detail Einflussfaktoren auf Knappheit und deren Zusammenwirken herausgearbeitet werden. Im vorliegenden Beitrag geht es also nicht darum, objektiv Submärkte zu identifizieren und den Grad der Knappheit darin zu bestimmen, sondern darum, wenig berücksichtigten Determinanten der Knappheit nachzuspüren, etwa Aspekten wie falschem oder fehlendem Wissen über das Wohnsystem und Marktgepflogenheiten, habituell bedingten Wohnbedürfnissen oder Zeitressourcen bei der Wohnraumsuche. Wie anhand dieser Punkte deutlich wird, liegt der Schwerpunkt dieses Beitrags weniger auf der

Angebotsseite, sondern auf den Wohnraumsuchenden und damit den Einflussfaktoren auf der Nachfrageseite des Wohnsystems.

Am Beispiel von Wien will dieser Beitrag Einblicke geben, wie sich die Knappheit von Wohnraum entlang von verschiedenen Einflussfaktoren konstituiert und wie sie sich aus der Position unterschiedlicher Wohnraumsuchender darstellt. Dabei mag Wien zunächst als Beispiel der Diskussion von Knappheit am Wohnungsmarkt überraschen, wird es doch mit Blick auf die Qualität und Leistbarkeit von Wohnraum im internationalen Vergleich medial häufig als „Best Practice"-Beispiel präsentiert. So gelten etwa der große Bestand an Gemeindewohnungen, das System der Gemeinnützigkeit und der qualitativ hochwertige soziale Wohnbau als herausragende Errungenschaften der Wiener Wohnungspolitik (Scanlon 2017; Paul 2018; Leonhard 2019; Punz 2019; Tsenkova 2022b). Dennoch sind Wohnkrise- und Knappheitsnarrative auch im Wiener Kontext zentrale Deutungen der Entwicklungen der letzten Jahre, sowohl im medialen (z. B. Senk 2018) als auch im wissenschaftlichen Diskurs (z. B. Ritt 2015; Baron et al. 2021; Kadi et al. 2021). Da Wien als Mietwohnungsmarkt mit einem sehr geringen Anteil an Wohnungseigentum charakterisiert werden kann und sich die Diskussionen um knapper werdenden Wohnraum meist um den sozialen und privaten Mietwohnungssektor drehen, wird es im Folgenden im Wesentlichen um diesen gehen.

Der Beitrag ist wie folgt aufgebaut: Zunächst werden wir in Kapitel 2 einen konzeptionellen Rahmen zur Differenzierung von Einflussfaktoren auf Wohnraumknappheit skizzieren und im anschließenden Kapitel 3 unser methodisches Vorgehen erläutern. Anschließend werden wir den Nutzen dieses konzeptionellen Rahmens beispielhaft veranschaulichen, indem wir in Kapitel 4 mit Blick auf den spezifischen Fall von Wien einen Überblick über das Wohnungsangebot und die Zugangsvoraussetzungen zu diesem Angebot geben, bevor wir in Kapitel 5 exemplarisch aus der Perspektive von Wohnraumsuchenden in vier Fallstudien unterschiedliche Einflussfaktoren spezifischer Knappheitskonstellationen sowie Umgangsweisen damit nachzeichnen. Abschließend diskutieren wir in Kapitel 6 fallübergreifende Einflussfaktoren und Dynamiken der Konstitution von Wohnraumknappheit.

2. Theoretischer Rahmen: Differenzierung von Wohnraumknappheit

Knappheit ist zunächst eine ökonomische Schlüsselkategorie und gilt als das fundamentale Movens ökonomischen Handelns und zentrales Charakteristikum der „conditio humana", aus welchem sich das Prinzip des Ökonomisierens ergibt. Neben – insbesondere in der Ökonomie verbreiteten – Ansätzen, die Knappheit voraussetzen und von dieser ausgehend menschliches Handeln untersuchen, thematisieren sozial- und kulturwissenschaftliche Ansätze häufig die Entstehung von Knappheit selbst und verstehen diese, wie der Soziologe Tobias Werron (2019, S. 24) festhält, als „Endlichkeit, die auf spezifische Weise sozial relevant gemacht wird". Wir interessieren uns im Folgenden sowohl für die strukturelle Seite der Entstehung von Knappheit als auch für die subjektive Seite, also konkret dafür, für wen Wohnraum in welcher Weise knapp ist, und für die Umgangsweisen mit Knappheit, die wiederum – in Form von Handlungen in einem Markt – selbst als Einflussfaktoren greifbar werden.

Ausgehend von diesem Verständnis von Knappheit als Kategorie, die sowohl auf der Angebots- wie auf der Nachfrageseite sozial hergestellt und mit verschiedenen Strategien bearbeitet wird (Tauschek 2015; Welz 2015; Werron 2019), unterscheiden wir im Sinne einer Heuristik mit Blick auf den Wohnungsmarkt verschiedene Dimensionen, die für die Entstehung von spezifischen Knappheitskonstellationen relevant sind.

Mit Blick auf die *Angebotsseite* sind dies erstens der gewachsene Wohnungsbestand mit bestimmten Merkmalen von Größe, Lage, Ausstattung etc. in verschiedenen Besitz- und Verwaltungsverhältnissen sowie die Weiterentwicklung dieses Angebots durch Neubau und dessen Steuerung durch Verwaltung von Boden, Stadtentwicklungspläne etc. Zweitens sind Zugangsvoraussetzungen rechtlicher, ökonomischer oder soziokultureller Art zu verschiedenen Bereichen des Wohnungsmarkts (beispielsweise Gemeindebau, gemeinnütziger oder privater Wohnbau) konstitutiv dafür, wie sich Knappheit von der Angebotsseite her gestaltet. Dabei kann es einerseits um aktive, geplante Steuerung im Sinne von sogenannten „housing-welfare regimes" (Friesenecker und Kazepov 2021, S. 79) gehen, die etwa durch die Begrenzung des Zugangs zu einem Teil des Wohnungsmarkts die Knappheit in diesem für spezifische Bevölkerungsgruppen verringern. Andererseits sind aber auch Dynamiken relevant, die sich durch die Vergabemechanismen in verschiedenen Wohnfeldern ergeben, beispielsweise durch informelle Vergabekriterien im privaten Mietwohnungsmarkt oder durch die Erfordernisse bürokratischer Vergabeprozesse im sozialen Wohnbau (Van Daalen und Van Der Land 2008; Morris et al. 2022; Wolifson et al. 2023; Verstraete und Moris 2019; Reosti 2020). Diese können mitunter Ein- und Ausschlüsse produzieren, die über die formalen Zugangskriterien und über die intendierte Ausrichtung auf spezifische Zielgruppen hinausgehen.

Auf der *Nachfrageseite* spielt zum einen die Ressourcenverteilung der Wohnraumsuchenden eine zentrale Rolle. Der Vielfalt der Linien entsprechend, entlang derer Zugangsvoraussetzungen geregelt sind, ist dabei nicht nur ökonomisches Kapital von Bedeutung, sondern insgesamt die Kapitalienausstattung der Wohnraumsuchenden im Sinne Pierre Bourdieus (1982, 1983, 2005), das heißt, das Volumen und die Zusammensetzung von ökonomischem, kulturellem und sozialem Kapital, sowie die habitualisierten Dispositionen, die die Grundlage für bestimmte Praktiken und Strategien der Wohnraumsuche in spezifischen Feldern bilden. Die soziokulturellen Ressourcen und die auf habitualisierten Dispositionen beruhenden Praktiken und Strategien der Wohnungssuchenden bestimmen aber nicht nur die grundsätzliche Zugänglichkeit von Subfeldern des Wohnungsmarkts, sondern, wie in Studien sowohl zum sozialen als auch zum privaten Mietwohnungsmarkt gezeigt wurde (Kullberg 2002; Morris et al. 2023; Jin et al. 2023; Hochstenbach und Boterman 2015; Boterman 2012), auch die Erfolgsaussichten innerhalb dieser Wohnfelder, wodurch Knappheit zusätzlich verschärft oder entschärft werden kann.

Zum anderen wird die konkrete Nachfrage in entscheidendem Ausmaß auch von den Wohnbedürfnissen beeinflusst, die dazu führen, dass bestimmter Wohnraum mehr nachgefragt wird als anderer. Wohnbedürfnisse werden aus sozial- und kulturwissenschaftlicher Perspektive nicht als natürlich vorhanden verstanden, sondern selbst als sozial vermittelt begriffen. Dabei spielen stabile Faktoren, wie etwa habituelle Dispositionen und Präferenzsysteme aufgrund von Herkunft und Sozialisation, ebenso eine Rolle wie dynamischere Faktoren, etwa die Diskurse rund um Wohnraum als Vorsorge- und Ab-

sicherungsmöglichkeit (Heeg 2017; Aigner 2022), die die Nachfrage nach Wohnungseigentum steigern, oder Erfahrungen im Rahmen der Covid-Pandemie, die Wünsche nach Balkonen und Gärten befördern (Putschögl und Redl 2020). Darüber hinaus ist die Art und Weise, wie sich Wohnbedürfnisse als Nachfrage in einem Wohnungsmarkt konkretisieren, nicht nur ein Resultat dieser Einflussfaktoren, sondern unterliegt vielmehr einer stetigen Aushandlung zwischen Idealvorstellungen und der Einschätzung real bestehender Möglichkeiten, wie in verschiedenen Forschungen zur Wohnraumsuche gezeigt wurde (Rössel und Hölscher 2012; Preece et al. 2020; Preece et al. 2021).

Zusammengenommen verstehen wir diese Dimensionen – ein heterogenes Angebot an Wohnraum in unterschiedlichen Teilfeldern des Wohnungsmarkts, unterschiedliche Zugangsmöglichkeiten zu diesen Wohnfeldern, die ungleiche Verteilung von Ressourcen und historisch, kulturell und sozial variierende und situativ ausgehandelte Wohnbedürfnisse – als wesentliche Einflussfaktoren für unterschiedliche Knappheitskonstellationen. Mit dieser Konzeption untersuchen wir, inwiefern sich Wohnraum für unterschiedliche Wohnraumsuchende als ungleich knapp darstellt, und versuchen, die jeweiligen Dimensionen weiter auszudifferenzieren. Im vorliegenden Beitrag liegt der Schwerpunkt insbesondere auf der Nachfrageseite und wir fokussieren auf solche Einflussfaktoren, die sich aus einer unterschiedlichen Ressourcenverteilung und unterschiedlichen Wohnbedürfnissen ergeben.

3 Methodik

Für die Darstellung der strukturellen Voraussetzungen des Wiener Wohnungsmarkts stützt sich der Beitrag einerseits auf Mikrozensus-Daten sowie auf Daten und Auswertungen der Bundesanstalt Statistik Österreich (Statistik Austria) aus EU-SILC, der EU-Statistik über Einkommen und Lebensbedingungen, weiters der Immobilienpreisstatistik sowie der Baumaßnahmenstatistik (Statistik Austria 2019, 2020, 2021). Darüber hinaus beziehen wir uns auf weiterführende Analysen dieser Daten beispielsweise durch den Österreichischen Verband gemeinnütziger Bauvereinigungen (GBV) (Bauer 2006, 2008; Kössl 2020), durch die Arbeiterkammer Wien (Rosifka und Postler 2010; Rosifka 2015; Tockner 2017) oder die Wiener Wohnbauforschung (Gutmann und Huber 2014; Schluder 2005). Außerdem haben wir relevante Rechtsvorschriften (Wohnungsgemeinnützigkeitsgesetz – WGG, Wiener Wohnbauförderungs- und Wohnhaussanierungsgesetz – WWFSG 1989, Mietrechtsgesetz – MRG) sowie die öffentlich zugänglichen Informationen von Wiener Wohnen zur Vergabe von Gemeindewohnungen und geförderten Wohnungen inhaltsanalytisch ausgewertet, um Inklusions- und Exklusionsmechanismen entlang ökonomischer, formaler und soziokultureller Kriterien herauszuarbeiten.

Die zweite wesentliche Grundlage des Beitrags bilden qualitative, leitfadengestützte Interviews mit insgesamt 28 Personen, die sich zum Interviewzeitpunkt auf Wohnungssuche befanden oder im letzten halben Jahr nach einer Wohnung gesucht hatten. Die Fragen richteten sich dabei einerseits auf die Wohnbiografien und andererseits auf die konkreten Erfahrungen im Zuge der Suche. Sie wurden größtenteils über Online-Anzeigen auf Social Media-Plattformen rekrutiert, teilweise aber auch über die Vermittlung von ge-

meinnützigen Vereinen oder über das Schneeballprinzip. Die Auswahl der Interviewpersonen erfolgte nach dem Prinzip der Fallkontrastierung (Kelle und Kluge 2010) entlang von Kategorien wie Kapitalienausstattung, Herkunft, Alter, Art der gesuchten Wohnung (beispielsweise Gemeindewohnung, Wohnung bei gemeinnützigen Bauträgern, private Mietwohnung) etc. Die von uns interviewten Personen sind zwischen 19 und 60 Jahre alt, haben unterschiedliche Bildungshintergründe (von Pflichtschule bis Doktorat) und finanzielle Möglichkeiten (die Bandbreite der monatlichen Nettoeinkommen reicht von unter 1000 Euro bis 3000 Euro). Sie suchten zu etwa gleichen Teilen im Feld des sozialen Wohnbaus und im privaten Mietwohnungsmarkt, wobei die meisten mehrere Wohnfelder in Betracht zogen und zum Teil parallel darin suchten. Manche wurden im Zuge ihrer Suche mehrfach interviewt. Die Interviews wurden in einem ersten Schritt mithilfe der Datenanalysesoftware MaxQDA kodiert und analysiert, wobei Fragen nach den Ausgangspunkten für die Wohnungssuche, nach den Suchstrategien, den Herausforderungen der Suche und den Strategien im Umgang damit im Zentrum des Interesses standen.

Für den vorliegenden Beitrag wurden – gewissermaßen im Sinne eines theoretischen Samplings (Strübing 2022) innerhalb des bereits vorhandenen Materials – vier Interviews ausgewählt, die wir vertiefend mit Blick auf die Fragestellungen dieses Beitrags analysiert haben und im zweiten Teil des Textes ausführlich als Fallstudien darstellen. Die Fallstudien zeigen in besonderer Tiefe, Detailliertheit und Komplexität unterschiedliche Dynamiken des Zusammenwirkens von Wohnungsangebot und Zugangsregelungen sowie Ressourcen und Wohnbedürfnissen der Wohnungssuchenden, also Einflussfaktoren unterschiedlicher Knappheitskonstellationen auf (zu Fallstudien siehe Lamnek und Krell 2016; Borchardt und Göthlich 2009; Tight 2022).

Grundlegend für die Auswahl waren zwei Überlegungen. *Erstens* sind die vier Fälle jeder für sich erhellend mit Blick auf „allgemeine Bedeutungsstrukturen und generative Mechanismen“ (Meyer und Meier zu Verl 2022, S. 300) – sie machen in besonderer Dichte und prägnant Einflussfaktoren von Knappheitskonstellationen nachvollziehbar, die auch in den anderen Teilen des Materials eine wesentliche Rolle spielen. Konkret bedeutet das, dass es sich um Fälle handelt, in denen besonders intensive Auseinandersetzungen mit verschiedenen Möglichkeiten des Wohnungsmarkts berichtet wurden und in denen in sehr expliziter Weise Abwägungen zwischen den vermuteten Chancen auf dem Wohnungsmarkt und den eigenen Wohnbedürfnissen thematisiert wurden. *Zweitens* decken sie in ihrer spezifischen Kombination in Hinblick auf die bisherige theoretische Diskussion von Wohnraumknappheit möglichst umfangreich, wenn auch nicht erschöpfend, Aspekte ab, die bisher kaum als Einflussfaktoren von Wohnraumknappheit untersucht wurden (zur explorativen Funktion von Fallstudien siehe Hering und Jungmann 2022).

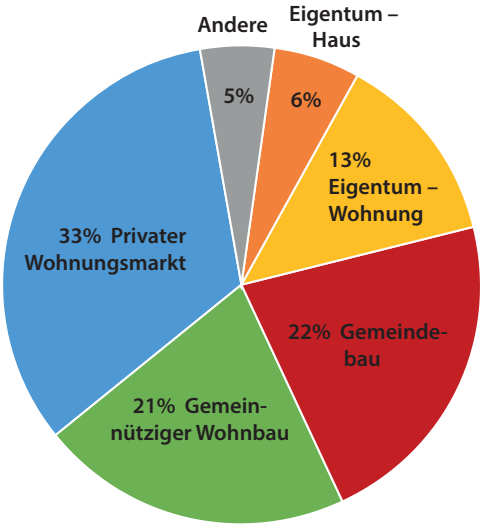
Während in bisherigen Forschungen die Position von Wohnungssuchenden oft entlang von Kategorien wie Einkommen, Beruf, Migrationshintergrund oder – spezifisch mit Blick auf Wien – Wohndauer in der Stadt gefasst wurde (Aigner 2019; Franz und Gruber 2018; Gutheil-Knopp-Kirchwald und Kadi 2014; Ipsen 1981), zeigen unsere Fallstudien, dass diese Einordnungen nicht ausreichen, um die Nachfrageseite von Knappheitskonstellationen angemessen zu erfassen. Die ausgewählten Fälle sind demnach nicht quantitativ repräsentativ, sie lassen weder eine Gewichtung von Knappheiten zu, noch handelt es sich um synthetisierende Verdichtungen aus Merkmalen der anderen Interviews

im Sinne von Idealtypen. Als Beitrag zur theoretischen Debatte sind sie nicht erschöpfend, sondern explorativ zu sehen.

4 Angebot sowie formale und ökonomische Zugangsvoraussetzungen zu Wohnfeldern in Wien

In einem ersten Schritt skizzieren wir Angebot sowie Zugangsvoraussetzungen zu einzelnen Subfeldern des Wiener Wohnungsmarkts mit besonderem Fokus auf den Mietwohnungsmarkt, bevor wir über die Darstellung von ausgewählten Fällen die Bedeutung von Ressourcen und Wohnbedürfnissen (und deren Zusammenspiel mit Angebot und Zugangsvoraussetzungen) für wohnungssuchende Akteurinnen und Akteure diskutieren.

Der österreichische und insbesondere der Wiener Wohnungsmarkt ist im europäischen Vergleich auffallend stark reguliert und weist einen großen Anteil an sozialem Wohnbau, bestehend aus Gemeindebau und gemeinnützigem Wohnbau, auf (vgl. Reinprecht 2017; Scanlon 2017; Mundt 2018). Insgesamt sind über drei Viertel des Wohnungsbestands in Wien Mietwohnungen, der Anteil von Haus- und Wohnungseigentum liegt unter 20 Prozent (siehe Abb. 1).



Quelle: Datengrundlage: Statistik Austria, Mikrozensus 2021. Eigener Entwurf

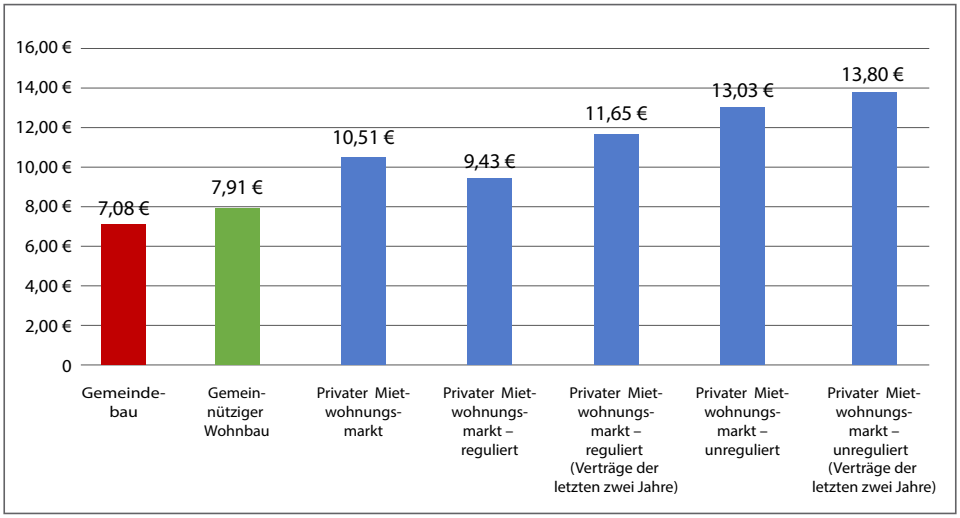
Abb. 1: Wohnungsbestand in Wien 2021 nach Rechtsform

Das Verhältnis dieser Subfelder des Wohnungsmarkts ist das Resultat von über einhundert Jahren sozialdemokratisch geprägter Wiener Wohnungspolitik. Der Gemeindebau macht mit etwa 220.000 Wohnungen knapp ein Viertel des Wiener Wohnungsbestands aus. Es gibt eine gewisse Bandbreite hinsichtlich der Wohnungsqualität (etwa zwei Drittel Kate-

gorie A, ein Drittel Kategorie B/C) (Wiener Wohnen 2021), aber kaum stadträumliche Segregation – Gemeindebauten sind über die ganze Stadt verteilt. Im Vergleich zu den anderen Wohnfeldern weist der Gemeindebau mit durchschnittlich 7,1 Euro pro m^2 (2021) die niedrigsten Mieten auf, wobei diese abhängig vom Alter des Mietvertrags und der Ausstattungskategorie der Wohnung etwas variieren.

Die zweite wesentliche Säule des sozialen Wohnbaus in Wien bildet, eng mit der Wohnbauförderung verknüpft (Bauer 2008; Matznetter 2002), der gemeinnützige Wohnbau. Die Preisbildung erfolgt hier nach dem Kostendeckungsprinzip (§7 und §13 WGG; vgl. auch Bauer 2006). Damit bleiben die Mieten langfristig stabil und unterliegen keinen marktgetriebenen Preisdynamiken. Im Neubau bilden sich aber insbesondere steigende Grundkosten in den Finanzierungsbeiträgen ab, die Mieterinnen und Mieter beim Einzug einmalig zu entrichten haben und die beim Auszug aus der Wohnung wieder ausbezahlt werden (§13 WGG; §69 WWFSG). Seit Mitte der 1990er Jahre ist die Vergabe von Fördermitteln an hohe Qualitätsstandards gebunden, die häufig über jenen im freifinanzierten Wohnbau liegen (Schluder 2005; Gutmann und Huber 2014; Azevedo et al. 2022). 2012 wurde die Verpflichtung eingeführt, in geförderten Neubauten 30 Prozent der Wohnungen als sogenannte Smart-Wohnungen zu errichten, die besonders preisgünstig sind (Marquardt und Glaser 2023; Friesenecker und Kazepov 2021). Der gemeinnützige Wohnbau zeichnet sich also im Neubau durch eine hohe Wohnqualität aus, wobei es von den Wohnkosten her einen großen Unterschied gibt zwischen den günstigen Smartwohnungen mit geringen Finanzierungsbeiträgen und den deutlich teureren anderen Wohnungen mit Finanzierungsbeiträgen, die sich oft in einer Größenordnung von mehreren hundert Euro pro Quadratmeter bewegen (Kadi 2015; Mundt 2018; Friesenecker und Kazepov 2021). Der ältere, bereits ausfinanzierte Wohnungsbestand des gemeinnützigen Wohnbaus gilt neben dem Gemeindebau als eines der günstigsten Angebote im Wiener Wohnungsmarkt (Gutheil-Knopp-Kirchwald und Kadi 2014), weist aber eine weniger hohe Wohnqualität auf als der neuere Bestand. Die durchschnittlichen Mieten von 7,9 Euro pro m^2 (2021) in diesem Bereich ergeben sich also aus einer relevanten Preisspanne im Angebot.

Der private Mietwohnungsmarkt ist hinsichtlich Qualität und Preis des Wohnungsangebots das heterogenste Wohnfeld. Er gliedert sich in zwei Kategorien, für die unterschiedliche Preisbildungsmechanismen gelten. Für Bauten vor 1945 gilt für Wohnungen mit weniger als 130 m^2 Wohnfläche eine Preisregulierung, die auf einem komplexen System von Zu- und Abschlägen von einem Normpreis basiert, das für Mieterinnen und Mieter schwer zu kontrollieren ist und in der Praxis oft ignoriert wird (Rosifka 2015). Nach 1945 errichtete Wohnungen unterliegen keiner Reglementierung der Miethöhe, hier wird der Preis nach Marktmechanismen gebildet. Insgesamt verschiebt sich – insbesondere durch die steigende Neubautätigkeit – das Angebot des privaten Mietwohnungsmarkts zunehmend in Richtung eines Hochpreissegments (Verlic und Kadi 2015; Putschögl 2018), in dem die Mieten zumeist befristet sind (Tockner 2017) und daher besonders dynamisch auf Marktentwicklungen reagieren. Auf den ersten Blick liegen die Mieten auf dem privaten Mietwohnungsmarkt mit durchschnittlich 10,5 Euro pro m^2 (2021) zwar nur moderat über den Mieten im Gemeindebau und im gemeinnützigen Wohnbau, die Preisunterschiede innerhalb dieses Feldes sind aber aufgrund der erläuterten Dynamiken erheblich (siehe Abb. 2).



Quelle: Datengrundlage: Statistik Austria, Mikrozensus 2021. Eigener Entwurf

Abb. 2: Durchschnittliche Bruttomieten pro m² in verschiedenen Wohnfeldern, Wien 2021

Zentral dafür, wie sich Knappheit auf dem Wohnungsmarkt gestaltet, ist neben dem grundsätzlich verfügbaren Wohnungsangebot vor allem auch die Art und Weise, wie der Zugang zu den verschiedenen Subfeldern des Wohnungsmarkts anhand von formalen, rechtlichen bzw. administrativen und ökonomischen Kriterien geregelt wird. Markant ist in Wien, dass der soziale Wohnbau darauf ausgerichtet ist, den Wohnbedarf eines Großteils der Bevölkerung zu decken (SCANLON 2017; MUNDT 2018). Für alle Bereiche des sozialen Wohnbaus – also für Gemeindebau wie für gemeinnützigen Wohnbau – gelten verhältnismäßig hohe Einkommensobergrenzen, die etwa 80 Prozent der Bevölkerung einschließen (TSENKOVA 2022b). Für den Gemeindebau sowie für Smartwohnungen gibt es zusätzliche Zugangsvoraussetzungen, beispielsweise die österreichische Staatsbürgerschaft oder ein dieser gleichgestellter Aufenthaltstitel,[1)] ein durchgehender zweijähriger Hauptwohnsitz an derselben Wiener Adresse, außerdem ein „begründeter Wohnbedarf", also etwa Neugründung eines Hausstands, Überbelag in der derzeitigen Wohnung, alters- oder krankheitsbedingt veränderter Wohnbedarf etc. (Wohnberatung Wien 2021).

Die Vergabe der gemeinnützigen Wohnungen läuft teils direkt über die Bauträger, teils über die Stadt Wien, die für diesen Teil der Wohnungen ebenfalls Auflagen hinsichtlich Staatsbürgerschaft bzw. Aufenthaltstitel sowie Wohndauer in Wien hat, wie sie auch für

[1)] Als einer österreichischen Staatsbürgerschaft gleichgestellt gelten die Staatsbürgerschaft eines EU- oder EWR-Landes bzw. der Schweiz, ein Status als anerkannter Flüchtling oder – als Drittstaatenangehöriger – ein Aufenthaltstitel „Daueraufenthalt-EU" nach dem NAG (Niederlassungs- und Aufenthaltsgesetz). Bei dem Aufenthaltstitel „Daueraufenthalt-EU" muss die/der Drittstaatsangehörige in den letzten fünf Jahren ununterbrochen zur Niederlassung in Österreich berechtigt gewesen sein und das Modul 2 der Integrationsvereinbarung erfüllt haben.

Gemeindewohnungen gelten. In beiden Fällen können im gemeinnützigen Bereich die Finanzierungsbeiträge eine relevante ökonomische Hürde darstellen. Sowohl im gemeinnützigen Wohnbau als auch im Gemeindebau erfolgt die Vergabe in der Regel in entpersonalisierter und formalisierter, zugleich aber für die zukünftigen Mieterinnen und Mieter häufig undurchsichtiger Art. Zusätzlich gibt es sowohl für gemeinnützige Wohnungen als auch für Gemeindewohnungen die Möglichkeit, bei Erfüllung der Grundvoraussetzungen des Zugangs Wohnungen direkt von den Vormieterinnen oder Vormietern zu übernehmen. Hier bilden allerdings mitunter hohe Ablösesummen für vorhandenes Mobiliar eine wesentliche Hürde, ebenso wie ein starker Überhang der Nachfrage gegenüber dem Angebot, wodurch diese Form der Vergabe stark wettbewerbliche Züge annimmt.

Alle jene, die die Zugangsvoraussetzungen zum sozialen Wohnbau nicht erfüllen, sind auf den privaten Mietwohnungsmarkt angewiesen, der keine formalen rechtlichen Zugangsbeschränkungen vorsieht. Insbesondere für Zugewanderte mit begrenzten finanziellen Ressourcen kommt dabei dem preisregulierten Altbausegment, und hier wiederum Wohnungen in weniger begehrten Lagen und in weniger gutem Erhaltungszustand, große Bedeutung zu. Jenseits ökonomischer Hürden in Form der Mietkosten und gegebenenfalls Provisionen und Kautionen sowie von Einkommensnachweisen und Bürgschaften kommen aber auf dem privaten Wohnungsmarkt in hohem Ausmaß soziokulturelle Ausschlussmechanismen zum Tragen, wie wir im nächsten Kapitel beschreiben werden (vgl. Aigner 2019; Friesenecker und Kazepov 2021).[2)]

Der Wiener Wohnungsmarkt zeichnet sich durch komplexe Zusammenhänge und Ähnlichkeiten, aber auch Unterschiede innerhalb von Wohnfeldern aus, die Kategorisierungen in Submärkte schwierig machen. Einordnungen entlang der Wohnungs- bzw. Mietpreise, wie sie zum Teil für andere Städte vorgenommen werden (z. B. Ipsen 1981; Watkins 2001), sind in Wien nur für einen kleinen Teil des Wohnungsmarkts sinnvoll, zumal der Großteil des Wohnungsmarkts preisreguliert ist und der Preis dementsprechend nur in einem Teil des privaten Mietwohnungsfelds nach Marktmechanismen gebildet wird. Gemeindebau, gemeinnützigen Wohnbau und privaten Miet- (und Eigentums-)wohnungsmarkt als „Wohnungsmarktsegmente" zu fassen, wie Yvonne Franz und Elisabeth Gruber (2018, S. 102) das tun, ist naheliegend und hilft zu verstehen, wie durch Zugangsregelungen verschiedene Gruppen von Bewohnerinnen und Bewohnern adressiert werden und wer von welchen Zugangshürden besonders betroffen ist.

Aus Sicht der Wohnungssuchenden stellen sich diese „Wohnungsmarktsegmente" allerdings häufig nicht als trennscharf voneinander abzugrenzende Bereiche dar. Vielmehr gibt es in Wien – jedenfalls für bestimmte Personengruppen – eine vergleichsweise hohe Durchlässigkeit zwischen den Wohnfeldern (Amann und Mundt 2005; Friesenecker und Kazepov 2021; Tsenkova 2022b), die für „unitary" bzw. „integrated housing markets" (Kemeny 1995; Kemeny et al. 2005; Oxley et al. 2010) typisch ist. Wohnungen ähnlicher Qualitäts- und Preiskategorien sind in verschiedenen Wohnfeldern zu finden

[2)] Nicht berücksichtigt haben wir Fälle der Vergabe von informellen Wohnräumen und der illegalen Vermietung, die in Wien aufgrund der Exklusionsdynamiken am privaten Mietwohnungsmarkt zunehmen (Aigner 2019; Reinprecht 2017; Karasz et al. 2022). In diesen Fällen spielen andere Dynamiken der Wohnungsvergabe und Einflussfaktoren auf Wohnraumknappheit eine Rolle, die sich von den in diesem Paper diskutierten deutlich unterscheiden. Gleichzeitig stellen diese Fälle eine wesentliche Forschungslücke für Wien dar.

und teilweise auch für die gleichen Personengruppen zugänglich – eine Beobachtung, die in unserem empirischen Material dadurch bestärkt wird, dass die Mehrzahl unserer Interviewpartnerinnen und -partner in mehreren Wohnfeldern parallel nach Wohnungen sucht. Auch eine Einordnung entlang räumlicher Kriterien (vgl. Keskin und Watkins 2017; Ipsen 1981), also in Bezug auf die Lage in der Stadt, ist angesichts der vergleichsweise geringen räumlichen Segregation (Mundt 2018; Gutheil-Knopp-Kirchwald und Kadi 2014) nur mäßig hilfreich, auch wenn diese insbesondere mit Blick auf das Angebot des privaten Mietwohnungsmarkts[3)] durchaus relevant ist (vgl. auch Friesenecker und Kazepov 2021). Verschiedene Kriterien, die von der Angebotsseite her als Faktoren für die Konturierung von Submärkten mit jeweils spezifischen Knappheitskonstellationen betrachtet werden, überlagern sich hier also in einer Weise, die eine klare Identifikation und Abgrenzung von Submärkten erschwert.

Von der Nachfrageseite her wird die Angespanntheit von Wohnungsmärkten und Submärkten häufig entlang der Frage der Leistbarkeit, aber auch entlang von Kriterien des formalen Zugangs aufgrund von Herkunft oder Aufenthaltsdauer sowie informeller Ausschlussmechanismen diskutiert. Spezifisch für Wien wird festgestellt, dass insbesondere Neuankömmlinge und Personen mit niedrigem bzw. prekärem Einkommen nur schwer passende Wohnmöglichkeiten finden (Reinprecht 2017; Kumnig 2018; Mundt 2018; Friesenecker und Kazepov 2021; Karasz et al. 2022). In überzeugender Weise wurde bisher – in einer Kombination von Entwicklungen der Angebots- und der Nachfrageseite – gezeigt, dass es aufgrund der Bevölkerungsentwicklung sowie aufgrund von Tendenzen der Liberalisierung und Rekommodifizierung vor allem die niedrigpreisigen Teile des Wohnungsmarktes sind, die besonders knapp werden (Aigner 2016; Kadi 2015; Gutheil-Knopp-Kirchwald und Kadi 2014; Franz und Gruber 2018). Mit einem vertiefenden Blick auf den Wohnungsmarkt von der Nachfrageseite her wollen wir weitere relevante Einflussfaktoren identifizieren.

5 Einflussfaktoren von Knappheitskonstellationen in Fallstudien der Wohnraumsuche

Wie sich die Kombination von Angebot und Zugangsvoraussetzungen in konkreten Prozessen der Wohnraumsuche in Zusammenhang mit der Verteilung von Ressourcen und den jeweiligen Wohnbedürfnissen ausbuchstabiert, zeigen die vier folgenden Fallstudien, in denen wir den Einflussfaktoren von Knappheit und den Umgangsweisen damit nachgehen. Der bereits erwähnten Logik der Fallkontrastierung entsprechend, beziehen sich die Fälle eins und zwei auf Situationen der Wohnungssuche auf dem privaten Wohnungsmarkt, drei und vier hingegen auf den sozialen Wohnbau, wobei die Akteurinnen und Akteure jeweils sehr unterschiedliche Ressourcen mitbringen und sich in unterschiedlichen Ausgangssituationen für ihre Suche befinden, ohne dabei jedoch die gesamte Bandbreite an möglichen Konstellationen abzudecken.

[3)] Ein wesentlicher Faktor für die Bestimmung der regulierten Altbaumieten sind sogenannte Lagezuschläge.

5.1 Fallstudie 1: Lena Kowalczyk – Zeitintensiver Einsatz von kulturellem Kapital, um Wohnbedürfnisse zu realisieren

Lena Kowalczyk[4)] ist dreißig Jahre alt, sie ist in Deutschland aufgewachsen und lebt seit zwölf Jahren in Wien, wo sie parallel zu ihrer Berufstätigkeit ein geisteswissenschaftliches Studium verfolgt. Nach vielen Jahren in wechselnden Wohngemeinschaften beschließt sie ein paar Monate vor dem Interview, gemeinsam mit ihrem Freund nach einer neuen Wohnung zu suchen, weil ihre bisherige Wohngemeinschaft kurz vor der Auflösung steht. Lena und ihr Freund befinden sich aufgrund ihrer Herkunft und ihres kulturellen Kapitals sowie ihrer stabilen beruflichen und daher auch ökonomisch sicheren Situation in einer verhältnismäßig starken strukturellen Position. Grundsätzlich kämen jedenfalls der private Mietwohnungsmarkt und das Angebot der gemeinnützigen Bauträger in Betracht. Ob sie auch die Voraussetzungen für eine Gemeindewohnung erfüllen, erschließt sich aus dem Interview nicht, weil Lena sich mit dieser Option gar nicht auseinandersetzt, zumal sie fälschlicherweise von fünf (statt zwei) Jahren Mindestaufenthaltsdauer an der aktuellen Adresse als Grundvoraussetzung ausgeht.

Einschränkungen der in Frage kommenden Wohnfelder ergeben sich aber nicht nur aus Lenas Ressourcen, sondern auch aus ihren Wohnbedürfnissen. Zum einen sucht sie nach einer zeitnah verfügbaren Wohnung, weshalb sie Wohnungen gemeinnütziger Bauträger, bei denen sie mit längerer Wartezeit rechnet, eher nicht in Erwägung zieht: „So etwas wäre auch in Frage gekommen, aber dadurch, dass wir relativ schnell ausziehen wollten – wir hatten ja einen Druck –, konnten wir jetzt nicht einfach zwei Jahre auf die perfekte Genossenschaftswohnung warten." Darüber hinaus ist es für Lena besonders wichtig, ihre Suche aktiv gestalten und ihre Kriterien für die zukünftige Wohnung durchsetzen zu können. Das ist für sie ein weiterer Grund, den Gemeindebau, unabhängig davon, ob sie Zugang hätte oder nicht, als Möglichkeit auszuschließen, weil die Vorstellung, dass ihr eine unattraktive Wohnung in peripherer Lage „zugeteilt" werden könnte, sie abschreckt. Sie konzentriert ihre Suche also auf das private Wohnfeld.

Neben der verhältnismäßig kurzfristigen Verfügbarkeit der Wohnungen wird das in Frage kommende Angebot innerhalb des privaten Mietwohnungsmarkts zusätzlich durch Lenas Anforderungen hinsichtlich Lage, Infrastruktur, Ausstattung und Kosten eingeschränkt. Wegen der Nähe zu Grünraum und vielen Freundinnen und Freunden in der Gegend sollte die Wohnung in einem bestimmten Bezirk liegen und eine gute öffentliche Verkehrsanbindung haben. Die Lage bezeichnet Lena im Interview als Luxus, den sie sich gönnen wollte. Die Wohnung sollte überdies nicht im letzten Stock liegen, möglichst ein eigenes Handwaschbecken in einer separaten Toilette und eine große und gut ausgestattete Küche haben. Außerdem sollte sie – so die Idealvorstellung zu Beginn – nicht mehr als 800 Euro im Monat kosten. Die ersten Erfahrungen der Wohnungssuche führen allerdings dazu, dass Lena und ihr Freund dieses Preissegment auf 1.200 Euro erweitern, um sich nicht mehr „ewig diesem Suchvorgang auszusetzen" und schneller eine ihren Wünschen entsprechende Wohnung zu finden.

[4)] Alle Aussagen in den Fallstudien stammen aus den Interviews mit der jeweiligen Person. Alle Namen sind Pseudonyme.

Lenas Wohnungssuche ist von einer großen Intensität und einer besonderen Sorgfalt sowohl hinsichtlich ihrer eigenen Auswahl als auch hinsichtlich des Umgangs mit dem Bewerbungsprozess um eine Wohnung gekennzeichnet. Innerhalb eines Monats besichtigt sie über 30 Wohnungen und vergleicht diese systematisch mithilfe von Excel-Listen. Die Kompetitivität, die sich im privaten Wohnfeld aus der hohen Nachfrage und damit einhergehenden Knappheit in Kombination mit einer stark personalisierten Form der Vergabe ergibt, greift Lena in ihrem Handeln auf und entwickelt Strategien, um in der Logik dieses Feldes möglichst erfolgreich zu sein. Mit großer Aufmerksamkeit versucht sie, die impliziten Kriterien, die für die Vergabe von Wohnungen eine Rolle spielen, zu antizipieren und die finanziellen, kulturellen und sozialen Ressourcen, die sie und ihr Freund mitbringen, möglichst gut zu kombinieren, um sich „in ein gutes Licht zu rücken". Für schriftliche Anfragen nutzt sie die E-Mail-Adresse ihres Freundes, der einen österreichischen Namen und einen akademischen Titel hat. Ebenso verweist sie gerne auf den krisensicheren Job ihres Freundes als Informatiker und ihr hochkulturelles Wissen, etwa den Standort des nächstgelegenen Theaters. Den Wunsch nach einem dritten Zimmer erklärt sie dem Makler gegenüber mit Home-Office anstatt Kinderwunsch, weil sie davon ausgeht, dass dies ihre Chancen auf eine Zusage erhöht.

Auffällig ist im Fall von Lena, dass sie explizit auf Ressourcen und Kompetenzen zurückgreift, die sie in anderen als kompetitiv erlebten Situationen und Feldern erworben hat, beispielsweise bei der Suche nach Wohngemeinschaften, aber auch im beruflichen Kontext. Als Assistentin der Geschäftsführung habe sie sich eine spezifische „Attitüde" angeeignet, die sie bei Wohnungsbesichtigungen zum Einsatz bringt. Durch seriöse Kleidung und gewählte Ausdrucksweise hofft sie, bei Maklern einen besseren Eindruck zu hinterlassen als ihr Freund, der gewöhnlicherweise eher leger auftritt. Obwohl in Lenas Schilderungen ihre aktive und kompetente Gestaltung sowohl der Wohnungswahl als auch des Bewerbungsprozesses ein zentrales Motiv bilden und sie auch Abstriche bei den Kriterien (konkret beim Preis) in Kauf nimmt, beschreibt sie letztlich den Weg zu ihrer aktuellen Wohnung, die ihre „Kriterien übererfüllt", als „Glück". In diesem Fall habe alles zusammengepasst, von der vielversprechenden Wohnungsanzeige über die Wohnungsbesichtigung mit einer überaus entgegenkommenden Mitarbeiterin der Hausverwaltung bis hin zur finalen Zusage.

Lenas Fall zeigt, dass die Zugänglichkeit von Wohnfeldern sich in der Praxis nicht aus rein formalen Kriterien erschließen lässt. (Falsche) Vorstellungen über Zugangsvoraussetzungen, Vergabemodus und Art des Wohnungsangebots in den einzelnen Feldern spielen ebenso eine Rolle wie die Einschätzung, inwiefern die eigenen Wohnbedürfnisse in einem spezifischen Wohnfeld erfüllt werden können. Diesbezüglich stellt sich bei Lena die zeitnahe Verfügbarkeit der Wohnung als Kriterium heraus, das bestimmte Wohnfelder, konkret den gemeinnützigen Wohnbau, ausschließt. Innerhalb des privaten Mietwohnungsmarkts ergibt sich für Lena Knappheit primär aus verhältnismäßig hohen Anforderungen an die Wohnung, wird aber teilweise durch mittlere ökonomische und eher hohe soziokulturelle Ressourcen, etwa Wissen über Normen des Umgangs oder bewussten Einsatz ihrer Ressourcen, sowie eine hohe zeitliche Investition in die Wohnungssuche kompensiert, wobei sie dieses Verhältnis zwischen Wohnbedürfnissen und Ressourceneinsatz im Laufe ihrer Suche immer wieder neu justiert.

5.2 Fallstudie 2: Aziz Güler – Anpassung der Bewerbungs- und Suchstrategien, um als Neuankömmling unter Zeitdruck eine Wohnung zu finden

Aziz Güler ist 26 Jahre alt und hat vor fünf Jahren seinen Lebensmittelpunkt für sein Studium von Istanbul nach Wien verlegt. Er stammt aus einer vergleichsweise wohlhabenden türkischen Mittelschichtfamilie mit akademischem Hintergrund, befindet sich mit Blick auf die Wohnungssuche aber trotzdem im Vergleich zu Lena in einer strukturell deutlich schwächeren Position. Während sich bei Lena Einschränkungen vor allem aus der Kombination aus mittlerem zeitlichen Druck und hohen Anforderungen an die Wohnung ergeben, schließen bereits die rechtlichen und formalen Zugangskriterien Aziz gänzlich aus den Feldern des sozialen Wohnungsmarkts aus. Da Aziz zum Zeitpunkt der Suche noch gar nicht in Wien lebt und außerdem Drittstaatsangehöriger ohne Daueraufenthaltstitel ist, sind Gemeindewohnungen keine Option. Für Wohnungen von gemeinnützigen Bauträgern sind in der Regel formale Nachweise über ein regelmäßiges Einkommen notwendig, das er als zukünftiger Student nicht vorweisen kann.

Wie viele andere Menschen, die erst seit Kurzem in Wien leben, ist Aziz' Suche damit auf den privaten Mietwohnungsmarkt beschränkt und auch innerhalb dieses Wohnfelds ist seine Ausgangslage schwierig. Finanziell hat er dank der Unterstützung seiner Eltern einigen Spielraum, Einschränkungen ergeben sich aber aus dem engen zeitlichen Rahmen der Wohnungssuche – er muss während eines zweiwöchigen Aufenthalts als Tourist eine Wohnung finden – sowie daraus, dass er ohne Einkommensnachweise ein Mietverhältnis finden muss, in dem die Zusicherung der Unterstützung durch seine Eltern als Beleg für die Finanzierbarkeit der Wohnung anerkannt wird. Angesichts dieser Schwierigkeiten schränkt Aziz seine Ansprüche hinsichtlich Lage, Größe, Ausstattung oder anderen Kriterien deutlich ein, um seine Möglichkeiten nicht noch weiter zu verengen: „I was not looking for an ideal flat, I was looking for a flat", erklärt er im Interview. Zusätzlich passt er seine Preisvorstellungen von 400 bis 500 Euro zu Beginn der Suche hin zu 700 Euro am Ende an und verweist darauf, dass er im Notfall weiter hochgegangen wäre: „And if I wouldn't have gotten the flat, we would have gone all the way up until I found a flat actually."

Abgesehen davon, dass sich Aziz als Bürger eines Drittstaates, ohne Deutschkenntnisse und ohne eigenes regelmäßiges Einkommen auf dem stark nachgefragten privaten Wohnungsmarkt in einer wesentlich weniger aussichtsreichen Position befindet als Lena, zeigt seine Schilderung der Wohnungssuche auch, dass seine anfänglichen Strategien, um seine Ressourcen zu nutzen, in dem Feld keine Anerkennung finden. Zu Beginn seiner Suche legt er den Fokus darauf, seine finanzielle Verlässlichkeit zu belegen. Gemeinsam mit seinem Vater, der ihn zu Wohnungsbesichtigungen begleitet, schlägt er vor, die Miete für ein Jahr im Voraus zu bezahlen, was jedoch nicht zum Erfolg führt. Der Vorschlag sei als etwas „unheimlich" wahrgenommen worden.

Wie hier deutlich wird, reicht ökonomisches Kapital mitunter nicht, um auf dem privaten Wohnungsmarkt erfolgreich zu sein. In Aziz' Fall wird die fehlende symbolische Anerkennung des ökonomischen Kapitals zur Hürde auf der Suche nach Wohnraum. Auch wenn direkte Diskriminierung für Aziz nicht manifest greifbar wird, was ein häufiges Merkmal von Diskriminierungserfahrungen ist, durchzieht die Befürchtung, aufgrund sei-

ner Herkunft abgelehnt zu werden, sein Erleben verschiedener Situationen. Er kommentiert beispielsweise die Ablehnung durch den Vermieter ohne Angabe von Gründen, nachdem er sich mit dem Makler bereits einig geworden war und das Mietanbot unterzeichnet hatte, folgendermaßen: „There are some reasons that you can have in your mind, but I cannot put the words in the owner's mouth".

Dass Aziz hier nur Vermutungen anstellen kann und letztlich auf seine eigenen Annahmen zurückgeworfen ist, gehört zu den wesentlichen Dynamiken des privaten Mietwohnungsmarkts, in dem die Kriterien für die Vergabe wenig transparent sind. Als Reaktion auf diese Erfahrungen ändert Aziz seine Strategie und versucht, sich als „guter Mieter" darzustellen, indem er seine aus Österreich stammende Freundin zu Wohnungsbesichtigungen mitnimmt, um sich als modernes Paar zu präsentieren und ein vertrauenswürdiges Bild zu schaffen: „[The guy] has a beautiful girlfriend, obviously they get along well, obviously a nice person, obviously no threat." Seine Freundin kompensiert zudem, wie er es beschreibt, seine zu diesem Zeitpunkt geringen Deutschkenntnisse und bringt für ihn ihr eigenes kulturelles Kapital zum Einsatz, indem sie sich beispielsweise mit den Vermieterinnen und Vermietern über Kunst unterhält. Diese Strategie im Kontakt mit den Maklern bzw. Vermietern beschreibt er als Inszenierung seiner selbst: „I don't want to say that I was acting, but I was selling myself. I was not selling my body, I was selling my character." Diese Änderung der Strategien bei der Wohnungssuche zeigt, dass informelles Wissen über die impliziten Vergabelogiken eines Feldes von großer Bedeutung ist.

Zum Ziel führt bei seiner ersten Wohnungssuche in Wien schließlich aber keine der beiden Strategien, sondern, dass er auf eine Wohnung stößt, für die der Vormieter ein Vorschlagsrecht hat. So ist Aziz nicht unmittelbar von der Entscheidung des Vermieters abhängig. Diese erste Wohnung, so realisiert Aziz im Lauf der Zeit, ist aber vergleichsweise teuer, fällt sie doch als nicht geförderter Neubau unter den freien Mietzins, weswegen sich Aziz nach wenigen Jahren erneut auf Wohnungssuche begibt. Diesmal nützen ihm seine sozialen Kontakte: Aziz hat eine entfernte verwandtschaftliche Beziehung zu einem Makler in Wien, der den Kontakt zu einem Vermieter herstellen und für Aziz' Verlässlichkeit bürgen kann. Für Aziz stellt sich dieser Fall als Gegenteil zu seiner bisherigen Wohnungssuche dar: „He said: ‚You can take it [the flat] if you want to.' That was a luxury I had never seen before." Soziales Kapital in Form persönlicher Kontakte und informelle Vergabemechanismen können also gerade im privaten Mietwohnungsmarkt von großer Bedeutung sein und die Erfahrung der Knappheit entschärfen.

Der Fall von Aziz verdeutlicht einerseits, wie formale Zugangskriterien das Wohnungsangebot für bestimmte Gruppen verknappen und verteuern können, andererseits aber auch, welche Rolle informelle Ausschlussmechanismen spielen. Auch wenn seine ökonomischen Möglichkeiten durchaus mit jenen von Lena vergleichbar sind, verknappen extremer Zeitdruck sowie seine schwache soziokulturelle Position das Wohnungsangebot so stark, dass er dafür die Anforderungen, die er an die Wohnung stellt, stark reduziert. Aziz veranschaulicht darüber hinaus, wie wichtig eine gute Kenntnis des Wohnfeldes und der darin geltenden Vergabelogiken ist, um de facto Zugang zu einer Wohnung zu bekommen. Während Lena diese als selbstverständlich vorwegnimmt und mit ihren Annahmen gute Erfahrungen macht, ist es für Aziz ein längerer Lernprozess, jene Handlungsstrategien zu finden, die ihm einen optimalen Einsatz seines Kapitals erlauben.

5.3 Fallstudie 3: Laura Ackermann – Warten können, um eine den eigenen Bedürfnissen entsprechende Wohnung zu finden

Laura Ackermann ist 39 Jahre alt, hat zwei Kinder und arbeitet, seit sie ein begonnenes Studium aufgrund ihrer ersten Schwangerschaft abgebrochen hat, als Angestellte. Sie ist in Wien in einem Gemeindebau aufgewachsen, in dem ihre Mutter Hausbesorgerin war, und hat bis zu ihrem Umzug vor knapp einem Jahr in diesem gewohnt. Der Anlass für den Umzug ist der Wunsch, mit ihrem neuen Partner zusammenzuziehen. Sie sieht sich aber keinem Druck ausgesetzt, schnell aus der alten Wohnung auszuziehen, und beschreibt die Wohnungssuche als etwas, das sie eher nebenbei verfolgt.

Formal gesehen kommen für Laura aufgrund ihrer stabilen Einkommens- und Wohnsituation sowohl der gemeinnützige Wohnbau als auch Teile des privaten Wohnungsmarkts in Frage. Zusätzlich geht sie davon aus, dass sie auch Anspruch auf eine andere Gemeindewohnung hätte, setzt sich aber mit den konkreten Möglichkeiten des Zugangs im Laufe ihrer Suche nicht näher auseinander. Sie befindet sich also in einer strukturell vergleichsweise starken Position. Knappheit ergibt sich für Laura auf dem Wohnungsmarkt vor allem daraus, dass ihre konkreten Ansprüche an eine Wohnung nur von einem kleinen Teil des Wohnungsmarkts abgedeckt werden.

Der Wunsch ihres Partners sei gewesen, dass die neue Wohnung nicht in einem älteren Gemeindebau liegen sollte, er habe da „ein bisschen Befindlichkeiten gehabt“. Außerdem ist die Zimmeranzahl für Laura ein wesentliches Kriterium, das sich im Lauf ihrer Suche als wesentliche Einschränkung herausstellt, da Vierzimmerwohnungen in neu errichteten Gemeindebauten selten sind. Damit scheidet der Gemeindebau, unabhängig von ihren tatsächlichen Zugangsmöglichkeiten, als Option aus, weil sie darin kein ihren Wohnbedürfnissen entsprechendes Angebot vorfindet.

Einschränkungen nimmt Laura auch mit Blick auf den Preis der Wohnung vor. Eine Miete von zehn Euro pro Quadratmeter beschreibt sie als „normalen Preis“ und als Grenze dessen, das sie „bereit waren, aufzuwenden“. Damit ist klar, dass Teile des privaten Wohnungsmarkts als Optionen ausscheiden. Diesen lehnt Laura aber auch aufgrund ihrer politischen Einstellung ab. Sie betont im Interview, dass sie sozialdemokratisch sozialisiert sei und wisse, dass es in Wien „nicht nötig“ sei, irgendwelchen „Immobilienhaien“ das Geld „in den Rachen zu schieben“. So bleibt vor allem das gemeinnützige Wohnfeld als realistische Option, die ihre Wohnbedürfnisse abdecken kann. Ähnlich wie Lena, stellt auch sie innerhalb dieses Feldes recht spezifische Anforderungen, insbesondere hinsichtlich der Lage. Sie möchte aufgrund ihrer sozialen Netzwerke in ihrem aktuellen Wohnbezirk bleiben, den sie als „meine Heimat“ bezeichnet. Im Unterschied zu Lena und Aziz hat Laura allerdings Zeit, auf eine passende Wohnung zu warten, was ihr die Suche im gemeinnützigen Feld erst ermöglicht und dazu führt, dass sie die Wohnungssuche nicht mit besonders hoher Intensität und Zeitinvestition verfolgt.

Zunächst suchen Laura und ihr Partner nach Neubauten im geförderten Wohnbau, stoßen hier aber auf die Schwierigkeit, dass es aufgrund der hohen Nachfrage lange Wartelisten gibt und man sich oft schon lange vor der Fertigstellung eines Projekts für eine Wohnung entscheiden muss. Anders als Aziz und Lena versucht sie weniger, die Mechanismen der Vergabe zu durchschauen und innerhalb dieser möglichst erfolgreiche Handlungsstra-

tegien zu entwickeln, als vielmehr eine Nische auf dem Wohnungsmarkt zu finden, die, jedenfalls ihrem Eindruck nach, weniger stark nachgefragt ist – in diesem Fall Wohnungen aus dem Altbestand von Genossenschaften.

Auch wenn Laura davon spricht, dass die Systeme der Reihung und Priorisierung von Interessierten für sie undurchschaubar gewesen seien, überwiegt in ihrer Erzählung nicht die Verunsicherung durch diese Umstände, sondern ihr eigener Entscheidungsprozess für oder gegen eine Wohnung. Dieser steht für sie auch bei den Wohnungsbesichtigungen im Vordergrund, die – anders als im privaten Mietwohnungsfeld – in diesem Bereich auch keine unmittelbar kompetitive Situation sind. In der Schilderung der Entscheidung für ihre aktuelle Wohnung, die einen ungewöhnlichen Grundriss hat und von mehreren anderen Personen vor ihr abgelehnt wurde, wird im Kleinen wiederum der Versuch deutlich, einen Weg außerhalb der stark umkämpften Bereiche des Wohnungsmarkts zu finden. Dafür passt sie ihre Anforderungen an das Layout der Wohnung an, während sie an ihren anderen Wohnbedürfnissen wie Lage oder Kosten festhält.

In Lauras Fall wird deutlich, dass im sozialen Wohnbau Zeit zu haben und das System zu kennen wichtige Faktoren sind, die – ähnlich wie ökonomische und soziokulturelle Ressourcen am privaten Mietwohnungsmarkt – Knappheit entschärfen und Raum für das Festhalten an Wohnbedürfnissen geben können. Zugleich zeigt sich hier, dass sich Wohnbedürfnisse nicht ausschließlich entlang formaler Faktoren wie Haushaltsgröße und Einkommen konturieren, sondern dass dafür beispielsweise auch politische Haltungen oder die konkrete familiäre Situation, wie hier das Alter der Kinder, eine zentrale Rolle spielen.

5.4 Fallstudie 4: Brigitte Rahman – Durchschauen des Vergabesystems, um mit begrenzten finanziellen Mitteln Wohnbedürfnisse zu realisieren

Brigitte Rahman ist 50 Jahre alt und hat zwei erwachsene Töchter. Sie ist in einer Eigentumswohnung am Stadtrand von Wien aufgewachsen, hat nach dem Auszug aus der Wohnung der Eltern zwischenzeitlich in privaten Mietwohnungen und kurz auch in einer informell überlassenen Gemeindewohnung gelebt, bevor sie mit ihrem damaligen Partner und ihren zwei kleinen Kindern vor über zwanzig Jahren ihre aktuelle Gemeindewohnung erhalten hat. Den Anlass für ihre erneute Wohnungssuche bildet der Wunsch der beiden Töchter auszuziehen. Alleine kann sie sich, da sie von Rehageld lebt, die aktuelle Wohnung nicht mehr leisten, außerdem empfindet sie sie als zu groß für sich alleine, weshalb sie dringend eine neue Wohnung finden will.

Formal gesehen steht Brigitte als österreichischer Staatsbürgerin mit durchgehender langjähriger Meldung in einer Gemeindewohnung und dem Wunsch, in eine kleinere Wohnung zu wechseln, der gesamte Wiener Wohnungsmarkt offen. Wesentliche Einschränkungen der Wohnfelder ergeben sich allerdings dadurch, dass sie mit einem monatlichen Einkommen von knapp eintausend Euro auf eine günstige Miete angewiesen ist. Der private Wohnungsmarkt ist aus diesem Grund sowie wegen der zumeist befristeten Mietverträge für sie keine Option. Im gemeinnützigen Wohnfeld kommen nur Wohnungen mit geringen Finanzierungsbeiträgen in Frage. Darüber hinaus beschreibt sie die Schwierigkeit, dass man sich für Neubauprojekte oft schon sehr früh anmelden müsse, beziehungsweise dass

manche Bauträger Personen bevorzugen, die bereits in anderen ihrer Bauten leben. Sie konzentriert sich in ihrer Suche daher schließlich auf Gemeindewohnungen. Aufgrund ihrer begrenzten finanziellen Ressourcen sucht sie eine kleine Wohnung, stellt aber dennoch Anforderungen, die sie auf jeden Fall realisiert wissen will – Lage im Grünen, Freiraum, idealerweise Garten, sowie bestimmte Ausstattungselemente: „Ohne Badewanne gibt's mich nicht", sagt sie. Dabei betont sie den Abwägungs- und Aushandlungsprozess, in dem sie ihre Position zwischen Wünschen und Möglichkeiten findet. Ihr Kater sei der Grund dafür, dass sie auf die Gartenwohnung bestanden habe. Für sich hätte sie vielleicht darauf verzichtet, jetzt sei sie aber froh, dass sie das nicht getan habe.

Wie im privaten Mietwohnungsmarkt zeigt sich, dass auch im Gemeindebau – über die grundsätzlichen Zugangsvoraussetzungen hinaus – Wissen über das Funktionieren des Systems zentral ist, um zu einer Wohnung zu gelangen. Als besonders schwierig beschreibt Brigitte, in diesem für sie oft undurchschaubaren System an verlässliche Informationen zu kommen. Es habe Gerüchte gegeben, die sich als falsch herausstellten, ebenso wie falsche Einschätzungen und fehlende Informationen seitens der für die Vergabe zuständigen Stellen. Spezifische Kompetenzen sind auch mit Blick auf das kurz vor ihrer Suche neu eingeführte Online-Suchsystem wichtig, das die bis dahin übliche Zuweisung von Wohnungen ersetzt. Dieses erhöhe die Wahlmöglichkeiten, man könne aber maximal zwei Wohnungen besichtigen und müsse daher Wohnungen noch vor der Besichtigung möglichst treffend einschätzen.

Brigitte findet unterschiedliche Lösungen, um mit diesem Problem umzugehen. Sie lernt, die Annoncen in spezifischer Weise zu „lesen", um sich die für sie wichtigen Informationen zu erschließen. So versucht sie anhand des Kriteriums „Freifläche" in Kombination mit der Information zur Anzahl der Stufen bis zur Wohnung herauszufinden, ob es sich um eine Gartenwohnung handelt. Weitere Informationen etwa zu den Lichtverhältnissen in der Wohnung versucht sie sich beispielsweise durch die Lage im Stadtplan oder auch durch eine physische Begehung der Umgebung zu erschließen, zum Teil auch in Begleitung ihrer Töchter, um zusätzliche Denkanstöße zu erhalten.

Fehlendes Wissen über das System der Reihung verschärft den Druck, schnell zu einer treffenden Entscheidung zu gelangen. Brigitte hat den (fälschlichen) Eindruck, dass diejenige Person zu einer Wohnungsbesichtigung eingeladen wird, die sich als erste verbindlich dafür anmeldet. Tatsächlich spielt aber der genaue Zeitpunkt der Anmeldung innerhalb des Zeitraums von 72 Stunden nach Veröffentlichung der Anzeige keine Rolle.[5)] Das führt dazu, dass Brigitte, die hier eine in anderen Feldern übliche Vergabelogik übernimmt, sehr viel Zeit investiert, um kein passendes Wohnungsangebot zu verpassen. Die falsche Annahme über die Vergabe bildet auch die Grundlage für ihre Interpretation des für sie nervenaufreibenden Weges zu ihrer neuen Wohnung. Darin stellt sie neben ihrem zeitlichen Einsatz bei der Wohnungssuche und ihrer Kompetenz in der Beurteilung von Wohnungsanzeigen den aus ihrer Sicht glücklichen Zufall in den Vordergrund, dass sie gerade an diesem Tag zu richtigen Zeit aufs Handy geschaut habe:

[5)] Die Reihung erfolgt nach der Schließung des Zeitfensters für die Anmeldung nach Wohnbedarfsgründen sowie nach dem Zeitpunkt, zu dem Bewerber/innen das sogenannte Wohnticket erhalten haben, also zum System des Gemeindebaus zugelassen wurden.

"Hat mich dieses Viech [die Katze] früher aufgeweckt als üblich und ich sitz' früher als üblich beim Handy und mach' halt meine übliche Gemeindewohnungssuche. Ich hab' eh schon nichts anderes mehr gemacht. Und auf einmal steht da: ‚Wohnung mit Garten'. Ich hab' erstmal hyperventiliert. Da musst du schnell sein. Der, der sich als erster anmeldet, kriegt als erster den Besichtigungstermin. […] Ich hab' aber nur zwei Möglichkeiten, zwei Vorschläge. Meld' ich mich für so eine Wohnung an und gefällt sie mir dann nicht, hab' ich nur noch eine Möglichkeit. [...] Das war wie ein Krimi das Ganze."

Brigittes Fall zeigt, wie geringes ökonomisches Kapital und zeitlicher Druck die Möglichkeiten einengen und letztlich auch zu einer Anpassung der Wohnbedürfnisse führen, zugleich aber in einem gewissen Ausmaß durch die Entwicklung von Kompetenzen im Umgang mit dem formalen System der Vergabe kompensiert werden. Ihre wesentliche Strategie besteht in der Entwicklung ausgefeilter Fähigkeiten der Beurteilung von Wohnungen im Vergabesystem des Gemeindebaus sowie in einer hohen zeitlichen Investition in die Suche.

6 Schluss

In der bisherigen Forschung ist die Diskussion um Wohnraumknappheit vorwiegend auf Fragen der Leistbarkeit (z. B. Lee et al. 2022; Tsenkova 2022a; Gutheil-Knopp-Kirchwald und Kadi 2014; Mundt 2018), der Existenz von Wohnungssubmärkten (z. B. Keskin und Watkins 2017; Watkins 2001; Ipsen 1981) und der strukturellen Rahmenbedingungen des Zugangs für unterschiedliche Bevölkerungsgruppen und deren Diskriminierung (z. B. Wolifson et al. 2023; Verstraete und Moris 2019; Aigner 2016, 2019; Kumnig 2018; Franz und Gruber 2018; Auspurg et al. 2017) fokussiert, insgesamt gibt es aber wenig Auseinandersetzung damit, wie sich Knappheit über die Frage der Leistbarkeit und der strukturellen Zugangsmöglichkeiten hinaus von der Nachfrageseite her konturiert, wie sie sich für einzelne Akteurinnen und Akteure darstellt und welche Umgangsstrategien konkrete Akteurinnen und Akteure mit verschiedenen Knappheitskonstellationen wählen. Wir haben vorgeschlagen, durch ein Konzept von Knappheit, das die Ressourcen und Wohnbedürfnisse der Wohnungssuchenden mitbedenkt, auch bisher weniger stark berücksichtigte Einflussfaktoren in die Diskussion, um Knappheit einzubeziehen. Die qualitative Untersuchung von Knappheitskonstellationen aus der Perspektive der betroffenen Akteurinnen und Akteure legt nahe, in zukünftigen Forschungen weiteren Dimensionen mehr Beachtung zu schenken, als dies etwa in bisherigen Studien zu Submärkten gemacht wurde.

Erstens wird im Blick auf die Erfahrung konkreter Akteurinnen und Akteure deutlich, dass es jenseits der formal definierten Zugangsvoraussetzungen, die durch „Housing Regimes" geregelt sind und durch Policy-Analysen greifbar gemacht werden können (z. B. Friesenecker und Kazepov 2021; Kumnig 2018; Scanlon et al. 2014), weitere Einflussfaktoren gibt, die Knappheit für die jeweiligen Wohnungssuchenden wesentlich prägen.

Hierfür sind insbesondere *soziokulturelle Ressourcen* jenseits der prinzipiellen Frage der Leistbarkeit von Wohnraum von Bedeutung: (a) Herkunft und Sprache der Wohnungssuchenden, (b) Wissen über die Wohnungssuche und Bewerbungsverfahren, (c) Praktiken und Strategien der Suche sowie (d) Zeit zur Suche. Die unterschiedliche Verteilung dieser Ressourcen kann im privaten Mietwohnungsmarkt und im sozialen Wohnbau in unterschiedlicher Weise relevant werden.

(a) Die Herkunft und Sprache der Wohnungssuchenden ist ein wichtiger Faktor, der aus subjektiver Perspektive das Wohnungsangebot mehr oder weniger knapp werden lässt. Fremd zu sein, die Sprache nicht zu sprechen etc. können sich in dem zu weiten Teilen stark kompetitiven Setting des privaten Mietwohnungsmarkts, in dem Vermieter/innen aus einer Vielzahl an Interessentinnen und Interessenten wählen können, als erhebliche Nachteile herausstellen, die das Wohnungsangebot für spezifische Gruppen verknappen und verteuern, wie im Fall von Aziz deutlich wird. Eine Vielzahl an Studien zur Diskriminierung in der Wohnungsvergabe sowohl in internationalen Kontexten (z. B. Wolifson et al. 2023) als auch im österreichischen bzw. Wiener Kontext (Schönherr 2023; Weichselbaumer und Riess 2023; Aigner 2019) bestätigt, dass Herkunft und Sprache zentrale Momente der Diskriminierung sind. So zeigen etwa Schönherr (2023) und Weichselbaumer und Riess (2023) anhand von E-Mail-Korrespondenztests, dass Wohnungssuchende mit Migrationshintergrund in Österreich diskriminiert werden und wesentlich weniger Antworten auf Anfragen erhalten. Der Pool an tatsächlich verfügbaren Wohnungen ist für diskriminierte Wohnungssuchende dementsprechend kleiner. Während der formale Aufenthaltsstatus auch im sozialen Wohnbau als explizit formulierte Voraussetzung für den Zugang fungiert und insbesondere für Drittstaatsangehörige häufig ein Ausschlusskriterium darstellt, spielen Bewertungen und Präferenzen hinsichtlich der Herkunft hier kaum eine Rolle. Sprachkenntnisse hingegen sind auch in diesem Bereich essenziell, weil sie die Grundlage für das Verständnis des Systems bilden. Insofern kann die Herkunft im sozialen Wohnbau sowohl direkt als auch indirekt ein wichtiger Faktor sein.

(b) Sowohl im sozialen Wohnbau als auch im privaten Mietwohnungsmarkt spielt das Wissen über die jeweiligen Vergabesysteme eine wesentliche Rolle. Wie an den Beispielen von Lena, Laura und Brigitte deutlich wird, führt Fehlwissen mitunter zu einem falschen Eindruck der Zugänglichkeit oder Unzugänglichkeit von spezifischen Wohnfeldern. Während es bei Lena von vornherein keine nähere Auseinandersetzung mit den Möglichkeiten des Gemeindebaus gibt, nimmt Laura fälschlicherweise an, sie hätte Zugang. Brigitte wiederum fühlt sich aufgrund eines falschen Bildes über das Vergabesystem einem wesentlich stärkeren Druck ausgesetzt, als ihn das System vorgibt. Dennoch sind gerade die Fälle von Laura und Brigitte insgesamt Beispiele für sehr kompetente Umgangsformen mit dem System, die auf langjähriger Erfahrung mit diesen Wohnfeldern und der Fähigkeit beruhen, mit den relevanten Stellen erfolgreich zu interagieren. Für Menschen mit eingeschränkten Sprachkenntnissen oder einer Scheu vor diesen formalisierten Vergabesystemen stellen sich die Chancen in diesem Bereich ungleich schlechter dar, auch wenn sie formal die Zugangsvoraussetzungen

erfüllen würden, wie auch in anderen Studien über den Zugang zum sozialen Wohnbau (Morris et al. 2022; Morris et al. 2023) und zum Umgang mit bürokratischen Systemen allgemein (Moynihan et al. 2014) festgestellt wurde. Wie die Beispiele von Aziz und Lena zeigen, ist Wissen über die Logiken der Vergabe jedoch auch im privaten Mietwohnungsmarkt wichtig, beispielsweise um die (informellen) Kriterien der Vermieter/innen und Makler/innen einschätzen zu können (siehe dazu für andere Städte auch Jin et al. 2023; Hochstenbach und Boterman 2015; Boterman 2012). Für den Kontext des Wiener Wohnungsmarkts wurde zudem gezeigt, dass Wissen über rechtliche Aspekte, insbesondere mit Blick auf den zulässigen Preis, wesentlich für den Zugang zu leistbarem Wohnraum ist (Rosifka und Postler 2010).

(c) Zudem wird deutlich, dass die Praktiken und Strategien der Wohnungssuche wesentliche Kompetenzen für den Zugang zu Wohnraum sind und damit dafür, wie sich Knappheit für die Wohnungssuchenden darstellt. Dabei lassen sich die Praktiken und Strategien der Wohnungssuche nicht ausschließlich aus der strukturellen Position der Akteurinnen und Akteure im Wohnungsmarkt sowie ihren Wohnbedürfnissen ableiten. Vielmehr sind sie ein Resultat habitualisierter Dispositionen (Bourdieu 1982, 1983, 2005). So spielen im Fall von Lena Bewerbungspraktiken aus dem beruflichen Kontext eine zentrale Rolle dafür, wie sie sich bei der Wohnungssuche als Konkurrentin positionieren und sehr bewusst Facetten ihres sozialen und kulturellen Kapitals einsetzen kann. Aziz greift zunächst auf Strategien zurück, die im Kontext eines anderen Wohnungsmarkts, aus dem sich seine bisherigen Erfahrungen der Wohnungssuche speisen, Plausibilität haben, muss aber erkennen, dass diese Praktiken im Wiener Kontext wenig erfolgversprechend sind. Für Brigitte letztlich ist ihre Erfahrung mit dem System des Gemeindebaus, das sie sich umfassend aneignet und für das sie sich Suchkompetenzen erarbeitet, handlungsleitend. Die einzelnen Handlungslogiken und -kompetenzen sind durch biographische Erfahrungen und Sozialisierung auch jenseits der Wohnungssuche geprägt und sind nicht alleine durch einen Blick auf die grundsätzlichen Möglichkeiten im System zu erschließen, wie auch Studien zur Wohnungssuche und -vergabe in anderen Städten zeigen (Kullberg 2002; Morris et al. 2023; Jin et al. 2023; Hochstenbach und Boterman 2015; Boterman 2012).

(d) Darüber hinaus verdeutlichen die Fallstudien, dass die für die Wohnungssuche zur Verfügung stehende Zeit eine wichtige Ressource ist (siehe dazu auch Hochstenbach und Boterman 2015; Boterman 2012; Karasz et al. 2022). Unser Material zeigt, dass die zeitliche Investition in die Wohnungssuche teils als kompensatorische Strategie genutzt wurde, entweder um in einer schwierigen Ausgangslage die Chancen auf eine Wohnung zu erhöhen oder um Wohnbedürfnisse umgesetzt zu sehen. In den dargestellten Fällen hängt eine hohe zeitliche Investition in den Prozess der Suche auch mit der Dringlichkeit der Wohnungsfindung zusammen, darüber hinaus ist sie auch ein Erfordernis der Vergabemodi in verschiedenen Feldern. Wie auch in anderen Teilen unseres empirischen Materials deutlich wird, erfordert die oft zeitnahe Vergabe von Besichtigungsterminen im größtenteils von einem Nachfrageüberhang gekennzeichneten privaten Mietwohnungsmarkt zeitliche Flexibilität sowie rasche Entscheidungen.

> Auch der neue Vergabemodus für Gemeindewohnungen setzt voraus, dass sich Interessentinnen und Interessenten innerhalb von kurzer Zeit intensiv mit den angebotenen Wohnungen auseinandersetzen, um zu entscheiden, ob eine Anmeldung zur Besichtigung für sie sinnvoll ist. Was das für Personen bedeutet, die beispielsweise aufgrund ihrer beruflichen oder familiären Situation zeitlich eingeschränkt sind, deutet sich in unserem Material nur am Rande an, ist aber eine Frage, die in der weiteren Forschung verfolgt werden könnte.

Die von uns interviewten Personen thematisieren diese soziokulturellen Ressourcen in unterschiedlicher Weise. Teilweise berichten sie vom bewussten Umgang mit hochkulturellem Wissen wie im Fall von Lena oder Aziz und von ausgefeilten Strategien wie im Fall von Brigitte, die regelmäßig Wohnungsanzeigen sucht und interpretiert. Teilweise tritt der bewusste Blick auf Ressourcen und Strategien in den Schilderungen des Weges zur tatsächlich erhaltenen Wohnung aber auch zugunsten einer Deutung im Sinne eines glücklichen Zufalls in den Hintergrund. Sowohl Lena als auch Brigitte beschreiben ihren Weg zu ihrer jetzigen Wohnung als glücklichen Zufall, wobei in beiden Fällen der geschickte Umgang mit den ihnen zur Verfügung stehenden Ressourcen und den jeweiligen Vergabesystemen sowie im Fall von Lena auch die Bereitschaft, mehr ökonomische Ressourcen einzusetzen, eine wesentliche Rolle für den Erfolg gespielt haben dürfte. Diese Beobachtung deckt sich weitgehend mit den Ergebnissen, zu denen Boterman (2012) in einer Studie zur Wohnungssuche von Mittelschichtshaushalten in Kopenhagen und Amsterdam kommt, nämlich, dass das Verfügen über soziokulturelle Ressourcen mitunter wenig bewusst wahrgenommen wird und eine erfolgreiche Wohnungssuche dementsprechend als „Glück“ und „Zufall“ erfahren wird.

Zweitens zeigen die Fallstudien, dass auch die *Wohnbedürfnisse* über die Frage der Leistbarkeit hinaus Knappheit wesentlich mitkonstituieren. Anhand von Lauras Beispiel wird deutlich, dass bestimmte Wohnungsgrößen in bestimmten Feldern des Wohnungsmarkts selten sind und damit die prinzipielle Zugänglichkeit eines günstigen Wohnsegments das Wohnproblem nicht zwangsläufig löst. Inwiefern Wohnungslagen, -größen, -layouts und -ausstattungen mit den von verschiedenen Gruppen in der Bevölkerung angestrebten Wohnformen kompatibel sind, ist ein wesentlicher Faktor der Knappheit. Als relevantes Wohnbedürfnis, das Knappheit in entscheidender Weise verschärfen oder entschärfen kann, hat sich außerdem die Dringlichkeit der Wohnungsfindung erwiesen. Wer aus der Position einer akzeptablen Wohnungssituation heraus nach einer neuen Wohnung sucht und sich Zeit lassen kann, so wie Laura, erlebt den Wohnungsmarkt als wesentlich weniger knapp. Zeitdruck hingegen erhöht die erlebte Knappheit stark, wie im Fall von Aziz, und führt mitunter dazu, dass bestimmte Felder des Wohnungsmarkts, wie etwa der gemeinnützige Wohnbau, gar nicht erst als Möglichkeiten in Betracht gezogen werden, wie im Fall von Lena. Der Aspekt der zeitlichen Verfügbarkeit des Wohnungsangebots wird bisher in der Stadt- und Wohnforschung eher am Rand diskutiert (beispielsweise in Ritt 2015) und könnte systematischer in die Analyse der Wohnraumknappheit einbezogen werden, auch mit Blick auf andere Gruppen wie Alleinerziehende und beruflich mobile Wohnungssuchende (Karasz et al. 2022).

Deutlich wird in den hier präsentierten Fallstudien auch, dass die Wohnbedürfnisse, die die Wohnungssuche leiten, stets eine Frage der Aushandlung angesichts der Möglichkeiten sind, die einzelne Wohnungssuchende für sich sehen. Während Lena und Laura, die sich in einer verhältnismäßig starken strukturellen Position befinden, eine Vielzahl an Anforderungen an die zukünftige Wohnung hinsichtlich Lage, Größe und Ausstattung formulieren und sich Knappheit für sie gerade aus diesen vergleichsweise hohen Ansprüchen ergibt, nehmen Aziz und Brigitte ihre Wohnbedürfnisse angesichts ihrer begrenzten Ressourcen und der Knappheitserfahrungen, die sie im Zuge ihrer Suche machen, zunehmend zurück. Zu ähnlichen Ergebnissen kommen Studien, die sich mit der Anpassung von Wohnbedürfnissen im Kontext von Wohnungsnot und sich verändernden Wohnsystemen beschäftigen (Preece et al. 2020, 2021).

Wir haben in diesem Beitrag einen Wechsel der Perspektive in der Diskussion um knappen Wohnraum vorgeschlagen, nämlich von der Frage, welcher Wohnraum knapp ist, zu der Frage, für wen Wohnraum aufgrund welcher Faktoren knapp ist. Unser Fokus lag dabei darauf, Einflussfaktoren zu identifizieren, die in der bisherigen Diskussion wenig oder nicht systematisch in der Konzeption von Knappheit in Wohnungsmärkten berücksichtigt werden. Die qualitative explorative Analyse der Nachfrageseite hat sich dabei als produktive Ergänzung erwiesen, weil sich – wie die hier präsentierten Fallstudien zeigen – nicht alle wesentlichen Faktoren, die die Möglichkeiten, die Knappheitserfahrungen und letztlich das Handeln von Wohnungssuchenden beeinflussen, durch strukturelle Daten zu Einkommen, Staatsbürgerschaft, Aufenthaltsdauer in der Stadt etc. erschließen lassen. Dies scheint umso wichtiger, als das Agieren auf der Nachfrageseite die Gesamtdynamik wesentlich beeinflusst.

Der Fokus auf Wien als Stadt mit einem vergleichsweise entspannten Wohnungsmarkt ermöglicht es, besonders deutlich zu fassen, dass Wohnraum für verschiedene Gruppen sehr unterschiedlich knapp sein kann. Zugleich bildet die Situierung unserer explorativen Studie in einem höchst spezifischen Setting auch eine wesentliche Einschränkung der Reichweite unserer Ergebnisse. In anderen Städten mögen manche der von uns identifizierten Faktoren nicht oder in einer anderen Gewichtung relevant sein. Nichtsdestotrotz halten wir diesen Perspektivenwechsel in der Erforschung knapper Wohnungsmärkte für produktiv und wollen dazu anregen weitere qualitative und quantitative Forschung entlang dieser Linien weiterzudenken, um die komplexen Bedarfslagen in verschiedenen Wohnsystemen besser zu verstehen.

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Exploring the Spatiality of Shopping Patterns in Belgrade, Serbia

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Contents

Summary 39
Zusammenfassung 40
1 Introduction 40
2 Retail Structure in the Post-Socialist City 42
3 Consumer Spatial Behaviour – Choosing a Shopping Venue 45
4 Materials and Method 46
5 Spatial Distribution of Shopping Activities in Belgrade 49
6 Discussion and Conclusions 56
7 References 58

Summary

Retail, shopping and consumption are important determinants of the modern city, its society, way of life, spatial structure, and its economy. Over the past 20 years, Belgrade, the capital of Serbia, has been marked by changes in the retail sector in terms of the structure of retail facilities, shopping space, consumer behaviour and mobility. This research focuses on the shopping movements within the two distinctive consumer populations: the employed and the non-employed (unemployed, retirees, housewives), addressing the similarities and differences between them. It relies on the data from a survey on the daily mobility of residents in the territory covered by the Belgrade Master Plan, which included 15,006 respondents. The main research method is a spatial analysis that has allowed the identification of the spatial patterns of shopping mobility and the underlying rules. Our

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results have shown that the dispersion of shopping, attraction zones and loyalty to the neighbourhood influence and shape the patterns of shopping mobility in Belgrade.

Keywords: Shopping, spatial patterns, attraction zones, dispersion, central places, Belgrade, Serbia.

Zusammenfassung

Analyse räumlicher Muster des Einkaufsverhaltens in Belgrad, Serbien

Einzelhandel, Einkauf und Konsum im Allgemeinen sind wichtige Erscheinungsformen der modernen Stadt, ihrer Gesellschaft, Lebensweise, räumlichen Differenzierung und wirtschaftlichen Aktivitäten. Belgrad, die Hauptstadt Serbiens, ist in den letzten zwanzig Jahren von zahlreichen Veränderungen im Einzelhandel geprägt – in der Struktur der Einzelhandelsobjekte, in den Verkaufsflächen, im Einkaufsverhalten und in der Mobilität der Kundinnen und Kunden. Die vorliegende Studie konzentriert sich auf Einkaufsmobilität, und zwar auf Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede im Einkaufsverhalten der beiden Hauptbevölkerungsgruppen – Erwerbstätige und Nicht-Erwerbstätige (Arbeitslose, Rentner, Hausfrauen). Sie fußt auf Daten einer Umfrage über das tägliche Einkaufsverhalten der Bewohner im Gebiet des „Belgrade Master Plan", an der 15.006 Befragte teilnahmen. Im Zentrum der Untersuchung steht eine räumliche Analyse, mit deren Hilfe die räumlichen Muster des Einkaufsverhaltens untersucht und die Gesetzmäßigkeiten, die sie bestimmen, identifiziert werden sollen. Unsere Ergebnisse haben gezeigt, dass die Standortdifferenzierung der Einkaufsmöglichkeiten, die Attraktivität der Standorte und die Loyalität gegenüber der Nachbarschaft die räumlichen Muster der Einkaufsmobilität in Belgrad beeinflussen und prägen.

Schlagwörter: Einkaufsverhalten, räumliche Muster, Standortqualität, Einkaufsmobilität, Standortdifferenzierung, Belgrad, Serbien.

1 Introduction

Consumer activities are implicit to the society of modern cities, and retail is one of the most dynamic sectors of urban economy (Jackson and Thrift 1995; Clarke 2003; Jayne 2006; Miles 2010). The consumer spatial behaviour is probably the broadest and the most complex issue in the geography of retail and consumption. Scholars argue that people make decisions about where to buy based on their needs for specific goods and the resources they have or constraints they face (material, spatial and temporal) (Hägerstrand 1970; Eymann 1995). Related is the well-known principle of the nearest shop that people tend to purchase the necessary products from the closest store available (Bromley and Thomas 1993; Westlake 1993; Williams and Hubbard 2001). Studies on shopping mobility show that the local attachment to the neighbourhood is particularly pronounced among older adults, mothers with young children, housewives and less mobile residents

(Nagy 2001; Novák and Sýkora 2007; Cachinho 2014). Certainly, different consumer needs, motives and capabilities can significantly modify this general regularity (van Leeuwen and Rietveld 2011).

In post-socialist cities, the trend of an intensive retail development and the expansion of a consumer lifestyle have taken root since the early 1990s (Kreja 2006; Stanilov 2007). Major changes in the spatial structure of these cities include the commercialisation and expansion of urban cores, the differentiation of retail facilities in the city centre, the emergence of new retail and entertainment hotspots (Sýkora et al. 2000; Parysek and Mierzejewska 2006; Sić 2007).

Post-industrial changes and commercialisation also affected Belgrade, the capital of Serbia. Major changes in Belgrade happened after 2000, involving a shift of the main retail actors (big international companies instead of numerous private retailers) accompanied with the transformation of retail spaces. The number of small local shops has noticeably decreased, while new modern retail formats (hypermarkets, shopping centres) emerged and gained attractiveness (Hirt 2008; Lovreta 2008). Changes in the retail space have affected consumers, who were forced to adapt to new retail facilities, their changed spatial organisation, and new centres of gravitational attraction. The routes to shopping venues, the frequency and length of shopping movements have also changed (Nagy 2001; Novák and Sýkora 2007; Lovreta 2008; Aksenov 2016).

Shopping mobility and habits also depend on one's employment status, income, lifestyle, life phase, needs, duties, etc. Studies (e.g., Smith 1992; Nagy 2001) show that older adults (retirees) have adapted the least to the spatial changes in retail. For them, the proximity of the shop and the connection to the public transport is crucial, perceiving new hypermarkets and shopping malls as distant, both physically and psychologically. More mobile residents belonging to the middle and upper classes have perceived shopping malls as attractive and have started visiting them.

According to some studies, consumers are more likely to choose the closest venue (shop) that meets their needs for a particular good or service (Gorter et al. 2003; Evers et al. 2005; Hensher et al. 2005; van Leeuwen and Rietveld 2011). In addition, there are targeted movements towards specific desirable consumer venues (e.g., shopping malls, hypermarkets, specialty stores) (Gorter et al. 2003; Kunc et al. 2012; Dolega et al. 2016). These are the zones of shopping attractions, hot spots, which are especially attractive for shopping. The literature also suggests that consumer activities follow primary functions – housing and work, as well as the spatial patterns of labour (primary) mobility and occur close to the destinations of labour movements (Marjanen 1997; Novák and Sýkora 2007).

While the study on shopping behaviour in the urban setting of post-socialist Prague (Novák and Sýkora 2007) analyses the specific spatial factors of the changing shopping mobility, a detailed spatial analysis of the residents' movements is missing in the greatest part of the cited literature. This paper aims to fill that gap by focusing specifically on the spatial dimension of mobility. The main research questions are: How does the socioeconomic status of residents influence the spatial aspects of shopping movements? Are the spatial patterns of shopping mobility in Belgrade in accordance with the general spatial patterns of shopping in the city?

The paper examines the two most numerous and most influential groups in the context of shopping – the employed and the non-employed residents. The employed are the group with the higher income and they get involved in the regular labour (primary) mobility. Unlike them, the non-employed include retirees, unemployed and housewives, who are not involved in the compulsory primary movements. The study relies on the data from a survey on the daily local mobility of Belgrade's residents. The analysis was done on a sample of 15,006 respondents living in the territory covered by the Belgrade Master Plan (BMP).

By analysing and comparing the shopping movements of two different socio-economic groups, we recognise the spatial pattern and dominant rules of shopping mobility in Belgrade. Special attention is paid to the relationship between labour (primary) and shopping (consumer) movements, the share and significance of local (neighbourhood) shopping movements and the importance of attractive shopping venues.

2 Retail Structure in the Post-Socialist City

The spatial shopping patterns of the population are shaped mainly by the development and distribution of retail in the city. In post-socialist cities, changes in the retail sphere and changes in consumers' purchase habits have come to the fore. Due to the crisis of the 1990s, Serbia and Belgrade went through a slow process of post-industrial transformation and commercialisation. The retail network in Belgrade has certainly changed significantly since that time. The oldest elements of the retail network in Belgrade took shape as early as the late 19th century and between the two world wars (Macura 1984). These are the most important shopping streets in the historical core of Belgrade and Zemun with numerous individual shops and the oldest department stores (Fig. 1) (Božić 1991). In decades after the late 1940s, significant changes took place: the city's growth in terms of population size and spatial extent (especially the construction of New Belgrade), the expansion and modernisation of the retail network (new local shopping centres, new retail formats) as well as changes in consumer habits and preferences in line with Western European shopping standards (Božić 1991). However, in the 1970s and 1980s, retail development, with insufficient shops and fragmented retail facilities, could not keep up with the rapid population growth in the city (Lovreta 1986). The decision-making factors that hindered retail development were associated with the general non-market economy and the retail supply concept. Planning and practice were not harmonised, whereas the political sphere dominated the economic domain (Božić 1991; Lovreta 2008).

The early transition period of the 1990s was marked by the emergence of highly fragmented and randomly scattered small informal shops that sold fast-moving consumer goods and had a significant share in sales. These mainly were improvised shops with minimal area and street kiosks (Lovreta 2008) or apartments, garages and other informal spaces used as retail outlets in all parts of the city in response to the economic crisis. Between 1990 and 2000, almost 20,000 new retail establishments were set up in the city, most of which falling into the category of informal shops (Office for Informatics and Statistics 2005).

The period after 2000 has been marked by intensive changes in the economic and spatial structure of retail. The grey market was diminishing, while the share of modern retail formats was increasing along with the improvement of economic indicators (Lovreta 2008). Small local shops were suppressed by the aggressive emergence of large international companies (Hirt 2008). Between 2001 and 2020, the total number of shops in Belgrade decreased by more than 6,000, thus increasing the number of inhabitants per shop from 63 to 84 (Office for Informatics and Statistics 2021). Already in 2008, the main actors in the Belgrade retail market of food and fast-moving consumer goods were large retail chains which predominantly relied on supermarkets, superettes and hypermarkets. During this time, there was a notable increase in the number of shopping centres as 29 new facilities established (Office for Informatics and Statistics 2021) in both densely populated neighbourhoods and peripheral areas along major roads. The supremacy of new formats illustrates that the large shopping mall "Delta City" opened in 2007 was a more popular choice (29.8 % of consumers) than all local shopping centres (22.6 % of consumers) (Lovreta 2008). Open markets, as a traditionally important retail format, retained their sites and about 20 new ones were established (Lovreta 2008).

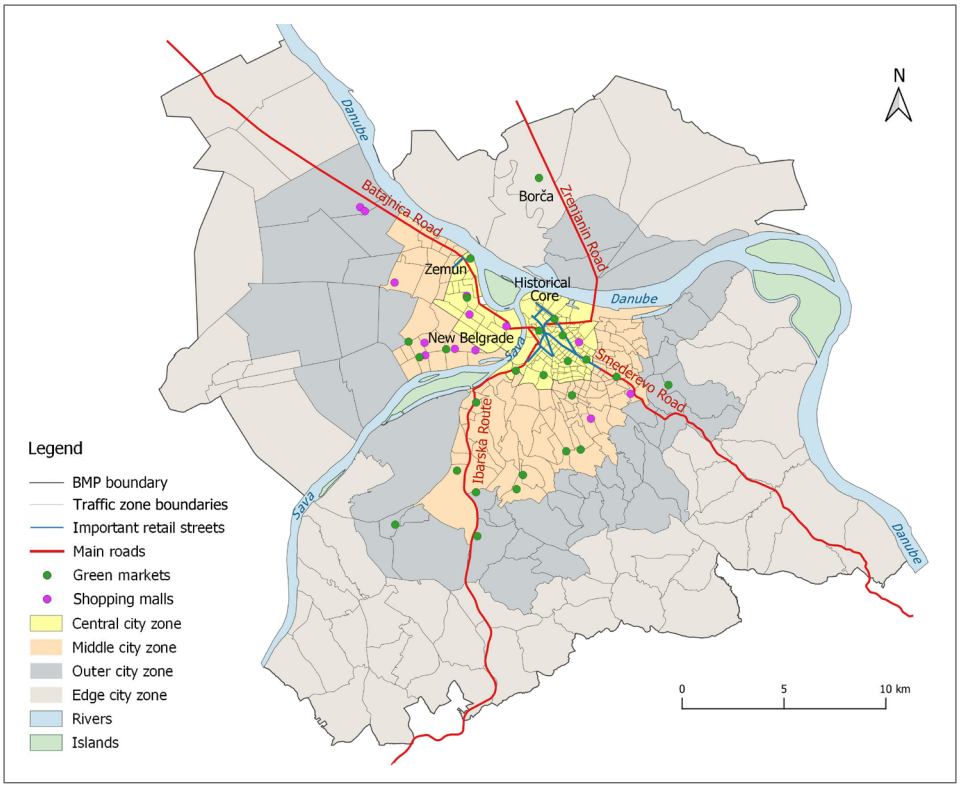
The first decade of the 21st century was also marked by uneven spatial development of commerce in Belgrade's municipalities. Significant greenfield investments by prominent local and international companies were observed in the municipalities with sufficient space to construct new facilities (e.g., New Belgrade and Palilula). The retail network in New Belgrade became comparable to those of the most developed capitals of countries in transition. In the central city municipalities (Vračar, Savski Venac and Stari Grad), with traditionally developed commerce, the room for establishing new large retail formats was limited. In other municipalities, which also included peripheral and rural areas, retail was poorly developed because even classic shopping facilities were lacking (Lovreta 2008).

In the current spatial structure of retail outlets in Belgrade, the central city zone stands out (Figure 1). This zone includes three nuclei: the historical cores of Belgrade and Zemun and the centre of New Belgrade. This is the city zone with the highest rents (CBD). It is occupied by offices, shops, and housing facilities, while retail outlets are distributed in concentric circles, strips and separate units. The historical core of Belgrade contains leading commercial and business streets: Kneza Mihaila, Kralja Milana and Bulevar Kralja Aleksandra; Glavna and Bežanijska streets are located in the centre of Zemun.

As the distance from the central city zone increases, some activities disappear, but commerce persists along the exit routes (communication lines). However, distinct commercial complexes (integrated shopping centres, retail parks, hypermarkets) can be found. In addition, dispersedly distributed retail outlets in all citiy zones contain many traditional retail outlets serving the local population (Lovreta 2008). The centralisation and decentralisation of retail in Belgrade are currently unified processes involving the reconstruction of the historic city centre (a pedestrian shopping area and closed retail complexes) and the building of shopping centres in the city's access areas (Master Plan 2003; Lovreta 2008).

The distinct and typical formats in Belgrade's diversified retail system include: small shops in the neighbourhood, open markets and shopping centres. The network of small

shops, which can be found in every neighbourhood, persists due to the residents' need to have supplies available in the nearest (small) store, despite frequent changes and the fact that shops get established and disappear in the same easy way.



Source: Authors 2023 (own design)

Figure 1: City zones and main retail structures in the Belgrade Masterplan Area

In Belgrade, open markets are old institutions of trade. Their main offer includes fresh agricultural and food products, primarily fruits and vegetables. Various manufactured, industrial alimentary and non-alimentary, new and/or used products are sold at open markets. In addition to stalls as a traditional market structure open markets also house various retail facilities complementing the offer (bakery, dairy and industrial products stores, etc.), i.e., they rely on the cumulative attractiveness of the market location. The network of markets in the territory covered by the Belgrade Master Plan is well developed and it includes a total of 44 open markets, of different sizes, from those with 10 stalls (Žarkovo) to those with 1,000 stalls and 100 stores (Kalenić). Despite the increasing competition from more modern retail forms, open markets retain attractiveness in the supply chain (Lovreta 2008).

Shopping malls are a paradigmatic retail format in post-socialist cities, a hallmark of changed economies, spaces and lifestyles. There are two key phases in their development in Belgrade. Individual tenants spontaneously formed the offer of the shopping malls of the first phase without a common business strategy. Retail outlets were combined with some services, lacking entertainment and catering components. Their appeal was mostly local, and consumers perceived them as a concentrated retail offer. They were more similar in character to the department stores of the 19th century (Vuksanović-Macura and Todorić 2019) than to global shopping malls.

The second phase began after the 2000s, with the establishment of regional shopping malls, where the offer included entertainment components (fast food restaurants, cinemas, bowling alleys, casinos, children's playrooms) along with retail outlets and the offer dominated by chains of licensed global brands (Lovreta 2008). In 2015, all new shopping malls were located in New Belgrade, except for one (Zira, opened in 2007) in the Palilula Municipality. At that time, neither the city centre nor the peripheral areas had a modern shopping mall integrated into the urban space.

3 Consumer Spatial Behaviour – Choosing a Shopping Venue

The evolution of the spatial organisation of retail in the city is closely related to the shopping habits and spatial behaviour of consumers. Consumers' choices depend on their demographic (gender, age, household size and type, etc.) and socio-economic features (education, employment status, income, car ownership, etc.), tastes, needs and preferences. Choices also depend on the specific offer and spatial context – the number, location and distance of retail facilities from the place of residence, the movement mode (walking, public transport, etc.), features of stores, prices, choice of goods, quality of service, availability of parking space, etc. (Guy 1999).

According to van Leeuwen and Rietveld (2011) the factors influencing consumer choices and their spatial behaviour include: consumer features (demographic and socio-economic), supply factors (attractiveness of shops, distance, prices, etc.) and reasons for shopping (supply of food products, entertainment, targeted shopping, etc.). They also highlight the place of work. When associated with primary labour mobility, shopping becomes a significant secondary activity that takes place near the workplace or on the way to work (Papadopoulos 1980; Findlay et al. 2001).

Socio-economic status represented by the income level and the degree of motorisation is a very important factor when choosing a retail facility. Those with a lower social status (measured by income or the education level) are more likely to shop in the neighbourhood (Michel and Scheiner 2016). Customers with a car are more likely to travel to remote malls and hypermarkets with abundant parking space, while those without a car choose shopping venues close to the place of residence (Bromley and Thomas 1993; Thomas and Bromley 1996; Garstka 2008; Cachinho 2014).

It has been found (e.g., Novák and Sýkora 2007; van Leeuwen and Rietveld 2011) that the key indicators of the spatial shopping behaviour are socio-economic activities (employment, studies, and work from home) and the type of day (working day or week-

end). Employed people mostly go shopping on weekdays near their workplace, on the way home from work, in suburban hypermarkets along their way, or in their neighbourhood. The connection between home and work is the strongest element in the temporal and spatial patterns of residents' activities and it has the greatest impact on the organisation and changes in the structure of the metropolitan area. Novák and Sýkora (2007) demonstrate that in the morning, most employees take a direct route to work, while the return journey is often interrupted by shopping or leisure activities. One-third of all shopping activities on the way home from work occur in new suburban retail spaces and one-fifth near home.

Several studies (e.g., Smith 1992; Föbker and Grotz 2006; Vojnovic et al. 2020) address the issue of the supply provision for the elderly urban dwellers. This is a significant issue, especially considering the income and mobility constraints this growing population faces. Although the elderly are not a homogeneous group in terms of the socio-economic status and place of residence (e.g., city centre vs. periphery), some regularities can be taken into account. Their spatial choices are the result of the information they have and the criteria they use in evaluating the retail space. Regardless of the part of the city in which they live, the most important attributes of a retail space from the perspective of elderly residents are the distance from home, prices and the presence of a supermarket (Smith 1992).

The venues targeted by the shopping mobility of the elderly are fairly limited in scope, compared to those targeted by younger residents (e.g., Guy 1985; Smith 1992) because they have a poorer knowledge of the retail space and shopping opportunities in the city than the younger population. Elderly people are generally well acquainted with the facilities in their neighbourhood and when it comes to distant shopping outlets, perceived distances also come into play. Members of this group are more likely to go on foot or by public transport when shopping, and they use private cars less often.

Spatial mobility patterns are a key element of any geographical study of consumer behaviour (e.g., Novák and Sýkora 2007; Garstka 2008; Aksenov 2016). They are the result of the spatial variability (distribution) of shopping movements, reflecting the interdependence between the place of residence and the shopping venue (Novák and Sýkora 2007). Based on the trajectory and especially on the destination of individual movements, it is possible to trace the spatial patterns of shopping activities. Spatial patterns reveal the zones of concentration of shopping and other activities, which are in fact shopping hubs in space (Hägerstrand 1970).

4 Materials and Method

4.1 Data and Research Area

The primary source of data in this research is a survey on the daily local mobility of the residents of 17 municipalities within the City of Belgrade (City Administration of the City of Belgrade, Secretariat for Transport of the City of Belgrade, 2015). This territory consists of 478 traffic zones in total. The survey covered 1–1.5 percent of the population

of each traffic zone, i.e. 19,603 respondents (6+ years) in total. The respondents provided individual demographic and socio-economic data, household data and information about their movements throughout the previous working day (during 24 hours) – namely about the space, time, mode and purpose of movement. The survey was conducted in April and May 2015. No similar research on mobility in Belgrade has been conducted since then.

For the purpose of this research, a sample of 15,006 respondents living in the territory covered by the Belgrade Master Plan was selected. There are 345 traffic zones in this area, located within 12 municipalities – 10 urban and parts of two suburban municipalities. The respondents were divided into two groups: the employed and the non-employed (housewives, retirees and the unemployed) (Table 1). Depending on the dimensions of socio-economic status, leisure time and travel mode, both groups face various possibilities and constrains related to shopping movements (Todoric 2019), which are highly relevant for defining the spatial patterns of shopping mobility.

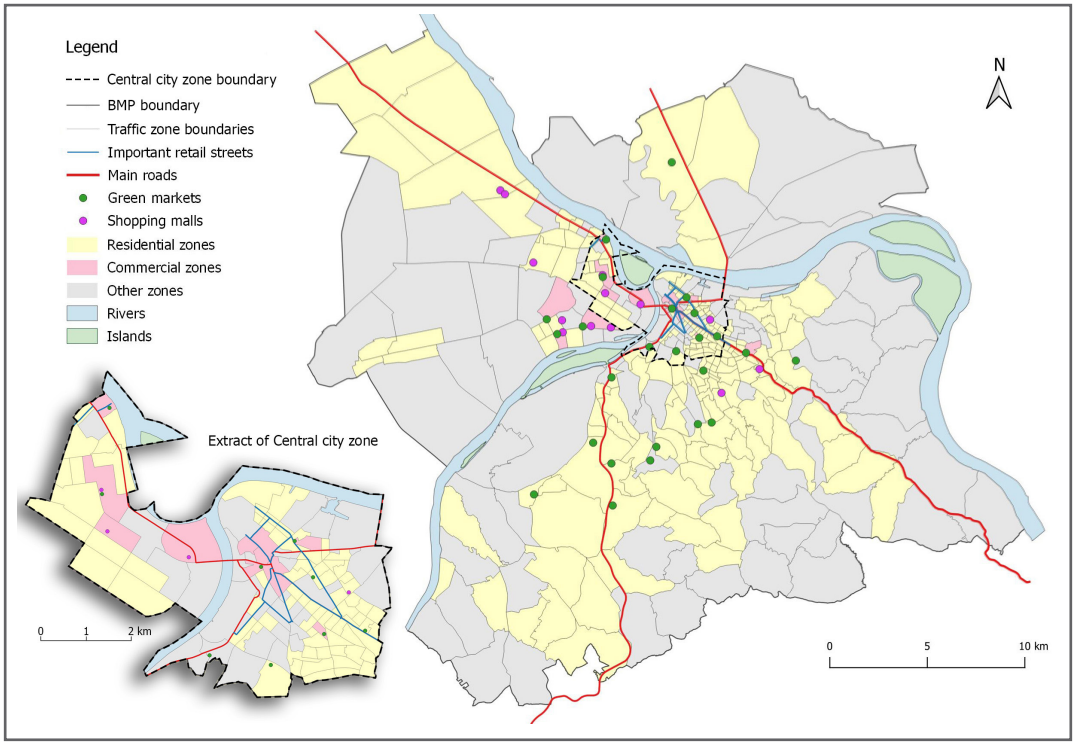
Groups	Number	%	Employment status	Number	%
Employed	7,917	52.8	Permanently employed	6,344	42.3
			Occasional or part-time workers	1,077	7.2
			Self-employed	496	3.3
Non-employed	7,089	47.2	Retirees	4,094	27.3
			Unemployed	2,669	17.8
			Housewives	326	2.2
Total	15,006	100.0			

Source: City Administration of the City of Belgrade, Secretariat for Transport of the City of Belgrade, 2015.

Table 1: Employment status and respondent groups of the survey used in the research

Traffic zones (345 in total) are the main spatial unit in the research (Figure 2). They differ in terms of population and area size, their position within the territory covered by the Belgrade Master Plan (central, middle, outer or boundary zone) and dominant functions (residential, commercial or other). The spatial features of the traffic zones associated with the retail network, the structure of retail outlets, the number of shops and the types of retail outlets within the network are certainly the most relevant in shopping mobility. The analysis of the retail structure in the traffic zones has revealed the importance of individual zones and has made it possible to explain shopping mobility between traffic zones.

Data on the shopping and labour mobility of the respondents within the area covered by the Belgrade Master Plan were used (Table 2). A total of 2,674 daily shopping movements was analysed: 627 (23.4 %) by employed residents and 2,047 (76.6 %) by the non-employed. There were 7,957 labour movements in total: 7,011 (88.1 %) by employed residents and 946 (11.9 %) by the non-employed group.



Source: Authors 2023 (own design), based on Belgrade Master Plan 2003

Figure 2: Traffic zones by dominant function accoriding to Belgrade Master Plan and the main retail structures

Purpose of movement	Employed		Non-employed	
	Number	%	Number	%
Overall	7,638	100.0	2,993	100.0
Primary (labour)	7,011	91.8	946	31.6
Shopping	627	8.2	2,047	68.4

Source: Authors' calculations based on a survey by the City Administration of the City of Belgrade, Secretariat for Transport of the City of Belgrade Secretariat for Transport of the City of Belgrade

Table 2: Movement distribution by purpose per respondent group

This research deals with shopping mobility in the pre-Covid period. Studies on shopping behaviour during the pandemic and especially during the lock-down mainly focus on e-shopping (Beckers et al. 2021; Mouratidis and Papagiannakis 2021; Young et al. 2022; Shen et al. 2022). To the best of the authors' knowledge, no geographical research

on the spatial patterns of shopping movements in this period has been done so far. In this respect, the results of this research, among other things, can be used in future studies for comparisons between the pre- and post-Covid spatial patterns of shopping mobility.

4.2 Spatial Analysis

The spatial analysis of the patterns of residents' labour and shopping mobility is based on the mapping of phenomena (shopping and labour movements) and the interpretation of the obtained maps. The residents' overall shopping and labour mobility and the two components of their movements were mapped: movements between traffic zones (interzonal) and movements within a traffic zone (intrazonal). Interzonal movements may indicate more intensive visits to some areas, more attractive places, at the city level. Intrazonal movements may provisionally be described as neighbourhood mobility. This type of mobility indicates the residents' preference for the nearest local facilities – close to the place of residence. The QGIS software was used to map, analyse and interpret the results.

A base map divided into 345 traffic zones within the boundaries of the Belgrade Master Plan was used. The choropleth method was used to present the mobility data in thematic maps, giving a visually clear idea of the phenomenon and allowing for a relatively simple reading of the map (Burt et al. 2009). The main indicator shown in the maps is the number of visits to each traffic zone for the purpose of shopping or work. With the aim of making the movement patterns of different groups (the employed and the non-employed) comparable, the standard deviation of the number of arrivals was used.

Furthermore, a detailed analysis of traffic zones with a positive value of standard deviation was done. At the same time, we performed a position analysis of traffic zones, as well as a qualitative analysis of traffic zones through the identification of infrastructure and facilities (retail and other facilities and functions), using Google Maps and satellite images. Based on the spatial distribution and the specific features of the visited traffic zones, the overall spatial patterns of movements have been identified and several rules that explain the spatial patterns of shopping movements have been formulated.

5 Spatial Distribution of Shopping Activities in Belgrade

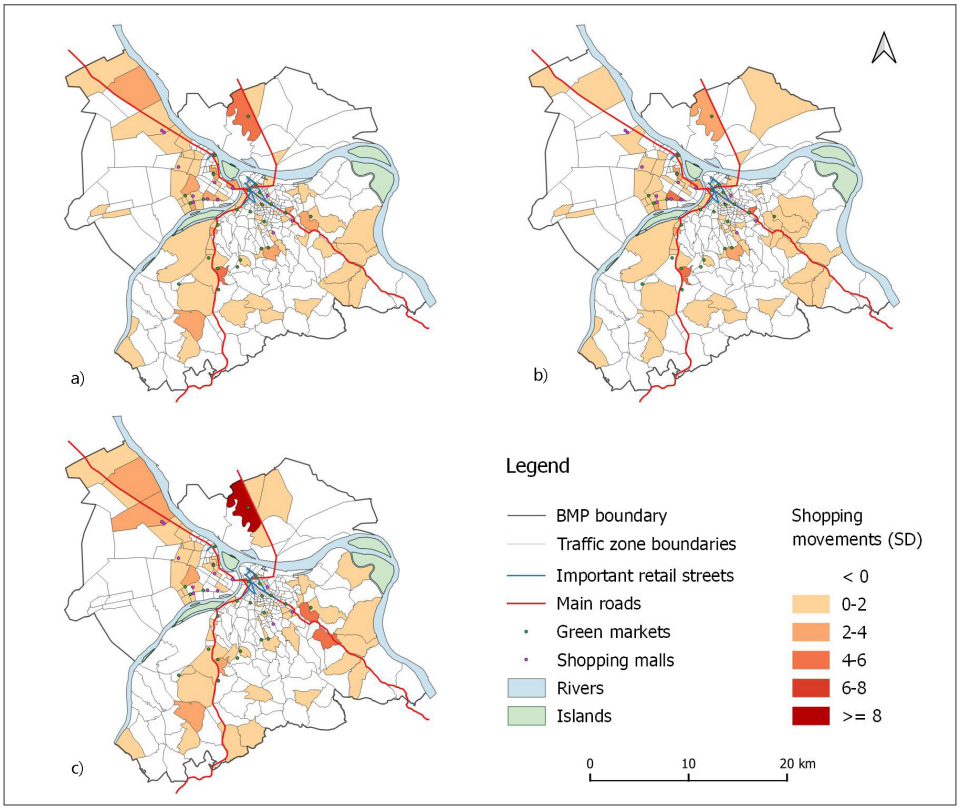
The spatial analysis of shopping mobility seeking to identify the spatial patterns of shopping mobility in Belgrade has made it possible to identify movement directions and scope. The spatial analysis includes the residents' local movements on the territory covered by the Belgrade Master Plan (where the starting point and the destination are within the territory covered by the Master Plan). The first segment of the analysis deals with the overall shopping mobility of the surveyed population, i.e. 2,674 movements in total.

Furthermore, the shopping movements of the two groups were analysed: the employed (627 movements) and the non-employed (2,047 movements), along with the labour mobility (7,011 movements), because it has a major influence on the consumer mobility of the employed. It has been established that interzonal movements have the largest share of

(2,147, i.e. 80.3 %) in the overall shopping mobility, while intrazonal movements account for 19.7 percent (i.e. 527 movements). Accordingly, the component of interzonal mobility is crucial for defining the pattern of the overall mobility.

5.1 General Patterns of Shopping Mobility

Figure 3 shows the spatial patterns of the total shopping movements of the surveyed population, as well as the interzonal and intrazonal movements. The maps show the traffic zones targeted by shopping movements. Standard deviation (SD) values are used to ensure the comparability of different mobility categories. Attention is focused on the zones with a positive standard deviation because they are visited above average.



Source: Adjusted from Todorić 2019

Figure 3: Destination zones of shopping movements: total (a), interzonal (b), intrazonal (c)

The map of the overall shopping mobility (Figure 3a) shows that the location of the visited zones is determined by the routes of the main roads in Belgrade (Batajnica

Road, Ibar Route, Zrenjanin Road and Smederevo Road). These four traffic routes are perceived as Belgrade's "axes of development", along which economic activities are concentrated (Ratkaj 2008; Todorić et al. 2021). The map shows that shopping zones are dispersed in the urban space, i.e., that there are no obvious differences between the city centre and the periphery. Also, some traffic zones have significantly higher SD values than the surrounding area – these are the zones of shopping attraction. This can be explained by their attractiveness due to a greater concentration of retail facilities, diversity of supply, etc.

The zones where shopping is the most intensive (SD values of 6 and higher) are located both in the central urban zone and on the outskirts. In the centre of the city, these are the zones with green markets and a variety of retail facilities. On the outskirts, this zone covers the greatest part of one big neighbourhood (Borča) and is located by a major road with commercial and service facilities distributed along the route. Category SD 2–4 includes 13 zones distributed throughout the city. These are the zones where attractive shopping streets, shopping malls and green markets are located. The zones with the lowest values of standard deviation (SD 0–2) are dispersed throughout the city; green markets can also be found there, but it can be observed that they are grouped along the lines of development "axes" around four major urban traffic routes.

The rules of the spatial distribution of shopping activities that can be defined based on Figure 3a include: the dispersion of shopping spaces throughout the territory covered by the Belgrade Master Plan (and outside the city centre), the position along the main traffic routes, as well as a greater number of shopping visitors at attractive spaces such as green markets, shopping malls and other attractive commercial spaces in the city marked by a higher concentration of retail facilities.

The image showing the interzonal shopping mobility also reveals the dispersion of visited zones (Figure 3b), as well as a general orientation along the lines of major roads, although a higher intensity of visits to more attractive areas in the city is more significant. The zones of shopping attractions normally include areas with green markets and shopping centres, or areas with a higher concentration of retail facilities.

Peripheral zones stand out when it comes to the distribution of intrazonal mobility (Figure 3c), which again indicates the dispersion of shopping activities at the city level. These zones are most commonly located along major traffic routes, or they have a larger population, consequently involving a greater mobility. Due to this, the SD value for the Borča zone exceeds 8. Therefore, two obvious rules can be observed: interzonal mobility defines the zones of shopping attraction in the city, while intrazonal mobility is determined primarily by the zones' population, and, consequently, by the number of shopping movements in the vicinity of the place of residence. Both patterns are marked by a dispersed distribution of visited zones, without the dominance of the city centre.

5.2 Shopping and Labour Mobility of Employed Residents

The connection between labour and shopping mobility is one of the key assumptions in this research. The employed are considered to be more mobile than the non-employed

because they usually have to undertake primary movements. Their financial status is more favourable and they are mostly in the life stage when they take care of the household and supplies – both financially and practically. Therefore, labour and shopping movements of employed residents are analysed in parallel and attention is focused on understanding the spatial similarity of the patterns of the two types of mobility. The data (Table 3) show that the relative share of intrazonal movements associated with shopping is greater than the share of labour mobility, which speaks in favour of the assumption that the orientation of shopping is prevailingly local.

Purpose of movements	Total movements		Interzonal		Intrazonal	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Labour	7,011	100.0	6,600	94.1	411	5.9
Shopping	627	100.0	511	81.5	116	18.5

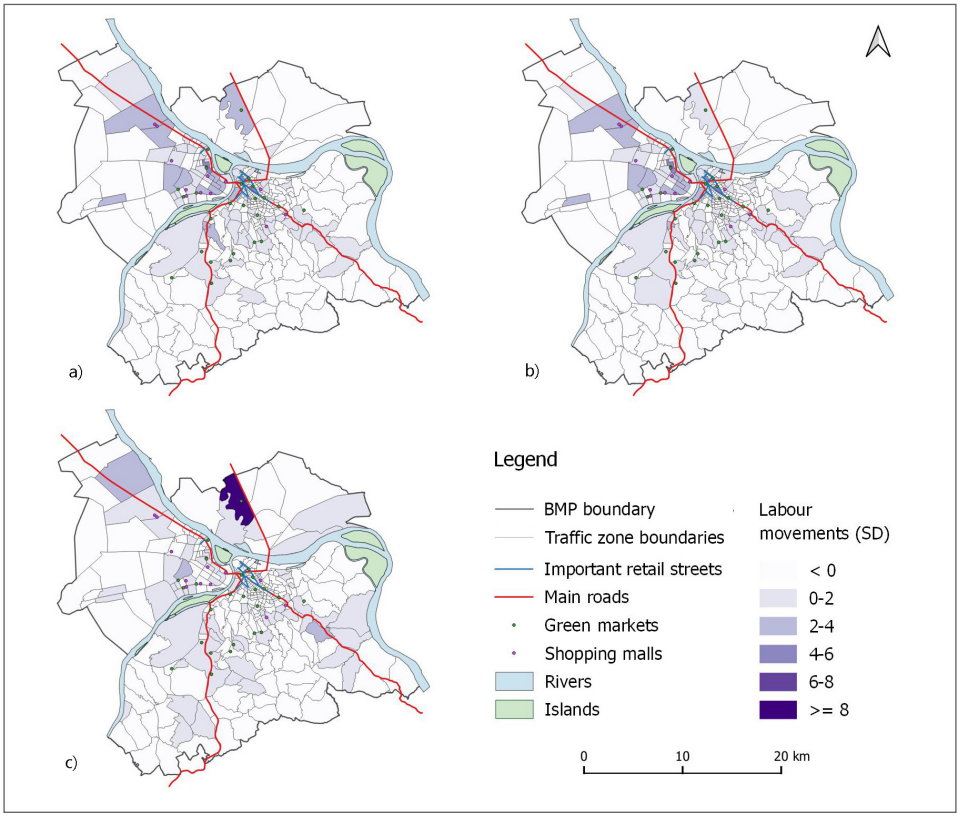
Source: Authors' calculations based on a survey by the City Administration of the City of Belgrade, Secretariat for Transport of the City of Belgrade.

Table 3: Movements of the employed

Labour mobility accounts for 91.8 percent of the employed population's mobility and, as expected, has a significant impact on the spatial patterns of shopping. The obtained results (Figure 4a) reveal the expected pattern of labour movements (Ratkaj 2008) targeting distinct labour centres and zones along the main traffic routes. The zones with a significant share of jobs are mostly concentrated in the central part of the city, to become sparser towards the periphery. Based on this spatial distribution, the centre-periphery rule is defined. The central business zone is reserved for services (quaternary sector), while the share of lower production sectors gradually increases as one moves towards the periphery.

As far as the total labour mobility of employed residents (Figure 4a) is concerned, category SD 4–6, indicating the highest mobility, includes two zones in the urban core and one zone in the centre of New Belgrade. Category SD 2–4 includes 17 zones located in the centre and other parts of the city with developed administrative and educational functions, in the peripheral neighbourhoods where industrial and service activities are developed, and areas with a higher concentration of services (trade, catering and traffic). This is a category where distinct zones of attraction for labour mobility (labour centres) are located.

The group with the lowest SD value (SD 0–2) is the most numerous and widespread; it is continual, radiating from the central zones to NW, SW and SE, coinciding with the distribution of labour zones along the four axes of development (traffic directions). The overall labour mobility is largely determined by the interzonal component (Fig. 4b), where the three rules of labour mobility can also be observed. The values for the intrazonal labour movements of employed residents (Fig. 4c) are steady, with the exception of one peripheral zone (Borča), due to its population size and access to intrazonal functions and jobs.



Source: Adjusted from Todorić 2019

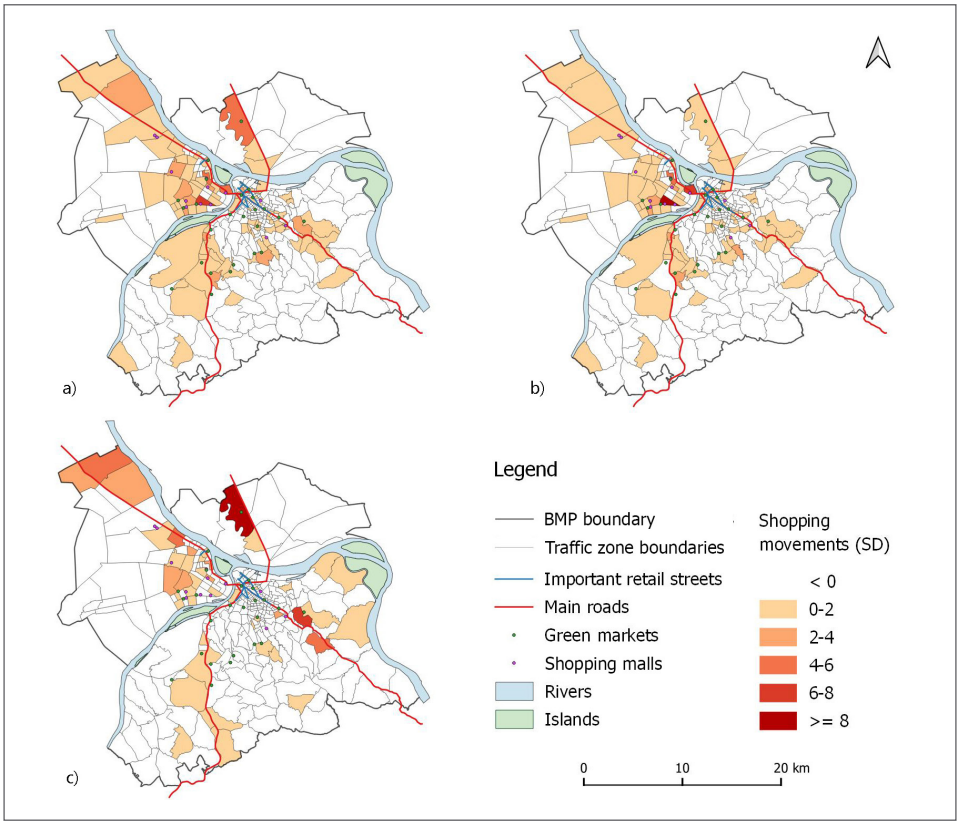
Figure 4: Destination zones of labour movements: total (a), interzonal (b), intrazonal (c)

Figure 5 shows the shopping mobility of employed residents. Apparently, there is a deviation from the pattern of the shopping mobility of the total population – in this case, zones are more centralized, although they do not conform to the centre-periphery rule. Distinct axial routes and attraction zones can also be observed. The shopping pattern largely coincides with the pattern of employed residents' labour mobility. However, it is observed that labour mobility is more centralized, while shopping is more associated with the zones of attraction and more present in the peripheral parts of the city.

As far as the overall shopping mobility of employed residents (Figure 5a) is concerned, there is only one zone with SD 6, in New Belgrade (where two shopping centres are located). Category SD 4–6 includes two zones in New Belgrade where shopping centres are located, as well as a large zone, in terms of population size and access to amenities, on the left bank of the Danube (Borča). The majority of zones (14) fall into the SD 2–4 group. These are the zones in the very centre of the city and the so-called "secondary" centres (of labour and shopping), where shopping malls,

green markets, attractive shopping streets and megamarkets are located. The zones falling into the SD 0–2 group are distributed throughout the city, but primarily along the four major roads.

As expected, the interzonal shopping movements of employed residents (Figure 5b) are guided by the rules of attraction zones and an axial distribution of zones, while the pattern of centrality is missing. The intrazonal shopping movements of the employed (Fig. 5c) are in this case observed in the zones of attraction, as well as in the neighbourhoods with a large population size and a good access to amenities.



Source: Adjusted from Todorić 2019

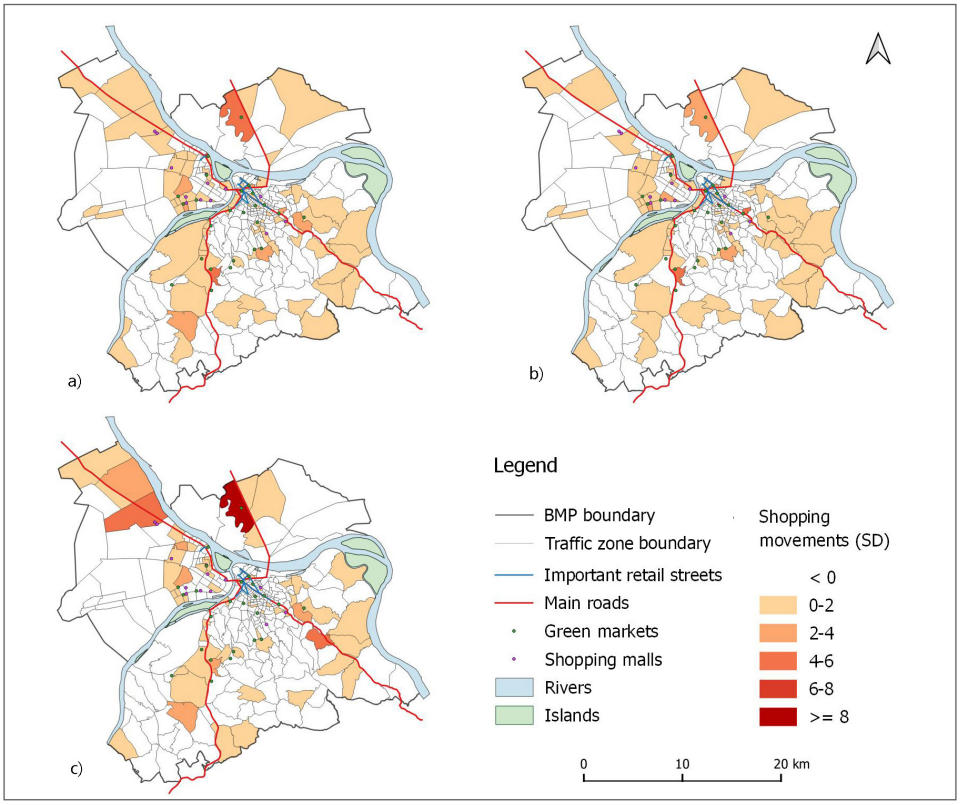
Figure 5: Destination zones of shopping movements of the employed: total (a), interzonal (b), intrazonal (c)

It can be concluded that the spatial patterns of shopping and labour movements coincide only partially, in the zones that are both labour centres and areas attractive for consumption (either because of the presence of attractive sites, or due to a good access to amenities, which is usually associated with the population size of the neighbourhood).

5.3 Shopping Mobility of the Non-Employed

The pattern of the overall shopping mobility of the non-employed (Figure 6a) is very similar to the pattern of the overall shopping mobility of all respondents, which means that the data for this group significantly influenced the picture of the overall shopping mobility. However, it has been demonstrated that the shopping patterns of the non-employed are different from those of employed residents. The zones with green markets and a good retail network have the same function for the non-employed as the zones with shopping centres for the employed.

The map of the overall shopping mobility of the non-employed (Figure 6a) shows that the centre of Zemun falls into the category with the highest SD (6–8). It is followed by two peripheral zones with a large population and a good retail network (Borča and Vidikovac, SD 4–6). Nine zones fall into the SD 2–4 category, distributed throughout the



Source: (a) Authors, based on a survey by the Secretariat for Transport; (b) and (c) adjusted from Todorić 2019

Figure 6: Destination zones of shopping movements of the non-employed: total (a), interzonal (b), intrazonal (c)

city: in the city centre, as well as in other more densely populated parts of the city with a good access to amenities. The zones falling into the SD 0–2 category are very distinct, especially in the peripheral parts of the city, where they often take shape of belts. They also include attraction zones with shopping malls or attractive shopping streets. Apparently, the most attractive for the non-employed (housewives, retirees and the unemployed) are zones with a better access to amenities, where green markets can also be found.

As opposed to the shopping mobility of the employed, which is primarily determined by the zones of attraction, this pattern is less pronounced in the non-employed group. Also, the centre-periphery pattern, which is poorly represented among the employed, is even less distinct in the non-employed group. The distribution along development axes can also be observed in the non-employed group. Decentralisation (polycentricity or dispersion) seems to be a general rule relating to shopping, and it is most pronounced in the non-employed group, as the primary movements in this group are negligible. The rule of attraction zones is also a general rule, although it is less distinct in the non-employed group, probably due to local (close to the place of residence) retail facilities in the peripheral neighbourhoods with a good access to amenities.

The analysis of the interzonal shopping mobility of the non-employed (Figure 6b) reveals significant overlaps with the overall shopping mobility of the whole non-employed group. A zone with a green market in the very centre of the city (Kalenić Market) is the only zone where SD is over 8. In other categories, it is possible to find distinct, attractive shopping areas in the centre, while other parts of the city are marked by the presence of green markets, shopping malls or concentrations of other retail facilities.

In contrast, the map of intrazonal movements (Figure 6c) shows a completely different situation. The Borča zone stands out prominently (SD over 8), as a peripheral neighbourhood and the zone with the largest population size and a good retail network. There are no zones in the SD 6–8 category. In categories SD 4–6 and SD 2–4, we find similar zones with a large population, located outside the city centre. Other zones (SD 0–2) are distributed in all municipalities. These are "market" or peripheral zones. Therefore, the population size of the zone and a good access to amenities are a valid explanation of intrazonal mobility in this case as well.

6 Discussion and Conclusions

Over the past two decades, the retail network in Belgrade has changed significantly. The economic indicators, the residents' purchasing power, and consumer preferences have also changed. This research contributes to a better understanding of the relationship between space and the residents' shopping behaviour by analysing the shopping mobility of two different socioeconomic groups, employed and non-employed. Special attention is paid to analysing traffic zones as shopping destinations within the boundaries of the Belgrade Master Plan. Identifying traffic zone specificities and shopping attractiveness allowed drawing conclusions and determining regularities in the shopping movements.

Based on the results of the analysis it is possible to formulate general spatial rules of shopping mobility in Belgrade. The research shows that spatial shopping patterns are

determined by some regularity in the spatial distribution of this activity and it identifies attractive shopping areas (spots or zones of attraction) in the city. The spatial analyses of the overall shopping movements (including both groups) show that the rules of infrastructural predisposition (main roads as development axes), dispersion (polycentricity) and attraction zones are relevant to the interzonal component.

The centre-periphery rule is not effective in this context which confirms the importance of the local shopping mobility. Moreover, the opposite has been observed – dispersion (due to local shopping) is the most important feature of shopping mobility patterns. Accordingly, shopping attraction zones are distributed throughout the city. These are mostly areas with green markets and shopping malls, or those with a higher concentration of retail facilities (streets, neighbourhoods, city parts, settlements). Intrazonal shopping movements are also grouped along roads and are decentralised. Both rules of intrazonal movements apply to these areas: the population size of the zone and the intrazonal facility infrastructure.

The shopping mobility of the employed group is determined by the same rules as those for overall movements. However, the divergence between group's labour and shopping movements is observed. Unlike labour movements which mainly gravitate to central city locations, the shopping movements of employed residents mainly target attraction zones and are more prevalent in the peripheral parts of the city. The spatial patterns of shopping and labour movements indisputably overlap only in terms of the distribution along the development axes.

Labour mobility conforms to the centre-periphery rule, while shopping mobility follows the rule of dispersion (polycentricity). Zones (spaces) of attraction are noticeable in both cases, but they do not coincide with each other – both movements have their own attraction zones. Spatial coincidence occurs when the spaces of labour attraction are at the same time spaces attractive for shopping, i.e. in the city centre. Such overlaps occur either due to the presence of attractive retail facilities in the "labour" zones or due to the multifunctionality of some traffic zones, which is most commonly related to the size of the neighbourhood. Therefore, the overlaps of shopping and labour mobility occur only provisionally. These regularities indicate that the functional connection between work and shopping is not as strong as the connection between housing and shopping.

The shopping mobility of the non-employed group (retirees, the unemployed and housewives) significantly influences the picture of the overall shopping mobility since it reveals a very similar pattern. However, it differs from the shopping patterns of the employed. For the non-employed group, the most prominent rule is the decentralisation of shopping (in terms of overall and interzonal mobility), while the attraction zones are not only less pronounced but also different from the attraction zones of the employed. The third rule of the distribution along development axes can also be observed. As for the intrazonal mobility, the population size of the zone and the intrazonal access to retail facilities are also valid explanations.

A particularly distinctive feature of the shopping movements of the non-employed are visits to attractive zones with green markets. This can be explained by the prevalence of retirees in the consumer structure, whose habits are traditionally related to green markets. Since their movements predominantly occur on working days, it is clear that their

shopping mobility has greatly influenced the pattern of the overall shopping mobility. Attraction zones would likely have differed during the weekend, and shopping malls would have gained greater importance. In such a pattern, the employed would probably have contributed to more massive visits to shopping malls and green markets. The impact of their shopping mobility would have been more prominent. Considering the lack of the primary movements, the non-employed group would have probably behaved the same.

The findings of our research are in line with previous studies (e.g., Novák and Sýkora 2007; van Leeuwen and Rietveld 2011; Rasouli and Timmermans 2013), according to which shopping movements predominantly take place in the vicinity of the place of residence. The argument that consumers most frequently choose well-known shops, at well-known sites, or along the routes that they regularly visit, and which they find considerably more attractive than the other facilities not involving these factors (Marjanen 1997), also speak in favour of the local mobility and shop choices. When choosing a shop or a shopping venue, cognitive or perceived distances are more important than real ones because consumers follow their own perception (Cadwallader 1975).

Earlier research on consumer spatial behaviour in Belgrade (Todorić 2019; Todorić et al. 2022) indicates that shopping mobility involves a greater share of intrazonal movements (19.8 %) than leisure or recreation mobility (about 11.0 %). This also suggests that shopping activity is mostly locally oriented. This rule is easy to explain because shopping movements are the "primary" consumer movements that help meet the need for the supply of daily necessities. Although the central city area stands out in the spatial structure of retail outlets, the results do not indicate its attractiveness in terms of shopping trends. On the contrary, dispersed retail is proven to be more significant, at least on working days. As far as shopping is concerned, the peripheral parts of the city (neighbourhoods) are not dependent on the city centre, especially in the case of settlements with a large population (e.g. Borča). This is indicative of the quality of life in these neighbourhoods, which offer opportunities for both shopping and entertainment, as already demonstrated by previous research (Todorić et al. 2022). This will affect the further polycentric development of the city.

The example of Belgrade shows that shopping malls have not taken prevalence in the city's shopping space. On the contrary, neighbourhood shops and markets, which are part of the traditional retail network, remain attractive and resist modern changes. The bearers of this shopping pattern are certainly the non-employed residents. These conclusions can provide guidance for planners and developers. Strengthening the retail network of small shops in residential areas would be an advantage for local customers (especially for retirees) whose supply would be facilitated, and this would certainly bring positive economic effects.

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Historische Geographie

Historical Geography

New Aspects in Historical-Geographical Research of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy: The Legal Nature of the Customs Union and Migration Links between Austria and Hungary (1870–1910)[1)]

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with 5 figures and 1 table in the text

Contents

Summary 63
Zusammenfassung 64
1 Introduction: The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy as an Object of Research and its Paradoxes Compared to the Constitutional Nature of the Empire 65
2 Aim and Objectives of the Study 71
3 The Limitations of the Statistical Data and the Study's Methodology 73
4 Results of the Statistical Research on Migration 75
5 Conclusion 83
6 References 84

Summary

The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was undoubtedly a complicated state formation whose foundation was influenced by many factors in the 1860s. The Compromise of 1867 estab-

[1)] This study is an expanded and revised version of my earlier work, originally written in Hungarian and published in 2016 in Földrajzi Közlemények (Geographical Review) (Hilbert 2016).

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lished a unique governmental system that had many uncertain legal elements and details that could be interpreted in different ways. Therefore, Austrian and Hungarian politicians and scholars viewed the empire's legal framework mostly through their individual (national) ideologies. This manifested even in the formulation of the Austrian and Hungarian laws which granted the basic administrative structure of the empire. Presumably, this phenomenon caused a long-time discrepancy in the scientific research of the empire. Although the empire's unified customs area enabled the free movement of capital, labour, goods, and services, scholars from Austria and Hungary tended to study socioeconomic dynamics separately in the Austrian and Hungarian parts of the empire, even in recent studies. There is a paucity of comprehensive studies treating the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy as a singular entity, aiming to comprehend the interconnections among its diverse regions.

This study aims to shed light on a research perspective centred on the legal framework of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy as a unified state space, granted by the customs union. First, the study takes a brief look at the discrepancies between the interpretations of the past studies on the empire and the legal facts of the customs union. Then, as a case study, the paper discovers the main migration patterns between Austria and Hungary, utilising data extracted from the Austrian and Hungarian censuses carried out throughout that era 1870–1910. Using three specific migration indicators, the study analyses the volume of migration and identifies the primary migration patterns between Austrian crownlands and Hungarian counties. The case study not only underscores the importance of this innovative research perspective on the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy but also unveils, for the first time, a seemingly fundamental yet previously undiscovered area of research.

Keywords: Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, Austria-Hungary, customs union, Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, historical geography, census, migration, migration patterns

Zusammenfassung

Neue Aspekte der historisch-geographischen Forschung zur Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie: Die Rechtsnatur der Zollunion und die Migrationsströme zwischen Österreich und Ungarn (1870–1910)

Die ehemalige Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie kann zweifellos als ein komplexes Staatsgebilde betrachtet werden, dessen Fundament in den 1860er Jahren durch eine Vielzahl von Faktoren geformt wurde. Der Österreichisch-Ungarische Ausgleich im Jahr 1867 führte zu einem Staat, dessen Regierungssystem sich zwischen einem Bundesstaat und einer Konföderation bewegte. In der Zeit des Nationalismus und Imperialismus, vom 19. Jahrhundert bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg, interpretierten österreichische und ungarische Politiker sowie Wissenschaftler die Rechtsnatur des Reiches entsprechend ihrer eigenen Ideologie. Dies spiegelte sich sogar in der Formulierung von österreichischen und ungarischen Gesetzen wider, die die grundlegende Verwaltungsstruktur des Kaiserreichs bildeten. Obwohl die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie ein einziges gemeinsames Zollge-

biet bildete, in dem Kapital, Arbeit, Waren und Dienstleistungen unbeschränkt verkehren konnten, neigen österreichische und ungarische Wissenschaftler dazu, sozioökonomische Prozesse in Österreich und Ungarn getrennt zu untersuchen. Nur wenige Studien befassen sich mit Österreich-Ungarn als Ganzheit und können die Verbindungen zwischen den verschiedenen Regionen des Reiches angemessen erfassen.

Das Ziel dieses Beitrags besteht darin, eine Forschungsperspektive auf die Österreichisch-Uungarische Monarchie zu präsentieren, die den Schwerpunkt auf den gesamten imperialien Staatsraum legt. Dabei werden zunächst die Differenzen zwischen den zentralen Merkmalen der bisherigen Monarchie-Studien und dem Rechtstatbestand der Zollunion kurz dargestellt. Als Fallstudie, die die Bedeutung dieses Forschungsaspekts veranschaulicht, werden im Folgenden die Einzelheiten der Migrationsströme zwischen Österreich und Ungarn auf der Grundlage von Daten der österreichischen und ungarischen Volkszählungen aus diesem Zeitraum (1870–1910) untersucht. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit wird dem Ausmaß der Migration anhand von drei spezifischen Migrationsindikatoren und der Identifizierung der wichtigsten Migrationsmuster zwischen den österreichischen Kronländern und den ungarischen Komitaten gewidmet.

Schlagwörter: Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie, Österreich-Ungarn, Zoll- und Handelsbündnis, Österreichisch-Ungarischer Ausgleich von 1867, Historische Geographie, Volkszählungen, Migration, Migrationsmuster

1 Introduction: The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy as an Object of Research and its Paradoxes Compared to the Constitutional Nature of the Empire

1.1 Different Points of View Concerning the Research of the Empire and its Possible Backgrounds

Since the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1918, only a limited number of studies have explored the socioeconomic interconnectedness or interactions between its two halves. Even the comparison of Austria and Hungary concerning any research field or a specific question regarding this time is also rather uncommon in the historical-geographical literature. This observation becomes evident when examining the published studies in the primary official journals of the Austrian and Hungarian Geographical Societies – the Annals of the Austrian Geographical Society[2)] (*Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft*), and the Geographical Review[3)] (*Földrajzi Közlemények*).

[2)] Volumes published between 1857 and 1945 are accessible at: *https://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-plus?aid=geo* (accessed on May 6, 2023). Volumes from 1946 to 1989 are available, for instance, at the Library of the Austrian Academy of Sciences (OAW) or at the ELTE Library of Science. Volumes published since 1990 can be found at: *https://oegg.univie.ac.at/publikationen/mitteilungen-der-oesterreichischen-geographischen-gesellschaft/moegg-archiv/* (accessed on October 6, 2023).

[3)] Volumes published between 1873 and 2011 are accessible at: *https://adt.arcanum.com/hu/collection/ FoldrajziKozlemenyek/?page=1* (accessed on May 6, 2023). Volumes from 2011 to 2022 can be found at: *https://www.foldrajzitarsasag.hu/kiadvanyok/foldrajzi-kozlemenyek* (accessed on May 6, 2023).

Even during the era of Dualism, these journals contained no articles addressing the interconnectedness of the Monarchy's two halves. The few studies concerning the other half of the empire mainly focused on physical geographical topics. After the dissolution of the empire until the present time, both journals barely contain papers concerning the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy as a whole or specifically addressing the other half of the empire. This means, that among more than two thousand papers that were published in these journals, only an insignificant number of studies (approximately under one hundred) concerned these geographical areas and historical time, not even mentioning the studies dealing with a topic concerning both halves of the Monarchy.

This trend persists when examining some of the primary Austrian, Hungarian, and international literature on the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. While there exist comprehensive volumes covering the entire Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, such as "The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in Word and Picture" (Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild / Az Osztrák–Magyar Monarchia írásban és képben) (ERZHERZOG RUDOLF 1901) and "Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918" (RUMPLER, URBANITSCH et al., 12 volumes, finished 2022), they primarily depict Austria and Hungary separately, providing overviews of their crownlands, regions, and diverse subjects including population, economy, and administration. However, the exploration of interconnectedness between Austria and Hungary, beyond specific topics like the Compromise of 1867, common state organs, the role of the emperor, domestic and foreign policy, and the First World War, is notably lacking in these volumes. In summary, both Austrian and Hungarian geographers have exhibited minimal interest over time in research concerning the other part of the Monarchy.

The potential origins of this phenomenon may have been influenced by various factors. One significant contributing factor could lie in the differing nature of Austrian and Hungarian national identities during that era, which in turn influenced distinct interpretations of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 and, consequently, the legal essence of the empire. Austrians and Hungarians held contrasting perspectives on the Compromise of 1867 within their historical narratives. The Austrian narrative contends that this historic event preserved the stability of the empire as a whole by resolving one of its most challenging nationality issues (BIBL 1937). In contrast, the Hungarian perspective views it as a (semi-)restoration of Hungarian independence (SOMOGYI 2004).

These divergent viewpoints significantly shaped the formulation of specific laws governing the constitutional relationship between Austria and Hungary in 1867. This discrepancy is apparent in the titles of the identical foundational law governing the common affairs of the empire's two halves, as ratified separately by the Austrian and Hungarian Parliaments ("Reichsrat" and "Országgyűlés"):

- *The title of the Austrian piece of law:* Constitutional Law of 21 December 1867 which concerns the common affairs of all provinces of the Austrian Monarchy and the manner of their treatment.[4)]

[4)] In German: Staatsgrundgesetz vom 21. Dezember 1867 betreffend die allen Ländern der österreichischen Monarchie gemeinsamen Angelegenheiten und die Art ihrer Behandlung.

- *The title of the Hungarian piece of law:* Act XII. of 1867 on the mutual interest and relations between the countries of the Hungarian Crown and the other countries under His Majesty's rule, and the manner of their treatment.[5)]

The phrase "all provinces of the Austrian Monarchy" implies that the legally united empire had provinces, similar to a federal state, reaching agreements on their relations (Haslinger 1996). In contrast, the Hungarian legislation emphasised that two distinct groups of countries agreed upon certain terms, resembling more like a confederation. The inclusion of the term "His Majesty's" underscored that the Hungarian parliament and Emperor Franz Joseph reached a final agreement on the Compromise of 1867. The Austrian parliament played no decisive role in the process; its role was limited to the official adoption of the relevant law.

These differing interpretations of the empire's state structure influenced the ongoing political aspirations of leading Austrian and Hungarian politicians during the time of Dualism (Kozári 2005; Szente 2011). An evident manifestation of this was the interpretation of the common institution of the delegations (one Austrian and one Hungarian delegation created by the Compromise), tasked with adopting the common budget of the empire. In the Austrian narrative, these delegations signaled the initial step toward a common imperial parliament, while the Hungarian perspective argued that these organs were merely bodies managing the common affairs of two independent states (Somogyi 1995).

Additionally, the official titles of the common ministers differed: in Austria, they were called "imperial ministers", while in Hungary, they were termed "common ministers". The first foreign minister of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, Friedrich Ferdinand von Beust, even received the title "imperial chancellor" [German: Reichskanzler; Hungarian: Birodalmi kancellár] in 1867, sparking strong protests from the Hungarian government. After Beust's dismissal in 1871, no other foreign minister held this title (Katus 2012).

The official name of the empire was also a consistent point of contention between Austria and Hungary. The state's official name, established by the Compromise of 1867 ("Austro-Hungarian Monarchy"), was later replaced with "Austria-Hungary" in official documents and international agreements, reflecting the Hungarian side's influence (Weller 1996). The term "Customs Union", denoting the legal document granting the empire's common customs area, was also changed in 1907 to "Customs Treaty" under Hungarian pressure (Gerő 2007). Nevertheless, these name changes did not alter the fundamental legal framework of the empire but served as clear indications of the disparities between the perspectives of the Austrian and Hungarian governments.

The significance and interpretation of the compromise also vary between Austrian and Hungarian historiographical narratives. In Austrian historiography, the Compromise of 1867 is portrayed as a rational consequence following the Habsburgs' defeat

[5)] In Hungarian: 1867. évi XII. törvénycikk a magyar korona országai és Ő Felsége uralkodása alatt álló többi országok között fennforgó közös érdekű viszonyokról, s ezek elintézésnek módjáról.

at Königgrätz in 1866 (CIEGER 2004). Certain well-known Austrian historians attribute a notably negative connotation to the Austro-Hungarian Compromise and the era of Dualism within Cisleithania (BIBL 1924; BIBL 1937; HANTSCH 1968; KANN 1974). Their argument centres on the Compromise of 1867 having significantly disadvantaged the Austrian part of the empire by granting substantial political dominance to the Hungarian part (HANTSCH 1968). This triggered a crisis in Austrian identity, as the Cisleithanian part of the empire was not identified as "Austria" but as "the kingdoms and countries represented in the Imperial Council" ("im Reichsrat vertretene Königreiche und Länder") (BIBL 1924). In contrast, Hungarian historiography interprets the compromise as a great success in the re-establishment of Hungarian (semi-)independence (CIEGER 2004; SOMOGYI 2004) marking one of Hungary's most illustrious historical periods.

These narratives presumably significantly influenced the perspectives and mentalities of Austrian and Hungarian historians, geographers, and other scientists from the downfall of the empire until the present day. It appears that factors like nationality, culture, and history, which differed between Austria and Hungary, held more influence in the scientific research of the empire than the legal aspect of the customs union that established a unified state space.

Another crucial factor that could notably impact research on the empire as a whole and specifically the interconnectedness of its different parts, is the language of the sources. Given that German and Hungarian were the official languages of the Dual Monarchy, the primary sources for this kind of research are commonly available in these languages, encompassing laws, imperial decrees, statistical documents, and scientific literature. Other languages might also prove useful; for instance, Croatian served as the official language of administration in Croatia-Slavonia (though most documents were translated into Hungarian), and several Austrian crownlands had multilingual administrations, such as Moravia, Bukovina, and Galicia. Consequently, Hungarian scientists could play a pivotal role in advancing this research field since, generally, they are more likely to have German as a second language, whereas proficiency in Hungarian among Austrian or other German-speaking scientists is comparatively less common.

1.2 Constitutional Ties between Austria and Hungary and the Treaty on the Customs Union

However, a range of factors, particularly tied to national identities, has directed scientific research on the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in divergent directions. Nonetheless, an approach rooted solely in legal facts offers an entirely distinct perspective on the research topic.

The Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 established a real union between Austria and Hungary, creating the so-called "common affairs" (military affairs, foreign affairs, and their financial affairs), and the "common state organs" (common ministries for each common affairs, Austrian and Hungarian delegations, and the common council of ministers headed by the common imperator). However, several crucial aspects regarding these common affairs and institutions were often overlooked. Beyond the

primary common affairs, numerous issues required joint handling by the Austrian and Hungarian governments, including the monetary system, uniform interest rate regulations, standardised measures and weights, water and rail transport, postal and telegraphic operations, and mutual recognition of inventions and trademarks. Additionally, the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878 required a common governance of this territory[6] which extended the common affairs of Austria and Hungary.

Furthermore, the jurisdiction of these joint institutions was outlined in a "negative form" within the Austrian and Hungarian constitutions, specifying the actions these organs were prohibited from doing. Notably, one of the significant constraints was their prohibition from intervening or influencing the internal affairs of either part of the empire. Two common foreign ministers (Agenor Maria Gołuchowski and Gusztáv Kálnoky) even had to be discharged by the emperor for intervening in the internal affairs of Austria and Hungary (Katus 2012). However, discussions on internal Austrian or Hungarian affairs occurred within these institutions, and decisions were made regarding those matters.[7] During these instances, the common bodies functioned technically as the collective parliament and government of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (Somogyi 1996).

But one of the most important factors shaping the governance of the empire was the significant (semi-absolutist) rights wielded by the imperator across both halves of the realm. The imperator possessed the authority to call elections, dissolve parliaments, appoint government members, and validate their resignations. Furthermore, he exercised control over the legislature: in Austria, through emergency decrees, and in Hungary, via the right of pre-Royal Assent (Kárbin 2019). In Austria, the emperor could dissolve the parliament ("Reichsrat") at will and govern using emergency decrees without encountering any constitutional hindrances. He even had the authority to promulgate the state budget for Austria through this means. Conversely, in Hungary, the right of pre-Royal Assent did not afford the imperator the same absolute power as in Austria, but it wielded significant influence over Hungarian legislation. The Hungarian government was obliged to secure the emperor's approval for a bill before submitting it to parliament. In cases where no agreement was reached between these entities, Hungarian legislation was blocked and could only progress once a consensus was reached.

Since the emperor could enforce the Austrian state budget and exercise complete control over the Austro-Hungarian army, he held a more dominant position in this "power game". Consequently, the Hungarian government was inevitably compelled to comply with the emperor's will in order to promulgate a budget for the Hungarian part of the Monarchy (Sarlós 1976). Therefore, both the Austrian and Hungarian governments were more reliant on the emperor than their respective parliaments

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[6] The military and administrative governance of Bosnia and Herzegovina was placed under the authority of the common Ministry of Finance (Haslinger 1996).

[7] For example, the case of the Fundamental Articles of 1871 in Austria (proposed by the cabinet of Karl Sigmund von Hohenwart), or the internal political crisis in Hungary following the opposition's victory in the 1905–1906 election.

(SZENTE 2011). Thus, the governance of the entire empire was profoundly impacted by the semi-absolutist authority vested in the emperor.

Alongside the constitutional ties between Austria and Hungary, their common customs area was a significant aspect of their physical integration, established in 1851 before the Compromise of 1867, with Liechtenstein joining in 1852 (FINK 1968). A specific piece of law addressed this matter in the Compromise of 1867, stating that the customs union required renewal every decade thereafter. Article XXII of this law allowed either party to terminate the customs union, causing long and difficult negotiations between Austria and Hungary nearly every time.

After the initial ten-year period, the Hungarian government ended the union, seeking more favourable terms for Hungary in a new agreement. In 1897, due to continuous obstructions, the Austrian Parliament became entirely blocked, leading the Hungarian government to once again terminate the union. However, despite this, the common customs area remained intact in practice, with the renewal of the agreement postponed initially to 1902 and later to 1907 (KATUS 2012). Three articles within the Act governing the customs union (Article I and XIV from the Act of 1867, and Article XX from the Act of 1878[8]) delineate the true essence of this unified customs area:

Article I: "The state territories of both parties form a common customs territory for the duration of this alliance which is surrounded by a common customs border. During the period of this alliance, neither of the two parties will have the right to impose any kind of import, export, or transfer customs duty on the products that are taken from the territory of one party to the territory of the other party, and to establish a customs line inside this territory. […]"

Article XIV: "Residents of one state's territory who wish to engage in trade and industry or seek employment in order to conduct an industrial business in the other state's territory, shall receive the same treatment as the natives, as well as concerning the matter of paying taxes. […]"

Article XX: "Joint-stock companies […], insurance companies, public benefit, and industrial cooperatives […] legally established in the territory of one state may extend their operations to the territory of the other state and establish branches there. In such cases, they are considered equal to domestic associations and institutes, and they would be subject to the rules that apply to business conducted by domestic companies for business conducted in this state territory. […]"

Furthermore, in 1878, the establishment of the Austro-Hungarian Bank[9] consolidated the Monarchy's common monetary system. All these laws ensured a unified customs territory where capital, labour, goods, and services moved freely, supported by a uniform currency across the entire empire. Consequently, socioeconomic processes could freely transcend the administrative borders of Austria and Hungary without any

[8] Austrian piece of law: RGBl. Nr. 62/1878; Hungarian piece of law: ACH, 1878/XX.

[9] Austrian piece of law: RGBl. Nr. 66/1878; Hungarian piece of law: ACH, 1878/XXV.

obstacles. Therefore, these processes need to be examined from the perspective of the common state space provided by the customs union.

2 Aims and Objectives of the Study

The citizens' freedom to move and settle anywhere within the empire was a significant outcome of the Customs Union. Consequently, the migration of citizens stands as a prominent socioeconomic process, vital for affirming and underscoring the importance of a new historical-geographical research perspective on the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

Upon uncovering the disparities in interpreting the empire across different periods, it is not surprising that there is no comprehensive study addressing the migration patterns between the two parts of the Monarchy. Numerous significant studies and books by Austrian and Hungarian authors focus solely on either the Austrian or Hungarian part of the Monarchy (Beluszky 2005; Dányi 2000; Dövényi 2001; Fassmann 1986; Fassmann 1999; Hanák 1975; Komlosy 2003; Mikoletzky 1992; Puskás 1990; Steidl et al. 2007; Zöllner 1998).

While some consider both parts of the empire (e.g. Fassmann 1990; Princz 1938; Rumpler and Urbanitsch 2010; Steidl 2008), none delves into investigating migration across the Austro-Hungarian administrative border. On a smaller geographic scale (such as within a crownland or regarding a city), there are studies examining cross-border migration (e.g. Cattaruzza 1987; Győri 2005) yet they fail to offer a comprehensive, detailed portrayal of migration dynamics between Austria and Hungary during that era.

Studying migration ties between Austria and Hungary during the period of Dualism poses several challenges, including linguistic and methodological factors. Essentially, the Austrian and Hungarian census data from 1870 to 1910 can effectively illuminate only two key aspects of cross-border migration: the intensity and the directions of migration flows. Based on this, I have outlined two specific objectives to underpin the conclusions of my study:

1. Evaluation of the intensity of migration flows across Austria and Hungary and its changes between 1870 and 1910.[10)]
2. Identification of migration patterns between Austrian crownlands and Hungarian counties in 1910.

The results of these objectives aim to offer insights not only into the socioeconomic ties between Austria and Hungary but also shed light on their geographical characteristics at a subnational level.

[10)] Bosnia and Herzegovina is not included in the research due to its limited statistical data on migration. Being an occupied territory of the Monarchy starting in 1878 and annexed only in 1908, substantial statistical records on migration for this region are limited.

3 Limitations of the Statistical Data and Methodology of the Study

3.1 The Austrian and Hungarian Censuses Recorded between 1870[11] and 1910 as the Main Sources of the Research

The five Austrian and Hungarian national censuses conducted every ten years between 1870 and 1910 serve as the primary sources for accurately evaluating migration flows and the main migration patterns between Austria and Hungary during the era of Dualism. Fortunately, all these censuses are available online: the Austrian ones in the Austrian National Library's database known as "ÖNB ALEX",[12] and the Hungarian records in the public archive of the Library of the Hungarian Parliament called "Hungaricana".[13]

Within these census databases, there are only two demographic records useful for reconstructing migration relations: Birthplace records (referred to in the Austrian censuses as *"Bevölkerung nach Gebürtigkeit"* and in the Hungarian censuses as *"Népesség születési hely szerint"*) and citizenship records (referred to in the Austrian censuses as *"Staatsangehörigkeit"* and in the Hungarian censuses as *"Honosság"*). However, both data types have limitations concerning this research.

Birthplace data is available only at the national level (Austria / Hungary), the Austrian censuses even lack records for inhabitants born in Hungary. Fortunately, citizenship data, alongside the registered place of residence (identified in the Austrian censuses as *"Heimatberechtigung"* and in the Hungarian censuses as *"Illetőség"*), is accessible at the level of Austrian crownlands and Hungarian counties (even at the district level in Austria). However, there are two important factors why these data must be handled carefully. Citizenship could be acquired or lost based on specific criteria.[14] Both Austrian and Hungarian citizenship could be revoked after a ten-year absence. Moreover, the accuracy of registered residence was uncertain, as not all individuals were recorded by local authorities at their place of residence (BELUSZKY 2005).

The term „citizenship" may be misleading as it presumes the full sovereignty of Austria and Hungary but considering the customs union and the equal treatment of all inhabitants living in the empire remains fixed. So, Austrian and Hungarian citizenship could be defined the same as the registered place of residence, only at a higher administrative level. This represents one of the many paradoxes concerning the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Despite its limitations, citizenship records remain the most effective sources for assessing migration volume and patterns at the subnational administrative levels of Austrian crownlands and Hungarian counties (Figure 1).

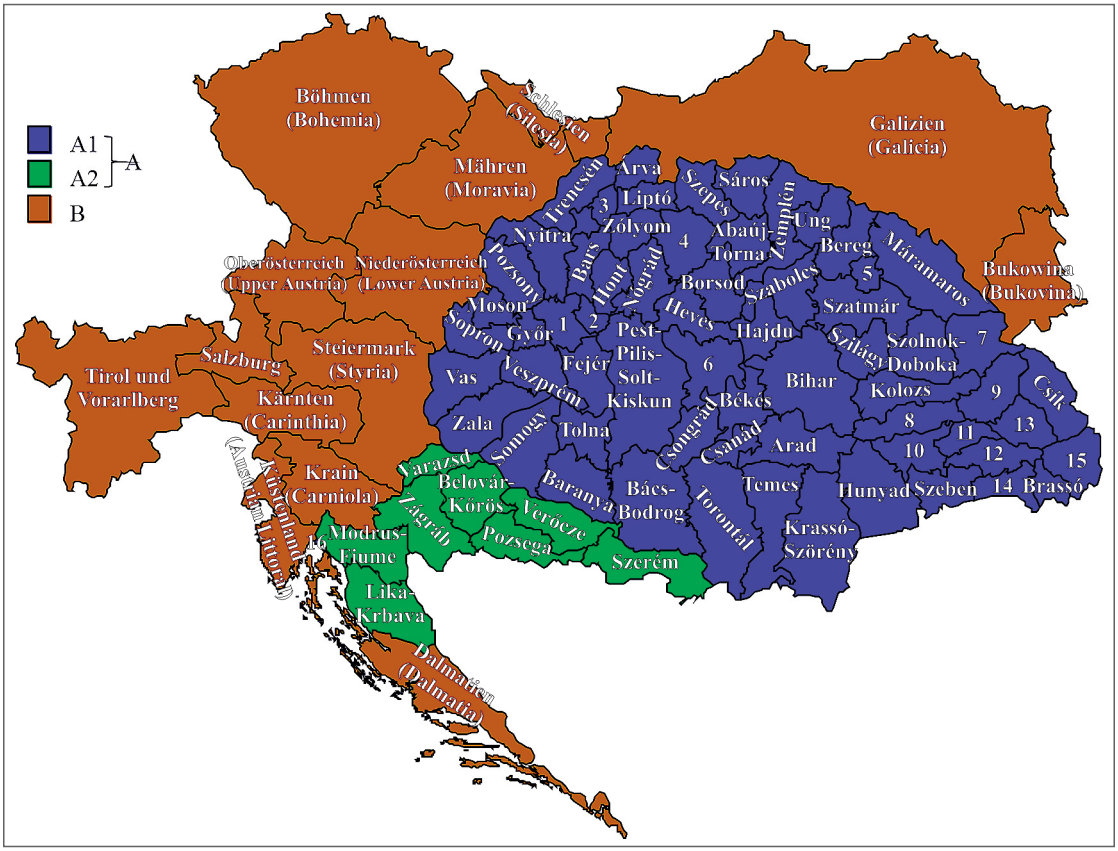
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[11] The initial censuses of Austria and Hungary were recorded in different years (1869 in Austria and 1870 in Hungary). To simplify the reference to these censuses together, the year 1870 is employed as a „logical" date considering the subsequent censuses conducted in 1880, 1890, 1900, and 1910.

[12] The data from the 1869 census is available in the Austrian statistical yearbook of 1870: *http://www. iterature. at/ viewer.alo?objid=685&page=1&viewmode=fullscreen*. Censuses between 1880 and 1900 are available at: *https://alex.onb.ac.at/static_tables/ors.htm*; the Census of 1910 is available at: *https://alex.onb.ac.at/static_tables/ost.htm* (accessed on May 6, 2023).

[13] Available at: *http://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/collection/ksh_neda_nepszamlalasok/* (accessed on May 6, 2023).

[14] Austrian piece of law: RGBl. Nr. 142/1867; Hungarian piece of law: ACH, 1879/L.



Legend: Parts of the Monarchy and it's administrative units:
A – Countries of the Hungarian Crown, A1 – Counties of Hungary [Komitate / vármegyék], A2 – Counties of Croatia-Slavonia [Komitate / vármegyék]. Counties marked with numbers: 1 – Komárom, 2 – Esztergom, 3 – Turócz, 4 – Gömör és Kis-Hont, 5 – Ugocsa, 6 – Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok, 7 – Beszterce-Naszód, 8 – Torda-Aranyos, 9 – Maros-Torda, 10 – Alsó-Fehér, 11 – Kis-Küküllő, 12 – Nagy-Küküllő, 13 – Udvarhely, 14 – Fogaras, 15 – Háromszék, 16 – Fiume.[15)]
B – Crownlands of Austria [Kronländer / tartományok] (in brackets their English names)

Source: Own design

Figure 1: Subnational administrative units of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1910: Austrian crownlands and Hungarian counties

3.2 Methodology of the Case Study: Migration Indicators[15)]

As mentioned earlier, the primary data source for investigating migration between the two parts of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy is the statistical records of citizenship. This study

[15)] For methodological and cartographic purposes, the city of Fiume and its neighbouring county merged into a single entity, referred to solely by the name of the county (Modrus-Fiume).

does not focus on internal migration within Austria and Hungary, it encompasses exclusively Austro-Hungarian cross-border migration. Three key indicators have been selected to evaluate the volume and directions of these migration ties:

1. *Gross migration rate* (m): The sum of emigrants and immigrants (with Austrian or Hungarian citizenship, moving to or from the other half of the empire) within an administrative territory over a specific period (M), divided by the total population of that territory (P). The result is expressed as the net number of migrants per 1,000 population:

$$m = 1000 \cdot (M/P)$$

   The gross migration rate is often referred to as "the mobility of a specific territory's population" (HOÓZ 1995). In this study, it will indicate the proportion of a crownland/county in the total migration between Austria and Hungary.

2) *Migration balance* (M_b): "The migration balance is the difference between the number of persons having entered the territory and the number of persons having left the territory in the course of the year." (INSEE[16]) In this research, focusing on citizenship, the calculation involves the difference between immigrant and emigrant Austrian and Hungarian citizens. Two distinct formulas have been set up for the Austrian crownlands and the Hungarian counties. To simplify things, in both cases, the number of Austrian immigrants or emigrants was subtracted from the number of Hungarian immigrants or emigrants.

   – The formula set for the Austrian crownlands:

$$M_b = M_{hi} - M_{ea}$$

   Where: M_{hi} = the number of immigrant Hungarian citizens
   M_{ea} = the number of emigrant Austrian citizens

   – The formula set for the Hungarian counties:

$$M_b = M_{he} - M_{ai}$$

   Where: M_{he} = the number of emigrant Hungarian citizens
   M_{ai} = the number of immigrant Austrian citizens

The interpretation of these indicators will differ from the original definition of migration balance, as it now considers solely Austrian and Hungarian citizens. According to the formulas, a negative value will indicate a migration surplus to Austria, while positive values will signify a migration surplus to Hungary. The final results will illustrate whether a territory gained or lost population due to migration between Austria and Hungary. Additionally, this indicator serves as a measure of an administrative unit's attractiveness to migrants from the other part of the empire.

[16] The definition of the French national institute for statistics and economic studies ("Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques", INSEE): *https://www.insee.fr/en/metadonnees/definition/c1450* (accessed on May 6, 2023).

3) *Migration intensity* between two administrative units (I): The calculation formula is similar to that of the gross migration rate. However, it differs in that it combines data from two territories (one Austrian and one Hungarian) (n+m): the sum of migration between them (M) and their total populations (P). The results will be expressed per 1,000 inhabitants. The formula is as follows:

$$I = 1000 \cdot (M_{n+m} / P_{n+m})$$

This indicator will illustrate the migration intensity between paired territories from each part of the empire. By calculating the migration balance indicator for each case, we can identify the direction of the migration flow between every paired territory. The combined results of these two indicators will provide a picture of the most intense migration paths within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

4 Results of the Statistical Research on Migration

4.1 Intensity of Migration Flows between Austria and Hungary (1870–1910)

The analysis of census data revealed a significant increase in cross-border Austro-Hungarian migration between 1870 and 1910. The total number of Austrian and Hungarian citizens residing in the other part of the Monarchy grew nearly sixfold (Table 1). According to the census of 1910, more than half a million citizens of the empire were found living in the other part of the Dual Monarchy. However, notable disparities existed between the numbers of Austrian and Hungarian citizens involved in this migration. At the time of the first census taken in 1870, more Austrians resided in Hungary than vice

	Unit	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
Austrian citizens in Hungary	number	66,468	104,698	159,637	207,593	**235,475**
	percent	100	157.52	240.17	312.32	354.27
Hungarian citizens in Austria	number	26,813	183,422	228,647	270,751	**301,088**
	percent	100	684.08	852.75	1,009.78	1,122.92
Total	**number**	**93,281**	**288,120**	**388,284**	**478,344**	**536,563**
	percent	**100**	**308.87**	**416.25**	**512.80**	**575.1**

Source: Austrian and Hungarian censuses of 1869/1870, 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910 (K.K. Statistische Zentral-Commission 1872, 1882, 1893, 1895, 1902, 1912, 1913, 1919; Országos Magyar Királyi Statisztikai Hivatal (1871, 1882, 1893); Magyar Királyi Központi Statisztikai Hivatal (1907, 1909, 1916, 1920). Own compilation.

Table 1: Volume and growth (1870 = 100 %) of the migration between Austria and Hungary (1870–1910)

versa. Subsequently, from the 1880 census onwards, the analysis showed that there were consistently roughly 60,000 to 80,000 more Hungarian citizens migrating compared to Austrians.

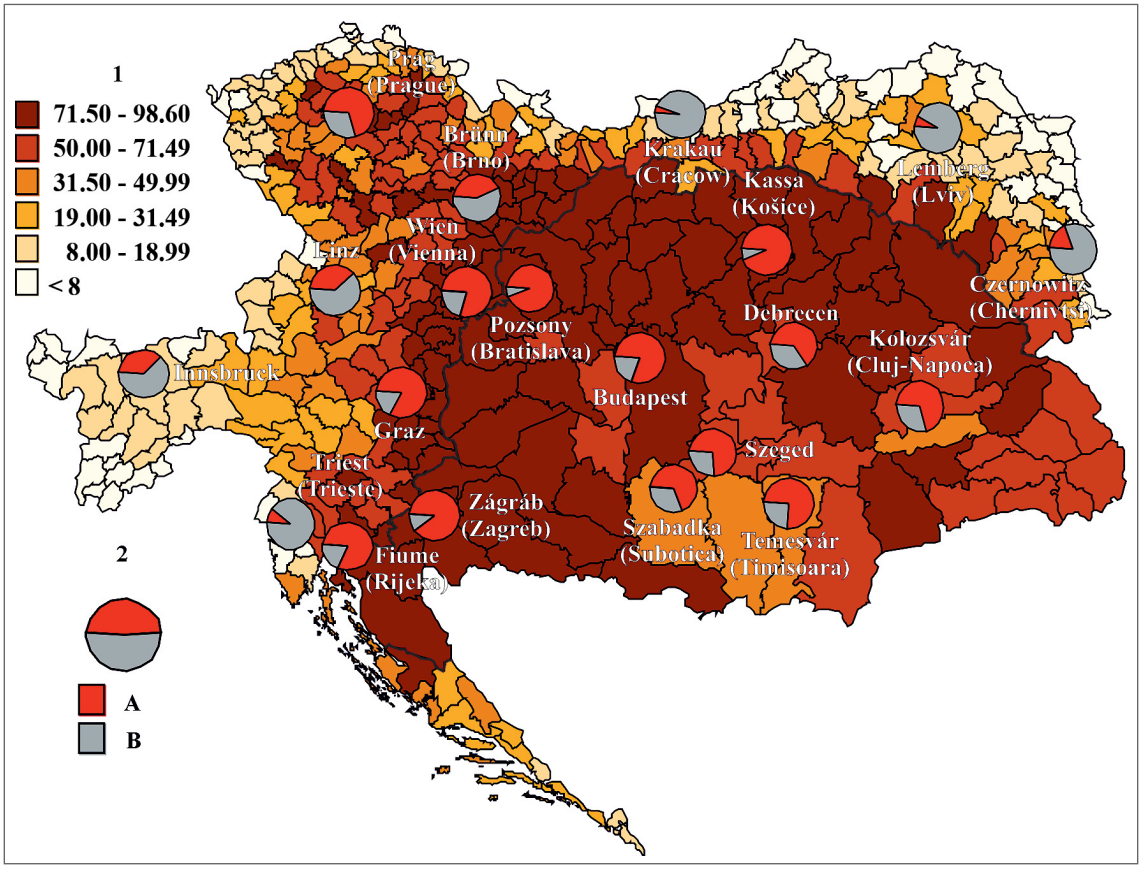
This shift was possibly tied to the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, where the Act on the Customs Union facilitated easier migration for Hungarian citizens to the economically more developed Austrian crownlands. Presumably, due to the aftermath of the absolutistic era before 1867, many Austrian civil servants remained in Hungary which explains their higher number in 1870. Over the four decades from 1870 to 1910, the number of Hungarian citizens in Austria increased elevenfold, while the corresponding data for Austrians grew by only 3.5 times.

The periods of most significant migration differed for each group: the peak increase for Hungarians occurred between 1870 and 1880, whereas for Austrians, it was a decade later. However, the data on citizenship could present significant uncertainties, as both Austrians and Hungarians could lose their citizenship after a decade of absence from their last residence. This situation implies that a considerable number of migrants might have been omitted from the statistics used in this research, as these individuals lost their citizenship between two censuses. Consequently, the actual volume of migration between Austria and Hungary, particularly from 1880 to 1910, could potentially be significantly higher than the data reflected in this study.

The significance of Austria-Hungary-related migration can be highlighted by another indicator: the ratio of Austrian and Hungarian citizens among all foreign citizens, considering only Hungarians in Austria and vice versa. Between 1880 and 1910, citizens from the other side of the empire constituted the majority of foreign citizens in both Austria and Hungary. In Hungary, during this period, over 80 percent of non-Hungarian citizens were Austrians, while in Austria, more than 50 percent were Hungarian citizens.

As seen in Figure 2, geographical distance played a crucial role in the distribution of Austrians and Hungarians among subnational-level units. Moving from the empire's external borders towards the Austro-Hungarian administrative border, the percentage of Austrian and Hungarian citizens among all foreigners increased progressively. The Austrian census of 1910 provided detailed district-level data on the Austrian side, showing that Hungarian citizens comprised the majority of foreigners in 131 out of 369 Austrian districts. Most of these districts were near the Austro-Hungarian border, but some were also located farther away, particularly in the central territories of Bohemia and Moravia. However, in some districts along the external border of the Monarchy, the share of Hungarian citizens was rather low (e.g. in Tirol-Vorarlberg and Galicia).

In contrast, Hungary exhibited a different pattern, where Austrian citizens comprised the majority of foreigners not only in bordering counties (with proportions close to 100 percent in more counties) but also in counties deep within Hungary, such as Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun or Bihar County, and along the outer border far from Austria (Southeastern counties and counties in Croatia-Slavonia). Only four counties had less than 50 percent Austrian citizens among all foreigners: Torda-Aranyos County and three Southern Hungarian counties (Bács-Bodrog, Torontál, and Temes counties). It's worth noting that even in Torda-Aranyos county, Austrians accounted for 43 percent of all foreigners, the lowest proportion based on this indicator.



Legend:
1 – Percentage of citizens from the other half of the Monarchy among all foreign citizens in Austrian districts and Hungarian counties (%);
2 – Percentage of citizens from the other half of the Monarchy among all foreign citizens in the ten most populous Austrian and Hungarian cities*: A – citizens from the other half of the Monarchy, B – other foreign citizens.

*) City names primarily indicate contemporary (German and Hungarian) names (as recorded in the Austrian and Hungarian censuses of 1910). English and/or present-day names of the cities are provided in brackets.

Source: K.K. Statistische Zentral-Commission (1912, 1913, 1919); Magyar Királyi Központi Statisztikai Hivatal (1916, 1920). Own design.

Figure 2: Austrian citizens in Hungary and Hungarian citizens in Austria (1910)

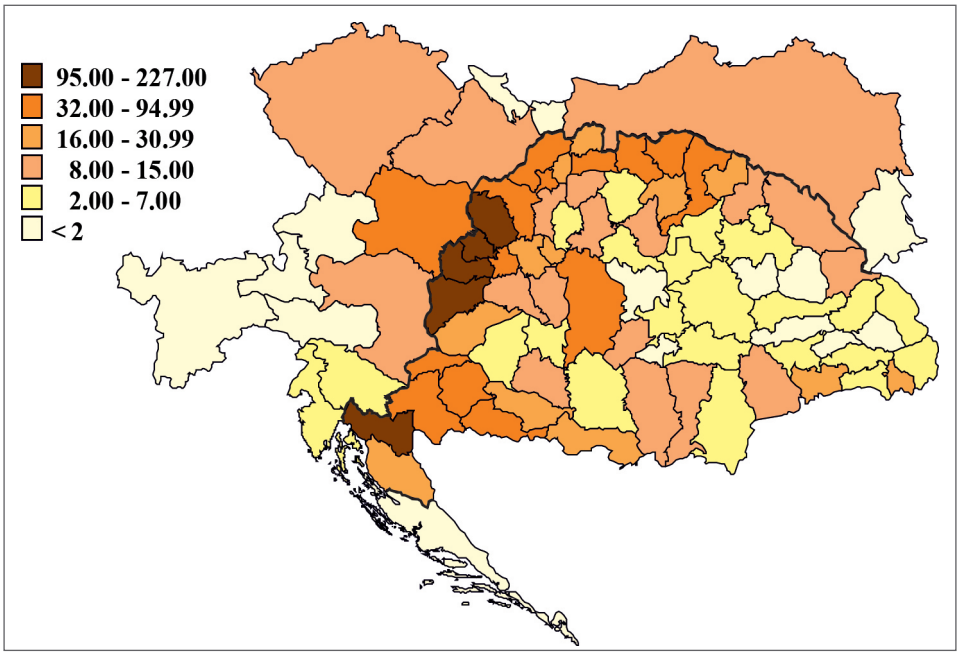
4.2 Identifying Primary Migration Paths between Austria and Hungary in 1910

The gross migration rate results depict the proportional contribution of each Austrian crownland and Hungarian county to the total migration volume between the two halves of the Monarchy (Figure 3). Predominantly, the territories with the highest share were

situated along the Hungarian side of the Austro-Hungarian administrative border. The chain of counties stretching from Modrus-Fiume to Zemplén counties exhibited the most substantial activity in this migration process. Notably, four counties adjoining Lower Austria and Styria (Pozsony, Moson, Sopron, and Vas counties) displayed the highest values.

Additionally, the crownland of Lower Austria and Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County registered relatively high gross migration rates, likely attributed to the presence of the two most populated cities of the Monarchy, Vienna and Budapest. Figure 3 illustrates that every county in Croatia-Slavonia exhibited a substantial gross migration rate, particularly when compared to the neighbouring Hungarian counties. Moreover, Szeben and Brassó counties stood out among the Southeastern Hungarian counties, possibly due to their predominantly (German-speaking) Saxon population. Conversely, the least active counties in migration were situated east of Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County, extending as far as the Transylvanian counties.

In Austria besides Lower Austria Styria, Bohemia, Moravia, and Galicia showed significant activity in the migration flow between Austria and Hungary (Figure 3). Salzburg, Upper Austria, Tirol-Vorarlberg, and Dalmatia had the lowest gross migration rates, while Carinthia, Silesia, and Bukovina also demonstrated relatively low values.

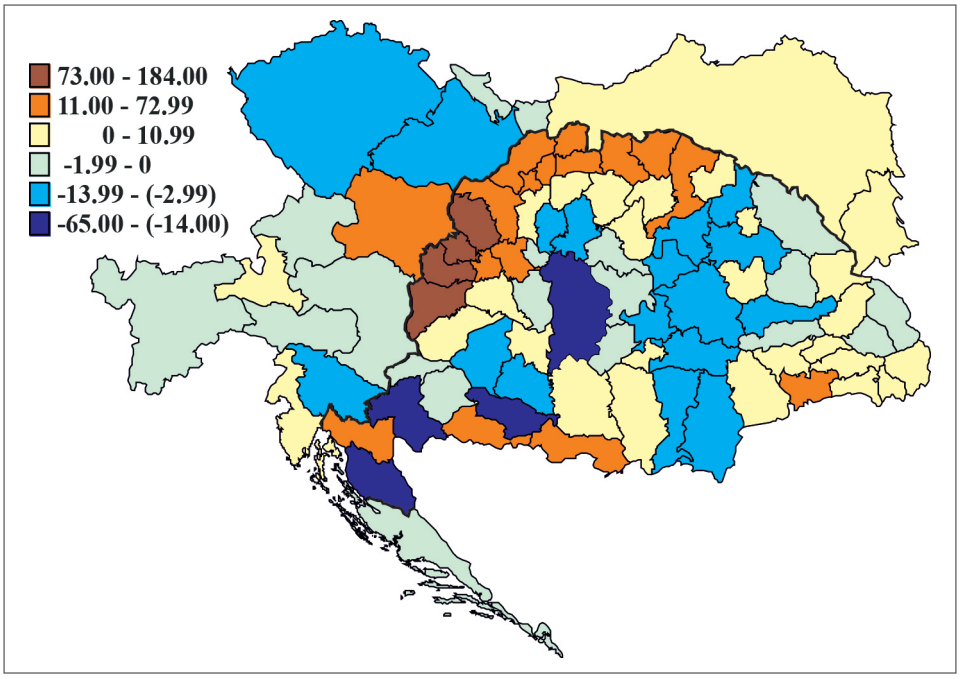


Legend: Values of the gross migration rate, in percent (calculation of the gross migration rate see Chapter 3.2, page 74)

Source: K.K. Statistische Zentral-Commission (1912, 1913, 1919); Magyar Királyi Központi Statisztikai Hivatal (1916, 1920). Own design.

Figure 3: Gross migration rate of the Austrian crownlands [Kronländer/tartományok] and the Hungarian counties [Komitate/vármegyék] in 1910 (in percent)

Changes in the gross migration rates regarding crownlands and counties between 1880 and 1910 illustrate the shifting dynamics of their connectedness over time (Figure 4). The indicators for Pozsony, Moson, Sopron, and Vas counties experienced the most substantial percentage point increases. Additionally, several counties along Hungary's northern border also witnessed an increase in migration activity. Even distant counties like Szeben, Szerém, and Pozsega also became more intensively connected to the migration process. Whereas, the share of Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun and three Croatian counties (including Zagreb county) experienced the most significant decrease in percentage points throughout the empire. In Austria, Lower Austria's dominance grew even more pronounced, while most other crownlands exhibited stagnant rates (Figure 4).



Legend: Change in the gross migration rate (as defined in chapter 3.2, page 74) between 1880 and 1910 (calculation in percentage points)

Source: Austrian and Hungarian censuses of 1869/1870, 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910 (K.K. Statistische Zentral-Commission 1882, 1893, 1895, 1902, 1912, 1913, 1919; Országos Magyar Királyi Statisztikai Hivatal (1882, 1893); Magyar Királyi Központi Statisztikai Hivatal (1907, 1909, 1916, 1920). Own design.

Figure 4: Change in the migration rate of the Austrian crownlands [Kronländer/tartományok] and the Hungarian counties [Komitate/vármegyék] between 1880 and 1910

The interpretation of the results from the migration balance and migration intensity indicators must be done in conjunction. The migration balance reveals whether a territory had an

emissive or recipient role in the migration process, while the migration intensity indicator ranks the connectedness of Austrian crownlands and Hungarian counties based on migration volume. By combining these indicators, we gain insight into the primary migration paths in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1910.

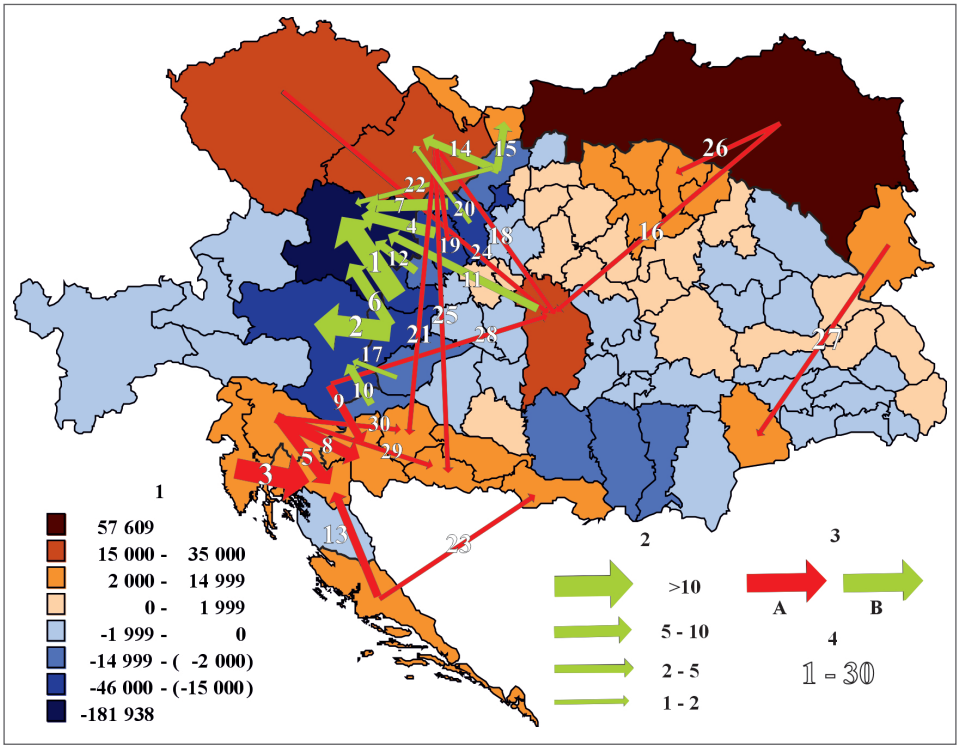
The results of the migration balance indicator (Legend 1 of Figure 5) highlight that Lower Austria was by far the most important destination territory for migrants from the Hungarian part of the empire in 1910. While the crownland of Styria and Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County were also significant recipient territories, their migration balance figures were notably less than those of Lower Austria. In Austria, a distinction emerges between crownlands inhabited by predominantly German-speaking populations and those with non-German populations. The former received more Hungarian citizens than they emitted Austrian ones, while the latter experienced the reverse. Certain emissive crownlands, like Galicia, Bohemia, and Moravia, showed higher figures compared to others.

Hungary's migration balance results contrast with Austria's. Besides Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County (with Budapest), the primary recipient counties were predominantly in areas populated by minorities, such as counties in Northeastern Hungary facing Galicia, most Croatian counties, and the sole exception of Hunyad county in Southeastern Hungary. The most emissive counties in the migration process were situated on the western borders of Hungary, neighbouring Lower Austria and Styria. Additionally, further away from the Austro-Hungarian border, Bács-Bodrog, Torontál, and Temes counties also saw considerable emigration among Hungarian citizens and a suplus in the migration balance to Austria's favour. Within Hungary's inland territories, an almost equal number of counties played either recipient or emissive roles in the migration between Austria and Hungary, which correlated to some extent with their gross migration rate values.

The migration balance, calculated from previous census records, depicted a similar scenario. Only two territories showed a reversal in their migration balance between 1890 and 1910: Carinthia and Bukovina. Emigration towards Lower Austria and immigration from Galicia intensified during this period, while the recipient role of Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun county diminished.

The results of migration intensity, specifically calculated between each Austrian crownland and Hungarian county, illustrate the level of migrational connectedness between them, focusing solely on the migration of Austrian and Hungarian citizens. In this study, we'll examine and analyse the 30 crownland-county pairs with the highest migration intensity (above the value of 1) from nearly a thousand pairings (see Legend 2 and 3 of Figure 5). These results, coupled with those from the migration balance indicator calculated for these territorial pairings, allow us not only to define the intensity of the migration flow between these pairs but also their directions. Essentially, this helps us visualise the most significant migration patterns outlined on the map (Figure 5).

The indicator revealed highly intense migration ties (exceeding 10) among three pairs in 1910: between Lower Austria and Sopron County, Styria and Vas County, and the Austrian Littoral and Modrus-Fiume County (incorporating the city of Fiume). In the former two pairs, intense migration occurred from the Hungarian side towards the Austrian, whereas in the latter, it was the reverse. Rapidly growing cities, like Vienna in Lower



Legend:

1 – Balance of migration between Austria and Hungary (in absolute numbers; calculation see Chapter 3.2, page 74):
positive values (+) … migration surplus to Hungary's favour,
negative values (–) … migration surplus to Austria's favour;

2 – Strength of the migration linkage between two administrative units, measured by the migration intensity (calculation see Chapter 3.2). Note: Only the 30 crownland-county pairs with the highest migration intensity (above the value of 1) from nearly a thousand pairings are shown in this map.

3 – Nationality: A … Austrian, B … Hungarian

4 – Rank among the 30 Austrian crownland / Hungarian county pairings with the highest migration intensity.

Source: K.K. Statistische Zentral-Commission (1912, 1913, 1919); Magyar Királyi Központi Statisztikai Hivatal (1916, 1920). Own design.

Figure 5: Main migration routes between Austria and Hungary in 1910

Austria and Graz in Styria might have been significant attraction for Hungarian emigrants. The situation is more complex in the case of the Austrian Littoral and Modrus-Fiume, where two competing, swiftly developing cities (Trieste and Fiume) were located. In this case, economic circumstances, along with ethnic and cultural factors, likely influenced the primary direction of migration flow. Furthermore, the proximity of Fiume to the common border of the two administrative units implies a cross-border economic zone along the

coastline. On the Hungarian side, Zagreb might have been another significant migration hotspot regarding cross-border migration.

The ten most intense migration patterns occurred between the crownlands of the Austrian Littoral, Carniola, Styria, Lower Austria, and their neighbouring Hungarian counties. Apart from the ethnic-linguistic aspect, a developing common identity might have amplified migration between Austrian crownlands with a sizable Slovenian population and Croatian counties, given the close relationship between Slovenian and Croatian political movements by the early 20th century (JELAVICH 1983). While each mentioned territory played a distinct role in the migration process – either as a recipient or an emitter – Styria exhibited a dual character, being a popular destination for Hungarian emigrants while, at the same time, experiencing emigration of many local citizens (presumably mainly Slovenian-speaking) toward Zágráb County.

The eleventh most intense migration in 1910 occurred between Lower Austria and Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County, marking the first instance of non-adjacent territories demonstrating significant migration ties. Undoubtedly, Vienna and Budapest, the dual capitals of the empire, maintained close socioeconomic and political connections, with Vienna exerting a notably stronger overall pull than Budapest.

As the indicator values decreased below 5, additional migration patterns emerged between non-neighbouring territories. The most intense migration link regarding this group existed between the crownland of Dalmatia and Modrus-Fiume County. However, Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County and its capital, Budapest, had a distinct geographical position from Lower Austria and Vienna, yet served as a significant destination for Austrian citizens arriving from considerable distances, specifically from Styria, Galicia, Bohemia, and Moravia. Nonetheless, Lower Austria attracted a substantially larger number of Hungarian citizens from Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County than the reverse, underscoring Vienna's compelling influence in the migration dynamics.

Two extended migration routes were identified between Moravia and two Croatian counties (Belovár-Kőrös and Pozsega),[17] while the migration path from Dalmatia to Szerém county (across Bosnia and Herzegovina) also covered a considerable distance. Bohemia's case stands out as it was the sole Austrian crownland without a direct administrative border with Hungary, yet it was involved in one of the 30 migration patterns with the highest migration intensity outlined in this section. Migration intensity across the northern and eastern parts of the Austro-Hungarian border was significantly weaker compared to the western regions. Notably, the Northeastern Hungarian counties, especially Zemplén County, received numerous emigrants from Galicia while Hunyad County received many Austrian citizens from Bukovina,[18] marking a unique instance of long-distance migration across the Austro-Hungarian border.

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[17] This migration route can be traced back to the historical origins of the Croat minority in Moravia and the Czech minority in Croatia. Following the Ottoman invasion of Southern Hungary in the 16th century, Croats sought refuge in Moravia. Later, after the Habsburg Empire reclaimed Croatia from the Ottoman Empire, Czech settlers migrated to Slavonia in the 18th century.

[18] Linguistic and economic factors can explain the significance of this migration pattern: Both administrative units were mainly Romanian-speaking, and the coal mines and heavy industry of Hunyad County could attract a workforce from Bukovina.

In summary, while migration patterns among Hungarian citizens predominantly showed an eastward movement, Austrian citizens' migration paths were more diverse. The busiest migration patterns predominantly headed eastward, particularly from Carniola and the Austrian Littoral to the Croatian counties in Hungary. However, there were distinct migration flows towards the south (from Moravia to Croatia) and westward (from Galicia and Bukovina to Eastern Hungary). Geographical proximity was a significant factor in migration patterns; however, the evident intense migrations between relatively distant territories suggest the presence of other socioeconomic influential factors.

5 Conclusion

The Compromise of 1867 and the customs union between Austria and Hungary established a unified state space of the entire empire, enabling the free movement of capital, labour, goods, and services. Beyond that, several significant constitutional and political connections existed between Austria and Hungary such as common governance over certain affairs, joint control of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and a common bank and currency system. Above all, the semi-absolutist power vested in the emperor proved to be one of the most significant constitutional forces unifying the different parts of the empire. However, despite these strong constitutional and economic connections, as well as the existence of a unified customs area, contemporary historical-geographical studies indicate that national perspectives remain crucial in analysing the empire. Sometimes, these studies inaccurately portray Austria and Hungary as separate entities, suggesting that their respective socioeconomic dynamics strictly remained within their administrative borders. Despite the clear legal-geographical foundation for analysing the empire as a whole, the topic has seen very few scientific studies since the dissolution of the empire.

This paper – exploring the migration links between Austria and Hungary during the era of Dualism – demonstrated the relevance of this scientific perspective. The research revealed a nearly sixfold increase in migration between Austria and Hungary from 1870 to 1910, a figure that might have been even greater considering the limitations in citizenship data accuracy. The study highlighted the extensive involvement of both Austrian and Hungarian territories in this migration phenomenon. While a majority of migrants were concentrated near the Austro-Hungarian border, the research also uncovered high-intensity migration patterns between territories spanning significant distances. Beyond geographical and economic factors, ethnic-linguistic considerations likely played a significant role in shaping these migration routes, notably connecting Austrian crownlands and Hungarian counties predominantly inhabited by Slavic ethnic groups.

The analysis underscores the deeply intertwined socioeconomic dynamics that connected Austria and Hungary. Despite over a century passing since the empire's collapse, the scholarly focus remains largely confined to individual studies of Austria or Hungary, overlooking the importance of considering both as equal subjects of research. The unique entity of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy endured for over half a century, and its unified customs territory persisted even longer. Undoubtedly, numerous unexplored scientific areas are waiting to be explored on the topic. Therefore, research perspectives on the

Austro-Hungarian Monarchy should be reconsidered in the fields of geography, history, historical geography, and related disciplines, surpassing the conventional nationalistic interpretations found in past works on the empire.

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Kulturlandschaftsforschung

Cultural Landscape Research

Friedhöfe als spezifische Elemente der historischen Kulturlandschaft, analysiert am Beispiel der Entwicklung mittelböhmischer und niederösterreichischer Friedhöfe[1)]

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Inhalt

Zusammenfassung 92
Summary 92
1 Friedhof als Thema 93
2 Merkmale der Untersuchungsgebiete 95
3 Theoretische Grundlagen und Quellen 96
4 Friedhöfe – Das rechtliche Verhältnis der Gesellschaft zum Tod (Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts bis 1918) 99
5 Die Entwicklung der Friedhöfe nach 1918 105
5.1 Mittelböhmische Friedhöfe nach 1918 105
5.2 Niederösterreichische Friedhöfe nach 1918 108

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6 Der Friedhof als Landschaftselement....110
6.1 Der neuzeitliche Friedhof als Landschaftsphänomen.... 112
6.2 Der Friedhof als Produkt von (politischer) Macht und als sozialer Raum..... 118
6.3 Zeitspezifische Idealtypen von Friedhöfen.... 122
7 Der Friedhof, Teil der christlichen und der säkularisierten Landschaft..... 131
8 Literaturverzeichnis.... 133

Zusammenfassung

In dieser historisch-geographischen Studie wird die Entwicklung ziviler nichtjüdischer Begräbnisstätten in Mittelböhmen (Bezirk Nimburg [Nymburk]) und Niederösterreich (Bezirk Tulln) als spezifische Phänomene der historischen Kulturlandschaft dargestellt. Der Zeitraum der Analyse reicht von den aufklärerischen Reformen des späten 18. Jahrhunderts bis in die Gegenwart. Die Feldforschung konzentrierte sich (unter anderem) auf die Analyse erhalten gebliebener natürlicher, städtebaulicher, architektonischer und historischer Werte von Friedhöfen unter Berücksichtigung ihrer Wirkung in der Landschaft und in Ortschaften. Anschließend wurde eine Analyse kartographischer und ikonographischer Quellen, hauptsächlich aus dem 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, durchgeführt, anhand derer die Veränderungen bei den Friedhöfen in Bezug auf einschlägige kirchliche und weltliche Vorschriften untersucht werden konnten. Die gewonnenen Erkenntnisse ermöglichten es, grundsätzliche Entwicklungstypen von Friedhöfen zu bestimmen und danach übereinstimmende und unterschiedliche Merkmale in den zwei Untersuchungsgebieten herauszuarbeiten und zu interpretieren. Es ist bezeichnend, dass sich einige der beobachteten, bis 1918 noch übereinstimmenden Merkmale und Erscheinungsformen der Friedhöfe nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg anders entwickelt haben und diese Tendenzen auch heute noch zu beobachten sind. Die Ergebnisse der vorliegenden Studie geben einen aktuellen Einblick in das bisher untersuchte Thema und bereichern das vorhandene Wissen, das auch von anderen Forschungsbereichen (insbesondere von der Siedlungsgeschichte, der Ethnographie und der Denkmalpflege) genutzt werden kann.

Schlagwörter: Friedhof, Friedhofstypen, Landschaft, Kulturlandschaft, kartographische Quellen, Feldforschung, Bezirk Nimburg [Nymburk], Bezirk Tulln, Mittelböhmen, Böhmen, Niederösterreich

Summary

Cemeteries as Specific Elements of the Historical Cultural Landscape, Analysed Using the Example of the Development of Central Bohemian and Lower Austrian Cemeteries

This historically-geographically oriented study presents the development of civilian non-Jewish cemeteries in Central Bohemia (Nymburk district) and Lower Austria (Tulln district) as specific phenomena of the historical landscape. The investigated period is framed by the Enlightenment reforms of the end of the 18th century and the present day. The field research focused (among other things) on the analysis of the preserved natural,

urban, architectural and historical values of the cemeteries, taking into account their manifestations in the landscape and settlements. Then an analysis of cartographic and iconographic sources mainly from the 19th and 20th centuries was carried out, on the basis of which it was possible to follow the transformations of cemeteries in relation to relevant church and secular regulations. The knowledge gained made it possible to determine basic development types of cemeteries and to interpret similar and different features for both model areas according to them. It is significant that some of the observed features of the cemeteries, which were still consistent until 1918, developed differently after the First World War, and these tendencies can be observed even today. The results of the research bring an up-to-date view of the hitherto rather neglected topic and enrich the existing knowledge, which can also be used by other disciplines (especially the history of settlement, ethnography and monument preservation).

Keywords: Cemetery, cemetery typology, landscape, cultural landscape, cartographic sources, field research, Nymburk district, Tulln district, Central Bohemia, Bohemia, Lower Austria

1 Friedhof als Thema

Friedhöfe sind ein Thema, dem seit Langem immer wieder Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt wird. Die breite Öffentlichkeit konzentriert sich üblicherweise auf Friedhöfe als Ruhestätten bedeutender Persönlichkeiten. Die Fachöffentlichkeit interessiert an Friedhöfen neben dem Studium von Denkmälern der Sepulkralkunst zunehmend das Thema Mentalitätsgeschichte, wobei heute im Besonderen Friedhöfe als aktueller Gedächtnisort, der den von Tod und Trauer Betroffenen einen kulturellen Rahmen des Glaubens gibt und die Situation des Todes zu bewältigen hilft, thematisiert werden. So stellt Jürgen Hasse (2016, S. 101) fest:

> *„Ein Friedhof bildet keine tatsächliche, sondern eine mythische Weiche zwischen zwei Welten. So situiert sein ästhetisches Gesamtarrangement ein ›Pufferkonzept‹, das der psychologischen Abfederung aufgeklärten Wissens um die finale Endlichkeit menschlichen Lebens dient.“*

Ziel der vorliegenden Studie ist es, die Entwicklung der modernen zivilen nichtjüdischen Friedhöfe als spezifischer Phänomene der historischen Kulturlandschaft darzustellen und ihre Merkmale zu beschreiben.[2)] Natürlich rücken auch andere Aspekte in den Blickpunkt, die die Funktion der Friedhöfe und ihre Gesamtwirkung auf die Landschaft und die Siedlung maßgeblich beeinflussen, insbesondere architektonische Elemente und die Vegeta-

[2)] Speziell militärische und jüdische Friedhöfe wurden nicht in die Studie einbezogen, da sie eine unterschiedliche historische Entwicklung und eine spezifische architektonische Form aufweisen, die durch militärische, zivile und kirchliche Regeln bestimmt wird. Ein weiterer Grund, warum sie nicht in die Analyse einbezogen wurden, ist ihre relativ geringe Anzahl. Zu berücksichtigen ist auch die Tatsache, dass Soldatenfriedhöfe im Kriegsgräberregistrierungsportal *https://valecnehroby.army.cz/kriegsgraberpflege* (Zugriff: 09.03.2024) relativ gut dokumentiert sind. Auch die jüdischen Friedhöfe im Bezirk Nimburg [okres Nymburk] sind ausführlich beschrieben. Vgl. dazu u. a. Rozkošná (2010a,b; 2011).

tion.[3] Es handelt sich also um ein interdisziplinäres Konzept, das sich auf die friedhofsbedingten Veränderungen der Landschaft konzentriert, die nicht nur den Bereich der Denkmalpflege, sondern auch die Raumplanung, den Naturschutz oder die Friedhofsverwaltung betreffen. Im Sinne der Forschungen von Jürgen HASSE wird es sich dabei in erster Linie um nicht-heterotopologische (klassische, traditionelle) Gelände/Areale handeln (HASSE 2016, S. 100).

Die Forschung oszilliert um zwei Grundbegriffe, die im deutschen Sprachraum üblicherweise gebraucht werden – den *Kirchhof* [4] und den *Friedhof* [5]. Im Tschechischen werden diese Begriffe nicht unterschieden und es wird nur der Begriff *Friedhof / Begräbnisstätte* (hřbitov / pohřebiště) gebraucht (NAVRÁTILOVÁ 2004, S. 266). In dieser Studie wird unter Friedhof / Begräbnisstätte nicht nur der (kommunale) Friedhof verstanden, sondern auch der Friedhof bei einer Kirche, der unzugängliche Friedhof oder auch eine Fläche, auf der sich ein Friedhof im analysierten Zeitraum befand.

Der zeitliche Rahmen der Analyse leitet sich von den wichtigsten jüngeren Gesetzen zum Bestattungswesen in den untersuchten Gebieten ab, insbesondere dem Hofdekret von 1784 zur Aufhebung von Friedhöfen inmitten von Ortschaften. Nicht unbedeutend ist ferner die Tatsache, dass in denselben Zeitraum auch die Entstehung des Kartenwerks der Ersten Militärischen Landesaufnahme fällt, die aufgrund ihres großen Maßstabs bereits eine konkrete Vorstellung von der Landschaft vermitteln kann. Das zeitliche Zusammentreffen dieser zwei Sachverhalte bestimmte den Zeitpunkt, der in der vorliegenden Studie als Beginn des zu untersuchenden Zeitraums festgelegt wurde.

Ziel der Arbeit war es, zu analysieren, ob der Friedhof als wichtiges Landschaftselement betrachtet werden kann und wie er mit seinen natürlichen, kulturellen und historischen Merkmalen in mehreren Entwicklungsstadien dazu geworden ist. Darüber hinaus werden Friedhöfe auch als „materielle Anker" des Gedächtnisses oder von geschichtlichen Ereignissen betrachtet (T. MEIER 2016, S. 35).

Zu Vergleichszwecken und um den historischen Wandel zu verfolgen, wurden die Friedhöfe typisiert. Um die Erkenntnisse abzusichern, wurde neben dem Bezirk Nimburg [okres Nymburk] in Böhmen [Čechy] als primärem Untersuchungsgebiet[6] ein

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[3] Der Autor stützt sich bei der Verwendung des Begriffs „Landschaft" auf die Definition von Landschaft gemäß Abschnitt 3 (m) des Gesetzes Nr. 114/1992 Slg. der Tschechischen Republik über den Natur- und Landschaftsschutz in seiner geänderten Fassung, in dem Landschaft als ein Teil der Erdoberfläche mit einem charakteristischen Relief definiert wird, der aus einer Reihe von funktional miteinander verbundenen Ökosystemen und Zivilisationselementen besteht.

[4] Der *Kirchhof (oder kirchlicher Hof / Kirchenhof)* befand sich in unmittelbarer Nähe der Kirche, zumeist hat er sie umgeben. Seit dem Mittelalter war er fast immer mit einer Mauer eingefriedet. Er wurde zumeist gleichzeitig mit der Kirche errichtet und war, wie die Kirche selbst, ein geweihter Ort. Wichtig ist, dass es sich um eine geschlossene Begräbnisstätte handelte (GÄLZER 2003, S. 7–8).

[5] Der *Friedhof* entstand, als der *Kirchhof* überfüllt war und aus hygienischen Gründen dort keine Beerdigungen mehr durchgeführt werden konnten. Daher entstand der *Friedhof* (oder *Hof der Ruhe / Friedenshof*) zumeist auch räumlich getrennt von der Kirche, oft außerhalb der Ortschaft (LINDNER 2009, S. 30).

[6] Der Bezirk Nymburk [okres Nimburg] wurde ausgewählt, weil der Autor die Dissertation „Hřbitovy na Nymbursku a Poděbradsku, nejen jako místa paměti" [„Friedhöfe in Nimburk und Podiebrad, nicht nur als Orte der Erinnerung"] verfasst hat, die im Jahr 2021 am Institut für Geschichte der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Königgrätz [Hradec Králové] verteidigt wurde. Die Dissertation ist unter *https://theses.cz/id/yblqse/STAG93248.pdf* (Zugriff 15.01.2022) zugänglich.

zweiter Verwaltungsbezirk (Politischer Bezirk) im ländlichen Raum und in ähnlicher Entfernung zur Hauptstadt (wie Nimburg zu Prag) von etwa gleicher Größe und mit etwa der gleichen Anzahl an Objekten untersucht, der Bezirk Tulln in Niederösterreich.

Da das Ziel der Untersuchung darin bestand, das Typische und nicht das Unterschiedliche herauszufinden, kam es auf die Ähnlichkeit der natürlichen, kulturellen und historischen Entwicklung in den Vergleichsgebieten an. Ein ähnliches rechtliches Umfeld war dadurch gewährleistet, dass beide Bezirke zur österreichischen Reichshälfte der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie (den im Reichsrat vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern = Cisleithanien) gehörten. Die Untersuchung ging von der Annahme aus, dass ähnliche Merkmale dort gefunden werden würden, wo sich nicht nur die Entfernung von der Hauptstadt (Wien bzw. Prag) gleicht, sondern vor allem eine jahrhundertelange Zugehörigkeit zum gleichen kulturellen und historischen Umfeld gegeben war, in dem ähnliche Einflüsse wirkten und sich identische Entwicklungstendenzen durchsetzen konnten (Ledvinka et al. 2004, S. 45). Es war jedoch auch wichtig, auf gewisse Unterschiede hinzuweisen, die das stürmische 20. Jahrhundert in Mitteleuropa mit sich gebracht hat. Unter diesen Gesichtspunkten wurde als Vergleichsgebiet der Politische Bezirk Tulln gewählt (Čede 2002). Die Ergebnisse der Untersuchung sollten nicht nur die genannten Fragen beantworten, sondern auch mögliche weitere Entwicklungen andeuten und Überlegungen zum Schutz der wertvollsten Friedhofsanlagen ermöglichen.

2 Merkmale der Untersuchungsgebiete

Die königliche Stadt Nimburg [Nymburk] wurde im Jahr 1275 gegründet. Von etwas geringerer Bedeutung ist die Stadt Podiebrad [Poděbrady], die sich zur selben Zeit um die königliche Burg entwickelte. Von 1495 bis 1839 war Podiebrad eine Kameralstadt im Sinn einer direkt dem Landesherrn unterstellten freien Bürgerstadt. Bezeichnenderweise trat das Gebiet des heutigen Bezirkes Nimburg nie als Einheit auf und wurden die Gebiete von Nimburg und Podiebrad unterschiedlichen Verwaltungseinheiten zugeordnet. Zur Zeit der josephinischen Reformen wurde das Gebiet von Nimburg Teil des Bunzlauer Kreises [Boleslavský kraj], während das Gebiet von Podiebrad in den Bidschower Kreis [Novobydžovský kraj] einbezogen wurde. Der südwestliche Teil des Bezirkes lag im Kauřimer Kreis [Kouřimský kraj].

Eine Änderung erfolgte in den Jahren 1850 bis 1855, als Bezirkshauptmannschaften in Nimburg, Podiebrad und Schwarzkosteletz [Kostelec nad Černými lesy] eingerichtet wurden. Diese Einteilung wurde 1855 durch die sogenannten gemischten politisch-gerichtlichen Bezirksämter ersetzt, die den Kreisämtern in Tschaslau [Čáslav], Gitschin/Jitschin [Jičín], Jung Bunzlau [Mladá Boleslav] und Prag [Praha] zugeordnet waren. Im Jahr 1868 wurde in Podiebrad die Bezirkshauptmannschaft ins Leben gerufen. Diese Struktur blieb im Grunde genommen bis 1949 in Kraft. (Anstelle von Bezirkshauptmannschaften entstanden im Jahr 1919 Bezirksämter.) Zwischen 1949 und 1960 war der heutige Bezirk Nimburg auf vier kleinere Bezirke aufgeteilt – Böhmisch Brod [Český Brod], Jung Bunzlau, Nimburg und Podiebrad (Vinduška 2002).

Der Bezirk Nimburg, das primäre Untersuchungsgebiet und eine territoriale Verwaltungseinheit Tschechiens, wurde am 11. April 1960 eingerichtet und liegt im Osten des Mittelböhmischen Kreises [Středočeský kraj], etwa 20 km nordöstlich von Prag. Die Fläche des Bezirkes beträgt ca. 850 km^2. Am 1. Jänner 2021 gehörten zum Bezirk Nimburg 86 Gemeinden, darunter sieben Städte (der Größe nach Nimburg, Podiebrad, Milowitz [Milovice], Lissa an der Elbe [Lysá nad Labem], Sadska [Sadská], Königstädtel [Městec Králové], Roschdialowitz [Rožďalovice]) und drei Marktflecken (der Größe nach Kaunitz [Kounice], Lautschin [Loučeň], Kschinetz [Křinec]).

Das Relief des Bezirkes ist wenig akzentuiert und überwiegend flach. Er liegt zur Gänze in der Elbe [Labe]-Niederung im Böhmischen Tafelland [Česká tabule]. Da die Flüsse Elbe und Zidlina [Cidlina] durch den Bezirk fließen, ist das Grundwasser ein limitierender Faktor für das Anlegen von Friedhöfen. Der größte Teil des Bezirkes liegt im Flachland weniger als 200 m über dem Meeresspiegel und erhebt sich nur im Nordosten bis zu einer Höhe von über 290 m.

Der Politische Bezirk Tulln liegt inmitten des österreichischen Bundeslandes Niederösterreich und grenzt im Südosten an das Bundesland Wien. Er hat Anteile am Weinviertel und am Mostviertel und misst rund 734 km^2. Er gehörte im Untersuchungszeitraum zu den staatlichen Einheiten Erzherzogtum Österreich (seit 1453), Kaisertum Österreich (seit 1804), Österreich-Ungarn (seit 1867) und nach 1918 zur Republik Österreich. Bis 1922 war Wien ein Teil Niederösterreichs. Sankt Pölten ist seit 1986 die Landeshauptstadt Niederösterreichs und hat in dieser Funktion Wien abgelöst. Administrativ besteht Niederösterreich aus vier Statutarstädten und 21 Politischen Bezirken. Am 1. Jänner 2017 umfasste der Bezirk Tulln 22 Gemeinden, davon zwei Städte (Klosterneuburg und Tulln an der Donau), 16 Marktgemeinden und vier Gemeinden.

Geomorphologisch bildet das von der Donau durchquerte Tullner Becken den Zentralraum des Bezirkes, während er im Norden in das Hügelland des Weinviertels mit Höhen bis zu 350 m im Bereich der Weingärten bei Neudegg und im Südosten in die Anhöhen des Wienerwaldes mit bis zu 400 m reicht.

3 Theoretische Grundlagen und Quellen

Die Analyse von Veränderungen der Kulturlandschaft in den letzten Jahrhunderten kann auf Basis kartographischen Quellen durchgeführt werden. Das für dieses Thema geeignete erste Kartenwerk ist die Erste Militärische (Josephinische) Landesaufnahme, die im dritten Drittel des 18. Jahrhunderts im Maßstab 1 : 28 800 bearbeitet wurde.[7)] Bis dahin widmete sich kein Kartenwerk der Landschaft in solchem Ausmaß und Detail. Der Schwerpunkt lag vor allem auf der Erfassung des Straßennetzes (Chausseen) sowie von Wasserläufen und strategisch oder topographisch wichtigen Elementen.

[7)] Die kolorierten Originale der Karten der ersten militärischen Landesaufnahme werden im Österreichischen Staatsarchiv, Kriegsarchiv, in Wien aufbewahrt. Das Kartenwerk ist auf den Webseiten *https://maps.arcanum.com/de/browse/country/firstsurvey/* (Zugriff: 14.10.2021) unter den Namen „Königreich Böhmen (1764–1767) – Josephinische Landesaufnahme“ und „Österreich unter der Enns (1773–1781) – Josephinische Landesaufnahme“ zugänglich.

Für Friedhöfe gibt es allerdings keine eigene Signatur und ihr Vorhandensein muss hauptsächlich aus Objekten der Umgebung abgeleitet werden (Piekalski 2002), vom Relief, dem Vorhandensein einer Ortschaft, von Kirchen, Kapellen und Kreuzen. Besonders wichtig sind diesbezüglich die Zeichen für religiöse Objekte (Kapellen und Kirchen, Kreuze).[8)] Eine wesentliche Hilfe bei der Bestimmung von Existenz, Lage, Fläche und Grundriss von Friedhöfen ist die Darstellung von Kircheneinfriedungen, die oft mit dem Friedhofsgelände übereinstimmen. Obwohl es sich zumeist um eine eher schematische Darstellung handelt, deutet die einfache Tatsache, dass dies festgehalten wurde, darauf hin, dass es sich um ein wichtiges Element in der Landschaft oder in einer Ortschaft handelt.

Die Zweite Militärische (Franziszeische) Landesaufnahme fand in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts statt und sollte die früheren militärischen Karten präzisieren.[9)] Da in diesem Zeitraum die industrielle Revolution einsetzte und auch die landwirtschaftlich intensiv genutzten Flächen stark zunahmen, dokumentieren die Karten im Maßstab 1 : 28 800 eine deutliche Veränderung der Landnutzung, einschließlich des Neuanlegens von Friedhöfen. Im Zeichenschlüssel wurde Ortschaften, Kreuzen, Straßen (Chausseen) und Wegen große Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet.

Unvergleichlich größere Bedeutung für das Studium des Landschafts- und Siedlungswandels hat der „Stabile Kataster" in all seinen Kollektionen (Indikationsskizzen, kaiserliche Pflichtexemplare, Originalkarten).[10)] Dieses überaus umfangreiche Kartenwerk wurde für Böhmen in den Jahren 1826–1843 und für Niederösterreich in den Jahren 1819–1823 bearbeitet.[11)] Der „Klafter"-Grundmaßstab war 1 : 2880, Details (insbesondere Innenstädte) wurden im Maßstab 1 : 1440 und 1 : 720 kartiert. Der reichhaltige Zeichenschlüssel enthält außer Friedhöfen/Begräbnisstätten (*Beerdigungs-Plætze mit Mauer, mit Einplankung, der Israeliten*) auch Details wie verschiedene Zaunformen (*Hecken, Zäune, Zaun mit steinernen Pfeilern, Mauer*) und Kreuzausführungen (*steinernes, hölzernes Kreutz*).[12)] Bei Friedhöfen sind nicht nur der detaillierte Grundstückzuschnitt und die Art der Nutzung wichtig, sondern auch das Vorhandensein zusätzlicher Gebäude, wie Kapellen und Leichenhallen (Leichenhäuser). Nicht zu vernachlässigen sind ferner die Darstellung der unmittelbaren Friedhofsumgebung und die Verkehrsverhältnisse im Gebiet. Für Böhmen sind die Karten auf der Webseite des Archivs des Tschechischen Vermessungs- und Katas-

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8) *https://www.arcanum.com/media/uploads/mapire/legend/firstsurvey.pdf* (Zugriff: 09.03.2024).

9) Die kolorierten Originale der Zweiten Militärischen Landesaufnahme werden im Österreichischen Staatsarchiv, Kriegsarchiv, in Wien aufbewahrt. Die Karten sind auf den Webseiten *https://maps.arcanum.com/de/browse/country/secondsurvey/* (Zugriff: 14.10.2021) unter den Namen „Böhmen (1842–1853) – Franziszeische Landesaufnahme" und „Österreich ob und unter der Enns (1809–1818) – Franziszeische Landesaufnahme" zugänglich.

10) Indikationsskizzen wurden als Kopien der Originalkarte erstellt. Darüber hinaus enthielten sie Namen der Besitzer, Hausnummern, Kulturgattungen usw. Einige Zeit wurden die Originalkarten als Evidenzkarten geführt und Änderungen darin rot eingetragen. Mit nachträglichen Vermerken von Veränderungen unterscheiden sich die Originalkarten grundlegend von den kaiserlichen Pflichtexemplaren, die den Stand zum Zeitpunkt der Kartenaufnahme dokumentieren.

11) Die Originalkarten des Stabilen Katasters werden im Österreichischen Staatsarchiv, Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv, in Wien aufbewahrt.

12) *https://cs.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stabiln%C3%AD_katastr#/media/Soubor:Legend_for_Franciscan_Cadastral_Maps_1824.jpg* (Zugriff: 14.10.2021).

teramtes [Český úřad zeměměřický a katastrální] zugänglich,[13] für Niederösterreich auf der Webseite „Portal Arcanum Maps“ unter der Bezeichnung „Habsburg Empire – Cadastral maps (XIX. century).“[14]

Zusätzliche kartographische Quellen, die im Staatlichen Gebietsarchiv in Prag und im Staatlichen Bezirksarchiv Nimburg mit Sitz in Lissa an der Elbe [Státní oblastní archiv v Praze – Státní okresní archiv Nymburk se sídlem v Lysé nad Labem] sowie im Niederösterreichischen Landesarchiv in St. Pölten aufbewahrt werden, sind für das Studium kleinerer Flächen unabdingbar. Anstelle von Karten ist hier von Plänen und Planungsunterlagen zu sprechen, die sich hauptsächlich auf das Anlegen des Friedhofs, seine Erweiterung, ausnahmsweise auch auf die Umgestaltung der Fläche nach dem Auflassen des Friedhofs beziehen. Weitere Unterlagen dieser Art finden sich in den Sammlungen einzelner Städte/Gemeinden, meist bei den für Friedhöfe zuständigen Abteilungen, oder direkt bei den Friedhofseigentümern oder -verwaltern.

Für das Verfolgen von Landschaftsveränderungen eignen sich besonders auch schwarz-weiße Luftbilder der Tschechoslowakei. Sie wurden ab 1936 auf Initiative des Verteidigungsministeriums als strategisches Material, das der Absicherung der Landesverteidigung dienen sollte, beschafft.[15] Das Tschechische Vermessungs- und Katasteramt [Český úřad zeměměřický a katastrální] veröffentlichte sie auf ihren Webseiten mit der Bezeichnung „Letecké měřické snímky“ (Luftbildaufnahmen).[16]

Die Erforschung von Friedhöfen als Teil der historischen Kulturlandschaft fällt in den Bereich der Historischen Geographie, wobei die Veränderungen mit Hilfe von Karten, die aus verschiedenen Zeitpunkten stammen, identifiziert werden. Beim Vergleich der Quellen kann sowohl der zeitliche Aspekt (Entstehungszeitraum, weitere Ausgestaltung des Objekts) als auch der formale Aspekt beachtet werden (SEMOTANOVÁ et al. 2018, S. 120–121). Einer bestimmten Zeit entspricht die spezifische Ausformung eines Elements der Kulturlandschaft (im gegenständlichen Fall eines Friedhofs) und dies kann, wenn man eine große Anzahl von Elementen vergleichend betrachtet, zur Definition eines für eine bestimmte Zeit idealtypischen Elements, in unserem Fall eines Friedhofstyps führen (T. MEIER 2016, S. 49; VAŘEKA und VAŘEKOVÁ 2016, S. 229). Natürlich geht diese typisierende Methode von einzelnen Strukturelementen des Friedhofs aus – Kirchen, Kapellen, Umfriedungen, Eingangsgestaltungen, Nebengebäuden, Grabsteinen, Vegetation u. Ä. Aus einer breiteren Landschaftsperspektive werden auch die Lage des Friedhofs in der Ortschaft bzw. seine Entfernung von dieser, die Lage in der Landschaft, die Größe und Form des Grundstücks usw. berücksichtigt.

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[13] Bei den Webseiten *https://ags.cuzk.cz/archiv/* (Zugriff: 14.10.2021) muss der Name des Katastergebiets oder der Name der Gemeinde eingegeben werden.

[14] *https://maps.arcanum.com/en/browse/cadastral/* (Zugriff: 14.10.2021).

[15] Luftbildaufnahmen werden im Archiv der Luftaufnahmen, dem Militärgeographischen und Hydrometeorologischen Amt in Dobruška [Arhiv leteckých měřických snímků, Vojenský geografický a hydrometeorologický úřad v Dobrušce]) archiviert.

[16] Auf der Webseite *https://ags.cuzk.cz/archiv/* (Zugriff: 14.10.2021) ist es notwendig, auf der oberen Leiste den Bereich „Letecké měřické snímky“ auszuwählen und dann den Namen des Katastergebiets oder der Gemeinde einzugeben.

Neben dem Studium der Quellen darf die Feldforschung bei Untersuchungen der historischen Kulturlandschaft nicht vernachlässigt werden. Erst durch sie ist es möglich, Erkenntnisse zu vergleichen und dann zur Interpretation von Phänomenen und zur Formulierung synthetischer Schlussfolgerungen zu gelangen.

Bei der im Jahr 2018 durchgeführten Feldforschung wurden 119 Friedhöfe im Bezirk Nimburg analysiert, was eine vollständige Erfassung der Friedhöfe im gesamten Gebiet darstellt. Im Bezirk Tulln wurde die Analyse im Juli 2020 durchgeführt, wobei nur 53 Standorte (von 75 ermittelten) besichtigt wurden. In der Friedhofskartei wurden verschiedene qualitative und quantitative Merkmale erfasst, wie zum Beispiel die Platzierung des Friedhofs in der Landschaft (bei der Kirche, in der Ortschaft, in der Landschaft, im Wald, …), die Entfernung von der Ortschaft, die Größe und Form des Areals, die kompositorische Gestaltung (axial, regelmäßig, …), die Friedhofsausstattung (Umzäunung, Kapelle/Kirche, Leichenhaus, Zentralkreuz, …), Vegetationsbestandteile (Anpflanzung in Linien, als Solitäre, …), und die Grabformen (Grüfte in Form von Kapellen, Kolumbarien, Streuwiesen, …).

Die Auswertung der Standorte erfolgte in zwei Runden. Die erste Auswertung erfolgte unmittelbar nach der Feldforschung, um kein Detail zu vergessen. Die zweite, die Korrektur der ersten, erfolgte erst nach Abschluss der gesamten Feldforschung. Der Grund dafür war die mentale Distanz von den ermittelten Erkenntnissen und vor allem das Bestreben, die vorgefundenen Merkmale in Relation zur gesamten Recherche objektiv einzuschätzen.

4 Friedhöfe – Das rechtliche Verhältnis der Gesellschaft zum Tod (Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts bis 1918)

Nach Phillipe Ariés (2000, S. 48) entwickelte sich ab dem Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts eine veränderte Einstellung gegenüber den Toten. In der Tat duldeten die Menschen Gräber nun nicht mehr (nicht nur aus gesundheitlichen Gründen) in unmittelbarer Nähe von menschlichen Behausungen.

Dies war eine Fortsetzung erster diesbezüglicher Ansätze im späten 15. Jahrhundert, die durch die Entwicklungen in den reformierten Gebieten in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts beschleunigt worden waren (Kenzler 2016, S. 186). Dieses neue Verhältnis zum Tod sollte mit der Kremationsbewegung, die sich seit dem Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts entwickelt hatte und den Kultus von Gräbern und Friedhöfen ablehnte, den Gipfelpunkt erreichen. Als Mittelpunkt der mittelalterlichen und neuzeitlichen Landschaft galt der Kirchenturm. Friedhöfe und Totendenkmäler sollten nach Ralph Gälzer seine Rolle in der urbanisierten Landschaft des 19. und zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts übernehmen.[17)]

In rechtlicher Hinsicht hatten die Reformen von Kaiser Josephs II. einen grundlegenden Einfluss auf die Entwicklung der Friedhofslandschaft, vor allem das Dekret über die Notwendigkeit der sofortigen Schließung aller Friedhöfe (einschließlich der Familiengräber innerhalb der Gemeinden) und deren Verlegung hinter die Stadtmauern oder Dorf-

[17)] Mehr zum Thema u. a. bei Delumeau (1997); Gälzer und Gälzer (2006); Nešporová (2013); Risy (2019); Schmitt (2002); Sörries (2011).

ränder, das am 22. Dezember 1783 mit Wirkung für die ganze Monarchie erlassen wurde (TINKOVÁ 2012, S. 194), obwohl seine Einhaltung oft lasch war.

Es gab mehrere Bedingungen für das Anlegen eines neuen Friedhofs: Mindestentfernung des Friedhofs von der letzten bewohnten Stelle eine Viertelstunde zu Fuß; Boden, der für die schnelle Verwesung der Leichen geeignet ist; ein Grundstück, das nicht durch Wasser gefährdet ist; die Verpflichtung, eine Umfassungsmauer zu errichten. Zu dieser Zeit gab es im Bezirk Nimburg 42 katholische Friedhöfe (acht davon außerhalb der Ortschaft)[18] und im Bezirk Tulln 40 (davon fünf außerhalb der Ortschaft).[19]

Neue Friedhöfe wurden oft an den Stellen älterer Pestfriedhöfe errichtet. Im Gelände werden sie oft mit Marterln gekennzeichnet, und sie sind bis heute historisch und touristisch reizvolle Standorte. Im Bezirk Tulln befinden sich noch Denkmäler auf diesen alten Pestfriedhöfen in Klosterneuburg (Unterer Friedhof), Ollern und Weidling. In der Neuzeit wüteten im böhmischen Raum Pestepidemien in den Jahren 1613, 1679/1680 und 1713–1715. Im Bezirk Nimburg ist kein Pestfriedhof dokumentiert. Bekannt ist nur die nach 1715 errichtete Pestsäule (Mariensäule) am Marktplatz in Nimburg.

Die Aufhebung der alten und das Anlegen neuer Friedhöfe wurde mit dem Hofdekret vom 7. Oktober 1784 präzisiert. Das Kirchenamt trug die Kosten für den Bau der Friedhofsmauer, die Gemeinden und Herrschaften sollten für Material und Arbeit sorgen (TINKOVÁ 2012, S. 192). Weitere Instruktionen zum Schicksal der Grundstücke nach der Aufhebung der alten Friedhöfe wurden am 24. Jänner 1785 erlassen. Sie durften nur noch aufgrund des Gutachtens einer medizinischen Fakultät unter der Bedingung genutzt werden, dass die Exhumierung frühestens zehn Jahre nach der Beerdigung erfolgt. Die Grundstücke durften nicht bebaut werden, sondern nur zum Anlegen eines Gartens, einer Wiese oder eines Feldes verwendet werden. Aufgrund der Dekrete wurden im Bezirk Nimburg bis 1788 sieben Kirchhöfe[20] und im Bezirk Tulln ebenfalls sieben[21] aufgelöst.

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[18] Unter ihnen sind die Friedhöfe bei der Friedhofskapelle der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit auf dem Chotuc-Hügel bei Kschinetz [Křinec], der St.-Georgs-Friedhof vor der Stadtmauer in Nimburg [Nymburk] und bei der Bergmannskirche Mariä Himmelfahrt vor der nahen Furt bei Podiebrad [Poděbrady]. Die in dieser Studie angeführten Werte beruhen auf einer Recherche in den oben zitierten Kartenwerken, in den Unterlagen einzelner Gemeinden und in der Fachliteratur – insbesondere HRABĚTOVÁ (2003–2004); HRABĚTOVÁ (1998); KUČA (1996–2004) u. a. Aufgrund der großen Datenmenge ist es nicht möglich, sie alle in der Studie aufzuführen. Nähere Informationen dazu finden sich in der Dissertation unter *https://theses.cz/id/yblqse/STAG93248.pdf* (Zugriff: 15.01.2022).

[19] Auf dem Gelände des ehemaligen Pestfriedhofs südlich von Klosterneuburg (Unterer Friedhof), bei der Pfarrkirche St. Veit zwischen zwei Ortsteilen von Kritzendorf, bei der Pfarrkirche St. Helena in den Feldern südlich von Langenlebarn, auf dem Gelände des ehemaligen Pestfriedhofs westlich von Weidling, auf dem „Kastell" bei der Kirche St. Nikolaus in der Nähe des Dorfes Winkl. Die in der Studie angeführten Zahlen beruhen auf einer Recherche in den oben zitierten Kartenwerken und in der Fachliteratur – insbesondere KITLITSCHKA (1987); LINDNER (2009); GÄLZER (2003) u. a. Aufgrund der großen Datenmenge ist es nicht möglich, sie alle in der Studie aufzuführen.

[20] Von den bekanntesten führe ich die *Kirchhöfe* bei der Pfarrkirche St. Johannes des Täufers in Lissa an der Elbe [Lysá nad Labem], bei der Dekanatskirche St. Ägydius in Nimburg [Nymburk] und bei der Kreuzerhöhung-Dekanatskirche in Podiebrad [Poděbrady] an.

[21] Bei der Pfarrkirche St. Georg in Großweikersdorf, bei der Pfarrkirche St. Jakob des Älteren in Königstetten, bei der Pfarrkirche St. Peter und Paul in Michelhausen, bei der Pfarrkirche St. Andreas in Sankt Andrä vor dem Hagenthale, bei der Kirche St. Nikolaus in Stetteldorf, bei der Dekanatskirche St. Stephan in Tulln an der Donau und bei der Kirche St. Stephan in Zwentendorf an der Donau.

Damit sich die zentralen Institutionen ein Bild von der Erfüllung der vorbestimmten Pflichten machen konnten, wurde versucht, ein umfassendes Friedhofsverzeichnis zu erstellen. Daher verschickten die Gubernialämter 1787 Fragebögen an die Kreisämter, um Friedhofsverzeichnisse von den Kreisen zu erhalten. Sie fragten, ob die Friedhöfe bereits den Anforderungen entsprächen, wie vielen Gemeinden sie dienten, wie weit sie von der Gemeinde entfernt seien, wie groß die Fläche sei.[22] Im Bezirk Nimburg wurden bis zu den napoleonischen Kriegen per Dekret fünf katholische Friedhöfe angelegt,[23] jedoch blieben weiterhin 20 Kirchhöfe „inmitten" der Ortschaften in vollem Betrieb.[24] Im Bezirk Tulln wurden bis zu den napoleonischen Kriegen 13 Friedhöfe[25] angelegt, und in Betrieb blieben 24 Kirchhöfe in den „Zentren" der Ortschaften.[26]

Für das Gebiet von Nimburg ist das Vorgehen der Familie Czernin in Dimokur [Dymokury] ein klares Beispiel für die Einhaltung des Dekrets. Seit 1789 wurden Angehörige der Familie auf der Familiengrabanlage am nordöstlichen Gemeinderand (heute Dorfplatz) und nicht in der nahe gelegenen Patronatskirche Mariä Verkündigung beigesetzt. Aus Sicht des aristokratischen Umfelds handelt es sich um eine einzigartige Friedhofsanlage, bei der keine „traditionelle" Grabkapelle mit Krypta, sondern ein kleiner kreisrunder Hügel (ca. 1,5 Meter hoch und 20 Meter im Durchmesser) zwischen dem Schloss und der Kirche errichtet wurde (Abb. 1). Wegen der üppigen Vegetation im Bereich des Dorfplatzes kommt die Anlage wenig zur Wirkung. Die nichtöffentliche Familien-Begräbnisstätte ist bis heute in Gebrauch.[27]

In ähnlicher Weise wurde auf dem unteren Friedhof in Klosterneuburg (in der Meynertgasse) eine Gruft errichtet, in der ab 1776 kirchliche Würdenträger und Bewohner des dortigen Klosters bestattet wurden. Die Krypta ist mit der 1847 erbauten neoromanischen Kapelle verbunden. Architektonisch ist die Kapelle ein Blickfang des alten Teils am unteren Friedhof, dessen kompositorische Hauptachse vom mit Skulpturen verzierten und im Hochbarock errichteten Tor (gegründet 1734) auf einem sanften Hügel in Richtung zur Friedhofskapelle ausgerichtet ist. Für die Verhältnisse des Bezirks Tulln handelt es sich um eine außergewöhnliche Friedhofsanlage (Abb. 2).

Die Bestattungsreformen galten auch für Gräber von Protestanten, und Kaiser Joseph II. musste sich, um seine Toleranzidee auch bei Bestattungen umzusetzen, auch mit Beerdigungen von Andersgläubigen auseinandersetzen. Deshalb bestimmte er im Dekret vom 28. August 1788, dass Nichtkatholiken, sofern sie keinen eigenen Friedhof hatten,

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[22] Národní archiv, Fonds České gubernium Publicum, Abteil IX, Teil 1, 1748-1805, Karton 3322, Inv.-Nr. 2271, Sign. 157/1c.

[23] Zum Beispiel in den Gemeinden Lautschin [Loučeň], Königstädtel [Městec Králové] (heute Schulgelände in der Tyrš-Straße) und Mlada [Mladá] (heute ein aufgelöstes Dorf im ehemaligen Truppenübungsplatz).

[24] Zu den größten gehörten die *Kirchhöfe* in den Ortschaften Dimokur [Dymokury], Groß Kostomlat [Kostomlaty nad Labem], Kaunitz [Kounice], Roschdialowitz [Rožďalovice] und Sadska [Sadská].

[25] Absdorf, Altenwörth, Bierbaum am Kleebühel, Fels am Wagram, Großweikersdorf, Judenau, Königstetten, Michelhausen, Ollern, Reidling, Sankt Andrä vor Hagenthale, Tulln an der Donau (Langenlebarner Straße), Zwentendorf an der Donau.

[26] Abstetten, Baumgarten am Tullnerfeld, Feuersbrunn, Gösing am Wagram, Grafenwörth, Großriedenthal, Höflein an der Donau, Heiligeneich, Chorherrn, Kirchberg am Wagram, Klosterneuburg (Unterer Stadtfriedhof und Äußerer Friedhof), Königsbrunn am Wagram, Langenrohr, Maria Ponsee, Rappoltenkirchen, Ried am Riederberg, Rohrenbach, Ruppersthal, Rust im Tullnerfeld, Sieghartskirchen, Tulbing, Würmla, Zeiselmauer.

[27] Der letzte Bestattete war Theobald Graf Czernin von Chudenice (7.07.1936–12.07.2015).



Quelle: Foto des Autors, 2018

Abb. 1: Dimokur, die Familiengrabstätte der Czernins von Chudenitz [Chudenice] wurde Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts angelegt

auf katholischen Friedhöfen bestattet werden.[28)] Aufgrund religiöser Unruhen (HELLICH 1926, S. 220–227) wurden schließlich bis 1790 im Bezirk Nimburg fünf nichtkatholische Friedhöfe für sieben evangelische Glaubensgemeinden errichtet.[29)] Ähnliches konnte für den Bezirk Tulln nicht festgestellt werden.

Einen wesentlichen Eingriff in das Friedhofssystem brachte das Gesetz Nr. 68/1870 RGBl. über die Organisation des öffentlichen Sanitätsdienstes, auch „Gesundheitsgesetz" genannt. (Es galt noch nach dem Zusammenbruch der Monarchie.) Die Bezirkshauptmannschaften sollten die Einhaltung gesetzlicher Vorschriften überwachen und wenn sich die Religionsgemeinschaften nicht darum kümmern konnten oder wollten, waren die Gemeinden verpflichtet, einen Friedhof anzulegen. Damit kam es zur *Teilung* des Bestattungswesens in ein kirchliches (überwiegend von den Vikariatsbehörden beaufsichtigtes) und in ein „mit Gewerbeschein" versehenes sowie zur *Teilung* der Friedhöfe in konfessionelle und kommunale. Zwischen den napoleonischen Kriegen und dem Inkrafttreten des Ge-

[28)] Národní archiv, Fonds České gubernium Publicum, Abteil IX, Teil 1, 1748–1805, Karton 3322, Inv.-Nr. 2271, Sign. 157/1a, Gubernialverordnungen und kaiserliche Patente in Bestattungssachen.

[29)] Neue Friedhöfe wurden in der Nähe der Gemeinden Boschin [Bošín], Horschatew [Hořátev] (der alte evangelische Friedhof sollte östlich des Dorfes liegen), Chleb [Chleby], Lissa an der Elbe [Lysá nad Labem] und Saan [Sány] angelegt. Zu evangelischen Friedhöfen mehr bei NEŠPOR (2016) und NOLL (2001).



Quelle: Foto des Autors, 2020

Abb. 2: Klosterneuburg – das barocke Tor des alten Friedhofsteils in der Wisentgasse stammt aus dem Jahr 1734

sundheitsgesetzes wurden im Bezirk Nimburg fünf katholische Friedhöfe[30)] aufgelöst und drei evangelische[31)] und sieben katholische[32)] angelegt. Bis 1870 wurden im Bezirk Tulln 11 Kirchhöfe[33)] aufgelöst und dieselbe Anzahl von Friedhöfen[34)] angelegt.

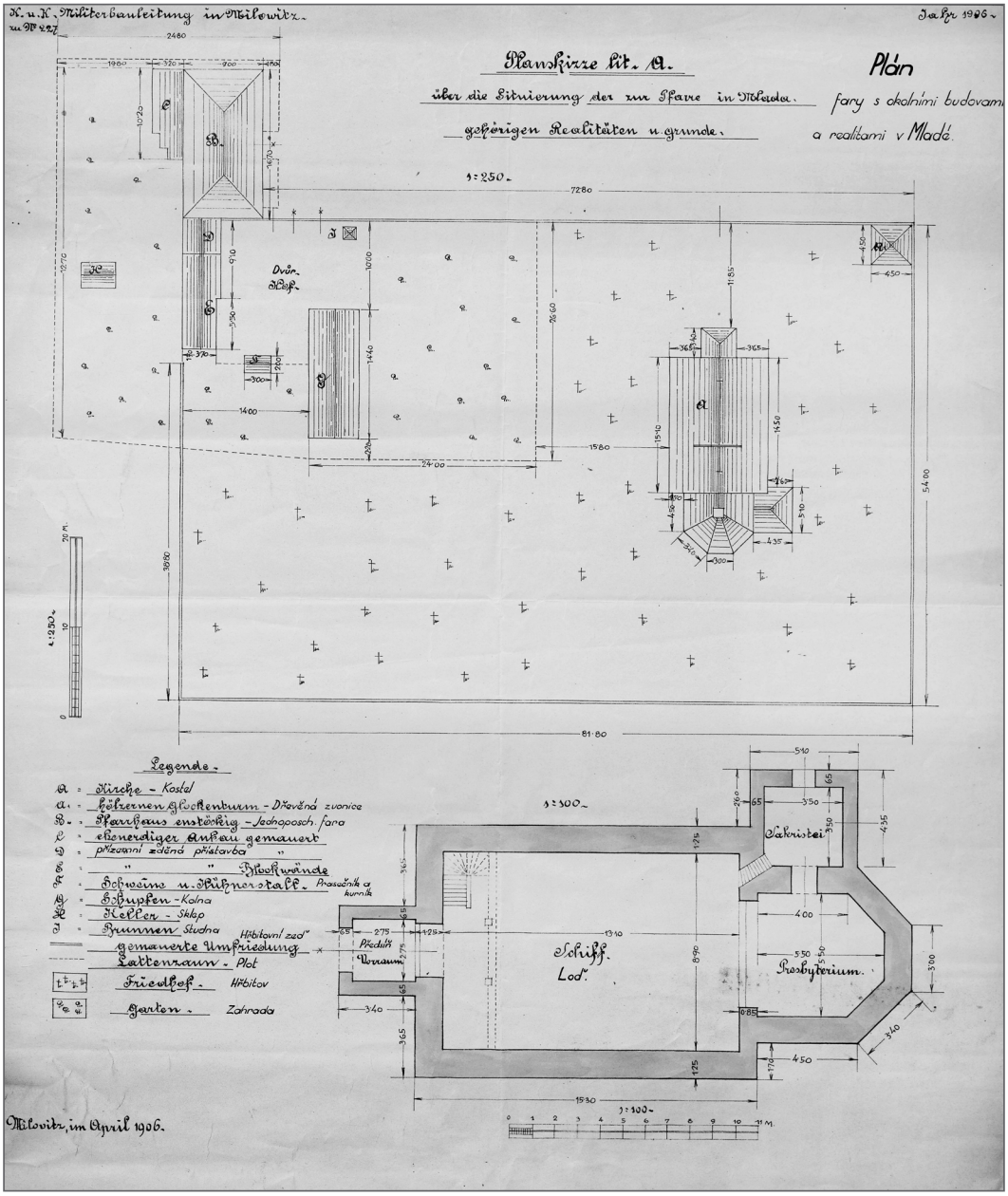
[30)] Darunter waren die Friedhöfe bei der Pfarrkirche St. Jakob der Ältere in Kaunitz [Kounice], bei der Dekanatskirche St. Gallus in Roschdialowitz [Rožďalovice] und bei der Pfarrkirche St. Apollinaris in Sadska [Sadská].

[31)] Der neue evangelische Friedhof in Horschatew (es ist nicht klar, ob der alte evangelische Friedhof östlich des Dorfes bereits verschwunden war.), Libitz an der Zidlina [Libice nad Cidlinou] und Wellenitz [Velenice].

[32)] Zum Beispiel wurden Friedhöfe in den Gemeinden Budimierschitz [Budiměřice] (der Kirchhof bei der dortigen Kirche war noch in Betrieb), Kirchen-Lhota [Kostelní Lhota] (der dortige Kirchhof war noch in Betrieb) und Saan (in unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft des älteren evangelischen Friedhofs) angelegt.

[33)] Durchwegs um Kirchhöfe handelte es sich in den Gemeinden Fels am Wagram, Feuersbrunn, Gösing am Wagram, Grafenwörth, Großriedenthal, Klosterneuburg (Unterer Stadtfriedhof), Rappoltenkirchen, Sankt Andrä vor dem Hagenthale, Würmla, Zeiselmauer. Eine Ausnahme war Klosterneuburg (Äußerer Friedhof), der von der Kirche St. Martin weiter entfernt war.

[34)] Abstetten, Feuersbrunn, Gösing am Wagram, Grafenwörth, Großriedenthal, Klosterneuburg (Martinsfriedhof), Kogl, Ottenthal, Rappoltenkirchen, Würmla, Zeiselmauer.



Quelle: Státní okresní archiv Nymburk se sídlem v Lysé nad Labem, Archiv obce Mladá [Staatliches Bezirksarchiv Nimburg mit Sitz in Lissa an der Elbe, Archiv der Gemeinde Mladá], Inv. Nr. 16.

Abb. 3: Lageplan des Kirchhofs in der Gemeinde Mladá, 1906

In der Zeit vom Erlass des Gesundheitsgesetzes bis zum Ende der Monarchie wurden im Bezirk Nimburg zehn katholische Friedhöfe aufgelöst.[35] Dagegen wurden drei evangelische,[36] sechs katholische[37] und 13 kommunale[38] Friedhöfe angelegt, überdies mussten 11 Friedhöfe[39] erweitert werden. In der Gemeinde Mladá hatte der Kirchhof eine besondere Stellung, da er 1906 wegen der Errichtung eines Truppenübungsplatzes (mitsamt dem gesamten Dorf und der Pfarrkirche) aufgelöst werden musste (Abb. 3). Deshalb errichtete das Ärar 1907 einen neuen katholischen Friedhof im nahe gelegenen Milowitz [Milovice] (Čapková und Tatarová 2004, S. 42).

Auch im Bezirk Tulln kam es bis zum Ende der Monarchie zu Veränderungen. Aufgelöst wurden nur fünf Friedhöfe,[40] während sechs entstanden.[41] Die Friedhofsinfrastruktur wurde durch die Erweiterung der bestehenden 13 Friedhöfe vergrößert.[42] Bemerkenswert ist das Nebeneinander von Friedhöfen und neu gebauten Eisenbahnstrecken in der Nähe von Wien in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Im Untersuchungsgebiet zeigt sich dies in Tulln an der Donau, wo die freie Fläche zwischen der Franz-Josef-Bahn Wien – Gmünd und dem „neuen" Friedhof (Langenlebarner Straße) zur Friedhofserweiterung genutzt wurde.

5 Die Entwicklung der Friedhöfe nach 1918

5.1 Mittelböhmische Friedhöfe nach 1918

Die Zeit nach 1918 brachte keine dramatischen Veränderungen für die Friedhöfe in Bezug auf Gesundheit und Hygiene, da das Gesundheitsgesetz Nr. 68/1870 RGBl. weiterhin galt. Bedeutender war der Einfluss der neuen tschechoslowakischen Republik, da sie auf konfessionellem Gebiet mögliche Probleme sah. Deshalb bevorzugte sie in Übereinstimmung mit der nationalen Bewegung den Weg der Kremation, die sich auf Brandbestattungen und Urnengräber der alten Slawen bezog. Das erste „tschechische" Krematorium war auch bereits in den Jahren 1915/16 in Reichenberg [Liberec] errichtet worden. Es war auf der Grundlage

[35] Hierher gehörten auch die „neuen" Friedhöfe, die nach 1784 in Lissa an der Elbe [Lysé nad Labem] (heute Parkanlage in der Komenský-Straße), Königstädtel [Městec Králové] (heute Schulgelände in der Tyrš-Straße) und Podiebrad [Poděbrady] (heute Parkanlage Purkyňovy sady) angelegt wurden.

[36] Groß Opolan [Opolany], Podiebrad-Kluk (1920 in den Gemeindefriedhof einbezogen) und Senitz [Senice].

[37] Zu den interessantesten gehören die Friedhöfe in Milowitz [Milovice] und Schitowlitz [Žitovlice].

[38] Hierher gehören vor allem die Friedhöfe der großen Städte Lissa an der Elbe, Königstädtel (heutiger Friedhof in der Míru-Straße), Nimburg und Podiebrad-Kluk.

[39] Besonders handelte es sich um die alten Kirchhöfe in Tschinowes [Činěves], Groß Kostomlat [Kostomlaty nad Labem], Mzell [Mcely], Patek [Pátek] und Prerow an der Elbe [Přerov nad Labem].

[40] Bei der Pfarrkirche St. Philipp und Jakob in Heiligeneich, bei der Pfarrkirche St. Margareta in Höflein an der Donau, bei der Kirche St. Ägydius in Chorherrn, in Ollern („alter" Friedhof in der Feldgasse) und in Sankt Andrä vor Hagenthale („neuer" Friedhof in der Lehnergasse).

[41] Heiligeneich, Höflein an der Donau, Chorherrn, Klosterneuburg (oberer Friedhof), Ollern, Sankt Andrä vor dem Hagenthale.

[42] Absdorf, Bierbaum am Kleebühel, Fels am Wagram, Grafenwörth, Großweikersdorf, Kirchberg am Wagram, Kritzendorf, Langenrohr, Rappoltenkirchen, Sieghartskirchen, Tulbing, Tulln an der Donau (Langenlebarner Straße) und Weidling.

des Gesetzes Nr. 180/1919 GBl. über die wahlfreie Feuerbestattung am 31. Oktober 1918 in Betrieb genommen worden (NEŠPOR 2012, S. 316). Der Bau neuer Krematorien in Böhmen und Mähren begann gemäß dem Gesetz über Feuerbestattungen Nr. 464/1921 GBl. und entsprechenden Verordnungen. Unter Berücksichtigung der evangelischen Tradition im Gebiet von Nimburg wurde 1925 auf dem neuen Gemeindefriedhof in Nimburg eines der ersten Krematorien in der Republik fertiggestellt (ŘEHOUNEK 2012, S. 178).

Offensichtlich waren es die politischen Bestrebungen der Gemeinden, den Einfluss der Kirche zu verringern, und Gründe des Prestiges (Gemeinderepräsentation und örtliche Honoratioren), die zur Anlegung neuer Friedhöfe führten. Bis zum Ausbruch des Zweiten Weltkriegs kamen im Bezirk bemerkenswerterweise 31 neue Friedhöfe[43] dazu, erweitert wurden acht Friedhöfe,[44] aufgelöst dagegen sechs kleinere katholische.

Die politische und gesellschaftliche Situation nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg war im Bezirk nicht so dramatisch wie im tschechischen Grenzgebiet. Wegen der fast rein tschechischen Bevölkerung kam es zu keiner massiven Vertreibung der Bevölkerung und damit auch zu keiner Aufhebung der verlassenen Friedhöfe.[45]

Die Abrechnung des Staates mit den Kirchen im Sinne der kommunistischen Ideologie begann bereits 1949 gleich nach der kommunistischen Machtübernahme im Jahr 1948. Zunächst wurde das Staatliche Amt für kirchliche Angelegenheiten [Státní úřad pro věci církevní] eingerichtet (Gesetz Nr. 217/1949 GBl.) und anschließend die Verwaltung des Kirchenvermögens (Gesetz Nr. 218/1949 GBl.) geregelt. Infolgedessen wurden 41 konfessionelle Friedhöfe im Bezirk Nimburg indirekt der kirchlichen Zuständigkeit entzogen. Gemeindefriedhöfe wurden mit dem Gesetz Nr. 279/1949 GBl. zum Nationaleigentum, das nun von Ortsnationalausschüssen verwaltet wurde. Im Grunde genommen wurden sie „nationalisiert". Kurz danach wurden vier neue Friedhöfe angelegt.[46]

Die Situation der Friedhöfe wurde ferner durch das Gesetz Nr. 22/1958 GBl. über Kulturdenkmäler beeinflusst, das die architektonisch und historisch bedeutendsten Begräbnisstätten erfasste. Besonders hervorzuheben ist der neue Friedhof in Podiebrad-Kluk, der vom Architekten Josef Fanta (1856–1954) und dem Gartenarchitekten František Thomayer (1856–1938) entworfen worden war (Abb. 4). Dagegen konnte trotz größten Bemühens der Laien- und Fachöffentlichkeit der alte St.-Georgs-Friedhof in Nimburg, im 16. Jahrhundert vor der Stadtmauer angelegt, nicht gerettet werden. Außerdem wurde der alte Friedhof auf dem Chotuc-Hügel bei Kschinetz [Křinec] geschlossen (nicht aufgelöst).

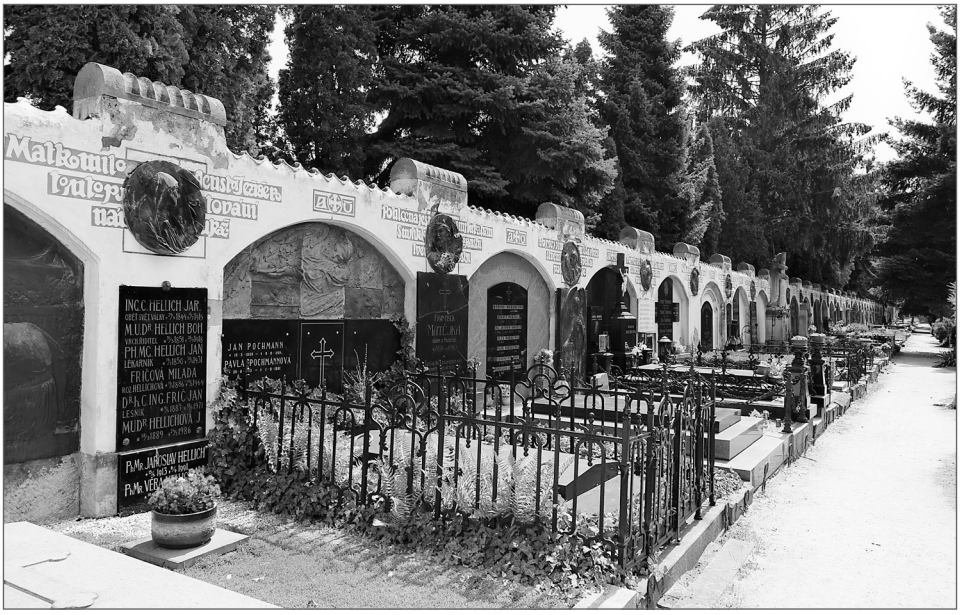
Die Zentralisierungsmaßnahmen des Staates führten zur Ausarbeitung mehrerer Dokumente, die, was unser Thema betrifft, für den Bezirk Nimburg als „Bestattungsentwicklungskonzept im Bezirk Nimburg" [„Koncepce rozvoje pohřebnictví v okrese Nymburk"]

[43] Zu den architektonisch interessantesten gehörten die Gemeindefriedhöfe in Tschilletz [Čilec], Dobschitz [Dobšice], Jikew [Jíkev], Jirschitz [Jiřice], Miltschitz [Milčice], Alt Lissa [Stará Lysá], Alt Westetz [Starý Vestec] und Winitz [Vinice]. Dem konfessionellen Milieu gehörten nur die katholischen Friedhöfe in Kirchen-Lhota [Kostelní Lhota] (Ostfriedhof) und der obere Friedhof in Vrbitz [Vrbice] bei Podiebrad an.

[44] Erweitert wurden die städtischen Friedhöfe in Lissa an der Elbe [Lysá nad Labem], Königstädtel [Městec Králové] (in der Míru-Straße) und Podiebrad-Kluk. Die Erweiterung des evangelischen Friedhofs in Libitz an der Zidlina [Libice nad Cidlinou] war auch architektonisch eine herausragende Leistung.

[45] Vgl. VAŘEKA und VAŘEKOVA 2016, S. 225–244.

[46] In Bezug auf das Ausmaß und die architektonische Gestaltung war der neue Friedhof in Kschinetz [Křinec] am bedeutendsten, der den alten Friedhof auf dem Chotuc-Hügel ersetzen sollte.



Quelle: Foto des Autors, 2018

Abb. 4: Die denkmalgeschützte nordöstliche Mauer des Friedhofs in Podiebrad-Kluk [Poděbrady-Kluk] wurde 1904 fertiggestellt

genehmigt wurden.[47] Im Jahr 1968 war es von der Abteilung für lokale Industrie und Dienstleistungen des Bezirksnationalausschusses Nimburg ausgearbeitet worden. Das Konzept wurde am 28. Jänner 1969 genehmigt. Nach dem Prinzip der örtlichen Zuständigkeit wurden verbindliche Bestattungsrayons bestimmt, in denen je nach Wohnort festgelegt wurde, wo der Verstorbene bestattet werden konnte. Weiterhin wurden Urnenstellen auf minimal zehn Jahre und Grabstellen für die Dauer der Verwesungszeit vermietet. Das Ziel eines geringen Platzverbrauchs wurde im Konzept so gelöst, dass es das Anlegen von Streuwiesen und Kolumbarien empfahl. Damit sollte auch die Säkularisierung der Gesellschaft ideologisch unterstützt werden. Das Konzept nannte 84 Friedhöfe mit einer Gesamtfläche von 46,84 Hektar in 70 Gemeinden.

Trotz der so konzipierten systematischen Aktivität war die staatliche Bestattungspolitik nicht sehr erfolgreich. Überraschenderweise kam die Kritik aus dem Ausland, wie die Abteilung für lokale Wirtschaft des Bezirksnationalausschusses Nimburg in einem Schreiben vom November 1973 feststellte. Darin heißt es unter anderem: „Derzeit wird im Rahmen des Touristenverkehrs unter anderem häufig auf den unbefriedigenden Zustand der örtlichen Friedhöfe hingewiesen." Vorrangig sollte auf Friedhöfen auf die Gräber ausländischer Staatsangehöriger (offenbar vor allem in Gebieten mit Vertreibungen) geachtet und zugleich auf eine wirtschaftliche Handhabung der Grabstellen hingearbeitet werden.

[47] SOkA Nymburk, Fonds ONV Nymburk 1945–1990, Koncepce rozvoje pohřebnictví v okrese Nymburk.

Die Umbrüche des Jahres 1990 betrafen hauptsächlich die staatlichen Verwaltungsorgane, da die Nationalausschüsse aufgelöst und aufgrund des Gemeindegesetzes Nr. 367/1990 GBl. den Gemeinden die Selbstverwaltung zurückgegeben wurde. Mit dem Gesetz Nr. 308/1991 GBl. erhielten die Kirchenämter auch wieder das Recht, aktiv in die Verwaltung konfessioneller Friedhöfe einzugreifen.

Die Gegenwart wird durch das Gesetz Nr. 256/2001 GBl. über das Bestattungswesen bestimmt. Die Mindestverwesungszeit von zehn Jahren blieb erhalten, ebenso verblieben die Auflagen zur Auflösung einer öffentlichen Begräbnisstätte ohne Änderung. Am 8. Mai 2021 waren im Bezirk Nimburg 90 Zivilfriedhöfe registriert (davon vier jüdische).[48)]

5.2 Niederösterreichische Friedhöfe nach 1918

Im Gegensatz zur Tschechoslowakei hielt man im Österreich der Zwischenkriegszeit eine enge Verbindung zur Kirche aufrecht (HEINE 2019, S. 57). Außerdem nahm der Trend zu Feuerbestattungen zu, zum Teil auch als Folge der Weltausstellung 1873 in Wien und zweier großer Ausstellungen über Feuerbestattungen 1894 und 1898, die auf diese Form der Bestattung aufmerksam machten (NEŠPOR 2012, S. 315). Der Bau des ersten Krematoriums wurde bereits 1922 in Wien-Simmering in Angriff genommen, das erste in Niederösterreich wurde jedoch erst 1975 in St. Pölten errichtet (GÄLZER 2003, S. 111). Nach 1933 wurde das Thema Feuerbestattung auch im Rahmen der nationalsozialistischen Bestattungspolitik betont (FEHN 2016, 2002), da Waldo Wenzel, der damals führende Architekt für die Gestaltung von Friedhöfen und Grabmälern, darin eine Erinnerung an die alten Germanen sah (SÖRRIES 2011, S. 183).

Da Österreich erst 1955 von der alliierten Nachkriegsverwaltung „unabhängig" wurde, lässt sich erst von da an beobachten, inwieweit sich hier das Erbe der Monarchie weiterentwickelt hat und in welchem Ausmaß die Entwicklung unterschiedlich zu den Ostblockländern verlief, die auf ihrem Gebiet einen wesentlichen politischen, wirtschaftlichen, kulturellen und konfessionellen Wandel anstrebten (HASSE 2016). Heute ordnet Stefan SCHIMA Österreich im konfessionellen Sinn in die sogenannte „Mitteleuropäische Gruppe" ein, zu der auch Ungarn, die Niederlande, Belgien und einige deutsche Bundesländer gehören. In diesen Ländern wird der „religiöse" (= Religion tatsächlich praktizierende) Bevölkerungsanteil auf 20 bis 23 Prozent eingeschätzt. In Polen und Irland sind es mehr als zwei Drittel, in Tschechien, Frankreich und den östlichen Bundesländern Deutschlands hingegen nur 6 bis 12 Prozent (SCHIMA 2019, S. 81).

Was Friedhöfe betrifft, wurde im Bezirk Tulln zwischen 1918 und 2005 nur der Kirchhof bei der Pfarrkirche St. Stephan in Kirchberg am Wagram aufgelöst. Neu angelegt wurden lediglich drei Friedhöfe,[49)] vierzehn wurden erweitert.[50)] Teilweise betraf dies auch

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[48)] *http://www.pohrebiste.cz/stranky/archiv/database/vyhledav.htm?txtObec=&txtKu=&cboOkresS=208&cboKrajS=0&cboVlastS=0&txtNst=&txtNm=&txtNs=&txtNkm=&txtEst=&txtEm=&txtEs=&txtEkm=&txtM2min=&txtM2max=&cboFotoS=0&cboZrusS=0&txtId=&odeslat=+VYHLEDAT+* (Zugriff: 28.10.2021).

[49)] Kirchberg am Wagram, Königstetten und Tulln an der Donau (Karl-Metz-Gasse).

[50)] Fels am Wagram, Grafenwörth, Großweikersdorf, Chorherrn, Kogl, Langenrohr, Michelhausen, Ollern, Reidling, Ried am Riederberg, Sankt Andrä vor dem Hagenthale, Tulbing, Weidling, Zeiselmauer.

den Denkmalschutz, der in Österreich durch das „Bundesgesetz betreffend den Schutz von Denkmalen wegen ihrer geschichtlichen, künstlerischen oder sonstigen kulturellen Bedeutung“, Nr. 533/1923 BGBl. vom 25. September 1923 und nachfolgende Änderungen geregelt wurde.[51)]

Derzeit gilt im Untersuchungsgebiet das „Niederösterreichische Bestattungsgesetz“ Nr. 126/2006 LGBl. vom 29. Dezember 2006 (zuletzt geändert durch Gesetz Nr. 17/2020 LGBl.).[52)] Der Leichnam jedes Verstorbenen, bzw. seine Asche muss in einer Bestattungsanlage (Friedhof, Urnenhain) beigesetzt werden. Bei amtlichen Gräberfeldern beträgt die Grundmietzeit für eine Grabstätte 10 Jahre, beim Bau einer Gruft mindestens 30 Jahre. Heute gibt es in Österreich mehrere Arten von Friedhofsverwaltungen:

– Der Friedhof ist Eigentum der Kirche und wird von der Kirche oder der Gemeinde verwaltet.
– Der Friedhof ist Eigentum der Gemeinde und wird von der Gemeinde oder teilweise auch von der Kirche verwaltet.
– Der Friedhof oder die Begräbnisstätte ist privat (kann auch Teil eines großen Friedhofs sein).

Die Diskussion um Sterben, Tod, individuelle Trauer und Unsterblichkeit im digitalen Zeitalter passt perfekt in den Rahmen des neuen Bestattungsgesetzes (T. Meier 2016). Eine mögliche Lösung war die Errichtung des Waldfriedhofs Klosterwald Wien-Kahlenberg bei Klosterneuburg und neuer Friedhöfe in Muckendorf (Abb. 5) und Tulbing. Da-



Quelle: Foto des Autors, 2020

Abb. 5: Friedhofstor in Muckendorf an der Donau

[51)] *https://www.ris.bka.gv.at/Dokumente/Normenliste/NL00001271/NL00001271.pdf* (Zugriff: 23.10.2021).
[52)] *https://www.ris.bka.gv.at/GeltendeFassung.wxe?Abfrage=LrNO&Gesetzesnummer=20000968* (Zugriff: 23.10.2021).

mals wurden auch acht Friedhöfe erweitert.[53] Derzeit gibt es somit im Bezirk Tulln 49 funktionsfähige Zivilfriedhöfe.

6 Der Friedhof als Landschaftselement

Alle Begräbnisstätten unterschieden sich zur Zeit ihrer Nutzung und manche noch lange nach ihrer Schließung von der sie umgebenden Kulturlandschaft – vor allem wegen der Abgrenzung des Geländes durch eine hohe Umfassungsmauer (seltener in Form von Lichtzäunen) mit meist architektonisch anspruchsvoll konzipiertem Tor (z. B. Tschilletz [Čilec], Winitz [Vinice], Klosterneuburg – Unterer Friedhof, Sankt Andrä vor dem Hagenthale – neuer Friedhof). In Hinblick auf geistliche und weltliche Bedürfnisse ist die Einzäunung zu einem unverzichtbaren und obligatorischen Bestandteil eines jeden Friedhofs geworden. Vor allem durch die Einfriedung wird das Gräberfeld als Landschaftselement mit spezifischer Nutzung gekennzeichnet (HASSE 2016, S. 100–101). Im Lauf der Zeit verengte sich die symbolische Bedeutung der Einfriedung auf die Funktion des Schutzes des „heiligen" Ortes vor äußeren Einflüssen und war nicht mehr von der Art des Baumaterials und der architektonischen Prägung abhängig, sodass sich „volle" Mauern zu optisch „durchsichtigen" Zäunen verwandeln konnten.

Im Gegensatz zum immer noch konservativen böhmischen Umfeld zeigt sich in Niederösterreich eine moderne Herangehensweise an die Friedhofsarchitektur, die sich auch in der Wahl der Baumaterialien widerspiegelt. Das auffälligste Element sind natürlich die Einfassungsmauern, bei denen sich Sichtbeton seit Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts zu einem sehr beliebten Baumaterial entwickelt hat[54] (an 23 Standorten vorgefunden). Mit dem Ersatz der alten bröckelnden Stein- und Ziegelmauern durch Beton verlor der Friedhof sein „Alter" und seine „Authentizität", gewann aber an „Langlebigkeit" und ist „alltagstauglicher" geworden (Abb. 6). Dies spiegelt sich auch darin wider, dass die neuen Friedhofsmauern zumeist 120–150 cm hoch sind und somit keine optische oder psychologische Barriere bilden (z. B. Gösing am Wagram, Kirchberg am Wagram, Muckendorf an der Donau, Tulln an der Donau).

An die Umfassungsmauern schlossen sich in der Regel Infrastrukturgebäude wie Leichenhallen/Obduktionsräume (80/32 Standorte),[55] Totengräberhäuschen (6/3) und Kapellen (12/9) an. Obwohl dies die größten Bauwerke auf dem Friedhof sind, kommen sie auf Friedhöfen in der offenen Landschaft (63/16) und Ortschaften (10/11) weniger zur Geltung, da ihre Masse meist von einer hohen vollen Umfassungsmauer oder Begleitvegetation verdeckt ist. Kirchen auf Kirchhöfen sind diesbezüglich eine Ausnah-

[53] Großriedenthal, Judenau, Königstetten, Langenrohr, Rappoltenkirchen, Sieghartskirchen, Würmla, Zwentendorf.

[54] Der Begriff *Sichtbeton* umfasst die sichtbaren Oberflächen von Betonkonstruktionen, für die ein vordefiniertes Erscheinungsbild erforderlich ist. Der Architekt bestimmt die folgenden Eigenschaften: geometrische Form der Konstruktion, Gliederung der Konstruktionsflächen, Oberflächenstruktur und Farbe.

[55] Die in Klammern angegebenen Werte entsprechen den Ermittlungen der Feldforschung. An erster Stelle steht die Anzahl der vorgefundenen Situationen im Bezirk Nimburg [Nymburk] (von insgesamt 119 Standorten), an zweiter Stelle die Situation im Bezirk Tulln (von insgesamt 53 besuchten Standorten).

me (46/24). Gründe dafür sind die Größe der Kirche oder die Höhe des Kirchturms/Glockenturms, die bedeutende Dominanten in der Landschaft darstellen und auf die Existenz des Kirchhofs aufmerksam machen. Der zweite Grund ist die Mentalität der Gesellschaft, die trotz fast 250-jähriger medizinischer Vorschriften das Vorhandensein eines Friedhofs in der Nähe der Kirche erwartet, obwohl die Kirchen die Friedhöfe aus den Ortschaften in die offene Landschaft versetzen sollten.[56)]



Quelle: Foto des Autors, 2020

Abb. 6: Die Umfassungsmauer des Friedhofs in Gösing am Wagram aus Sichtbeton trägt die Inschrift „Die Seele des Menschen gleicht dem Wasser, vom Himmel kommt es, zum Himmel geht es."

Die Bewertung von Friedhöfen als spezifischen Phänomenen der historischen Landschaft lässt sich in folgende Bereiche gliedern:
- Friedhof als landschaftsbildendes Phänomen – Einbettung des Friedhofs in die Landschaft, charakteristische Merkmale des Friedhofs;
- Friedhof als (politisches) Machtprodukt und sozialer Raum – Entwicklung des Aussehens und der Funktion des Friedhofs auf der Grundlage gesetzlicher Regelungen;
- Idealer Friedhofstyp: Jeder Zeit entspricht ein spezifisches Aussehen des Friedhofs und seiner kompositorischen Elemente.

[56)] Mehr dazu zum Beispiel: Kovář et al. 2014, S. 51; Sörries 2011, S. 271; Gälzer 2003, S. 83; Czapliński et al. 2002, S. 551.

6.1 Der neuzeitliche Friedhof als Landschaftsphänomen

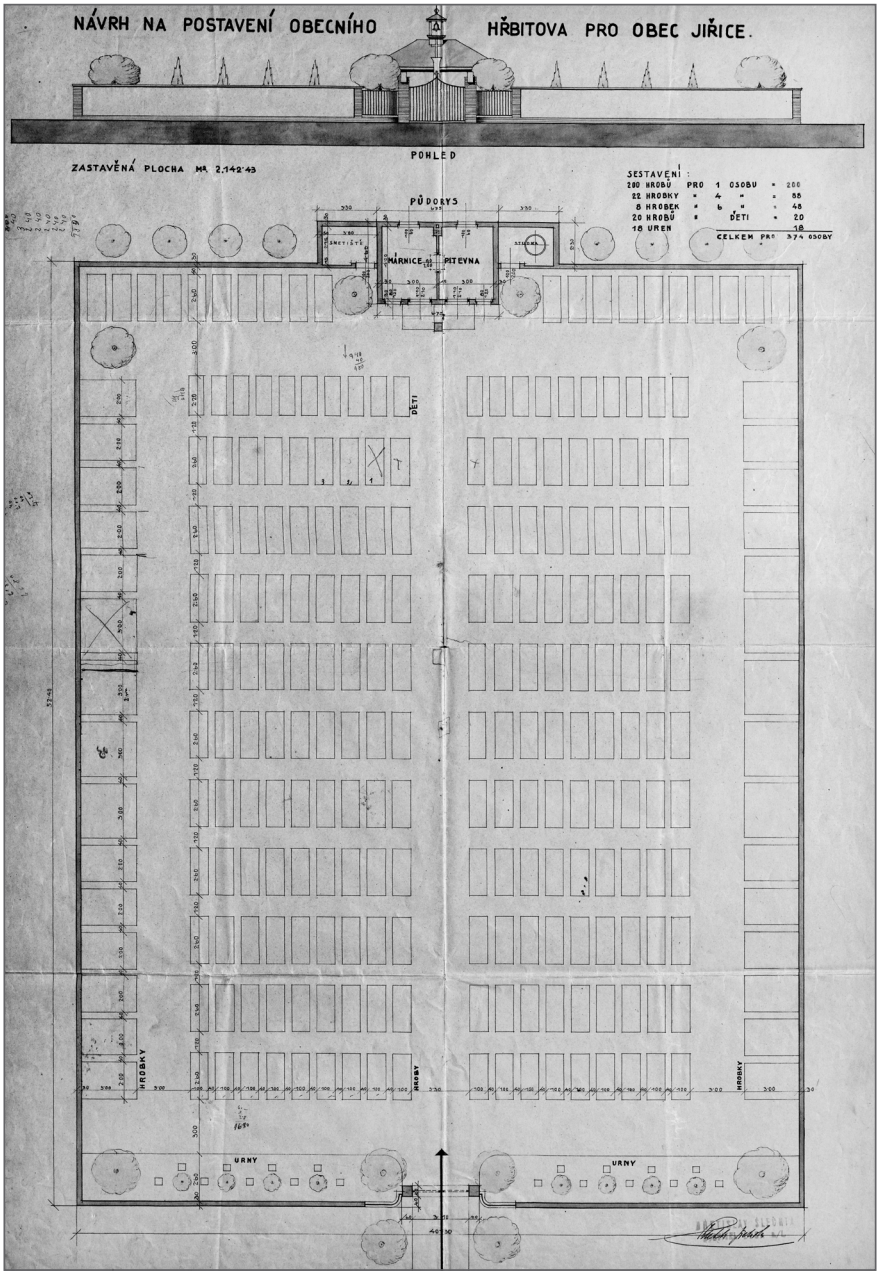
Der neuzeitliche Friedhof kann allgemein als spezifisches Landschaftsphänomen bezeichnet werden, obwohl seine architektonische Individualität innerhalb einer Ortschaft (der „urbanisierten Landschaft") im Vergleich zu anderen eingefriedeten Anlagen (wie Gärten, Wirtschaftshöfen) einigermaßen verschleiert erscheint. Dies wird auch durch die aktuelle Siedlungsentwicklung bewirkt, die die einst in freier Natur angelegten Friedhöfe nach und nach „verschlingt". Friedhöfe in den Ortschaften Kritzendorf, Zeiselmauer, Lissa an der Elbe [Lysá nad Labem] oder Podiebrad [Poděbrady] sind dafür gute Beispiele.

Viel deutlicher zeigen sich Friedhöfe in der offenen Agrarlandschaft, besonders auch durch die zu ihnen führenden Wege, die oft von Alleen gesäumt sind. Manche dieser Wege werden aufgrund ihrer besonderen Bedeutung sogar „Totenweg" genannt (NAVRÁTILOVÁ 2004, S. 233; GÄLZER 2003, S. 18). Mit anderen Elementen wie Wegkreuzen oder Marterln entsteht in der Nähe des Friedhofs oder des Totenwegs eine „Funerallandschaft". Es handelt sich um eine spezifische Kulturlandschaft, die als assoziative Kulturlandschaft eingestuft werden kann (KUČOVÁ et al. 2014, S. 36).

Die im Bezirk Nimburg in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts angelegten Friedhöfe kann man gewiss als Landschaftsphänomene bezeichnen. Der Grund wäre nicht so sehr ihre Lage außerhalb der Ortschaften, sondern vor allem ihre „nicht traditionelle" architektonische Form, die auf neuen Baumaterialien (Beton, Kalk-Zement-Ziegel, Edelstahl u. Ä.) und Technologien beruht, die neue Baustile – Konstruktivismus und Funktionalismus – ermöglichen. Dies unterscheidet sie von der für den Bezirk Nimburg typischen historischen Bauweise. Als Beispiele können wir die Friedhöfe in Jirschitz [Jiřice] (Abb. 7), Miltschitz [Milčice], Podmok [Podmoky] oder Alt Lissa [Stará Lysá] nennen.

Es ist jedoch einzuräumen, dass das einst markante „technische und sanitäre" Element von Friedhöfen in der böhmischen Landschaft immer weniger auffällt. Grund dafür ist nicht nur ein allgemein bedeutsamer Wandel in der Architektur (Modernisierung), der die „Einzigartigkeit" der Friedhofsarchitektur verwischt, sondern vor allem die Zunahme der Vegetationskomponente, durch die oft innerhalb weniger Jahrzehnte der Friedhof mit einer Hecke umgeben wird. Wir dürfen auch nicht die Veränderungen der Landschaftsbewirtschaftung wie die mangelnde Grasflächenpflege in der Umgebung von Feldwegen vergessen, wodurch die heutige böhmische Landschaft allmählich „zuwächst". Den zwischen beiden Weltkriegen wohl radikalsten Eingriff in die Kulturlandschaft stellt der Friedhof bei Weiden-Lhota [Vrbová Lhota] dar, der immer noch inmitten von Feldern liegt und kaum nennenswerte Begleitvegetation hat.

Die Friedhöfe des Bezirkes Tulln unterscheiden sich diesbezüglich in mancher Hinsicht. Das liegt vor allem an der Tradition und einem stärkeren konfessionellen Umfeld. Im Gegensatz zum böhmischen Umfeld gab es hier nach 1918 in den Gemeinden keine so stürmische Bauentwicklung und keine so starken Bestrebungen zur Emanzipation. Während zwischen 1918 und 1940 im Bezirk Nimburg immerhin 31 Friedhöfe angelegt wurden (bis zum Jahr 2000 dann nur noch fünf), kamen im Bezirk Tulln im letzten Jahrhundert nur sieben hinzu. Den alten Begräbnisstätten, die bereits einen festen Platz in der Landschaft hatten, wurde mehr Pflege gewidmet, manchmal wurden sie ausgebaut, zuweilen auch mehrfach umgebaut (z. B. Grafenwörth, Sieghartskirchen, Zeiselmauer).



Quelle: Archiv der Gemeinde Jiřice

Abb. 7: Plan zur Anlegung des Gemeindefriedhofs der Gemeinde Jirschitz [Jiřice] von Břetislav Šlechta, 1937

Die österreichische Friedhofslandschaft ist mehr ein Beispiel der Kontinuität, durch die sich die Friedhofskultur der Wende vom 19. zum 20. Jahrhundert auch nach 1918 fortsetzt.

Vom Friedhof abgeleitete Namen von Verkehrsflächen und Flurnamen können als Beleg für die besondere Stellung des Friedhofs als Landschaftsphänomen angesehen werden, da sie den Friedhof in die weitere Namenlandschaft einbinden und damit im Sprachgebrauch verdeutlichen. In den Untersuchungsgebieten gilt das für die folgenden Standorte und Toponyme – im Bezirk Nimburg:
– Tschernik [Černíky], Flur „Auf dem Friedhof“ [U Hřbitova]
– Langpolen [Dlouhopolsko], Waldbestand „Zu Krchov“ [Na Krchově]
– Hradischko [Hradištko], Wegkreuzung des Klubs der tschechischen Touristen [Klub českých turistů] Hradischko-Friedhof [Hradištko hřbitov]
– Miltschitz [Milčice], Flur „Unter dem Friedhof“ [Pod Hřbitovem]
– Okrinek [Okřínek], Flur „Neben dem Friedhof“ [Pod Hřbitovem]
– Podiebrad-Kluk, Flur „Auf dem Friedhof“ [U Hřbitova]
– Semitz [Semice], Waldbestand „Auf dem Friedhof„ [U Hřbitova]
– Alt Lissa [Stará Lysá], Gemeindeteil „Kleiner Kirchhof“ (Kirchhöfchen) [Krchovíčko]
– Sahornitz [Záhornice], Straße „Zum Friedhof“ [Ke Hřbitovu]

Im Bezirk Tulln vorgefundene Toponyme:
– Feuersbrunn, Friedhofgasse
– Großweikersdorf, Kreuzgasse
– Königstetten, Friedhofstraße
– Kritzendorf, Weingarten „Friedhöfl“
– Michelhausen, Friedhofgasse
– Ollern, Rochusgasse (in Erinnerung an den ehemaligen Friedhof bei der Rochuskirche)

Davon lässt sich ableiten, dass die Begräbnisstätte zu einem eigenständigen Element der Siedlungslandschaft geworden ist und sich in den Alltag der Ortsgemeinschaft eingeprägt hat.

Beispiele für Standorte mit starker natürlicher Prägung sind der evangelische Friedhof in Boschin [Bošín], der aufgelöste Friedhof in Hradischko [Hradištko-Kersko], der Friedhof auf dem Chotuc-Hügel bei Kschinetz [Křinec] oder der aufgelöste Friedhof bei der Bergmannskirche in Podiebrad. Im Bezirk Tulln ist es der Waldfriedhof Klosterwald Wien-Kahlenberg bei Klosterneuburg und sind es die Friedhöfe in der Nähe von Bächen, wie zum Beispiel die neuen Friedhöfe in Höflein an der Donau und in Weidling.

Im Großen und Ganzen gibt es auf österreichischer Seite weniger vernachlässigte und der Natur überlassene Begräbnisstätten. Man sieht hier mehr Bemühungen nicht nur um eine anspruchsvollere gärtnerische Gestaltung und Pflege der ganzen Anlage, sondern auch um einzelne Gräber. Dies hängt auch mit der modernen Garten- und Parkgestaltung zusammen. Der Gestaltung von Friedhöfen und Gräbern wird zunehmend auch bei großen Gartenbauausstellungen Platz eingeräumt, wovon eine jedes Jahr in der Stadt Tulln an der Donau im dortigen Gartenbereich des Messegeländes stattfindet.[57)]

[57)] Internationale Gartenbaumesse Tulln. Näher *https://diegartentulln.at/de/home* (Zugriff: 15.01.2022).

In Mittelböhmen gehören die Friedhöfe in Dimokur, Nimburg, Podiebrad-Kluk und Wellenka [Velenka] zu den wichtigsten Vertretern kultureller Besonderheiten (insbesondere in Hinblick auf Denkmalpflege und architektonisches Konzept). In historischen Zusammenhängen können alle Kirchhöfe (46) als unverzichtbar angesehen werden, obwohl viele von ihnen bereits geschlossen und aufgelöst worden sind. Kirchhöfe sind wesentlich bestimmt vom Kirchenbau, von der Fläche innerhalb der Umfriedungsmauer, vom Eingangstor, von stellenweise erhaltenen und später eingemauerten Grabsteinen (einer Art lokalen Lapidariums) und von zahlreicher älterer Vegetation. Sehr hohen urbanistischen und architektonischem Wert, der die umliegende Bebauung wesentlich übertrifft, haben die Friedhöfe in Tschilletz [Čilec], Jikew [Jíkev] und Jirschitz [Jiřice] sowie die evangelischen Friedhöfe in Libitz an der Zidlina [Libice nad Cidlinou], Königstädtel [Městec Králové], Miltschitz [Milčice], Nimburg, Podiebrad-Kluk, Wellelib [Veleliby], Wellenka und Schitowlitz [Žitovlice] (Abb. 8).



Quelle: Foto des Autors, 2018

Abb. 8: Symmetrische Komposition des katholischen Friedhofs in Schitowlitz [Žitovlice] aus dem Jahr 1896. Blick von der Friedhofskapelle zum Eingang

Im österreichischen Vergleichsgebiet ist die kulturelle Bedeutung der Friedhöfe in Rupersthal, Tulln an der Donau (Langenlebarner Straße) und Weidling zu nennen, wo mehrere bedeutende Persönlichkeiten ruhen. Aus denkmalpflegerischer Sicht gibt es in Klosterneuburg den außergewöhnlichen „Unteren Friedhof“ mit dem bemerkenswerten Barocktor, den malerischen Friedhof rund um die Kirche St. Ägidius in Rupersthal mit



Quelle: Foto des Autors, 2020

Abb. 9: Die Kollektion gusseiserner Kreuze im Kirchhof der Kirche St. Margareta in Fels am Wagram wurde 2010 installiert



Quelle: Foto des Autors, 2020

Abb. 10: Der renovierte Dorffriedhof in Judenau hat auch ältere architektonische Elemente bewahrt

überdachten Treppengängen zum Friedhof und zur Kirche, die Sammlung gusseiserner Grabsteine bei der Kirche St. Margaretha in Fels am Wagram (Abb. 9) und vor allem den Karner auf dem aufgelösten Friedhof bei der Kirche St. Stephan in Tulln an der Donau. Obwohl es sich dabei nicht um auffallende Landschaftselemente handelt, erhöht ihr Vorhandensein doch den Gesamtwert des Friedhofs erheblich.

Aus urbanistischer und architektonischer Sicht ragen eher jüngere oder unlängst renovierte Friedhöfe hervor wie jene in Judenau (Abb. 10), Kirchberg am Wagram, Muckendorf an der Donau oder Sankt Andrä vor dem Hagenthale. Neben modernen Baumaterialien kommt hier auch ein neues Heckensortiment zum Einsatz, das den Gesamteindruck des Ortes abrundet. Nach Alfred Benesch ist es typisch für Niederösterreich, dass diese Entwicklung vor allem in einigen größeren Orten stattgefunden hat, während im ländlichen Raum noch alle Übergangsformen von Kirchen und sonstigen Friedhöfen vorzufinden sind, wobei Dorffriedhöfe überwiegen (Lindner 2009, S. 33).

Natürlich haben viele Friedhöfe, insbesondere solche, die sich allmählich erweitern, mehrere separate Teile, in denen die Kompositionsprinzipien der einzelnen Segmente voneinander abweichen können. Es handelt sich also manchmal um eine gemischte Komposition (6/3 Standorte). In den Bezirken Nimburg und Tulln kommen Grundrisse mit einer dominierenden Mittelachse (49/22) zur Geltung, wobei zumindest die Symmetrie der Masse in der Anlage betont wird. Dieses Prinzip wurde beispielsweise schon von Martin Luther (Kenzler 2016, S. 189) erwähnt. Die Komposition ist meist mit dem Tor/Eingang verbunden und führt zum Zentralkreuz oder zur Friedhofskapelle, seltener zum zweiten Tor. Allerdings ist die Anordnung der Gräber im Gegensatz zur strengen Grundrissgestaltung bereits locker. Betont wird da auch die symmetrische Anordnung der Gräber in Reihen. Eine regelmäßige Anordnung in Form von Reihen ist seltener (5/6). Die unregelmäßige Anordnung ist vor allem für ältere Kirchhöfe (37/5) typisch, bei denen es galt, auf engstem Raum jeden geeigneten Platz zu nutzen. Bei erloschenen Begräbnisstätten ist die ursprüngliche Komposition meist unbekannt (22/17).

Ungeachtet dessen ist anzumerken, dass Friedhöfe in den Gemeindekatastern keine wesentlichen Flächen einnehmen. Die Untersuchung ergab, dass 109 Begräbnisstätten im Bezirk Nimburg (92 %) und 36 im Bezirk Tulln (68 %) eine Fläche von bis zu 5.000 m^2 hatten. Der Analyse nach befand sich der kleinste Friedhof im böhmischen Vergleichsgebiet mit einer Fläche von knapp 500 m^2 bei der Kirche St. Andreas in Sann [Sány]. Im Bezirk Tulln ist es wohl der Kirchhof auf der Burgstätte bei der Kirche St. Nikolaus in der Gemeinde Winkl, der eine Fläche von nur 600 m^2 einnimmt. Nur sieben bzw. fünf Friedhöfe weisen eine Fläche von mehr als 10.000 m^2 auf. Der größte Friedhof mit einer Fläche von 33.500 m^2 befindet sich in Nimburg. Im Bezirk Tulln ist der größte mit 26.000 m^2 der Martinsfriedhof in Klosterneuburg.

Somit handelt es sich der Fläche nach um eigentlich marginale Landschaftselemente, die jedoch trotz des geringen Ausmaßes (zumeist nur bis zu 0,05 % der Gemeindekatasterfläche) die kulturgeschichtliche Prägung der Landschaft mitbestimmen. Dies ist jedoch nicht so sehr auf das Vorhandensein von Denkmälern, Gräbern bedeutender Persönlichkeiten oder architektonischer Gestaltungen zurückzuführen, sondern vor allem auf die Bedeutung von Friedhöfen für das kollektive Gedächtnis, die Erinnerung an Generationen von Vorfahren und die abgehaltenen Rituale (T. Meier 2016, S. 35).

Ein weiteres Thema ist die Lage des Friedhofs. Die Anzahl der Kirchhöfe in beiden Gebieten (46/24) wurde bereits genannt. Die Anzahl der Friedhöfe innerhalb einer Ortschaft (10/11) und in offener Agrarlandschaft (57/15) ändert sich mit der Zeit, da durch die Siedlungsentwicklung Friedhöfe in offener Landschaft nach und nach in die Ortschaften einbezogen werden. Signifikante Ausnahmen sind Friedhöfe in Wäldern oder an deren Rändern (6/3). Sie sind vermutlich auf eine historische Bedeutung der Bestattung zurückzuführen, als die Waldbestattung im Mittelalter zur „neutralen" Form gehörte (zwischen der Hinrichtungsstätte für Verbrecher und dem geweihten Friedhof für nicht belastete Menschen) und für Selbstmörder oder Andersgläubige bestimmt war (TINKOVÁ 2021, S. 63). Die Lage im Wald deutet auch darauf hin, dass die Grundstückbesitzer in der Vergangenheit nicht bereit waren, wertvolle landwirtschaftliche Flächen zur Anlage eines Friedhofs freizugeben. So entstanden Friedhöfe vorrangig auf weniger fruchtbaren Böden, oft an Hängen. Dadurch erhielten sie jedoch eine relativ prägende Lage in der Landschaft, zuweilen, indem sie den Horizont einer Ortschaft formten. Die Friedhöfe in Ratschan [Hradčany], Jirschitz, Opotschnitz [Opočnice] oder Alt Lissa [Stará Lysá] sind derartige Dominanten im Bezirk Nimburg. Im Bezirk Tulln wären dies die Friedhöfe in Fels am Wagram, Großweikersdorf, Chorherrn und Rappoltenkirchen.

Auch durch die Lage an stark befahrenen Straßen konnte der Friedhof eine Sonderstellung in der Landschaft erlangen. So gelangte er in das Bewusstsein aller, die sich dort bewegten und wurde zu einem wichtigen Landschaftselement, obwohl er in der Ebene oder zwischen Feldern oder Weingärten lag. Die Friedhöfe in Netrebitz [Netřebice], Okrinek [Okřínek], Alt Westetz [Starý Vestec] oder Aumislowitz [Úmyslovice] wären diesbezügliche Beispiele im böhmischen Vergleichsgebiet. Im Bezirk Tulln sind dies beispielsweise die Friedhöfe in Altenwörth, Bierbaum am Kleebühel, Großriedenthal und Sankt Andrä vor dem Hagenthale. In gewisser Weise sind sie das Gegenteil der erwähnten Totenwege, die zumeist nur für den Friedhof angelegt wurden oder zu abgelegenen Teilen der Gemeinde führten.

6.2 Der Friedhof als Produkt von (politischer) Macht und als sozialer Raum

Thomas MEIER (2016, S. 45) stellt fest:

> *„In weiterer Perspektive lässt sich der Friedhof, wie im vorigen Kapitel geschehen, als ein Ort der Toten fassen, doch dieser Ort besitzt aus der Nähe betrachtet bereits eine markante räumliche Ausdehnung, deren Binnenstruktur – so die unhinterfragte Gewissheit – alles andere als arbiträr ist. Gerade die Archäologie betrachtet die Relationen der Orte auf einem Friedhof, die Anordnung und Ausbildung der Gräber zueinander schon lange als materialisierte und (re-)produzierte Ordnungsvorstellungen."*

In diesem Zitat wird unter anderem auch die Dimension von (politischer) Macht im Bereich von Friedhöfen thematisiert. Auch wenn Gräber und ihre Grabsteine nun nicht mehr Abbilder einer im Wesentlichen statischen Sozialstruktur sind, widerspiegeln die Hand-

lungen und Rituale während der Errichtung von Monumenten und in der Folge die durch diese Monumente strukturierten und in ihren Bedeutungen aktualisierten Räume Machtbeziehungen und soziale Hierarchien. Gräber und ihre Monumente bleiben damit Indikatoren einer sozialen Interpretation historischer Gesellschaften, nun allerdings ähnlich dem älteren Ansatz von Halbwachs, der bereits betonte, dass Denkmäler und ihre Orte spezifischen sozialen Bedingungen unterliegen. Friedhöfe dienen der Bestattung und sind ebenso Ausdruck der Tradition abgekommener wie ökonomisch prekärer Lebensformen (zitiert nach Hasse 2016, S. 111).

Friedhöfe sind ferner ein gutes Beispiel für die Ausübung (politischer) Macht in der Landschaft. In der untersuchten Periode waren die josephinischen Reformen eindeutig ein grundlegendes Machtinstrument, um die bestehende Friedhofslandschaft zu verändern. Zunächst war beabsichtigt, die Friedhöfe nach außerhalb der Ortschaften zu verlegen, dann kamen weitere Maßnahmen hinzu, wovon die wichtigsten wohl die Schließung von Beinhäusern und der Bau von Leichenhäusern waren.

Um 1780 befanden sich im Bezirk Nimburg 42 katholische Friedhöfe, von denen es sich bei 34 um Kirchhöfe innerhalb von Ortschaften handelte und nur acht Kirchhöfe außerhalb der Ortschaft lagen. Von den angeführten 34 Kirchhöfen in Ortschaften sind noch immerhin 13 in Betrieb. Zu beachten ist jedoch, dass unter dem Einfluss der josephinischen Reformen (und insbesondere nach Veröffentlichung des Toleranzpatents) bis zum Jahr 1800 weitere 13 Friedhöfe angelegt wurden, davon sechs evangelische. Die Veröffentlichung des Toleranzpatents betraf somit auch die „evangelische“ Friedhofslandschaft (Abb. 11), die sich zu einem festen Bestandteil der (alten) Kulturlandschaft im Bezirk Nimburg entwickelte.

Ähnlich war die Situation im Bezirk Tulln. Um 1780 gab es hier 40 Kirchhöfe, davon 35 in Ortschaften und nur fünf außerhalb der Ortschaften. Von den genannten 35 Kirchhöfen in den Ortschaften waren im Jahr 2021 noch neun in Betrieb, nämlich: Abstetten, Baumgarten am Tullnerfeld, Freundorf, Maria Ponsee, Ried am Riederberg, Ruppersthal (Abb. 12), Rust im Tullnerfeld, Sieghartskirchen und Tulbing. Zu beachten ist jedoch, dass von den fünf Kirchhöfen, die ursprünglich außerhalb der Ortschaften platziert waren (alle noch in Betrieb), nur noch der Friedhof in Winkl tatsächlich außerhalb der Ortschaft liegt. Die anderen wurden durch die fortschreitende Bebauung in die Siedlungsflächen eingegliedert.

Offensichtlich erfolgreicher als bei der Verlagerung von Friedhöfen aus der Umgebung der Kirchen in das Umland war die Absicht der josephinischen Reformen, die Beinhäuser zu schließen, was man im Grunde genommen bei allen Kirchhöfen voraussetzen kann. Das Beinhaus (Knochenhaus) war zusammen mit der Kirche und der Umfassungsmauer das markanteste visuelle Element von Friedhofsanlagen früherer Jahrhunderte. Die Beinhäuser und insbesondere ihr gesammelter und arrangierter Inhalt materialisierten sehr emotional den Tod. Ihre Existenz betonte daher die Übergangsstellung des Friedhofs zwischen der irdischen und der ewigen Welt. Sie steigerten gewissermaßen den spirituellen Wert des Friedhofs als Landschaftsphänomen.

Im Bezirk Nimburg sind Beinhäuser nur an 13 Standorten dokumentiert. Bis heute sind lediglich zwei erhalten geblieben, nämlich in Tschinowes [Činěves] und Groß Kostomlat [Kostomlaty nad Labem]. In beiden befinden sich bereits keine Skelettteile mehr. Skelettreste im Objekt „kostnice“ („Beinhaus“) wurden zum Beispiel im Rahmen der archäologischen Ausgrabungen am B.-Hrozný-Platz in Lissa an der Elbe [Lysá nad Labem]gefunden.



Quelle: Foto des Autors, 2018

Abb. 11: Der denkmalgeschützte evangelische Friedhof von Opolan [Opolany], errichtet 1899, zeichnet sich durch die Schlichtheit der Grabsteine aus



Quelle: Foto des Autors, 2020

Abb. 12: Zum bemerkenswerten Kirchhof und zur Kirche St. Ägydius in Ruppersthal führt ein überdachter Treppengang

Die Kirchhöfe des Bezirkes Tulln waren mit Beinhäusern ausgestattet, wofür der Begriff „Karner“ verwendet wird. Nach 1799 mussten alle Karnertypen geschlossen werden (Gälzer 2003, S. 83) und daher sind bis heute nur sehr wenige davon erhalten geblieben (ähnlich wie in Böhmen). Eine Ausnahme bilden der prunkvolle romanische Karner bei der Kirche St. Stephan in Tulln an der Donau oder der Karner unter der Kirche St. Martin in Klosterneuburg.

Ebenso gelang im Zuge der josephinischen Reformen die Absicht, Leichenhäuser/Sezierräume als „moderne“ medizinische Einrichtungen zu schaffen. Im Gegensatz zu den Beinhäusern versinnbildlichten die Leichenhäuser eine rationalere Einstellung zum Tod und schwächten damit den Status des Friedhofs als mysteriösen Ort ab. Friedhöfe sollten sich in Zukunft vor allem als Orte der Leichenbestattung erweisen.

Im Rahmen der Feldforschung wurden im Bezirk Nimburg, wo ein Leichenhaus dokumentiert ist bzw. hier noch steht, insgesamt 80 Begräbnisstätten vorgefunden. Am wertvollsten (aus denkmalpflegerischer Sicht) sind wohl die Leichenhäuser auf den Friedhöfen bei den Kirchen in Chotieschitz, Podiebrad-Kluk und Wellenka.

Im Gegensatz zum böhmischen Vergleichsgebiet, wo die Leichenhäuser seit der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts größtenteils verfallen sind oder im besseren Fall als Lager genutzt werden, aber immerhin noch vorhanden sind, sind Leichenhäuser im Bezirk Tulln bereits relativ selten. Ab 1960 wurden sie von Begräbnishallen mit Totenkammern verdrängt, die nach und nach die Aufgabe der Kirche übernahmen (Gälzer 2003, S. 64). Insgesamt wurden bei der Feldanalyse 32 Begräbnishallen bzw. Trauerhallen vorgefunden. Verbindendes Merkmal sind moderne Architektur und neue Baumaterialien. Markante Beispiele sind die Trauerhallen in den Gemeinden Absdorf, Muckendorf an der Donau, Rappoltenkirchen und Tulbing (Abb. 13).



Quelle: Foto des Autors, 2020

Abb. 13: Der erweiterte Kirchhof bei der Kirche St. Mauritius in Tulbing ist seit 1993 mit einer Trauerhalle ausgestattet (links im Bild)

Weitere Machteingriffe in die Form der Friedhofslandschaft waren nicht mehr so gravierend. Sie beruhten maßgeblich auf den josephinischen Reformen und später auf dem (Gesundheits-)Gesetz Nr. 68/1870 RGBl. über die Organisation des öffentlichen Sanitätsdienstes. Eine Ausnahme könnte man im Versuch sehen, eine neue „germanisch-deutsche Kulturlandschaft" zu schaffen. Am 21. Dezember 1942 erließ Reichsführer SS Heinrich Himmler als Reichskommissar für die Festigung des deutschen Volkstums die „Allgemeine Anordnung über die Gestaltung der Landschaft in den eingegliederten Ostgebieten". Diese Gestaltung wurde ausführlich im Buch „Regeln für die Gestaltung der Landschaft. Einführung in die Allgemeine Anordnung Nr. 20/VI/42 des Reichsführers" von Erhard MÄDING 1943 beschrieben (siehe dazu FEHN 2002, S. 203).

6.3 Zeitspezifische Idealtypen von Friedhöfen

Basierend auf der Forschung und der Einschätzung von Friedhöfen als Landschaftsphänomen erscheint uns die Methode von Max WEBER geeignet, eine große Anzahl von untersuchten Objekten und deren spezifische Merkmale zu vergleichen und zu Idealtypen für einzelne Entwicklungsetappen zusammenzufassen (CHVÁTAL 2014, S. 41). Die Organisation von Grabstätten lässt sich grundsätzlich nach der Orientierung zu Himmelsrichtungen, der Orientierung zum Eingang, anderen Orientierungsmerkmalen und natürlich auch nach dem Ablauf der Zeremonie analysieren. Nach Thomas MEIER (2016, S. 49) können Friedhöfe

> *„als eine Reihe von Idealtypen verstanden werden – die allerdings keineswegs vollständig sind. Im Sinne der Sozialraumtheorie geht es im Wesentlichen darum, dass Orte miteinander in Beziehung treten und so Raum schaffen. Analytisch kann man unterscheiden zwischen ‚Techniken', die Orte in den Mittelpunkt stellen, von ihnen ausgehen und/oder sich auf sie zubewegen, und ‚Techniken', für die die Bewegung, d. h. die Beziehungserfahrung selbst, zentral ist."*

6.3.1 Kirchhof

Der älteste Friedhofstyp ist unter dem Namen *Kirchhof* bekannt. Kirchhöfe haben ihren Ursprung im Mittelalter und wurden bis 1784 angelegt. In einigen Ortschaften sind sie trotz der josephinischen Reformen bis heute in Betrieb. Im Bezirk Tulln sind alle vorgefundenen Kirchhöfe voll funktionsfähig oder begrünt. Im Bezirk Nimburg gibt es auch aufgelassene Kirchhöfe mit erhaltenen und verlassenen Grabsteinen (z. B. Libitz an der Zidlina [Libice nad Cidlinou], Zahornitz [Záhornice]). Sie sind eine Art lokaler „Lapidarien und Chroniken", die eine schwere sepulkrale Kulturatmosphäre vermitteln.

In absoluten Zahlen gab es im Bezirk Nimburg 44 Kirchhof-Friedhöfe (unabhängig von der Konfession), was 37 Prozent der Gesamtzahl der analysierten Friedhöfe entspricht. Im Bezirk Tulln sind es 33 Kirchhöfe, also 43 Prozent. Das gestalterische Grundelement des Kirchhofs war in den meisten Fällen die zumeist in der Mitte der Anlage stehende Pfarr-/Friedhofskirche oder Friedhofskapelle mit einer durchschnittlichen

Fläche von etwa 1.100 m². Der Standort in der Ortschaft war jedoch keine Bedingung, wie die Beispiele von Budimierschitz [Budiměřice], Wellelib [Veleliby], Langenlebarn oder Kritzendorf belegen.

Der Grundriss des Kirchhofs war meist unregelmäßig (oft elliptisch) und wurde durch eine mit Steinplatten bedeckte Steinumfassungsmauer (aus lokalem Material) begrenzt. In der Umfassungsmauer befand sich zumeist nur ein zweiflügeliges Tor, das zum Eingang in die Kirche/Kapelle verwies. Das zentrale Friedhofskreuz befand sich nicht an einer kompositorisch bedeutsamen Stelle, sondern zumeist auf der Schauseite der Kirche/Kapelle. Die Baumvegetation war zugunsten von Grabstätten deutlich reduziert. Wenn sie irgendwo vorkam, hatte sie den Charakter von invasiven Gehölzen und wuchs an der Friedhofsumrandung, ausnahmsweise säumte sie das Tor entweder innerhalb oder außerhalb des Friedhofs.

Das Gräberfeld selbst wies keine nennenswerte Gliederung oder Struktur auf und war häufiger durch eine unregelmäßige Verteilung der Gräber geprägt. Da es sich um alte Gräberfelder handelte, sind bis heute einige alte (barocke bis klassizistische) Grabsteine oder Grabplatten, in oder an der Umfassungsmauer eingemauert oder angebracht, erhalten. Gemeinsam hatten alle Kirchhöfe Platzmangel, den Beinhäuser lösen sollten. Deren Aussehen war vielfältig und ebenso vielfältig war ihre Platzierung auf dem Kirchhof. Umfassungsmauern wurden oft als Baumaterialquelle verwendet.



Quelle: Foto des Autors, 2020

Abb. 14: Der Kirchhof bei der Kirche St. Helena in Langenlebarn wurde mehrfach erweitert

6.3.2 Josephinischer Friedhofstyp

Der Josephinische Friedhofstyp geht, vereinfacht dargestellt, aus den Vorgaben der josephinischen Reformen (oder deren allgemein anerkannten Schlussfolgerungen) hervor. Er wurde zwischen 1784 und 1870 angelegt, ist außerhalb der Ortschaft gelegen und hat keine Kirche oder Kapelle. Allerdings haben nur wenige dieser Friedhöfe die Anforderung einer Mindestentfernung von einer Viertelstunde Fußweg von der Ortschaft (zirka 1 km) erfüllt. Dieser Bedingung entsprachen zum Zeitpunkt ihrer Errichtung wohl nur die Friedhöfe in Budimierschitz [Budiměřice], Horschatew [Hořátev], Kaunitz [Kounice], Lautschin [Loučeň], Altenwörth, Bierbaum am Kleebühel, Fels am Wagram und Großweikersdorf. Die anderen Friedhöfe, falls sie nicht direkt den Gärten der Ortschaft benachbart waren (z. B. Königstädtel [Městec Králové], Podiebrad [Poděbrady], Judenau, Königstetten), waren maximal mehrere Dutzend Meter entfernt (z. B. der evangelische Friedhof in Boschin [Bošín], die katholischen in Sadska [Sadská], Absdorf und Sankt Andrä vor dem Hagenthale). Von diesem Typ gibt es im Bezirk Nimburg 18 Begräbnisstätten (15 %) und im Bezirk Tulln 22 (29 %). Anders als beim Kirchhof-Typ war hier die Friedhofsmauer (meist aus lokalem Material) das grundlegende kompositorische Element.

Der Josephinische Friedhofstyp hatte zumeist einen regelmäßigen Grundriss mit einer durchschnittlichen Fläche von 2.400 m^2 (etwa doppelt so groß wie der Kirchhof), seine Einteilung war aber wahrscheinlich noch nicht streng regelmäßig oder axial. Die ursprüng-



Quelle: Foto des Autors, 2020

Abb. 15: Ein charakteristisches Beispiel für einen Josephinischen Friedhof (als Friedhofstyp) befindet sich ein paar Dutzend Meter nördlich der Kirche St. Mauritius in Absdorf

lichen Grabsteine blieben ebenso wie die zentralen Friedhofskreuze und das ursprüngliche Gehölz nicht erhalten, sodass der Standort der Kreuze und ihre Funktion in der Gestaltung des Friedhofs nicht zuverlässig bestimmt werden kann. Das Gehölz sollte hauptsächlich an der Peripherie der Friedhöfe wachsen, wo es als Barriere gegen Schadstoffe von Friedhöfen diente (Tinková 2012, S. 194). Schon damals wurden Leichenhäuser als Ersatz für aufgelassene Beinhäuser gebaut. Ihre Form und Lage sind jedoch zumeist nur aus kartographischen Quellen bekannt, die vor der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts angefertigt wurden. Nur bei ausgesprochen beengten Verhältnissen wurden Beinhäuser bis in die Moderne an ihren Standorten belassen (Kenzler 2016, S. 191).

Die Einheitlichkeit der Josephinischen Friedhöfe im Bezirk Nimburg wurde durch die evangelischen Friedhöfe in Boschin [Bošín] und Chleb [Chleby] etwas gestört. Die dortigen Gemeinschaften legten sie vor 1790 (in Übereinstimmung mit den kirchlichen Reformen) hinter der Ortschaft an und noch in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts wurden auf ihnen Bethäuser/Kirchen errichtet. Es handelte sich also um den gegenüber den Kirchhöfen umgekehrten Vorgang, bei denen die zumeist in der Dorfmitte stehende Kirche der Ausgangspunkt war. Von allen evangelischen Friedhöfen im Bezirk Nimburg ist nur der in Opolan [Opolany] durch das ideologische Modell der Einfachheit und Gleichheit der Verstorbenen gekennzeichnet. Aus religiösen Gründen fehlten auf den evangelischen Friedhöfen die zentralen Friedhofskreuze. Bei den anderen kompositorischen Elementen ähnelten sie katholischen Friedhöfen.

6.3.3 Franzisco-Josephinischer Friedhofstyp

Friedhöfe, die zwischen 1870 und 1918 gemäß den Anforderungen des Sanitätsgesetzes angelegt wurden, könnte man *Franzisco-Josephinische* Friedhöfe nennen (nach dem Vorbild der Dritten Militärischen Landesaufnahme). Insgesamt waren/sind es im Bezirk Nimburg 23 (19 %). Im Bezirk Tulln gibt es davon nur 6 (8 %), dazu kommen noch 12 Begräbnisstätten, die damals erweitert und direkt an ältere Friedhöfe früheren Typs angeschlossen wurden.

Charakteristisches Merkmal der neuen Friedhöfe ist ein rechteckiger Grundriss mit einer durchschnittlichen Fläche von 5.000 m^2 (doppelt so groß wie der Josephinische Friedhofstyp). Aufgrund der Entstehungszeit handelte es sich um typische repräsentative Flächen, weshalb viele von ihnen auf der Grundlage eines anspruchsvolleren Projektkonzepts angelegt wurden (z. B. Königstädtel [Městec Králové], Podiebrad-Kluk [Poděbrady-Kluk], Heiligeneich, Sankt Andrä vor dem Hagenthale). Auch hier war das grundlegende kompositorische Element die Umfassungsmauer aus Stein. Immer häufiger tauchte jedoch der gebrannte Ziegel als Baustoff auf, der um die Wende vom 19. zum 20. Jahrhundert als architektonisches Detail an Popularität gewann. Die Eingänge zu den Friedhöfen wurden mit unverputzten Sandsteinquadern repräsentativer als in der Vorperiode konzipiert.

> *„Der Stein ist damit in seiner sepulkralkulturellen Verwendung als Material der Grabarchitektur (vom Grabstein bis zum Baustoff des Mausoleums) Medium der Einverleibung trauerbedingter Gefühle der Schwere und des Niedergedrücktseins“* (Hasse 2016, S. 104).

Die zentralen Friedhofskreuze wurden in die Mitte der neu projizierten Achse oder der sonstwie regelmäßig geplanten katholischen Friedhöfe gesetzt. Friedhofskapellen waren relativ selten, was möglicherweise damit zusammenhängt, dass Gemeinden nach 1870 nur Gemeindefriedhöfe anlegen konnten. Sofern eine Kapelle errichtet wurde, hatte sie oft ein historisierendes Aussehen. Vor 1900 nahm im Zusammenhang mit den medizinischen Vorschriften der Bau von Leichenhäusern, die zwei Grundformen haben konnten, deutlich zu. Entweder handelte es sich um einen einfachen länglichen Bau mit Satteldach oder das Gebäude ähnelte einer Kapelle.

Anders als bei den früheren Friedhofstypen ist die ursprüngliche Vegetation aus der Zeit der Friedhofsgründung erhalten geblieben, zumeist in Form von linearen Lindenpflanzungen, die die Umfassungsmauern säumen. Sie wurden auch immer häufiger mit Anpflanzungen eingeführter Gehölze verbunden, insbesondere mit jenen des Abendländischen und Morgenländischen Lebensbaums (*Thuja occidentalis* und *orientalis*). Die eingeführten Gehölze ergänzten entweder die Stele als Grabaufsatz oder verschönerten das Erscheinungsbild des Friedhofs.



Quelle: Foto des Autors, 2020

Abb. 16: Der neue Friedhof in Sankt Andrä vor dem Hagenthale könnte als Franzisco-Josephinischer Typ bezeichnet werden

6.3.4 Friedhofstyp der Zwischenkriegszeit

Die Gründung der Tschechoslowakischen Republik im Jahr 1918 und deren rechtliche Rahmenbedingungen stellten andere Anforderungen an die Gestaltung und den Betrieb

von Friedhöfen. Eine grundlegende Änderung war die Akzeptanz der Bestattung durch Verbrennung als legale Art des Umgangs mit dem Leichnam. Nicht zu unterschätzen ist auch das damalige Bestreben, den Einfluss der Römisch-Katholischen Kirche auf die Gesellschaft zu senken, was sich im Fehlen des zentralen Kreuzes auf den neuen Friedhöfen widerspiegelte. Aber auch das Streben der Kommunen nach Selbstständigkeit und dem Bau eigener Friedhöfe manifestierte sich nun. Damit wurde die Friedhofsstruktur der mittelböhmischen Landschaft im Wesentlichen vervollständigt, da spätere Entwicklungen keine wesentlichen Änderungen mehr brachten. Vergleichbares wurde im Bezirk Tulln nicht ermittelt.

Im Vergleich zum vorherigen, flächenmäßig eher ausgedehnten Typ verringerte sich die durchschnittliche Fläche der neuen Friedhöfe auf 2.400 m^2. Grund dafür ist die Tatsache, dass Friedhöfe hauptsächlich von kleinen Gemeinden und zumeist nur für den Eigenbedarf angelegt wurden (obwohl auch Gemeindeverbände für die Errichtung eines gemeinsamen Gemeindefriedhofs bekannt sind). Zwischen 1918 und 1948 wurden im Bezirk Nimburg 30 neue Friedhöfe des Typs Zwischenkriegszeit (25 %) angelegt. Im Bezirk Tulln wurde für diesen Zeitraum kein neu angelegter Friedhof vorgefunden, jedoch wurden 14 bestehende Friedhöfe (18 %) erweitert.

Das Hauptmerkmal des Friedhofstyps der Zwischenkriegszeit ist ein von Anfang an geplanter Urnenhain. (Ein Kolumbarium war und ist immer noch relativ selten.) Er befand sich zumeist in einem separaten Abschnitt des Friedhofs, der durch geschnittene Hecken aus Nadelgehölz von anderen Grabfeldern getrennt war. Getragen wurde der neue Fried-



Quelle: Foto des Autors, 2018

Abb. 17: Zu den Friedhofstypen der Zwischenkriegszeit gehört der kleine Dorffriedhof in Königstädtel-Vinec [Městec Králové-Vinec]

hofstyp auch von modernen Baustilen (Konstruktivismus und Funktionalismus), die auf Praktikabilität und Zweckmäßigkeit bei der Verwendung neuer Technologien und Materialien (Kalk-Zement-Ziegel, Kunststein, Beton) beruhten (GÄLZER 2003, S. 105).

Die Absicht, den Friedhof durch eine Vollmauer als optisch undurchdringliche Barriere von der Welt vollständig abzuriegeln, nahm ab. Zumindest an der Eingangsseite wurden die Vollmauern mit einem einfachen Gitterwerk durchbrochen. Durch architektonische Spielereien und gesteigerte Dynamik gewannen die Eingangsbereiche durch konkave oder konvexe Bögen an Dramatik. Das Konzept des Friedhofs als einer Institution, die Aufmerksamkeit einforderte und sich zugleich selbst darstellt, wurde auf solchen Friedhöfen am deutlichsten sichtbar, deren Eingang ungewöhnlich monumental gestaltet wurde (z. B. Jikew [Jíkev], Miltschitz [Milčice], Tschilletz [Čilec], Winitz [Vinice]) (Abb. 17).

Offizielle Gedenkstätten für die Gefallenen des Ersten Weltkriegs sind zu einer völlig neuen, wenn auch nicht sehr verbreiteten Anlage auf Friedhöfen geworden. Charakteristisch für diesen Friedhofstyp war auch die Anpflanzung einer größeren Anzahl von Nadelbäumen, unter denen in Böhmen die Stechfichte (*Picea pungens*) und der Säulenwacholder (*Juniperus communis* Hibernica) dominierten.

6.3.5 Sozialistischer Friedhofstyp [58)]

Schon der zuvor genannte Friedhofstyp der Zwischenkreigszeit war im Bezirk Tulln nur selten vertreten, einen Friedhof Sozialistischen Typs gibt es aber gar nicht. Im Bezirk Nimburg lassen sich seine Anfänge hingegen bis etwa 1948 zurückverfolgen, nicht nur im Zusammenhang mit der kommunistischen Machtübernahme, sondern auch aufgrund der allmählichen Deckung der Marktlücke von adäquatem Baumaterial, das nach dem Krieg Mangelware war. Letztendlich entstanden vier rein Sozialistische Friedhöfe (in Ratschan [Hradčany], die neuen Friedhöfe in Chraustow [Chroustov] und Kschinetz [Křinec] (Abb. 18) und der Friedhof in Wolfsberg [Vlkov pod Oškobrhem/Kolaje]) mit einer durchschnittlichen Fläche von 4.500 m^2. Obwohl dies ein geringer Anteil von 3 Prozent aller analysierten Friedhöfe ist, muss beachtet werden, dass nach 1948 mehrere Friedhöfe erweitert wurden.

Die architektonische Gestaltung des Sozialistischen Friedhofstyps unterschied sich von derjenigen der Zwischenkriegszeit nur in Details, wie in Bezug auf Streu-/Einstreuwiesen sowie gegebenenfalls Denkmäler für Gefallene im Zweiten Weltkrieg oder neu errichtete gemeinsame Denkmäler für die Gefallenen beider Weltkriege. Diese Merkmale sind jedoch nicht eine ausschließliche Domäne Sozialistischer Friedhöfe, da sie auch auf älteren Friedhöfen oder auf erweiterten Flächen älterer Friedhöfe vorzufinden sind.

Wesentlich auffälliger und damit charakteristischer war der Mangel an Baumaterial, der zur Aufgabe der Tradition voller Umfassungsmauern führte. Diese wurden durch geschmiedete oder Drahtzäune ersetzt. Insofern lässt sich eine gewisse Ähnlichkeit mit der Entwicklung im Bezirk Tulln feststellen, wo es natürlich auch Friedhofserweiterungen gab. Falls auf Sozialistischen Friedhöfen ein Bauwerk errichtet wurde, handelte es sich

[58)] Die Bezeichnung *Sozialistischer Friedhofstyp* entspricht zeitlich nicht der offiziellen Annahme sozialistischen Verfassung im Jahr 1960 in der Tschechoslowakei. Darunter versteht man die Vereinheitlichung der Sichtweise in Bezug auf Wirtschaft und gesellschaftliches Denken, die aber auch bei Friedhöfen zum Ausdruck kam.

nie um eine Kapelle oder ein Zentralkreuz, sondern ausschließlich um eine Leichenhalle. Auch das Steinsortiment für die Herstellung von Grabsteinen verengte sich, was zur Zweitverwendung alter Grabsteine, vor allem aber zur massiven Verwendung von Kunststein und später Beton führte (Kovář et al. 2014, S. 69).



Quelle: Foto des Autors, 2018

Abb. 18: Zur Ausstattung des Sozialistischen Friedhofs in Kschinetz [Křinec] gehört auch eine Streuwiese

Um die Unterhaltskosten zu senken, wurde aus dem symbolisch als „grüner Garten" bezeichneten Friedhof nach und nach ein „Stein-/Betongarten". Das traditionelle Gehölzsortiment der Friedhofsvegetation wurde beibehalten. Eine vorübergehende Veränderung trat beim Strauchgewächs ein, wo sich der Chinesische Wacholder (*Juniperus chinensis*) und seine buntblättrigen Gattungen vor allem in den 1980er Jahren stark ausbreiteten. Aufgrund ihrer relativ kurzen Lebensdauer verschwanden sie jedoch nach und nach von den Friedhöfen.

6.3.6 Moderner Friedhofstyp

Während es die beiden vorherigen Friedhofstypen im Bezirk Tulln praktisch nicht gibt (Dies liegt auch daran, dass die älteren Friedhofstypen modernisiert wurden.), ist im Gegenteil dazu der *Moderne Friedhofstyp* hier sehr stark vertreten. Er entwickelte sich bereits um die Jahrtausendwende, wie auf 12 erweiterten Friedhöfen zu sehen ist. Typische

Beispiele sind jedoch die neuen Friedhöfe in den Ortschaften Muckendorf an der Donau und Tulbing. Zu den charakteristischen Merkmalen zählen neue Baumaterialien wie Sichtbeton, Cortenstahl (korrosionsbeständig), Gabionenzäune und -körbe sowie Glas (GÄLZER und GÄLZER 2006, S. 68).



Quelle: Foto des Autors, 2020

Abb. 19: Ein Beispiel für einen modernen Friedhof ist der Klosterwald Wien-Kahlenberg bei Klosterneuburg. Hier wird im Wald eine Naturbestattung unter einem Baum ermöglicht, wobei die Urne mit der Asche des Verstorbenen entweder unter einem Baum vergraben oder die Asche innerhalb des Wurzelwerks eines Baumes verstreut wird. Im Foto sichtbar ist der Andachtsplatz.

Dem architektonischen Stil nach dominierte der Minimalismus, sowohl in Bezug auf die Einsparung von Baumaterialien und die Einfachheit der geometrischen Gestaltung der Architektur als auch in Bezug auf die Minimierung der Wartung. Es ist jedoch möglich, dass unter dem Einfluss ökologischer Tendenzen immer mehr natürlich gestaltete Friedhöfe mit ursprünglichem/lokalem Bau- und Pflanzenmaterial zur Geltung kommen. Ein Beispiel dafür kann der Klosterwald Wien-Kahlenberg bei Klosterneuburg sein (Abb. 19).

Als Wendepunkt für die Anlegung eines Modernen Friedhofstyps im Bezirk Nimburg könnte das Jahr 2019 angesehen werden, als in Patek [Pátek] die Renovierung des Friedhofs im modernen Stil stattfand, auf die 2021 schnell die Erweiterung und Renovierung des Friedhofs in Milowitz [Milovice] folgte.

7 Der Friedhof, Teil der christlichen und säkularisierten Landschaft

Der Friedhof war seit der Urzeit ein zivilisatorisches Element der Kulturlandschaft. Er zog nicht nur bei der Bestattung, sondern auch mit dem darauffolgenden Totenkult Aufmerksamkeit auf sich. Thomas Meier (2016, S. 11) stellt fest:

> *„Im Wesentlichen können wir zwei Arten unterscheiden, wie Erinnerung und Ort miteinander verknüpft werden: Einerseits kann Erinnerung arbiträr und individuell an Orte gebunden, andererseits kann sie gezielt und kollektiv mit Orten verknüpft sein."*

Mit dem Aufkommen des Christentums verbreitete sich der Brauch, möglichst nahe der Kirche, „ad sanctos" zu bestatten. Der Friedhof entwickelte sich zu einem Element der Modellierung der christlichen Landschaft. Wenn Friedhofsanlagen (einschließlich Kirche und Umfassungsmauer) auf den Karten der Ersten Militärischen Landesaufnahme eingetragen waren, belegt dies, dass sie als Landschaftselemente die Funktion von Orientierungspunkten hatten und auch für militärische Zwecke von Bedeutung waren.

Dass Friedhöfe prägende Landschaftsphänomene waren, bestätigten indirekt auch die josephinischen Reformen, in deren Rahmen die Verlegung des Friedhofs nach außerhalb der Ortschaft, also in die offene Landschaft, angeordnet wurde. Für den Friedhof musste ein geeigneter Standort ausgewählt werden, der nicht durch einen hohen Grundwasserspiegel beeinträchtigt sein sollte. Deshalb wurden Standorte in höheren Lagen gewählt, die natürlich in der Landschaft stärker auffallen. Auch die notwendige Infrastruktur wie Wege, Leichenhäuser (Leichenhallen), Umfassungsmauern oder isolierendes Grün zogen Aufmerksamkeit auf sich und oft waren gerade diese Elemente das Landschaftsphänomen, das in der Agrarlandschaft maßgeblich zur Geltung kam.

Trotz vieler Einschränkungen wurden die Kirchhöfe nicht gänzlich verbannt. Auch ein Vierteljahrtausend nach den Reformen sind nicht alle Kirchen vollständig von Friedhöfen getrennt und so gehören die Kirchhöfe, wenn auch in geringerem Umfang, weiterhin zu den wichtigen Landschaftselementen. Im Bezirk Nimburg waren/sind es insgesamt 44 (37 % aller Friedhöfe) und im Bezirk Tulln 33 (43 %). Noch bemerkenswerter ist ihr „zweites" Leben in den Köpfen der Menschen, die im Grunde genommen immer noch erwarten (oder zumindest nicht überrascht sind), einen Friedhof in der Nähe der Kirche vorzufinden. Der Friedhof ist daher ein traditionelles Element der Kulturlandschaft. So muss es Aufgabe des Landes und der gesamten Gesellschaft sein, die Überreste einer Siedlungslandschaft zu erhalten, die im Mittelalter unter christlichem Vorzeichen neu gestaltet und im Lauf der Jahrhunderte weiterentwickelt worden ist (Schich 2002, S. 114).

Bis zum Jahr 1918 war das Themenspektrum um den Friedhof (Aufhebung ungeeigneter, Neuanlegung oder Erweiterung bestehender Friedhöfe, sanitäre Infrastruktur u. Ä.) in beiden untersuchten Gebieten nahezu gleich. Eine Ausnahme bildeten die evangelischen Friedhöfe, die auf der Grundlage des Toleranzpatents im Wesentlichen parallel zu den Hygiene- und Gesundheits-/Sanitätsreformen im Bezirk Nimburg entstanden sind. Bei insgesamt 11 evangelischen Friedhöfen (10 % aller Friedhöfe) ist dies eine

Besonderheit, die in der Landschaft/Ortschaft mit einer ungewöhnlichen Konzentration von Friedhöfen auch in kleinen Dörfern zum Ausdruck kommt.

Nach 1918 gab es im Bezirk Tulln eine Art „Konservierung" der Friedhofsstruktur. Neue Bestattungsstätten wurden nur in sehr geringem Umfang angelegt. Viel häufiger wurden ältere Friedhöfe erweitert. Alles geschah mit Rücksicht auf die Entwicklung und Harmonie der Landschaft. Dagegen sieht man im Bezirk Nimburg zwischen den beiden Weltkriegen eine beispiellose Entfaltung, was 31 neue Friedhöfe (25 %) belegen. Ihr Einfluss auf das Landschaftsbild war technisierender als es bei den älteren Friedhöfen der Fall war. Konstruktivismus und Funktionalismus förderten neue Baumaterialien, die zur Tradition stark kontrastierten. Auch die architektonischen Konzepte zogen Aufmerksamkeit auf sich und so fielen die Friedhöfe als markante Elemente in der Landschaft und in Ortschaften auf.

Die Nachkriegszeit brachte keine grundlegenden Veränderungen. Die Friedhöfe spiegelten das unterschiedliche soziale und politische Klima in beiden Regionen wider. Gemeinsamer Nenner war zunächst der Mangel an Baumaterialien. Unterschiedlich war dagegen das Verhalten zu den Konfessionen. Dies führte zum Wandel der Friedhofsarchitektur um die Jahrtausendwende. Im Bezirk Tulln ist eine deutliche Modernisierungs- und Renovierungswelle zu verzeichnen, die alte Elemente verschwinden lässt und neue bietet. Die Modernität der Friedhöfe lenkt den Blick der Gesellschaft auf sie und fördert zugleich die Integration der Friedhöfe in das Leben der Ortschaft. Der böhmische Vergleichsfall ist in dieser Hinsicht deutlich konservativer und sieht Friedhöfe immer noch als „traditionellen" Bereich. Daher verschmelzen auch die Friedhöfe mit der Landschaft und statt einer kontrastierenden Wirkung kann von einer harmonischen Verschmelzung gesprochen werden, die durch eine geringere Intensität der Instandhaltung unterstützt wird.

Es ist auch zu erwähnen, dass das Aussehen und die Wirkung von Friedhöfen nicht nur das Ergebnis der Aktivitäten der Hinterbliebenen sind, sondern auch der Tätigkeiten der Friedhofsverwalter und natürlich der Architekten, die neben der Gestaltung und Gliederung des Friedhofs auch an der Gestaltung der Grabsteine oder des Mausoleums beteiligt sind. Hier kann man nur hoffen, dass der Wunsch nach einer Steigerung der Qualität ihrer Arbeit in Erfüllung geht (es sei denn, man geht zur Digitalisierung des Friedhofsbereichs über, einschließlich der Trauerzeremonien und der individuellen Trauer).

Heute kommt der Friedhof als Landschaftsphänomen vor allem in der offenen Landschaft zur Geltung, in der sein technisches Erscheinungsbild im Kontrast zu den natürlichen Gegebenheiten steht. Ab Gründung eines Friedhofs nimmt im Lauf der Zeit jedoch seine Auffälligkeit ab, als Folge der begleitenden Landschaftsgestaltung, die den Friedhof in die Landschaft integriert. Auffällig ist ein Friedhof in der Landschaft vor allem auch im Zusammenhang mit der technischen Infrastruktur, insbesondere mit den Verbindungswegen/Straßen und Parkplätzen. Natürlich ist der Friedhof umso auffälliger, je größer seine Fläche ist und je mehr Gemeinden er dient. Ein großer und zentraler Friedhof wird zu einem frequentierten Gedächtnisort, der andere soziale Aktivitäten auf sich zieht. Neben dem Personenkult kann dies auch den immer beliebter werdenden Friedhofstourismus einschließen, der nicht nur Lehrpfade über Persönlichkeiten und

zur Architektur, sondern auch Verbindungen zur Geschichte eines Ortes bietet (Lustová 2019).

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Special Section / *Spezialthema*

Migration, Tourism, and Health – Insights from Asia

Migration, Tourismus und Gesundheit – Fallstudien aus Asien

The Role of High-Skilled Return Migrants in China's Urban Development. Policies and Resettlement Factors in the Cities of Guangzhou and Dongguan, Pearl River Delta / China

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with 1 figure in the text

Contents

Summary 138
Zusammenfassung 138
1 The Role of High-Skilled Return Migrants in China's Economic Development..... 139
2 Government Attitude towards High-Skilled Return Migrants in China..... 142
3 Material, Methods, and Research Sites 143
4 Government Strategies towards High-Skilled Return Migrants in Guangzhou and Dongguan 144
5 Case Study: Songshan Lake Science and Technology Industry Park 148
6 Returning Home: Challenging Return and Settlement Factors of High-Skilled ReturnMigrants, Factors and Reasons for Locational Choice..... 150
7 Discussion 155
8 References 158

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Summary

China´s city governments compete to achieve or maintain importance in today's globalised economy. Corresponding governmental strategies seek to attract and retain high-skilled Chinese return migrants, a group that is expected to stimulate and carry forward economic upgrading. The cities' competition for those high-skilled return migrants is closely related to the development of high-tech development zones. In addition to industrial activities in the development zones, local governments create urban amenities by constructing specially designed living spaces as well as facilities in the development zones. Considering the tense housing situation in China, efforts to provide appealing and affordable housing solutions are considered a promising strategy for attracting high-skilled return migrants.

Against this background, the article analyses, using the example of the two cities of Guangzhou and Dongguan (Pearl River Delta, China), two research questions: (1) What strategies do the municipal governments use to attract high-skilled return migrants – with what spatial consequences? (2) What are the most important factors and reasons for high-skilled return migrants when choosing their place of residence for resettlement? The empirical study uses a mixed methods analysis of government and media reports, secondary data as well as qualitative interviews with experts and high-skilled return migrants.

Results show that despite the fact that both cities apply similar strategies to attract high-skilled return migrants, Guangzhou as a first-tier city remains more attractive to settle down permanently. The case of Dongguan's Songshan Lake Science and Technology Industry Park provides relevant insights into a prevalent municipal strategy for attracting high-skilled return migrants by providing indemnificatory housing solutions. The strategy of providing dedicated housing estates can lead to a tendency towards spatial segregation. Further, the authors raise awareness to the importance of underlying demands and preferences in resettlement behaviour when trying to attract high-skilled return migrants permanently.

Keywords: High-skilled return migration, returnees, high-tech development zones, city competition, urban development, choice of residential location, affordable housing, Pearl River Delta, Guangzhou, Dongguan, China

Zusammenfassung

Die Rolle hochqualifizierter Rückwanderer in der Stadtentwicklung Chinas. Politiken und Ansiedlungsfaktoren in Guangzhou und Dongguan, Perlflussdelta / China

Chinas Stadtverwaltungen konkurrieren darum, in der heutigen globalisierten Wirtschaft Bedeutung zu erlangen bzw. zu erhalten. Entsprechende Regierungsstrategien zielen darauf ab, hochqualifizierte chinesische Rückkehrer anzuziehen und zu halten – eine Gruppe, von der erwartet wird, dass sie wirtschaftliches Wachstum und Aufschwung stimuliert und vorantreibt. Der Wettbewerb der Städte um diese hochqualifizierten Rückkehrer ist eng mit der Entwicklung von High-Tech-Entwicklungszonen verbunden. Zusätzlich zu den industriellen Aktivitäten in diesen Entwicklungszonen schaffen die lokalen Regierungen

städtische Infrastrukturen und Serviceangebote, indem sie speziell konzipierte Wohnräume, Infrastrukturen und Serviceeinrichtungen in den Entwicklungszonen errichten.

Vor diesem Hintergrund werden in diesem Artikel am Beispiel der beiden Städte Guangzhou und Dongguan (Perlflussdelta, China) zwei Forschungsfragen analysiert: (1) Welche Strategien setzen die Stadtverwaltungen ein, um hochqualifizierte Rückkehrer anzuziehen – mit welchen räumlichen Folgen? (2) Welche sind die wichtigsten Faktoren und Gründe für hochqualifizierte Rückkehrer bei der Wahl ihrer Wohnorte für die Neuansiedlung? Die empirische Studie stützt sich auf eine gemischte Methodenanalyse von Regierungs- und Medienberichten, Sekundärdaten und qualitativen Interviews mit Experten und hochqualifizierten Rückkehrern.

Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass trotz der Tatsache, dass beide Städte ähnliche Strategien anwenden, um hochqualifizierte Rückkehrer anzuziehen, Guangzhou als Stadt der ersten Ebene für diese attraktiver ist, um sich dauerhaft niederzulassen. Der Fall des „Songshan Lake Science and Technology Industry Parks" in Dongguan ermöglicht Einblicke in kommunale Strategien zur Anwerbung hochqualifizierter Rückkehrer durch die Bereitstellung entschädigungsfähigen Wohnraums. Die Strategie der Bereitstellung spezieller Wohnsiedlungen fördert jedoch Trends zur räumlichen Segregation. Darüber hinaus wird die Bedeutung spezifischer Anforderungen und Präferenzen im Umsiedlungsverhalten herausgearbeitet, die relevant sind, wenn es darum geht, hochqualifizierte Rückkehrer dauerhaft anzuziehen.

Schlagwörter: Remigration, hochqualifizierte Rückkehrmigranten, Hochtechnologie-Entwicklungszonen, Städtewettbewerb, Stadtentwicklung, Wohnstandortwahl, bezahlbarer Wohnraum, Pearl River Delta, Guangzhou, Dongguan, China

1 The Role of High-skilled Return Migrants in China's Economic Development

In the course of integration into the world economy, local governments in Asia's industrialising economies strive to attract and retain Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and human capital (Dicken 2007; Su and Liu 2016; Liu and Guan 2005; Ning et al. 2016). This endeavour implies an increasing trend "towards (urban) entrepreneurship, more intense interurban competition and the conscious promotion of place-specific development strategies" (Parkinson and Harding 1995, p. 67). In Asia-Pacific countries, intercity competition for a world city status as well as global investment intensified since the 1997 economic crisis (Douglass 2000). Thus, new and promising approaches need to be found in cities in order to remain competitive and enhance local economic development.

Much research has been carried out on the mechanisms contributing to China's economic rise in general (e.g. Enright et al. 2005; Lu and Wei 2007; Chow 2015), on China's rapid urbanisation (overviews recently: Küchler and Stein 2023; Herrle et al. 2023), on migration-related employment opportunities and challenges (Hao et al. 2016), unequal migration and urbanisation gains (Combes et al. 2020; Zhu et al. 2021),

migration-related transient urban spaces (Bork-Hüffer et al. 2016), regional disbalances (Zhou et al. 2018; Li et al. 2022) and also on the entailed processes of increased inter- and intraregional competition for investment, human capital and global acknowledgement (e.g. Jessop and Sum 2000; Wu et al. 2005; Wu and Zhang 2007; Zheng et al. 2017), including entrepreneurial resilience and effects of migrants in rural areas (Bao et al. 2022; Wu et al. 2023; Zhu et al. 2023).

In respect to the matter of how regions achieve competitive advantages, Jacobs (1969) found that they primarily arise from clusters of high-skilled people rather than clusters of firms. Hence, one of the main drivers of creating economic growth is, also according to Florida (2008), the clustering of human capital, productivity and creative skills in cities and mega-urban regions (Lucas 1988). Meaning, high-skilled people – i.e., population with tertiary education, including those currently in higher education (Skeldon 2018, p. 49) – or "creative talents"[1] live in the vicinity of their peers. This environment strengthens the exchange of ideas, deepens business connections and, thus, forms a vibrant business environment (Florida 2008) in the global race for talent. Further, it offers unique economic opportunities for, e.g., later-generation migrants (considered "global elites moving from a first-world into an ancestral homeland", Wang 2016, p. 1954).

Highly skilled migrants are perceived as needed, wanted and vital to a country's development and "deemed essential in the competitive environment that is part of globalization under neo-liberalism, and a global competition for talent has emerged as countries and cities strive to create cutting-edge technologies in order to secure comparative advantage in specific areas" (Skeldon 2018, p. 48). Scholars studying urban competitiveness have found that a larger pool of human capital leads to a higher technological capability, promotes innovation, fosters economic upgrading and encourages the development of technology clusters. Furthermore, the presence of high-skilled people has been found to create capital markets and enhance economic efficiency (Li et al. 2019), which boosts economic development and adoption of international norms (Porter 1990; Zweig 2005; Welch and Hao 2015; Hao et al. 2016; Zweig and Yang 2014).

However, in contrast to urban development, so far, less attention has been devoted to the study of the spatial consequences of a government's competition for high-skilled people – specifically those with experiences of studying or working abroad. The same applies to the impact of the "talent war" on the needs of more selective immigration and social housing policies (MacLachlan and Gong 2022). While several studies point to the fact that especially high-skilled talents prefer to choose large cities rather than smaller

[1] The term *talents* is often used in the literature, i.e., academic and media articles, as equivalent to high-skilled people. Also the governmental policies and programmes in Guangzhou and Dongguan use the term "talents" referring to high-skilled people. The provincial government of Guangzhou targets different types of professionals: "The terms used to describe the targeted population, however, are diverse and not clearly defined. Primarily, the aim is to attract professionals with an outstanding, innovative business idea, which includes, for instance, innovative technology, or patents. This type is called *leading, high-level,* or *high-calibre professionals* […]. *Leading talents (lingjun rencai)* or *high-level talents* (*gaocengci rencai*) selected as profiteers of one of the governmental attraction programmes often have a high or special educational attainment, such as a Ph.D. or study experience in a foreign country […]. Professionals who had studied in a foreign country or gained work experience abroad (*haigui*) get specific attention in governmental policies" (Pahl 2016, p. 140).

cities (Song et al. 2022), their preferences for specific institutional settings, housing costs, resource allocation and health- and well-being-related infrastructure – thus effects of agglomeration, crowding and supply of public urban services – have rarely yet been investigated (Li et al. 2019; Song et al. 2022).

In regard to attracting highly skilled individuals, the Chinese government's strategies have mainly targeted two groups: Foreign high-skilled people as well as Chinese individuals who have returned to the country after undertaking work experience or an education abroad in various developed countries (Miao and Wang 2017). Both are considered as valuable assets to China's economic development (Qin 2011; Hao et al. 2016).

High-skilled Chinese return migrants can be defined as Chinese people who returned to China after gaining a full degree or parts of their degree abroad and who lived abroad for at least one year. Some of these high-skilled return migrants have additionally gained work experience upon completion of their studies. High-skilled return migrants targeted by the government policies can be either high-skilled Chinese that still live abroad or those who already moved back to China but live in other Chinese cities.

In the competition to attract high-skilled return migrants, the cities of Guangzhou and Dongguan in the Pearl River Delta, both Guangdong Province, China, make interesting cases because both have experienced an extensive economic transformation since the launch of China's milestone 1978 opening-up reforms and the following deep structural transformation of the (mega-)urban regions (Cartier 2001; Kraas et al. 2019) – also referred to as foreign-investment-induced exo-urbanisation (Sit and Yang 1997). The structure of the PRD's economy changed rapidly from a model which is dominated by the agriculture-economy to one driven by the manufacturing industry (Xue et al. 2001; Schiller 2011; Rolf 2021; Böhn and Kraas 2023).

In the recent years, Guangzhou, as capital of the province, and Dongguan, as the region's manufacturing hub, have both demonstrated great eagerness to actively upgrade their economic structure. The cities both benefit from the inner-regional cluster effects and compete with each other for investment, mobile capital and worldwide economic relevance. In the upgrading process, high-skilled people, especially high-skilled return migrants, drew increasing attention from the governments of both cities.

Against this background, the paper focuses on the following research questions:

(1) What strategies do the municipal governments use to attract high-skilled return migrants – with what spatial consequences?
(2) What are the most important factors and reasons for high-skilled return migrants when choosing their place of residence for resettlement?

Empirical fieldwork was conducted in the years 2011 and 2012. The spatial focus lies on the case studies of Guangzhou and Dongguan, with special attention to the high-tech development zone of Songshan Lake Science and Technology Industry Park[2] as it was founded in the time before the empirical fieldwork and still today is one of the prominent focal points in the local governments' attempt to attract high-skilled return migrants. Two perspectives, that of the government and that of the return migrants, are investigated.

[2] Hereafter referred to as Songshan Lake Park.

2 Government Attitude Towards High-Skilled Return Migrants in China

The rising demand to encourage local economic development and upgrading led to increasing inter-city competition for high-skilled people in China since the early 1990s (Zweig 2006b; Gao and Wang 2020). As a result, high-skilled Chinese living abroad have gained a high status in China as they are presumed to bring back critical know-how and advanced foreign technology to render China more competitive within the global economy (Miao and Wang 2017; Wang 2016; Zweig et al. 2008). Hence, the government's attitude towards migration in general and high-skilled Chinese living abroad in particular has changed drastically since the late 1980s, thus counterbalancing previous talent outflow and brain drain (Zweig 2006a, pp. 67–68; Xiang 2016; Zhou et al. 2018; Gransow 2023).

Before that time, Chinese with such foreign connections often faced discrimination and many left the country (Johnson and Yuen-Fong 1997). The developments in 1989 discouraged many of such people from returning to their homeland and, thus, lowered the percentage of high-skilled people returning to China. Starting in the early 1990s, the national government and local authorities began to launch policies to eliminate many barriers to encourage this group to move back to China. Similarly, the government sought to entice such candidates to flock to China with policies which offered benefits such as easier overseas travel, tax reliefs, subsidies for housing purchases and schooling for children, support for securing employment for spouses, and even residency permits (*hukou*, Guo et al. 2003, p. 107; Zhou 2004, p. 198). By doing so, the government showed that its attitude towards high-skilled Chinese living abroad had changed and that it welcomed them to return to China to support the country's development (Xiang 2016; Zweig et al. 2020).

Despite a few setbacks, the number of high-skilled Chinese living abroad returning home (high-skilled return migrants) increased over the following years (Ding and Xu 2014). Although the Chinese government eagerly seeks to reverse its brain drain, especially in regard to significant destinations such as the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada or Australia, some scholars argue that policies are only partly successful (e.g., Cao 2008; Li et al. 2022, pp. 170–171). A recent study though points to the fact that between 1978 and 2019 about 4,231,700 students – i.e., over 86 percent of all Chinese international students – returned upon completing their overseas studies; in 2019, about 580,300 Chinese students returned to China, a 12 percent increase from 2018 (Ma et al. 2023).

Chinese cities have continued to establish policies to attract the high-skilled Chinese living who have relocated abroad. This has resulted in a fierce competition between the cities who are eager to convince high-skilled Chinese to settle down permanently on their soil. While the big cities of Shanghai and Beijing remain the most popular destinations of high-skilled return migrants, the economically important and growing cities of the Pearl River Delta are endeavouring to present themselves as increasingly desirable destinations too. In an attempt to gain an even more competitive edge, much effort has been put into the creation of a favourable business environment for high-skilled return migrants, including

the establishment of science parks and high-tech development zones[3] with residential complexes and recreation areas (Wang 2007; Teo 2011; Yang 2020).

The government became convinced that the provision of an attractive living environment is of similar importance for the attraction of high-skilled return migrants as an attractive business environment. Hence, several policies and programmes address the question of how to improve the living conditions and environment after return. As a consequence, the construction of housing areas combining residential, commercial and leisure use, such as gated communities, apartment complexes and spacious living areas, is promoted by the authorities to fulfil the putative residential preferences of foreign expats and high-skilled Chinese return migrants (Wang and Lau 2008; Li et al. 2019).

3 Material, Methods and Research Sites

Pursuing a mixed methods approach (Tashakkori et al. 2003; DeCuir-Gunby 2008), the empirical results are derived from an explorative analysis of government data – namely township-based data on the distribution of return migrants (see Figure 1) – and publications, media reports as well as from qualitative content analysis (following Johnson 2001 and Schreier 2012) of semi-structured interviews collected in Guangzhou and Dongguan in 2011 and 2012. The interviews were conducted partly in Chinese language (afterwards translated by Chinese interpreters), partly by the authors in English or German language. The primary data comprise transcripts of five expert interviews with scientists and governmental officials in Guangzhou and Dongguan[4] (following transcription modes of Flick 2002). The length of the interviews was between 28 and 88 minutes, in total 211 minutes and with an average of 42 minutes. Additionally, twelve in-depth interviews (seven in Guangzhou and five in Dongguan, ranging from 16 to 118 minutes, in total 499 minutes, with an average duration of 42 minutes) with high-skilled return migrants give deeper insights into subjective factors influencing the resettlement decisions of the high-skilled return migrants. Further, memo records of participant observation – of, e.g., the structure of built environment, prevalent functional use and services offered to residents and employees – and explorative excursions – including informal transect walks – with colleagues from Sun Yat-sen University (Guangzhou) and with local staff members in Songshan Lake Park between 2010 and 2013 were included in the analysis (see also Pahl 2016, chapter 5).

The material allows the researchers to, firstly, give a brief overview on the topic of high-skilled return migration within the aim of investigating the situation in Guangzhou and Dongguan and an outline of existing local policies. Secondly, by reference to the results from the qualitative interviews, the government's strategies and the high-skilled

[3] In China, the economic reforms in the course of the opening policy and the inflow of international capital, especially in the coastal regions, have evoked the proliferation of "New Special Development Zones" (NSDZ) (Chan 1999; Cartier 2001). High-tech development zones, as a special type of NSDZs, mainly concentrate on the promotion of national and regional high-tech industries; they number 53 across the whole country (Wang 2007).

[4] All interviews were coded; the quotes' references in this article refer to the given code numbers, E stands for expert, R for return migrants, G for Guangzhou and D for Dongguan.

return migrants´ demands on their living environment as well as the key factors and reasons for the choice of their residential resettlement sites can be identified. This information facilitates a deeper understanding of the government offers to incentivising potential high-skilled return migrants to permanently settle down in the two cities. Furthermore, the researchers are able to gage an understanding of the indirect influence of high-skilled return migrants on the production of urban space.

The case studies of Guangzhou and Dongguan were selected as part of a larger research programme on the Pearl River Delta – Guangzhou as a provincial capital and Dongguan as a typical manufacturing city, satellite industrial platform and one of the fastest growing cities in the Delta (in-depth baseline studies: Rolf 2019; Xu et al. 2023; in terms of urban transformation and land use changes: Wu et al. 2024). The research sites of the high-tech industrial zones Guangzhou Development Park and Songshan Lake Park in Dongguan were selected based on cluster sampling (Pahl 2016, p. 81), to identify urban areas targeting high-skilled return migrants. The parks were selected by the city governments to support the economic upgrading of the cities and attract high-skilled professionals. Songshan Lake Park is one of the most prominent mega projects that has been developed since 2002 with high valorisation intentions (Shen and Tsai 2016). In 2011, it was already one of the areas with the highest level of development in terms of GDP and the number of R&D companies (Tang et al. 2020; Xu et al. 2023).

4 Government Strategies Towards High-Skilled Return Migrants in Guangzhou and Dongguan

Local governments in China often run own recruitment activities, including local offices with information material and services. Further, many are sending representatives to overseas job fairs and are active in connecting with Chinese diaspora institutions abroad (Xiang 2016) – even encouraging short-term stays and visits.[5)] Also, special grants or business start-up loans are provided to returnees.

In 2011, the provincial government of Guangdong Province announced that the whole province aimed to attract 10,000 high-skilled return migrants[6)] within the following years (in detail: Pahl 2016, pp. 140–144). Later, further and specific programmes (e.g., targeting postdoctoral scholars with relevant expertise) were launched, such as the *Pearl River Talent Plan* in 2016 (Li et al. 2022). The goal of all programmes was to boost business in the province and foster innovation to contribute to the economic development. This triggered policy makers in Guangzhou and Dongguan to actively seek ways to attract

5) In 2013, the "Law on Border Exit and Entry" and the "Regulations on Foreign Citizen's Border Exit and Entry" introduced new visa categories ("Q" and "S") for persons with family ties with Chinese citizens (Xiang 2016, p. 16).

6) In the government policy, *high-skilled* is not defined by educational level. The target group of this policy includes all Chinese living abroad regardless of their educational attainment, i.e., it targets more generally Chinese with professional knowledge gained either through studying or working abroad. As the professional qualification is difficult to evaluate if not measured by university degree, in this paper only those return migrants that studied abroad and possibly worked after their studies are considered as high-skilled return migrants.

high-skilled return migrants to their cities. Attracting high-skilled return migrants[7] is considered as vital for achieving economic upgrading by the local governments of both cities (Wiesbrock 2008; Li et al. 2022; in detail: Pahl 2016, pp. 144–147). The strategies of the two cities have been similar: Both municipal governments have adopted policies supporting innovation and start-ups to encourage more high-skilled people, including high-skilled return migrants to relocate to their cities (Wu and Keyton 2010). But the conditions in both cities distinguish from each other.

Guangzhou – provincial capital, the region´s hub for human capital and a prominent hometown of Chinese still living abroad – has long played a leading role in attracting both international investment and professionals (Xu and Jeh 2005, pp. 42–44). Two main characteristics of talent policies were established after 1999, at first by defining "high-level talent" as "leaders in technology, entrepreneurship, management, academia or public policies, and holders of PhD from overseas universities who have worked in Guangzhou for at least nine months in a single year" (Li et al. 2022, p. 3). Second, since 1999 a policy system aiming at attracting highly skilled talents was established. This includes the programme *100 Leading Talents for Creation and Enterprise*[8] which is a local policy document referring to the national *One Thousand Talents Scheme*[9] (Miao and Wang 2017; Guangzhou Government n. y.; Li et al. 2022). The programme guarantees the selected high-skilled return migrants and their families various benefits, for example, a local registration permit (*hukou*), including public benefits and an apartment provided by the government. In addition, support is offered to spouses in regard to finding employment and schooling for children in nearby education facilities.

In Dongguan, the situation is considerably different. As one of the booming manufacturing cities in China since only the early 2000s, the city's government pursues industrial upgrading schemes (Yang 2020). This entails promoting innovation and structural adjustments, including a parallel strategy of transition of both the economy (in supporting specific branches in the industry) and the society (in attracting high-skilled professionals to move to the city) (Dongguan Ssl Sci. and Tech. Industry Park Administrative Committee, n. y.). Ten "leading" and outstanding candidates, including high-skilled return migrants, have been selected each year under the analogous *Leading Talents Programme*. Besides other benefits, they receive resettlement subsidies (Dongguan Government 2010).[10] To

[7] Policies of both cities use the terms "talents" (*rencai*) and "leading talents" (*lingjun rencai*, in this paper referred to as leading high-skilled people), also referred to as "high-level talents" (*gaocengci rencai*). All not necessarily are high-skilled return migrants. "Talents" (in this paper be group of high-skilled people) refer to those holding a university degree from China. "Leading talents" either have the status of a Ph.D. graduate or hold a university degree from overseas (the latter is referred to high-skilled return migrants in this paper) (see also: MacLachlan and Gong 2022). According to a government official in Guangzhou, the crucial differentiation is that leading high-skilled people bring new technology or know-how to establish a promising business.

[8] Guangzhou Municipal Human Resource And Social Security Bureau (2017).

[9] "Recruitment Program of Global Talents" (1000 Plan).

[10] In 2024, subsidy schemes are still practiced, see, e.g., a media report: *https://www.scmp.com/economy/china-economy/article/3234409/chinas-southern-export-hub-steps-talent-hunt-dongguan-dangles-us70000-cash-us14-million-housing* (last access: March 28, 2024).

increase the number of high-skilled return migrants with experience of working in the high-tech sector, the Dongguan municipal government introduced a new funding scheme in 2011 to encourage more people to work and undertake training or study in the high-tech or management-related fields in a foreign country (ED1[11]). As part of this scheme, participants receive an annual sum of 200,000 Renminbi to cover the expenses of living abroad, "mainly subsidising the people to go abroad to study high-technology and management knowledge, but the requirement is that such people must return to Dongguan" (ED1) upon completion of the programme.

Both cities focus on the establishment of government-led high-tech development zones (Guo 2013). The scheme was modelled on strategies developed by Taiwan and Southeast Asian countries (Guo et al. 2003); they were first encouraged by the national policy called *China Torch Program* in the late 1980s (Zweig 2009, p. 5). The development zones play an important role in attracting high-skilled return migrants to make investments and launch businesses (Zweig 2009). Some of them are even solely created for high-skilled return migrants with entrepreneurial experience (*chuangye yuan*). Examples of such zones – "spaces of exception" – in Guangzhou and Dongguan are the *Overseas Chinese Industrial Park* in Huadong in Guangzhou Municipality, the *Entrepreneur Park for Overseas Chinese Scholars* in the Guangzhou Development District and the *Overseas Students Pioneer Park* in the Songshan Lake Park in Dongguan. Guangdong Province actively promotes the establishment of further high-tech development zones for high-skilled return migrants to accelerate the development of emerging industries, the modern service industry and the advanced manufacturing industry (Qin 2011; see also Li et al. 2022). These development zones act as business incubators for high-skilled return migrants that protect their new businesses from uncertain market conditions and bureaucracy. However, in order to be promoted by preferential policies in the development zones, the business idea needs to involve new technology (Zweig 2009). Thus, the authorities in the development zones of Guangzhou and Dongguan only grant benefits to entrepreneurs that fulfil the criteria of one of the preferential policy schemes of the development zones.

In Songshan Lake Park, for example, administration officials estimated that about ten percent of the enterprises receive benefits from the Songshan Lake Park administration authorities because they had previously successfully applied for municipal schemes. However, individual employees may also take advantage of various benefits offered by the scheme. For instance, some employees have been granted a local *hukou* by the Songshan Lake Park administration. Depending on the candidate's qualification and the length of their contract, high-skilled return migrants can apply for further funding if they have novel ideas for either a business model or technological innovation. Yet, the funding can only be channelled from a company located in the Songshan Lake Park area.[12]

[11] ED1 = interviewed expert no. 1 from Dongguan. With regard to the explanation of the abbreviations used by the interviewees, see footnote 4.

[12] Information in this paragraph was given by experts during field excursions in 2011/2012.

One particular focus of the government strategy in both cities relates to supporting high-skilled return migrants and their families to finding a suitable accommodation and office space. In both cities, including the Guangzhou Development District and Dongguan Songshan Lake Park, two different mechanisms are being applied.

Firstly, the development zone's administration fosters the establishment of housing estates in the zones which give priority to high-skilled return migrants who have successfully applied to one of the development zone´s schemes. It considers the housing situation to be a critical factor in the high-skilled return migrants´ decision to resettle. Some development zones have specific housing areas – either in completion or in 2012 still in the planning stage – where apartments are offered to the high-skilled return migrants. Depending on the returnee's qualifications, the housing is free or at a discounted price (see case study on Songshan Lake Park below).

Secondly, the allocation of monetary support to facilitate the resettlement of high-skilled return migrants is implemented by local governments in Guangzhou and Dongguan. High-skilled return migrants can benefit from the *Policy for Overseas Student of Guangzhou*[13] by acquiring resettlement subsidies as a start-up fee as high as 10,000 Renminbi for Ph.D. holders and 7,500 Renminbi for postgraduates (Guangzhou Government n. y.). Other sources underline: "Guangzhou municipality hands out $12,000 as a 'golden hello' to returnees who decide to work there" (Xiang 2016, p. 15), which was sidebacked from a return migrant who started to work in the university: "They gave something like 80,000 Yuan as a research money to start your research.[14] […] University provides the temporary house to overseas students which means four years housing. [...] So they provided this funding to me to help me to buy a table, for example, a computer and so on […] also there are some potential advantages at […] students from overseas. You can apply for some funding" (RG3). The Dongguanese government has adopted similar support programmes, for housing and work environment. Experts underlined: "Government offers some benefits of the life and work for the returned overseas students, such as to provide them schools for their children, housing subsidies, home qualifications (*hukou*) and the entrepreneur fund" (ED1). This was seconded by statements from a return migrant in the business sector: "When you open a company in Dongguan the government supports your office and financial opening" (RD1).

Both mechanisms emphasise supporting the high-skilled return migrants' search for housing and office space, yet the two schemes have different spatial consequences. The former influences the distribution of high-skilled return migrants directly and can in the long term have consequences on their concentration in certain city areas and the formation of high-skilled return migrants' neighbourhoods, if priority is given to high-skilled return migrants, e.g., by quota. The pull-factors of these housing estates located in the development zones are the proximity to the workplace. Similarly enticing is the development zones' clean and green environment. The zones are often located outside the city centre and pay special attention to built living areas with recreational value. The latter gives the high-skilled return migrants the freedom to choose where in the city they want to settle as

[13] Guangzhou Municipal Human Resource and Social Security Bureau (2018).

[14] The interview partner did not mention whether obtaining the funds was difficult or not.

they can select the house or apartment they wish to rent or buy. This mechanism supports more the dispersion of high-skilled return migrants all over the city area.

Few return migrants shared different experiences: "[…] Return migrants [are] still struggling with the housing problems" (RD8), particularly in respect to the problem of affordable prices. They also pointed out problems with adequate office space: In the first year I was […] frustrated, […] they did offer me an office, as you see it is quite spacious and compared to the UK and it's quite good, but it was just an empty room and I have to buy all my stuff, everything […] even the furniture and air condition. They didn't even offer a table" (RD8).

5 Case Study: Songshan Lake Science and Technology Industry Park

The Songshan Lake Park area in Dongguan is a high-tech development zone that was established in 2001 and covers a planning area of 72 km^2; together with the Eastern Industrial Park, altogether 163 km^2 are planned;[15] the park occupies 3.6 percent of the land area of Dongguan (Xu et al. 2023). Songshan Lake Park is located in the Guangdong-Hong Kong Economic Corridor, adjacent to Shenzhen in the south and Guangzhou in the north. It was primarily established to upgrade Dongguan's economic structure by creating space for research and development (R&D) institutions and high-tech companies. From 2008 to 2020, it grew at an annual growth rate of 24.8 percent; more than 70 percent of the companies were founded after 2010; almost 83 percent of them are domestic companies, about 13 percent belong to investments from Hong Kong and Taiwan (Xu et al. 2023). It was from the beginning onwards intended to be a driving force towards the economic and social transition of Dongguan (Dongguan Ssl Sci. And Tech. Industry Park Administrative Committee, n. y.).

The development zone's administrative authority follows an active strategy of attracting high-skilled people to boost industrial upgrading, supported by the Dongguan city government. In 2003, the authority launched the *Overseas Students Pioneer Park* to primarily concentrate on attracting high-skilled return migrants. The Pioneer Park included about 250 enterprises in 2012, established by high-skilled return migrants and was seen as a key platform for implementing the strategy to make Dongguan a "prosperous city" (Dongguan Ssl Sci. And Tech. Industry Park Administrative Committee, n. y., p. 28; statistical information from 2012).

Songshan Lake Park was established as a provincial-level zone but was upgraded to a national-level high-tech development zone in 2010 (Tan 2014). Being a development zone of national importance, Songshan Lake Park received additional funding by the Dongguan government including 500 million Renminbi to improve the zone's infrastructure given to high-skilled return migrants in 2011. According to the development zone's administrative authority, besides facilities like a conference hall and leisure facilities, planning also included the construction of further residential areas that would grant priority to high-

[15] Figures updated in March 2024. *https://www.cnbayarea.org.cn/english/Specials/content/post_1021593.html* (last access: March 26, 2024).

skilled return migrants. One of them is named Happiness Garden (*Xingfu Xiaoqu*). The construction work began in 2011 and was completed in 2014. At that time, the complex included 300 apartments offered to high-skilled return migrants at a lower rate than the market price, asking them to pay just the proportional construction costs of the apartment. Other apartment complexes, such as Lotus Apartments (*Jilian Gongyu*), also give priority to high-skilled return migrants (ED1).

Whether these housing complex offers are attractive to high-skilled return migrants remains subject of further studies. However, according to two zone administrative officers, the demands and needs of high-skilled return migrants are still not exactly known and have not been considered when building the estates. An officer stated: "Maybe it [the apartment houses] is attractive. There is a chance [that it is attractive to them] but if you do not build there is no chance" (ED1). Another officer said: "You have to plan for the future, not only for three to five years. It is not possible that if it turns out to be more high-skilled return migrants you then build another building complex" (ED2). It seems that in order to achieve the overall goal of industrial upgrading, the risk of over-financing and over-supply is taken. However, the zone's administrative authority points out that "the houses that are going to be built are very cheap and the environment is very good so we do not have any concern about whether it will be sold out. In the case whereby there are fewer high-skilled return migrants than expected who want to live in the development zone, then they can still sell it to other people" (ED1).

Selling the offered apartments to people without overseas background instead seems reasonable when looking at the current housing situation in Songshan Lake Park, also with regard to a social mix of different residents' professional and social backgrounds. Other housing estates in the high-tech development zone are available on the free housing market, e.g., Beauty Landscape (*Jinxiu Shanhe*) or The Great Wall Family (*Changcheng Shijia*), some with priority given to zone administration officials, e.g., Songhu Garden (*Songhu Huayuan*), or to enterprise senior management personnel, e.g., Voice of Lake (*Tinghu Ju*). Apartments in other housing estates are sold to people who work in the high-tech development zone, e.g., New Prosperous Garden (*Xinxing Yuan*) or Green Bamboo Garden (*Qingzhu Yuan*), and some which were built by the government are rented to companies that provide apartments to their employees, e.g., Lvhe Residence (*Lvhe Ju*) or Technology Park Apartments (*Keyuan Gongyu*, ED1).

The demand for apartments in these estates is very high, though the housing prices are much higher than in the city centre of Dongguan[16] due to the good environmental conditions in the development zone's area with its artificial lake which was built as a reservoir in the 1950s and 14 km^2 of green spaces (Dongguan Ssl Sci. And Tech. Industry Park Administrative Committee, n. y.).

[16] According to administrative officers (ED1, ED2), the price per m^2 in Songshan Lake Park in 2011 was around 20,000 Renminbi whereas the price for housing of comparable standard in the city centre was only around 10,000 Renminbi per m^2. Other sources indicate that the prices differed from about 11,000 Renminbi in Songshan Lake Park to 8,000 Renminbi per m^2 in the city centre (e.g., SouFun.com Limited 2013). On corresponding developments in the property sector in Guangzhou and Dongguan between 2010 and 2019, see, e.g., Xu and Zhang 2023).

As in Dongguan City, the development zone´s administrative authority in 2011 gave several incentives to high-skilled return migrants who established companies or were employed in Songshan Lake Park. These incentives included the privilege to buy apartments for a reduced price in the development zone´s residential estates or the grant of housing subsidies of 200,000 Renminbi paid once to every high-skilled return migrant who came to the development zone and was chosen for the supportive programme. For many high-skilled return migrants it is important to live and work at a place where they can afford housing. This fact underlines the relevance of the policy to provide subsidised housing to the high-skilled return migrants. Furthermore, they and their family members gain permanent residency as well as support in finding employment. Their children can enrol in the highly popular schools provided in Songshan Lake Park area (ED1, ED2).

The high-skilled return migrants in 2012 could use the lump-sum payment for either buying or renting an apartment or house. As they were free to choose their accommodation, many high-skilled return migrants still opted to buy or rent a place in the city centre. This decision is based on different reasons: On the one hand, despite the development zone at that time still being in an expansion phase, the area appeared not attractive enough yet to some high-skilled return migrants due to the limited amount of available facilities, e.g., in terms of shopping places and leisure options. One expert explained: "The supermarket is very small, I think maybe in a few years we can have a lot of them. […] Dongguan is an industrial city, not like Shenzhen and Guangzhou. […] So many facilities in Dongguan is not better than Shenzhen, so it's very difficult for Dongguan to attract quality of life [...] social development, […] to develop the region to increase the living standard. To increase the economic situation, to increase the transportation, the ecological quality of the region" (ED3).

On the other hand, they could find cheaper housing in the city centre. The concern of the development zone's administration authority was that, as in other development zones in China, as explained by an administrative officer in Songshan Lake Park (ED3), high-skilled return migrants rented out the apartments provided to them to other people without overseas experience as they themselves preferred living outside the development zone. Nonetheless, for instance, the residential area Moonlight Lotus Residence (*Yuehe Ju*) in Songshan Lake Park did have a high concentration of high-skilled return migrants at that time. It can be assumed that one reason for the concentration is that the residential area was built by the government and, thus, was cheaper than those residential areas constructed by private real estate companies.

6 Returning Home: Challenging Return and Resettlement Factors of High-Skilled Return Migrants, Factors and Reasons for Locational Choice

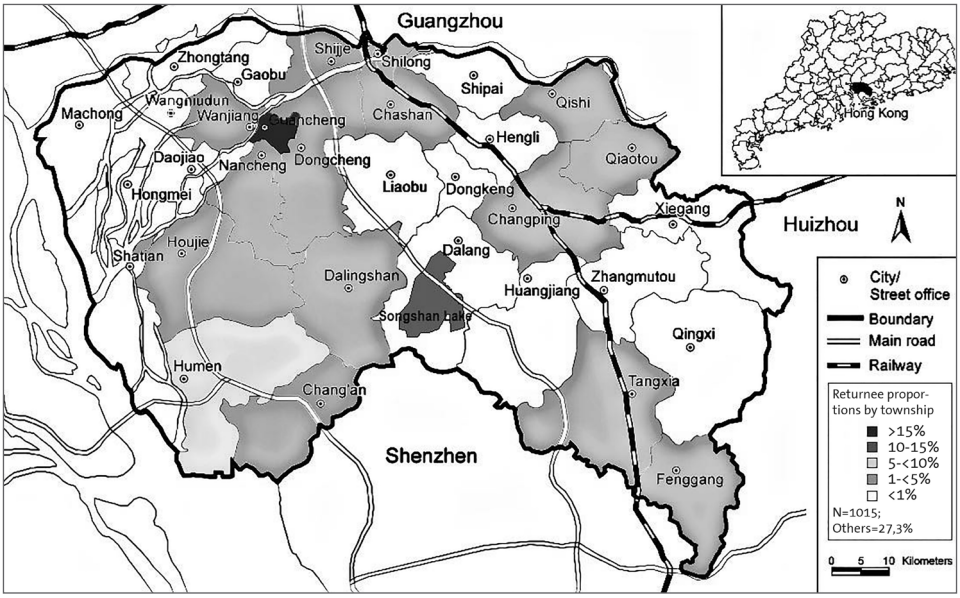
Many return migrants shared their views on the rapidly changing economic, social and spatial urban transformation in the Pearl River Delta in general as well as in the traditional metropolis Guangzhou and the fast growing Dongguan, aggravating the necessity to

readjust to the local circumstances after years abroad. One return migrant explained the complex experiences in respect to the necessity for multiple social, institutional and individual adaptations in daily life: "Basically is a complicated transformation at the moment. [...] There is multiple transformation [...] from students to teacher, from overseas people to back to China to from someone far away from family to go back to the family." "It's very hard to suit to that new life (after return). […] So basically, you need to go back to the Chinese institutional system. It's difficult to get hold and to get in. There are so many pressures [...] there is policemen, […] authorities, the hukou" (RG3). Obviously, the time needed for readaptation is underestimated: "I spent almost two years to get use to the new social environment, like get used to the unfriendly staff or ask you to fill forms and then like you all hear something, you owe him or her something. [...] You have to face it and have to endure it" (RG3).

Further, a certain persisting social distance between locals and return migrants seems to be an issue for return migrants, too: "I think you can never return to be a full Chinese, which means somehow they take you as different. So maybe the ten gates for them to integrate you. [...] You can only reach the lines you can never enter the final gate. They [...] behave differently, let's say, because he studied abroad. They will always keep this in mind, so you know what that means. It's always there, even my family, even my mother, she will take this history as something there, so you are never the one who before you go abroad. [...] For Chinese you go abroad, and you have such history then you can never come back to your old Chinese situation, so you become something in between, the third type of thing and it will last forever. Actually, the feeling is not good, because you are not the new type and you are not old type anymore, you can never go back home" (all quotes: RG3).

The governmental attempts to attract high-skilled return migrants and the described policies raise questions on the effects of these strategies. Further, the question is how the resettlement process of the high-skilled return migrants is actually taking place. In other words, where are the high-skilled return migrants resettling and what are the reasons for their decision? According to official statistics (Dongguan Oversea Scholars Association 2012), in Dongguan, the highest proportion of return migrants (including all educational attainments, 89 percent with university degree) can be found in the central district Guangcheng, whereby this makes up 15 percent of all return migrants (Figure 1).

This proportion supports the assumption that living in the city centre that provides more urban facilities seems attractive to high-skilled return migrants. It furthermore seems that providing housing subsidies to the high-skilled return migrants and, thus, the free choice of where to resettle corresponds more to the high-skilled return migrant's preferences than offering apartments in existing housing estates. However, since ten percent of the return migrants live in Songshan Lake Park, the provision of apartments in the development zone also seems to be a promising strategy. Minor concentrations can also be found in Humen where seven percent of the return migrants live as well as in Shilong with a return migrants' population of around five percent. This data confirms the initial impression that there are no major concentrations of high-skilled return migrants on the city-level.



Source: Own draft based on Dongguan Oversea Scholars Association (2012).

Figure 1: Township distribution of return migrants (all educational attainments, 89 percent with university degree) in Dongguan (N=1015).

The empirical findings from interviews with high-skilled return migrants in Guangzhou and Dongguan show that they settle in locations which are well distributed throughout the city. There is no evidence for a clustering of high-skilled return migrants in any specific city district or estate. This impression is confirmed by an officer of the Returned Overseas Association in Dongguan who says: "Returnees live scattered in Dongguan, and their children are at the same schools as the children of the workers" (ED3). Obviously, social distinction does not play a decisive role for the resettlement decision of high-skilled return migrants. As a high-skilled return migrant in Dongguan said, even though there are some places where they meet friends with overseas background for leisure activities, they do not live in the same areas only because they have an overseas background: "We live in the same place, not quite different from [others]. It's not because [...]: 'Oh, you have overseas background we hang out in some special place.' No we don't do that. Maybe though [there is] some shopping mall, […] some cafe, relaxing [...] also there are bars [where overseas like to meet]" (RD3).

Moreover, according to high-skilled return migrants' statements, there does not seem to be demand for segregated areas or estates: "I do not find it necessary. We are not that different to the others" (RD2). Therefore, their status as high-skilled return migrants does not seem to influence, at least not much, the choice of residential location directly.

Academic literature indicates that the determinants influencing the choice of residential location are rather complex and are difficult to grasp entirely (Malaitham et al. 2013).

However, the in-depth interviews suggest that there are several key influencing factors and reasons for the choice of residential location for Chinese high-skilled return migrants. The most salient factors are proximity to family, affordability of housing, proximity to workplace and quality of urban life as well as urban and business surroundings – as shall be explained in more detail in the following.

Firstly, the locational choice is related to the reasons of return. Many respondents mentioned that they returned because of their responsibility towards their parents: "My mother is on her own, she lives alone. That is why I wanted to go back. Because she is not young anymore. And my father died. Because of that and due to the one-child policy, I am responsible" (RG5) and "I am an only child. In China and in our culture, caring for parents is a task for all children" (RG6).

As the traditional family ties are strong in China, these ties play a key role in the choice of place of residence (see, e.g., He 2022). Thus, family ties are of great importance and the parents are involved a lot in their children's matters. Due to the one-child policy practiced in China until 2016, most of the children are solely responsible to support their parents (see, e.g., Hu and Shi 2020). As long as they were not married, they stayed either with their parents or family or close to them. Even after marriage, some mentioned they wanted to stay close to their parents to offer support (RG3, RG9).

In addition, most of the interviewed high-skilled return migrants either returned to a city where they had previously lived before going abroad or they returned to the city where their parents lived. Thus, they already knew the place they returned to and have stronger social ties than newcomers. This bond seems to have an influence on the choice of residential location as they might want to stay in a familiar environment. Other return migrants point to gained freedom after their return: "When you come back from abroad, you don't have these relatives, [...] then you are free from the complicated behaviour [...] partly because people don't know you that well and you don't have these networks and obligations" (RG10).

Secondly, the findings suggest that many high-skilled return migrants do not get high salaries after their return to China. An expert explained: „The biggest problem returnees faced is employment. They have high self-expectations, but the domestic market does not provide entirely satisfactory and suitable jobs for them; other issues include cultural conflicts and urban environments" (ED1). Some of the respondents just entered the labour market and still have a comparatively low income. Housing prices, especially within the big cities such as Guangzhou, are on the rise. Thus, many high-skilled return migrants are struggling to buy their own place: "In 2009, the price [for housing] already went up. Quite a lot compared to my first return and at that time we had to borrow money from my parents. [It] was embarrassing, but we had to, because we couldn't afford" (RD1).

The challenge is even higher for families: "Return migrant still struggling with the housing problems. Especially after having a kid. Having a child, if you don't have your own house would be difficult in China" (RG8). Problematic are the high interest rates: "I don't really have many saving to spend on housing, especially need to pay like 30 percent

on payment is very difficult" (RG8). This influences the choice of location to return to: "If I went to Beijing or Shanghai I [...] probably couldn't buy a house by now. That is also one of the main reasons why we chose Guangzhou over Beijing and Shanghai. So many people face these problems [...] in some places about sixty percent of the local revenue coming from the land sale so you can imagine how much the local government relies on the real estate industry" (RG8).

Consequently, the provision of housing remains an important issue for the high-skilled return migrants. Many struggle to buy an apartment after return. Housing offers or subsidies, e.g., by employers or the government, are, thus, attractive and influence the choice of residential location. Thus, many of the high-skilled return migrants choose their residential location in proximity to their workplace to avoid long commuting distances. These distances are increasing in Chinese cities since the restructuring of the traditional work-units (*danwei*) during the economic transformation beginning in the early 1980s and also due to increasing urban expansion (Liu and Guan 2005, pp. 59–60). Accommodation provided by the employer is either on the work compound or in adjacent estates.

Finally, the offered quality of urban life as well as the urban and business surroundings count. This becomes apparent when asking experts and return migrants for urban and residential preferences of return migrants and when comparing the urban surroundings in Guangzhou and Dongguan.

In Guangzhou, the traditional urban and international atmosphere and the higher urban qualities are appreciated, as explained in the interviews: "In Guangzhou [are] so many international companies [...] the city is very beautiful compared to other cities" (RD2). "Guangzhou has also some opportunity. [...] In Beijing the competition is more serious, but in Guangzhou you have more career growth. And your life will be more comfortable. Guangzhou has high reputation corporation for all the world" (RG4). Other return migrants also point to urban disadvantages: Guangzhou "is actually no really good place to live. The weather, the pollution, the people [...]" (RG9).[17] "The air is very, very dirty here and the surroundings are not at all nice. [...] But the situation has changed so rapidly [...] so the difference in quality of life between China and Europe, I think, is getting smaller and smaller" (RG10).

As to Dongguan, an expert explained: "Because the society in China changes very fast. [...] I have to know the [...] business culture, because you know in the UK you can do anything [...], but in China it's totally different. You have to follow this culture. For me the most difficulties [...]: How to settle my company, how to earn the money, how to find the people, find the employee." (RD1). Several return migrants judged: "They don't want do work here, a small town, they don't like it. They like big city, more fun" (RD2). "In Dongguan is a [...] lack of culture" (RD7), "very small society" (RD1) and "the security is very bad" (RD7). Similarly, the business surroundings are judged upon critically: "It's very difficult to find high qualified people here in Dongguan but easier in Guangzhou" (RD2).

Comparisons between the experiences abroad and the new locations back in China are an essential part of a return readaptation for many return migrants. An expert expressed his per-

[17] For details on pollution problems, see, e.g., a recent study by Chen et al. 2022.

spective: "Main problems they encountered are the maladjustment of the lifestyle. The living environment abroad is more secure, more coherent. But after a long time, they can be able to adapt to the local environment. The local staff appreciates and admires the returnees. The local staff has adapted to the habits of the returnees, but the returnees have not adapted well to the habits of Dongguan after studying abroad for 1–4 years" (ED1).

In order to ease the readaptation, unusual arrangements are offered: "For cultural conflict, we are creating a free environment with Western characteristics and cultural activities for returnees, such as the Christmas party, so that they can find a sense of belonging. The aim of the government is to retain the returned talents by the means of these cultural efforts" (ED1).

Many return migrants also appreciate the results of the urban transformation of the last decades in acknowledging. One interview partner explained: "I heard before the city was very, very dirty. Since these Asian competitions the city has become much better" (RG10). The returnee also reflects: "Now there's also the underground [i.e., the metro], for example, which didn't exist before and in some areas it's even more pleasant, for example with the prices: still relatively cheap. And there are still services that you can no longer enjoy in Europe" (RG10). Such assessments emphasise the willingness of the return migrants to readjust to the return situation as well as to the many changes brought about by the urban transformation.

7 Discussion

The paper, firstly, investigates the local governments' strategies of Guangzhou and Dongguan for attracting high-skilled people so that they may contribute to the cities' economic, especially industrial upgrading endeavours. The study shows that both schemes pay attention to the group of high-skilled return migrants who are expected to bring professional expertise and know-how to the high-tech sector. Entrepreneurs with overseas experience are targeted in particular. Although both cities pursue similar policies in their efforts to attract high-skilled return migrants, they have different framework conditions, and the resulting situation appears to be different. Guangzhou, as a first-tier city and provincial capital, seems to be a comparatively more attractive location to settle down permanently, due to the wider range of facilities, services and urban attractions, especially for high-skilled return migrants not originating in the city. Thus, the benefits offered are appealing to these migrants. Dongguan, as a second-tier city, seems more attractive to high-skilled return migrants born in the city, mostly due to existing family and social ties. Hence, this factor renders the benefits offered less appealing to high-skilled return migrants who do not have such roots in the city compared to Guangzhou.

In their attempts to attract high-skilled return migrants, both cities apply comprehensive schemes that offer benefits in various realms of life, such as access to public services that, due to the housing registration system in China, are difficult to access for internal migrants. Benefits also include assistance with job searches or benefits to family members. The strategies aim to boost attraction by focusing particularly on access to housing. This is a pressing issue as housing ownership is not only socially valued in China but also

a challenge due to high housing prices, especially for career entrants (see, e.g., Knight and Wan 2023).

First, the cities provide housing estates in which they primarily offer apartments to high-skilled return migrants who invest or work in the cities, a strategy applied mainly in the cities' high-tech development zones in the urban fringes. Second, the local governments give monetary lump-sum payments that high-skilled return migrants can use to rent or buy an apartment in a location of their choice. The provision of apartments in housing estates – partially built specifically for high-skilled people, including high-skilled return migrants, as in the case of Songshan Lake Park in Dongguan – presents two issues that deserve more attention in governmental strategies if this approach is to succeed:

1. Dedicated housing estates can – beyond usual income-based segregation (see, e.g., Zhang et al. 2021) – lead to a tendency towards spatial segregation according to educational level because such a policy is aimed at a specific clientele and certain quotas may have been reserved. So far, in both cities, high-skilled return migrants still live scattered all over the cities. However, in Dongguan, beside in the central district, there seems to be a slight tendency towards grouping in the development zone, which seems to be related to the fact that specialised skills and qualifications acquired abroad are required for the jobs offered in and around the development zone. But spatial segregation does not seem to be the intention of the interviewed high-skilled return migrants, as they do not perceive themselves as being different from other Chinese colleagues who did not study or work overseas.
2. The findings suggest that governmental attraction attempts pay too little attention to potential underlying demands and preferences – such as specific factors and reasons for locational choice – of the high-skilled return migrants, as can be seen in the case of built housing estates. Therefore, it remains to be seen whether the housing areas can be attractive to high-skilled return migrants in the long run.

Secondly, the results of the findings on factors and reasons for the choice of location during the study period indicate that it is important to take greater account of the specific requirements of high-skilled returnees – such as family and social ties, the income situation or the quality of the residential environment (see, e.g., Xu et al. 2023). The high-skilled return migrants in particular consider the availability of housing in the low-price segment as important when they choose somewhere to resettle. This relevance of housing prices partly has labour market-related reasons: many high-skilled return migrants have relatively low wages after they return (Guo et al. 2003), because the labour market conditions for high-skilled return migrants have tightened.

Due to the increasing amount of high-skilled Chinese people returning home after having lived abroad in the early 2010s, those high-skilled return migrants who have only studied abroad but not gained work experience may appear as less desirable to the high-tech industry (Hao et al. 2016; Zhou 2004; Global Times 2010). Furthermore, it is argued that most of the high-skilled return migrants are not (yet) top-level professionals which makes it even more difficult to find a well-paid employment (Hao et al. 2016; Zhang and Hou 2011). Hence, the high-skilled return migrants are sharing the experience of many

Chinese in the younger generation that they are struggling to accumulate enough capital to buy their own place. Additionally, over the past three decades, the market situation in the commodity housing sector[18] has tightened in China (Huang 2004; Chen et al. 2011; Ma 2018). Due to real estate speculation and limited urban space in China's large cities, the housing prices, especially in coastal cities, have gone up so that most households cannot afford housing in the private housing sector and must rely on subsidised housing offers (Huang 2004; Wu et al. 2012).

The governments in Guangzhou and Dongguan address this scarcity of housing and the struggle of many high-skilled return migrants to find affordable housing after return by providing access to subsidised accommodation for renting or buying. At present, the economic situation of many high-skilled return migrants obstructs them from making high demands in terms of their housing situation and living environment. With rising salaries, further demands and preferences are likely to gain importance as determinants of the re-settlement decisions of high-skilled return migrants. In addition, demands and preferences change in the course of the life span; many of the high-skilled return migrants in Guangzhou and Dongguan are still young and unmarried.

In addition to solving the housing issue, local authorities should try to address other relevant concerns, factors and reasons of high-skilled return migrants to convince them to resettle in their place of residence. These include proximity to the family, their children's education, commuting distances, environmental quality and living environments, including a range of urban municipal facilities and services. Facilities in the newly developed urban areas, housing estates and high-tech development zones are still scarce, such as local shopping, leisure facilities, education and health facilities, or transport connections; urban policies to attract high-skilled return migrants may focus more firmly on such aspects in future. With rising demands and more attention paid to such preferences, the living environment offered in the high-tech development zones which are apparently at the centre of present attraction strategies may not be so appealing in the future as it seems now (also see Xu et al. 2023).

Therefore, it seems reasonable to suggest that the local governments diversify their attraction strategies by paying more attention to offering comprehensive, integrated living environments with ample amenities based on profound knowledge of specific factors and reasons for the choice of location gained from detailed surveys among the target group. Whereas the environmental quality of the high-tech development zones is valued in the interviews, the integration into existing city structures and provision of comprehensive urban amenities could remain an issue. Other places within the cities might already provide the conditions which the high-skilled return migrants seek. In a new place, such as the high-tech development zones, these amenities might take long to develop, such as social cohesion and bonds or diversified leisure facilities.

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[18] In the period between about 2004 and 2012, there have been major changes in the housing sector in China towards a more market-oriented housing provision. This shift has led to the privatisation of subsidised housing and to the excessive construction of commodity housing (*shang ping fang*), a new private housing type constructed by developers (Huang 2004; on the division of housing class since the market-oriented housing reform in 1998, see Chen et al. 2018).

The above presents what a hard task it is to build liveable cities from scratch to attract a specific group. This paper presents that in the case of attracting high-skilled return migrants, this task grows ever more challenging as these high-skilled people can place high demands upon their city of residence since they are targeted by many cities worldwide and in China. Considering the recent trend of an increasing number of higher-educated residents in the Pearl River Delta, such as Dongguan (Xu et al. 2023), the above specific requirements may become more important for urban management policies and urban planning and development in the Pearl River Delta. In terms of both quantity and quality, it will be necessary for the authorities and companies to have a better understanding of the specific housing needs of different population groups. Further developments in the Pearl River Delta will also depend on the dramatic oversupply of housing and the debt crisis facing local authorities. The severe problems of large property companies, such as Evergrande, underline the need for an in-depth examination of the post-pandemic economic depression and the specific social needs in China.

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International Retirement Migration-Related Real Estate in Thailand: Global Context, Current Situation, and Industry Outlook

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with 4 figures and 5 tables in the text

Contents

Summary 167
Zusammenfassung 168
1 Introduction 169
2 Recent Development of International Retirement Migration in the Global South .. 170
3 Emergence of Transnational Retirement Industry 175
4 International Retirement Migration-Related Real Estate: The Case of Thailand..... 178
5 Conclusion 190
6 References 191

Summary

Thailand has emerged as a prominent destination for international retirement migration (IRM) in the Global South, prompting the need to explore IRM's implications for the country's economy and society. This article delves into the multifaceted nature of IRM in Thailand, focusing on the related real estate market. Following a brief introduction, this article first examines the global development of IRM, highlighting its connections to active ageing, lifestyle migration, and transnationalism. It unravels the intertwined nature of these concepts in the context of Thailand's ageing society and then scrutinises the emerging trend of the transnational retirement industry (TRI) and its global growth, shedding light on its transformative potential in reshaping retirement patterns. The next

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part provides a comprehensive analysis of the current state of IRM-related real estate in Thailand, highlighting the coexisting opportunities and challenges within its development. The conclusion part also offers recommendations for policymakers and suggests future research directions.

By examining the multifaceted aspects of IRM-related real estate, this article not only provides valuable insights for policymakers, researchers, and industry practitioners, but contributes to existing knowledge, and serves as a resource for those navigating this evolving landscape.

Keywords: International retirement migration, Thailand, demographic ageing, real estate, transnational retirement industry

Zusammenfassung

IMMOBILIENMARKT UND INTERNATIONALE RUHESTANDSMIGRATION IN THAILAND. GLOBALER KONTEXT, AKTUELLE SITUATION UND PERSPEKTIVEN DER KÜNFTIGEN ENTWICKLUNG

Thailand hat sich zu einem bedeutenden Ziel für die internationale Ruhestandsmigration (IRM) im globalen Süden entwickelt. Es verwundert daher nicht, dass Untersuchungen der Auswirkungen dieses Phänomens auf die Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft des Landes schon seit einiger Zeit auch im Zentrum wissenschaftlichen Interesses stehen. Dieser Artikel befasst sich mit dem vielschichtigen Charakter der IRM in Thailand und konzentriert sich dabei auf den damit verbundenen Immobilienmarkt. Nach einer kurzen Einführung wird zunächst die globale Entwicklung der internationalen Ruhestandsmigration analysiert, wobei die Zusammenhänge mit aktivem Altern, Lifestyle-Migration und Transnationalismus herausgestellt werden. Anschließend werden der sich abzeichnende Trend der transnationalen Ruhestandsindustrie (TRI) und ihr globales Wachstum untersucht und ihr transformatives Potenzial bei der Umgestaltung des Ruhestandsverhaltens älterer Personen beleuchtet. Der nächste Teil des Beitrags bietet eine umfassende Analyse des gegenwärtigen Standes des IRM-bezogenen Immobilienmarktes in Thailand, wobei die nebeneinander bestehenden Chancen und Herausforderungen innerhalb der Entwicklung der auf internationale Ruhestandsmigranten ausgerichteten Immobilienwirtschaft hervorgehoben werden. Der Schlussteil enthält Empfehlungen für politische Entscheidungsträger und schlägt zukünftige vertiefte wissenschaftliche Forschungsansätze zu diesem Thema vor.

Durch die Untersuchung der vielfältigen Aspekte von IRM-bezogenen Immobilien bietet dieser Artikel nicht nur wertvolle Einblicke für politische Entscheidungsträger, Forscher und Vertreter der Immobilienwirtschaft, sondern trägt auch zum vorhandenen Wissen bei und dient als Ressource für diejenigen, die in diesem sich rasch entwickelnden Themenfeld informieren wollen.

Schlagwörter: Internationale Ruhestandsmigration, Thailand, demographische Alterung, Immobilienmarkt, transnationale Ruhestandsindustrie

1 Introduction

International retirement migration (hereafter IRM), which lies at the intersection of ageing and migration, has substantial economic, cultural, social, and political consequences (King et al. 1998, p. 109). IRM destinations have been extended to within and proximate to Europe, and to new locations in the Global South (King et al. 2021). Recently, Thailand has become one of the new IRM destinations (Ciobanu et al. 2017; Husa et al. 2014), for instance, the number of foreigners who stay in Thailand with retirement visas doubled between 2013 and 2018 to nearly 80,000 (Glinskaya et al. 2021), excluding those retirees who hold other visas and live in Thailand for a long stay. Moreover, the Thai government is committed to establishing Thailand as an international medical hub with a focus on elder care for foreigners (Sunanta and Jaisuekun 2022). In addition, the transferability of pensions and low wages of Thai staff make operating retirement living facilities for international retirement migrants (hereafter IRMs), such as retirement villages or care homes, a profitable business model (Bender et al. 2017). There are even investors building long-stay accommodation in Chiang Mai province, while hotel and real-estate developers prefer to offer residential accommodation packages encompassing good medical services and local cultural experiences along with necessary infrastructure (Ashton et al. 2019).

The research literature on IRM is overwhelming and early studies are mainly focused within Europe with a "lifestyle" concern (King et al. 2021; Williams et al. 2000); migration decision and life after migration are the two central themes of research on international retirement migration (Savaş et al. 2023). Most scholars have studied the motivations of IRM (Barbosa et al. 2021; Casado-Diaz et al. 2004; Hayes 2015; Pickering et al. 2019) or narrated the IRMs' daily lives and the challenges they encounter in destinations (Botterill 2017; Green 2016; Hall and Hardill 2016; Howard 2008; King et al. 2021). Toyota and Xiang (2012) note that in Southeast Asia, an emerging transnational retirement industry (hereafter TRI), jointly led and driven by the real estate industry, the tourism industry and care providers, is being pursued by states as a national development strategy.

There is extensive literature on the transnational retirement industry, most of which deals with medical tourism, medical care and the impact of IRM on local society (Bender et al. 2017; Connell 2013; Farber 2022; Scuzzarello 2020; Sunanta 2020; Sunanta and Jaisuekun 2022). However, little academic research exists on IRM-related real estate in destinations, let alone that of IRM-related real estate in Thailand. As IRM-related real estate involves a number of stakeholders such as the government, IRMs, locals, developers, tourism agencies and care providers etc., it could have great impacts on Thailand's national economy and people's livelihood. In addition, Thailand itself faces the challenge of providing adequate care for its own elderly (Sasiwongsaroj and Burasit 2019) and will increasingly face the problem of "insufficient affordable housing" for them in the near future (TGRI 2020). Therefore, it is crucial to sort out and analyse the current situation of IRM-related real estate in Thailand in order to establish certain guiding and reference significance in terms of care provision and housing development.

Against this backdrop, this article aims to investigate the global context, current situation, and future development of IRM-related real estate in Thailand. Drawing together IRM's new frontiers and relevant real estate development in Thailand, this article draws

attention to the under-researched transnational retirement industry (TRI) by scholars of IRM, particularly the dynamics and socio-economic implications of its real estate sector. It will review literature on IRM and link the IRM-related real estate to lifestyle migration and transnational ageing. Following this introduction, four major parts make up this article. The first part illustrates the recent development of international retirement migration and the intricate entanglement among active ageing, IRM, lifestyle, and transnationalism. The second part expounds on the emerging TRI and reviews its global development. The third part delineates the current situation of IRM-related real estate in Thailand and analyses its industry outlook. The last part makes some suggestions on the government's policy considerations and future academic research directions.

2 Recent Development of International Retirement Migration in the Global South

International Retirement Migration (IRM) usually refers to the movement of older people from the Global North to countries with better climate, extended leisure options, lower living costs and attractive landscapes (Casado-Díaz et al. 2004; Horn and Schweppe 2017). However, "research on IRM as an empirically investigated phenomenon has been quite recent, starting in the late 1990s; even more recent have been attempts to frame IRM in a theoretical context" (King et al. 2021, p. 1205). In this section, we aspire to extend the existing literature on IRM to understand the impact of IRM on retirement industry related real estate development in destination countries, by illustrating the interconnection and convergence of IRM with other concepts, including active ageing, lifestyle migration, and transnational ageing.

2.1 International Retirement Migration and New Frontiers

Global ageing is already a well-known indisputable fact. According to the United Nations, in 2019 approximately nine percent of the world population were aged 65 or over (United Nations 2019b), and the number of older persons is projected to reach over 1.5 billion in 2050 (United Nations 2019a). East and South-East Asia was home to the largest number of the world's older population, followed by Europe and North America. It is worth noting that the pace of population ageing in the Global South is substantially faster than in the Global North. For example, the increase in the number of people aged 65 and over in the East and Southeast Asia region will be 120 percent between 2019 and 2050, while the comparable figure for Europe and North America will only be 48 percent over the same period. However, all countries or areas are amid this population ageing and persons aged 65 or over are making up the fastest growing age group.

The conventional perception of older people is often viewed as vulnerable and inactive in mobility. Conversely, in recent decades, the number of older migrants has grown significantly, and numbers are projected to rise. The share of elderly migrants aged 65 or older in the international migrant population in midyear 2020 is estimated at 34.3 million,

or 12.2 percent (United Nations 2020). The processes of ageing and migration are seen as entwined trajectories which unfold with specific results in different times and spaces (King et al. 2017, p. 182).

The relationship between ageing and migration, or the so-called "ageing-migration nexus", has been the subject of scientific research (Sampaio et al. 2018). The ageing discourse generally accepts that mobility declines as people age; however, retirement migration is a departure from this notion and could be seen as a manifestation of "active ageing". International migration has also been seen to optimise the ageing process, counteract cultural tropes of ageing as inactive or degenerative but rather see mobility as a way of achieving "successful ageing" (Torres 1999). Hayes (2021) argues that ageing and migration, the two components of the ageing-migration nexus, have shifted in recent years due to socio-structural transformations such as the neoliberal social consensus overtaking the post-war Keynesian one on an international scale. Therefore, "active ageing", which is also a cultural ideal, has become prominent in high-income countries and encouraged older adults there seeking new forms of IRM in lower-income countries.

Against this backdrop, an ageing population in the Global North might lead to an increase in IRM to the Global South as the latter may provide an economic safe haven for older people (Hayes and Zaban 2020). The study of King et al. (1998, p. 100) reveals that "a move to a sunnier, warmer climate and to a setting with a slower, healthier pace of life is seen as advantageous by large numbers of respondents". Bastia et al. (2022) state that for some IRMs another "pull factor" has been the existence of already established communities of co-nationals. The qualitative interview data of Toyota and Xiang (2012) also shows that concerns about social and medical care stood out as a common motivation for Japanese retirees across socioeconomic status to move to Southeast Asia. Moreover, a recent study demonstrates that the financial insecurity of many US older adults has motivated the strong increase of IRM to Cotacachi, Ecuador (Crespo et al. 2022).

Horn and Schweppe (2017, p. 335) indicate that "the 'methodological nationalism' in ageing studies has overlooked the dimensions in older peoples' lives that go beyond the boundaries of a defined (national) territory". Gustafson (2008) notes that retirement migration displays strong transnational traits regarding patterns of cross-border mobility, and the transnational dimension is applicable to forms of human mobility other than labour and refugee migration. Other research on IRM has also revealed the elderly's frequent mobilities between their countries of destination and origin, transnational lifestyles and identities, engagement in transnational social, cultural and political activities, and maintained relationships with friends and family members in their earlier communities (Horn and Schweppe 2017). All these scholarships exemplify the necessity of applying a transnational dimension for ageing and the study of international retirement migration.

Hepburn (2020) claims that the globalisation process has facilitated a greater sense of risk-aversion for the elderly who know where they can very likely access the best ageing experiences. To a certain extent, IRM can be regarded as a kind of lifestyle migration as well. The lifestyle is proposed as the predominant lens to capture the essence of the IRM phenomenon and has quickly become the dominant approach to theorise international retirement migration (Benson and O'Reilly 2016; King et al. 2021). Botterill (2017) states that most of British retirees interviewed in Hua Hin, Thailand, claimed their

improved health and well-being partly because of the more active lifestyles there. Gustafson (2009, p. 69) in his study on seasonal retirement migration between dual or multiple homes in Sweden and Spain also noted that "this recurrent migration itself becomes part of the migrants' lifestyle which combines a desire for mobility and variation with a quest for home".

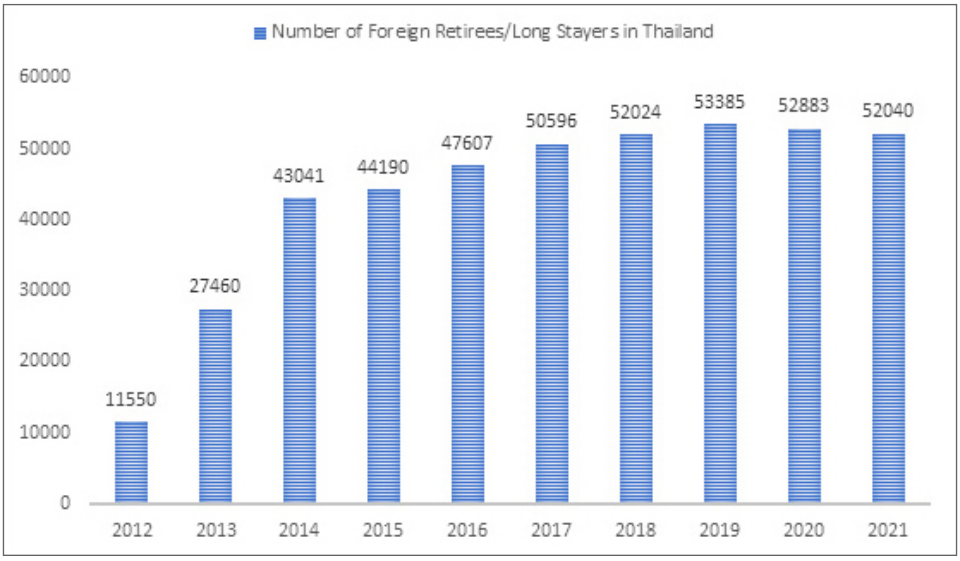
However, Benson and O'Reilly (2016) invoke "relativity" for understanding the economic factors within lifestyle migrants' lives, stressing that such migrants are not necessarily absolute wealthy in their home countries, but relatively affluent as located within global social and spatial inequality. Due to the fact that their relative wealth is much smaller and they may have no other relevant capital, the recognition of relativity also allows for an understanding of lifestyle migrants as potentially vulnerable and, in some cases, disadvantaged (Botterill 2017; Green 2016; Hardill et al. 2005). These issues also lead us to recognise the three strands of new frontiers in international retirement migration: 1) changing geographies like new IRM destinations in the Global South; 2) new typologies involving retirees' broadened class and wealth backgrounds; and 3) extending theoretical frontiers such as a political economy perspective (King et al. 2021).

2.2 Situation and Trends of International Retirement Migration in Thailand

A characteristic of IRM research is the difficulty in finding accurate statistics on international retirees in the host country. This is the case in Thailand. However, IRM in Thailand has experienced significant growth in recent years. UN Thematic Working Group on Migration in Thailand (2019, p. 12) reports that by November 2018, there were circa 72,969 non-Thai retirement population residing in Thailand. Sasiwongsaroj and Husa (2022, p. 61) state that "the number of foreigners staying on a retirement visa in Thailand has increased five-fold in 16 years, from 10,709 in 2005 to 52,040 in 2021". Figure 1 shows a slight decline in numbers of foreign retirees between 2019 and 2021, most likely due to the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic. But North-South migration may increase in this post-Covid era because lower-income countries provide an economic safe-haven for workers and older people (Hayes and Zaban 2020). Nevertheless, accurately determining the precise number of foreign retirees in Thailand poses a significant challenge due to diverse visa statuses of the long-stayers (Scuzzarello 2020; Sunanta and Jaisuekun 2022).

International retirement migrants in Thailand come from various countries, primarily Western nations (Glinskaya et al. 2021; Howard 2008), and there are also many foreigners from Japan, the Republic of Korea, and Russia residing in Thailand on retirement visas (Asian Development Bank 2020). Thailand's welcoming visa policies such as the Non-Immigrant Visa "O-X" have further facilitated the influx of retirees from Western countries, particularly from Europe, North America, and Australia (Thai visa expert, n. d.). So far, there is no clear data showing that Western European retirees have been overtaken by Russians and East Asian migrants in Thailand, even though in 2023 Asia remains the dominant contributor to foreign arrivals and Russia leads the European market with 5.3 percent of total foreign tourists (Knight Frank Thailand 2023).

Popular retirement destinations in Thailand include coastal areas such as Phuket, Pattaya, and Hua Hin, as well as cultural hubs like Chiang Mai and Bangkok. Though the influx of IRMs may translate to contributions to the economic and cultural development in hosting countries through their investments, spending, and participation in social and cultural activities, there are also concerns about its potential challenges. For instance, research has shown that IRM can perpetuate racialised structures (Scuzzarello 2020), and care commodification in the context of IRM has important negative implications for the local health- and elder-care industry (Sunanta and Jaisuekun 2022). In addition, concentration of IRMs in specific geographical areas of Thailand may generate significant internal mobility (Skeldon 2006), which may have consequences for social structures and the local ageing population (Knodel et al. 2007).



Source: Own compilation of data from Immigration Bureau of Thailand, by Sasiwongsaroj and Husa (2022)

Figure 1: Number of foreigners obtaining retirement/ long stay visas in Thailand, 2012–2021

2.3 The Visa Regime Facilitating Long Stay in Thailand

TAT Newsroom (2022) reports that the "2022 Annual Global Retirement Index" has named Thailand as the best Asian country for foreigners to retire, and the 11th best country to retire worldwide. Global Top Group (2022) comments that Thailand's high rank is because of "its beaches, tropical climate, variety of affordable living options, modern and reasonably priced health care, and convenient visa process for retirees". Undoubtedly, as King et al. (2021) put, Thailand has become one of the new geographical frontiers of extended international retirement migration within the Global South.

Howard (2008) states that Thailand's first "retirement visa" is the "Non-immigrant O Visa for a Retired Person" which only dates from 1998. Recently, the Thai government rolled out a visa policy for 10-year long-term residents, targeting "high-potential" foreign groups including wealthy pensioners (Thailand Board of investment 2022a). This new visa scheme is also called "Long-Term Resident" (LTR), which has been open for applications since September 1, 2022. According to Thailand Board of Investment (2022b), four categories of foreigners are eligible for the visa, they are: wealthy global citizens, wealthy pensioners, work-from-Thailand professionals, and highly skilled professionals. Table 1 shows a comparison between four existing types of retirement-related long-stay visa in Thailand's visa regime.

Type of Visa	Period of Stay	Applicant's Nationality	Work Permission	Age Limit and Financial Qualification	Start year
Non-Immigrant Visa "O" (Retirement)	90 days	Any nationality	Any nationality	50 years old and above and no less than 800,000 baht bank deposit	n. d.
Non-Immigrant Visa "O-A"	maximum 1 year	Any nationality	Not allowed	50 years old and above and no less than 800,000 baht bank deposit	1998
Non-Immigrant Visa "O-X"	maximum 10 years	Japan, Australia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, Canada, United States of America	Can work as a volunteer	50 years old and above and no less than 3-million-baht bank deposit	2016
Long-Term Resident Visa (LTR)	10 years	Any nationality	Allowed	For pensioners: 50 years old and above, at least USD 80,000 year income; for other 3 categories: no age limit.	2022

Source: Thailand Board of Investment, 2022; Thai Visa Expert, n. d.

Table 1: Thailand's four existing types of retirement-related long-stay visa

From Table 1, it can be noted that Thailand's visa regime has updated over time to encourage long-term stays of wealthy foreigners in Thailand and leverage their substantial consuming power to boost the national economy. For example, the period of stay could be prolonged to a maximum of 10 years now, while the specific financial threshold for visa applicants has been raised from 800,000 baht bank deposit to an annual income of USD

80,000. Besides, in 2019, the Thai government has introduced the requirement that foreign retirees must be covered by a health insurance for the duration of their stay.

Additionally, there is still another visa option for foreign retirees, that is "Thai Elite Long Stay Visa", though it is not mainly for retirement purpose. Launched in July 2003, the Thai Elite Visa programme is a long-term visa option designed to attract high-net-worth individuals, retirees, and investors to Thailand. It offers various privileges and benefits, including extended stay periods of up to 20 years, multiple-entry visas, and access to a set of exclusive services such as airport lounges, healthcare facilities, and government agencies (Thai Elite, n. d.).

And it is worth noting that there are foreign retirees, especially European migrants in Thailand who marry Thai nationals. These retirees can choose to apply for the "Thai Marriage Visa" which has lower financial requirements after obtaining a 90-day Non-immigrant O Visa first (Siam Legal, n.d.). Many of these migrants would live with the family of their Thai spouse and form a small community of expats in many provinces in Thailand (Jaisuekun and Sunanta 2023; Kanchanachitra and Chuenglertsiri 2020; Scuzzarello 2020; Statham 2020).

However, against the backdrop of a gloomy and uncertain outlook of the world economy (International Monetary Fund 2022), there also could be a slow increase in the number of foreign budget retirees who come to Thailand in the hope of maintaining their previous living standards with limited pensions.

3 Emergence of Transnational Retirement Industry

As a response to the increasing trend of international retirement migration, a transnational retirement industry (TRI) has emerged to provide services and facilities catering to the needs and preferences of the IRMs. To date, there is still no authoritative definition of TRI in extant literature. However, Toyota and Xiang (2012, p. 710) refer the term "retirement industry" in Southeast Asia to "business operations that are related to the international relocation of foreign retirees". Considering the obvious transnationality of the "retirement industry" in Southeast Asia which has been manifested by diverse nationalities of retirees, international investment, and cross border services, etc. (Farber 2022; Toyota and Xiang 2012; Wong and Musa 2020; Yee 2017), their definition of "retirement industry" is adopted for the definition of TRI in this article. In this section, we first discuss the relationship between ageing, IRM and TRI, then try to shed light on the global development of TRI from the dimensions of the three sectors which have pioneered and led TRI.

3.1 The Interplay between Ageing, International Retirement Migration and the Transnational Retirement Industry

It is the rapid progress of population ageing and the increasingly popular IRM that have promoted the emergence of TRI (Bastia et al. 2022; Green 2016; Hayes 2015; Sunanta

2020; Toyota and Xiang 2012). The potential for older individuals to contribute positively to global development has been acknowledged. As WHO (2015) notes, older people make strong economic contributions to society through consumption in developed countries, while in lower-income countries sometimes through raising the next generation or other surprising ways. For example, the over-65s made a net contribution of GBP 40 billion to the UK economy in 2010, which is set to rise to GBP 77 billion by 2030 (Cook 2011). Zickgraf (2017) contends that the Moroccan ageing ascendants both the left-behind ones and those returning to the home country after working age, continually offer emotional and material forms of support to their adult migrant descendants.

In addition, ageing could bring about new opportunities for development. Ageing-related business such as elderly care institutions, wellness centres, and senior housing projects are of growing significance and could become a new driving force for global development. Take Thailand as an example, "the demographic changes together with societal and lifestyle changes have created new opportunities for businesses in Thailand" (Yamada Consulting, and Spire Thailand 2019, p. 10).

Besides, the deeply entrenched inequality between nations is an important driving force behind the transnational retirement industry, and "Had there been no wealth differentials, transnational retirement industry may not exist at all" (Tang and Zolnikov 2021). Foreign retirees or IRMs, as a part of the ageing population, are the target customers of TRI. Because of the uneven global economic development, average pensioners in one country could become high-power consumers in another. Individual international retirement migrants could take the "geographic arbitrage" strategy – the economically driven North-to-South migration – to pursue fulfilling retirement in low-cost locations or countries (King et al. 2021; Hayes 2015). To a certain extent, IRM has also been regarded as a sort of "survival strategy" by some developed countries such as Japan and Germany to manage their domestic care deficits (Toyota and Xiang 2012; Schwiter et al. 2020).

3.2 Globalisation and the Development of Transnational Retirement Industry

Considering the blurring of North-South boundaries (Horner 2020), this article argues that the global development of the transnational retirement industry (TRI) to date is mainly a process of serving retirees from higher latitudes at lower latitudes and recouping their lost advantages. The existence of national borders and global inequalities have made TRI desirable and profitable. In this part, we will discuss the relationship between the global development of TRI and tourism, care providers and real estate sectors.

The development of TRI is inextricable from tourism, and there are close relationships between the geographies of international tourism and retirement migration (Williams et al. 2000). In the 1960s and 1970s, the boom in mass tourism began, attracting northern Europeans who bought retirement properties in southern Europe, so that the Spanish Mediterranean coasts became settlement areas for British, German, Dutch and Scandinavian retirees (Bastia et al. 2022). However, places and regions selected or promoted as destinations for TRI have expanded to the Global South in recent years, because those countries

and places can offer the required services, prices, and security (Hayes 2015; Toyota and Xiang 2012). Correspondingly, some niche tourism forms like medical tourism, wellness tourism, residence tourism, VFR (visiting friends and relatives) tourism, and long-stay tourism have gained attention and been rising in these new frontiers (Connell 2013; Gustafson 2009; Howard 2008; Scuzzarello 2020; Sunanta 2020; Whittaker 2008; Williams et al. 2000; Wilson 2010).

Additionally, multiple studies have demonstrated that previous tourism experience can influence retirees' choice to pursue a destination for relocation and prepare for the future migration (Barbosa et al. 2021; Gustafson 2009; Pickering and Crookes 2019). Moreover, the global tourism industry and IRM are also highly volatile to global crisis. For instance, the tourism industry has been dramatically hit by the Covid-19 pandemic, but scholars have predicted that the global tourism will be driven by North–South migration (Hayes and Zaban 2020).

The transnational retirement industry cannot grow without care providers as care is a crucial dimension for older persons. For retirees, care can be provided by different agents in a variety of settings, as demonstrated in the classical concept of "care diamond" which includes the family/household, markets, the public sector, and the not-for-profit sector (Ochiai 2009). Currently, the austerity rationality in public spending and the neoliberal restructuring of public health services in OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) countries have paved the way for the rising of a new private market for 24 hours home care services (Schwiter et al. 2018). Meanwhile, "Globalization has facilitated a greater sense of risk-aversion for older adults who are aware of where they can most likely access optimal ageing experiences" (Hepburn 2020, p. 1272). So, care providers like nursing homes in IRM destinations are expected to develop to meet the demands of increasing IRMs. In this sense, TRI embodies "a reverse global mobility" for seeking care, during which the care recipient migrates, not the caregiver (Schwiter et al. 2020), and this mobility seldom may cause a care drain in the Global South.

One other sector which is particularly keen on transnational retirement industry is real estate (Toyota and Xiang 2012). Part of existing scholarship has studied new forms of real estate development driven by tourism and foreign retirees and their place effects. For instance, Gascón's (2016) research in the Ecuadorian Andes illustrates how the residential tourism aiming to American retirees has brought the risk of depeasantisation and rapid changes in social and economic structures. Part of the scholarship with an interest in TRI has engaged with scholars in the field of urban studies and applied the concept of "transnational gentrification" to study real estate development in urban places (see Cocola-Gant and Lopez-Gay 2020).

Though these articles intersect with the study on TRI and its real estate sector, they do not sufficiently engage with data on the real estate industry. So, there is still a gap about the IRM-related real estate to fill. On the other hand, the influx of IRMs could trigger a strong IRM-related real estate market and have positive aspects including the generation of employment, tax contribution, and new service sectors (Crespo et al. 2022). In addition to formal institutional care facilities, various purpose-built housing developments such as condominiums, villas and retirement villages need to be developed for purchase

or rent by IRMs who live relatively independently. Though considerable new real estate development and services specifically for foreign retirees have been created in recent years (Ashton and Scott 2017), little is currently known about the emergence and development of IRM-related real estate in Thailand. In the next section, we will delve into the IRM-related real estate in Thailand.

4 International Retirement Migration-Related Real Estate: The Case of Thailand

There is no doubt that the influx of international retirement migrants (IRMs) could translate to more demands for health services and housing, which could help boost the development of IRM-related real estate. Meanwhile, receiving IRMs is bound to put forward higher requirements for the provision and management of health and welfare services. Thailand has entered an ageing society, with 18.8 percent of the total population over 60 years old in 2021 (TGRI 2021).Unfortunately, Thailand lacks a strong welfare system, and only a small sector of the population is covered by the state pension (Sunanta 2020). Moreover, housing and living places should be redesigned and readjusted to be suitable for this ageing population (Prasartkul et al. 2019). Though about 800 nursing home operators and 385 entrepreneurships registered as elderly care businesses in Thailand in 2020 (Sasiwongsaroj and Husa 2022), it seems that the Social Welfare Development Centres for Older Persons of Thailand still failed to provide enough affordable accommodations for Thai elderly in need (TGRI 2020). Hence, aside from business and development opportunities, the influx of IRMs may also bring extra burdens and negative impacts to the social economy of the host country. In that case, the development and impact on the Thai society of IRM-related real estate thus need to be fully assessed and understood.

4.1 Thailand Context: The Real Estate Industry

Thailand's real estate has an obvious focus on Bangkok and its vicinity, and the Upcountry (major six provinces including Chiang Mai, Chonburi, Khon Kaen, Nakhon Ratchasima, Phuket and Rayong) because these areas are the main drivers of economic growth and development in the country. Klinchuanchun (2021) demonstrates that the majority of developments are low-rise housing in Upcountry, while in Bangkok and its vicinity, the majority of developments are condominiums. The real estate sector is significant to the national economy, though falling sharply from 8 percent in the pre-pandemic level in 2019 to 4.8 percent of Thailand's GDP in 2021 (Klinchuanchun 2022). It is expected to recover in 2022 due to positive indicators such as the reopening of the country and the easing of LTV (loan-to-value) measures (DDProperty 2021). Krungsri Research (2023) also expects the housing market to continue to recover over the next three years (2023–2025) in Bangkok and vicinity as well as Upcountry, with higher demand from non-Thai buyers being one of the main factors.

The Thai government has rolled out some measures to stimulate the demand from non-Thai property buyers. For instance, Krungsri Research (2023) contends that the introduction of Long Term Resident Visa (LTR) is expected to encourage greater activities in Thailand's housing market, especially in the condominium segment, "as Thai law stipulates that non-Thais may legally own only condominiums and only up to 49 percent of the total salable area in any project" (Klinchuanchun 2022, p. 5). In addition, according to Krungsri Research, amendments to the Condominium Act, which will allow foreigners to own more than 49 percent of the floorspace in any given condominium building, are currently under review.

However, according to the report of the Real Estate Information Centre (REIC 2022), from 2018 to 2022, Chinese and Russian buyers have consistently ranked first and second in the list of transfer of ownership of condominium units by foreigners in Thailand; and in 2022, buyers from the United States, the United Kingdom and France ranked third to fifth on the list respectively. The report also shows that condominium units purchased by foreigners are concentrated in Bangkok and the following four provinces: Chonburi, Phuket, Chiang Mai and Samut Prakan.

Furthermore, the Thai government has also tried to create new opportunities for non-Thais to own land with some conditions. Quite recently, the it proposed a draft regulation on land ownerships by foreigners to allow LTR visa holders to purchase up to one rai of land for residential purposes in return for investments (Sattaburuth 2022). But soon the government was reportedly backing down from the proposal after it had drawn flak from critics who accused the government of "selling off" the country (Bangprapa and Nanuam 2022). "Although building and marketing real estate unquestionably brings money into the country and raises foreign investments, there are also critical voices" (Vogler 2022, p. 148). So, legally speaking, foreign land ownership in Thailand has not been approved so far. However, this fact does not deter many foreigners who buy villas in Thailand with the 30-year renewable leasehold. For instance, there are many Russians owning pool villas in Phuket (C9 Hotelworks 2023).

4.2 Definition and Classification of International Retirement Migration-Related Real Estate

The extant literature still does not seem to have a clear definition of IRM-related real estate. In their paper on mapping the spatio-temporal growth of foreign-owned properties in Cotacachi, Ecuador, Crespo et al. (2022) propose the term "IRM-related real estate" without exact definition either. In this article, we propose the definition of "IRM-related real estate" as "all forms of for-profit living facilities which specifically or inclusively cater to the demands of international retirement migrants".

In Thailand, this term can include various types of properties such as retirement villages, serviced residences, nursing homes, etc. It should be noted that this term also encompasses properties such as a condominium buildings or apartment complexes that may not be solely marketed towards IRMs but still cater to their needs, such as, for example, some residences in Chiang Mai. IRM-related real estate can provide different levels of support and care to retirees, ranging from basic accommodation to specialised

care services for IRMs. The purpose of IRM-related real estate is to provide a comfortable and safe living environment for retirees, while also offering access to healthcare, social activities, and other amenities that are desirable for this demographic group. However, the AEC+ Business Advisory, which is set up by Kasikorn Bank, also notes that for some properties, wealthy Thai nationals are also included in their target group along with foreigners (AEC+ 2018).

There have been many different terms such as second home, nursing home, retirement village, seniors' housing, care facilities for IRM-related real estate internationally, and the boundaries are blurring and confound systematic analysis (Ball and Nanda 2013; Bender et al. 2017; Howe et al. 2013; Lundman 2020; Wong and Musa 2015). It is difficult to make a universally agreed classification for IRM-related real estate because of its complicated natures such as funding and regulatory arrangements, service provision and target customers. Here we roughly group IRM-related real estate in Thailand into three categories: 1) assisted living facility (ALF) such as nursing home, 2) independent living facility (ILF) such as serviced residence, and 3) all-inclusive retirement community. It is important to keep in mind that this division is only a rough guide, and that each facility should be evaluated on its own merits.

	Assisted living facility (ALF)	**Independent living facility (ILF)**	**All-inclusive residence**
Services provided	Assistance or care with activities of daily living (ADLs) and / or medication management	Support services such as housekeeping, laundry and transportation etc.	A range of high-end services including lifestyle and recreation services in addition to support and personal care
Target group	IRMs who need some help or are unable to perform activities of daily living (ADLs) on their own.	IRMs who can live independently but want access to amenities and services that can help make their lives easier	Foreign retirees who are seeking a high-end retirement lifestyle and personalised, comprehensive services.
Property ownership	Leasehold	Freehold / Leasehold	Leasehold

Source: Own compilation

Table 2: Three categories of international retirement migration-related real estate in Thailand

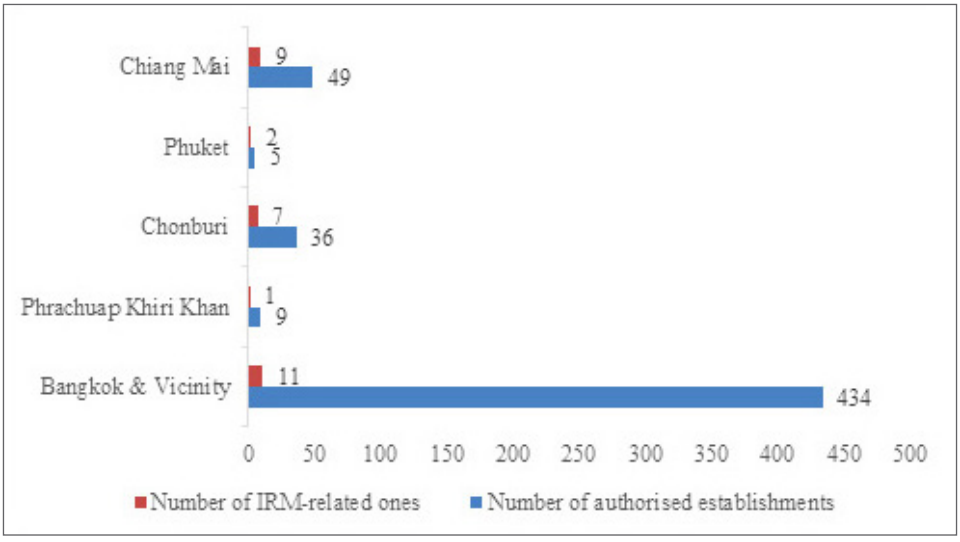
Table 2 shows the services provided and the target groups of each category of IRM-related real estate in Thailand. Regarding the "care" and "support" mentioned in the table, we acknowledge the definition from Howe et al. (2013), which is, "care" services are provided on a one-to-one basis and involving personal interaction between the care recipient and provider; while "support" services refer to barrier-free design, property maintenance, organised social activities and meals services etc.

4.3 Current Situation: Supply Side

Howard (2008) states that there are no signs of "extra care" or "quasi nursing home" developments for Westerners in Thailand as in Spain for northern Europeans. Unfortunately, there is no available data which documents the exact number of living facilities for foreign retirees to date. In the absence of authoritative and systematic data, we rely on data gathered from relevant government departments, business analyses published in reputable sources in addition to websites of some private agencies to do a preliminary investigation about the IRM-related real estate in Thailand. As Ashton et al. (2019) state that near beaches, in cooler mountain areas or in urban areas are the three key location attributes influencing accommodation choice of IRMs, we focused on Bangkok, its vicinity, and other four provinces which are famous for international tourism and vacation.

4.3.1 Assisted Living Facility (ALF)

According to the nature of these facilities mentioned in Table 2, we entered the website of the Ministry of Public Health (MOPH) and checked the list of authorised establishments for providing care for the elderly or dependents in Thailand. We found that a total of 722 establishments were on the list up to April 2023. Within this number, 533 were listed establishments in Bangkok, its vicinity, and in four tourist provinces and only a small part of them (30 establishments) could be counted as IRM-related (see Figure 2). We also found that "Nursing home"' stands out as the most commonly used and least ambiguous term for assisted living facilities (ALF) in Thailand, and "home", "care" and "health" frequently



Source: Data from Ministry of Public Health, n.d. Own calculation, own design.

Figure 2: The number of assisted living facilities (ALF) in five selected areas in Thailand

occur in the names of the 30 IRM-related establishments, demonstrating that home-like healthcare is their service focus.

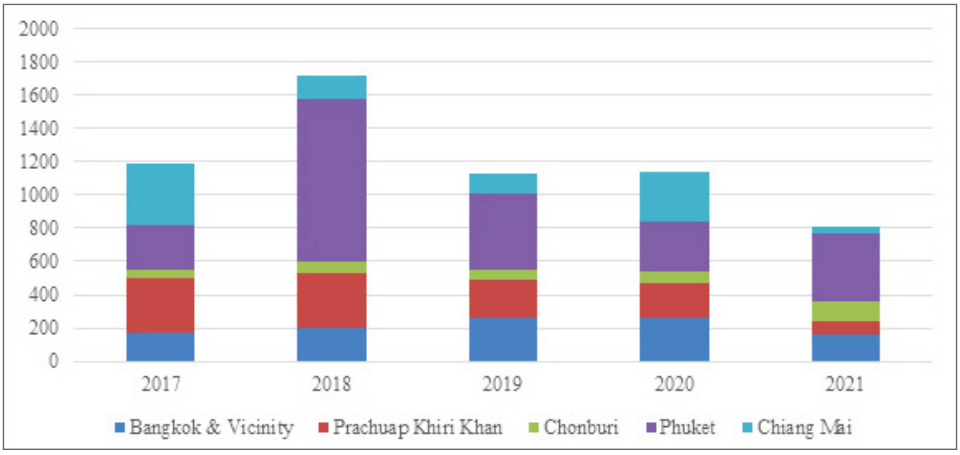
However, this official list does not include all IRM-related assisted living facilities (ALFs), as the Thai authorities have only just enacted laws and regulations for the operation of elderly care facilities, which came into force in 2021 (Sasiwongsaroj and Husa 2022, p. 73). As to the geographical distribution of the 18 foreigner-recommended retirement homes in Thailand, except for the Lanee's Residence, all others are in or close to famous tourist hot spots such as Chiang Mai, Phuket, and Bangkok. Lanee's Residence, located in the northeastern province Buriram, is conducted by a Thai-Swiss couple, and the majority of the residents and guests are from German speaking countries (Lanee's Residenz, n. d.). Its popularity at least confirms the heterogeneity of the IRM population coming to Thailand and shows that the needs of IRMs are also becoming more diverse. Lanee's Residence is located in a remote rural area and is currently a non-mainstream ALF. This could have implications for the future development of IRM properties in Thailand.

4.3.2 Independent Living Facility (ILF)

Given that the major target clients of Independent Living Facilities (ILF) are relatively active and healthy foreign retirees, we argue that ILF has a high degree of overlap with long-term accommodation for foreign tourists in Thailand, except that ILF also emphasises some age-friendly services and amenities. Ashton and Scott (2017, p 12) also demonstrate that "accommodation for IRM was found in many places in Thailand, with hotel owners interested in developing their property to suit IRM". Phiromyoo (2011) divides long-stay accommodation in Thailand into the following four categories: 1) hotels and resorts; 2) condominiums and serviced apartments; 3) specific projects for health promotion; and 4) specific accommodations for a particular group. We argue that the first two accommodation categories apply to ILF in this article.

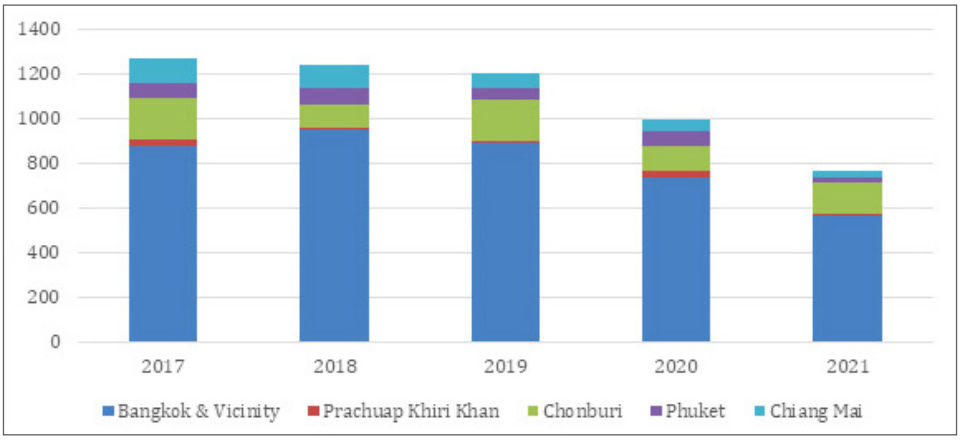
We found only one authorised IRM-related independent living facility (ILF) (NAYA Residence) in the five selected areas from the website of the Ministry of Public Health. Although it is quite difficult to obtain precise data on IRM-related ILFs in Thailand, we can still discern some clues from authoritative real estate industry reports. Figure 3 demonstrates that during 2017–2021, the number of hotel building construction permits in the five selected areas peaked in 2018 and then showed a downward trend, reaching a new low in 2021. This is likely related to the serious impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on the Thai hotel industry during this period. For instance, the occupancy rate of the Thai hotel industry was only 14.2 percent in 2021 because of global lockdowns (Krungsri Research 2023).

In addition, given that condominiums and apartments belong to the category of high-rise housing in Thailand, Figure 4 also depicts that the overall supply of this sort of independent living facilities (ILF) in the five selected areas declined year by year during 2017–2021. However, the supply decreased, significantly increasing transaction prices by 42.3 percent to THB 4.0 million as developers sought to exploit more robust demand at the more expensive end of the market (Klinchuanchun 2022, p. 18).



Source: Data from the Real Estate Information Centre 2021. Own calculation, own design.

Figure 3: The number of hotel building construction permits in five selected areas, 2017–2021



Source: Data from the Real Estate Information Centre 2021. Own calculation, own design.

Figure 4: The number of high-rise housing construction permits in five selected areas, 2017–2021

Some well-known independent living facilities (ILFs) can be found from advertising campaigns for real estate projects and word-of-mouth promotion within foreigner communities, and among them, four projects are examples as follows:

AI Home Chiang Mai is a serviced residence building dedicated to providing comprehensive support services specifically tailored for international retirees, with a particular focus on accommodating the needs of Japanese pensioners. *Scandinavian Village* is for Scandinavians aged 50 or over who appreciate an active senior life. The location is near the

Bangsaen beach, Chonburi province and there is a total of 96 apartments for sale or rental. "Being a Board of Investment (BOI) project and under a special category allowing that land and property can be foreign-owned" (Phiromyoo 2011, p. 48). *The Aspen Tree Residence* locates in Samut Prakan province, it offers villa and condominiums with support and recreation services for foreign and high-end Thai clients over 50 years of age. S*mith Residence Chiang Mai* is not solely marketed towards IRMs, however, this apartment complex still has become a popular and favoured option for IRMs because it caters to their needs.

A number of residence buildings in Chiang Mai is dedicated to providing comprehensive support services specifically tailored for international retirees, with a particular focus on accommodating the needs of Japanese pensioners (see Vogler 2015). Besides, in the future, such real estate projects in popular retirement destinations as Sunplay Bangsaray Luxury Residences and Mandara Residence in Chonburi or Sansara and Smart Hamlet at Hua Hin could be ILF options for international retirement migrants because they can also cater to active and healthy IRMs' lifestyle needs.

4.3.3 All-inclusive Residence

This category of IRM-related real estate is relatively new in Thailand and the most tailor-made for well-off international retirement migrants. Compared to ALF and ILF, it claims to provide a full range of services including concierge, nursing care, lifestyle, and social activities for both early and late retirees. However, compiling statistics on such real estate projects within Thailand is a significant challenge. Through online search and screening, we have only found four such real estate projects so far (see Table 3). Among

Province of Location	Housing type	Services	Price / Payment
Chonburi, Phuket, Phang Nga, Samut Prakarn	Hotel room, villa, luxury apartment	Active living, semi-assisted living and 24-hour assistance	Pay according to the membership package
Prachuap Khiri Khan	Apartment, villa	Housekeeping, concierge, transportation, medical assistance, social activity	Apartment: Starts from 4 million Baht Villa: Starts from 7.9 million Baht
Phuket	Villa	Lifestyle service, assisted living, social activity, outsourced nursing care	7.6–9.8 million baht for full payment
Phuket	Apartment, villa	Concierge, transportation, social events, niche health and wellness programs (extra charged)	Apartment: Starts from 15.5 million Baht Villa: Starts from 49.3 million Baht

Source: Data from the websites of the projects. Own compilation.

Table 3: Four examples of all-inclusive residences in Thailand for international retirement migrants

them, The VIMAN, with the Thai Elite programme as a partner, is the most representative one for its "3 Phases" services (active living, semi-assisted living, and 24 hours assistance) to cover the whole retire life seamlessly. From the services listed in Table 3, we think all these four projects focus on creating an active lifestyle for the residents and most of the targeted clients should be relatively healthy and wealthy foreign retirees.

In addition, most of these residences are located in famous tourist resorts, which belong to the high-end market, and the prices are relatively high. So, these all-inclusive residences are largely disassociated from the general public, and overseas demand is essential for their survival. Additionally, Leartbuasin and Potisarattana (2015, p. 7) contend that this format of IRM-related real estate "will create a comforting, safer, and worthwhile environment in the format of long-term lease rather than the purchasing of condominiums".

4.4 Niche Market: Demand Side

As a specific segment of the real estate industry, IRM-related real estate in Thailand can be considered a niche market that mainly caters to the needs and preferences of international retirement migrants. Because they are not a homogeneous group of consumers, their demands are diversified and basically include care and support services and recreation.

The IRM-related assisted living facilities (ALFs) in Thailand will very probably experience pressure and need an increase in both the number and size due to its growing market demands. Firstly, as to the elderly expats within Thailand, studies have indicated that their care demand will very likely be rising when they get older and frail, particularly for those with chronic diseases (Bender et al. 2017; Howard 2008; Jaisuekun and Sunanta 2023; Miyashita et al. 2017; Vogler 2022; Yoda et al. 2021). Those IRMs may have been relatively healthy and active when they moved to Thailand. However, it is a common sense that "people gradually lose their 'capacity' and go through a period of 'frailty', after which they become disabled in their activities of daily living and require long-term care" (Kimura and Ishimoto, 2022, p. 115). In addition, recent literature research on IRM shows that access to affordable and comprehensive healthcare abroad has become one of the most important motivations and concerns for retirees' engagement in IRM (Pickering et al. 2019; Savaş et al. 2023). Hence, the market demands for ALFs in Thailand would be rising in the near future.

According to REIC (2022), though still being below the pre-Covid levels, the number, value and size of units transferred to foreigners in condominiums nationwide recovered in the second half of 2022; and in part, this was helped by foreign buyers completing deals previously held back by the pandemic. However, it is estimated that there will be approximately 88,190 condominium ownership transfers in Thailand in 2023, a decrease of 17.7 percent from 2022, and the total number of housing ownership transfers nationwide is nearly 352,761 units, a decrease of 10.2 percent compared to 2022 (REIC 2023). CBRE (2023) notes that the Thai owner-occupier market will have been the main target in 2022 and that the introduction of super-luxury apartments will outstrip all existing supply. Given that not all IRMs are privileged, wealthy pensioners, and some of them may favour

other destinations in Southeast Asia for lower cost of living, such as Cambodia or Vietnam (Vogler 2022), it remains uncertain that Thailand's independent living facility (ILF) market will face growing demand.

The all-inclusive residences segment is highly dependent on demand from abroad due to the higher cost of living and customised services, and the target group is wealthy foreign retirees. Though the Thai authorities have set a target to attract one million applicants for Long Term Resident (LTR) Visa over the next five years, only about 2,800 foreigners, 35 percent of which were foreign pensioners, have sought the visas as of February 2023 (Yuvejwattana 2023). However, as IRMs who have already lived in Thailand and aged in place, some of them could be potential clients of the all-inclusive residences.

4.5 Industry Outlook: Opportunities and Challenges

Being the important physical and social space within which to provide care, support and recreation services for international retirement migrants, IRM-related real estate has its own commercial attributes as well. It is by no means a new phenomenon in Thailand. When mentioning the emergence of care facilities in Thailand for older Germanspeaking people, Bender et al. (2017, p. 368) note that "against the background of the transferability of pensions and low wages of Thai staff, the facilities become a profitable business model for their operators". Sasiwongsaroj and Husa (2022, p. 71) note that "the elderly care business in residential and nursing homes targeting high-income groups has gained interest among investors".

Against a gloomy economic outlook, increasing investment in and travel to Thailand by foreigners would be essential in the development of this sector. Scuzzarello (2020, p. 1612) contends that the Thai government has played a significant role in encouraging foreign retirees to relocate to Thailand and it has supported the industries involved in retirement migration as part of the country's national development strategies. This is the current background of the development of IRM-related real estate in Thailand. However, the Thai IRM real estate market is still at an early stage where opportunities and challenges coexist. Table 4 lists the main opportunities and challenges facing IRM-related real estate in Thailand.

Opportunities

As mentioned earlier, with the gradual aging of international retirement migrants (IRMs) who have been in Thailand, the demand for nursing care will inevitably increase, and more assisted living facilities (ALFs) such as nursing homes will be built when times require it. On the other hand, Thailand has become a new top destination for IRMs, and more IRMs from countries with well-developed pension systems will flock to Thailand, usually in search of a better lifestyle and a better financial situation as well as quality and affordable care. The arrival of these relatively wealthy IRMs could give birth to more residential demands and is bound to promote the development of IRM-related real estate in Thailand.

Opportunities	Challenges
1. Growing care demand from international retirement migrants already living in Thailand and possible influx of relatively wealthy pensioners	1. Competition from other Southeast Asian countries such as Malaysia, Vietnam, and Philippines
2. Thai government's policy support and upcoming government-backed projects	2. Far-reaching economic, social, and cultural impacts derived from development of IRM-related real estate
3. Simultaneous development trends in the real estate sector in Thailand after the pandemic	3. Absence of effective collaboration among stakeholders

Source: Own compilation

Table 4: Opportunities and challenges facing IRM-related real estate in Thailand

Abdul-Aziz and Chan (2019) affirm the role of Thai government in mitigating the impacts of external shocks on the national real estate sector during the years of global financial crisis. Nowadays, the Thai authorities have introduced some favourable policies for IRM-related real estate. For instance, the Thai government has facilitated visas for foreign applicants aged 50 and older and since January 1, 2023, it has reduced property transfer and mortgage registration fees (Krungsri Research 2023). The Thailand Board of Investment (BOI) states that retirement homes and care centres are promoted, and the foreign companies receiving BOI status can obtain various advantages when creating and operating such facilities (Bender et al. 2017; BOI 2020).

Besides, the Thai government is facilitating long-stay tourism in combination with health tourism and has identified the "Medical Hub" as part of "New S-Curve" industries (Sunanta and Jaisuekun 2022). More recently, the government introduced various economic initiatives such as the "Phuket Medical Plaza" and the "Andaman Wellness Corridor" (Bangkok Post 2022) aiming to advertise Thailand as an international medical hub. These are all good opportunities because the development of IRM-related real estate in Thailand is closely linked and deeply affected by the tourism sector and care providers, and "progress in government-backed projects may stimulate stronger demand for housing" (Klinchuanchun 2021, p. 6).

As to Thailand's real estate market outlook, Klinchuanchun (2022) contends that developers may turn to low-rise projects which aim at the high-end market due to current changing circumstances. CBRE (2023) predicts that the luxury housing market will continue upgrading post-Covid designs to adapt to buyers' changing lifestyle and preference, while for downtown condominiums, new products are expected to offer large condo units and at least one healthcare project. Additionally, to meet the needs of an ageing society, considerations of safety and access become much more important for developing residential housing. Therefore, general property developers offering age-friendly home designs are joining this IRM-related real estate market together with their abundant capital, advanced technology, rich experience, and professional knowledge (AEC+ 2018).

Challenges

Firstly, there could be competition from other countries in the Southeast Asia region such as Vietnam and Cambodia. Thailand was voted Asia's best place to retire in both 2022 and 2023, but Cambodia and Vietnam were also voted Asia's second and fourth best places to retire in 2022 respectively, and both countries were also ahead of Thailand in the 2021 rankings (International living 2023). Though Thailand, Malaysia and the Philippines are the main champions of the transnational retirement industry (TRI) in the region (TOYOTA and XIANG 2012), recently Cambodia and Vietnam have become IRM destinations mainly due to their lower cost of living compared to the former three countries.

In addition, a brief comparison among Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam in terms of foreign ownership, lease duration is shown in Table 5. It can be seen from the table that Cambodia's foreign ownership in the condominium market (up to 70 %) is the highest among the three countries. As for Vietnam, despite the 30 percent cap of foreign ownership, house prices are much more affordable compared to other ASEAN countries, according to THUY (2022). These factors could pose a challenge for Thailand's IRM-related real estate.

	Thailand	**Cambodia**	**Vietnam**
Foreign ownership	Foreigners are allowed to purchase up to 49 percent of a condominium project.	Foreigners are allowed to purchase up to 70 percent of co-owned buildings.	Foreigners are allowed to purchase up to 30 percent of a condominium project.
Lease duration	Maximum of 30 years leasehold (renewable)	Maximum of 50 years leasehold (renewable)	Maximum of 50 years leasehold (renewable)

Source: ZICO Law 2020

Table 5: Comparison of foreign ownership in the condominium market among Thailand, Cambodia, and Vietnam

Secondly, real estate related to IRM will have far-reaching economic, social and cultural impacts on both local societies and IRM, and it is undoubtedly a major challenge to deal with the potential disruptions between the different stakeholders and minimise the negative impacts. As HOWARD (2008) points out, Thailand is inward-looking and foreigners are mainly welcomed as short-term, high-spending tourists, so the expensive housing estates being built in tourist attractions could cause resentment among locals.

As non-Thai businesses and citizens are not permitted to own land in Thailand unless the land is on government-approved industrial estates (BOI n.d.), most of the IRM-related real estate in Thailand offer a leasehold. This limitation diminishes the potential for international retirement migrants to acquire land or maintain a secure residential status. Since "retirement migration occurs at a relatively high age, which limits the possibilities for assimilation" (GUSTAFSON 2008, p. 471), the disadvantages of living in a developing nation with insecure residence status may become more evident with time (HOWARD 2008, p.

159). Some IRMs might encounter challenges pertaining to issues such as identity, cultural adaptation, social isolation, etc., which need the attention and support of the broader society. In addition, Vogler (2022) demonstrates that there are stereotypes of "Westerners" built up by Thai society and suggests that foreign entrepreneurs and investors should find a financially moderate way in an IRM process to mix the Thai and "Western" way of life.

Thirdly, though Thailand has set up a national committee in 2001 to strengthen coordination between the ministries of tourism, public health, commerce, industry, and foreign affairs (Toyota and Xiang 2012), existing research shows that there is a lack of effective stakeholder collaboration in catering to this real estate niche market (Ashton and Scott 2017; Kaewkitipong 2018). For example, Ashton and Scott (2017), in their research on Japanese retirees in Chiang Mai and Bangkok, point out that the government should educate locals and stakeholders to adapt their product to IRMs, and that a complete service package including legal support, local cultural activities and goods should be put together, perhaps through effective collaboration between all stakeholders. In their study in Phuket, He and Tovankasame (2020) also notice that relevant non-governmental stakeholders may not welcome the intervention of government departments out of concerns about flexibility in implementing projects.

Moreover, the Thai government's bifurcated approach to population ageing, which plans and develops age care as social protection for Thai citizens and commodified services for foreigners separately, has been questioned and criticised (Sunanta and Jaisuekun 2022). Though Thailand's achievement of universal health coverage is well noted, there are still problems such as lack of caretakers and affordable transportation options to access health facilities which particularly affect poor elderly individuals and the elderly in the oldest old group (World Bank Group 2016). Besides, Krungsri Research (2023, p. 10) predicts that "Thailand will face a number of international challenges over the next three years, and the Covid-19 pandemic has left long-term scars on the economy, most notably by worsening the financial fragility of SMEs and low-income groups".

Considering IRM-related real estate's features of globalisation, transnationality, and cross-industry integration, a holistic strategy and overall collaboration are becoming increasingly significant. Issues such as the attitude of the local community towards IRM-related real estate, the main needs of foreign retirees after relocation, the resilience of tourism, the role of developers, service providers and real estate agents need to be considered.

In general, IRM-related real estate in Thailand is in its infancy with opportunities and challenges coexisting in its development. In addition, according to Leartbuasin and Potisarattana (2015), due to the fact that the elderly in Thailand are now more financially prepared for their lives after retirement, it is more feasible to import demand from abroad to expand this business at present and then serve the elderly in Thailand as they grow older. In this sense, developing IRM-related real estate in Thailand could have implications for changing Thai's traditional elderly care concepts and methods. But the research of Kutz and Lenhardt (2016) also reminds us that the transnationalisation of the real estate market may reinforce local marginalised inhabitants' exclusion of affordable housing due to housing financialisation backed foreign property speculation, and ultimately transformed the space and society. Hence, how the IRM related real estate will impact Thailand's local housing market and local communities remains to be observed and considered.

5 Conclusion

This article discusses the global context, current situation, and future development of IRM-related real estate in Thailand. The authors argue that it is not necessarily the case anymore that international retirement migrants (IRMs) relocating in Thailand are affluent lifestyle-seeking retirees. In future, it is more likely that pensioners from the Global North will endow their pensions with higher purchasing power than in their home countries. However, average pensioners in one country could become high-power consumers in another due to the deeply entrenched inequality between nations. As the study by Chanchalor (2017) shows, older Japanese in Chiang Mai are identified as quality tourists, and the long-term accommodation business is promising for them. On the other hand, IRMs should not be seen instrumentally as a resource to be capitalised, and the host country should recognise their diverse needs and subjective sense of well-being. Furthermore, the authors contend that IRM-related real estate in Thailand is still in its infancy with opportunities and challenges coexisting in its development and a holistic strategy and effective collaboration among various stakeholders are becoming increasingly significant.

Considering the high heterogeneity of international retirement migrants, the authors recommend that nuanced policies and regulations and differentiated services are more needed instead of a one-size-fits-all approach. As to Thailand's current bifurcated approach to population ageing, future study should focus on potential synergies between IRMs and local elderlies in terms of service provision, and the possibility to leverage IRMs' demands to benefit local communities. Moreover, concerns about the bifurcated approach draw attention to policies to cope with the specific issues pertaining to IRMs and related retirement industry. Significant questions about public policy emerge and are worth further research. Such questions include but are not limited to the following. For instance, what impacts would IRMs from the Global North have on the distribution of care resources in Thailand? How does this reflect contemporary forms of transnational and global privilege and inequality?

Additionally, the issue of integration is becoming increasingly significant in Thailand due to the presence of diverse migrant groups within the country. There are migrant workers from Myanmar, Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam (IOM Thailand 2022), IRMs who are mostly from Western nations, and novel digital nomads. Efforts to enhance integration are essential for promoting inclusivity, reducing social tensions, and harnessing the potential contributions of migrants to Thailand's economy and society. Therefore, multiculturalism policies should also be adopted to ensure social integration and harmony.

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New Paths for Social Adaptation in Transnational Migration: The Case of a Migrant Community in Tokyo, Japan

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with 2 figures and 1 table in the text

Contents

Summary 199
Zusammenfassung 200
1 Introduction 201
2 The Communicative Approach to the Social Adaptation of Transnational Migrants . 202
3 Research Methods 205
4 Overview of the Okubo Migrant Community in Tokyo, Japan 207
5 Results 210
6 Discussion 214
7 References 215

Summary

This article aims to research the process of international migrants' adaptation in terms of the interactive communication between migrants and their host society, using the concepts of "social cohesion" and "integrative communication theory" as communicative methodologies. This study intends to explore the new paths for global migrants' adaptation through such an investigation through the case of a migrant community in Japan. The significant theoretical issue in the research on the adaptation of global migrants is the discussion of the "segmented assimilation theory" proposed by Portes and Zhou (1993). Assimilation theory is fundamentally a one-way approach, as its perspective is essentially placed on only the host society. Thus, the authors deem it necessary to research the adaptation of international migrants in different dimensions.

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This research employed an ethnographic approach to collect qualitative data at the research site in Tokyo, where the most significant migrant community in Japan is located. The data collection methods include fieldwork visits, interviews, and participant observation between 2020 and 2022. The study applied a communicative approach to the migrants' adaptation, focusing on the interaction with the host society and on the experiences of individual migrants. Results particularly point to if there is a certain extent of ethnic strength in the host society, even if migrants experience rejection, it helps foster positive communication with locals and the host society. However, it was also found that for this to be the case, a certain degree of acceptance experience is necessary, and it is essential that the host society has an openness to strangers. Moreover, such a research framework allows us to examine the possibility of transcending the limitations of categorical views such as "adaptation/ non-adaptation" of migrants in host society.

Keywords: Adaptation of migrants, social cohesion, segmented assimilation theory, Japan, Tokyo

Zusammenfassung

Neue Wege der sozialen Anpassung in der transnationalen Migration. Fallstudie einer Migrantengemeinschaft in Tokio, Japan

Dieser Artikel zielt darauf ab, den Anpassungsprozess internationaler Migranten in Hinblick auf die interaktive Kommunikation zwischen Migranten und ihrer Aufnahmegesellschaft zu untersuchen, wobei die Konzepte des „sozialen Zusammenhalts" und der „integrativen Kommunikationstheorie" als kommunikative Methoden verwendet werden. In diesem Sinn sollen im Rahmen der vorliegenden Untersuchung neue Wege und Perspektiven der Anpassung globaler Migranten am Beispiel einer Migrantengemeinschaft in Japan analysiert werden. Ein signifikantes theoretisches Konzept in der Forschung über die Anpassung globaler Migranten ist die von Portes und Zhou (1993) vorgeschlagene „segmentierte Assimilationstheorie". Die Assimilationstheorie ist im Grunde ein einseitiger Ansatz, da ihre Perspektive im Wesentlichen nur auf die Aufnahmegesellschaft gerichtet ist. Die Autoren halten es daher für notwendig, die Anpassung internationaler Migranten in verschiedenen Dimensionen zu untersuchen.

In dieser Studie wurde ein ethnographischer Ansatz verwendet, um qualitative Daten am Forschungsstandort Tokio zu erheben, wo sich die größte Migrantengemeinschaft Japans befindet. Die Methoden der Datenerhebung umfassen Geländearbeit und Besuche vor Ort, Interviews und teilnehmende Beobachtung zwischen 2020 und 2022. In der Studie wird ein kommunikativen Ansatz zur Analyse der Anpassung der Migranten angewendet, der sich auf die Interaktion mit der Aufnahmegesellschaft und auf die Erfahrungen der einzelnen Migranten konzentriert. Die Ergebnisse weisen insbesondere darauf hin, dass ein gewisses Maß an ethnischer Stärke in der Aufnahmegesellschaft, selbst wenn Migranten Ablehnung erfahren, die positive Kommunikation mit den Einheimischen und der Aufnahmegesellschaft fördert. Darüber hinaus erlaubt uns ein solcher Forschungsrahmen, zu untersuchen, welche Möglichkeiten bestehen, die Grenzen kategorischer Ansichten wie „Anpassung / Nichtanpassung von Migranten" in der Aufnahmegesellschaft zu überwinden.

Schlagwörter: Anpassung von Migranten, sozialer Zusammenhalt, Segmentierte Assimilationstheorie, Japan, Tokio

1 Introduction

The flow of transnational migration has increased with globalisation since the late 1990s. According to IOM's World Migration Report 2022, the number of international migrants has increased in all UN regions. Specifically, it has increased significantly in Europe and Asia compared to other regions. Asia experienced the most remarkable growth from 2000 to 2020, at 74 percent, around 37 million people in absolute terms. Reflecting on this social phenomenon, international migration is a complex global issue. In social science, global migration has been researched with the adaptation process into the host society. The research on the adaptation of global migrants primarily discusses the framework of the "segmented assimilation theory" proposed by Portes and Zhou (1993). This theoretical concept presumes three assimilation patterns as consequences of the social mobility of the subsequent second migrant generation. However, it has been criticised and modified by many previous studies up until now, and it is still a controversial discussion that remains unresolved (Yamanoue 2022). In addition, assimilation theory is fundamentally a one-way approach as its perspective is essentially placed on only the host society (Vertovec 2009; Doungphummes et al. 2021). Also, some scholars have pointed out the limitation of segmented assimilation theory arguing that it ignores some cases which cannot explain the hypothesis (Karimi and Wilkes 2023; Stepick and Stepick 2010; Zhou 1997). Thus, the authors deem it necessary to explore the adaptation of international migrants in different dimensions.

The Japanese society referred to in this article is known as a non-immigrant society that has never officially accepted migrant workers. However, the population of foreigners has been increasing. In the late 1980s, due to economic growth, the number of foreign workers coming to Japan from neighbouring Asian countries in search of work increased rapidly. In addition, the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act, which was revised in 1990 to allow the issuance of a new category of visa with work eligibility to people of Japanese descent from South America, brought in many people, mainly from Brazil and Peru, and as a result, the foreign population in Japan increased rapidly and became more diverse in ethnicity (Ono 2020). The number of foreigners in Japan continued to grow, and according to data from the Japanese Immigration Service Agency Report from 2005 to 2021, the number exceeded the 2 million mark for the first time in 2005. In 2011 and 2012, the number temporarily declined due to the Great East Japan Earthquake. However, it has been on the rise again, with statistics for 2021 showing the foreign population at approximately 2.76 million. The foreign population, which has continued to grow, has gradually become more established and settled in the region after significant life events such as marriage and childbirth. Today, it is increasingly important to welcome them as local community members (Ono 2020).

The Japanese government responded to the rising of the foreign population by refusing entry to overseas immigrants under its official "closed-door" immigration policy (Peng 2016). However, Japan has been accepting a significant number of immigrants unofficially

using the "side-door" policy, which allows company trainees, students, entertainers, and ethnic Japanese foreigners, or "*Nikkeijin*"[1], to do unskilled or semi-skilled jobs, enabling the country to manage labour shortages in manufacturing and service sector industries while maintaining the official non-immigration policy. Since the 1990s, the Japanese government has been changing its position on allowing entry to immigrants because of the increase in visibility of the *Nikkeijin* and other foreign-born populations in the local community (Peng 2016).

While the social issues have predominantly been the main concern and focus of studies surrounding international migration in Japanese society, their "Invisible Settlement" as described by Kajita et al. (2005), makes it challenging to capture these migrants' lives, mainly how they manage to adapt in this monolithic culture of Japan. In order to capture the nuance of these migrants' adaptation, this ethnographic study focuses on investigating the critical component of cross-cultural adaptation – the interactive communication between migrants and their host society (Kim 2001). It chooses a migrant community in the Okubo area in Japan, which is the biggest migrant community in Tokyo, as a field site. The study also incorporates the concept of "social cohesion" as a broad framework to explore paths of global migrants' adaptation. Social cohesion theory uses several specific indices to investigate the linkages between social cohesion and socio-cultural and economic factors in increasingly diverse societies. The use of specific indices contributes to this complex global phenomenon of migration.

2 The Communicative Approach to the Social Adaptation of Transnational Migrants

The study of the adaptation of international migrants in host societies began in the 1920s with the Chicago School of Sociology (see, e.g., Anderson 1923; Zorbaugh 1929; Gans 1962), and it has continued to be investigated for nearly a century to the present day in the field of social science. In these studies, the central theme of immigrants' social integration in host societies has been analysed using the "assimilation" theory as the central approach. Assimilation theory was originally formulated by Robert E. Park (cf. Park 1914; Park et al. 1925), and it later emerged as a series of operational concepts with the analytical concept in the book "Assimilation in American Life" (1964), which Milton Gordon wrote. According to Murai (2011), Gordon classified the assimilation process into the following seven dimensions: cultural/ behavioural assimilation, structural assimilation, marital assimilation, identificatory assimilation, attitude-receptional assimilation, behaviour-receptional assimilation and civic assimilation, and discusses that complete assimilation is accomplished by marital assimilation, i.e., international marriage (Murai 2011, p. 97).

Following Gordon's study, various academics participated in considering his assimilation theory. However, as Doungphummes and Zarchi (2021) point out, Gordon's model was criticised as being simplistic and unidirectional, thus setting off academic debates

[1] The descendants of Japanese emigrants to Brazil, Peru, and other countries are given special long-term stay visas.

that led to the incorporation of more significant variables and the projection of more complex outcomes. For example, the "Segmented Assimilation Theory" formulated by Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou (1993) has been referred to in the research of second-generation Asian migrants in theUnited States. In the segmented assimilation theory, three patterns are assumed as consequences of subsequent second generations: assimilation into the white middle class (upward mobility), upward mobility maintaining ethnic culture/language, and downward assimilation (Yamanoue 2022).

The segmented assimilation theory has been criticised as unscientific in the following points: Firstly it observes different data sets in the construction of hypotheses. In addition, Asian Americans and some other ethnic groups tend to move upwards while maintaining a strong sense of ethnic belonging, but they are explained as an "exception" in the theory. Karim and Wilkes (2023, p. 23) state: "Instead of abandoning its hypotheses of upward or downward mobility when faced with adverse evidence, segmented assimilation creates a chain of exceptions and has, thereby, become an unfalsifiable theory that wants to explain all outcomes."

Also, Vertovec (2009) points out that until the mid-1990s, research in the field of international migration tended to focus on the impact of migrants on host societies, and research was conducted with the frame of investigation only on the host society side. For example, there was a tendency to examine how migrants adapt to or do not adapt to the host society and how the host society is or is not transformed by the impact of migrants on the host society. However, with the increase in globalisation since the late 1990s, the patterns of migrant activities have changed as migrants often go back and forth between their countries of origin and host societies regularly, and research has begun in Western countries to understand transnational migrant behaviour or patterns of activity within the framework of "transnationalism" (Vertovec 2009).

Numerous academics have adopted the concept of transnationalism to explain migrants' transnational way of life and their social activity. Transnationalism is a concept which helps to understand transnational migrants who have diversified their social activity patterns alongside the spread of globalisation. Transnationalism assumes the influence of both the host society and the migrant's country of origin, and the transnational practices of the migrants across two countries are essential from an analysis perspective. The transnational lifestyles of migrants and the transnational networks formed by such practices have also been clarified (Basch et al. 1994; Smith and Guarnizo 1998; Smith and Eade 2008; Vertovec 2009).

Though "assimilation", or "transnationalism", has been a significant concept in the field of study on the international migrant, "social cohesion" (hereafter, SC) has emerged as a significant concept in dealing with immigrants in English-speaking countries in recent years. According to Healy et al. (2016), since the mid-1990s, there has been an increasing interest in the issue of social cohesion among academics and policymakers and in public commentary. In 2011, The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) hosted the International Conference on Social Cohesion.

In Australia, The Scanlon Foundation has conducted an extensive survey called "Mapping Social Cohesion" annually since 2007. The foundation introduced the "Scanlon Monash Index" (hereafter, SMI) to measure five domains that conceptualise social cohe-

sion: Belongings, worth, social justice, political participation, and acceptance/ rejection (Scanlon Foundation Research Institute 2022).

Social cohesion is usually applied to measure behaviour within a socially diverse community, and immigrants are one of the crucial elements of such communities. MIZUKAMI (2016) focuses on Japan's social cohesion related to immigration issues. He argues:

> *"Social cohesion also interrelates with the way in which immigrants and minority groups become participants in social life and therefore in their relations with the citizens of the host nation. In some areas, ethnic businesses have been prosperous, but this prosperity has not always been shared by local communities. In fact, some surveys have shown that Japanese communities now need a renewed understanding of social cohesion or need to develop a new sense of solidarity to aid in the revitalization of inner cities."* (MIZUKAMI 2016, p. 33, p. 44)

The literature discussed above shows that social cohesion is related to immigration issues as it places great importance on the relationship between immigrants and their host society. It also suggests that local communities need to build relationships with immigrants. Through this discussion, it is apparent that developing a new sense of solidarity or belonging, such as social cohesion, can affect the revitalisation of local communities.

This study focuses on the difference in perspective between the concept of assimilation and social cohesion. Whereas the assimilation concept essentially explains the adaptation process to migrants' host society, social cohesion can be described as a concept that aims at a new community model built through the interaction between migrants and the host society. In this sense, the concept of social cohesion can embrace a more communicative approach, and the authors refer to social cohesion to analyse current transnational migration. The participants in our study include migrants who are treated as "exception" in segmented assimilation theory, i. e., those who upwardly move with a sense of ethnic belonging rather than a mainstream identity. Incorporating social cohesion as an analytical framework helps shed light on their "real-life" adaptation experiences rather than simply labelling them as the "exception".

In the field of intercultural communication studies, on the other hand, DOUNGPHUMMES and ZARCHI (2021) focus on KIM's (2001) integrative communication theory of cross-cultural adaptation as his theory attempts to capture in one conceptual framework the communication between migrants and host societies, which has been analysed in two separate approaches, anthropological and psychological. KIM (2001) argues the importance of "host communication competence" to cross-cultural adaptation. The adaptation succeeds only when the strangers' internal communication system overlaps with the natives. Thus, for immigrants and sojourners, the linguistic symbols, codes and meanings of the host communication system must be learned and internalised (KIM 2001). These abilities are collectively identified in her argument as "host communication competence".

In addition to the focus on interpersonal communication and mass communication activities as the key elements that constitute the concept of host communication competence, KIM (2001) argues that "interpersonal communication activities involving native-born members of the host environment, in particular, play a vital role in the cross-cultural ad-

aptation process" (p. 75). Moreover, she focuses on host environment conditions, which include host receptivity, host conformity pressure, and ethnic group strength, together with the internal conditions of strangers themselves, including preparedness for change, ethnic proximity, and adaptive personality as significant phenomena that affect interpersonal communication activities. The authors think Kim's theory is rather comprehensive in the aspect of cross-cultural adaptation as it addresses both the migrant's communicative competence and the host's receptive factors, such as conformity pressure, that influence the adaptation. So basically, it includes both the migrant and host involvement in the process of cross-cultural adaptation.

Through these arguments related to international migrants' social adaptation, the authors deem it significant to research how the recent international immigrant, who is characterised as having transnational practices, builds a relationship with the host society. This article refers to the following two perspectives as conceptual backgrounds: the Scanlon-Monash Index (SMI) that constitutes the concept of social cohesion and Kim's argument for cross-cultural adaptation, in particular, the focus on the interactive communication between immigrants and the Japanese, and the socio-cultural conditions of Japanese society. Together, these conceptual backgrounds form the foundation of this study that aims to capture the interaction between transnational immigrants and their host society concerning socio-cultural structure.

3 Research Methods

This research employed an ethnographic approach to collect qualitative data in the migrant community called "Islamic area" in Okubo, Tokyo. The data collection methods included conversational interviews and participant observations, which were carried out between 2020 to 2022 by a Japanese researcher (one of the authors). Notably, the researcher has established a rapport with the people in the community since her doctoral research work that spanned from 2012–2016. The 2020 project was thus grounded on the rapport which allowed her to enter the participants' lives without being seen as intrusive.

3.1 Participants

Table 1 shows the characteristics of the participants. They were migrants living and working in Okubo's Muslim community. Conversational interviews and participant observations were conducted with seven participants: three Nepalese, two Indian, and two Bangladeshi. Three Nepalese were Hindu males and all other participants were Muslim males, with three participants residing in Okubo for more than 20 years and speaking fluent Japanese and four living in the area between two to six years with limited Japanese linguistic ability. In terms of age, only one was below 40 years, three participants were between 41–50 years, and three were above 50 years. Three of them were business owners, and four worked as shop assistants. One shop was owned by an Indian, one was owned by a Bangladeshi, and one shop was run by a Nepalese. Only one was married

to a Japanese, and the other six were married to a woman of their nationality. Their education backgrounds varied from a high school level to a master's degree in a Japanese university.

P*	Sex	Age	Nationality	Married to	Length of stay in Japan	Japanese linguistic ability	Occupation	Educational Background	Length of interview time
a	male	57	Nepal	Nepalese woman	22 years	fluent	business owner	master's degree in a Japanese university	120 min.
b	male	62	India	Japanese women	35 years	fluent	business owner	high school in India	120 min.
c	male	46	Bangladesh	Bangladesh woman	28 years	fluent	business owner	master's degree in a Japanese university	100 min.
d	male	60	India	Indian woman	not sure	cannot speak	works for the halal shop of *b*	not sure	approximatly 30 min.
e	male	28	Bangladesh	Bangladesh woman	1 year and several months	cannot speak	works for the halal shop of *c*	not sure	approximatly 20 min.
f	male	not sure	Nepal	Nepalese woman	6 years	very limited	works for the halal shop of *a*	high school in Nepal	approximatly 30 min.
g	male	38	Nepal	Nepalese woman	6 years	very limited	works for the halal shop of *a*	high school in Nepal	approximatly 40 min.

P* … number of the interviewed participant

Table 1: Characteristics of the participants

3.2 Data Collection Procedure

The main content areas focused on the migrants' lives in Japanese society, how well they adapted to the host society, i. e., their sense of belonging and what facilitated or impeded them from being part of the society. Open-ended questions and extensive participant observations were used. The actual interviews and participant observations were conducted between 2020 to 2022. All interviews took place in either the participants' workplaces (shops) or on the road while the participants were working. Each participant was interviewed a few times for 30–120 minutes. For those who could speak Japanese fluently, each interview took between 1.30 to 2 hours, and for those who could not, the interviews were conducted in English, often between 20–30 minutes.

These interviews were conversational, during which the researcher participated in the participants' daily routines, such as selling products and doing encounter services. Interviewing notes and observation data were written right after each interview was finished and the researcher had left the interviewee. Written notes and observation data were then preliminarily analysed before the subsequent visits and interviews. The second and third interviews were conducted to gain more in-depth knowledge of certain issues and to cross-check the accuracy of previously obtained information. These following visits served two purposes: to reconfirm the previous findings and to continuously engage with the participants' social life.

3.3 Data Analysis

The interview and observation data were translated into English by the Japanese researcher. Both researchers first read the translated scripts and then analysed the themes using the inter-coding technique and the theoretical concepts of social cohesion in connection with cross-cultural adaptation. During this stage, the researchers cross-checked their codes and analytical themes to ensure consistency of interpretation and avoid bias. Pseudonyms were used to protect the participants' identities. Notably, in the data interpretation process, the researcher, who was not Japanese, played a crucial role in helping verify the findings through an intercultural lens. Sasiwongsaroj et al. (2024) clarify the advantages of cross-national teams in transnational migration research.

4 Overview of the Okubo Migrant Community in Tokyo, Japan

The research site, Okubo, is one of the small areas in Shinjuku, Tokyo and is the biggest migrant community in Japan. Over 80 percent of the foreign population lives in the heart of Tokyo, including the central business districts. According to the Tokyo Statistics Division, Bureau of General Affairs, Shinjuku has the highest number of foreign populations with 40,279 people in 2023. Shinjuku with a foreign population ratio of 11.4 percent is the only district in Tokyo with a foreign population of more than 10 percent. Interestingly, this situation has stayed the same after covid-19 pandemic.

Looking at the foreign population in Okubo area, according to the statistics data of Shinjuku, the percentage of foreign population of the total population in Okubo area in recent years accounts for 40 to 45 percent (Shinjuku City report from 2019 to 2023). This percentage indicates that one in two or three people is a foreigner. In addition, the foreigner ratio in Okubo area of the foreign population in Shinjuku accounts for over 30 percent in recent years, which indicates that over one-third of total foreign residents in the Shinjuku ward live in Okubo area. From these situations, the Okubo area has been focused by academics and policy makers since the inflow of migrant workers has been a controversial debate in the Japanese society as its contradiction with the non-immigrant country image.

The historical evolution of Okubo provides an understanding of why it has become the biggest migrant community in Japan. Ono (2020) is familiar with Okubo's history with

migrant workers. After the mid-1950s, it was known as a "bedroom town" for domestic migrant workers. The Okubo area is in Shinjuku in Tokyo –- one of the biggest commercial areas in Japan and where a world-famous amusement district named Kabukicho is located. When Kabukicho was constructed in 1957, Japan was in the midst of a period of rapid economic growth, and young people from rural areas migrated to central Tokyo in search of work. Kabukicho was no exception. Okubo began becoming a popular residential area for domestic migrant workers from rural areas because of its convenient location near Kabukicho. Also, according to INABA (2008), there was an area called the "wooden apartment belt". In the 1950s and 1960s, it became an urban area with a high concentration of wooden apartments (INABA 2008, pp. 54–55).

In the 1980s, however, it became the "bedroom town" for transnational migrant workers as there was an increasing number of foreign workers living in the wooden apartments in Okubo. This was due to the unprecedented economic boom in Japan in the mid-to-late 1980s. During this period, Japan, especially the urban areas in and around Tokyo, attracted many workers from neighbouring Asian countries. These migrants chose the inner cities as their places of living. In addition, there was a growing number of foreign students in the Okubo area due mainly to the Japanese government policy, namely the "100,000 Foreign Students Plan". These students usually rented rooms in affordable wooden apartments in the Okubo area, which had been prepared for domestic migrant workers in the past.

The immigration of those foreigners has transformed Okubo into the most significant migrant community in Tokyo. In recent years, Okubo has been lined with various ethnic-owned businesses, and at mealtimes and on weekends, the main road in the Okubo area, Okubo Street, is crowded with foreigners and Japanese. Although Okubo is commonly known as a Korean town, it is, in fact, a multicultural space including Korean, Chinese and Taiwanese areas, a mixture of various ethnic business areas, and predominantly Islamic business areas. To illustrate the multicultural image of Okubo, we briefly present the description of those four areas.

First, the Korean town can be seen as a compact version of Myeongdong, the downtown area of Seoul, South Korea. Its area is lined with Korean restaurants, relatively large supermarkets selling Korean foodstuffs, Korean cosmetics shops and shops selling clothes and accessories bought from Korea (see Figure 1). Second, the Chinese and Taiwanese areas are also lined with food shops, restaurants, bookshops, and internet cafés, mainly on the main street (Okubo Street). Unlike Korean Town, there are fewer shops selling cosmetics and clothing in the Chinese and Taiwanese areas compared to Korean Town. Third, multicultural streets are where people run various businesses from diverse cultural backgrounds, including Thai, Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese, Bangladeshi, and Japanese. Lastly, the Islamic area is where halal food shops (see Figure 2), halal restaurants and mosques are located. There are also Nepalese restaurants run by Nepalese and mobile phone shops run by Indians and Bangladeshis. The Islamic area is a busy place with people of South Asian and African descent, including those from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Nepal.

As mentioned above, from the 1950s to the 1980s, Okubo was a bedroom town for domestic migrant workers and later for migrant workers and international students, mainly



Source: Taken by the author in 2021

Figure 1: Korean restaurants on Okubo Street



Source: Taken by the author in 2021

Figure 2: The halal grocery in Okubo run by an Indian business man

from neighbouring Asian countries. From the 1990s to the present, Okubo has become a famous "ethnic town" in Japan, housing various ethnic groups and businesses, including Korean, Chinese, Taiwanese, Nepalese, Myanmar, Bangladeshi, Indian and Thai. Nowadays, Okubo is an area that many people – both foreigners and Japanese – have visited at least once. Okubo is a place where migrants seek their own culture and for Japanese people to gather in search of foreign cultural experiences.

KIM (2001) points out the vital role of interpersonal communication activities for immigrants' cross-cultural adaptation in the host society. This includes the element of "host receptivity" as an environmental condition in the host society that influences interpersonal communication activities. She argues that "host receptivity is reflected in the degree to which a given environment is open to, welcomes, and accepts strangers into its social communication networks and offers them various forms of social support" (KIM 2001, p. 79).

In this sense, Okubo's historical and socio-cultural background shows that Okubo has accepted strangers from Japan and overseas since the 1950s. Okubo's multicultural history has facilitated the openness towards people from different ethnic backgrounds, as exhibited by the Japanese living in the area. This way, the town has been functioning as a gateway for foreigners.

5 Results

In this section, the data from the conversational interviews and participant observations in the Okubo area is provided and analysed to examine how the participant, as a transnational migrant, is able to connect with the host society and gain access to social networks. Furthermore, the data provided is aligned with the Scanlon-Monash Index (SMI), which constitutes social cohesion. Regarding the SMI index, the authors focus on the aspects of "political participation" and "acceptance/ rejection". Also, focusing on the "host environment condition", including "ethnic strength" and "host conformity pressure" the index is a key aspect for cross-cultural adaptation based on KIM's theory.

5.1 Ethnic Group Strength

Participant *a* has been running his business in Okubo area for 16 years since he established his own company and opened a halal food grocery in 2008. He has frequently travelled between Japan and Nepal. He has written and posted various articles based on his experience in Japan and his articles gained readership in Nepalese communities in both Japan and Nepal. He has also been an executive in a Nepalese association in Japan and has dealt with social issues in Nepal.

> *"Working for the Nepalese Association in Japan, I am in charge of the activities that support the education of Nepalese children. We are working with schools and education-related government agencies in Nepal, receiving data and investigating the family problems of children who do not attend school."* (Participant *a*)

Participant *b* opened his halal shop in Okubo in 2001. When he opened his shop (the first shop) in this area, there was only one halal shop in Okubo. Soon after opening the first shop, he opened the second one, larger than the first one. After that, he established his own company, which led to the expansion of other businesses, such as a halal restaurant and a mobile phone sales shop. In terms of management, the company employed around 15 people, all his relatives. Since opening his halal shop, he has gradually brought in relatives from India. In addition, he was also the owner of a mosque for foreigners, which was located just in front of his shop.

> *"The people who come to the mosque are all foreigners, from Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Myanmar, and Malaysia, and most of them are from Bangladesh. There are no Japanese, and the mosque is not related to Japanese society."* (Participant *b*)

Participant *c* established his company in Okubo in 2009. His first business was an internet and mobile company, and after that, he opened a halal grocery in 2014 in the same area. His halal grocery is small, the same as many other ethnic groceries. According to his interview data, his shop has grown into a halal grocery that sells nearly 100 million yen in its fifth year of operation. He was also a member of the Bangladesh Chamber of Commerce and Industry Board in Japan. The association organised a large Bangladeshi food festival in Tokyo once a year. The festival was held in a park close to Ikebukuro station in Tokyo. It was attended by Bangladeshis in Japan and Japanese people from the neighbourhood, who could enjoy Bangladeshi food and culture.

As the interview data above shows, it can be considered as an example of "ethnic group strength", which constitutes the host environment conditions as participants *a* and *c* act as directors of associations of the migrants' communities, and *b* is the manager of an immigrant religious institution. Such aggressive self-assertion and participation in ethnic group activity serve to promote cross-community building. In addition, it can be seen to strengthen ethnicity or collective ethnic identity. Such "ethnic group strength" affects the degree of social adaptation to the host society.

5.2 Political Participation

Political participation more generally refers to voluntary activities people undertake to influence public policies, either directly or through selecting persons who make policies. There are fewer opportunities for transnational migrants to participate in such political activities in their host society, as foreigners in Japan do not have the right to vote in elections. Also, the Scanlon-Monash Index (SMI) defines political participation as including the activity of getting together with others to try to resolve a local problem. Thus, this section highlights activities that include direct political activity and other activities connected to the local communities or their issues.

First, the three halal groceries discussed in this article have been operating in Okubo for over ten years and represent halal groceries in Okubo. However, they do not participate in local associations such as the Okubo Neighbourhood Community Association (hereafter

NCA) or the local Merchants' Association. For example, b and c were not even aware of their existence. Okubo NCA does not simply exclude foreign shops, as many Korean restaurants are now members of the NCA. However, there are significant differences between the Korean community in Japan, which has a long history dating back to before World War II, and Southeast Asian migrants who came in late 1980. On the other hand, *a* is aware of the existence of such local associations but chooses not to join them. He states, "Membership of local merchants' association does not work for our business. For the Japanese, halal groceries are like 'spice museums'. They come to look but do not buy." However, *b* and *c*, for example, expressed a willingness to join if invited by the local community. The interview data showed that they expect building good relations with the local community to be good for their business. Also, other participants in this study were not aware of its existence.

Interestingly, participant *a* has participated in different types of local activities for a long time. He has participated in two community events held by the Okubo NCA: a cleanup activity and a disaster-prevention activity. He talked about his participation in the cleanup activity as follows:

> *"I have been participating in the cleanup activity for many years. I enjoy the activity as it gives me the opportunity to communicate with other people living in Okubo and to be an acquaintance with the staff at the local government. Communicating with people in the community is suitable for foreigners and businesses. Also, foreigners' way of throwing out rubbish is seen as not good manners. I want to show the Japanese living here that I, as a foreigner, pick up trash on the road and don't dispose of rubbish irresponsibly."* (Participant *a*)

The participant's active involvement in community activities has given him the opportunity to interact and develop his network with Japanese people living in the Okubo area. Moreover, he intended to alter the Japanese perception of migrant behaviour related to the manner of rubbish disposal through his participation in the cleanup activity.

5.3 Acceptance/ Rejection

The Scanlon-Monash Index (SMI) refers to the following items as the domain of acceptance/ rejection: experienced discrimination, assistance in maintaining customs and traditions, and a sense of pessimism about the future. This section focuses on the interview data related to the participants' sense of acceptance and rejection. Two participants talked about the connection between the host community:

> *"There is less opportunity for migrants to communicate with people in the local community. However, Japanese people here do not pay too much attention to us because there are many foreigners in Okubo, so living with foreigners here is normal for them."* (Participant *a*)

> *"In my case, it wasn't that hard to find a place to shop. The current shop location is rented from a Japanese owner, who could not find a lender for the property*

for more than six months, and when I applied, the owner was happy to say yes." (Participant *c*)

These two accounts indicate a sense of acceptance the migrants cultivate in the host society. In particular, the experience of participant *c* can be considered as an indication of "being accepted" by the host society, as it is very difficult for a foreigner to sign a rental contract for a property owned by a Japanese. This acceptance could be because people in Okubo have accumulated experience encountering immigrants from other parts of Japan and overseas for more than half a century. Also, participants *f* and *g* explained that their communication with the Japanese was limited to occasional interactions with Japanese customers and Japanese delivery people when purchasing goods, but "they are all good people".

However, the participants sometimes detected a sense of rejection as reflected by these participants' accounts.

"The ethnic businesses gathered, and the Japanese ran away from Okubo. This is because they were beginning to dislike foreigners, and some of them could not maintain their businesses in such ethnic towns." (Participant *a*)

"What I think is that the Japanese do not want to get close to us. They do not want us to be one of the members of Japanese society. For example, our shop and the Japanese shop have a completely different atmosphere. The way we display the products is different from Japanese. Sometimes we display our products in the shop front. Our customers and shop staff talk a lot and sometimes loudly. The Japanese do not think this kind of atmosphere is good. They may think that they come from abroad, do business here (Okubo), succeed and steal customers from the Japanese." (Participant *c*)

One of them also expressed his frustration in searching for his new office. He said that although he found several vacant buildings, his application was all rejected because of he was not a Japanese.

These participants felt a sense of rejection from the way the Japanese ran away from the area because of the immigrants' social or cultural events and being treated with inequality in the property rental scheme without any logical or legal explanation. However, feeling rejected has motivated some to try to conform to the host culture, such as participating in the host community cleanup activity because, as Kim (2001, p. 79) explains, "host conformity pressure" influences the communication activity of strangers and it challenges the strangers to adapt to the host culture and communication system".

6 Discussion

This study intends to investigate the new paths of social adaptation for transnational migrants by applying the communicative approach, which focuses on the interaction between transnational migrants and their host society. In this investigation, the authors specifically refer to the concept of social cohesion and Kim's (2001) integrative communication the-

ory. Furthermore, in such investigation, ethnographic research is applied to analyse their interaction with the analysis of socio-cultural social structures.

The findings of this study show that migrants who have been long-term residents of the host society for more than ten years, have good Japanese language skills and are successful in their ethnic businesses expressed stronger experiences of rejection in the host society than those who have not. However, these participants uniformly expressed active participation/ willingness to participate in local activities in the host society. This may at first sight seem contradictory, but referring to KIM's theory, the experience of rejection in the host society (conformity pressure) may encourage migrants' effort of social participation.

It is important to note here the factors under which conformity pressure becomes a driving force for social participation rather than hostility toward the host society. The participants in this study have strong experiences of rejection as well as some experiences of acceptance, which are premised on a "tolerance to the stranger", backed up by the immigration history of the target area, Okubo. KIM (2001) advocates the significance of interpersonal communication activities to cross-cultural adaptation for international migrants and posits host receptivity as the key determinant of interpersonal communication activities. The notion of host receptivity in this research involves, at a macro level, the historical development of a town revolving around migration, and at a micro level, community involvement and personal experience with the locals.

In the context of new community models in the age of international migration, it is vital to have such a system that supports the formation and maintenance of "ethnic strength" and ethnic communities based on the assumption that the host society is open to strangers. If a community is formed to a certain extent, the result of "host conformity pressure" may not simply be antagonism toward the host society, but, as the Okubo example shows, may lead to "harmony" behaviours, in which people try to present themselves as good members of the host society. However, this study suggests that what is important here is the host society's tolerance toward strangers.

In segmented assimilation, factors contributing to upward and downward mobility for each migrant group include "modes of incorporation", specifically government policy in the host country/ society, the existence and extent of prejudice against the migrant group, and the size and structure of the ethnic community. The need for governmental schemes to support the strengthening of ethnic communities, the experience of acceptance/ rejection of migrants and the contribution to migrant associations were equally essential factors in this study. In addition, the results of this study further suggest that "tolerance of the host society" could be added as an important key factor in the host reception environment. However, the limited number of participants in this study requires continuing larger-scale ethnographic research in the future.

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Dark Tourism in Thailand – The "Touristification" of Wartime Atrocities and Crime

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with 4 figures in the text

Contents

Summary 217
Zusammenfassung 218
1 Introduction 218
2 Theoretical Foundations and Methodological Aspects 221
3 The Commercialisation of Horror and Crime – The Example of Two Dark Tourism Sites in Thailand 222
3.1 "Thaiification" Versus (Re-)Invention of "Hill Tribeness" – The Example of Ban Doi Pui 222
3.2 The Thai-Burma-Railway – A Memorial Site Turned Tourist Attraction 227
4 The Two Sides of the Coin: Lessons Learnt from the Commodification of "Dark Tourism Sites" 231
5 References 232

Summary

The main aim of this article is to examine the relatively new phenomenon of "dark tourism" based on two examples from Thailand. The focus is on the question of how, why and with what consequences certain places associated with death, war or crime have become "tourist commodities", linking the important issue of (public) commemoration with questions of consumer history. The concept of "consumption" in this context is not limited to goods and/or services, but also encompasses the consumption of historical events such as visiting historical sites like the Thai-Burmese "Death Railway" built by prisoners of war in the central Thai province of Kanchanaburi during World War II, or the more subtle example of villages of the so-called Hill Tribe peoples of northern

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Thailand with their past as opium traders in the 19th and 20th centuries, exemplified by the Hmong village Doi Pui.

To analyse how different tourist groups react to the commercialisation of these sites and how their perceptions differ from one another, both local and foreign tourists as well as local experts were interviewed. Based on the theoretical concepts of "dark tourism" and the "tourist gaze", the connection between commercialisation, "touristification" and memory is discussed.

Keywords: Dark tourism, touristification, tourist gaze, tourist commodities, commercialisation, hill tribes, tourism, Thailand

Zusammenfassung

„Dark Tourism" in Thailand – Die „Touristifizierung" von Krieg und Verbrechen

Hauptziel des vorliegenden Artikels ist es, das relativ neue Phänomen des „Dark Tourism" anhand von zwei Beispielen aus Thailand zu untersuchen. Im Zentrum steht die Frage, wie, warum und mit welchen Folgen bestimmte Orte, die in Verbindung zu Tod, Krieg oder Verbrechen stehen, zu „touristischen Waren" geworden sind, wobei die wichtige Frage des (öffentlichen) Gedenkens mit Fragen der Konsumgeschichte verknüpft wird. Der „Konsum"-Begriff ist in diesem Zusammenhang nicht nur auf Waren und/oder Dienstleistungen beschränkt, sondern umfasst auch den Konsum historischer Ereignisse, zum Beispiel den Besuch historischer Stätten wie der thailändisch-burmesischen „Todeseisenbahn", die während des Zweiten Weltkriegs von Kriegsgefangenen in der zentralthailändischen Provinz Kanchanaburi gebaut wurde, oder das subtilere Beispiel von Dörfern der sogenannten Hill Tribe-Völker Nordthailands mit ihrer Vergangenheit als Opiumhändler im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert.

Um zu analysieren, wie verschiedene Touristengruppen auf die Kommerzialisierung dieser Stätten reagieren und wie sich ihre Wahrnehmungen voneinander unterscheiden, wurden sowohl einheimische und ausländische Touristen als auch lokale Experten befragt. Auf der Grundlage der theoretischen Konzepte des „Dark Tourism" und des „Tourist Gaze" wird der Zusammenhang zwischen Kommerzialisierung, „Touristifizierung" und Erinnerung diskutiert.

Schlagwörter: „Dark Tourism", Touristifizierung, touristischer Blick, touristischer Konsum, Bergstämme, Tourismus, Thailand

1 Introduction

Since the onset of modern mass tourism after the end of World War II, tourism research has developed as a new field of interest within social sciences and humanities. There is a growing number of studies dealing with the social, cultural, economic and/or environmental advantages and disadvantages of tourism for host societies in the Global North as

well as in the Global South (Cohen 2014; MacCannell 1973; Maoz 2006; Urry and Larsen 2011). Since the late 1990s, early 2000s tourism research also focuses, among other research fields, on the rather "new" touristic phenomenon of "dark" or "thana tourism" (Collins-Kreiner 2015; Korstanje 2017; Lennon and Foley 2000; Light 2017; Martini and Buda 2020).

The terms "thana" or "dark tourism" describe touristic sites associated with disaster, atrocity, death, crime, and other forms of tragedies including battlefields, prisons, torture camps, sites of genocides, or places of disasters. Although the phenomenon itself is already much older than the research field, scholars have only recently begun to explore what was later referred to as "dark tourism". The term was introduced by John Lennon and Malcolm Foley in their book "Dark Tourism", published in 2000. In using this label they "[…] intend[ed] to signify a fundamental shift in which death, disaster and atrocity are being handled by those who offer associated tourism 'products'" (Lennon and Foley 2000, p. 3). Within the last years a growing body of research was conducted on topics related to the umbrella term of "dark tourism" and, as a consequence, dark tourism research was carried into the scientific and (pop-)cultural mainstream (Light 2017, p. 276)

The aim of the present paper is to investigate this rather new phenomenon of "commodifying the dark" and to address the question how, why, and with which consequences certain dark places have become touristic commodities, using the Kingdom of Thailand as an example. When travelling to countries like Thailand especially tourists from so-called "Western" countries – meaning from the United States, Australia, or Western Europe – tend to forget the "dark" parts of the histories of the visited countries. Unlike in Vietnam or Cambodia these "dark spots" are not part of the "tourist gaze" assigned to this country.

As far as dark tourism activities are concerned the Kingdom of Thailand is a very special case. Thai "dark" or "thana tourism" – unlike its Vietnamese or Cambodian counterparts – does not show any attempts to tell however defined "heroic" national stories of the past and is only partly intended to be educational; instead, such sites are increasingly commodified and associated with "adventure, entertainment and staged horror" both by the international as well as the Thai tourist industry. A well-known example of war crimes committed on Thai soil during World War II is the Thai-Burmese Death Railway across the river Khwae in Kanchanaburi Province. For the present study this site was selected since it can be considered a textbook example for the commercialisation and "touristification" of wartime atrocities and crimes committed by soldiers of the Imperial Army of Japan, supported or at least tolerated by the then Thai and Burmese governments.

Relatively new, on the other hand, is the emergence of non-traditional, crime-related "dark" sites such as the villages of former opium-producing and distributing hill tribes in Northern Thailand, which have a clear educational and ethno-nationalist goal of demonstrating the success of the country's anti-drug and hill tribe integration policies (Husa 2017) – a phenomenon that has received only limited scientific attention to date. However, a certain "entertainment and shock"-value seems to be of significant interest as well. This "Dark Hill Tribe Tourism", as it is labelled in the present article, mainly seems to be of interest to Thai domestic and less to international tourists. From the late 19th and early

20th century onwards and especially after the renaming of the former Kingdom Siam into "Kingdom of Thailand" in 1939, various Thai governments pushed a policy of aggressive "Thaiisation" regarding its various lingual and ethnic minorities (KORFF 2010, 2018).

During the first half of the 20th century mostly members of the large Chinese communities as well as the lingual and ethnic minorities in the border regions towards Laos and Cambodia in the east and northeast, Malaysia in the south and Myanmar in the west were affected by this policy, but from the 1950s onwards the focus shifted to the so-called hill tribe people in the north of Thailand (HUSA 2017; KORFF 2010, 2018). This policy was not only introduced to achieve some degree of cultural and lingual homogenisation, but it also led to the extensive economic marginalisation of once more or less independent ethnic groups. Since the various hill tribes regained some of their cultural and economic independence through various tourism projects in the early 2000s, they have begun to challenge the Thai state's official narrative about their role, particularly as opium producers over the past century and a half.

Based on the above information, this article has two main objectives:

The first example, the so-called Thai-Burmese Death Railway, perfectly fits into certain politics and cultures of memory, with which different visitor groups deal and react to in different ways; since the memorial sites in and around the city of Kanchanaburi target very diverse audiences, the visitors probably do not always react as intended or claimed (BRAITHWAITE and LEIPER 2010, p. 315; HUSA 2023, p. 29; PRASANNAM 2017, pp. 120ff).

Example number two demonstrates, how the various hill tribe groups and the official Thai state use this "dark" part of the Thai history for both educational as well as entertainment purposes. Thus, the objective of the present article is to ask if this phenomenon of "dark hill tribe tourism" can be seen not only as a kind of counter-narrative to the nation's "official" history but even as a proud self-representation of these ethnic communities' histories.

On this basis, the following research questions can be derived for this article:

- How did theatres of war on Thai soil and certain Hill Tribe villages become dark tourism sites or "touristified commodities" in the first place?
- Which governmental or non-governmental institutions initiated this commodification and "touristification"?
- What is the political, social, and economic significance of "dark" sites in the local tourism industry?
- Who is/are the main audience group(s) of interest? And how do the perceptions of the various groups of visitors differ from each other?

Even if the commercialisation of dark sites is heavily criticised by both the public and academics, a certain degree of commercialisation and tourism seems reasonable and perhaps even necessary, especially when the memory of certain events is increasingly in danger of being forgotten due to the passing of the generation of contemporary witnesses. However, the question remains how this (critical) engagement with the sites in questions can be encouraged while still being respectful to the victims and/ or the affected groups.

2 Theoretical Foundations and Methodological Aspects

According to most tourism researchers "dark" or "thana tourism" as well as all its subcategories must be seen as part of heritage tourism (Collins-Kreiner 2015; Dunkley et al. 2011; Lennon and Foley 2000; Light 2017). In this context the vast majority of the theoretical approaches up to now has focused on the pilgrimage character of "dark" or "thana tourism". Especially regarding Southeast Asia, Erik Cohen pointed out that as far as internal (Asian) tourism is concerned, "dark sites" in Southeast Asia almost always turn into pilgrimage sites in order to pay respect to the ancestors and to calm their "restless spirits" (2018, pp. 3ff). This idea of "dark tourism" as a modern pilgrimage has recently also become an important aspect in the aftermath of the 2004 tsunami, especially in mainly Buddhist societies like in Thailand, where in the months after the disaster local people claimed that they got in touch with the pis – the spirits – of those killed by the tsunami.

In recent years war and "crime scene" related dark sites have also become more and more popular. These are usually sites such as prisons and torture camps (e.g., Tuol Sleng in Phnom Penh or the Khwae Bridge), but crime tours for tourists in various cities around the world are also part of this type of tourism. But even if a community takes up a stigmatised and ostracised topic and turns it into a tourist attraction with a historically conditioned visual language, this can be described as "crime scene" tourism and thus as "dark tourism". From this point of view, hill tribe villages with afforested poppy fields, in front of which mainly Thai domestic tourists stand to take photographs, also qualify as such places. On the other hand, there are also museums in Chiang Rai province that tell the same story, but with a different, strongly moralising orientation (Chouvy 2010, pp. 173ff; Husa 2017, p. 32).

The advent of modern mass tourism has not only changed the sociology of travel through its "democratisation", but also the way travellers are dealing with the objects, artefacts, and sites of the destinations they visited. "Tourists present themselves at places of social, historical, and cultural importance" (MacCannell 1973, p. 593). Typically, tourists are photographed in front of and/or in buildings that are considered "characteristic" of the regions they visit. In the case of Southeast Asia, for example, these are photographs in or in front of the large temple and palace complexes, such as the old royal palace in Bangkok or the temples of Angkor in Cambodia, but also sites of war or other atrocities such as Dien Bien Phu in Vietnam, the Cambodian "Killing Fields" or the Thai-Burma "Death Railway".

According to John Urry and Jonas Larsen, this so-called second gaze is the result of a paradigm shift that came about with the advent of modern mass tourism and which the two authors describe as a "performance turn" (Larsen and Urry 2011, p. 1112). In this context, it should be emphasised that both practices – *gazing* and *performing* – are closely linked:

> *"Gazing is not merely seeing, but involves physical movement through landscapes, cities and sights, aesthetic sensibility, connecting signs and their referents […] and embodied practices capturing places and social relations photo-*

> *graphically but also touching, smelling, and hearing objects of the gaze; […]"* (ibid., p. 1115)

Thus, photos taken in front of and/ or in dark tourism' sites or originally non-touristic memorial sites have recently become more and more affected by these "performative changes". In this form of self-presentation, tourists interact not only with the locals and the sites they visit, but of course also with each other (cf. KOLLAND 2003, pp. 107f; LARSEN and URRY 2011, pp. 1116ff; MACCANNELL 1973, pp. 593ff; SEIDL and MOSER 2009, pp. 11ff). Especially in the context of dark touristic and memorial sites this interactions between visitor(s) and the site were broadly discussed in what has become known as the *#yolocaust-debat*e, which was started by an American photographer in 2015. Its main purpose was to criticise the way especially young people act at Holocaust memorial sites and what kind of photos they post on social media platforms, using which hashtags when visiting these memorials (retrieved from *https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-38675835* [April 14, 2019]).

For the present paper semi-structured interviews as wells as participant observation-based research were conducted in Doi Pui village in Chiang Mai province by using a Grounded Theory approach during the analysis itself. In addition, interviews with Prof. Panadda BOONYASARANAI of CESD / RCSD of Chiang Mai University and KHAE-WA, headman of the S'gaw-Karen village Ban Huay E Kang in Chiang Rai Province were conducted in English and Thai.

Throughout February of 2020 eighty semi-structured interviews were conducted with international "Western" tourists, Japanese as well as with domestic tourists in the city of Kanchanaburi at three sites: the Bridge over the River Khwae, the JETHA Museum, and the Death Railway Museum. The interview partners were chosen by a random sampling approach directly at the sites. These interviews were analysed using Philip MAYRING's Qualitative Content Analysis (HUSA 2023, pp. 33f; MAYRING 2010).

3 The Commercialisation of Horror and Crime – the Example of Two Dark Tourism Sites in Thailand

3.1 "Thaiification" Versus the (Re-)Invention of "Hill Tribeness" – The Example of Ban Doi Pui

For most of the 20th century, Thai academia, politics, and mainstream society saw the Hill Tribe people in Northern Thailand less as a part of Thai society, but more as a problem to be solved. The roots of this so-called "Hill Tribe problem" and the changes in the discourse around it have been discussed in various studies throughout the last 40 to 50 years (HUSA 2017, pp. 12ff; KORFF 2010, pp. 63ff; KORFF 2018, pp. 141ff). The present paper, however, will focus on the developments and discussions since the end of the Pacific War in 1945.

Already in 1963, five years after the prohibition of opium cultivation, trade, and consumption in Thailand and the start of the local crop substitution programmes, Patya

Saihoo of the Faculty of Political Science of Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok voiced misgivings about its effectiveness, relying on these colonial period discourse (1963, pp. 35f). According to Saihoo, a "Thaiification" of the lifestyle and farming methods of the hill tribe peoples – who had become economically, and to some degree also politically, very powerful in the short term through opium poppy cultivation – was a necessity, since only an integration into the Thai agricultural market would make it possible for them to produce and sell "legal" goods in demand. Authors such as Saihoo, but also the Thai government, took (and for the most part still take) a classic modernisation theory approach, assuming that the hill tribes would initiate this assimilation process of their own accord as soon as they realised how "backward" they were.

An opposite approach was taken by Chantaboon Sutthi, who argued that the affected hill tribes were even more severely marginalised and discriminated due to the prohibition of traditional cultivation methods. National and international programmes – according to this view – have forced them into monocultural farming, which in turn severely limited the range of agricultural products (Suthi 1989, pp. 107ff). This opinion is still held by the majority of authors in the current debate on the so-called "hill tribe problem" since the early 1980s.

In addition, the hill tribes and their economic, social and political position in the societies of Southeast Asia are popular subjects of study for ethnologists and tourism researchers. For instance, Alexander Trupp (2006) analysed the impact of tourism on the ethnic minorities in Northern Thailand. In this context, the concepts of vulnerability and resilience hold a lot of promise (Bürkner 2010; Christmann et al. 2011). In social science, "resilience" describes a kind of protective mechanism or strategy with which particularly vulnerable groups, such as minorities, attempt to gain as much independence as possible from mainstream society. This study assumes, for example, that both the phenomenon of opium production and the opium trade as well as the shift to new sources of income (such as coffee cultivation or ethno-tourism) following the ban on poppy cultivation can be regarded as resilient actions on the part of Southeast Asian hill tribes, as they enable these groups to survive economically.

Apart from these rather conceptual studies, there is a broad range of case studies in fields such as cultural and social anthropology, political science, or tourism research on various aspects of the population and farming methods in the mountainous north of Southeast Asia, available in English and in Thai.

However, there are considerable gaps in the analysis of the serious changes in the economic, socio-political and power relations between the "highland" and "lowland" populations, ethnic minorities and Thais, centre and periphery, which have been brought about by the replacement of the opium industry since the early 20th century. Parallel to the replacement of opium production as the main source of income, attempts to "thaiize" the hill tribes intensified. Most scientists regard these attempts as very successful, at least on an economic level, while politically there is still a pronounced ambivalence in the way politics and society deal with the hill tribes. As Panadda Boonyasaranai from Chiang Mai University stated in an interview, this could put the successes achieved in recent decades in the fight against the drug economy of the minorities in Thailand into perspective:

> *"Thailand will use the assimilation strategy more than an integration strategy, I think. We try to change them to be Thai, […]. If we integrate them, they can live in their way of life, they can preserve their own culture, their own tradition. […] They become Thai, but they don't know how to be Thai. And Thai people still look at them in a strange way. […]. […] if we talk in terms of tourism, they are proud to be a part of our rich culture, […]. If they are invited by the Thai authority of tourism, they will be honoured, but they were never invited […]"* (Interview with Prof. Panadda BOONYASARANAJ, Chiang Mai University, March 5, 2014)

Thai governments have promoted tourism as part of the national development agenda since the 1960s, but "mass tourism" in the true sense only began in the late 1970s. After the end of the Vietnam War in 1975, the profile of tourists slowly changed from younger men who were stationed in Southeast Asia for several months or longer to "classic" tourists of both sexes and all ages who travelled the country for a few weeks at most. Cultural tourism in the central region around the capital Bangkok, the rapidly growing beach tourism on the coasts and on the islands in the south as well as ethnic and trekking tourism in the north of Thailand were the most popular: "In the course of the last decades of the 20th century Thailand became one of Asia's principal tourist destinations" (COHEN 2014, p. 243).

The respective governments or representatives of the Royal family – especially the late King Bhumibol himself – initiated several measures to foster the socio-economic development of Thailand. In the mountainous regions of northern Thailand, these projects formed the basis for the beginning of ethnic tourism or hill tribe tourism, which soon became very popular with both "western"" and local tourists. Around the same time as the emergence of ethno-tourism, the implementation of the state's anti-drug policy, which aimed to combat poppy cultivation and opium production, also began in the mountainous regions of the northern provinces. (LEEPREECHA 2014, p. 330; see also RENARD 2001, pp. 45ff).

> *"First the staff of the Thai Forest Department came to the village and introduced the idea to bring tourism to the village. And some villagers agreed, and some didn't agree with this. […] they brought another person from an outside area to manage the project. […] after two years he disappeared, so we cannot move on. […] we came together and think about running our own project. […]. [Some people did not agree to participate] [because] there is the problem of taking care of the products. […] me, together with my friends also cooperated with the government, with the state to identify […] the spots of growing or producing [opium]. […] the reason why I helped the state is […], I have seen my father and brothers and sisters [got] addicted. […]."* (Interview with KHAE-WA, headman of Ban Huay E-Kang, February 25, 2014)

In this context, the question arises as to what extent the reduction of opium poppy cultivation in the "Golden Triangle" in general and in Thailand in particular can be regarded as successful. For today's Thailand, the answer to this question is a clear yes. Thailand's anti-drug policy and the associated efforts to convert the opium-based mountain economies are also regarded as exemplary in other countries on the Southeast Asian continent. This

can be seen, for example, in the fact that the Laotian government has launched similar projects in cooperation with the UNODC over the past two decades. Similar projects based on the successful Thai model have also been implemented in Myanmar.

In recent years, however, it seems that the successful eradication of opium poppy cultivation and the "traditional" opium economy in the Golden Triangle has led to a kind of "return of opium poppy". This is reflected in the way the region's history as a (former) main opiate growing area is marketed to tourists. Here, the still deeply rooted negative image of the drug-producing mountain tribes is used as a tourist attraction and "positively" charged by transforming it into a "dark" place. As the observations on site have shown, Thai domestic tourism appears to be the main beneficiary of this renewed interest in the opium poppy. But international ethno-tourism also benefits from the opium myth, which already aroused the interest of Western backpackers in the Chiang Mai region in the 1970s (Leepreecha 2014, p. 330; Trupp 2006, p. 72). A good example of a "dark" hill tribe tourist village is the village of Doi Pui in Chiang Mai province, as explained in the following section.

The village of Doi Pui, located a few kilometres outside the city of Chiang Mai, can be considered one of the most important and prestigious projects of the Thai royal family. It is inhabited mainly by members of the Hmong minority and considered to some extent as the "birthplace" of the state development aid projects in Thailand's north. Therefore, it can also be seen as the beginning of the Royal Projects in the late 1960s (Leepreecha 2014, pp. 330ff; Renard 2001, p. 73).

The project originally began as a purely agricultural project, but soon the focus shifted to tourism. In the 1970s, this was mainly due to its proximity to the city of Chiang Mai and its location in the Doi Suthep-Doi Pui mountains in northern Thailand. Due to the difficult geopolitical situation in Southeast Asia at the time of the Cold War, the only more or less safe access route to the foothills of the Himalaya mountains ran through the region around the northern Thai provincial capital throughout most of the second half of the 20th century. Currently Chiang Mai is still promoted in various travel guides as *the* hitchhiker and trekking centre of Southeast Asia which can be seen as a legacy of this era (Dearden 1991, pp. 400ff; Trupp 2006, pp. 78ff).

The Hmong people in Doi Pui village have focused on hill tribe tourism for several decades. Doi Pui developed into a tourist destination as it was easy and quick to reach from Chiang Mai and excursions to Doi Pui were offered by most larger and smaller travel agencies, whereby the village could be visited both individually and in groups. Due to its proximity to an important urban centre and the nearby royal palace of Bhubing, the village has long been considered drug-free and thus one of the few safe destinations in the entire region (Dearden 1991, pp. 420ff; Renard 2001, pp. 73ff).

Doi Pui has also become an increasingly attractive destination for domestic Thai tourism in recent years. The village's most important economic foundation is the sale of souvenirs in the form of more or less authentic *tribal art* and the trade with agricultural goods, such as coffee. However, the village has also benefited from the fascination that the opium poppy blossoms and the opium extracted from them exert on visitors, which contributed significantly to the tourism boom in Doi Pui.

Nowadays, this myth is cleverly marketed to tourists in Doi Pui: Small opium poppy fields have been planted in and around the village and act as popular photo opportunities, and tourists are also offered the chance to rent a traditional Hmong costume for the duration of their stay, an offer that is mainly used by Thai tourists, but also from one or the other Farang tourist.



Source: Photo by L. C. HUSA, 2014

Figure 1: Thai tourists in front of an opium poppy field in Doi Pui



Source: Photo by K. HUSA, 2013

Figure 2: Western tourists in traditional Hmong costumes in Doi Pui

Here, the ambivalent play with the hill tribe cliché that is widespread in Thai society becomes very clear: on the one hand, the fascination with the opium theme and the "illegal", but on the other hand, the still strongly negative association of hill tribes with drugs.

The Royal Project in Doi Pui is considered a prime example of positive development work with the ethnic minority communities, and its success can be largely attributed to the strong and early involvement of the royal family. Today, the village is economically well developed and can be reached quickly and easily on good roads from Chiang Mai, even during the rainy season. This could be an opportunity for other ethnic communities in Thailand, but also in the wider region of mainland Southeast Asia, to start similar projects. Since the start of the Crop Substitution Programmes, there has been a transfer of knowledge between hill tribe communities in Thailand and especially in Laos, but also in Yunnan; probably the best-known example is the village of Doi Chang, which now focuses on coffee production.

However, the return of opium due to tourism is and remains an ambivalent issue: on the one hand, this former "dark side" of the hill tribe economy undoubtedly contributes significantly to the tourism boom in the villages concerned, but on the other hand, there are also fears that this will counteract the effectiveness of the anti-drug campaigns.

3.2 The Thai-Burma-Railway – A Memorial Site Turned Tourist Attraction

The so-called "Death Railway" became a tourist attraction due to a chain of coincidences. Thailand's official historiography and commemorative culture had little to no interest in coming to terms with the country's role in the Pacific War, as the Second World War is called in Southeast Asia and Oceania, especially given the country's role during that period. This, however, also applies to other countries that were part of the "Axis" Berlin – Rome – Tokyo during World War II.

Between 1941 and 1944 when Thailand was garnisoned by Japan, the Imperial Army of Japan committed one of the most horrendous war crimes known as the Thai-Burma Railway or "Death Railway" against the mainly Western prisoners of war and the local population. There were already plans by British and American engineers to connect the railroad systems of then formally not colonised Siam (today's Thailand) and the British colony Burma already during the 19th and early 20th centuries; these plans, however, were given up officially during the 1930s. "When the Japanese army started to take over the control in various parts of Southeast Asia the fast and secure transport of raw materials between Malaya and Burma as well as of Japanese troops throughout the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere should be ensured" (Husa 2023, p. 39).

The construction of the railway started in October 1942 designed, managed, and supervised by Japanese engineers and Japanese as well as Korean guards. The construction of a 415 km long railway link between Ban Pong (Thailand) and Thanbyuzayat (Burma) was finished in December 1943 (Beattie 2009, p. 117; Braithwaite and Leiper 2010, p. 313; Fisher 1947, p. 85ff; Houghton 2014, p. 223; Husa 2023, pp. 38ff). In total 239,711 people – mainly Asian labourers and European and Australian prisoners of war – were forced to participate in the construction of the railway, nearly half of them (97,652) died.

Originally there was not "the Bridge over the River Khwae" as suggested by the 1957 movie, but two bridges: one made of wood, the other made of iron. Both bridges were destroyed and rebuilt several times due to their strategic importance and in June 1945, right before the Japanese surrender and the end of World War Two in Asia Pacific two months later, both bridges were severely damaged by British bombs. The remains of the wooden bridge were removed right after the war ended, the iron bridge was rebuilt in 1949 and it is still used as a railway bridge, but also the central tourist attraction in the town of Kanchanaburi.

However, when the bridge was rebuilt after the end of World War II, neither a memorial of any kind nor the creation of a tourist attraction was intended (BRAITHWAITE and LEIPER 2010, p. 313; HOUGHTON 2014, p. 224; HUSA 2023, pp. 38ff; KORFF 2018, p. 14; OSBORNE 2002, p. 154; PRASANNAM 2017, p. 11).

Thailand's memory of World War II is inextricably linked to the bridge over the Khwae, which is certainly due to the film of the same name from 1957. Both the bridge as an iron bridge and the river under its current name did not exist until the late 1950s and early 1960s. The film's worldwide success made the city of Kanchanaburi and the bridge a must-see for film tourists and war pilgrims, and fuels Kanchanaburi's tourism industry to this day. After its rebuilding in 1949 Kanchanaburi's local authorities used the bridge to promote cultural tourism (BRAITHWAITE and LEIPER 2010, pp. 326f.; HUSA 2023, pp. 42ff; PRASANNAM 2017, 130ff).

To some extent, this also seems to be the main reason for the relatively high degree of "Disneyfication" of war crime sites such as the events around the construction of the bridge over the Khwae and commercialisation of the site. Even though the bridge and sur-



Source: Photo by L. C. HUSA, 2020

Figure 3: Tourists crossing the River Khwae Bridge

rounding landmarks like the prisoner of war camp (Figures 3 and 4) were never intended to be memorialised, they were subject to commercial considerations from the beginning, which is related to Thailand's situation during the Japanese occupation and the Pacific War; this also distinguishes the site from other similar memorials in Europe, America and East or Southeast Asia (Husa 2023, pp. 42f; Prasannam 2017, pp. 130ff).



Source: Photo by L. C. Husa, 2020

Figure 4: Souvenirs at the "Prisoner of War Camp" in Ban Nuea near Kanchanaburi

This commemorative approach, combined with the way the bridge and the railroad became a tourist attraction in the first place, has resulted in a kind of "dark" Disneyland rather than a true memorial. And as will be shown in the next section, international Western tourists express very mixed feelings about the way the Second World War is commemorated here (Husa 2023, pp. 43ff). The degree of commercialisation of the Bridge over the Khwae River seems to be especially offensive to German tourists of all age groups, as the war crimes committed by Germans during the Nazi regime have led to a much higher degree of sensitisation and a different idea of an appropriate culture of remembrance in the German-speaking world:

> *"I wanted to come here already when planning the trip to see the bridge. […]. Up to now the bridge was the only thing me and my girlfriend have seen; we still didn't decide whether to visit the museums or not. […]. It is part of [Thailand's] history what happened here in this place. […]. [But] [the] way of how the history is represented is quite a culture shock, especially if you're German. But it is the Thais' business how they want to deal with their history and how they want to represent it. […]. What is way more appalling to me is the fact that the bar over there is called*

'Prisoner of War Camp', […]." (Interview 17 with a German tourist at the River Khwae Bridge, Date of record February 3, 2020, translated from German)

However, many visitors of other nationalities seem to be less bothered by the commercialisation than by the crowds of people who seem to come to the bridge just to take a photo:

"[…] this place […] is […] a reminder to remember the history as it actually occurred. Without idealising it and just to remember that war is ugly no matter what nationality or no matter where you are from… it is an awful thing. And it does seem a bit strange that there was so much suffering and now that we are here, there is so much photographing… that's a bit surreal… it is weird." (Interview 18 with a US tourist couple at the River Khwae Bridge, Date of record February 3, 2020)

"The main reason to come to Kanchanaburi obviously is the Death Railway as they call it; the Bridge over the River Khwae. We wanted, actually I wanted to see it for myself. I don't know a lot about the history, but I work for the railway in England. Many years ago, I also saw the movie from 1957. We didn't go to any of the museums yet, but we will visit the cemetery after here. I don't know where the museum is. It seems rather strange to me actually that so many people come here to take pictures with the bridge, because I don't know if people actually appreciate the history connected to it. I have taken photos today myself, but… all these selfies that people take… I don't know. I don't really think it commemorates, it doesn't show what happened, the significances. It is a lot of market stalls. I don't like the camp on the other side, I think it is quite disrespectful. The Thais could have done a way better job." (Interview 33 with a British tourist at the River Khwae Bridge, Date of record February 4, 2020)

On the other side Western visitors also seem to appreciate that the bridge is maintained as a monument and warning for future generations:

"This suffering on all sides, hopefully it will help to prevent that anything like that happens again. It is important that this monument is maintained. The war in the East seems to be separated in people's mind from that in the West; it wasn't. It was a world conflict. And I think it is important that the young people, youngsters are shown that war is never a good thing." (Interview 30 with a British tourist at the River Khwae Bridge, Date of record February 4, 2020)

"It is interesting that it became a tourist hot spot, but on the other side it is important to commemorate the history; people need to talk about it. And these guys should do anything they can to get us Westerners to this place. They don't make too much money of it, but it is another view on the history of the country. I wouldn't say it is too bad. Because if they would not do this, I wouldn't know about it. I have learned something today because they told me. We see the tracks and trains and learn how they were built. And also, how long ago all this is, this is almost 80 years ago. The graveyard is from 1946 or so and see how beautiful it still is."

(Interview 34 with a British tourist at the Kanchanaburi War Cemetery, Date of record February 5, 2020)

"This site is of course very important, especially for Thailand and the Thai people, and I think it is important to keep up the memory. It is a rather striking contrast from what you expect to see; […]." (Interview 35 with a Finnish tourist at the Kanchanaburi War Cemetery, Date of record February 5, 2020)

4 The Two Sides of the Coin: Lessons Learnt from the Commodification of "Dark Tourism Sites"

So, what messages do the experiences of the "touristification" of so-called "dark tourism sites" such as the hill tribe village of Doi Pui and the tourist magnet "Bridge over the River Kwai" convey to us? Can the commercialisation and "Disneyfication" of such sites succeed in keeping memories alive that would otherwise have been lost over time with the death of contemporary witnesses? Or is what remains after a visit to such sites mainly a selfie spectacle, whereby the reference to historical events that actually took place is lost? What can we learn from the two examples of Dark Hill Tribe Tourism and Bridge over the River Kwai outlined above?

It can be said that the concept of "Dark Hill Tribe Tourism" is used as a kind of "counter-narrative" through which the various former opium producing hill tribe communities reinvent their identities. This almost proud self-representation of economic power these communities once had as opium traders can be seen as form of self-empowerment achieved via the take-over of government and NGO sponsored projects such as the Crop Substitution Programmes of the Royal Projects. As the case study in the Royal Project village of Doi Pui showed a large portion of these projects can be viewed as very successful. Today, many project villages show considerable economic autonomy, whereby the foundation for this autonomy was not always laid only by national or international development aid, but rather to an increasing degree through the personal initiative of the affected parties as a result of insufficient support from state authorities or project operators.

However, the problem of the marginalisation of the ethnic minorities in the north of Thailand after the end of World War II proved to be a phenomenon of increasing complexity; in addition to the already known problems, discrimination of the population groups affected suddenly became recognisable at a variety of new levels. For example, besides opium production, the issue of land use rights proved to be a central point of conflict between ethnic Thais and the hill tribes.

On the other side the successful elimination of opium poppy cultivation and the "traditional" opium economy in the Golden Triangle face a sort of "return of the poppy blossom" in recent years. The history of the region as a (former) main production region for opiates is marketed towards and in this regard the still deeply anchored negative image of the drug producing hill tribes is used as a tourist attraction; hereby primarily the Thai domestic tourism seems to profit from this newly reawakened interest in the opium poppy

(LEEPREECHA 2014, pp. 330ff; TRUPP 2006, p. 72). The emergence of Dark Tourism within Hill Tribe Tourism might lead to a re-stigmatisation and re-criminalisation of these ethnic communities by the tourism industry and therefore also further their marginalisation; a problem that the providers of the majority society as well as the Hill Tribe communities themselves should keep in mind.

In the long run however, the knowledge and experience made by communities engaged in "Dark Hill Tribe Tourism" might be passed on to communities across the borders in Myanmar, Laos and furthermore also to Vietnam and to Yunnan in the South of China. As mentioned above such knowledge transfer already happened in the case of Doi Chang and this village's experience in coffee cultivation. In the context of Thai Dark Hill Tribe Tourism this knowledge transfer already started to take place as the quote below shows:

> *"[…] [D]uring [the 1970s] the city people or also the media or the state say that it is us Hill Tribes who deforest, meaning not only Hmong, but 'chao kao' or Hill Tribes… the whole group. So, if we want to delete this misrepresentation, I have to be against this kind of thing. But now the young people in the villages start to plant fake poppy fields so farang and lowland tourists can take pictures with them… or act like they would be chao khao!"* (Interview with KHAE-WA, headman of Ban Huay E-Kang, February 25, 2014)

The sites connected to the Thai-Burma Death Railway have become some kind of "Dark Disneyland", commemorating history in an "alternative way" so to speak. Even though there is this large entertainment character the educational character should not be underestimated given that the history of World War II in the Asia-Pacific region is often a blind spot in historic education. Discussions around "Disneyfication" and commodification of memorial cultures and politics seem to be mainly among academics and (international) tourists. For many domestic and international tourists taking selfies at the bridge is a must do when visiting Kanchanaburi as interview passages from the previous sections have shown, to prove that they "were really there".

This for sure is an important reason for most tourists to take photos at a site without always knowing or being aware of its history. However, taking a selfie at a "dark site" can be seen as a way of commemoration in its own right as more and more studies try to prove. However, in case of the so called "Death Railway" both factors are equally important since many memorials or commemoration sites display an alternative to the official narratives of the Thai state.

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Unravelling the Global Care Chain and Human Capital Dynamics: Thai Caregivers in Japan

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Contents

Summary 235
Zusammenfassung 236
1 Introduction 237
2 Global Care Chains and Human Capital 238
3 Results of the In-Depth Interviews 240
3.1 The Role of Agencies and Nursing Schools 241
3.2 Becoming "Kaigo" in Japan 244
3.3 Human Capital Aspects of Migrating in the Global Care Chain 246
4 Discussion 249
5 Conclusion 251
6 References 252

Summary

Since 2019, Japan has implemented a strategic policy to address its labour shortage within the service sector, particularly in areas such as elderly long-term care. This policy also incentivises workers from Southeast Asia to work in Japan. The Japanese government released a new visa type, "Specified Skilled Worker" (SSW). A fundamental prerequisite for individuals seeking employment as care workers in Japan under this policy is the attainment of a minimum N4 level proficiency in Japanese. The study aims to determine how Thai females became caregivers in Japan through human capital training in the global care chain. Data was collected by conducting in-depth interviews with representatives of Thailand and Japan, two in public and four in the private sector, and ten caregivers, totalling sixteen people from 2021 to 2022.

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The result showed that most workers were female, had high graduation backgrounds, and did not relate to elderly care. However, they reskilled and upskilled in a highly demanding and stable caregiving career. They believed that work experience in Japan was their dream job with higher income and experience abroad, which will link to their future work investment and career. The skill training channel is a nursing care or Japanese language school connected with an elderly facilities agency from Japan. The schools are not only training elderly care programs for workers but also schooling them in the Japanese language, and finally, sending workers to Japan; care workers have to pay for facilities by themselves.

Consequently, Thai care workers will become caregivers in Japan as a part of the global care chain. The private sector is the primary source of upskilling or reskilling to become human capital. However, there is no channel for care workers to go to Japan through a public program; the private sector provides it.

Keywords: Global care chain, human capital, caregivers, Thai caregivers, Japan, Thailand

Zusammenfassung

Einblicke in die globale Pflegekette und die Dynamik der Zunahme des Humankapitals: Thailändische Pflegekräfte in Japan

Seit 2019 verfolgt Japan eine strategische Politik zur Behebung des Arbeitskräftemangels im Dienstleistungssektor, insbesondere in Bereichen wie der Langzeitpflege älterer Menschen. Diese Politik schafft auch Anreize für Arbeitnehmer aus Südostasien, in Japan zu arbeiten. Die japanische Regierung hat eine neue Visumkategorie, „Specified Skilled Worker" (SSW), eingeführt. Eine grundlegende Voraussetzung für Personen, die im Rahmen dieser Politik eine Beschäftigung als Pflegekräfte in Japan anstreben, ist das Erreichen von Kenntnissen der japanischen Sprache auf mindestens N4-Niveau. Die vorliegende Studie zielt darauf ab, zu analysieren, wie thailändische Frauen durch die Förderung ihres Humankapitals innerhalb der globalen Pflegekette zu Pflegekräften in Japan wurden. Die Daten wurden durch ausführliche Interviews mit Vertretern Thailands und Japans, zwei aus dem öffentlichen und vier aus dem privaten Sektor, sowie mit zehn Pflegekräften, insgesamt sechzehn Personen, in den Jahren 2021 bis 2022 erhoben.

Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass die meisten Arbeitskräfte weiblich sind, einen hohen Schulabschluss aufweisen und ursprünglich keinen Bezug zur Altenpflege hatten. Sie qualifizierten sich jedoch in einer sehr anspruchsvollen und stabilen Pflegekarriere um und bildeten sich weiter fort. Sie vertraten die Auffassung, dass die Arbeitserfahrung in Japan ihr Traumjob mit höherem Einkommen und Auslandserfahrung sei, was für ihre zukünftige Arbeitsinvestition und Karriere sehr förderlich ist. Der Ausbildungsweg der Pflegekräfte verläuft über eine Krankenpflegeschule oder eine japanische Sprachschule, die mit einer Agentur für Senioreneinrichtungen in Japan verbunden ist. Die Schulen bieten nicht nur Altenpflegeprogramme für Arbeitnehmerinnen und Arbeitnehmer an, sondern schulen diese auch in der japanischen Sprache und entsenden schließlich auch

die Arbeitskräfte nach Japan. Die Pflegekräfte müssen jedoch die Kosten für die Ausbildungseinrichtungen selbst bezahlen.

Demgemäß werden thailändische Pflegekräfte in Japan zu einem Teil der globalen Pflegekette. Der private Sektor ist die wichtigste Quelle für die Förderung, Ausbildung oder Umschulung zur Verbesserung ihres Humankapitals. Es gibt jedoch keine Möglichkeit für Pflegekräfte, im Rahmen eines öffentlichen Förder- oder Ausbildungsprogramms nach Japan zu gehen; nur der Privatsektor bietet dies an.

Schlagwörter: Globale Pflegekette, Humankapital, Pflegekräfte, thailändische Pflegekräfte, Japan, Thailand

1 Introduction

Becoming an aging society is a phenomenon in many countries. Since 1970, Japan has become an aging society and a so-called "Super-Aged Society" in 2007. In Japan, the proportion of the elderly (65 years and over) was 28.4 percent, with 13.6 percent of the 65–75 year-olds and 14.8 percent of the elderly over 75 years old in 2020 (Statistics Bureau of Japan 2021). According to the World Health Statistics 2017 report, Japan's average life expectancy at birth is still the highest globally, with 83.7 years overall, 86.8 years for women, and 80.5 years for men (World Health Organization 2017). The post-war baby boom generation is now 65 and over, and the percentage of the population in that category is expected to keep growing, with high life expectancy while fertility rates go steadily lower. The aging population pressures the Japanese government to provide welfare services for more people as rising numbers leave the workforce (O'Neill 2023). As a result of this situation, it is evident that for the Japanese government it has become increasingly necessary to take care of the elderly.

In the past, family members, especially female members, had the duty to care for the elderly. It is the usual thing in Japanese society. Still, the typical structure of a Japanese family has changed from an extended family, staying with three generations, to a spouse family and parents with unmarried children. However, the average household size in Japan has changed to 2.22 people as of 2022. Single households are 21.2 million; within these, the number of elderly single households is 6.7 million as of 2023 and will amount to around 40 percent by 2040 (Statista Research Department 2023). In Japan, it used to be the children, especially the females, who were largely responsible for care, which was also the invisible basis of the social structure.

In the 1980s, Japan launched the care insurance system, or *kaigo*, one of Japan's social welfare systems. This system was created to prevent people from giving up work for the long-term care of family members, because when family members become dependent on care, this causes physical, psychological and economic problems for the family. The term *kaigo* first appeared in an encyclopaedia in 1983 and referred to medical care for the sick. Later, in 1998, the term was extended to include the medical care of patients, which also includes assistance in daily life (Care Worker Training Course Editorial Committee 2022).

Caregiving is the management and daily maintenance of life to serve the physical health and emotional well-being of people. By 2030, Japan is expected to have a shortage of 66.4 million workers, with the biggest shortages in the service sector (40 million), healthcare (18.7 million) and retail (6 million). This tense situation has a significant impact on the Japanese economy and society. The Japanese government has found several ways to increase the number of workers entering the market, such as encouraging women to work, extending the working life after retirement and promoting the disabled. Currently, Japan has been importing foreign labour to solve this situation (Persol Research Institute and Chuo University 2020).

According to statistics from the Ministry of Health, there were 1,460,463 foreign workers in Japan in October 2018, that means 181,793 foreign workers (14.2 %) more than the previous year, mainly from China (389,117 foreign workers; 26.6 %), followed by Vietnam (316,840; 21.7 %) and the Philippines (164,006; 11.2 %). In April 2019, the Japanese government expected to increase the number of workers by 345,000 in fourteen industries: Elderly nursing, customer service, construction, cleaning, and agriculture, all jobs that the Japanese do not want to do, such as manufacturing and service jobs. Thailand is one of the eight target countries from which Japan wants to import workers, including Vietnam, China, the Philippines, Indonesia, and Myanmar. Japan has approximately 20,365 Thai workers (Department of Employment of Thailand 2020).

Foreigners who want to work in Japan, especially in nursing care, must have a minimum N4 level proficiency (the ability to understand basic Japanese). They must be able to read and understand passages on familiar everyday topics written in *kanji* with a basic vocabulary, be able to follow everyday conversations and generally follow their content (provided they are spoken slowly) or have a higher level of Japanese. The Japanese language is, therefore, an essential condition of obtaining a visa for employment.

This article analyses the labour migration of caregivers from Thailand to Japan within the global care system and attempts to explain how foreign caregivers retrain and upskill in nursing at the international level and what role agencies play in the competition for human capital.

2 Global Care Chains and Human Capital

2.1 Global Care Chains

World Health Organization (WHO) defines "Long-term care" as part of the health and social system which consists of various operations for those in need. Formal care providers are healthcare professionals such as social scientists and medical personnel, including care provided by trained volunteers. Informal care refers to care work by family, friends and neighbours in the community (World Health Organization 2000). Arlie HOCHSCHILD first mentioned the term "global care chain" to refer to "a series of personal links between people across the globe based on the paid or unpaid work of caring" (YEATES 2005).

Global care chains consist of domestic services provided by chains of feminised and racialised migrant workers. This transnationalisation of care combines the structure of global relations with an emphasis on social interactions between human agency, material wealth and social development. Labour migration in care is transnational. Care is concerned with cross-border networks of socio-economic relations. Global care can be seen as a new global dynamic that restructures international relations of social inequality, linking individuals, families, communities, socio-institutional formations, economies and state policy actors in more than one country (Yeates 2011).

The care crisis has been one of the drivers of the feminisation of migration as it has opened up labour opportunities mainly welcome to women in caregiving. The growing number of young women from Southeast Asian countries immigrating to Japan shows the dynamics of supply and demand in the care chain. Caregivers from developing countries, especially from Southeast Asia, are immigrating to work in long-term care for the elderly who have different cultural backgrounds, norms, and lifestyles. Given the shortage of care workers and the unpopularity of the profession, foreign care workers have been brought into the country instead.

In his theory of migration Lee (1966) stated that every migration involves factors relating to origin and destination or sending and receiving countries. Some obstacles intervene between the two areas, such as distance, laws, travel difficulties, the cost of mobility, and non-monetary issues, such as anxiety. Personal factors also affect migration, both favourable and hindering, such as habits, feelings, personality, etc., in the area of origin as well as in the destination area (Lee 1966). Migrants from Southeast Asia employed in the care sector usually come to Japan under the "Economic Partnership Agreement" (EPA) for socio-economic reasons. The migrant care workers are well integrated and have contributed positively to the quality of care (Reiko 2012).

Workers from developing countries migrate to work in developed countries for many reasons, e.g., to earn a higher income and have a better lifestyle. This happens for compelling reasons, be it financial, unemployment or because they are looking for a stable job and opt for a better quality of life to lead a free life that is not only limited to working in their own country, but also to developing their skills. Migration to take up care work abroad is also a reaction to improve their lifestyle.

2.2 Human Capital

Human capital refers to the abilities and skills of individuals and entire populations and is crucial in driving economic prosperity and productivity. Decisive factors in the production of human capital are education, training and health. Investment in human capital promotes an increase in the productive capacity of individuals and economic growth (Goldin 2014). This can be cultivated by ensuring that individuals can maintain skills and capabilities in demand. The value of human capital becomes evident in the job market through productive employment. It is nurtured through education in an individual's life and investments in mid-career training. Investing in human capital means equipping people with knowledge, good health, and skills to take on today's jobs and create future positions (World Bank 2019).

The development of human capital and the functioning of labour markets across economies requires focused efforts to renew training systems across various ages and experiences, emphasising the skills needed for emerging jobs. However, talent shortages will remain endemic until there is a substantial escalation in mid-career reskilling and upskilling programs, as many of the individuals who need further re- and upskilling are beyond school age and current members of the workforce, such as elderly caregivers. In addition, progressing digital technology allows people to remote work, but health services have lagged behind demographic trends, increasing the need for human care. Moreover, investment in the care sector is good for expanding the care economy for young and older people (SCHWAB et al. 2020).

Transnational care also involves human care capital, such as education and training. In the past, care workers were categorised as unskilled workers, but currently, more skilled migrant caregivers are highly institutionalised and professionalised (YEATES 2011). A case study of Thai workers working as caregivers in Japan shows that training is mostly done on the job, which is also a way of investing in human capital. On-the-job training is a process to raise future productivity and differs from school training. Additionally, one way to invest in human capital is to improve physical and emotional health, significantly influencing earning capacity and productivity (BECKER 1962). Foreign workers who study care usually do practical work because it allows them to improve their care experience and earn money to pay their tuition fees and living expenses in Japan.

The present study focuses on Thai caregivers, who typically have training and qualifications in elderly caregiving. They bring with them valuable human capital, including knowledge of healthcare practices and cultural sensitivity. However, language proficiency is crucial for caregivers to effectively communicate with their clients in Japan. Many Thai caregivers undergo Japanese language training to improve their communication skills. Additionally, they need to adapt to Japanese cultural norms and practices.

3 Results of the In-Depth Interviews

This article is part of the research project "A Study of the Quality of Thai Labourers in the Service Sector in Ageing Japan." The data was collected by conducting in-depth interviews with representatives of Thailand and Japan, two from the public sector, four from the private sector, and ten caregivers, totalling sixteen people from 2021 to 2022 (for details about the interviewees, see the appendix at the end of the article). All interviews were conducted after obtaining permission for the interviews. The questionnaire included information on why they became care workers abroad, how they found work in the care sector in Japan and how they prepared for the project.

The in-depth interviews of six representatives of sending and receiving organisations (two from Japan, hereinafter referred to as JN1 and JN2, and four from Thailand, as TN1–TN4) and of ten workers from 2021 to 2022 (in the following referred as TW1 to TW 10) were mainly done online because of the Covid-19 pandemic. Aim of the interviews was to show how they became caregivers in Japan and reskilled and upskilled in their profession as caregivers in Japan.

3.1 The Role of Agencies and Nursing Schools

The background of the Japanese Institutions JN1 and JN2 ("Japan Network" is abbreviated as JN) supporting Thai caregivers in Japan is as follows:

JN1: In Japan, there are 47 prefectural welfare agencies and about 2,000 local centres, many catering to Vietnamese workers, Chinese, and Koreans. Furthermore, the Fukui Prefectural Office operates a separate administrative unit as a nursing home, a centre for the disabled and an orphanage. JN1 comes from the "Fukui Prefectural Elderly Care Centre", which focuses on Thai workers. The cooperation between the local government of Fukui Prefecture and the foundations and schools in Thailand went smoothly, as the organisation had already gathered and learned about Thai society and culture. The number of Thais in Fukui Prefecture is small, but Thai workers are still selected as the primary target. Out of 15,713 foreigners living in Fukui Prefecture in December 2020 231 were Thais. The reason is that there are Fukui prefectural offices in Bangkok and Shanghai. The number of elderly people is higher in the province than the Japanese average. As of 2020, Japan had a total population of about 120 million. Fukui Prefecture had 760,000 people, and the percentage of the elderly over 65 was 28.8 percent (JN1, Interview, August 31, 2023).

JN2: The interviewee from JN2 is a Japanese teacher selling equipment related to nursing care for the elderly and teaching Japanese in a nursing home for the elderly, established in 2008 in Chiba Prefecture. His statements in the interview can be summarised as follows: Currently, he teaches Japanese, especially to foreigners. Having worked in nursing care before, he also has a good understanding of nursing care work and Japanese skills for nursing care. International students in Japan use the same study model as Japanese students. The difference is that students are required to pass the Japanese language proficiency test. Therefore, conversational skills are also a weakness, especially when working on the job. Although you can communicate somewhat, the Japanese required is very polite or business Japanese. This restriction prevents foreign care providers from actually expressing their feelings. Therefore, they usually avoid talking or and prefer to work quietly. Even those who have passed the Japanese language exam at higher levels cannot communicate hands-on with customers, and they have to learn how to talk to elderly people of different ages. JN2 believes that listening is the most important thing in Japanese nursing homes – the ability to ask with listening comprehension. In short, the ability to communicate is the most important thing. However, every person's body movements are different. It is therefore important to understand the client and adapt the method to the individual person (JN2, Interview, February 7, 2021).

In addition to the two Japanese organisations listed above, interviews were also conducted with representatives of four partner organisations in Thailand ("Thailand Network" is abbreviated as TN). The most important statements from the interviews with TN1 to TN4 are briefly explained below.

TN1: The representative of a Japanese language school in Bangkok mentioned that TN1 supports Thai workers to gain skills and prepare documents to meet the standards that

Japan requires. According to Japanese immigration law, workers must study or receive training before leaving the country of origin. Currently, TN1 mainly sends Thai workers to work in factories and agriculture, for which they must learn 240 hours of Japanese before departure and the school has to issue a certificate that allows them to contact the recipient organisation or union in Japan. This system includes both sending and receiving organisations. Elderly caregivers are a new type of foreign worker in Japan, and those working in the personal care sector require a higher level of Japanese language proficiency. Caregivers must study additional 160 hours of Japanese, totalling 400 hours, before going to Japan. After arriving in Japan, they must study at least another 160 hours of Japanese.

TN1 previously used textbooks published by Japanese care unions, but not in Thai. TN1 has translated the original textbook into Thai, used it as teaching material and hired a teacher who has completed Japanese teacher training. It only takes 4–6 months to study Japanese at TN1 to reach the N4 level of Japanese. Currently, TN1 sends employees to hospitals in the Kanto region (Tokyo Prefecture, Chiba, Saitama, Kanagawa). Many Japanese companies are now seeking to collaborate with local care schools or Japanese schools that train workers to Japanese standards and are entering into contracts to do so. TN1 also maintains close relationships with hospitals in Japan. Employees who apply for a nursing project in Japan can take advantage of the fact that they can work not only in an elderly care facility but also in hospitals and thus also receive higher salaries. However, some applicants who have already worked as nurses in Thailand, for example, do not need any additional work experience abroad. In Thailand, a nurse earns 30,000 to 40,000 baht, in Vietnam about 6,000 to 7,000 baht, but in Japan they get 60,000 to 70,000 baht or twice the salary for Thais but ten times for Vietnamese, which makes Vietnamese work harder.

In Japan, union workers go on patrol every month to check working conditions and the working environment. TN1 now also has a branch in Vietnam. Sending a wider range of workers means more choice for the receiving side. In terms of gender, most elderly care departments prefer female employees. For transgender people who want to work in Japan, separate rooms are provided, segregated by gender, but this depends on the receiving company. During Covid-19, the Japanese government has developed a website that updates the current number of foreign workers who apply for and pass the Japanese test (TN1, interview, February 9, 2021).

TN2 refers to a nursing school in Bangkok. The interviewed TN2 representative explained that his teaching emphasises other aspects besides knowledge of elderly care, such as the use of technology to connect with family members. He also explained that he aims to train standard caregivers in Thailand. In the past, the focus has been on personal care, nutrition and bathing. He believes that caregivers should also take care of physical and mental aspects and various activities. This is an element that could make older people happy both physically and mentally. Foreign language workers can work in a hospital, earn extra income or take care of foreign elderly people in Thailand, which is a more skilled job.

Working in Japan, which has a high international standard in elderly care, can help workers learn know-how and disciplined ways of working, giving them better qualifications. After five years, they return to Thailand. They are an example of a good standard of elderly care. Nowadays, many elderly people are suffering from Alzheimer's disease

and it is expensive to hire skilled workers. TN2 aims to help improve the care given by caregivers to patients in order to meet their basic physical and mental needs, for example, by finding a simple game to refresh their memory.

In each province of Japan, there will be representatives looking for labour. The employer must tell how many jobs are available, and TN2 will find suitable workers for the project and train them in elderly care and Japanese language. The best students will be offered to Japanese employers directly in Thailand for an interview. TN2 supports employees working in Osaka, Tokyo, Hiroshima and Saitama. TN2 also reviews locations of support facilities for Thai workers who have less experience of living in Japan, particularly in terms of monthly salary, cost of living, accommodation, number of vacation days and the ratio of Japanese to foreign workers.

TN2 is a one-stop service for training, upskilling, retraining, recruiting, posting or supporting Thai workers from inception to work in Japan. It usually sends groups rather than individuals who are at risk of feeling lonely and homesick, which could affect their performance. TN2 selects employees by observing their school attendance, their eagerness to learn, their efforts to fulfil the curriculum, etc. In addition to the language, the financial aspect is the main obstacle for the employee. When travelling to Japan, there are costs for studying Japanese, expenses for nursing studies and the cost of posting by the hiring company. TN2 also helps with banks to get an education loan. Such loans are mainly for children and grandchildren of farmers who want to work in Japan. TN2 also shows another way to study Japanese language and care without prepaid payment. Some Japanese employees offer interest-free scholarships for studying. The costs for this can then be deducted from the salary at a later date. Before TN2 employees fly to Japan, TN2 concludes an employment contract with the employees that a penalty will be due if they leave their job early (TN2, Interview, February 16, 2021).

TN3 stands for a nursing school in Chiang Mai province. All instructors are nurses for the training of nursing assistants (NA). The instructor interviewed also devotes his attention to orthopaedics, focusing on bones and joints and movement disorders that students might face in the future either in hospitals or elderly care facilities. Caring for the elderly is both a science and an art. The science can be learned in school, but the soft skills should be taught on site. Working in elderly care centres is now more popular than in hospitals as it offers better earning potential. In 2021, all NA graduates were required to register with the Department of Health Service Support, similar to employment registration. Some potential employers require this ID.

The Covid-19 pandemic has also had an impact on new graduates or those who have recently graduated. The total number of graduates in Thailand in the field of nursing was 200,000 last year and 200,000 this year, so they need to work abroad, including Japan. TN3 is the intermediary between government and private organisations that helps students with qualifications to work in Japan as elderly care nurses. It has a contract with Japanese agencies and institutions to train workers and send them to registered facilities.

TN4: The language and nursing care school in Northeastern Thailand started accepting students interested in nursing care work in Japan five years ago. Those going to Japan

must meet the Japanese language level N4 or J-TEST requirements set by the Japanese government. In the current group, thirteen students can study Japanese for up to two years, and seven have already passed the exam. In Hiroshima, 160,000 yen per month is paid, in Tokyo 180,000 yen, with plans to extend this to other prefectures. Most students are 25 to 30 years old. Studying Japanese for some people is too difficult. Employees must pay a processing fee of around 140,000 to 200,000 baht. Language courses are offered in school and online, so out-of-province learners can also participate. Japanese employers who accept Thai workers have found that while the Thais like to smile, the Vietnamese are more proficient in Japanese than the Thais (TN4, Interview, 24 January 2022).

As mentioned above, Japan is a host country for foreign workers and needs workers with basic care skills and Japanese language skills. Before the foreigners are allowed to work, they are trained in Japanese elderly care, Japanese culture and work culture through on-the-job training with Japanese managers. The Japanese facilities also comply with the requirements of the Japanese Immigration Bureau.

3.2 Becoming "Kaigo" in Japan

In this chapter, ten Thai participants with a background as a caregiver in Japan are introduced (Thai workers in Japan is abbreviated as TW). The core statements from their interviews can be summarised as follows:

TW1 is a Thai female 52 years old who graduated from junior high school and previously worked part-time at an electrical parts company in Japan. She has a Japanese spouse and has a Japanese spouse visa. She has a son with a Thai ex-husband who lives in Thailand and still sends him remittances. She is paid 950 Japanese yen per hour. This is better than in her previous job because there are many holidays. She says that caring for the elderly is not a problem because her husband is also old, and she enjoys looking after the elderly.

TW2 is a 53 years old Thai woman, married to a Japanese spouse. They have a daughter and a son. She has been living in Japan for almost 30 years. She still speaks fluent Thai because she always talks to Thai friends in Japan. Previously, she worked in a company that produced cans, cup noodles and seaweed. Then she switched to ramen production. She had to stand all day, but her legs hurt. Then a friend gave her information about care work. She has only moved from the main branch to this branch two months ago. The working conditions are the same.

TW3 is a 31-year-old single Thai woman who has a degree in nursing and has already worked as a nurse. She is staying in Japan on a specific skilled worker visa and has now prepared herself to work as an elderly caregiver in Japan. She went to Japan for personal reasons because she wanted to change her lifestyle, travel to Japan and take advantage of the better opportunities that life in Japan would offer her. Since Japan is relatively close to Thailand, it is easy to travel home in just six hours, unlike America or Europe, which are much farther away. On the other hand, she complained about her work at the hospital and

felt constantly exhausted and under pressure. During Covid-19, she had to work 12 hours a day without being paid extra because many nurses left the company without replacement, so the remaining staff had more work at that time. She gets 50,000 baht a month, but that does not match her lifestyle.

TW4 is a 25-year-old single Thai woman who graduated with a degree in science. After graduating, she realised that she didn't like her career as a scientist, so she studied practical nursing (PN), trained in a hospital and now works as a full-time caregiver in an apartment building with care services. Work is easy to find in this profession, the training does not take long, and you can start work straight away once you have completed the relevant course.

TW5 is a 26-year-old single Thai woman who has a degree in administrative management and previously worked as a company employee. She is in Japan on a student visa. Before she went to Japan, she studied Japanese for 150 hours. She wanted to work in Japan and found out that she has good job prospects as a caregiver in Japan. Her main problems in everyday life in Japan are adapting to the cold weather and the taste of the food.

TW6 is 24 years old, female, single and has a degree in science. She has Japanese-Thai nationality but mainly uses her Japanese passport so she does not need to apply for a visa. Her Japanese father passed away when she was young. She has a sister who is a Japanese citizen and lives in Japan. She only started learning Japanese in 2020 and became interested in care work because she used to volunteer and enjoyed talking to the elderly and felt happy doing so. Although she graduated with honours in science, she found it difficult to work in this field and realised that she was interested in psychology and Japanese culture. Her boyfriend asked her to break up with him after a year of her stay in Japan. She was sad, but she now lives in a room with six other Thai people.

TW7 is a single, 27-year-old Thai woman who worked as a security guard at Suvarnabhumi International Airport near Bangkok. She has a degree in administrative management and is in Japan on a student visa. When she was working at the airport, she saw many Thais going abroad to work, which prompted her to go abroad to work as well. She contacted many Japanese language schools and finally found the best one. After the Japanese government eased the policy to accept foreign workers in the care sector, Japan only required Japanese language skills. She began studying Japanese every Monday, Wednesday and Friday for a year before flying to Japan to pursue vocational training.

TW8 is a 28-year-old Thai woman who graduated from a higher vocational school for electronics and is married to a Thai husband. She previously worked as an employee in an electronics company, but she didn't like the work. Her mother informed her about studying and working as a caregiver in Japan, so she went there on a student visa. After completing the course, she took a liking to the profession and the Japanese people. She has since passed the N3 Japanese language exam. She takes care of elderly people with dementia who are bedridden in facilities in Nara.

TW9 is Thai, single, female, 26 years old and has a degree in marine science. Before moving to Japan, she worked as an employee in an aquatic medicine company, in shrimp care and as a caretaker of a koi farm. After some time, she realised that she didn't like the koi farm work, but she still wanted to work in the environmental and nature conservation sector. However, with the Covid-19 pandemic, it has become difficult to pass the civil service exam to work at the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives. Therefore, the job as a kaigo in Japan opens up a new opportunity for her to study and work in Japan. Many workers initially have no knowledge of Japanese, as opposed to English. She feels comfortable in Japan and gets along well with the others.

TW10 is a single 26-year-old woman who has a degree in logistics. Her parents were divorced, but at the time of the interview her mother had just died of Covid-19. She lives with her sister. She used to work as an employee for a company, but was made laid off, so she had to find a new job. When she was still a student, she worked part-time in a restaurant and in a hospital. While looking for a new job, she became interested in working abroad, found the study project and went to Japan on a student visa, where she worked as an elderly caregiver.

As mentioned above, interviewees had different backgrounds regarding age, personal status, education level, and work experience. They can be categorised into four groups: Thai caregivers in Japan, Thai caregivers in Thailand, students and caregivers with part-time jobs in Japan, and students who are preparing to go to work in Japan.

3.3 Human Capital Aspects of Migrating in the Global Care Chain

With regard to human capital aspects of migrating in the global care chain, the in-depth interviews yielded the following information:

TW1: She had never taken a Japanese language proficiency test before and only remembered that she had lived in Japan for 18 years. The elderly care facility sent her to a seminar, and she finally received certification in elderly care. She learned all about the elderly in vocational school, for example, how to carry, feed, and choose clothes for them. If you work hard in Japan, you can save money and buy a house and a car, like "the more jobs you get, the more money you make." A tip for the job, in her opinion, is to communicate in Japanese, be sociable with everyone, be intentional and patient. If you are not good at Japanese, you should have more patience and creativity when working with Japanese. For example, make fruits more presentable for clients. As a care leader in the facility, she compared Thai and Vietnamese young caregivers, saying that the Vietnamese work faster and can stand more hard work. Along the way, she told the story of unsuccessful people who are addicted to pachinko (gambling machines), who run out of savings, borrow money they can't pay back and then flee to other places. For heavy drinkers, the company reduces the workload, and ultimately there is less pay and not enough to live on in Japan. Without a visa, work is a high risk with low pay and no protection under labour law (TW1, Interview, December 19, 2021).

TW2: When she turns 60, she will return to Thailand. “I have a house and can work in my sister-in-law’s restaurant,” she says in the interview. She loves cooking and used to work in the restaurant. In her work as a caregiver in Japan, she often cannot communicate in Japanese, but she uses hand gestures instead when dealing with the elderly. Many elderly people are no longer able to speak. She speaks Japanese word for word and observes the elderly people’s reactions. The work in this facility follows a fixed schedule. She can learn more about nursing if she works there for more than six months to improve her nursing skills. She says that her husband’s salary alone would be enough to pay for two people to stay in Japan, but she is also working on accumulating more savings to return to Thailand with her husband in the future (TW2, interview, January 28, 2022).

TW3: She mentioned that she also used to care for elderly people in Thailand. In a private hospital, the clients paid high fees for treatment, which meant that expectations were also high. Sometimes, however, this had nothing to do with her caring skills, e.g., that the air conditioning was not cold enough, that the patients had to wait too long for their medication or that they even called the nurse stupid. Unlike Thai people, the Japanese are very respectful and polite to nurses. She learned Japanese at the language school and practiced by playing Japanese songs and animations to improve her language skills (TW3, interview, December 12, 2021).

TW4: She is not fluent in Japanese but uses a translation application. Working in a hospital meant much more pressure for her than working in a private care service facility. Sometimes Japanese patients even help themselves: one has even brought his mother from Japan and tries to learn Thai. She has learned Japanese manners, such as knocking on the door and greeting before entering the room, and that you do not need to help unless you are asked for it (TW4, interview, December 28, 2021).

TW5: In terms of working style, she noted that Japanese people usually get their work done and mind their own business. They are not too concerned with other people’s work. Thais want to have fun with their colleagues. Working hours are strictly adhered to here, e.g., they finish work at five o’clock. However, working overtime is acceptable as there are rewards such as bonuses. Working in Japan is good for gaining experience in one of the oldest countries in the world. Afterwards, she would like to return home, use the language and work experience and change careers to become an interpreter. In the future, many elderly people will live in Chiang Mai (TW5, Interview, January 7, 2021).

TW6: She wants to study in Japan in the future and her mother wants her to work in Japan as well because she has better future prospects there than in Thailand. Also, if she gets a nursing certificate in Japan, she can take the nursing assistant exam in a European country. She has found that the Japanese work culture follows a strict system. Even if you have finished work but the working hours are not over yet, you have to keep working, whereas in Thailand you can do your work quickly and then rest. For her, language problems are not so stressful yet; she has realised that she should say “I don’t understand” rather than guess. Japanese supervisors explain to you what it’s about until you

really understand it, so you can get on with your job better (TW6, Interview, January 10, 2021).

TW7: During her training in Thailand, more emphasis was placed on Japanese than on acquiring care skills. Now she is studying in Japan. Many things need to be learned, such as the Japanese way of caring, like changing the bed sheet, using a walking stick and bathing, as well as Japanese cultural aspects, like the tea ceremony. During her studies, she has to work part-time in a care facility. She believes that studying in Japan is very useful; after studying, she can immediately put what she has learned into practice so that it stays in her mind. A part-time job while studying in Japan still pays a higher monthly salary than in Thailand. The reason she gives for working abroad is that she is still young and wants to learn a second or third language, which would give her more job opportunities and a higher salary in Thailand (TW7, interview, January 7, 2022).

TW8: She says that other foreigners, such as Vietnamese, Indonesians and Sri Lankans, use Japanese to communicate at work. Japanese people communicate quickly and have an accent that is not what she learned at school. Sometimes she didn't understand the order. Fortunately, her supervisors tried to help and explained slowly and clearly. She was afraid to speak for fear of using the grammar incorrectly. The Japanese supervisors were very accommodating when she misunderstood them and let her ask at any time. Three months later, she tried to speak with Japanese colleagues. There were also experiences of work errors, such as dispensing medication incorrectly because the patient's name was misread. The names of patients in *Kanji* (Chinese characters) look very similar. Finally, the supervisors who worked with her checked everything twice to avoid such mistakes. She fully intends to live in Japan with her Thai husband. If she passes the Japanese *kaigo* license, she can extend her stay in Japan and have children here. If she does not pass the exam at the age of 40, she wants to return to Thailand and run a retirement home in her hometown, where she would like to take in ten elderly foreigners and care for them like family members (TW8, interview, February 3, 2022).

TW9 says that for her, going to Japan has been an important experience. The salary is higher than in Thailand, so when returning to Thailand, she may continue to study the Japanese language. Her next plan is to move to Australia or to the U.S. If working abroad is too terrible, she will return to Thailand and start some business. She started studying the new skill at the nurse assistance school in Chiang Mai. She thought she would get new knowledge by taking a short online course and interning at a nursing care facility (TW9, Interview, December 30, 2021).

TW10: When she was preparing to work in Japan, she had concerns about the language and living abroad as she had never learned Japanese before. Now she had to study Japanese every morning from Monday to Friday, which made full-time employment impossible. She also learned about Japanese culture and etiquette. She was originally due to fly to Japan in April 2021 to work there. During the time she was waiting for a job in Japan, she had to pay for her own education costs every month. After working in Japan and return-

ing to Thailand, she should have some budget to run her business, such as importing and exporting beauty products, skin care and snacks (TW10, Interview, December 30, 2021).

4 Discussion

The results of this study show that the elderly care sector enriches human capital, with a focus on female migrant workers.

TW1 and TW2 are examples of middle-aged Thai workers. They live in Japan with a Japanese spouse visa. They are not concerned about their length of stay in Japan. Before migrating, they had a junior high school degree and no care experience. Although working in a care facility is physically demanding for them, it offers better working conditions and stable jobs and higher incomes than other industries. Even at almost 50 years old, they still had the opportunity to improve their skills. After finishing their work in Japan, they intend to return to Thailand with their husband or alone. As care professionals certified by the Japanese government, they would also have the opportunity to work in European countries.

TW3 was an experienced nurse in a private hospital in Bangkok, Thailand, but the work there was stressful and led to burnout despite a high salary. The transition from a nurse in Thailand to a care assistant as a geriatric caregiver is a kind of professional demotion. However, more important to her than the income and pressure of the job is a desirable lifestyle. In Japan, she has enough time for her vacation in addition to her work.

Subjects TW4, TW5, TW6, TW7, TW8, TW9 and TW10 are young employees in their twenties. Although they completed their Bachelor's degree, they did not want to continue their studies because it did not meet their expectations. The income they could earn did not seem high enough and there were no career prospects. However, becoming a caregiver in Japan is their dream job.

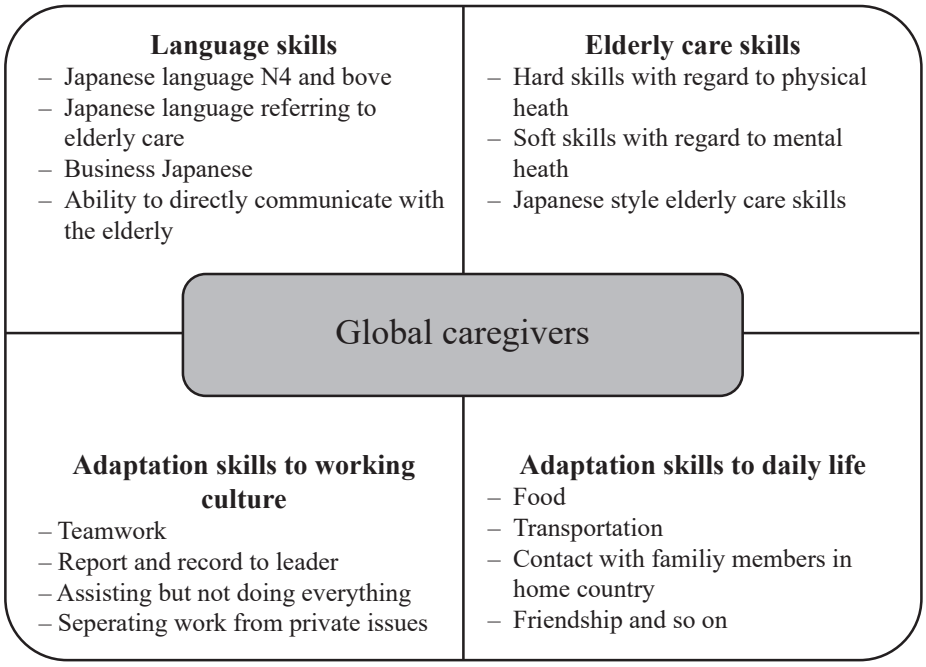
TW5, TW6, TW7 and TW8 are studying Japanese and elderly care at a vocational school while working in elderly care facilities on a student visa for the first two years. After that, they must work in care facilities for at least three years to be eligible for a prefectural scholarship. If they pass the national examination in elderly care and N2 level Japanese language proficiency, they can extend their stay as long as necessary and bring family members to Japan.

TW9 and TW10 were waiting to resume work after the Covid-19 pandemic. They trained in Japanese healthcare and practiced to become certified care assistants (nursing assistants, NA). They had given up their formal jobs and spent their time studying during the week.

The present study shows that the structure of human capital in the sending and receiving countries is different. The sending countries benefit economically from the remittances and have a greater potential of retrained and more highly qualified workers after the workers return. From the interviews, it was found that some caregivers have degrees in various fields unrelated to elderly care, such as science, administrative management, electronics, logistics etc. On the other hand, the interviewees who are trained nurses and have studied

Japanese have a permanent job in Thailand, but it does not meet their aspirations. Therefore, elderly care in Japan is an opportunity for them to further their education.

The outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic has clearly demonstrated the opportunities that participation in global care chains offers to individuals. For a better life and a better job in the future, the respondents want to gain as much experience as possible in Japan and then return to Thailand with more vitality to fulfil their dream. After returning from Japan, they will have the best chance to realise their dreams of running their own businesses, for example, in elderly care, import and export and so on. In addition to the specialised nursing and language skills they have acquired in Japan, they also need to adapt their skills in terms of cultural understanding and creativity to the Thai culture. This raises an important point about foreign nurses. Most Thai caregivers take care of the elderly in a positive way and respect them according to Thai tradition. A Thai worker in Japan must have at least four skills: Language skills, elderly care skills, adaptation to work culture and adaptation to daily life (see Figure 1).



Source: Author (own design)

Figure 1: Required skills of the global caregiver

To be more productive in Japan, the skills of the individual and the active support of Japanese managers and colleagues are crucial. Every company should have a system in place to support foreign caregivers to avoid mistakes, especially if they lack Japanese language skills. Thai caregivers should take this opportunity to live in Japan for as long as possible

or return home with savings to start a business in the elderly care sector. However, there is no opportunity for caregivers to go to Japan through a public program, only the private sector offers such. The Japanese government has recently introduced a new visa category, the "Specified Skilled Worker" (SSW). All care workers are required to have a N4 degree in Japanese before arriving in Japan.

In addition, the Thai government facilitates the provision of information about working in Japan, the Japanese language test, the examination to obtain a work permit abroad and the establishment of a branch office in Japan to help coordinate and protect workers. On the other hand, the private sector, especially nursing schools for the elderly, plays an important role in supplying caregivers to elderly care facilities in Japan. The schools not only provide elderly care programs for potential workers, but also train them in the Japanese language and eventually send workers to Japan; the caregivers have to pay for their own studies at these institutions. This includes learning the Japanese language, transportation, tuition fees in Japan, etc.

5 Conclusion

The prominent role of Thai care workers in Japan can be explained by the interconnected care networks within the Thai care workforce. This study shows the dynamics of migrant workers in relation to the supply of Thai labour and the demand from elderly care facilities in Japan. Many Thai caregivers migrate to Japan in search of better employment opportunities and wages than in their home country. This also allows them to accumulate savings for future investments. At the same time, the Thai care staff are trained and educated in elderly care. They gain further qualifications before and during their stay in Japan.

Language schools and nursing schools in the private sector play a particularly important role in training workers to care for the elderly in Japan. The language schools were originally established to teach additional languages to students and other individuals interested in languages. In addition, the students see an opportunity to find part-time and full-time jobs through the study visa route, which can lead to further job search back in Thailand in the future. Language and nursing schools are therefore an important factor in recruitment in Thailand. In this way, they strengthen human capital and enable Thai care facilities to offer their clients high-quality care in line with the Japanese model.

Thai caregivers often face cultural and language barriers, as they have to interact with the Japanese elderly, leaders, colleagues, and other foreign caregivers from Vietnam, Burma, Mongolia, the Philippines, China, Korea, etc. This emphasises the need for cultural sensitivity training and language support. It also highlights the importance of skill recognition and cross-border collaboration regarding professional qualifications.

Overall, the presence of Thai caregivers in Japan highlights the complex interplay between economic, social, cultural, and policy factors within the framework of the Global Care Chain. It underscores the need for a holistic approach to address the challenges and opportunities presented by this phenomenon. The scale of government investment in this sector can potentially have significant additional dividends while greatly benefitting societies and individuals, particularly women, who currently perform most unpaid care work.

Both governments need to address these issues to ensure the well-being and rights of caregivers and those receiving care. The private sector is the main source of training, upskilling and reskilling human capital for persons who will go to Japan as nursing staff, where most foreign nurses come from Asian countries.

Thai workers have become care workers in Japan as part of the global care chain. However, this also raises complex issues in terms of labour rights, cultural adaptation, and long-term integration in both countries.

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Appendix: List of In-Depth Interviews

Interview with JN1, Fukui Foreign Career Support Centre, August 31, 2021.
Interview with JN2, Nichimo Co., Ltd., September 7, 2021.
Interview with TN1, a Japanese language school in Bangkok, February 9, 2021.
Interview with TN2, Nursing care school in Bangkok, February 16, 2021.
Interview with TN3, Nursing care school in Chiang Mai, October 22, 2021.
Interview with TN4, Nursing care school in Northeast region, January 24, 2022.
Interview with TW1, Thai caregiver in Japan, December 19, 2021.
Interview with TW2, Thai caregiver in Japan, January 28, 2022.
Interview with TW3, Thai caregiver in Japan, December 12, 2021.
Interview with TW4, Thai caregiver in Thailand, December 28, 2021.
Interview with TW5, Student and Thai caregiver in Japan, January 7, 2021.
Interview with TW6, Student and Thai caregiver in Japan, January 10, 2021.
Interview with TW7, Student and Thai caregiver in Japan, January 7, 2022.
Interview with TW8, Student and Thai caregiver in Japan, February 3, 2022.
Interview with TW9, Preparing for Thai caregiver in Japan, December 30, 2021.
Interview with TW10, Preparing for Thai caregiver in Japan, December 30, 2021.

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Transformation of Socially Constructed Disability: Social Practice of Disabled People in Thailand

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Contents

Summary 255
Zusammenfassung 256
1 Introduction 257
2 Research Purpose 260
3 Research Method 260
4 Results 262
5 Discussion 273
6 Conclusion 275
7 References 276

Summary

The Critical Disability Theory was developed in the 2000s in response to the critiques of the Social Model of Disability. This study aims to make a theoretical contribution to the Critical Disability Theory as a field of disability studies in the Global South, with Thailand as the target region. The first objective is to use the Critical Disability Theory to understand the social and political aspects of disability, such as oppression and discrimination, through disabled people's experiences. The second is to show that people with disabilities can be the main agents in changing the society to realise equal rights, using the Critical Disability Theory.

This study consists of a literature review and field research. The literature review was conducted in Japan while the field research was conducted in seven provinces of Thailand – Chiang Mai, Ubon Ratchathani, Pathum Thani, Nakhon Pathom, Nonthaburi, Bangkok, and Chonburi – from April 2022 to July 2023. All the interviews for qualitative research were in-depth, with 61 respondents – 33 disabled and 28 non-disabled.

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The interviews revealed the social constructions of impairment and disability. Furthermore, they showed that people with disabilities accept themselves positively, support each other, and try to change society with their peers. Buddhist meditation is useful for people with disabilities to understand their situation. Disabled people's organisations are service providers for people with disabilities in the current public health system. People with disabilities expressed their political opinions and identities on social media platforms. In Thailand, people with disabilities alternate between gaining self-confidence and participating in society, thereby improving their capabilities for practical reasons and affiliations. In Thailand, empathy for the experiences and practices of people with disabilities is increasing as Thai society is facing rapid ageing, leading to a growing population of older adults with disabilities.

In conclusion, changing the conceptual understanding of the disability of people will promote independent living and reform the discriminatory structure against people with disabilities.

Keywords: Critical Disability Theory; Thailand; people with disabilities

Zusammenfassung

Transformation von sozial konstruierter Behinderung: Soziale Praxis behinderter Menschen in Thailand

Die „Critical Disability Theory" (Kritische Behindertentheorie) wurde in den 2000er Jahren als Reaktion auf die Kritik am Sozialmodell der Behinderung entwickelt. Diese Studie zielt darauf ab, einen theoretischen Beitrag zur Kritischen Behindertentheorie als Bereich der Behindertenforschung im Globalen Süden zu leisten, wobei Thailand die Zielregion darstellt. Das erste Ziel besteht darin, die „Critical Disability Theory" zu nutzen, um die sozialen und politischen Aspekte von Behinderung, wie Unterdrückung und Diskriminierung, anhand der Erfahrungen von Menschen mit Behinderung zu verstehen. Zweitens soll gezeigt werden, dass Menschen mit Behinderungen mit Hilfe der Kritischen Behindertentheorie die Hauptakteure bei der Veränderung der Gesellschaft zur Verwirklichung gleicher Rechte sein können.

Diese Studie besteht aus einer Literaturübersicht und einer Feldforschung. Die Literaturrecherche wurde in Japan durchgeführt, während die Feldforschung in sieben Provinzen Thailands – Chiang Mai, Ubon Ratchathani, Pathum Thani, Nakhon Pathom, Nonthaburi, Bangkok und Chonburi – von April 2022 bis Juli 2023 stattfand. Alle Interviews für die qualitative Forschung waren Tiefeninterviews mit 61 Befragten – 33 Behinderten und 28 Nicht-Behinderten.

Die Ergebnisse der Interviews enthüllten die sozialen Konstruktionen von Beeinträchtigung und Behinderung. Außerdem zeigten sie, dass Menschen mit Behinderungen sich selbst positiv akzeptieren, sich gegenseitig unterstützen und gemeinsam mit Gleichaltrigen versuchen, die Gesellschaft zu verändern. Die buddhistische Meditation ist für Menschen mit Behinderungen nützlich, um ihre Situation zu verstehen. Behindertenorganisationen sind Dienstleister für Menschen mit Behinderungen im derzeitigen öffentlichen Gesund-

heitssystem. Menschen mit Behinderungen bringen ihre politischen Meinungen und Identitäten auch auf Plattformen der sozialen Medien zum Ausdruck. In Thailand schwanken Menschen mit Behinderungen zwischen dem Erwerb von eigenem Selbstvertrauen und der Teilhabe an der Gesellschaft, wodurch sie ihre Fähigkeiten für praktische Tätigkeiten und Gruppen-Zugehörigkeiten verbessern. In Thailand nimmt die Empathie für die Erfahrungen und Praktiken von Menschen mit Behinderungen zu, da die thailändische Gesellschaft mit einer raschen Alterung konfrontiert ist, die zu einer wachsenden Zahl älterer Erwachsener mit Behinderungen führt.

Abschließend lässt sich sagen, dass eine Änderung des konzeptionellen Verständnisses behinderter Menschen von Behinderung deren unabhängiges Leben fördern und zu einer Reform der Strukturen, die behinderte Menschen diskriminieren, führen wird.

Schlagwörter: „Critical Disability Theory", kritische Behindertentheorie, Thailand, Behinderte

1 Introduction

1.1 Critical Disability Theory and Global South Disability Studies

The "Social Model of Disability", which assumes that disability exists in society rather than in the human body, originated in the 1970s in the United Kingdom and the United States. As it spread worldwide, it was globally criticised by disabled and non-disabled academics and people with disabilities who have reached the conclusion that the Social Model has no relevance to real life (Flood 2005, p. 180), however, it played a significant role in shaping the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (Lawson and Beckett 2021, p. 351). Since the 2000s, researchers in the United States have debated the "Critical Disability Theory", based on the criticism of the Social Model of Disability developed in the United Kingdom. The theory states, "Critical disability studies view disability as a lived reality in which the experiences of people with disabilities are central to interpreting their place in the world, and as a social and political definition based on societal power relations" (Reaume 2014, p. 1248). A hallmark of the Critical Disability Theory is its attempt to view disabled people alongside other oppressed groups, based on race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, class, and age (Goodley et al. 2019, p. 976).

Furthermore, since the 2000s, the criticism that developing countries in the South have been marginalised in global disability discourses and debates has led to the complex melding of global/local, North/South, and Westernised/indigenous knowledge, rather than Eurocentric and Americanised models of disability (Goodley 2017, p. 198). Disability studies in the Global South seek to integrate the framework of binaries (Grech 2011, p. 89), hence, are important in the Critical Disability Theory. Recent research describes that global normative provisions, such as "inclusion" by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, are practiced locally and possess control over the system. However, the concept of inclusion is controversial as it exists in different historical and cultural contexts. With the analytical framework of heterogeneity and intersectional-

ity, the difference between disability and "being disabled" comes to the fore (KÖPFER et al. 2021, p. 11).

1.2 Characteristics of Southeast Asia and the Position of Thailand

In Southeast Asian countries, which are still developing infrastructure and social services, the meaning of disability differs from that in developed countries. Therefore, considering whether the Social Model of Disability and the Critical Disability Theory are applicable in the developing countries in Southeast Asia is meaningful for both research on disabilities and the lives of disabled people. With the adoption of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities in 2006, the "Social Model of Disability" was integrated with the "Human Rights Model of Disability" and subsequently reflected in the legal systems and policies of developing countries in Southeast Asia. Among these countries, Thailand was one of the first to enact laws for disabled people. In drafting the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, the "Bangkok Draft," prepared by the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP), headquartered in Bangkok, Thailand, exerted a strong influence on the working group of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities in the discussion of Article 24 (Education) (NAGASE 2012, p. 146–147). Thailand actively participated in international discussions and created systems, such as domestic legislation to implement international agreements.

According to CHIBA (2020), Thailand has the following characteristics: (1) Nationwide movement of disabled people, (2) Private coalitions across disability categories, (3) Disability movements influence policy, and (4) Relatively large number of disability research studies have been conducted. The "Independent Living (IL) movement" played a major role in (1) and (3). In addition, support for disabled people (e.g., provision of shelter, services, and activities in temple facilities), deeply rooted in Buddhist thought, has been culturally and historically provided in Thailand (ONOPAS and CONGBOONWASANA 2019, p. 32). The Sangha Law was enacted in 1903 and 1992 and states that disabled people are eligible for support in the social assistance programs of the Central Sangha Regulations (ibid., p. 25, 30). Thailand is a good example of contrasting global and local conditions. By organising and analysing the Thai case within the framework of the Critical Disability Theory, this study attempts to add new perspectives to the discussion of the Critical Disability Theory.

1.3 Adoption of the Disability Model in Thailand

The Independent Living movement spread in Asia in the 1980s, however, it reached Thailand in the 2000s (CHIBA 2020, p. 63). In 2007, Thailand signed the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities and enforced the Act on Improvement and Development of the Quality of Life of Persons with Disabilities ("Persons with Disabilities Empowerment Act"). This Act highlights the rights of disabled people, emphasises their empowerment, and incorporates the importance of social participation and equal opportunities (FUKUDA 2010, p. 167).

Thailand has discussed the rights of women, disabled people, older people, and children since the 1970s. However, it was not until the 1990s that these rights and the prohibition of discrimination were legalised (Pitukthanin et al. 2013, p. 9). Movements that prohibit discrimination against people with disabilities include school education, legal employment, and a wide range of fields, including public services, infrastructure, and opportunities for social participation (ThisAble.Me 2020a). Using the analytical framework of Amartya Sen's capability approach (Sen 2002), previous research by Thai academics pointed out that there was unequal market accessibility due to insufficient government support (Pitidol 2015), with limited freedom to discuss political issues in the public (Pongswat 2007).

Monthian Buntan, Senator and President of the Thailand Association of the Blind, and the foremost figure in the formulation of the Thailand Disability Empowerment Law, defined disability in Thailand as follows (Wankaew et al. 2019, p. 94):

> *"The meaning of disability changes according to the conditions of the social environment. […] Karma and individual and human conduct of all of us influence how we view disability. They are the conditions set by society. […] Disability can be viewed as a violation of human rights. Solving the problem of persons with disabilities means redressing discrimination against human rights and reducing restrictions at the individual level, including access to unfair resource allocations."*

This definition reflects the Social Model of Disability and the human rights approach. The Social Model places disabilities outside the individual, in an oppressive and disabling environment (Edmonds 2005, p. 13). Thai people with disabilities have adopted several approaches to the Independent Living practice, including Social and Human Rights Models. They have tried to build a society in which they could have social participation opportunities, similar to non-disabled people (Sukonthavit 2023, p. 214), and live a dignified life (Srichitsanuwaranon et al. 2023, p. 198).

However, for most people in Thai society, there are deep-rooted tendencies and values that explain disability as a "Religious/Moral Model" or "Medical/Genetic Model" (Sawadsri 2009). The Religious Model portrays disability as a cultural perspective, developed over a long period through religious teachings. In this model, disabilities refer to strangeness, specialness, and different forms of misfortune or fate, as determined by Buddha (ibid.). In Thailand, 94.6 percent of the people believe in Buddhism (Central Intelligence Ageny 2015). Buddhist monks and temples provide social services and assistance to disabled people because they are regarded as disadvantaged in society (Onopas and Congboonwasana 2019, p. 30, 32). Attitudes toward disabled people, commonly seen in Thailand, are influenced by Buddhist teachings, such as pity and compassion (Naemiratch and Manderson 2009). The Religious/Moral Model overlaps with the Charity Model, which recognises disability as a personal tragedy, with disabled people being objects of pity, portraying them as those who need "help," "care," and "protection" from non-disabled people (Edmonds 2005, p. 11).

In contrast, the Medical Model views disability as a problem directly caused by disease, trauma, or other health conditions that require medical care and individual treatment by professionals (World Health Organization 2001, p. 20). The Announcement of the Min-

istry of Social Development and Human Security (MSDHS) regarding the categories and guidelines of disability, issued on April 30, 2009, legally determines the categories of disability. According to this report, difficulties in daily activities and social participation can be attributed to bodily defects. Therefore, people understand disability as a bodily defect, instead of a social barrier or obstacle, that may cause difficulties in daily activities and social participation.

Previous studies have shown that the Medical and Charity Models have outcomes, such as maximum self-care and income generation through vocational training, whereas the Independent Living paradigm establishes self-determination and a positive disability identity (DEJONG 2001; PUNPUING 2008).

Literature review found that the adoption or infusion of several disability models influenced both the definition of disability and the daily lives of disabled people in Thailand. Impairment is included in the scope of disability in both the Social Model of Disability and Critical Disability Theory. The former views disability as a socially created problem, instead of an individual's attribute, as described in the International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health (ICF) (World Health Organization 2001). The latter considers that experiences of impairment can be transformed through social practices (TATSUMI 2021, p. 26). The Social Model of Disability may not be sufficient to understand the complex structure or nature of disability in Thailand. The perspectives of the Critical Disability Theory would help analyse these points.

2 Research Purpose

The present study aims to make a theoretical contribution to Critical Disability Theory as a field of disability studies in the Global South, with Thailand as the target region. The first objective is to understand the social and political aspects of disabilities, such as oppression and discrimination, through the narratives of disabled people. The second is to show that disabled people can be the main agents for changing society and realising equal rights, using the Critical Disability Theory.

3 Research Method

The Critical Disability Theory was developed in the 2000s. Disability Studies owe much to Critical Theory. Many scholars accept that the social relations of disability are embedded within an oppressive and discriminatory society (MEEKOSHA et al. 2013, p. 319). According to SZTOBRYN-GIERCUSZKIEWICZ (2017) Critical Disability Theory is adequate only if it meets the following three criteria – explanatory, practical, and normative. It should explain what is wrong with the current social reality, identify the actors for change, and provide clear norms for criticism and achievable practical goals for social transformation (BOHMAN 2005). GOODLEY et al. (2019, pp. 976–977) divided Critical Disability Studies into seven elements. Table 1 presents these seven elements and their relationships with Critical Theory.

Elements developed in disability study	(1)	Acknowledging the potency of foundational materialist analyses, known as the Social Model of Disability
	(2)	Recognising the contribution of feminist, queer, postcolonial, and critical race scholarship to the field
Elements influenced by critical theory (Explanation of what is wrong with the current social reality)	(3)	Taking the contemporary times seriously, which is widening the gap between the rich and the poor, and the globalisation of the guiding principles of late capitalism
	(4)	Be mindful of global, empirical findings. Analytical offering should be judged in terms of their relevance, reach, and fit with specific and general localities
	(5)	Adopting a position of cultural relativism, while speaking about the global nature of disability
Elements influenced by critical theory (provide achievable practical goals for social transformation)	(6)	Keeping in mind the view that any analysis of disability should not preclude other forms of political activism
	(7)	Maintaining a commitment to politically organise and contest disablism and ableism in the everyday lives of disabled people

Source: Developed by the author, referring to Goodley et al. (2019, pp. 976–977) and Bohman (2005)

Table 1: Key elements of Critical Disability Studies

The analytical framework of this research reflects three categories of Critical Disability Theory: 1) understanding disability beyond the binomial (individual/society), centering on the narratives of impairment experiences of people with disabilities themselves, 2) analysing the nature/structure of disability in global and local contexts, and 3) incorporating new social movements that collaborate with political activities and other fields into the analysis of disability. Critical Disability Theory reinterprets what is traditionally perceived as a disability by binding those who live with the experience of a disability to the process, in theory and practice, as agents of change (Reaume 2014, p. 1249). This paper attempts to make a significant contribution to Critical Disability Theory by discussing disabled people as active agents who change the definition of disability in society through social practice and movement, which has not been highlighted in the main elements of the theory.

The present study was approved by the Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University, on March 3, 2022. It comprises a literature review and qualitative research. In-depth interviews were conducted with 61 participants, including 33 disabled and 28 non-disabled people, from April 21, 2022, to July 14, 2023. The main target research provinces – Pathum Thani, Nakhon Pathom, Nonthaburi, and Chonburi – were selected because they have disability service centres run by disabled people's organisations that provide personal assistant (PA) services to disabled people. The criteria for selecting participants were personal assistants, users of personal assistant services, and staff of the disability service centre. This research selected people involved in PA services as the target

group because personal assistants work closely with disabled people and are best suited for observing the interactions between disabled people and society. In addition, interviews were conducted with four key informants in Chiang Mai, Ubon Ratchathani, and Bangkok to obtain a broader view of the research topics.

The author conducted 45 online and 26 face-to-face interviews regarding personal assistants for disabled people to analyse their perspectives on the transformation of the definition of disability. Consent was obtained from all 61 interviewees, using either a paper form or an electrically recorded oral statement. Each interview took at least one hour in Thai and was recorded on an electronic device upon the interviewee's agreement. Interview translations were double-checked by bilingual speakers proficient in both English and Thai. Discourse analysis was used to analyse the data from in-depth interviews to determine how the participants understood their lived reality through linguistic aspects. The qualitative data of people with socially constructed disabilities were thematically analysed using a conceptual framework derived from Critical Disability Theory.

4 Results

Based on interviews conducted during field research, the author investigated how disabled people described their impairment, how those experiences were linked to social disabilities, and how discrimination and social inequality against disabled people were created or constructed as a social structure. These illuminate the experiences, pain, suffering, and stories of disabled individuals who are often overlooked, from the perspective of the Social Model of Disability.

4.1 Socially Constructed Disability

4.1.1 Physical (Impairment) Experience of Disabled People

Critical Disability Theory suggests that impairment, regarded as a natural and unchanging fact (distinct from socially constructed disability), is based on social and cultural backgrounds. Historically, it has been a product of the modern period (TATSUMI 2021, p. 26). In modern society, productivity is emphasised for economic growth. The society tries to promote "a citizen that is ready and able to work and contribute," which is called ableism (GOODLEY 2017, p. 57). Whether people can work has become a measure of disability. Even in contemporary Thai society, disabled people and their families talk about disabilities as equivalent to being unable to work.

For example, *A*, a 52-year-old man, lives in Nonthaburi Province and cannot work as a day labourer because of hemiplegia and dysphagia caused by a stroke, and lives on a disability pension. *A* said, "I can't do my job because I can't take care of myself." *A* suffered from chronic diseases and economic hardships, lived in low-income housing offered by a local temple, and worked as a day labourer before he experienced impairment. The onset of stroke cut off his income. Economic hardships worsen patients' health and poor health

leads to further economic difficulties. People living in poverty, who work hard and have ill health, experience a downward spiral.

In Thailand, the retirement age for civil servants is 60 years; those over 60 years are defined as senior citizens. If a person suffers from functional impairment due to old age, they can apply for a disability certificate based on their doctor's certificate and become eligible for medical and social welfare services for disabled persons. For older adults, the boundaries between an individual's identity as an older person and as a disabled person are ambiguous.

Women *B* and *C* of the Karen[1)] tribe had deteriorated eyesight due to aging. *B* said, "I used to be able to see and go to work as a migrant worker, but now I cannot see in both eyes." *C* continued by saying, "My eyesight became weak in my 40s and 50s. Now, I have lost sight in both eyes." Although they have lost their eyesight due to old age and live at home, they support their families through household chores and traditional weaving. However, *D*, a young Karen woman who migrated to town as a traditional Thai massage therapist, said, "People with disabilities like us want a job", calling herself a "disabled person."

Although all three of them had a disability certificate, it did not determine their identity as a disabled person. *D* referred to herself as a disabled person, whereas the other two did not. In the same impairment situation and having a common ethnic and cultural background of the Karen tribe, their identity as a "disabled person" depends on their situation and context – particularly influenced by age, employment status, and social engagement.[2)]

E, a man in his 50s, became physically disabled due to a spinal cord injury in a traffic accident. He had spent his life confined to his home for 16 years since the accident. He reflected on his situation when he joined the Independent Living (IL) training and said:

> *I heard the word "phikan" about 100 times in IL training. I participated for half a day and left for home. It was far from home, and I couldn't stand it. I couldn't accept the "disability (phikan)". "Sick (puai)" was a better fit. After that, I went to IL training again. Two Japanese women were participating as IL leaders. I was impressed when I heard their story of "oppression (kotdan)." I stayed two nights for training. Then I started thinking if I could help disabled persons who were bedridden and afraid of society. Around that time, J (a member of the Chonburi IL Centre) called me and I decided to participate in the third IL training.*

E'*s* narrative shows that physical (impairment) experiences do not necessarily equate to disability. Rather, it resonates with the fact that the substance of disability is "oppression." *F*, a woman in her 30s, was a wheelchair user who commuted by a train. She said that she did not have to feel disabled if she could go anywhere, like non-disabled people:

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1) Karen is with over 430,000 persons the largest hill tribe group in Thailand, belonging to the Sino-Tibetan language family group. They worship animism, respect their ancestors, and adhere to traditional rites and ways of living. Senior community members play a major role in solving conflicts in families and communities (UNCERD 2011, p. 7, 9).

2) Interviews with *B*, *C*, and *D* were conducted during previous research on general disability service centres in Thailand (Yokoyama 2021).

> *I think Thailand sees people with disabilities as not people in general, but someone alienated from the society. […] If there was a structure that was considerate of all people, and people using wheelchairs could go anywhere, go to any school, and be able to go to any company without being discriminated against. […] If I could go to a pub, a market, or an amusement park like everyone else, people in society wouldn't think I was weird.*

Her physical condition is considered an impairment when it is associated with insufficient social structure and prejudice. Her impairment is a result of social and political backgrounds, rather than a cause of disability. In her case, Critical Disability Theory is a useful framework to clarify her perspective on disability as it highlights social, political, and cultural production of impairment.

4.1.2 Oppression and Social Exclusion of Disabled People

Thai disabled people use the term "burden (*phara*)" when discussing their relationships with their families and caregivers. For example, *G*, in his 30s, who suffered a neck fracture in an accident, said, "Taking care of myself, such as going to the toilet, was a burden (*phara*) for my family, and I wanted to die when I drank alcohol." The Department of Health under the Ministry of Public Health uses "*phara*" to define "being a burden," stating that "The burden (*phara*) of care for social and family health problems can be reduced by decreasing the number of bedridden patients" or "one has to rely on others and become a burden for them when it becomes difficult to conduct daily activities by themselves" (Department of Health 2020, p. 3).

Being at home and cared for by family members or unable to support other family members makes disabled people feel like a "burden (*phara*)." Due to inadequate social support systems, this burden is borne by disabled people and their families. Disabled people experience difficult situations if their families are unable to take care of them. For example, visually impaired people leave their homes to reduce their family's burden of spending money or taking care of them.

Apart from oppression through the concept of "burden (*phara*)," this research revealed several forms of oppression by the people surrounding disabled persons in Thailand. Many personal assistants trained and employed by the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security have a village health volunteer background; therefore, they tend to have an understanding of disabilities based on the Medical or Charity Model.

> *Some village health volunteers asked people with disabilities why they couldn't walk. Village health volunteers do not understand disability. Some people say, "Eventually, you'll be able to walk."* (*H*, a member of an Independent Living Centre)

> *Non-disabled people see people with disabilities as a means of accumulating virtue and as a tool to obtain self-satisfaction (Sabai Jai)*[3)]*. People with disabilities think*

[3)] It has been highlighted that "it is self-interest in the sense that doing altruistic things means accumulating merit to be in a better position in the next life" (GOHORI 2018, pp. 36–37).

that they can only eat by drawing the sympathy of others in their own unfortunate situation. (*F* mentioned above)

Since many personal assistants do not understand the concept of disability and follow the Medical or Charity Model of Disability, they pressurise disabled people to recover, or put them in an inferior position as a care and support receiver. This is regarded as oppression from the surrounding people (Yokoyama and Punpuing 2023).

Generally, it is more difficult for disabled women to go out than disabled men. This is caused by families trying to keep women at home, and by a society in which violence against women is rampant. According to Karairiksh (2016), while disabled women are seen as non-sexual in Thai society, the risk of sexual violence against them is 1.5 to 10 times higher than against non-disabled women. Yoshimura (2017, p. 131) cited the issue of sexual violence against Thai disabled women, saying, "Stories of sexual violence are not limited to people with intellectual disabilities, and there are numerous examples of victimisation, such as a blind woman who was selling lottery tickets at a temple being assaulted in the temple grounds, and a girl with a physical disability being assaulted by a male relative." Perpetrators of sexual violence against people with disabilities can be outsiders or family members (Thaitrakulpanich 2018).

Disabled people, confined to their homes, are unaware of their rights, which they can understand only by engaging with the society. Disabled people's organisations visit home-bound disabled people to provide them with the opportunities to learn about their rights. In the interviews for this research, there were several reports of the violation of the rights of disabled people, such as "Family members or strangers defrauding disabled people of disability pensions" and "Legally employed disabled people not being given work and being paid less than the minimum wages."

4.2 Transformation of Disability

Critical Disability Theory argues that disability is both a signifier of inequity and a promise of something new and affirmative. This in-built contradictory quality encourages the study of disability (Goodley et al. 2019, p. 973). According to Goodley et al., disability politics, art, scholarship, and culture offer new ways of conceiving and living life, existing with others, and recreating communities that include, augment, and emphasise the qualities we all uphold as human beings (p. 973). In this regard, there are individual and social movements among Thai disabled people aimed at fostering a positive perception of their disabilities.

4.2.1 Understanding Disability Positively

In a society where disability is often perceived through a Charity or Medical Model and where disabled people face oppression and discrimination, it is challenging for them to foster a positive perception of their disabilities. *H* said that when a person becomes disabled, they are in a state of "to be discouraged (*tho tae)*." They suffer from loneliness by feeling

that "I am the only disabled person in the world" and "I cannot see my worth (*khunkha*) and potential (*sakkayaphap*)." Horizontal relationships or equal footing with other disabled persons enable the expression of emotions, that is, "to be open-minded (*poet jai*)," and provide opportunities to recognise their value and importance as human beings. It is a way for them to develop their "inner strength (*kamlang painai*)" to support the process of "acting without hesitation (*kla tham*)." *I*, a 65 year old man, currently working at the Independent Living (IL) centre in Ubon Ratchathani province in northeastern Thailand, said:

> *In 1994, at the age of 37, I was involved in a car accident that left me severely disabled with a C5 spinal cord injury. Bedridden for 15 years, I've never left my room on the third floor of my house. Through the Internet, I became acquainted with J from the IL Centre in Chonburi Province. The members of the IL Centre, including J, his wife K, and E, drove 600 kilometers to see me. After 15 years on the third floor, I was taken down to the first floor and taken outside in just one week. If they hadn't come, I think I would still be bedridden on the third floor. […] It is important to see role models for people with disabilities. People with disabilities who have been at home for many years can learn how to get in and out of cars and how to use the toilet through IL training and can go out into the society and work.*

I has a story of finding value. The IL movement enabled bedridden and withdrawn disabled people to participate in society, help each other, and help other bedridden and withdrawn disabled people. TANABE (2010, p.134) described how HIV-infected people in northern Thailand sympathised with patients who developed AIDS and formed peer groups. He described them as "an agent who perceives the suffering of others along with their anguish and responds sympathetically and emotionally." In the case of *I*, he becomes an agent who strongly believes in the equal value or potential of other disabled people and works with them on an equal footing.

A single person cannot encourage the proactive actions of disabled people. Being open-minded (*poet jai*) comes from self-help groups. One can reaffirm one's self-worth through peer support. Values recognition and the application of inner strength are reinforced by actively participating in peer support and social outreach programs. Solidarity among disabled people and the proactive willingness to act, stemming from self-help groups, have become "group power (*phalang klum*)" that have led to social movements. However, in reality, solidarity through peer support may or may not materialise. Some individuals do not act, and not all the individuals head in the same direction. Some people think that loose solidarity and practice cannot bring about social change. However, while avoiding conflict with the existing system, it possesses the suppleness and strength to regenerate in other places. This is defined as "group power (*phalang klum*)."

While the discourse on disabled people emphasised the need to change people's awareness and social systems to eliminate oppression, some highlighted that understanding disabilities through Buddhist teachings developed their mental strengths.

> *I used to be short-tempered because of my severe disability. I couldn't control my emotions. Now before I go to bed, I ask my mother to turn on the preaching radio*

program. I also live in a circulating society. Pain is good if you can do good to others with your pain instead of hurting them. Even if my neighbours don't talk to me, I try to talk to them as much as possible. It doesn't matter if you can walk or not. If you do good things, you will get good results in return. […] I feel bad for myself when I think I want this and that. I don't have any goals, and I want to live a life that puts the least burden (phara) on my family. I want to help my family as much as possible. I may have listened to too many sermons, but I want to do my best every day and live in the present without setting goals. (*L,* male in his 30s, paralysed on his right side due to a motorcycle accident in his 20s)

I want to live a life of Buddhist Independent Living or Independent Living of the mind. I spend less time sleeping and do meditation. I ask myself, "Who am I worried about, what am I worried about, am I worried about myself?" I am gradually unable to answer. I gave up my body when I became disabled. But the mind is not yet so strong. I do [meditation] because death is near. I feel like I'm running out of time. (*M,* 63-year-old male, spinal cord injury in a sports accident while in university)

Until now, Thai people's view of disability is rooted in the Buddhist teaching that "disability is the result of actions in a previous life" (Japan International Cooperation Agency 2000, p. 30; Chiba 2020, p. 89; Chanboon and Thongyou 2016, pp. 175–176; This Able. Me 2020b). However, disabled young people reject such old beliefs that link a disability with bad Karma or makes it a consequence of bad behaviour from the previous life (This-Able.Me 2020b). The idea that human beings are reborn and change according to their deeds (*Karma*) during their lifetime is called "Karma Samsara" (Yoritaka 2015, p. 36).

Park (2012, pp. 219–220, 235) argued that Buddha did not preach about *Karma Samsara* that moves from the past to the present, and it would be desirable to propagate the idea of Karma Samsara that moves from the present to the future, that is, accepting the present disabilities, leading to overcoming them. In *L*'s words, we can see *Karma Samsara* from the present to the future. *L* mentioned that meditation made him realise that his body is a part of nature, releasing his anxiety and bringing peace to his mind. *L* accepted the idea that he could reduce the burden (*phara*) on himself and his family by introducing the idea of "knowing his limitations and being satisfied with what he has now" (Wankaew 2001, p. 55). The interviews found that many disabled people learned various Buddhist teachings, apart from Karma, leading to empowerment.

Buddhism has a form of meditation called *Vipassana*. It allows one to calm down in the first stage (*Samati*) and reflect on one's life in the second stage (*Vipassana*). Social development cannot succeed without mental development (Nozaki 2001, p. 136; Nishikawa and Noda 2001, p. vii). From *M*'*s* words, it is obvious that he adopted and practiced meditation techniques for his Independent Living (IL). Nussbaum (2000, p. 82) lists "practical reason" as one of ten important capabilities. Practical reason is defined as being able to form a conception of the good and engage in critical reflection for the planning of one's life. This entails protection for the liberty of conscience (ibid., p. 79). This research found the possibility to enhance the capability of "practical reason" of a disabled person through *Vipassana*.

Some disabled people interviewed in this research mentioned that, in addition to Buddhism, people were influenced by Animism, the local and historical belief of the rural people in Thailand. They did not support the widespread idea of Animism, mixed with Buddhism, that believes past bad behaviour, such as "urinating at a wrong place" or "neglecting a shrine," to be the cause of disability, brought by a spirit (*phi*) in the present day. Animism believes that the spirit (*phi*) is a concept of power that can act from outside and affect the internal relationship between the body and the soul (*khwan*). The loss of balance between the body and the soul appears as an illness (TANABE 2010, pp. 24–25). Previous research in Thailand found that spirits and ghosts can "cause" mental illness, as defined by Animism (SUWANLERT 1976; BURNARD et al. 2006). This old belief in Animism, mixed with Buddhism, is deeply rooted in the understanding of people, becoming an obstacle to a positive understanding of disability.

4.2.2 Disabled People as Service Providers

This section indicates that disabled people do not receive treatment or support, instead they move between support providers and receivers. Beyond the dichotomy between non-disabled and disabled people, we discuss what happens at the "material reality level" when disabled people become the support providers.

In Thailand, organisations for disabled people support them in local communities as part of the public medical services. The Independent Living (IL) centre's support for disabled people has attracted public interest because it reduces the number of bedridden people. The National Health Security Office (NHSO) pays for the community living support provided by the IL centres. To be eligible for this scheme, the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security must accredit the Independent Living (IL) centres as disability service centres. They provide training and counselling services for disabled people living at home or in the community. There are ten IL centres in Thailand, four of which are registered disability service centres with the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security. In 2021, IL centres in three provinces – Nonthaburi, Chonburi, and Pathum Thani – registered and conducted activities (Hfocus 2022). The NHSO covers medical services and social participation and livelihood support activities initiated by disabled people, using the rehabilitation fund of the Universal Health Coverage (UHC).[4] It places the disabled people's organisation on the service provider's side. A disabled person who worked as a provider said:

> *Tomorrow we will go to the field to provide skill training for Independent Living to three persons. We conducted a lot of skill trainings in this year. Prefectural and local municipalities offices provided updated list of persons with disabilities. After screening, based on disability and age, the number of target persons eligible to receive a skill training was around 300–400 persons (in the province). But we don't have the capacity to cover everybody. We set the target at 30 persons because it*

[4] The information on the UHC schemes to be funded is based on interviews with the Japan International Cooperation Agency expert assigned to the NHSO (conducted online on December 15, 2022).

> *takes a long time to finish each person's training. It takes time for a trainee to feel familiar with us and "to be open-minded."* (*H*, a member of a IL Centre)

It is difficult to incorporate the uncertain psychological element of "to be open-minded" into a system and evaluate the degree of achievement. However, without this foundation, it is impossible for disabled people to achieve Independent Living (IL) and have controls and choices in their life.

4.2.3 Application of Technology to Impairments

Through the development of science and technology, it is possible to assist disabled people in their physical functions and mobilise them. According to Finkelstein (1980, p. 8) technology enables the most severely physically impaired to operate controls that allow them to live relatively independently within the community. "This technology is arguably changing the society in which we live, and with it, the social category of people we consider 'disabled'," said Sheldon (2004, p. 155). With scientific and technological developments, impairments and the definition of disabilities have changed. However, technology transferred from developed to developing countries is sometimes left unattended because it does not suit the situation in developing countries or benefits only a limited number of people.

Therefore, the importance of considering Appropriate Technology (AT) has been highlighted. According to Kuno and Nakanishi (2004, pp. 196–197), AT can be explained as "easily available to many people, including poor people, with low cost and price, based on local resources (e.g. materials and human resources) and technology." Amid the COVID-19 pandemic, science and technology have accelerated and become more widespread as social distancing has been adopted as a new lifestyle. This section focuses on disabled people who live independently in a local city or rural area in Thailand and use tools to assist in their daily activities and mobility, based on the Appropriate Technology (AT) perspective.

E was infected with COVID-19 from August to September 2021, and his personal assistant wore personal protective equipment and a mask to help him shower. In July 2022, he infected him with COVID-19 for a second time. *E* gave voice commands to an Artificial Intelligence (AI) assistant, allowing him to control the appliances in his room (smartphone, computer, TV, air conditioner, and lighting). This allowed him to call a personal assistant in another room even when sleeping alone. It is difficult to say whether technology is available to all disabled people as it requires them to purchase electronic equipment and have knowledge of information and communication technology. However, this case of *E* demonstrates that technology can reduce dependency.

Similarly, *J* had a modified microbus that could be driven while the driver was seated in a wheelchair. All the seats were removed from the minibus, except for the passenger seat, the centre-left end (fixed), and the centre-right end seat (foldable). When *J* drove the bus, he used a lift from the back door to the board while seated in the wheelchair, and moved in the wheelchair from the rear to the front toward the driver's seat. After fixing the wheelchair to the driver's seat, his arm was fixed to the steering wheel with a metal fitting.

J said that by driving himself, "I don't have to go out at someone's convenience. I can go wherever and whenever I want." *J* proved that movement restrictions were caused due to a lack of external resources, instead of the impairment itself.

In the case of *N*, a trolley with a ramp was attached to his bike's rear so that the wheelchair could be loaded onto the trolley. Wheelchair users can board the trolley and hold the motorcycle handlebars while driving. In addition, *N* required assistance to transfer between the bed and the wheelchair. He lived with his 62-year-old mother who was burdened with transfer assistance. Therefore, a special order was created for a mobile lift, modified with an automobile hydraulic jack. He posted videos of the assistive devices on the Internet. This conveyed to disabled people how to live an independent life using technology and showed that dependency can be overcome with technology, regardless of the impairment.

4.2.4 Implementation of Political Reforms

One can trace the movement of disabled people to the history of the establishment of organisations for disabled people, enactment of laws, and awareness and political activities led by Independent Living (IL) centres. For example, the IL centre in Nonthaburi held a lobbying activity for a barrier-free public transportation environment in collaboration with the civil society, including a group of women and older adults in the 2000s. Social movements in developed countries, such as the United States and the United Kingdom, have evolved from the old style of marches, sit-ins, and public demonstrations to a new style of political action that attracts publicity and is carefully planned to influence opinion formers and the media (SHAKESPEARE 1993, p. 258; BARNES et al. 1999, p. 172). The story of a young Thai journalist, *F*, is a good example of whether the recent disability movements in Thailand were organised to contribute to political reforms or to express disability identities without seeking any political or economic benefits for disabled persons.

F is a disabled person with spinal muscular atrophy and a founding member of a web media, *O* (hereafter, *Media O*), which specialises in disability issues. *Media O* currently has more than 60,000 followers. It is popular among disabled people and is recognised as a platform where disabled people can speak out. Through *Media O*, *F* wants to deny the Charity and Medical Models of disability and spread Social and Human Rights models. Most images of disabled people in the Thai media are based on the Charity and Medical Models of disability. *F* depicts disabled people as they really are, rather than as pitiful beings. *Media O* changed the image of disabled people from "pathetic beings" and "objects of sympathy" to "claiming rights." Disabled people raise their voices and demand their rights, supported by *Media O*. However, not all disabled people agree. Several disabled people think that "Media O doesn't make me look pitiful and I am afraid that I can't receive donations."

However, *F* is clear about *Media O*'s political position. It is part of the political movement for disabled people to realise their rights in Thailand. It appeals to people in society, both disabled and non-disabled, for fair resource allocation, while being deeply connected to the lives and movements of disabled people in the real world. The information disseminated by *Media O* is not necessarily related to political demands. It covers various topics,

such as the culture, arts, and lifestyles of disabled people. However, *F*'s narrative shows that expressing a disabled identity cannot be unrelated to political demands. The disability community surrounding *Media O* proposes a new (disabled people's) movement that expresses their disability identity online and offline, while making political demands.

P, who used to be a staff member of the Independent Living (IL) centre, organised a mob in October 2020 to express his opinions on disability policy, and was featured in *Media O*. *P* said:

> *What comes after the empowerment of persons with disabilities through IL movement? We [the IL Centre] helped people with disabilities build self-confidence and have an Independent Living in society. However, the government does not provide opportunities for people with disabilities in some issues. […] People with disabilities need to get a salary to recruit a personal assistant. Even though people with disabilities developed themselves, they are stuck as there is no system supporting the recruitment of persons with disabilities to live in a society. […] The problems of people with disabilities are clear. They are poor, not able to have an education, and not able to access a hospital. For the young generation of people with disabilities, it is obvious that issues, such as LGBTQ, which are not directly related to disability, are also important. Therefore, I think people with disabilities should fight with all injustice in the society, even if it is not related to disability issues, rather than keep silent and wait for the social welfare that the government may offer.*

4.2.5 Expression of Disability Identity

There is a stereotypical image of disabled people doing particular jobs, such as selling lottery tickets or singing songs on the streets. The founder of social media on disability, *F*, was not involved in the activities of disabled people's organisations before she started her business as she thought that the activities provided by the organisations were stereotypical and did not fit what she wanted to do. She stated that:

> *No one can decide what kind of job is appropriate for someone else. Do you think that autistic people can only conduct a job, which requires doing something repeatedly? Can they do anything else, such as a gardener or a vendor? Most people with disabilities are often told that "you cannot do this" or "you cannot go into that profession." It is hard for them to have an idea of the kind of job they want to do as they have never tried different things and the choices available are limited. Persons with disabilities are told that "you are suitable to do this job." Hence, persons with disabilities must follow choices made by other people.*

She insists that disabled people can make their decisions and request the necessary government support to realise it. As mentioned earlier, the media becomes an essential tool for disabled people in Thailand to express disability identity and reform disability definitions. Apart from the media, there are different means to achieve those objectives.

Since 2019, an association of people with visual impairments in Chiang Mai has been working with Karen women in the same province who have lost eyesight due to old age to produce and sell handicrafts made from Karen textiles. The fabric originates from natural resources and traditions in the northern mountainous regions of Thailand. Traditional Karen weaving is performed by women. Visually impaired women can work from home and earn a living. The fabric produced by this association was used for uniform jackets by the local government banks. The purchase of "productions of people with disabilities" corresponds to the moral or charity model from the Buddhist perspective of the accumulation of virtues. However, this attitude has become less popular these days.

Through the production of handicrafts, such as Sashiko[5] and traditional textiles, and through the cultivation of low-pesticide rice, the association has tried to change the view that visually impaired people cannot work. The expression of Thailand's disability identity cannot break out from the ablism framework of "can" and "cannot." The disability identity cannot be unrelated to the evaluation of capitalist economic values, however, if disabled people proactively think about what they can do and actively challenge it, it can be regarded as an expression of positive identity, regardless of the values and evaluation criteria of "can" and "cannot." For instance, *Q*, a member of the association, mentioned the importance of self-determination for disabled people and the negative effects of the decisions made by other people:

> *People with disabilities, impoverished families, or individuals living in remote or mountainous areas did not choose to be born into or live in such situations. They had to live in harder situations than others did, even though that is not their choice. If there were any chance for us to help them have a better life, it would be to enable them to choose their lives. We should not choose or decide their fates or the way of living. The life of disabled people may become worse (Yam Yae) when someone else decides how they spend their lives, irrespective of perfect plans or good intentions.*

Organisations and associations of disabled people can collaborate with disabled people in various jobs or occupations for expressing their disability identity and fairness of capabilities. By expanding capabilities, such as emotions, symbiosis with nature, and control of the material environment, a person can lead a life that suits her. This leads to the expression of positive disability identities among the minority groups involved in the project. The project built an affiliation among minority groups, including disabled people, older women, and hill tribes, so that the minority groups could be recognised and have a bigger societal voice.

Q explained that the association can work with visually impaired people of different nationalities/religions/statuses. Some came from Myanmar and Laos to participate in the association's vocational training. The association provided training for two Myanmar immigrants; however, ten Laos immigrants had to be excluded due to a lack of funding. They

[5] Sashiko (Japanese old style of embroidery) was introduced in Chiang Mai in 2018 as a part of a project under the "Thailand Association of the Blind".

donated 20,000 Thai Baht to a visually-impaired Christian woman suffering from cancer in collaboration with a church. *Q* stated:

> *I try to stand on my own feet before I rely on a religion. There are Christians in the association. Christian teaching says that God helps us when we try our best. What happens if we rely on Buddha, but he does not exist? There are environments, communities, and families that can support us. I believe in Buddhism, but I think I would not succeed if I do not believe in myself.*

They work with people of various nationalities and engage in different kinds of religious teaching, which influences the philosophy of their activities. Religious teachings interact with self-confidence and empowerment, however, it is not necessary to depend on religion to achieve those objectives. This may be achievable using other means, as stated by *Q*.

The association's flexible approach enables cooperation with various minority groups in the community. The exchange of experiences, information and situations between people with different identities has given rise to a new political movement, the so-called experience movement (McDonald 2004; Sitthikriengkrai 2016). The collective expressions of identities from different minority groups may politically influence the existing social systems and structures.

5 Discussion

5.1 Impairment Experience and Social Discrimination Structure

In this study, based on the analytical framework of Critical Disability Theory, we reexamined the meaning of disability from the narratives of disabled people and tried to clarify the situation of oppression and discrimination in society. Experiences of impairment were described as follows: 1) inability to work, 2) physical decline due to aging, 3) illness and injury, and 4) social structure. It has been shown that experiences of impairment were mainly socially constructed. Some disabled people experience difficulties in society because of their physical impairments. However, they did not want to be able to see or walk, as they did not think the impairment was a disadvantage. They understood that the experience of impairment in society was an obstacle when linked to discrimination, oppression, and exclusion.

The perspectives of being unable to work, ill, and a "burden (*phara*)" are created by non-disabled people. From the point of view of the people around them, it is difficult for disabled people to lead a dignified life. Disabled people are afraid of offending their families, which leads to further suffering and pain. The oppression of disabled people is due to the discriminatory structures (unequal distribution of resources) and "social barriers that hinder social participation" (Hoshika 2007, p. 21); non-disabled people create the discriminatory structure. Disabled people often have to endure financial and physical exploitation, and their experiences illustrate the connection between the daily pain and the discriminatory structure of society.

5.2 Positive Understanding of Disability Helps Disabled People Become Service Providers

The medical model of disability, influenced by Western medicine, and the model of charity and morality, derived from indigenous Buddhist beliefs, have greatly influenced both the Thai population's perception of disability and the medical and welfare sectors in Thailand. This leads to further (unconscious) discrimination and oppression. While some disabled people wish to adhere to the Medical and Charity Model, others seek freedom from oppression and peace of mind.

Freedom from oppression and peace of mind are the starting points of Independent Living (IL) before people achieve social participation and peer support. The conventional Buddhist teaching, "disability is the result of bad deeds in a previous life" does not give rise to freedom from oppression or peace of mind. Other teachings can support the mental strengthening of disabled people. The results of the present study emphasise the possibility of improving the ability of "practical reason" (NUSSBAUM 2000, p. 79) through meditation. Within the existing system of intricate Medical and Charity Models, disabled people skillfully use the social and governmental systems to create mechanisms to help each other. Peer counseling and IL skills training by disabled people in Thailand improves their capabilities and makes them a valuable resource for society as a whole. This service is available for anyone as needed. Disabled people who participated in the NHSO Independent Living (IL) skills training included patients discharged from the hospital and older adults with disabilities.

However, there are arguments for and against positioning Independent Living (IL) centres within the medical service delivery system of the National Health Security Office (NHSO), even among disabled people. According to TANABE (2003, p. 128), the field of practice is not in the system, rather in the field in which people participate. At first glance, the practices of IL centres appear to operate in a system, however, there are individual practices with emotional conflicts between people. The system is just a framework. The actual practice can be recognised as an action for emancipation, which attempts to gradually change the current system from within (POJMANN 2005, p. 74).

It is also important to work beyond the conventional framework to change the existing systems. Groups of disabled people actively incorporate technologies, such as custom-made modified motorcycles, nursing care equipment, and Artificial Intelligence assistants that operate home appliances with voice commands. They share information and skills related to these technologies through social media. These experiences become the empirical knowledge of disabled people and challenge the definition of "disability."

5.3 Changing Socially Constructed Disabilities through Empathy and Affiliation

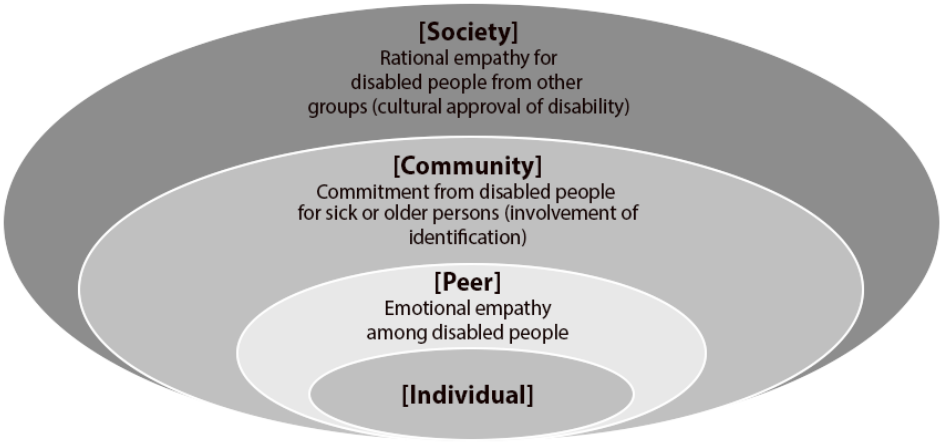
Media O is a good example of positive expressions of disability identity and political activism through social media. It advocates and consolidates the rights of disabled people, socially vulnerable people, and minorities, such as women and LGBTQIA+.

Changes in modern Thai society, such as the COVID-19 pandemic and the rapidly ageing population, have fostered interest in and empathy for disabled people's lifestyles. The

feeling of "patheticness (*na songsan*)" of village health volunteers toward disabled people is pity, instead of empathy. Empathy involves the ability to identify with the situation and feelings of another person. It incorporates affective and cognitive components, requiring the capacity to share in the emotional life of another and the ability to imagine how the world looks from another's vantage point (Goodman 2001, p. 126).

Compassion has a vertical relationship, from the top to the bottom line of sight. Empathy affects horizontal relationships. Kumagaya states that creating a society that makes it easy to rely on horizontal human relationships would help disabled people become independent (Mainichi Shimbun 2023). Empathy, rather than sympathy, can increase the capabilities of horizontal affiliation and transform society into one where disabled people can realise their rights. The present research has demonstrated the situation in which empathy for disabled people is gradually generated when they take action or express their disability identity beyond the existing frameworks. This suggests that empathy may spread and lead to a change, from exclusion to inclusion.

Figure 1 presents a layered representation of the relationship between empathy and commitment. At the peer level, disabled people exhibit emotional empathy. In the community, there is involvement in identifying with others (Sen 2002, p. 215), and groups of disabled people support sick and older disabled people. At the societal level, other groups demonstrate rational empathy for disabled people.



Source: Author. Own Design.

Figure 1: Relationship diagram of empathy and commitment

6 Conclusion

This study clarifies how experiences of impairment and disability are socially and politically constructed. Social movements and political reform practices led by disabled people and the affirmation of positive disability identities are changing material and conceptual

"disability." Through social media, disabled people can share their real images with society, which is not possible in the conventional Medical or Charity Models of disability. Disabled people seek fair rights and a way of life, including art, culture, lifestyle, sexual orientation, and the choice of death. The number of people empathising with disabled people has gradually increased. Empathy creates affiliation among people. This empathy is the key to seeing disability beyond the dichotomy between "disabled" and "non-disabled" or the "individual model" and the "social model" of disability.

The results are primarily based on interviews with personal assistant users and providers in disability service centres. Critical Disability Theory addresses a wide range of themes. It covers various topics, and further research should be conducted with suitable informants for each element of Critical Disability Theory.

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Physische Geographie

Physical Geography

Determining Streamflow Patterns in North Macedonia Using PCA and AHC Analysis

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with 10 figures and 3 tables in the text

Contents

Summary 281
Zusammenfassung 282
1 Introduction 283
2 Study Area 285
3 Data and Methodology 288
4 Results and Discussion 291
5 Conclusion 302
6 References 303

Summary

The main objective of this scientific study is the systematical arrangement of the average monthly streamflow in the Republic of North Macedonia by using adequate methodology.

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The river streamflow patterns in North Macedonia have yet to undergo comprehensive analysis, leaving a critical gap in our understanding of their dynamics and potential impact on water resource management. This study aims to address this knowledge deficit by conducting a thorough investigation of river streamflow patterns in the region, shedding light on their variability, trends, and implications for sustainable water resource planning. The prevailing pattern of the streamflow regime in North Macedonia was defined according to their monthly data, for the period 1961–2010, using Principal Component Analysis (PCA) and Agglomerative Hierarchical Clustering (AHC), using Ward's agglomerative method and Euclidean distance.

In this paper, the analysis involved processing data collected from 30 hydrological gauging stations situated along 22 perennial streams. After the PCA analysis, the factor loadings classification was carried via AHC. It results with three different patterns and five sub-patterns. The first pattern (R1) covers the northwestern part of the country, located in the high mountains Šar Mountain, Korab-Deshat, Jakupica Mountain and the Ohrid-Prespa Region. It features strong a magnitude in late spring with 25 percent of the total annual streamflow in May and a minimum in late September. The first half of the summer is still relatively rich in water. The second pattern (R2) covers the largest north, northeastern and southern part of the country (Kriva Reka catchment, Middle Povardarie and Pelagonia Basin) with a not so extreme maximum during April (16 % of the total streamflow) and drier summers with the minimum during August. The third pattern (R3) covers a smaller area and is located in the southeastern part of the country (Strumitsa-Radovish Basin). It contains gauging stations with an earlier maximum during March to April (each around 15 %) and the minimum during August to September, where the annual streamflow amplitude is much lower compared to other regions. From the two main streamflow drivers, snowmelt influence is less significant going eastward, while the rainfall influence is much stronger going eastward.

Keywords: Streamflow patterns, streamflow regimes, main drivers, North Macedonia, Pardé coefficient, principal component analysis (PCA), agglomerative hierarchical clustering (AHC)

Zusammenfassung

Analyse von Abflussmustern im Flusssystem Nordmazedoniens mittels PCA- und AHC-Analyse

Das Hauptziel dieser wissenschaftlichen Studie ist die systematische Bestimmung des durchschnittlichen monatlichen Abflusses in der Republik Nordmazedonien mit Hilfe einer geeigneten Methodik. Die Abflussmuster der Flüsse in Nordmazedonien wurden bisher noch nicht umfassend analysiert, was eine kritische Lücke in unserem Verständnis ihrer Dynamik und ihrer möglichen Auswirkungen auf die Bewirtschaftung der Wasserressourcen hinterlässt. Die vorliegende Studie zielt darauf ab, dieses Wissensdefizit zu beheben, indem sie die Abflussmuster der Flüsse in der Region gründlich untersucht und ihre Variabilität, Trends und Auswirkungen auf die nachhaltige Planung von Wasserressourcen beleuchtet. Das vorherrschende Muster des Abflussregimes in Nordmazedonien wurde

anhand der monatlichen Daten für den Zeitraum 1961–2010 mit Hilfe der Hauptkomponentenanalyse (PCA) und der agglomerativen hierarchischen Clusterbildung (AHC) unter Verwendung der agglomerativen Methode von Ward und der euklidischen Distanz definiert.

In dieser Studie wurden die Daten von 30 hydrologischen Messstationen entlang von 22 mehrjährigen Flüssen ausgewertet. Nach der PCA-Analyse wurde die Klassifizierung der Faktorenladungen mittels AHC durchgeführt. Dabei ergaben sich drei verschiedene Muster und fünf Untermuster. Das erste Muster (R1) deckt den nordwestlichen Teil des Landes ab, der in den Hochgebirgen Šar, Korab-Deshat, Jakupica und der Region Ohrid-Prespa liegt. Es zeichnet sich durch ein starkes Ausmaß im späten Frühjahr mit 25 Prozent des gesamten jährlichen Abflusses im Mai und einem Minimum Ende September aus. Die erste Hälfte des Sommers ist noch relativ wasserreich. Das zweite Muster (R2) umfasst den größten nördlichen, nordöstlichen und südlichen Teil des Landes (Einzugsgebiet der Kriva Reka, mittleres Povardarie- und Pelagonien-Becken) mit einem nicht so extremen Maximum im April (16 % des gesamten Abflusses) und trockeneren Sommern mit einem Minimum im August. Das dritte Muster (R3) umfasst ein kleineres Gebiet und befindet sich im südöstlichen Teil des Landes (Strumitsa-Radovish-Becken). Es enthält Messstationen mit einem frühen Maximum im März bis April (jeweils etwa 15 %) und dem Minimum im August bis September, wo die jährliche Abflussamplitude im Vergleich zu anderen Regionen viel geringer ist. Von den beiden wichtigsten Abflussfaktoren ist der Einfluss der Schneeschmelze vom Westen des Landes gegen Osten hin immer weniger bedeutend, während der Einfluss der Niederschläge in östlicher Richtung zunimmt und viel stärker ist.

Schlagwörter: Abflussmuster, Abflussregime, hauptsächliche Bestimmungsfaktoren („drivers"), Nordmazedonien, Pardé Koeffizient, Hauptkomponentenanalyse (PCA), agglomerative hierarchische Clusterbildung (AHC)

1 Introduction

One of the significant issues in hydrology is the classification of the streamflow patterns. This work belongs to a great number of studies of the streamflow regime patterns, with the objective to gain a wider application in the water management. In a southeast European country like North Macedonia, where reliable measurements and operational gauging stations have become scarcer, particulary after 2010, when the National Hydrometeorological Service (NHMS) had a problem with lack of staff and finances (less number of active gauging stations after 2000 and especially after 2010, small number of staff in the institution NHMS), this study is of importance on a local and a regional Balkan level as it provides essential insights into the river streamflow patterns. Understanding these patterns is vital for informed decision-making in water resource management, helping mitigate the adverse effects of water scarcity, floods, and other hydrological challenges in the face of limited data infrastructure. It would be of significant value, particularly for a country with reduced instrumental and measurement conditions to choose streamflow time series without gaps for better quality analysis.

In the Balkan region there are two studies about the river regime classification, but only with graphical comparison as a methodological approach of maximum and minimum monthly streamflow and it's differenciation, or three peak months with high waters and three months with lowest values in streamflow about river regimes of Bulgaria (Hristova 2007) and the Balkan Peninsula (Stanescu 2004).

The results about Bulgaria show three distinct hydrological regions and seven hydrological districts have been demarcated. The hydrological region characterised by a Mildness-Continental type of a river regime exhibits three discernible streamflow phases, specifically the spring high water phase, the summer-autumn low water phase, and the transitional phase. However, in comparison the region with a Continental-Mediterranean type of river regime manifests two primary streamflow phases, comprising a prolonged winter-spring high water phase and a summer-autumn low streamflow phase. Meanwhile, the region typified by a transitional water regime (located near the border between North Macedonia and Bulgaria) features four distinct streamflow phases, which include a high water phase from March/April to June/July, a prolonged low water phase from July/August to October, and an annual pattern of increased streamflow in November or December, followed by a decline in January/February/March (Hristova 2007).

The article by Stanescu (2004) about river regimes in the Balkan Peninsula includes a graphical comparison analysis about North Macedonia with three distinctive river regimes: The Western North Macedonia upland Šar Mountains region (high streamflows in April to May and low streamflows in September to October, the Eastern-western mountain and central hilly plateau regime (maximum from February to April and a minimum phase from June to September), and the Northeast upland mountain zone (maximum in March/April and minimum phase in August/September).

Streamflow regionalisation is useful for transferring data from gauged to ungauged basins and obtain hydrological information about ungauged basins (Blöschl and Sivapalan 1995). The natural streamflow regime is very important for the precision of the streamflow pattern results (Snelder et al. 2009).

Previous studies analysed streamflow trends, using the Mann-Kendall trend test and Sen's slope (periods from 1961 to 2000 and 1961 to 2010 for several gauging stations) on 13 natural gauges without an anthropogenic influence. The results show a statistically significant decreasing trend ($p<0.05$) of the average annual streamflow in four of the 13 gauging stations, a decreasing trend of the maximum streamflow in also four of the 13 gauging stations, and five of the 13 gauging stations have a decreasing trend in minimum annual streamflows, with very strong trends ($p<0.01$). In the seasonal results, the spring is the season with only one of the 13 stations with a statistically negative significant trend in minimum, average and maximum streamflow, so the streamflow in spring is most stable in the country. In winter there are statistically significant negative trends, particularly for the average streamflow (thre of the 13 gauging stations), in autumn there are statistically significant decreasing trends, particularly for the minimum streamflow (three of 13 gauging stations). The summer results show quite a large number of gauging stations with statistically significant decreasing trends (five of 13 stations). According to the results, there are no statistically significant *increasing* streamflow trends in annual and seasonal results in North Macedonia (Radevski et al. 2018).

The aim of our study is to obtain a new comprehensive classification of the streamflow patterns in the country, which will be useful for the water management institutions, for private bodies working in the sphere of water resources and in addition for the international cooperation in the projects because almost all hydrological network is shared with neighbourhood countries. Elsewise, this study could be a trigger for the future wider Balkan classification with the almost similar methodology. In the future it will be possible to compare streamflow patterns in North Macedonia with other results from the Balkans.

2 Study Area

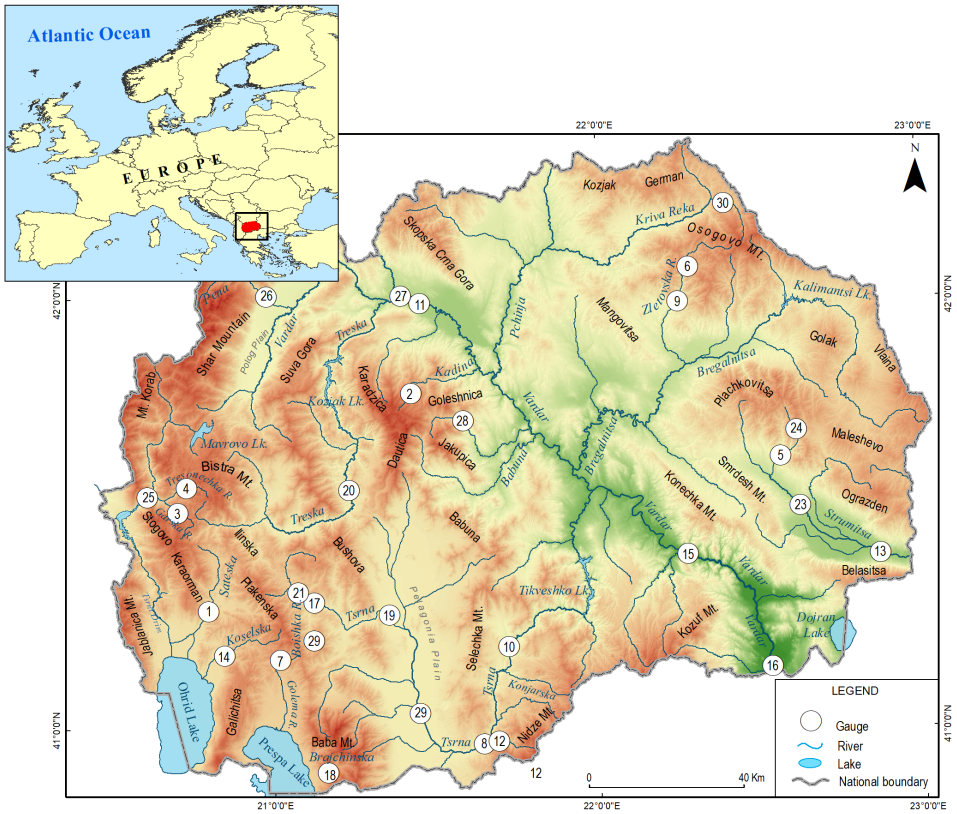
The Republic of North Macedonia is located in Southeastern Europe, in a central part of the Balkan Penninsula and it covers an area of 25,713 km2. The ground forms are predominantly hilly-mountainous and the elevation varies from the lowest point of 54 m a.s.l. (in Gevgelija Basin) to 2,764 m a.s.l. (peak Golem Korab on the Korab Mountain), with almost 30 basins and almost the same number of mountain ridges. According to the geographical latitude and the ground conditions, it is divided to the larger Continental climate region in the north, and a smaller moderate Mediterranean climate region to the Southeast and Southwest (Radevski et al. 2018).

North Macedonia exhibits diverse climatic regions owing to its geographical latitude and relief conditions. The country can be roughly divided into distinct areas with varying climates:

1. The larger region, predominantly characterised by a continental climate, encompasses several plains including the Prespa Plain, Kichevo Plain, Kumanovo Plain, Pijanec and Slavishte Plains, Polog Plain, and the expansive Pelagonia Plain. In this region, the precipitation pattern exhibits two notable peaks in spring and autumn, along with several minima. The results for the summer are showing the primary minimum, while winter has a secondary and less pronounced minimum.
2. Moving south-east and south-west, there are two smaller regions with a Sub-Mediterranean climate. These areas cover Gevgelija-Valandovo, Dojran Plain, Ohrid-Struga, where the influence of the Mediterranean climate is particularly strong. However, there are occasional years when this influence extends even further, affecting the valley of the river Vardar to Skopje and the valley of the river Strumica in the Strumica-Radovish Plain.
3. The country's highest mountains, including Šar Mountain, Korab, Jablanica, Baba, and Jakupica Mountain, situated parallel to the plains in the western part of North Macedonia, are home to regions with mountain climates. At elevations exceeding 2250 meters, an alpine climate prevails. These mountainous and alpine regions receive the highest precipitation levels, often exceeding 1000 mm per year, particularly on the tallest peaks. Winter marks the peak of precipitation in these areas, while late summer is characterised by the lowest rainfall.
4. Notably, the climate changes considerably as elevation increases, shifting from a sub-Mediterranean climate to a continental one and finally to a mountainous climate.

There is one exception in Ohrid, located in the southwest near the large Ohrid Lake. Even at higher elevations here, a sub-Mediterranean climate persists (Radevski et al. 2018).

This climatic diversity is influenced by the complex interplay of geographical factors and is essential for understanding North Macedonia's weather patterns (Kendrovski and Spasenovska 2011).



Source: Own design

Figure 1: Topographic map of North Macedonia showing the 30 gauging stations (see Table 1)

The selection of the gauging stations is mainly "natural" (without larger significant human influence) although several downstream gauges in the river Vardar basin have upstream dams, which significantly have an influence on the downstream streamflow, hence used in the study according to the small number of countinously working gauging stations. Dams and reservoirs play a significant role in regulating water resources. They can mitigate

N	Basin	River (R) Lake (L)	Tributary	Gauging station	Upstream drainage (km^2)	Gauge elevation (m)	Qm (m^3/sec)	Time series period	Impound-ment ratio
1	Adriatic	Ohrid L.	Sateska	Botun	368.00	743.18	5.960	1951–2010	/
2	Aegean	Vardar	Kadina	Krusa	9.46	1,305.91	1.380	1961–2000	/
3	Adriatic	Mala R.	Garska	Gari	25.95	1,011.92	1.170	1961–2000	/
4	Adriatic	Mala R.	Tresonecka	Tresonce	71.24	601.00	1.142	1961–2000	/
5	Aegean	Strumitsa	Plavaja	Podaresh	118.34	393.37	0.917	1961–2004	/
6	Aegean	Zletovska	Emirica	Emirica-Vliv	32.42	559.70	0.493	1961–2010	/
7	Aegean	Koselska R.	Leva R.	Leva Reka	25.12	1,004.51	0.434	1961–2000	/
8	Aegean	Tsrna	Konjarska	Konj. Skocivir	63.00	576.10	0.751	1961–2000	/
9	Aegean	Bregalnica	Zletovska	Zletovo	117.96	519.51	1.980	1961–2000	0.36
10	Aegean	Vardar	Tsrna	R. Most	4,526.00	369.25	22.790	1961–2010	0.17
11	Aegean	Vardar	/	Skopje	4,625.00	239.55	58.900	1951–2010	0.30
12	Aegean	Vardar	Tsrna	Tsrna-Skocivir	3,975.00	564.60	19.410	1961–2010	0.20
13	Aegean	Strumitsa	/	Novo Selo	1,636.00	199.82	3.860	1961–2010	0.61
14	Adriatic	Ohrid L.	Koselska	Kosel	98.50	763.96	1.310	1961–2010	/
15	Aegean	Vardar	/	Demir Kapija	21,350.00	94.27	125.800	1961–2010	0.45
16	Aegean	Vardar	/	Gevgelija	22,310.00	45.10	142.200	1951–2010	0.40
17	Aegean	Vardar	Tsrna	Dolenci	216.50	739.10	2.420	1961–2010	/
18	Adriatic	Pespa L.	Brajcinska	Brajcino	61.50	975.29	0.946	1961–2010	/
19	Aegean	Vardar	Tsrna	Bucin	657.87	597.49	5.550	1961–2000	1.39
20	Aegean	Vardar	Treska	M. Brod	886.00	530.38	11.080	1961–2010	/
21	Aegean	Vardar	Tsrna	Zeleznec	123.00	730.00	1.860	1961–2010	/
22	Aegean	Vardar	Tsrna	Novaci	2,543.00	572.65	12.820	1961–2010	0.31
23	Aegean	Strumitsa	Susheva	Susevo	468.00	253.00	1.620	1961–2010	/
24	Aegean	Bregalnica	Smiljanska	Smiljanci	81.00	445.59	0.686	1961–2010	/
25	Adriatic	Crn Drim	Radika	B. Most	750.90	592.24	17.720	1961–2000	0.64
26	Aegean	Vardar	Pena	Tetovo	170.49	482.00	3.900	1961–2000	/
27	Aegean	Vardar	Lepenec	Lepenec-Vliv	770.00	260.00	8.210	1961–2010	/
28	Aegean	Vardar	Topolka	Drenovo	74.40	540.00	1.200	1961–2000	/
29	Aegean	Tsrna	Boishka	Boishte	95.00	885.00	0.760	1961–2000	/
30	Aegean	Pchinja	Kriva Reka	Zhidilovo	64.60	782.00	1.250	1961–2000	/

Source: Data obtained from the National Hydrometeorological Service of North Macedonia

Table 1: Basic data for 30 gaugung stations in North Macedonia

the impacts of climate change by storing excess water during wet periods and releasing it during dry spells. However, these infrastructure projects can also induce changes in local climates and ecosystems, impacting river systems and their associated biodiversity (Falkenmark and Rockström 2004).

The country's aquatics belong predominantly to the Aegean Basin with 22,319 km^2, and to the Adriatic Basin with 3,350 km^2. The main river system is the Vardar basin with its tributaries: Lepenec, Pchinja, Bregalnica, Treska and the river Tsrna. It has a drainage area in North Macedonia of 20,535 km^2, and a total length of 388 km (301 km in North Macedonia), which streams directly to the Aegean Sea at the gulf of Thermaikos near the city of Thessaloniki in Greece. The second basin belongs to the river Strumitsa with a total length of 114 km, 81 km in North Macedonia (right tributary of the river Struma in Bulgaria). The main river in the Adriatic Basin is Crni Drim with two large lakes, Ohrid and Prespa (connected with an underground inflow to the lake Ohrid) and the largest tributary of Crni Drim from the north, the river Radika (Radevski et al. 2018). The selected gauging stations on the 23 streams are presented on Figure 1 with their basic characteristics in Table 1.

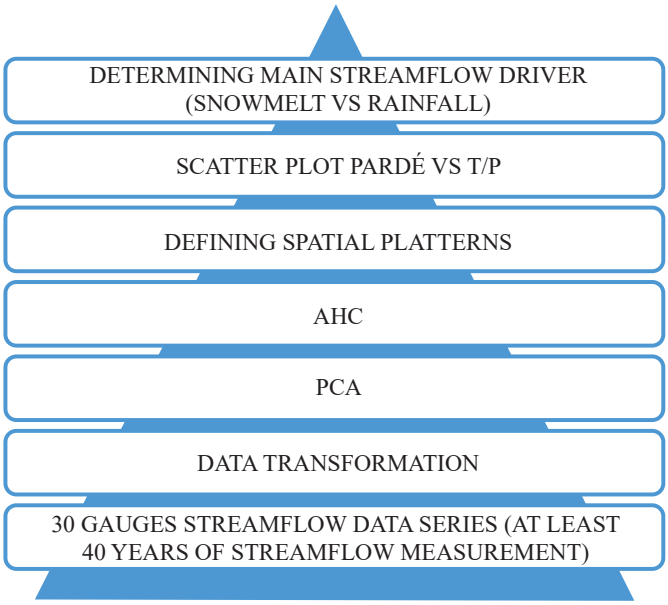
3 Data and Methodology

The geographic catchment classifications are usually presented as mosaic patterns (Olden et al. 2012). This is induced by a predominance of physiographic factors of the gauging stations in the complex relief structures. In contrast to the areas with uniform terrain, regional patterns are expected in the classification procedure. The streamflow data record series should be at least cover a time span of 25 years, otherwise the uncertainity of the results is increased (Kennard et al. 2010). In order to obtain a better spatial covering of the study area, we chose 30 gauging stations in North Macedonia with not concurent data length, but at least 40 years of continous measurement due to the above mentioned conditions. The original streamflow data was kept in the analysis, hence the impaundment ratio was calculated for a clear vision of the human affected streamflow gauging stations (Morán-Tejeda et al. 2011).

Different authors analysed the streamflow regime at the national, regional or worldwide scale, based on various classification procedures as principal components analysis (PCA) (Olden and Poff 2003; Masiokas et al. 2019; Di Prinzio et al. 2011; Kahya et al. 2008), agglomerative hierarchical clustering (AHC) (Stahl 2001; Bower et al. 2004), self organising maps (Di Prinzio et al. 2011) etc. The classification is mainly based on the average monthly streamflow and its timing (Haines et al. 1988). The geographically nearest study of such a streamflow classification was made in Turkey (Kahya et al. 2008). In another study, the physical geographic data of the catchments is also included (Razavi and Coulibaly 2013).

The monthly streamflow analysis allows a measure of magnitude timing and comprehensive explorations of the streamflow regime (Olden et al. 2012; Curran and Biles 2021).

The issue with the streamflow standardisation and classification was solved by Pardé (1955) in detail. He introduced the monthly *Pardé coefficient* (PC; relation between the mean monthly (Q_m) and mean annual (Q_y) streamflow (equation 1) in order to improve the



Source: Own design

Figure 2: Methodological pyramid of the article

comparability of different rivers with high streamflow variation. The coefficient therefore describes the mean monthly distribution of streamflow over the year, depending on the number of the maximum of the monthly Pardé coefficient over the year The difference between the maximum (PC_{max}) and the minimum (PC_{min}) values of the monthly Pardé coefficients is called amplitude (A) or range (R) (equation 2).

$$PC_m = \frac{Q_m}{Q_y} \tag{1}$$

$$A = PC_{max} - PC_{min} \tag{2}$$

Additionally, for a better view of the data, besides the Pardé coefficient, the previously used practice of data tranformation in percents was performed (Masiokas et al. 2019), where the monthly percents were also plotted, so the results and the discussion chapter could be clearly described. For each of the gauging stations involved in this study, an average streamflow regime was determined by averaging the streamflow in each month over all years of record, recalculated as percents of the total annual streamflow.

Before starting the PCA and AHC analysis, testing normality was performed using the Shapiro-Wilk test. All of the analysed gauging stations were normally distributed time series, with $p > 0.05$ except the gauging station Gari on Garska River, $p = 0.009$, which indicates that the PCA analysis has to be performed adequately (Shapiro and Wilk 1965).

N	Location	Atributes (M – magnitude, T – timing, F – frequency, D – duration)	Temporal scale (daily, monthly and annually)	Methodology	Quotation
1	Austria	M, T	M	PCA and partitive cluster analysis	Laaha and Blöschl (2006)
2	Europe	M, T, F, D	D and M	AHC using Ward's method	Stahl (2001)
3	Scandi-navia	M, T	M	Streamflow regime defined by occurrence of the highest (three classes) and the lowest months' values (two cases)	Krasovskaia (1995)
4	Turkey	M	A	Non-hierarchical, k-means clustering	Kahya et al. (2008)
5	France	M, T	M	Streamflow proportion in four seasons and stream-flow origin (rainfall, snow-melt, glacial melt)	Pardé (1955)
6	Quebec, Canada	M, D	M	PCA	Assani et al. (2006)
7	UK	M, T	M	AHC using Ward's method	Bower et al. (2004)
8	USA	M, T	D, M, A	PCA	Olden and Poff (2003)

Source: Own compilation

Table 2: Previous studies of streamflow regime classification

Table 2 contains data from eight regional, continental and worldwide studies using different methodologies in analysing the streamflow regionalisation patterns. The hydrographs show the characterisation of the seasonal behaviour of rivers through parameters including the mean monthly streamflow and its variability (standard deviation). River regimes were identified by plotting the monthly standardised values averaged over the study period. The regimes were compared (z-scores) across seasons and regions. To identify the dominant river regimes in the study area, different classification procedures including PCA and AHC were attempted. A varimax rotated principal components analysis was performed.

Principal components analysis (PCA) is commonly used to identify patterns in climatic and hydrological data series (Kalayci and Kahya 2006), because it allows retention of the common features in the data, but also enables local peculiarities to be identified. The coefficients of such combinations are called "loading factors" and are representing the cor-

relation of the principal component with each original variable. The "maximum loading factor" allowed us to classify each gauging station, and the average monthly streamflow of each class was calculated to obtain representative hydrographs (Morán-Tejeda et al. 2011). The three crucial months with a maximum annual streamflow were March, April and May, so the Pardè coeficient, the coefficcient of variation (Cv) and the Range (R) were used for the PCA analysis with a scope for the results to be more exact.

Additionally, the AHC was performed on the previously mentioned data, using months in order to differentiate seasonal streamflow patterns. The same Pardè coefficients were used. The AHC used Eucledian distance and Ward's minimum-variance agglomerative method in XLSTAT software. The resulting dendrogram should clearly identify patterns and sub-patterns of the monthly streamflow Pardé coefficients. The classification was perfomed with two nested grouplings, one for the patterns, and the other for sub-patterns. The graph allows easy and evident differences between patterns and the sub-patterns (Curran and Biles 2021). The hierarchical clustering method allows the measurement of the similarities/dissimilarities between the gauging stations via the Eucledian distance method:

$$d_{ij} = \sqrt{\sum_{k=1}^{m} (x_{ik} - x_{jk})^2} \tag{3}$$

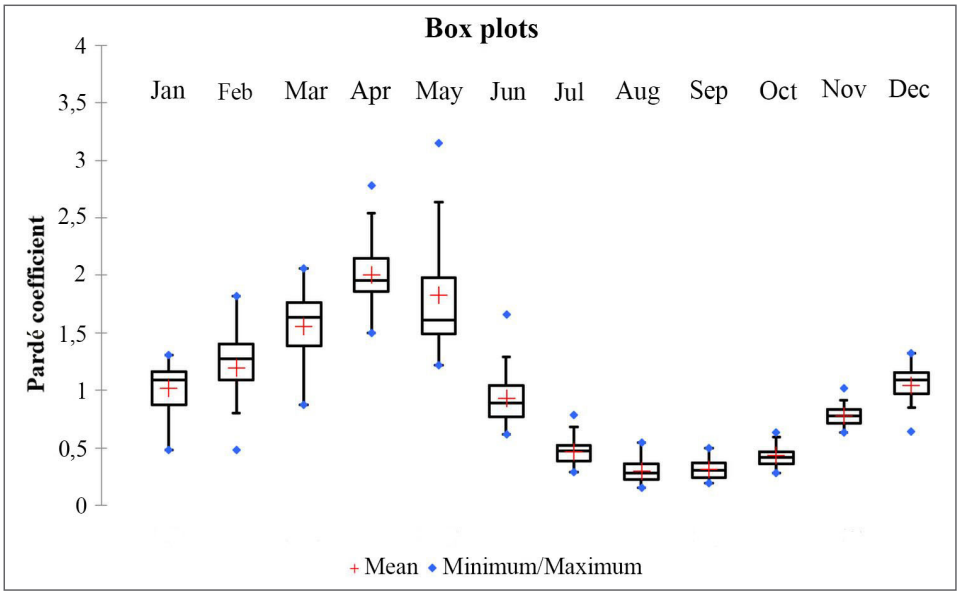
Above in the equation (Bower et al. 2004), the x_{ik} is k_{th} calculated statistic for gauging station i, and denotes the k_{th} calculated statistic for gauging station j, m=30, and d_{ij} is an Euclidian distance between each streamflow gauging station.

In the analysis, the obtained sub-patterns are plotted versus monthly precipitation sums and monthly mean air temperature as the main drivers, with a scope to detect the main factor of peak streamflow in the specific month at each gauging station, so the regime could be more or less rainfall dominant and more or less snowmelt dominant.

4 Results and Discussion

Figure 3 shows the variability in the monthly river streamflows for 30 gauging stations in North Macedonia. Obtained classes varied by overall seasonality of maximum streamflow depending on the month, measured by the range of Pardé coefficients). Thus, after the dry season (June to October) the streamflow increased in November and December, and peak streamflow featured from February to May with a gradually increasing and a sharp decrease occurring in June. Streamflows continued to decrease during the summer months, and the lowest streamflows occurred in August and September. In general, the variability of the monthly streamflow among the various gauging stations was moderate, as variation between the 1st and the 3rd quartiles (Figure 3, boxplot), which is larger in the first half of the year and smaller in the second half, where most months had variations below 0.5 units of the standard deviation. A great degree of variability (up to two units of standard deviation) was evident. The extremes are presented in the lengths of the whiskers (10th and 90th percentiles) and the blue dots (5th and 95th percentiles).

The shape of the Figure 3 shows a common river streamflow pattern of moderate Mediterranean influence with a higher mean elevation located in hilly mountanous area, with a general spring maximum in April. In May, the streamflow is still high, even higher at the high mountainous gauging stations than in April. The streamflow is abruptly decreasing in June with more than one Pardé unit of variation. Thus, after the minimum late summer season (July–October), the streamflow is gradually increasing from November to the peak streamflow which is detected in April and May.The streamflow variability during the summer months is very small, under the 0.2 units of variation (Figure 3, 1st and 3rd quantile presented with boxes). Hence, the spring variability is much higher, up to 1,5 units of variability in May (10th and 90th percentiles). Nevertheless, the variability of the extremes (blue dots) is much higher, almost two units of variability in May, and above one in February, March, April and June.



Solid horizontal line = median, the red cross = mean, box = 1st and 3rd quantile, whiskers 10th and 90th percentiles and blue dots = 5th and 95th percentiles.

Source: Own data analysis, own design

Figure 3: Boxplot of Pardé coefficients showing the monthly streamflow data dissemination.

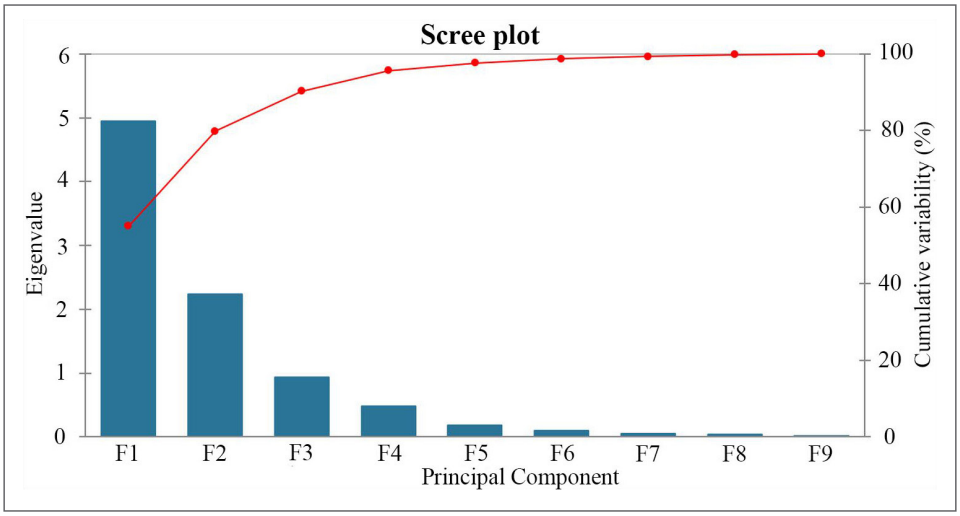
The principal components analysis has indicated that the first three principal components (F1, F2, and F3) explained above 90 percent of variance (55 %, 24 %, and 10 %, respectively; Table 3 and Figure 4). The selection of the maximum loading factor allowed us to identify which gauging stations are strongly correlated with each component.

The main problem in the study is the similarity of the regimes, considering the relatively small territory for analysis. These gauging stations have a maximum streamflow in the late winter, early, middle and late spring. Thus, April, May and March have the highest

Pardé coefficients, where the monthly streamflow is up to four times higher than the average annual streamflow. In that case, the values in these months will be crucial for the PCA.

Component	F1	F2	F3	F4
Eigenvalue	4.954	2.236	0.934	0.487
Variability (%)	55.040	24.839	10.383	5.407
Cumulative %	55.040	79.879	90.262	95.669

Table 3: Rotated results of the PCA of monthly river streamflows



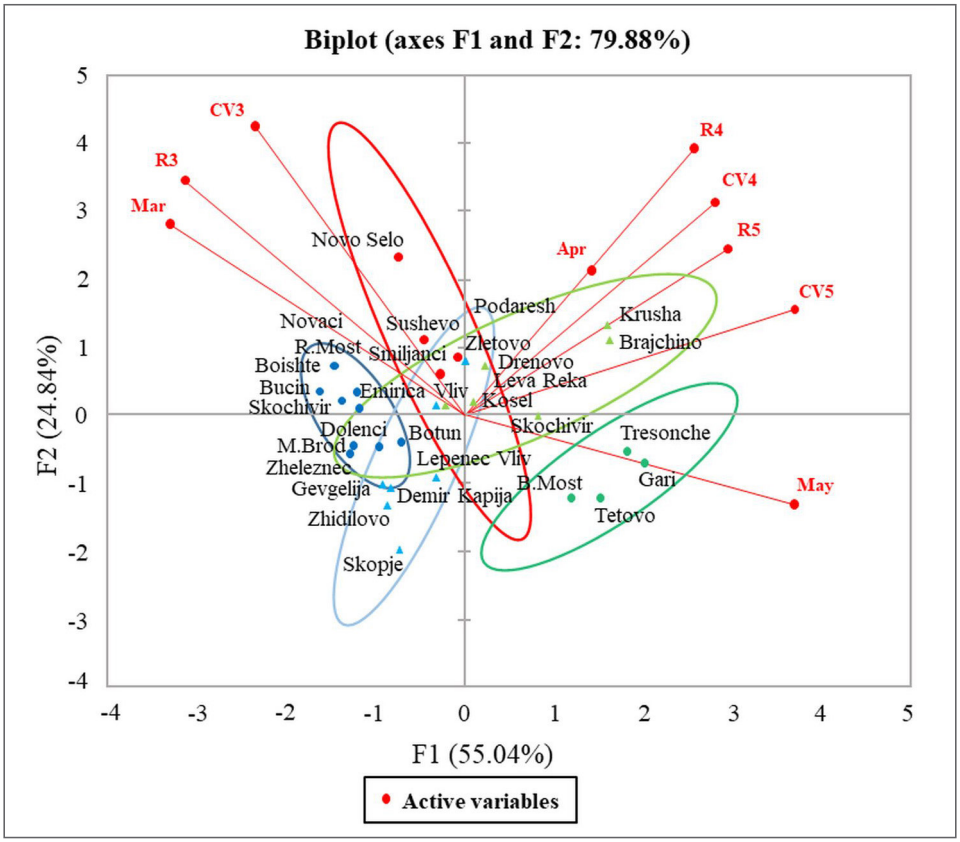
Source: Own data analysis, own design

Figure 4: Percentage of the total variability explained by each principle component (PC) on axis

Going from west to east, Pardé amplitudes decrease, and the maximum appears earlier. A PCA with orthogonal varimax rotation was used to identify spatial differences in river regimes and to classify the regimes into different types. This indicated the three principal components (F1, F2, and F3). The analysis performed with variables: a) mean monthly streamflow for 30 gauging stations transferred to Pardé's coefficient; b) monthly Pardé's coefficient of variation and c) monthly range of Pardé's coefficient, and the names of the gauging stations as observations.

The two biplots show PCA analysis for 30 gauging stations in North Macedonia. The previously mentioned spring maximum is varying from March to May, so these three months with its coefficients of variation (Cv) and ranges are plotted on Figure 5a and 5b. Figure 5a is more representative, covering 95 percent of the variance on both axes. Figure

5b (covering 65 % of the total variance) is taken into consideration because the April vector axis has a better rotation, showing a better comparing with the specific gauging stations having an April peak flow, whose red axis is much longer than Figure 5a.

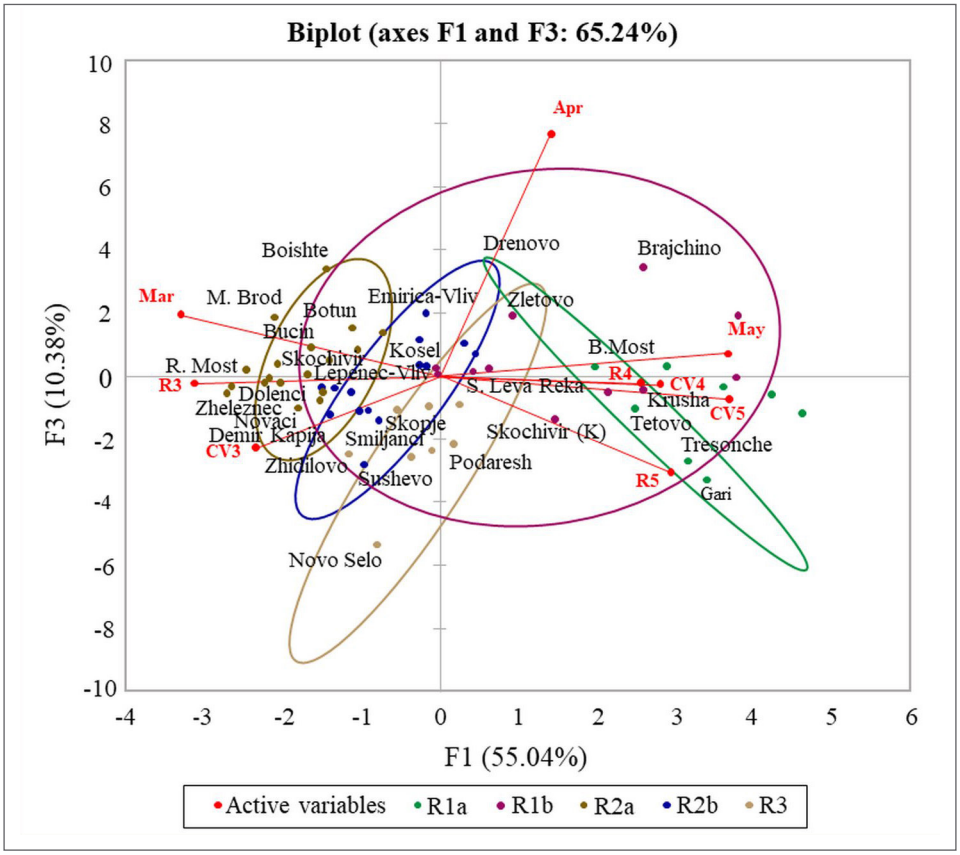


Source: Own data analysis, own design

Figure 5a: PCA biplots for: First two principal components, F1 and F2.. Gauging station colour and concentration ellipses indicate a concrete cluster group (R1a, R1b, R2a, R2b, R3)

According to Figure 5, the April maximum corresponds with the R1b, the May maximum is complementary with R1a, while the March is a crucial month for the streamflow patterns R2a and R2b (Figure 5b), excellently correlated, while R3 is well correlated with March, but entirely uncorrelated with the May axis on the PCA biplot (Figure 5b).

Figure 5a shows a clear cluster group of four R1a sub-patterns, it has a redundancy with the peak flow featuring in May (red vector axis), the month with a very intense snowmelt process (four gauging stations in the western part of the study area marked with a dark green colour). The R3 sub-pattern, plotted with four red dots and a red ellipse is

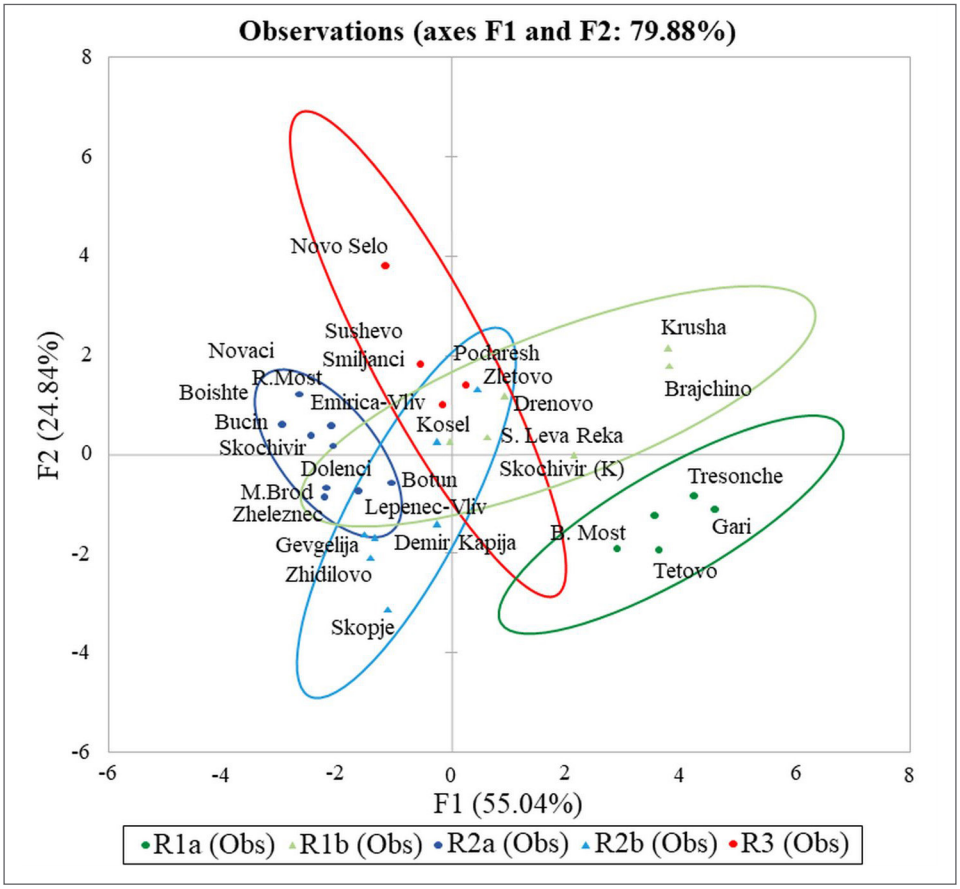


Source: Own data analysis, own design

Figure 5b: PCA biplots for: First and third principal component F1 and F3. Gauging station colour and concentration ellipses indicate a concrete cluster group (R1a, R1b, R2a, R2b, R3)

located opposite the R1a on the biplot, having higher values and it belongs to the F2 component, which means it has a significantly different streamflow pattern. The R1b is nearly located on the biplot, hence positively correlated with both axes F1 and F2, different from when compared to R1a. The three other sub-patterns have a significant overlapping of each other and show a weak subclass fidelity. These gauging stations are near a subclass boundary, so the AHC method will clearly distinct these patterns.

On Figure 6 there is a more evident presentation of the five streamflow sub-patterns in North Macedonia and their redundance on the plot. The dark green and light green areals and dots present the R1a and R1b streamflow sub-patterns. The dark and light blue areals and dots represent R2a and R2b streamflow sub-patterns. The R3 streamflow pattern is depicted with red colour.

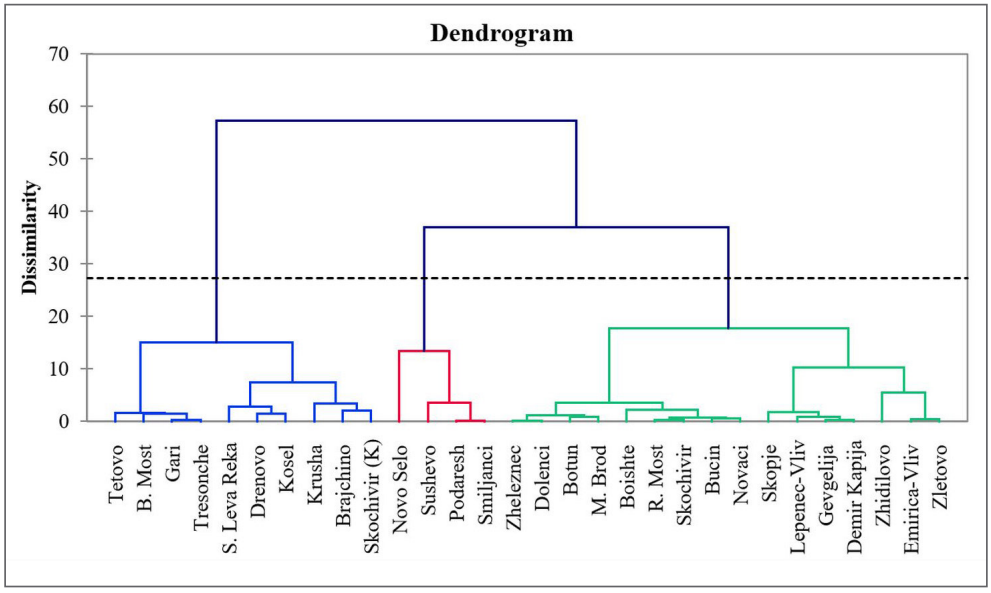


Source: Own data analysis, own design

Figure 6: Principal components analysis (PCA) of Pardè coefficient observations resulted in five subregions marked by concentration ellipses indicating each membership

The result of the hierarchical agglomerative clustering (AHC) shows three statistically significant different patterns below the black dashed "dissimilarity line", which are statistically significant, and clades and leaves shown on the dendrogram (Figure 7). It shows a closer connection between R2 and R3, compared with R1, proven with a smaller dissimilarity measure. Besides the non-significant dissimilarity, we separate *five different streamflow patterns* dividing R1 and R2 on two sub-patterns R1a, R1b (the first and the second blue group on the dendrogram), R2a and R2b (the first and the second green group in the dendrogram). In the third pattern R3, there are no sub-patterns.

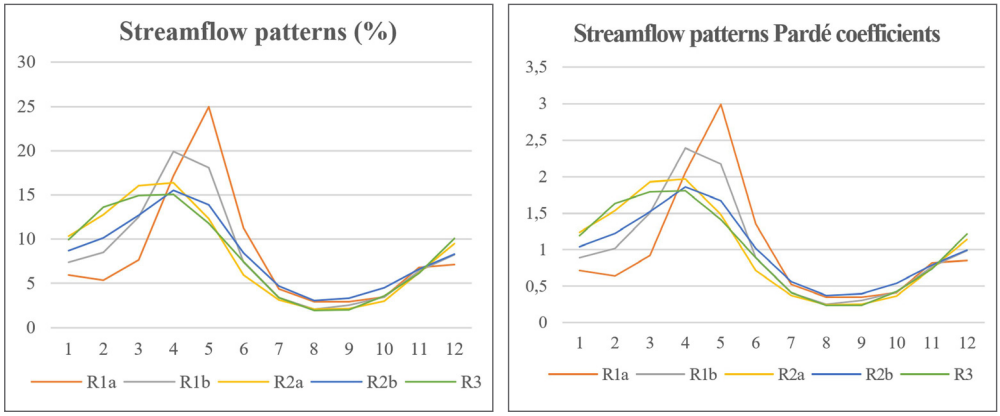
From these five streamflow patterns we made the mean hydrographs (Figure 8a and 8b), showing the streamflow pattern (SP) in percentages and in Pardé's coefficient. The results were mapped with a scope for better spatial review of the streamflow patterns (Figure 9).



Dendrogram order from left to right: blue for R1a and R1b; magenta for R3 and green for R2a and R2b. The dashed black line shows the significant dissimilarity between the three main streamflow patterns R1, R2 and R3

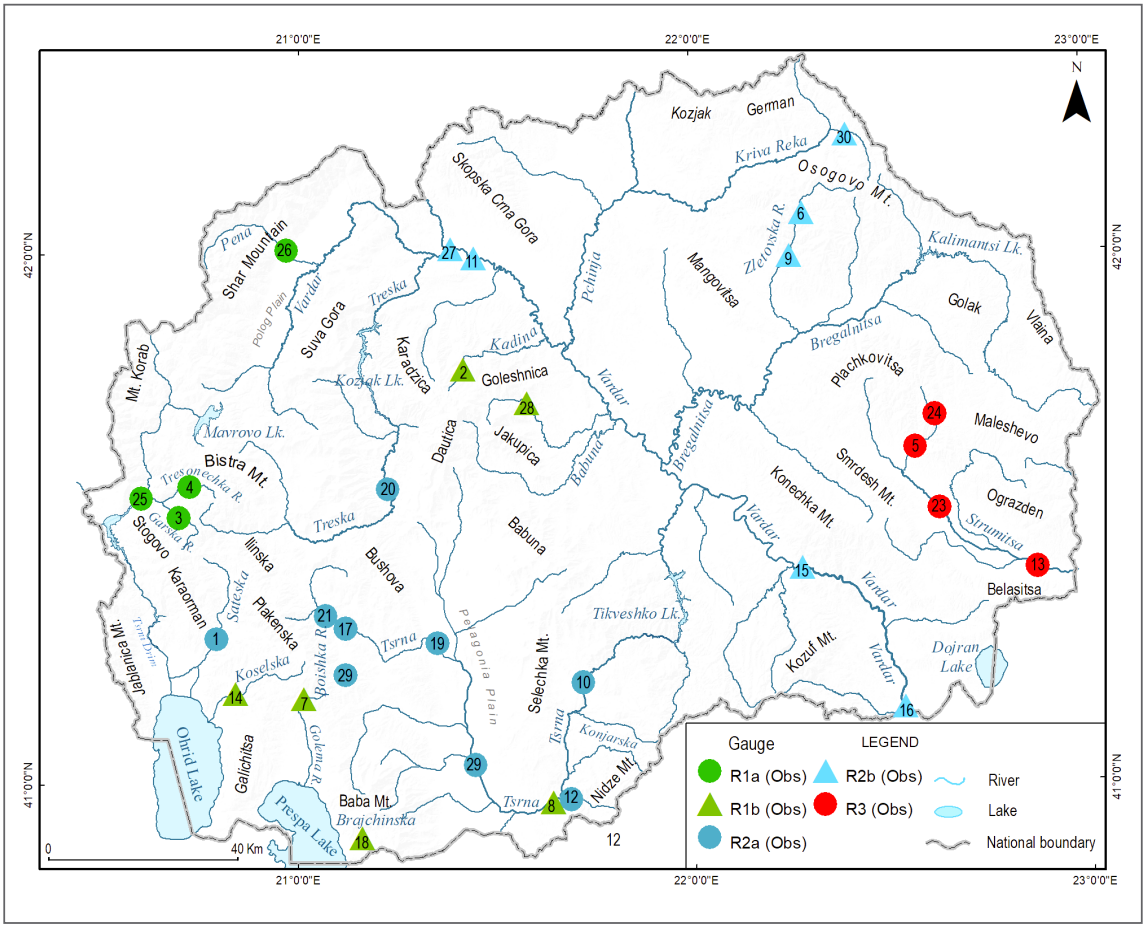
Source: Own data analysis, own design

Figure 7: AHC dendrogram of monthly Pardé coefficients for 30 gauging stations in North Macedonia



Source: Own data analysis, own design

Figure 8a,b: Averaged streamflow patterns in North Macedonia in percent and Pardé coefficients



Source: Own data analysis, own design

Figure 9: Map of different streamflow patterns in North Macedonia

R1a The streamflow pattern is a stable regime without significant differences between the gauging stations. It is located in the north-western part of the country, at the border between the mountain headwaters of the stream and the transitional zone of their catchments in the high mountain areas (around Korab, Šara and Bistra Mountain, mapped on Figure 8), and characterised with more than 25 percent of the annual streamflow (AS) in May, predominantly resulted by a snow melting process and two minimums. The summer minimum is below 5 percent monthly in August and September, and the winter minimum around 5 percent monthly in February, which is logically after a long frost period on these mountain gauging stations.

R1b It is a more variable streamflow pattern, particularly in the late winter and spring. It has a lower peak in spring than R1a, with a percentage of the annual streamflow

higher than 20 percent, occurring in April and May, two minimums, the first more intensive minimum around 3 percent of the annual streamflow in August and September, and a weaker streamflow minimum in January and February. In this pattern, the nival influence is weaker than R1a. This second subregion is located eastward from the R1a, and it covers three mountain streams in the southwestern and central part of North Macedonia (area around the lakes Ohrid and Prespa, Jakupica and Nidze Mountain, mapped on Figure 8).

In both R1 patterns there is an evident secondary winter minimum in January which is 7 percent of the total annual streamflow. The main differences between these two streamflow patterns are a later and weaker maximum of R1b compared with R1a, and an earlier January minimum, so the nival component of R1a is significantly stronger.

R2a This is a very stable defined pattern. It is located on the east of the R1b pattern and covers mainly the basins of Tsrna and Treska Rivers, which are characterised with the largest flat plain areas, as Pelagonia Plain (Figure 8). It has a spring maximum in April and March, in both months above 16 percent of the total annual streamflow, with earlier mountain snowmelt, and a much lower maximum than R1a and R1b. In this case, there is no significant difference between the seasons, and one summer minimum in August/September with around 3 percent per month of the total annual streamflow.

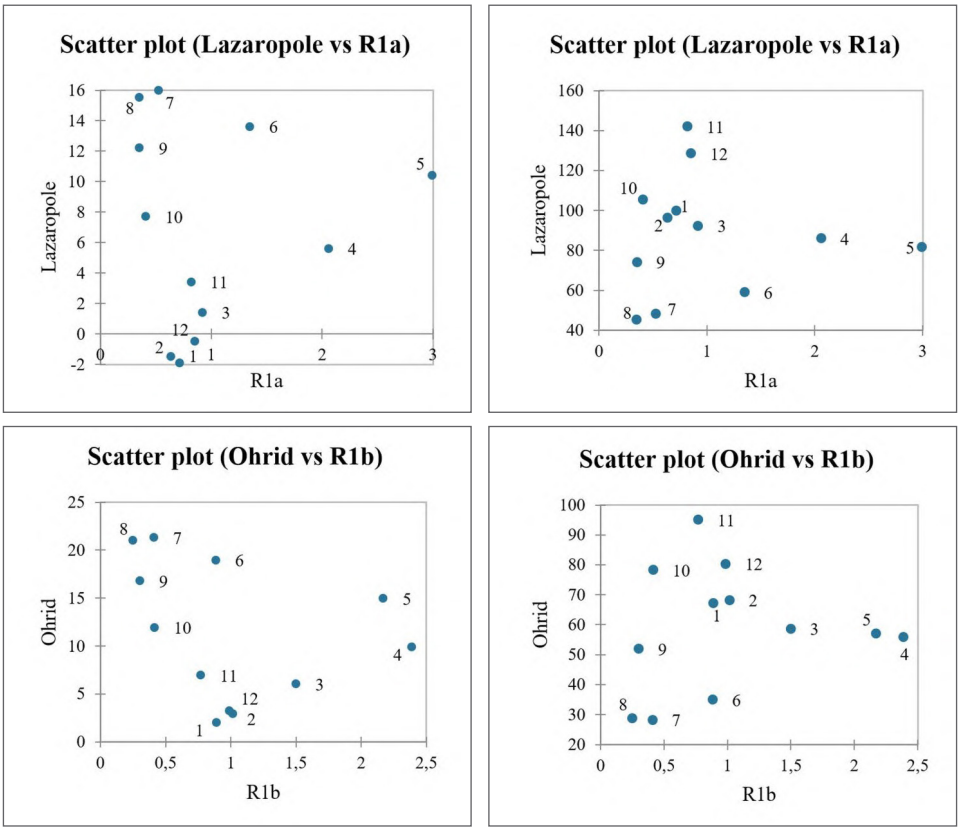
R2b This is a stable pattern, except the variability in April. It has a spring maximum in April with around 15 percent of the total annual streamflow, much lower March values than R2a, with a later mountain snowmelt than $R1_a$, and a much lower maximum. In this case, there is no significant difference between the seasons, and one summer minimum in August with below 5 percent per month of the total annual streamflow. It is located in the middle Vardar section and the Pchinja River and Bregalnica River basins (Figure 8) We have to note that in this streamflow pattern there is a partial anthropogenic influence on several gauging stations, which reflects with higher values of Pardé's coefficient in the summer months. That is the reason why this pattern has an artificially higher percentage of above 7 percent of August and September streamflow amount.

In both R2 streamflow patterns there is no secondary winter minimum.

R3 R3 is a very stable defined pattern, characterised with a spring maximum in April and March, comprising around 15 percent of the total annual streamflow, although without a clear monthly peak, and a highest percentage of the monthly streamflow in February (12 %) and January (10 %). This streamflow pattern indicates the earlier snowmelt and Mediterranean influence and rainfall featuring in the coldest months, without any signs of winter stagnation or streamflow decreasing, – a different situation compared with the western and the central part of North Macedonia. It covers only four gauging stations in the east far part of North Macedonia in the basin of the river Strumitsa, a right tributary of the Struma River in Bulgaria. In this case, there is not a significant difference between the seasons, and one summer minimum in August with around 3 percent per

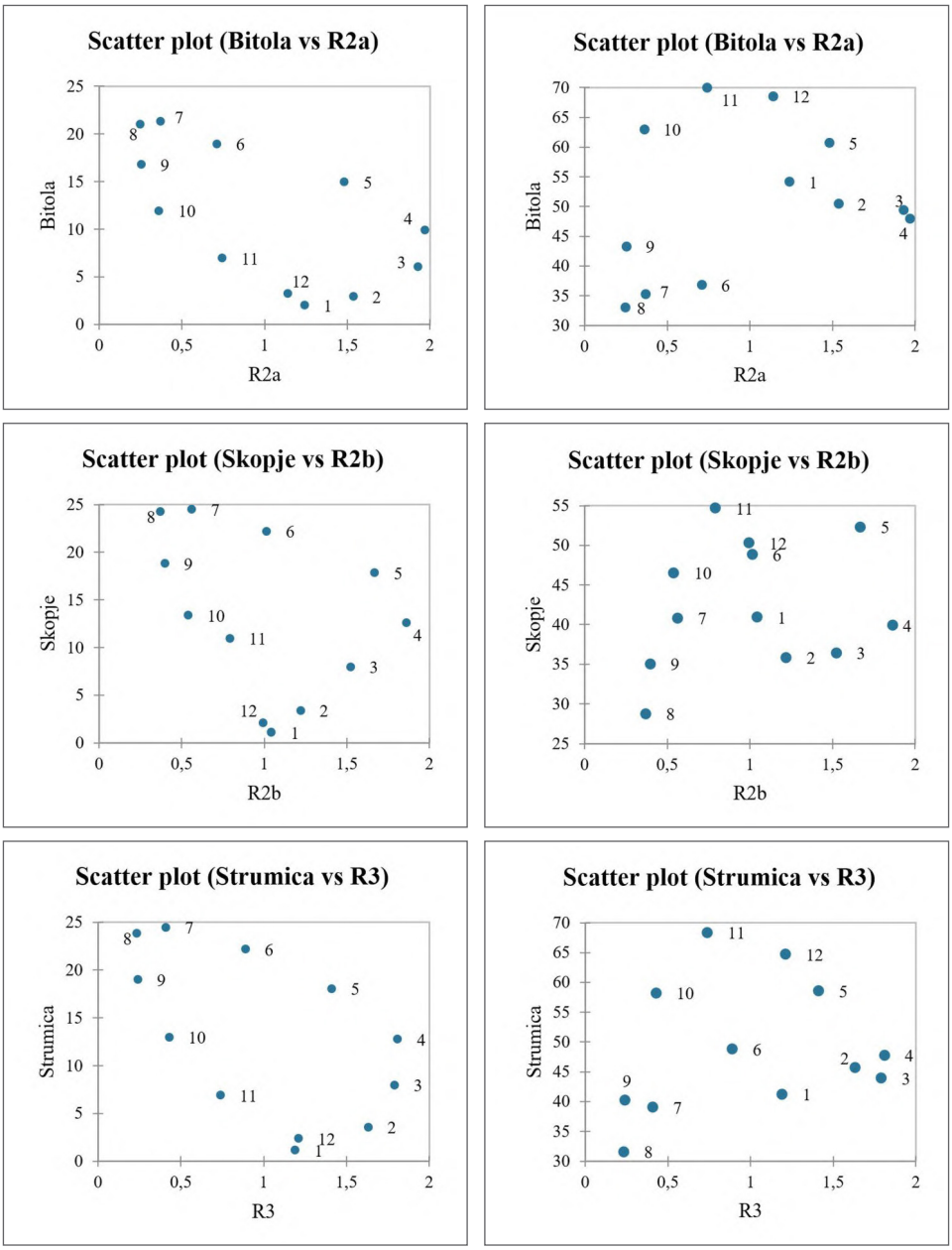
month of the total annual streamflow. The nival component affects R3 less, but the rainfall influence is higher.

With a scope to have a better understanding of the climatic factor influence on the streamflow regime, we plotted each streamflow pattern versus air temperature (the main driver of the snowmelt process) and precipitation, namely in the adequately and centrally located meteorological gauging station among the concrete streamflow pattern. Therefore, for the R1a pattern we used the monthly air temperature and monthly precipitation sums data in Lazaropole gauging station, for R1b – Ohrid gauging station, for R2a – Bitola gauging station, for R2b – Skopje gauging station and for R3 – Strumitsa gauging station. This enabled us to conclude which climatic factor is predominant in each SSP peak flow creation (see Figure 10).



Source: Own data analysis, own design

Figure 10: Five streamflow sub-patterns (SSP) in North Macedonia versus temperature (left column) and precipitation (right column) in five selected gauging stations of the SSPs. The numbers represent the concrete months



Source: Own data analysis, own design

Figure 10 (continuation): Five streamflow sub-patterns (SSP) in North Macedonia versus temperature (left column) and precipitation (right column) in five selected gauging stations of the SSPs. The numbers represent the concrete months

1. R1a. The snowmelt induced by a higher temperature has a stronger influence than the monthly precipitation sum in May (5) peak flow in the R1a streamflow sub-pattern, when the Pardé coefficient (PC) = 3, so the streamflow responds positively on snowmelt. The negative temperature (T) in January and February indicates the secondary winter minimum, when the snowmelt and the rainfall are restricted.
2. R1b. The snowmelt induced by a higher monthly temperature has almost the same influence with the monthly precipitation sum in April (4) peak flow for the R1b streamflow sub-pattern, when the PC = 2.4. In May (5), the snowmelt influence is significantly higher than the precipitation. The January air temperature is close to 0, that's why the secondary minimum is weaker than in R1a.
3. R2a. The snowmelt induced by a higher monthly temperature has almost the same influence with the monthly precipitation sum in the April (4) peak flow in the R2a streamflow sub-pattern, when the PC = 2. In March (3), the precipitation influence is significantly higher than the snowmelt, so the streamflow responds positively on rainfall. Although, the January air temperature is close to 0, the February has a higher value of the Pardè coefficient because of a higher rainfall amount than in both R1 streamflow patterns.
4. R2b. The snowmelt induced by a higher monthly temperature has almost the same influence with the monthly precipitation sum in the April (4) peak flow for the R2b streamflow sub-pattern, when the PC = 1.9. In May (5), the precipitation influence is significantly higher than the snowmelt, so the streamflow responds positively on rainfall. In March (3) the Pardé values are much lower than R2a. Although, the January air temperature is close to 0, the February has a higher value of Pardé because of a higher rainfall amount than in both R1 streamflow patterns.
5. R3. The snowmelt induced by a higher monthly temperature has almost the same influence with the monthly precipitation sum in the April (4) and March (3) peak flow for the R3 streamflow pattern, when the PC = 1.8. In February (5), the precipitation influence is significantly higher than the snowmelt, so the streamflow responds positively on rainfall. February has the highest value of Pardé coefficient (>1.5) from all above mentioned streamflow patterns, induced by the rainfall and the Mediterranean influence.

Overall, going eastward, the streamflow due to snowmelt process declines, but the precipitation influence is increasing. Otherwise, in the same direction, the month with a peak flow is going backward, from the highest values in May for R1a, towards high values in April, March and even closer to the highest Pardé values in February for the R3 streamflow sub-pattern.

5 Conclusion

The study already mentioned at the beginning of this article about river regimes in Bulgaria (Hristova 2007) shows compatible results in the border region between North Macedonia and Bulgaria. It is covered by streamflow pattern R3 in this study and the "transitional water regime zone". Both regions have maximum streamflow in March and April, but,

differently, the minimum occurs in North Macedonia in August/September, while in Bulgaria the minimum is in June and July, because of earlier autumn rainfall on the high Pirin and Rila mountains.

The research on the Balkan hydrological regimes of Stanescu (2004) includes an analysis of North Macedonia, but only used data from five gauging stations. According to his results, there are three river regime types: Western upland mountain zone (maximum in May and minimum in August), which is corresponding to the R1a sub-pattern in general. The second regime "Western-Eastern and Cental mountain and hilly plateau" has a maximum from February to April and a minimum streamflow usually occurring from July to September. Spatially this pattern is very disseminated, different from our study where in this area there are three different sub-patterns (R2a and R2b and partially R3). Probably this difference is because of the low density of stations in the previous study about Balkan river rigimes. Elsewise, the author used graphical comparison, not one of the above mentioned automatic methodologies (PCA, AHC, SOM etc).

The performed analysis on 30 streamflow gauging stations resulted with a systematic countrywide classification of the streamflow patterns in North Macedonia. The monthly streamflow variability was higher in the spring months, while lower during the summer period. Otherwise, the controlling factors average air temperature and precipitation were plotted versus Pardè coefficients.

Our classification generated five sub-patterns (R1a, R1b, R2a, R2b, and R3), nested in the three main streamflow patterns (R1, R2, and R3), and dominated by rainfall, snowmelt or both. Their spatial distribution is correctly located from the west to east. The month of a maximum streamflow is changing backward from May in the western part of North Macedonia to March and February on the southeastern part of the country. The second (winter) minimum, which occurred in February, was clearly evident only in the R1a and partially in R1b streamflow patterns, where air temperatures are low during the winter months and there is no input of snowmelt water in these streams.

The obtained sub-patterns show increasing rainfall predominance going eastward, and decreasing snowmelt influence also going eastward from the streamflow patterns R1a to R3. The snowmelt dominance was identified in the high mountain region westward in the spring area of the rivers Vardar and Radika, while the rainfall predominance was crucial in the Strumitsa River catchment. Besides the relatively small territory of the country, the results are quite robust and different patterns show a clear distinction between each other. It could help authorities in recognising the key possible maximum streamflow drivers and help focusing expectations on hydrological changes in North Macedonia and wider on the Balkan Peninsula.

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GEOINFORMATION

GEOGRAPHIC INFORMATION SCIENCE

SPATIAL SUITABILITY ANALYSIS FOR SUSTAINABLE URBAN GROWTH USING THE AHP-GEOTOPSIS MODEL. A CASE STUDY IN GUELMA, ALGERIA

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with 9 figures and 5 tables in the text

CONTENTS

Summary 308
Zusammenfassung 308
1 Introduction 309
2 Study Area 312
3 Methodology and Materials 313
4 Results 321
5 Discussion 330
6 Conclusion 333
7 References 335

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Summary

As urbanisation continues to expand globally, the demand for land for urban purposes is on the rise. Without proper management, valuable land that could be utilised for more profitable endeavours, such as agriculture, runs the risk of being underutilised. Additionally, certain urban developments have the potential to pose threats to both the environment and the well-being of local residents. Therefore, it is imperative to conduct land suitability analyses before progressing with urban planning initiatives. The primary objective of this paper is twofold. Firstly, it aims to propose scenarios for sustainable urban growth locations in Guelma, with a focus on minimising the consumption of agricultural land and preserving high-potential forested areas. Secondly, this research contributes to the existing literature by introducing a hybrid methodology that combines GIS (Geographic Information System), GeoTOPSIS (Technique for Order of Preference by Similarity to Ideal Solution), and AHP (Analytic Hierarchy Process) for the purpose of selecting suitable urban growth sites in the Guelma region.

In this study, we employed a combination of AHP and TOPSIS methods to conduct the analysis. Ten criteria and constraints were established for the study, utilising spatial data acquired through GIS. These criteria include proximity to forests, soil fertility, land use and land cover (LU/LC), distance to rivers, a Normalised Difference Vegetation Index (NDVI), distance to the urban centre, proximity to roads, population density, a Digital Elevation Model (DEM), and slope. The analysis revealed that approximately 19.47 square kilometres of the Guelma region's land area are most suitable for urban land use. The findings of this study hold significance in terms of mitigating potential urban instability and guiding the government's decisions regarding sustainable urban development.

Keywords: Urban growth, land suitability, Guelma, Algeria, AHP-GeoTOPSIS model, GIS, Remote sensing.

Zusammenfassung

Räumliche Eignungsanalyse für nachhaltiges Stadtwachstum unter Verwendung des AHP-GeoTOPSIS-Modells. Eine Fallstudie in Guelma, Algerien

Mit der anhaltenden globalen Urbanisierung steigt die Nachfrage nach Land für städtische Zwecke stetig an. Ohne angemessene Bewirtschaftung besteht das Risiko, wertvolles Land, das für profitablere Unternehmungen wie Landwirtschaft genutzt werden könnte, zu wenig oder falsch zu nutzen. Darüber hinaus bergen bestimmte städtische Entwicklungen das Potenzial, sowohl die Umwelt als auch das Wohlergehen der örtlichen Bevölkerung zu gefährden. Daher ist es unerlässlich, vor der Umsetzung städtischer Planungsmaßnahmen eine Bodentauglichkeitsanalyse durchzuführen. Das Hauptziel dieses Papiers ist zweigleisig angelegt. Erstens zielt es darauf ab, Szenarien für nachhaltige städtische Wachstumsstandorte in Guelma vorzuschlagen, wobei der Schwerpunkt auf der Minimierung des Verbrauchs landwirtschaftlicher Flächen und der Erhaltung hochwertiger bewaldeter Ge-

biete liegt. Zweitens trägt diese Forschung zur bestehenden Fachliteratur bei, indem sie eine hybride Methodik einführt, die GIS (Geografisches Informationssystem), GeoTOPSIS (Technik zur Ordnung der Präferenz nach Ähnlichkeit zur idealen Lösung) und AHP (Analytischer Hierarchieprozess) kombiniert, um geeignete Standorte für städtisches Wachstum in der Region Guelma auszuwählen.

In dieser Studie haben wir eine Kombination aus AHP- und TOPSIS-Methoden für die Analyse verwendet. Es wurden zehn Kriterien und Beschränkungen festgelegt, wobei räumliche Daten aus GIS verwendet wurden. Diese Kriterien umfassen die Nähe zu Wäldern, Bodenfruchtbarkeit, Landnutzung und Landbedeckung (LU/LC – Land Use and Land Cover), Entfernung zu Flüssen, einen sog. „Normalised Difference Vegetation Index" (NDVI), die Entfernung zum städtischen Zentrum, Nähe zu Straßen, Bevölkerungsdichte, Digitales Höhenmodell (DEM) und Geländeneigung. Die Analyse ergab, dass zirka 19,47 Quadratkilometer der Landfläche der Region Guelma am besten für städtische Nutzung geeignet sind. Die Ergebnisse dieser Studie sind in Bezug auf die Minderung möglicher städtischer Instabilität von Bedeutung und dienen zur Orientierung der Regierungsentscheidungen hinsichtlich nachhaltiger städtischer Entwicklung.

Schlagwörter: Städtisches Wachstum, Bodentauglichkeit, Guelma, Algerien, AHP-GeoTOPSIS-Modell; GIS; Fernerkundung.

1 Introduction

Urbanisation and land consumption are two pivotal processes driving significant changes in land use and land cover which, in turn, characterise the growth and sustainability of urban areas. There is a growing interest in understanding the dynamics of land use and land cover change, which are influenced by various factors including urban planning, social dynamics, and economic forces (Wang and Murayama 2018). The unsustainable expansion of urban areas, often at the expense of green spaces and natural resources, has sparked widespread concern and ignited fervent discussions regarding the critical elements and potential solutions in land use planning (Weber et al. 2006; Potschin 2009; Walter and Stützel 2009; Schetke et al. 2010; Terzi and Bölen 2012). As cities continue to grow, they increasingly strain the eco-environment, leading to heightened conflicts between various land use types (He et al. 2017). Spatial planning emerges as a vital tool for achieving sustainable urban development, simultaneously fostering socioeconomic progress while mitigating environmental challenges (Shuaibu and Kara 2019). The realms of planning and sustainability are deeply intertwined and mutually relevant (Jepson 2001).

In contemporary urban planning and policy development, modern tools such as GIS and Remote Sensing have gained significant prominence (Liu et al. 2015). The adoption of GIS and Remote Sensing is driven by several factors, including their ability to incorporate spatial and temporal dimensions for monitoring, controlling, analysing, evaluating, and quantifying urban growth patterns and changes in land use (Liu et al. 2015; Ramachandra et al. 2013). Furthermore, these techniques offer the flexibility to apply both quantitative and qualitative methodologies to discern the root causes, impacts, and current

as well as future trends in urban growth patterns (Aithal and Sanna 2012; Al-Chalabi et al. 2013; Shalaby 2012; Yang 2010). By integrating socioeconomic and spatial data, Remote Sensing and GIS techniques enable the analysis of intricate patterns in land use changes. Additionally, mathematical equations such as the Shannon entropy equation and landscape metrics are employed within Remote Sensing and GIS environments to categorise various urban patterns.

Recent advancements in land consumption assessment underscore the necessity for integrated evaluation methodologies, emphasising the creation of multidimensional tools to guide and monitor sustainable land use practices. A significant portion of land use policy decisions is made through spatial planning and zoning, involving the delicate balancing of sectoral interests and competing priorities to arrive at viable solutions (Cerreta and De Toro 2012).

In recent years, numerous studies have focused on the suitability analysis of land use and land cover for sustainable urban growth in various cities, regions, and countries, such as Trikomo, Cyprus (Kara and Akçit 2021), Abuja, Nigeria (Shuaibu and Kara 2019), Seremban, Malaysia (Aburas et al. 2017), and Famagusta (Kara and Doratli 2021) in Northern Cyprus. Among these, Geographic Information Systems (GIS) and Multi-Criteria Decision Analysis (MCDA) have been the most widely employed methods for assessing land-use suitability for urban growth (Aburas et al. 2015). MCDA involves the analysis of a set of criteria, assigning priorities or weights to these criteria (Zopounidis and Pardalos 2010). Notably, over 80 percent of studies in this domain have utilised the Analytic Hierarchy Process (AHP) to determine criterion weights (Lu et al. 2007).

The Analytic Hierarchy Process (AHP), introduced by Saaty (1987, 2008), is a well-established multi-criteria technique that seamlessly integrates with GIS-based tools to assess suitability (Laskar 2003; Pareta and Jain 1992; Parry et al. 2018). For instance, Bathrellos et al. (2017) used AHP and GIS to develop a multi-hazard map for urban growth suitability in Greece's northeastern Peloponnesus. Ramadan et al. (2021) employed AHP in conjunction with geospatial models to create alternative scenarios for urban development zones in Egypt's Ismailia Governorate. Similarly, Hassan et al. (2020) utilised the Analytical Hierarchy Process (AHP) and Geographic Information Systems (GIS) to analyse and select suitable urban growth zones on Kuwait's Failaka Island.

In this study, we opted for the combined use of AHP and TOPSIS (Technique for Order Preference by Similarity to Ideal Solution) due to AHP's status as one of the most widely used Multi-Criteria Decision-Making (MCDM) methods, offering several advantages (Saaty 2008). AHP is scalable and adaptable to various decision-making challenges, thanks to its hierarchical nature. TOPSIS, on the other hand, serves as a practical strategy for addressing real-world multi-criteria decision-making complexities. TOPSIS aids decision-makers in structuring issues, analysing and comparing different solutions, and ultimately ranking them (Chang et al. 2012).

Numerous studies conducted globally have focused on evaluating land suitability for urban development, employing Geographical Information Systems (GIS) and Multi-Criteria Decision Analysis (MCDA) methods. These studies consider a wide array of sustainability criteria, including environmental, social, and economic factors, as well as regulatory

policies (Shah et al. 2020; Parvez and Islam 2020; Yang et al. 2021; Luan et al. 2021; El Sayed 2018). Among the methodologies employed, the Analytical Hierarchy Process (AHP), introduced by Saaty in 1987 (Saaty 1987), has emerged as a prominent choice due to its capacity to discern areas suitable and unsuitable for urban development, notwithstanding concerns about subjectivity and time constraints. For instance, in 2021, a study in Indonesia's Mamuju district applied GIS and AHP to provide guidance for development in areas prone to natural disasters like floods, landslides, and earthquakes (Anastasia et al. 2021). Similarly, a recent investigation in Turkey's Eskisehir province employed AHP to pinpoint optimal locations for sustainable urban development (Delíry and Uyguçgíl 2020). Additionally, several studies in Indian cities have integrated AHP with geophysical and socio-economic criteria to evaluate land suitability for urban development (Parry et al. 2018; Anugya et al. 2017).

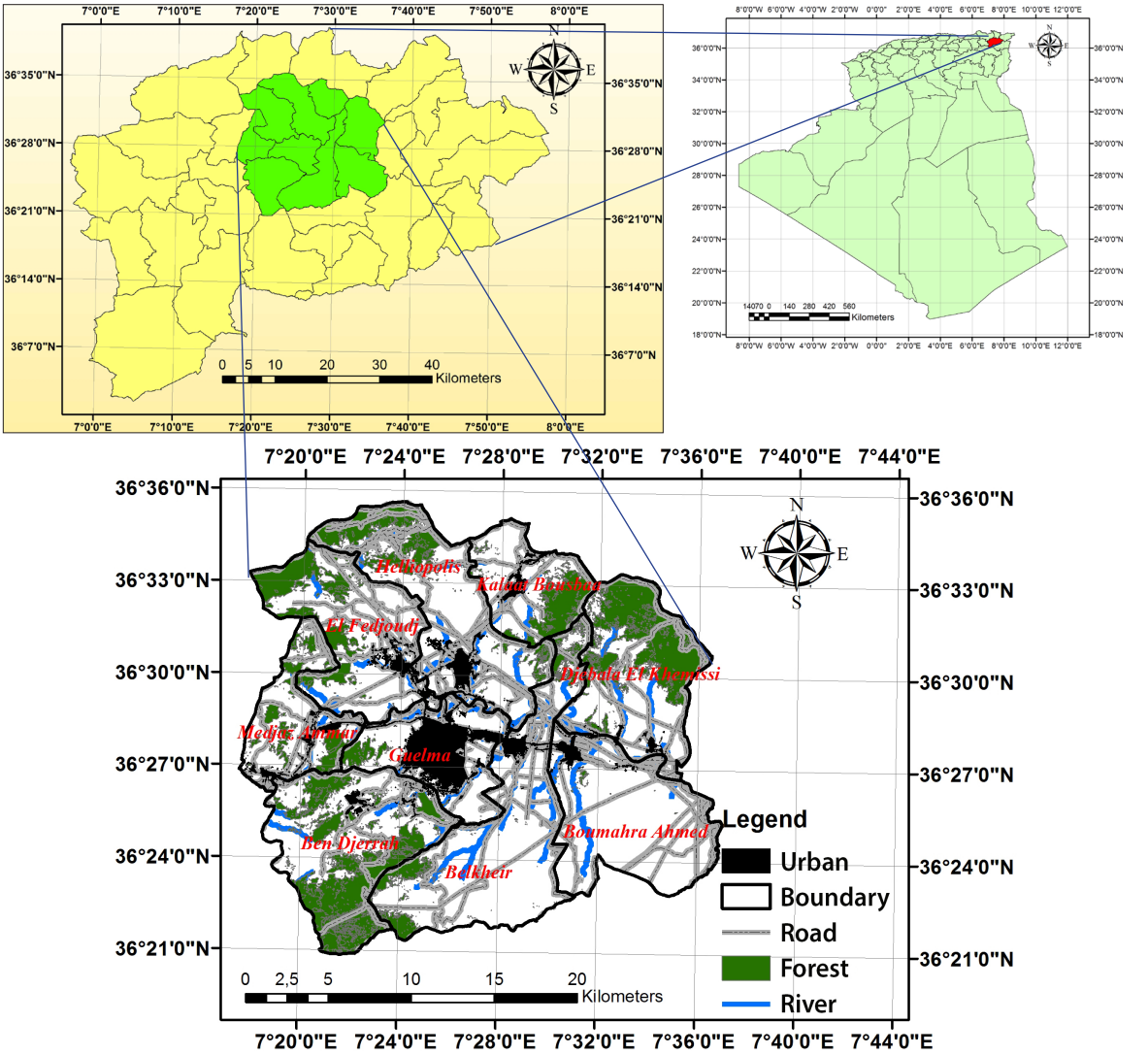
In the literature, researchers have either utilised one of these methods in isolation (Kara and Doratli 2021; Kara and Akçit 2021; Deliry and Uyguçgil 2020; Aburas et al. 2017) or combined methodologies other than GIS-TOPSIS and AHP (Xu et al. 2021; Ramadan and Effat 2021) for sustainable urban growth suitability analysis. TOPSIS is employed in our study to analyse and categorise suitable land, facilitating the prioritisation of regions with the highest suitability for sustainable urban development. While TOPSIS and AHP-GeoTOPSIS methods are widely applied in site suitability studies for urban and peri-urban agricultural land (Ustaoglu et al. 2021; Fatih and Sari 2021; Artikanur et al. 2022), their use in sustainable urban growth analyses is relatively limited. Therefore, this study bridges the gap by integrating TOPSIS with GIS and AHP, resulting in more precise site selection decision-making. To our knowledge, this integrated approach has not been previously employed to determine suitable locations for sustainable urban growth, considering local criteria such as socioeconomic factors, natural resources, and land use.

Guelma, like many medium-sized cities in Algeria, grapples with the challenges posed by rapid and extensive urban growth, which have led to notable land use and land cover (LU/LC) transformations. This urban expansion has brought about significant spatial and environmental changes. Given Guelma's strategic location in the heart of the region, it attracts neighbouring communes (Guechi and Alkama 2017; PDAU 2013). Consequently, the city has witnessed substantial impermeable growth, often at the expense of agricultural and forested lands (Guechi et al. 2021). The reduction of vegetation and its replacement with impermeable surfaces, such as asphalt and concrete, can be directly attributed to urban growth dynamics, resulting in environmental and social repercussions (Mitchell 2011).

The primary objective of this paper is two-fold: firstly, to propose scenarios for sustainable and viable urban growth locations in Guelma, with a specific emphasis on limiting the consumption of agriculturally valuable lands and preserving high-potential forested areas. Secondly, we aim to contribute to the existing body of literature by introducing a hybrid methodology that combines GIS, GeoTOPSIS, and AHP for the selection of urban growth sites in the Guelma region. The findings of this study are anticipated to play a crucial role in preventing future urban instability and offering valuable insights for the government's initiatives in urban sustainable development.

2 Study Area

Guelma is situated in the northeastern part of Algeria, approximately 60 km south of the Mediterranean Sea (36°27′43″N – 7°25′33″E) and at an elevation of 305 meters above sea level. Geographically, it serves as a meeting point and a crossroads, connecting the industrial hubs in the North (Annaba – Skikda) with the trading centres in the South (Oum



Source: Own design

Figure 1: Location map of the study area

El Bouaghi and Tébessa), while also maintaining proximity to the Tunisian border in the East. Encompassing an area of 3,686.84 square kilometers, the province of Guelma had an estimated population of 494,079 inhabitants by the end of 2009, with 2 percent of this population concentrated in the provincial capital. The average population density in this region is 132 individuals per square kilometer. Our study area comprises Guelma's communes, which are centrally located within the Guelma province and include the provincial capital of Guelma, as well as the municipalities of Bendjarah, Belkhair, El Fdjouj, El Helliopolis, Mjaz Amar, Djballa Khmissi, Boumahra, and Kalat Bousbae (Figure 1).

From the perspective of sustainable urban growth, Guelma, like other cities, grapples with an array of economic, social, and environmental challenges. These include urban expansion encroaching on land with high agricultural potential, escalating traffic congestion in the city centre, and other associated issues. It is undeniable that urban growth has given rise to a multitude of challenges within the built environment (Guechi 2018).

3 Methodology and Materials

The aim of this study was to identify a suitable location for long-term urban growth. To achieve this objective, the following procedures were employed: Firstly, diverse datasets and defining criteria for assessing urban growth suitability were established. Subsequently, a multi-criteria decision analysis, based on Geographic Information Systems (GIS) and integrating the Analytic Hierarchy Process (AHP) and the Technique for Order Preference by Similarity to Ideal Solution (TOPSIS), was conducted.

This integrated model is crucial for addressing the complexities inherent in multi-criteria spatial decision-making when determining areas for future urban expansion. Here, GIS functions as a powerful spatial analysis tool, AHP is utilised to calculate the weightings assigned to various criteria, and TOPSIS is applied to rank and prioritise suitable areas. The amalgamation of GIS, AHP, and TOPSIS brings about significant advantages, particularly in fields such as land use management assessment, as demonstrated by previous studies (Oztürk and Batuk 2011; Barrios et al. 2016; Jozaghi et al. 2018).

3.1 Data Collection

A data table was meticulously crafted to compile pertinent socio-economic and environmental information from diverse sources, encompassing remotely sensed satellite data and thematic maps, all tailored to align with the research goals. In the lead-up to the data analysis phase, a series of preprocessing techniques were applied to refine both raster and vector datasets. These techniques included mosaicking, projection, resampling, and subsetting, each contributing to the data's readiness for comprehensive analysis. Table 1 in this paper furnishes a comprehensive overview of the data harnessed for the spatial analysis. Given the pivotal role of data availability in this study, the authors resorted to generating specific datasets that were otherwise unobtainable from official sources, underlining the significance of these data in fulfilling the study's objectives.

Data	Data type	Data source
– Satellite images 1990; 2000; 2020	– Raster	– United States Geological Survey (USGS)
– Digital Elevation Model (spatial resolution 30 m)	– Raster	– United States Geological Survey (USGS)
– Roads	– Vector	– Open Street Map (OSM)
– Number of the population 2008	– Statistics	– General Census of Population and Housing (GCPH 2008)

Source: Own compilation

Table 1: Data utilised in the spatial analysis

3.2 Criteria Selection for Sustainable Urban Growth

This study aims to perform a comprehensive land suitability analysis for future sustainable urban growth. The approach adopted involves defining specific criteria, applying the Analytical Hierarchy Process (AHP) for weighting these criteria, classifying them into ten distinct suitability classes, and generating a weighted overlay map (WOL) to provide an overall view of land suitability. Achieving sustainable urban growth necessitates the careful consideration of various socio-economic and environmental factors. Notably, topographical factors, such as slope and elevation (Delíry and Uyguçgíl 2020; Santosh et al. 2018), the proximity to residential, commercial, and industrial areas (Chen 2016; Abdelkarim et al. 2020; Hassan and Nazem 2016), and the presence of essential infrastructural elements like road networks (Delíry and Uyguçgíl 2020; Zhang et al. 2021), exert significant influence on the suitability of urban locations. Furthermore, it is imperative to prioritise the preservation of natural resources, which entails identifying areas suitable for development and those requiring conservation efforts (Hassan and Nazem 2016; Dipeolu and Ibem 2020). The criteria employed in this study are derived from a thorough literature review and encompass slope, elevation, road networks, urban agglomeration, fertility, NDVI, and land cover.

In order to identify the areas, best suited for future urban expansion while ensuring sustainability, it is essential to take into account a range of environmental and socio-economic criteria, as underscored in previous research (Aburas et al. 2017; Chen 2016). For the purpose of this study, ten distinct criteria were carefully selected to assess land suitability, as detailed in Table 2. To standardise all the factor suitability maps, a ranking and scoring method was applied, with suitability levels spanning from 1 to 10. A higher score signifies a lesser degree of constraint or a greater level of suitability. The resulting maps, illustrating these suitability scores, are presented in Figure 3.

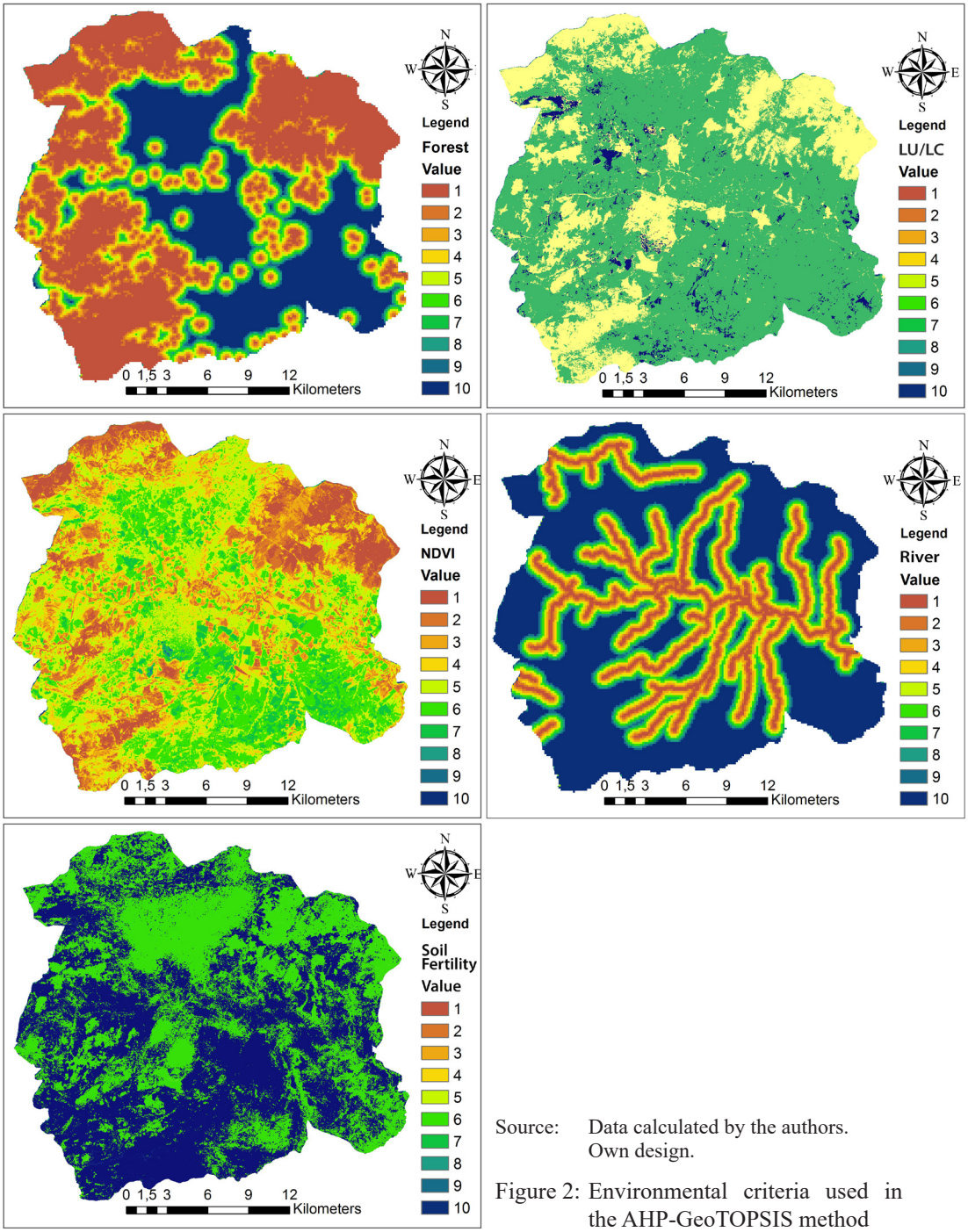
3.2.1 Environmental Criteria

Undoubtedly, the environment takes precedence as the cornerstone of sustainable development. Within the context of our specific case study, the imperative is to safeguard agricultural and forested lands against unwarranted land-use alterations. To effectively achieve this goal, we employ a comprehensive set of strategies and considerations (see Table 2 and Figure 2):

Suitability scale	Sustainable urban growth									
	Environmental criteria					Socio-economic criteria				
	Distance to forest (m)	Soil fertility	LU/LC	Distance to river (m)	NDVI	Distance to urban centre (m)	Distance to roads (m)	Population density (pop/km²)	DEM	Slope (%)
1	D <100	691 – 768	Forest; urban	D < 100	-0.04 – -0.02	D < 300	D > 900	> 26	1264.5 – 1392	46.26 – 51.40
2	100 – 200	–	–	100 – 200	-0.03 – -0.01	300 – 600	800 – 900	–	1137 – 1264.5	41.12 – 46.26
3	200 – 300	537 – 614	Agri-Land	200 – 300	-0.01 – 0.01	600 – 900	700 – 800	–	1009.5 – 1137	35.98 – 41.12
4	300 – 400	460 – 537	–	300 – 400	0.01 – 0.03	900 – 1200	600 – 700	1 – 3	882 – 1009.5	30.84 – 35.98
5	400 – 500	–	–	400 – 500	0.03 – 0.04	1200 – 1500	500 – 600	–	754.5 – 882	25.70 – 30.84
6	500 – 600	–	–	500 – 600	0.04 – 0.06	1500 – 1800	400 – 500	–	627 – 754.5	20.56 – 25.70
7	600 – 700	–	–	600 – 700	0.06 – 0.08	1800 – 2100	300 – 400	–	499.5 – 627	15.42 – 20.56
8	700 – 800	–	–	700 – 800	0.08 – 0.10	2100 – 2400	200 – 300	–	372 – 499.5	10.28 – 15.42
9	800 – 900	–	–	800 – 900	0.10 – 0.11	2400 – 2700	100 – 200	–	244.5 – 372	5.14 – 10.28
10	D > 900	0 – 76.8	Barre-Land	D > 900	0.11 – 0.13	D > 2700	D < 100	4	0 – 244.5	0 – 5.14

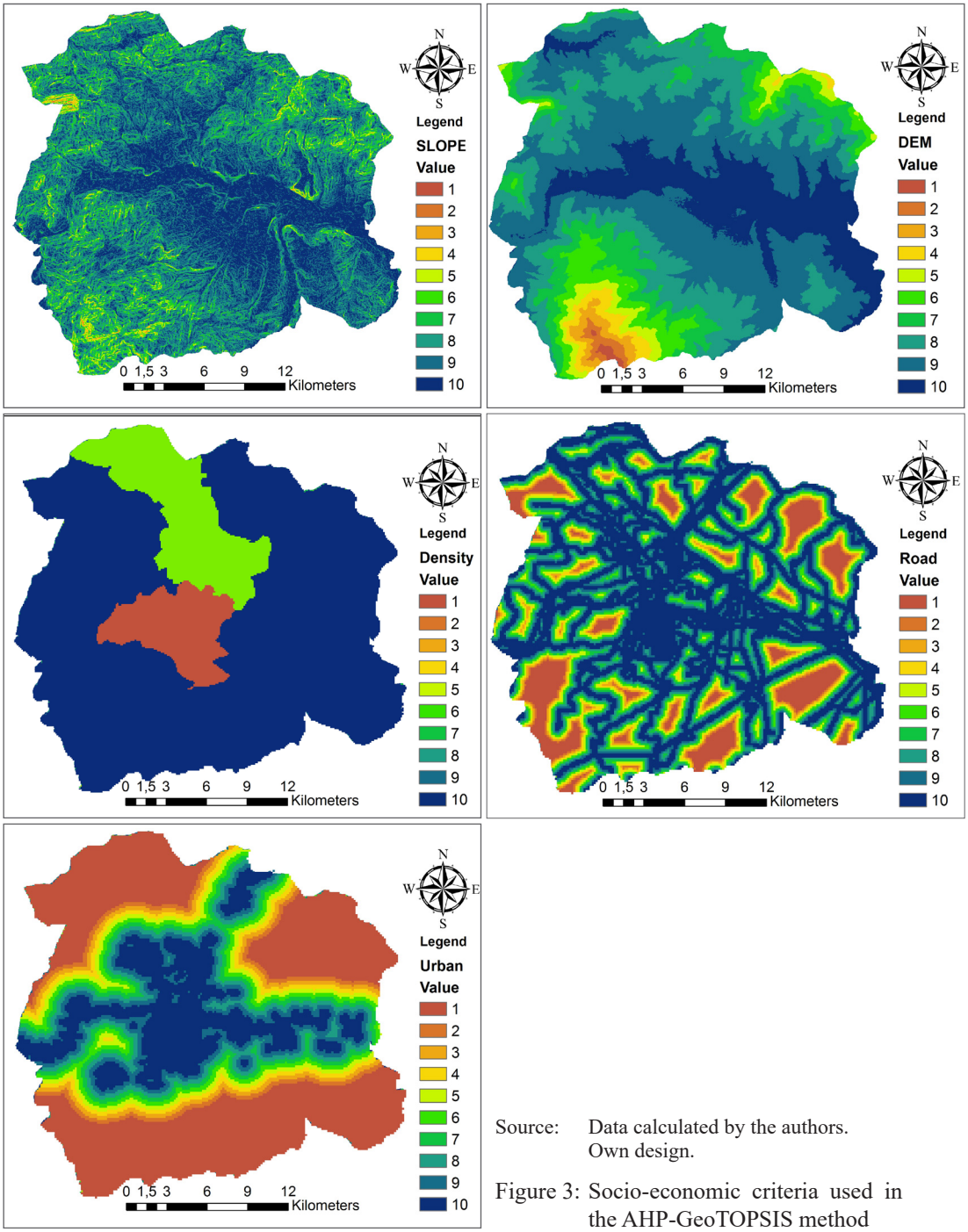
LU/LC … Land Use and Land Cover; – NDVI … Normalised Difference Vegetation Index; – DEM … Digital Elevation Model

Table 2: Suitability scale of criteria for sustainable urban growth in Guelma



Source: Data calculated by the authors. Own design.

Figure 2: Environmental criteria used in the AHP-GeoTOPSIS method



Source: Data calculated by the authors. Own design.

Figure 3: Socio-economic criteria used in the AHP-GeoTOPSIS method

– Preservation of agricultural and forested lands: Foremost in our mission is the preservation of agricultural and forested lands, shielding them from detrimental land-use changes. This entails maintaining a respectful distance to safeguard these invaluable natural resources.
– Mitigating agricultural impacts: A pivotal element involves minimising any adverse effects on agricultural lands while simultaneously curbing urban development encroachment into forested areas.
– Avoidance of river streams and fertile zones: We advocate for a judicious approach by avoiding river streams and regions known for their high fertility. This strategy is integral to the protection of ecologically sensitive areas.
– Significance of land cover analysis: A critical component within the realm of urban planning is the scrutiny of land cover. Delving into the various land cover categories reveals significant constraints that inform urban planning decisions. For instance, it underscores the imperative that agricultural and forested lands, along with established urban areas, remain invulnerable to alterations.

This comprehensive approach ensures that urban development aligns harmoniously with the principles of sustainability, upholding a steadfast commitment to preserving and protecting critical environmental assets such as agricultural and forested lands.

3.2.2 Socio-economic Criteria

The goal of the economic and social aspect is twofold: to reduce development expenses and to align with the preferences of the population. This is accomplished through a focus on the following factors (see also Table 2 and Figure 3):

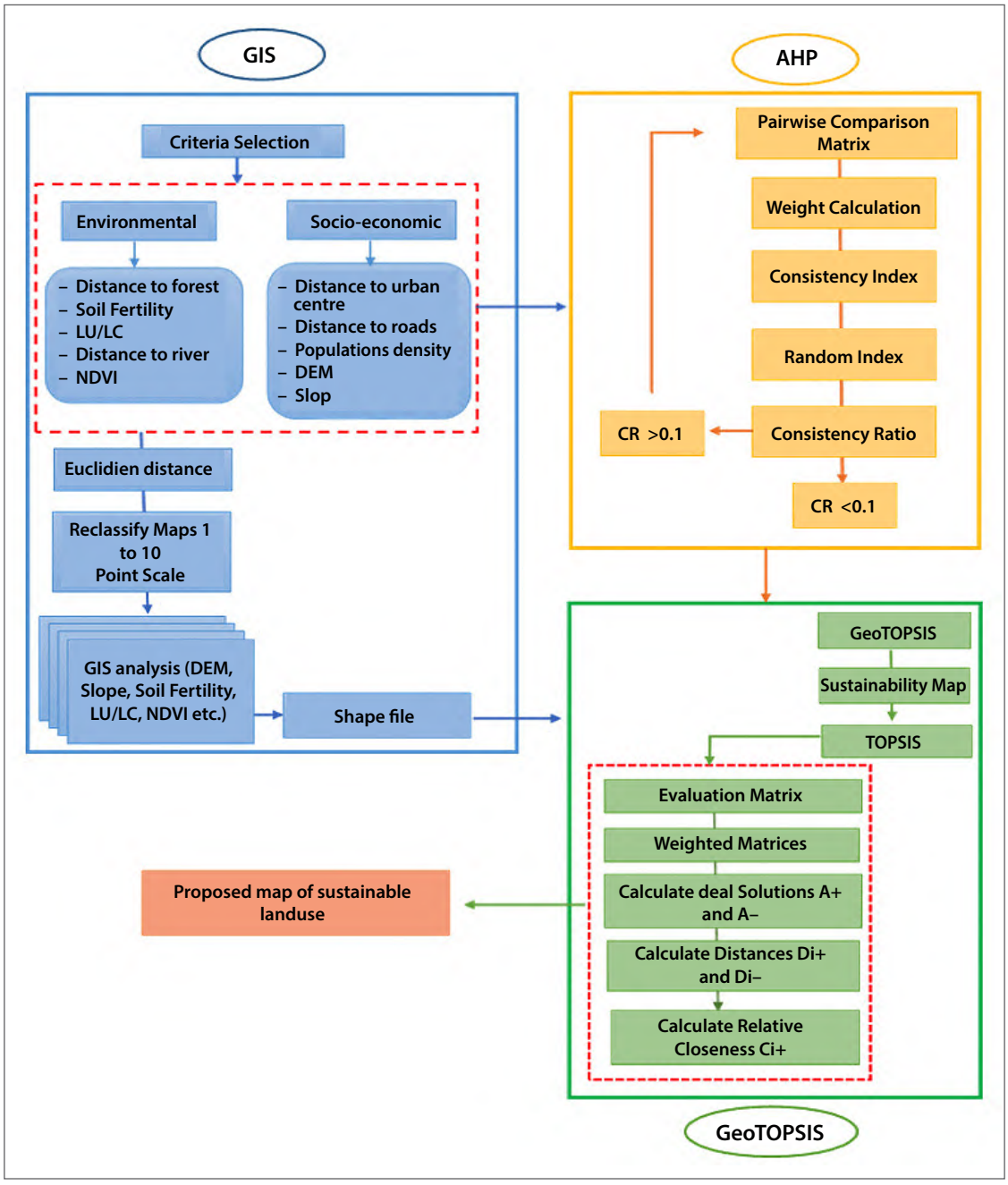
– Proximity to urban centres: Opting for locations in close proximity to urban centres.
– Avoidance of high population density areas: Steering clear of areas with high population density.
– Accessibility via roads: Ensuring accessibility through the presence of nearby roads. This is critical for the exchange of goods, ease of access, connecting rural regions, and providing primary residential routes.
– Utilising a digital elevation model (DEM) and slope maps: Leveraging digital elevation models (DEM) and slope maps to avoid steep and rugged terrain.

This approach aims to strike a balance between economic viability and meeting the social preferences of the population, ultimately contributing to sustainable urban development.

After the choice of the criteria, we applied the GIS-AHP-TOPSIS model, which is presented in the flowchart in Figure 4

3.3 AHP method

In this study, the weighting in the TOPSIS analysis was determined through the implementation of the "Analytic Hierarchy Process" (AHP) method. The primary objective of an AHP analysis is twofold: to establish the precedence of various criteria and to assess



Source: Own design.

Figure 4: The flowchart of the study

their relative importance. Moreover, the AHP incorporates the concept of consistency to compute overall weights and assess the consistency of priorities. To ensure the consistency of weights and priorities, the AHP methodology provides a consistency ratio, which should ideally be less than 0.1. Expert Choice software was employed for the precise calculation of the weight assigned to each criterion, and the results are presented in Table 3.

3.4 GeoTOPSIS

The "GeoTOPSIS", an extension of the "TOPSIS" method introduced by Hwang and Yoon in 1981, is seamlessly integrated into an open-source QGIS plugin named "Vector MCDA". This tool stands out as the most suitable choice for capturing the intricate nature of systems. It harnesses vector data to execute a suite of multi-criteria analysis algorithms, where each geographic entity serves as a distinct option, often referred to as a "geo-alternative". Each algorithm meticulously assesses and processes these geographical attributes as criteria, ultimately yielding preference indices as outputs, as detailed by Rocchi et al. in 2015.

Building upon the foundation of the TOPSIS model, GeoTOPSIS seamlessly applies algorithms involving ideal points, resulting in the generation of maps that vividly depict the arrangement of numerous geographical possibilities. The assignment of weights to criteria can be achieved directly or through the application of the Analytic Hierarchy Process (AHP) methodology, as elucidated by Rocchi et al. in 2015.

3.5 TOPSIS method

The TOPSIS technique is a distance computation that allocates the best option to the shortest distance from the positive ideal solution and the longest distance from the negative ideal solution. These distances are factored into a similarity index, which will be sorted to determine the best options. The calculation steps of the TOPSIS method are:

The Euclidean norm was used to make the matrix D dimensionless. The dimensionless matrix obtained is referred to as N_D.

$$r_{ij} = \frac{r_{ij}}{\left(\sum_{i=1}^{m} r_{ij}^{2}\right)^{\frac{1}{2}}} \quad (j = 1, \ldots \ldots \ldots, n) \tag{1}$$

The following equation is used to build a normalised weighted decision matrix:

$$V = N_D * W_{n*n} \tag{2}$$

Following that, ideal positive (A_i^+) and ideal negative (A_i^-) alternatives were determined:

$$A^+ = (y_1^+, y_2^+, \ldots \ldots y_n^+) \tag{3}$$

$$A^{-} = (y_1^{-}, y_2^{-}, \ldots\ldots y_n^{-}) \tag{4}$$

$$y_1^{+} = \begin{cases} \max_{yij}; \text{ if j is a benefit attribute (benefit)} \\ \min_{yij}; \text{ if j is a cost attribute (cost)} \end{cases}$$

$$y_1^{-} = \begin{cases} \max_{yij}; \text{ if j is a benefit attribute (benefit)} \\ \min_{yij}; \text{ if j is a cost attribute (cost)} \end{cases}$$

Then, the following equation was used to calculate the distance between the values of each alternative using the positive ideal solution matrix and the negative ideal solution matrix.

$$D_i^{+} = \sqrt{\sum_{j=1}^{n} (y_i^{+} - y_{ij})^2} \quad (i = 1, 2, \ldots, m) \tag{5}$$

$$D_i^{-} = \sqrt{\sum_{j=1}^{n} (y_{ij} - y_i^{-})^2} \quad (i = 1, 2, \ldots, m) \tag{6}$$

Calculate the value of choice for each option using the equation below.

$$C_i = \frac{D_i^{-}}{(D_i^{-} + D_i^{+})} \quad (i = 1, 2, \ldots, n)$$
$$\text{Where: } 0 \leq C_1^{+} \leq 1 \quad i = 1, 2, \ldots, m \tag{7}$$

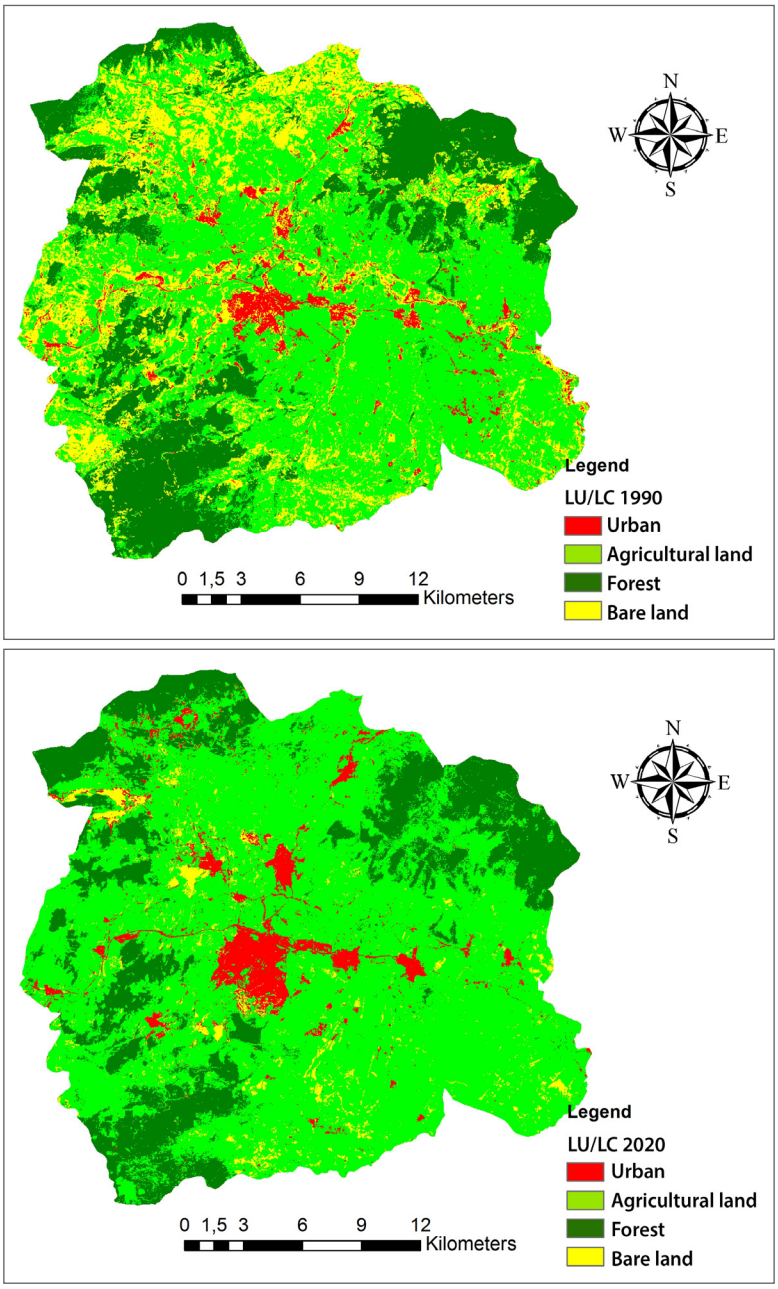
This option's value is the last value that is used to order or prioritise all of the options that have been considered. The higher the priority value of the alternative selected, the higher is the value of C_i.

4 Results

4.1 Detecting Changes

In this study, change detection analysis for Guelma was conducted using Landsat 7 and Landsat 8 satellite images, employing a supervised classification approach. The results of the urban land cover classification for the years 1990, 2010, and 2020 are visually represented in Figure 5.

Figure 5 illustrates the Land Use/Land Cover (LU/LC) maps of Guelma's municipal region. Over the past three decades, there has been a pronounced urban expansion within the municipal cluster of Guelma. This growth is particularly concentrated in the Guelma municipality itself, which stands out as notably larger in comparison to the surrounding municipalities. Guelma is recognised as one of Algeria's cities that play a pivotal role in delivering essential urban services. These functions exert an influence on both the neighbouring communes and the remaining communes within the province, as highlighted by (Guechi et al. 2021).

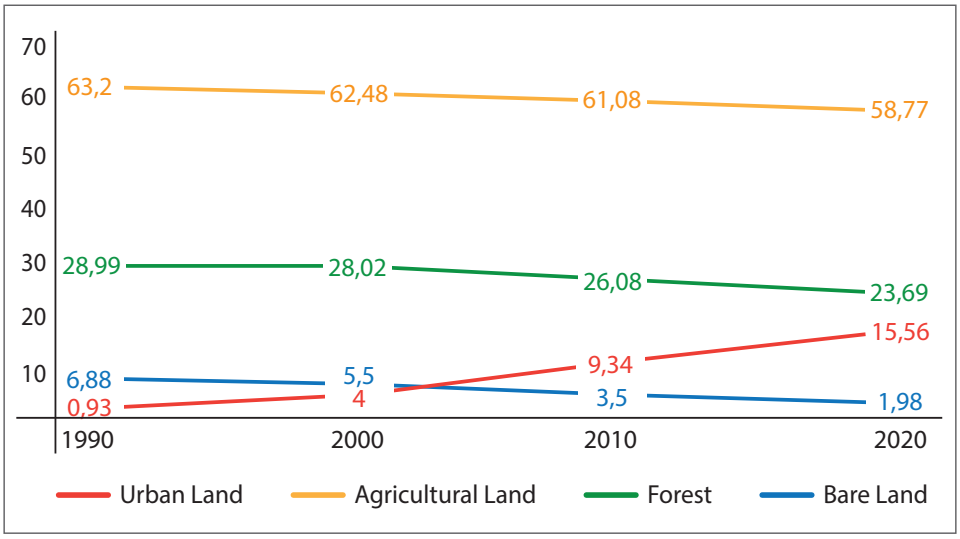


Source: Data calculated by the authors using Landsat 7 and Landsat 8 satellite images. Own design.

Figure 5: The geographic LU/LC (land use/land cover) maps of Guelma's municipial region in 1990 and 2020

To gain a deeper insight into the process of urbanisation within the municipalities of Guelma throughout the research period, calculations were performed to assess the areas covered by various land uses, along with their fluctuations. The outcomes of these calculations are visually presented in Figure 6.

Within the urbanised region, there is a discernible upward trend, with urban land cover increasing from 0.93 percent in 1990 to 15.56 percent in 2020, as indicated in Figure 6.



Source: Data (in percent) calculated by the authors using Landsat 7 and Landsat 8 satellite images. Own design.

Figure 6: Land cover change in Guelma from 1990 to 2020

Conversely, the areas dedicated to bare land, farmland, and woodland have experienced reductions. The extent of barren land has decreased from 6.88 percent in 1990 to 1.98 percent in 2020. Agricultural land has also seen a decline from 63.2 percent in 1990 to 58.77 percent in 2020. Furthermore, forested areas have contracted in size, diminishing from 28.99 percent in 1990 to 23.69 percent in 2020. These observations suggest a direct correlation between the growth of urban land cover and the reduction in green cover, particularly in recent years.

4.2 The Weights Calculated Using the AHP Method

Table 3 presents the weights and consistency ratios (CR) for the main criteria (environmental and socio-economic criteria) and their respective sub-criteria in an Analytic Hierarchy Process (AHP) analysis. Here's an analysis of the results:

– *Environmental Criteria:*
– The main environmental criterion is assigned a weight of 0.50, indicating its equal importance with socio-economic criteria.
– The consistency ratio (CR) for this main criterion is 0.00, which is ideal, indicating perfect consistency in the pairwise comparisons.
– *Sub-criteria under Environmental Criteria:*
  • Distance to forest: This sub-criterion carries a weight of 0.176, signifying its significance within the environmental criteria. The CR of 0.07 suggests a reasonable level of consistency in the comparisons related to this sub-criterion.
  • Soil fertility: Also with a weight of 0.176, this sub-criterion holds similar importance to distance to forest. The CR of 0.07 indicates a good level of consistency.
  • Land Use/Land Cover (LU/LC): With a weight of 0.06, this sub-criterion is relatively less important within the environmental criteria.
  • Distance to river: This sub-criterion has a weight of 0.032, indicating a lower level of significance.
  • NDVI (Normalized Difference Vegetation Index): With a weight of 0.05, NDVI holds moderate importance among the environmental sub-criteria.

– *Socio-economic Criteria:*
  The main socio-economic criterion is also assigned a weight of 0.50, reflecting its equal importance with the environmental criteria.
  The consistency ratio (CR) for this main criterion is 0.05, which is below the threshold of 0.10, indicating acceptable consistency.
– Sub-*criteria under Socio-economic Criteria:*
  • Distance to urban centre: This sub-criterion carries the highest weight among all sub-criteria at 0.216, signifying its significant influence within the socio-economic criteria. The CR of 0.05 suggests a reasonable level of consistency in the comparisons related to this sub-criterion.
  • Distance to roads: With a weight of 0.179, this sub-criterion is also highly important within the socio-economic criteria. The CR of 0.05 indicates a good level of consistency.
  • Population density: This sub-criterion holds relatively less weight at 0.026, indicating its lower significance.
  • DEM (Digital Elevation Model): With a weight of 0.049, DEM is moderately important within the socio-economic sub-criteria.
  • Slope: This sub-criterion has a weight of 0.036, suggesting a relatively lower level of importance.

In summary, these results reveal the relative importance and consistency of each criterion and sub-criterion in the AHP analysis. The weights assigned to each sub-criterion are indicative of their impact on the overall decision-making process. The low values of the consistency ratio (CR) (Table 3) generally indicate acceptable consistency in the pairwise comparisons made during the AHP analysis, enhancing the credibility of the results.

Main criteria	Weights	CR	Sub-criteria	Weights	CR
Environmental criteria	**0.50**	**0.00**	Distance to forest	**0.176**	**0.07**
			Soil fertility	**0.176**	
			LU/LC	**0.060**	
			Distance to river	**0.032**	
			NDVI	**0.050**	
Socio -economic criteria	**0.50**		Distance to urban centre center	**0.216**	**0.05**
			Distance to roads	**0.179**	
			Population density	**0.026**	
			DEM	**0.049**	
			Slope	**0.036**	

Source: Calculation by the authors

Table 3: Main weights and sub-criteria weights and values of the consistency ratio (CR)

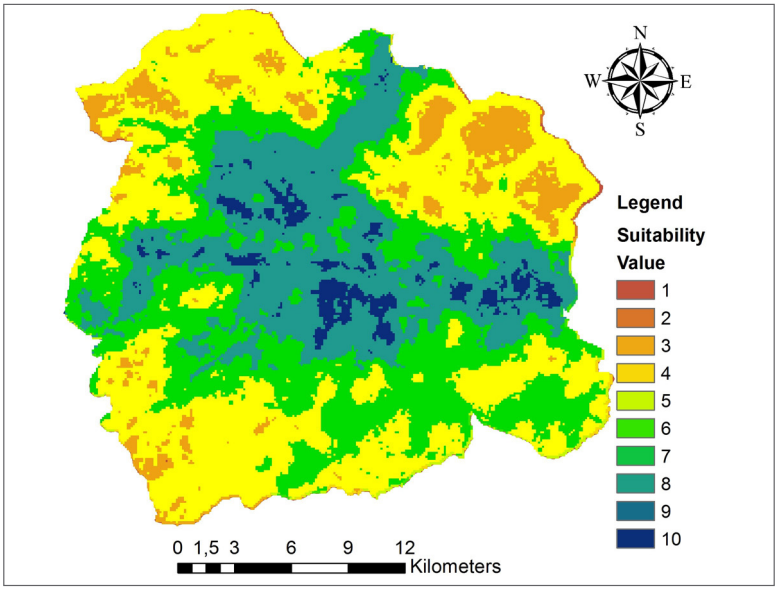
4.3 Determining the Suitability of Future Urban Growth by GeoTOPSIS

Once the weights for each criterion were established, the GeoTOPSIS method was employed to assess the significance of future urban expansion within each location. Leveraging its integration with a Geographic Information System (GIS), the GeoTOPSIS approach enabled the visualisation of ranking results using the conventional TOPSIS methodology.

In this particular scenario, we transformed the raster map into points to evaluate the priority of each point within the Guelma region. Subsequently, we associated these points with all attributes pertaining to the criteria used in the analysis. As a result, a comprehensive map depicting priorities for future sustainable urban growth was generated, as illustrated in Figure 7.

The results of the analysis reveal a spectrum of suitability scores for each raster cell, ranging from the lowest to the highest values, which span from 1 to 10. While the study identified favourable regions for sustainable urban expansion distributed across the research area, a notable concentration of these areas was observed in the central region near major roadways, as depicted in Figure 7. It's evident that land suitability gradually decreases as one moves from the urban centres towards the periphery, particularly in forested regions. Notably, Guelma, Bel Khair, El Boulis, Boumahra, Mzaz Amar, El Fdjouj, and Djballa Kmissi emerge as the regions boasting the highest suitability for future urban expansion. Collectively, these areas comprise a substantial portion of the overall highest suitability area, with percentages ranging from 3.08 percent to 32.33 percent.

These findings underscore the importance of strategic site selection for sustainable urban growth, with a focus on regions that offer the highest suitability scores and potential for responsible expansion.



Source: Calculation by the authors. Own design

Figure 7: Urban suitability map for the Guelma region (the higher the value of the suitability scores on a scale from 1 to 10 the higher is the urban suitability)

4.4 Ranking Suitable Urban Growth Land by TOPSIS Method

The urban growth suitability map for the Guelma district was generated using the Geo-TOPSIS technique, followed by the application of the TOPSIS method to rank alternative suitable locations within the region with the highest suitability. This ranking was based on the criteria weights obtained through the AHP approach. The initial step involved converting the raster map into a polygon map, and subsequently, the Zonal Statistics function in ArcGIS was applied to extract the multi-values of criteria within the suitability regions, as presented in Table 4.

Finally, the TOPSIS model's equation was employed to determine the ranking of future urban growth lands. In this ranking process, a total of 68 polygons representing the most suitable urban areas were utilised, as depicted in Figure 8. The key considerations for selecting suitable urban land include proximity to the urban centre and roads, as well as lower values for elevation and slope susceptibility. Additionally, it is essential for these areas to be situated at a distance from forests and agricultural lands, while also possessing good soil fertility.

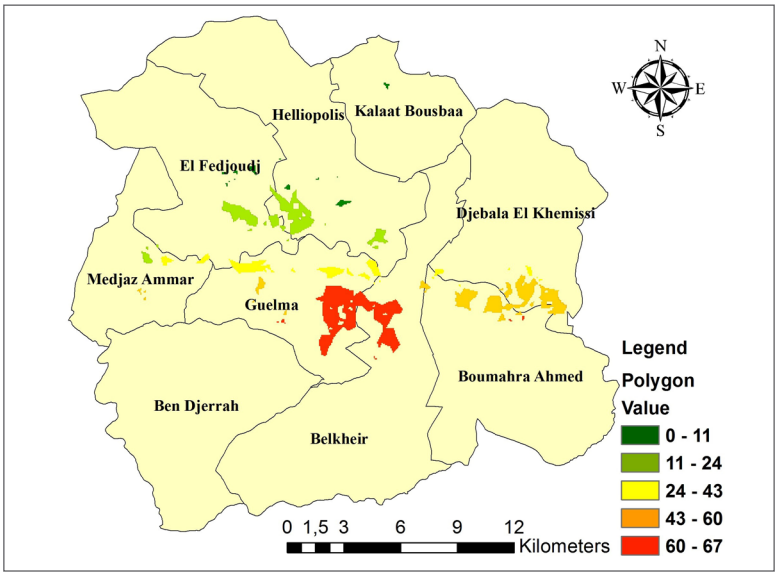
These steps and considerations collectively contribute to the identification and prioritisation of areas that are most conducive to responsible and sustainable urban growth within the Guelma district.

The provided Table 4 presents the results of the analysis, where various criteria and their associated weights (W) are used to assess the suitability of different locations

PHS	Sustainable urban growth									
	Environmental criteria					Socio-economic criteria				
	Distance to forest (m)	Soil fertility	LU/LC	Distance to river (m)	NDVI	Distance to urban centre (m)	Distance to roads (m)	Population density (pop/km^2)	DEM	Slope (%)
W=	**0.176**	**0.176**	**0.06**	**0.032**	**0.05**	**0.216**	**0.179**	**0.026**	**0.049**	**0.036**
P1	10	10	10	10	5	10	10	10	8	10
P2	10	4	3	10	6	9	10	10	9	10
P3	8	10	10	9	6	10	10	10	9	10
P4	10	10	10	3	6	10	10	10	9	10
P5	10	4	10	9	6	10	10	10	9	10
P6	10	4	3	1	6	10	10	4	9	10
P7	10	10	10	4	5	10	9	10	9	9
…										
…										
P68	10	10	10	1	6	7	10	10	9	10

Source: Calculation by the authors. – PHS .. Polygon of the highest suitability

Table 4: The decision matrix – TOPSIS for sustainable urban growth



Source: Calculation by the authors. Own design

Figure 8: Polygons of the highest quality for future urban growth in the Guelma region

(P1 to P68) for sustainable urban growth. The analysis considers both environmental and socio-economic criteria, with each location receiving a suitability score for each criterion. Here's an analysis of the results:

– *Environmental Criteria:*
  - Distance to forest (in meters): This criterion has a weight (W) of 0.176, indicating its importance within the environmental criteria. All locations (P1 to P68) score high (10) in this criterion, suggesting that they are generally far from forests, which is favourable for environmental preservation.
  - Soil fertility: With the same weight of 0.176, this criterion also receives high scores (10) across all locations, indicating that they generally have good soil fertility.
  - Land Use/Land Cover (LU/LC): This criterion has a weight of 0.06 and is less influential within the environmental criteria. Scores for LU/LC vary but generally favour urban growth.
  - Distance to river (in meters): Given a weight of 0.032, this criterion exhibits varying scores across locations, with some locations scoring lower (1 to 4), indicating proximity to rivers, which may not be ideal for urban growth.
  - NDVI (Normalised Difference Vegetation Index): With a weight of 0.05, NDVI scores consistently high (6 to 10) across all locations, indicating good vegetation cover.
– *Socio-economic Criteria:*
  - Distance to urban centre (in meters): This socio-economic criterion carries the highest weight of 0.216. All locations receive high scores (9 to 10), suggesting their proximity to the urban centre, which is favourable for urban growth.
  - Distance to roads (in meters): With a weight of 0.179, this criterion also receives high scores (9 to 10) across all locations, indicating good accessibility via roads.
  - Population density (population per km²): Given a weight of 0.026, population density scores vary but generally favour urban growth.
  - DEM (Digital Elevation Model): This criterion, with a weight of 0.049, generally receives high scores (8 to 10), suggesting that locations have favourable elevation for urban development.
  - Slope (%): With a weight of 0.036, slope scores are generally low (9 to 10), indicating that locations have low slopes, which is suitable for urban growth.

In summary, the analysis shows that all locations (P1 to P68) generally exhibit favourable conditions for sustainable urban growth based on the criteria and weights assigned. These results highlight the suitability of various areas within the study region, with considerations for both environmental preservation and socio-economic factors such as accessibility and proximity to urban amenities.

To rank the suitable sustainable urban growth in the Guelma region with the TOPSIS method, the procedures outlined in the methodology section were followed. Table 5 shows the (Euclidean) distances between the positive (D_i^+) and negative (D_i^- ideal points. Next, the alternative future urban lands were ranked using the C_i values obtained, as shown in Table 5.

The provided table presents the results of the analysis, including the positive D_i^+, negative (D_i^-, and their sum ($D_i^+ + D_i^-$), as well as the computed C_i values. Here's an analysis of the results:

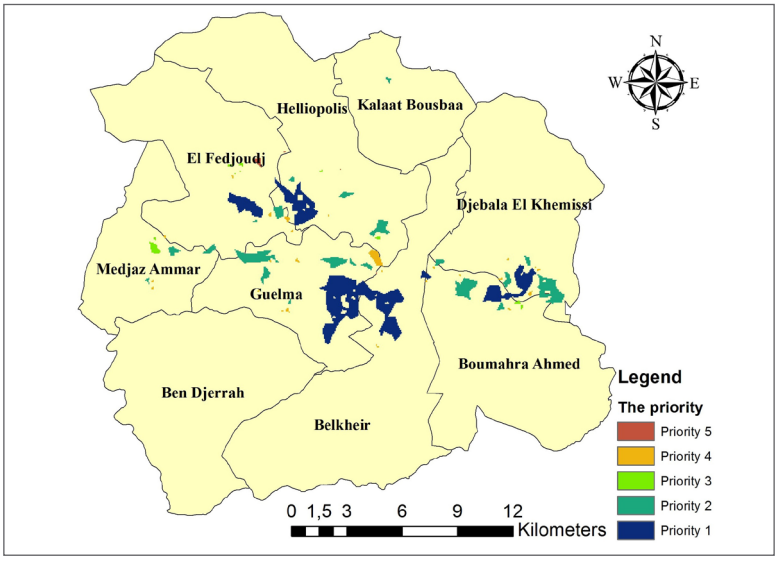
PHS	D_i^+	D_i^-	$D_i^+ + D_i^-$	C_i
P1	0.00131646	0.02005466	0.02137111	0.93840022
P2	0.01539643	0.01162244	0.02701887	0.43016003
P3	0.00478057	0.01828635	0.02306692	0.79275209
P4	0.00491924	0.02014988	0.02506911	0.80377302
P5	0.01390805	0.01441117	0.02831922	0.50888295
P6	0.01655444	0.01346802	0.03002246	0.44859812
P7	0.00483952	0.01991647	0.02475599	0.80451119
…				
…				
P68	0.01045463	0.01860478	0.02905941	0.64023251

Source: Calculation by the authors.

Table 5: Calculation of (D_i^+), (D_i^-) and C_i

In summary, the C_i values indicate the suitability of each location for sustainable urban growth, with higher C_i values suggesting stronger suitability. Locations like P1, P3, P4, P7, and P68 stand out as strong candidates, while P2, P5, and P6 are also suitable but to a slightly lesser degree based on the criteria considered in the analysis.

Using the GIS, the ranking results of suitable urban growth are shown in Figure 9.



Source: Calculation by the authors. Own design.

Figure 9: Priority of the highest suitability for sustainable urban growth in the Guelma region (the highest priority is priority 1)

Based on Figure 9, it is evident that the most favourable or the top choices for future urban expansion in the Guelma region are concentrated within the communes of Guelma, Belkhair, and El Boulis, with some additional areas located in El Fedjouj. These areas appear to have the highest suitability for sustainable urban growth based on the criteria and analyses conducted. Therefore, these communes and specific areas within them are recommended as the prime locations for future urban development in the Guelma region.

5 Discussion

The discussion of the results presented in this study provides valuable insights into the suitability of different areas within the Guelma region for sustainable urban growth. Here's a comprehensive discussion based on the findings:

5.1 Land Cover Changes and Urban Growth

The analysis of land cover changes over the past three decades, as shown in Figure 5, reveals a significant increase in urban land cover in the Guelma municipal grouping. This expansion is particularly concentrated in the municipality of Guelma, signifying its importance as a centre for urban services and growth. The substantial urban growth observed has implications not only for the municipality itself but also for the surrounding communes and the broader region.

5.2 Environmental Concerns and Socio-Economic Considerations

Sustainable urban development necessitates the preservation of agricultural and forested lands, as highlighted in this study. Factors such as maintaining a safe distance from forests, avoiding river streams, and considering land cover types are crucial to minimise environmental damage associated with urban expansion. The findings emphasise the importance of integrating environmental criteria into urban planning processes to protect valuable natural resources.

Proximity to urban centres, accessibility via road networks, and population density are socio-economic factors that influence urban growth suitability. These factors impact the cost of development, residents' access to essential services, and overall urban liveability. The results underscore the need to strike a balance between economic development and environmental preservation.

5.3 Multi-Criteria Decision Analysis (MCDA) and Identification of Suitable Areas

The study employed a multi-criteria decision analysis (MCDA) approach, combining Geographic Information System (GIS), Analytic Hierarchy Process (AHP), and Technique

for Order Preference by Similarity to Ideal Solution (TOPSIS) methods. This integrated approach allowed for a comprehensive assessment of various criteria and their relative importance in determining suitable locations for urban expansion.

The Analytic Hierarchy Process (AHP) is a versatile method that can be effectively integrated with other techniques such as linear programming and Technique for Order Preference by Similarity to Ideal Solution (TOPSIS). It provides an efficient approach to tackle complex decision problems, particularly in determining the weights for suitability criteria. AHP offers a well-structured methodology for calculating these weights and standardising criteria. As indicated by Zhang et al. (2015), AHP stands out as a superior method for weight calculation compared to alternatives because it allows for the measurement and resolution of discrepancies within the system when dealing with competing criteria.

The effectiveness of AHP in weight determination has been widely recognised in the literature and has found extensive applications in land suitability modelling, as demonstrated by studies such as Pilevar et al. (2020), Ramya and Devedas (2019), Kazazi Darani et al. (2018), Pramanik (2016), and Mosadeghi et al. (2015).

However, it's important to acknowledge that AHP has its limitations, as noted by Park et al. 2011. It relies on questionnaire surveys to establish relative weights, which can be time-consuming in technical applications. Additionally, due to the aggregation of results, there is a potential for compensation between high scores on some criteria and low scores on others. Other drawbacks include potential biases in stakeholder perspectives, concerns about result repeatability, and subjectivity in assigning weights to suitability criteria.

On the other hand, TOPSIS is a compensatory aggregation technique that utilises linear functions, such as the arithmetic mean (Bandura 2008), which is a common method for developing composite indicators. Its primary advantage lies in its simplicity and ease of replication. However, TOPSIS tends to overlook imbalances between sub-indicators and the composite index, which can lead to variations in the prioritised list (OECD et al. 2008). To address this issue, approaches like the Constant Elasticity of Substitution (Mazziotta and Pareto 2013) can be employed to calculate distances between ideal and anti-ideal solutions, helping to mitigate the problem.

In summary, both AHP and TOPSIS offer valuable tools for multi-criteria decision-making, with AHP excelling in terms of its capability to address discrepancies in competing criteria, while TOPSIS offers simplicity and ease of replication. Careful consideration of their respective strengths and limitations is essential when selecting the most appropriate method for a given decision problem.

Based on the analysis, specific communes within the Guelma region were identified as highly suitable for future urban growth. Communes such as Guelma, Belkhair, El Boulis, and El Fedjouj emerged as prime candidates for sustainable urban development. These areas scored highest in terms of meeting the defined criteria, indicating their potential to accommodate urban expansion while minimising negative impacts on the environment.

The findings of this study hold significant implications for urban planning and policy-making in the Guelma region. They provide valuable guidance for decision-makers in identifying appropriate locations for future development, thereby preventing urban sprawl that encroaches upon agricultural and forested lands. By prioritising areas with higher suit-

ability scores, the government can make informed choices to promote sustainable urban growth and address the challenges associated with rapid urbanisation.

While this research has provided valuable insights into urban growth suitability in the Guelma region, it is essential to acknowledge that the findings may not directly apply to other regions with different urbanisation patterns and socio-economic conditions. The Guelma region has its unique characteristics and challenges, and the proposed AHP-GeoTOPSIS method's effectiveness may vary in different contexts. To adapt and apply this methodology to other regions, several considerations should be taken into account.

Firstly, different regions have distinct socio-economic dynamics, land use patterns, and environmental factors. It's crucial to tailor the criteria and weights used in the AHP-GeoTOPSIS method to match the specific context of the region under study. Conducting local stakeholder consultations and expert opinions can help refine the criteria and their relative importance.

Secondly, the availability and quality of data can vary widely between regions. Researchers should assess the data sources and ensure that they are relevant, up-to-date, and reliable for the specific region. In some cases, additional data collection efforts may be necessary to fill data gaps.

Thirdly, the AHP-GeoTOPSIS method may need adjustments to suit the characteristics of the target region. Different regions may require variations in the selection of criteria or alternative multi-criteria decision analysis methods based on their unique needs and challenges. Additionally, regional variations in governance structures, policies, and regulations can significantly impact the applicability of the proposed method. Researchers should consider the local policy environment and engage with local authorities to ensure alignment with regional development goals. Lastly, some regions may have specific environmental or cultural preservation requirements that must be integrated into the suitability analysis. These factors may not be present in the same way in all regions and should be considered accordingly.

In summary, while the AHP-GeoTOPSIS method presented in this study offers a valuable framework for assessing urban growth suitability, its successful application in different regions depends on contextualisation, data availability, methodological adaptation, policy alignment, and consideration of unique environmental and cultural factors. Researchers and urban planners should approach the adaptation of this method to new regions with careful consideration of these factors to ensure its effectiveness and relevance.

5.4 Future Directions

This research contributes to the growing body of knowledge on sustainable urban planning. Future studies in this area can build upon the methodologies used here and incorporate additional criteria, including climate resilience, social equity, and cultural preservation, to further refine the selection of suitable urban expansion sites.

In conclusion, the study's integrated approach to assessing urban growth suitability in the Guelma region provides a valuable framework for addressing the complex challenges of balancing economic development with environmental preservation. The identified com-

munes offer a starting point for strategic urban planning that aims to achieve sustainability while meeting the evolving needs of the population and the region as a whole.

5.5 Potential Limitations and Their Impact on the Study's Outcomes

It is important to acknowledge several potential limitations that may impact our study's outcomes and the broader applicability of our findings. First, our research is regionally specific to the Guelma region in Algeria, limiting its generalisability to other areas with distinct characteristics. Data limitations, including quality and accuracy issues, could affect the precision of suitability assessments. Subjectivity in assigning criteria weights introduces potential bias, and our study offers a snapshot of suitability, not accounting for long-term changes. The absence of stakeholder engagement and the exclusion of cultural and climate factors further constrain the study's scope.

These limitations underscore the need for careful consideration and adaptation when applying our methodology to different regions and emphasise the importance of ongoing data validation, stakeholder involvement, and dynamic suitability assessments in urban planning processes.

6 Conclusion

Over time, the ongoing expansion of urbanisation poses a significant challenge to the capacity of available land to meet the demands of urban growth. Therefore, it is imperative to incorporate environmental and socio-economic factors into urban land management practices from the early stages of the planning process to ensure the long-term sustainability of cities. Balancing the need to accommodate current requirements while mitigating the impact of human activities represents a complex issue that necessitates innovative solutions. It becomes evident that there exists an imbalance between urban expansion and sustainability, driven by factors such as a lack of suitable locations, financial constraints, and underutilisation of information technology.

In this study, we propose the AHP-GeoTOPSIS method for assessing land-use suitability for sustainable urban growth. This approach leverages the strengths of both the AHP and TOPSIS methodologies. The integrated model, combining GIS, AHP, and TOPSIS, provides a valuable tool for analysing areas conducive to urban growth. This method adopts a multi-criteria approach to problem-solving, which is then further refined and prioritised within a hierarchical framework. The model utilises ArcGIS for spatial data analysis, AHP to determine criteria weights, and TOPSIS to evaluate and rank the selected alternatives or parcels.

A total of 10 criteria were identified and employed in this research to assess the suitability of urban land use in the Guelma region for sustainability. The analysis revealed that approximately 19.47 square kilometers of land in the Guelma region are highly suitable for urban land use, with notable percentages in various communes, including 32.33 percent in Guelma commune, 15.51 percent in Boulis, 15 percent in Belkhair, 13.87 percent in

Djballa Khmissi, 10.53 percent in Boumahra, 8.79 percent in El Fdjouj, and 3.08 percent in Mjaz Amar. This study underscores the importance of focusing on macro-urbanisation rather than micro-urbanisation for the future urban growth of Guelma, urging consideration beyond the Intercommunal Group of Guelma.

The findings of this research hold significant implications for urban planners and local governing bodies in meeting the future needs of the population. Similar studies could be extended to other cities to quantify urban sprawl and assess the extent of environmental impact resulting from urbanisation. Future research endeavours in this domain should consider employing high spatial and spectral resolution satellite imagery to enhance the precision of planning and development initiatives.

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Berichte und Kleine Mitteilungen

Reports and Notes

Der Wandel anthropogen geprägter Raumstrukturen von den Jäger- und Sammlergesellschaften bis zur Gegenwart

Ein geographischer Blick auf die materiellen Auswirkungen sich verändernder Mensch-Umwelt-Beziehungen vor dem Hintergrund der aktuellen Umweltprobleme

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Inhalt

Zusammenfassung 339
Summary 340
1 Einführung: Problemstellung und wissenschaftstheoretische Grundlegung 340
2 Die Raumstrukturen der Jäger- und Sammlergesellschaften 341
3 Die Raumstrukturen der egalitären Bauerngesellschaften 342
4 Die Raumstrukturen der Stadtstaaten und Großreiche 343
5 Die Raumstrukturen der Industriegesellschaften 345
6 Die Raumstrukturen der Dienstleistungsgesellschaften 346
7 Raumveränderung und Umweltzerstörung 348
8 Literaturverzeichnis 349

Zusammenfassung

Die anthropogen geprägten Raumstrukturen sind mehr als nur gebaute Infrastrukturen, sondern materieller Ausdruck des menschlichen Umweltbezugs. In diesem Beitrag werden die verschiedenen Raumstrukturen, die sich in der menschlichen Geschichte herausgebildet haben, mit ihrem jeweiligen Umweltbezug dargestellt. Die Raumstrukturen der Gegenwart sind Ausdruck unserer heutigen gravierenden Umweltprobleme (Behandlung der Natur als Material, grenzenloses Wachstum von Wirtschaft und Bedürfnissen), und eine Lösung dieser Probleme ist nur möglich, wenn auch diese Raumstrukturen grundsätzlich verändert werden. Damit wird zugleich deutlich, dass einer geographisch-integrativen Raumanalyse auch heute eine große Bedeutung zukommt.

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Summary

The Transformation of Anthropogenic Spatial Structures from Hunter-Gatherer Societies until Present Time. A Geographical View of the Material Effects of Changing Human-Environment Relations in the Light of Current Environmental Issues

The spatial structures, created by humans are more than just built infrastructures, but rather material expressions of human relationship with the environment. This article presents the various spatial structures that have developed throughout human history with their respective environmental references. The spatial structures of today are an expression of our serious environment problems (treating nature as material, infinite growth of economy and needs), and a solution to these problems is only possible, if these spatial structures are also fundamentally changed. At the same time, it becomes clear that a geographically integrative spatial analysis is still very important today.

1 Einführung: Problemstellung und wissenschaftstheoretische Grundlegung

Für die traditionelle Geographie stand die Gestaltung der Landschaften der Erde als Ergebnis der Wechselwirkungen zwischen naturräumlichen Dynamiken und menschlichen Handlungen im Zentrum ihres fachspezifischen Interesses. Auch wenn wichtige Teilaspekte dieser Konzeption heute problematisch geworden sind und nicht mehr fortgeführt werden können,[1] so ist diese Konzeption wegen ihrer Breite und ihrer integrativen Dimension keinesfalls überholt. Ihr kommt im Zeitalter des „Anthropozän" – integrative Wissenschaftskonzeptionen werden zur Lösung der aktuellen Probleme der Erde besonders wichtig – sogar eine neue Bedeutung zu (Bätzing 2022).

Im Rahmen der traditionellen Landschaftsgeographie haben sich Geographen immer wieder mit der geschichtlichen Entwicklung der anthropogenen Umweltveränderungen beschäftigt und dazu relevante Beiträge geliefert, auch wenn dies heute fast in Vergessenheit geraten ist (Fels 1954; Bobek 1959; Neef 1969; Hambloch 1983 und 1986; Goudie 1994; zuletzt Ehlers 2008).

Da die große Gefahr besteht, die aktuellen Umweltprobleme nur verkürzt wahrzunehmen, weil man sich an den heute selbstverständlich gewordenen Idealen von Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft, Umwelt und Welt orientiert, hat der Autor dieses Beitrages eine Geschichte des Mensch-Umwelt-Verhältnisses erarbeitet, bei der er sich im Bereich der Theorie auf die Philosophische Anthropologie (vor allem Helmuth Plessner) und im Bereich der Empirie auf die Geographie (integrative Regions- oder Landschaftsanalysen) bezieht (Bätzing 2023). Durch die geschichtliche Entwicklung wird deutlich, dass die heutigen Umweltprobleme keineswegs „typisch menschlich" sind und dass sie erst seit Kurzem eine zerstörerische Dimension erreicht haben, für die es in der Geschichte des Menschen nichts Vergleichbares gibt.

Üblicherweise werden heute die Klimaerwärmung und der Rückgang der Artenvielfalt als die größten Umweltprobleme angesehen. Aber dies stellt eine verkürzte Sichtweise dar, die der Komplexität der aktuellen Umweltprobleme nicht gerecht wird. Zu den Umweltproblemen, die oft übersehen werden, gehören auch die anthropogen geschaffenen Raumstrukturen. Sie sind keineswegs nur gebaute Infrastrukturen, sondern materieller Ausdruck des menschlichen Umweltbezugs oder – in philosophischer Terminologie – ein zentraler Teil der Zweiten Natur des Menschen.

[1] Zur Kritik siehe Bätzing 2021, S. 159ff und Bätzing 2010, S. 120ff; als Beispiel für eine aktuelle Umsetzung ohne diese problematischen Elemente siehe Bätzing 2015.

Deshalb legt dieser Beitrag den Fokus auf diese Thematik, und er möchte zeigen, dass einer geographisch-integrativen Konzeption bei der Analyse der gegenwärtigen Umweltproblematik ein wichtiger Stellenwert zukommt.

Die folgende Darstellung verzichtet auf detaillierte Quellen- und Literaturangaben, weil es in der Abteilung „Berichte und kleine Mitteilungen" primär um Diskussionsanstöße geht. Wer an Hintergrundinformationen interessiert ist, sei auf die genannte Monographie (Bätzing 2023) verwiesen.

2 Die Raumstrukturen der Jäger- und Sammlergesellschaften

Jäger- und Sammlergesellschaften nutzen das, was die Natur von sich aus – also ohne menschliche Eingriffe oder Veränderungen – hervorbringt, und sie sorgen lediglich mittels Buschbränden in begrenztem Rahmen dafür, dass Verbuschungs- und Verwaldungsprozesse verhindert werden und Landschaften ihren offenen Charakter behalten.

Da die von ihnen gesammelten Pflanzen zu unterschiedlichen Zeiten im Jahr wachsen und Früchte tragen und die zu jagenden Tiere weiträumige Wanderungen im Jahreslauf vollziehen, ist für Jäger und Sammler an *einem* Ort jeweils nur für sehr begrenzte Zeit ein ausreichendes Nahrungsangebot vorhanden. Das bedeutet, dass sie mobil sein und im Jahresverlauf großräumige Wanderungen durchführen müssen. Diese Wanderungen führen jedoch nur in Ausnahmefällen in neue Regionen. Jagen und Sammeln sind vorausschauende Tätigkeiten, bei denen die Menschen die konkreten Bedingungen des pflanzlichen und tierischen Wachstums und die damit verbundenen räumlichen Veränderungen sehr gut kennen müssen. Dieses Erfahrungswissen ist die Voraussetzung für ein erfolgreiches Sammeln und Jagen. Deshalb werden im Jahresverlauf immer wieder die gleichen Regionen aufgesucht, deren naturräumliche Eigenschaften und Dynamiken den Jägern und Sammlern sehr bekannt sind und die ihren Lebensraum oder ihr Territorium darstellen.

Die Territorien von Jäger- und Sammlergruppen können unterschiedlich groß sein: Wenn das Sammeln dominiert und lediglich wenige Kleinsäuger gejagt werden, dann kann es eher kleiner sein; wenn die Jagd eine wichtige Rolle spielt, muss es größer sein, und Großwildjäger benötigen sehr große Territorien. Zugleich spielt die natürlich vorkommende Menge an Lebensmitteln eine Rolle: In den Gunstregionen der Erde ist das Territorium einer Gruppe eher kleiner, in den Ungunstregionen (Trockensavannen, Halbwüsten, subpolare Regionen) dagegen sehr groß. Im Vergleich mit späteren Nutzungsformen sind die Bevölkerungs- und Nutzungsdichten jedoch überall sehr gering.

Wie bereits angedeutet, nutzen Jäger- und Sammlergesellschaften die Natur nicht „einfach so", also auf eine spontane oder unmittelbare Weise: Sie bauen im Lauf der Zeit eine sehr enge Bindung zu ihrem Territorium auf, und die Erfahrungen und Erlebnisse ihrer Vorfahren, die von Generation zu Generation weitererzählt werden, sind für sie überall in der Landschaft präsent. Deshalb sind sehr viele Orte in ihrem Territorium mit spezifischen, nicht austauschbaren Traditionen angefüllt und besetzt. Dadurch erhält die vom Menschen nicht oder kaum veränderte Naturlandschaft eine menschliche Prägung. In den Worten eines Vertreters der australischen Aborigines wird das so ausgedrückt: „Das Nitmiluk-Gebiet ist kein wilder Raum [...], es ist ein Ergebnis der menschlichen Tätigkeit. Es ist eine von uns in Zehntausenden von Jahren durch unsere Zeremonien und unsere Verwandtschaftsbande, durch das Buschfeuer und durch die Jagd geformte Erde" (Descola 2005, S. 68, der Marcia Langton 1998 zitiert).

Auch wenn Jäger und Sammler die vorgefundenen Naturlandschaften nicht oder nur randlich (durch Buschfeuer) materiell verändern, so verändern sie sie für sich selbst doch auf eine immaterielle Weise so stark, dass man von ideellen Kulturlandschaften im geographischen Sinn sprechen kann. Allerdings ist diese Wahrnehmung unmittelbar an die Jäger und Sammler gebunden, die dort leben, und andere Menschen nehmen entweder davon gar nichts wahr oder können die wenigen

Symbole (wie Felszeichnungen, Malereien, Schalensteine) nicht verstehen, wenn sie nicht von einer einheimischen Person in diese Welt eingeführt werden.

Jedes Territorium einer Jäger- und Sammlergruppe, das im Normalfall für andere Gruppen tabu ist, stellt eine geschlossene, sich selbst versorgende Welt dar, die sich selbst genügt. Daher besteht die Raumstruktur der Jäger und Sammler aus vielen einzelnen, nebeneinander liegenden und autonomen Zellen, also aus einer rein dezentralen Struktur. Aber auch innerhalb der einzelnen, relativ großen Zellen findet sich eine dezentrale Struktur, indem es auf Grund der saisonalen Wanderungen kaum Orte oder Teilräume gibt, die eine Dominanz über andere besitzen.

3 Die Raumstrukturen der egalitären Bauerngesellschaften

Mit der Entstehung der Landwirtschaft oder der Züchtung von Nutzpflanzen und Haustieren greift der Mensch erstmals in seiner Geschichte tief in die vorgefundene Natur ein und verändert sie flächenhaft nach seinen Bedürfnissen. Jetzt ist nicht mehr die Natur, sondern jetzt sind die anthropogen veränderten Pflanzen und Tiere seine Lebensgrundlage. Damit diese gut wachsen und sich vermehren, wandeln die Bauern die Naturlandschaften durch Vegetationsveränderungen, Waldrodungen, Be- und Entwässerungen und durch die Anlage von Deichen, Kanälen und Terrassen in Kulturlandschaften um.

Die Kulturpflanzen umfassen große Flächen, da Nutzpflanzen und Haustiere – genauso wie alle nicht-kultivierten Pflanzen und Tiere – Solarenergie zum Wachsen benötigen, die nur dezentral und in jeweils kleinen Einheiten auf die Erdoberfläche trifft. Da diese Nutzflächen permanent einen großen Arbeitseinsatz erfordern – Säen, Ernten, Düngen, Bewässern, Abwehr von pflanzlichen, tierischen und menschlichen Nahrungskonkurrenten – müssen die Menschen in der Nähe dieser Flächen leben. Weil bei großen Siedlungen die täglichen Wegzeiten zu den Nutzflächen zu lang werden und weil eine einzelne Familie allein nicht überlebensfähig ist, entstehen überall auf der Welt kleinere Siedlungen oder „Dörfer“.[2)] Ihre größere oder kleinere Einwohnerzahl hängt davon ab, welche Nutzungsdichte der Naturraum ermöglicht und auf welche Weise die angemessene Mitte zwischen Siedlungsgröße und Flurnähe in den einzelnen Regionen interpretiert wird.

In der Regel liegen diese Dörfer im Zentrum der von ihnen genutzten Landwirtschaftsflächen, in unmittelbarer Nähe zu den besten Böden, die immer am arbeitsintensivsten genutzt werden. Je weiter die Flächen vom Dorf entfernt liegen, desto arbeitsextensiver werden sie genutzt, und in der Peripherie findet statt einer familiären Nutzung oft eine gemeinschaftliche Nutzung des gesamten Dorfes statt, weil die Erträge hier so gering sind.

Nach der Ernte werden die auf großen Flächen produzierten Lebensmittel im Dorf zusammengetragen und lagerfähig und haltbar gemacht. Damit wird die dezentral geerntete Solarenergie räumlich konzentriert und für eine gewisse Zeit gespeichert.

In Europa wird diese Raumstruktur – ein Dorf mit der ihr zugehörigen Nutzfläche – „Flur“ oder „Gemarkung“ genannt, aber solche Strukturen gibt es auch auf anderen Kontinenten. Grundlage des bäuerlichen Lebens ist es, dass die Bauern eines Dorfes „ihre“ Flur selbst nutzen, dass sie die Art und Weise der Nutzung selbst gestalten und dass keine anderen Menschen auf diesen Flächen Nutzungsrechte haben. Dadurch ist gewährleistet, dass die Arbeit, die die Bauern eines Dorfes in ihre Flur investieren, ihnen auch selbst zugutekommt.

[2)] An dieser Stelle wird der normativ besetzte Begriff „Dorf“ anstelle des neutralen Begriffs „kleinere Siedlung“ gebraucht, auch wenn die Größe dieser Siedlungen ziemlich unterschiedlich sein kann.

In der ersten Phase der Bauerngesellschaften, die mehrere tausend Jahre lang dauert, sind alle Familien eines Dorfes gleich begütert und gleichberechtigt, so dass es sich um egalitäre Gesellschaften handelt.

Bei den bäuerlichen Raumstrukturen handelt es sich um Kulturlandschaften, also um anthropogen veränderte Flächen oder Vegetationsgesellschaften, auf denen der Mensch bestimmt, welche Pflanzen und Tiere wo wachsen und sich vermehren sollen. Im Normalfall gibt es in solchen Kulturlandschaften oft bestimmte Landschaftsteile, die sich der Nutzung sperren (Felsen, Moore, Seen, Vulkane, Karstflächen, Teile von Gebirgen) und die als Naturlandschaftselemente mitten in der Kulturlandschaft erhalten bleiben. Und die traditionellen Kulturlandschaften ebnen die vorgefundenen naturräumlichen Unterschiede zwischen trockeneren und feuchteren, steileren und flacheren, sonnenexponierten und schattigen oder tief- und flachgründigen Standorten nicht ein, sondern nutzen sie jeweils auf unterschiedliche Weise, ebenso wie sie ihre Nutzungsintensitäten kleinräumig an die vorgefundenen naturräumlichen Unterschiede anpassen. Dadurch sind diese Kulturlandschaften ausgesprochen kleinräumig und vielfältig geprägt.

Da diese Kulturlandschaften einen anthropogenen Ursprung besitzen, sind sie aus sich heraus ökologisch nicht stabil und tendieren stets dazu, wieder zu verwildern und zum Naturzustand zurückzukehren. Da Bauern dadurch ihre Lebensgrundlage verlieren würden, müssen sie ihre Kulturlandschaften systematisch ökologisch stabilisieren, indem sie ihre Nutzungen so gestalten, dass sich die Vegetation gut regeneriert, und indem sie zusätzlich viele Pflege- und Reparaturarbeiten aufwenden.

Deshalb betrachten die Bauern die von ihnen genutzten und veränderten Kulturlandschaften nicht nur als Wirtschaftslandschaft, sondern auch als ihre Lebensgrundlage, für deren langfristigen Erhalt sie sich verantwortlich fühlen. Und sie erkennen in diesen Landschaften ihre eigene Arbeit und die Arbeit früherer Generationen sowie ihre permanente Auseinandersetzung mit der Natur wieder. Damit gibt es bei egalitären Bauerngesellschaften eine Korrespondenz zwischen Außenwelt und Innenwelt.

Die Raumstrukturen, die jetzt neu entstehen, sind erneut Zellen, die parallel nebeneinander liegen: Jedes Dorf ist wirtschaftlich autark, versorgt sich selbst aus seiner Flur heraus, organisiert seine Vorratshaltung selbst und erledigt alle notwendigen Handwerkstätigkeiten und Dienstleistungen innerhalb der eigenen Familie. Daher stellt jedes Dorf einen Mikrokosmos, eine eigene Welt dar, die autark existiert und die auch ihren Sinn – eine eigenständige Lebensgestaltung in enger Verbindung mit der Natur – in sich selbst trägt.

Im Unterschied zur Raumstruktur der Jäger und Sammler sind die bäuerlichen Zellen sehr viel kleiner, und sie besitzen mit dem Dorf auch eine Art „Zellkern“, der Jägern und Sammlern fehlt. Gemeinsam ist diesen Zellen aber, dass sie – aufgrund des Fehlens räumlicher Arbeitsteilungen und der sehr langsamen und mühevollen Transporte (das Rad ist noch nicht erfunden) – parallel und gleichberechtigt nebeneinander liegen, dass sie wenig miteinander zu tun haben und dass eine übergeordnete Raumstruktur vollständig fehlt.

4 Die Raumstrukturen der Stadtstaaten und Großreiche

Einige tausend Jahre nach der Entstehung der Landwirtschaft entstehen die ersten Städte und mit ihnen Stadtstaaten und später Großreiche, die große Räume zentralistisch kontrollieren.

Die Entstehung der Stadt fällt zusammen mit der Entstehung von räumlichen Arbeitsteilungen – die Stadt muss vom Land mit Lebensmitteln, Energie (Holzkohle), Rohstoffen und verschiedensten (Bau-)Materialien versorgt werden –, einer stark arbeitsteiligen und hochspezialisierten Wirtschaft im sekundären und tertiären Wirtschaftssektor (Überschusswirtschaft an Stelle von Selbstversor-

gung), einem absolutistischen Gott-König als Alleinherrscher und sehr großen sozialen und ökonomischen Gegensätzen.

Während man lange Zeit meinte, Städte hätten sich aus immer größer werdenden Dörfern entwickelt, so weiß man heute, dass Dorf und Stadt so unterschiedliche Strukturen und Mentalitäten besitzen (Selbstversorgung – Überschusswirtschaft; nicht-spezialisiertes Wirtschaften – Arbeitsteilung; Selbstverwaltung – Herrschaft), dass dies eher unwahrscheinlich ist. Deshalb dürfte sich die Stadt nicht aus einem Dorf, sondern aus einer eigenständigen Wurzel heraus entwickelt haben, nämlich aus einem zentralen, regional bedeutsamen Heiligtum oder Tempel,[3] an dem regelmäßig sehr viele Menschen aus vielen unterschiedlichen Dörfern zusammenkommen, die nur durch ihre gemeinsame Religion miteinander verbunden sind.

Zentral wichtig für diese Stadtgesellschaften ist es, dass die zentralen städtischen Errungenschaften und Innovationen – Arbeitsteilung und Spezialisierung und damit die Abkehr von der Selbstversorgung – nicht auf das Land übertragen werden können, weil die von der Sonnenenergie abhängige Landwirtschaft kaum räumlich konzentriert werden kann.[4] Deshalb können die landwirtschaftlichen Strukturen nicht tiefgreifend modernisiert werden, sondern die bäuerliche Selbstversorgung bleibt erhalten, und lediglich die einzelne Bauernfamilie wird mit militärischer, juristischer oder religiöser Macht gezwungen, einen (größeren oder kleineren) Teil ihres landwirtschaftlichen Ertrags an die Stadt abzuführen. Und da dieser Ertrag nicht beliebig gesteigert werden kann, und es etwa zehn Personen auf dem Land braucht, um eine Person in der Stadt mit zu ernähren, ist die Einwohnergröße einer Stadt – und damit auch ihre Wirtschaftskraft – grundsätzlich limitiert: Die städtische Wirtschaft und Kultur kann nur in dem Rahmen aufblühen, der durch die kleinen Überschüsse im Rahmen der ländlichen Selbstversorgung ermöglicht wird.

Trotz der großen Fortschritte ist das städtische Leben und Wirtschaften fragil: Viele Stadtgründungen erfüllen die mit ihnen verbundenen Erwartungen nicht und verzeichnen eine eher kümmerliche Entwicklung oder verschwinden bald wieder, viele andere Städte erleben einen kurzen Aufschwung und einen langen Niedergang, und nur wenige Städte erfahren eine sehr große wirtschaftliche kulturelle und bauliche Blüte – diese wenigen Städte prägen jedoch unser Bild der Stadt, aber auch diese Städte verschwinden in der Regel nach wenigen Jahrhunderten wieder.[5] Noch extremer ist die Entwicklung der glanzvollen und bis heute bekannten Großreiche: Sie haben – mit der weltweiten Ausnahme von Ägypten und China – eine recht kurze Lebenszeit und brechen nach wenigen hundert Jahren wieder zusammen. Da jedoch die städtischen Gesellschaften Schrift und Zahl entwickeln, gehen ihre Erfahrungen und Errungenschaften beim Zusammenbruch von Stadtstaaten und Großreichen nicht verloren, sondern werden in schriftlicher Form an spätere Gesellschaften weitergegeben.

Während sich die bäuerlichen Kulturlandschaften im Kontext der Stadtstaaten und Großreiche eher wenig ändern – eine Reihe von Intensivierungen und von räumlichen Erweiterungen schlägt sich auch im Landschaftsbild nieder – entstehen mit den Städten völlig neue Stadtlandschaften. Diese sind geprägt durch eine absolute menschliche Dominanz, die ganz bewusst nach Formen und Raumstrukturen sucht, die die Herrschaft des Gottkönigs über die Natur und über seine Untertanen ausdrücken. Deshalb werden viele neue Städte mit einem geometrischen Grundriss – Kreis, Stern, Quadrat als Stadtgrundriss – konzipiert, also mit Formen, die in den Naturlandschaften der Erde nicht vorkommen. Die Menschen erkennen jetzt in der Stadtlandschaft nicht mehr sich selbst, sondern in erster Linie ihre Herrschaft.

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[3] Diese These wurde von Lewis MUMFORD (1963, S. 9 und 32) entwickelt und vor einiger Zeit vom Archäologen Klaus SCHMIDT (2008, S. 248ff) aktualisiert.

[4] Eine Überschusswirtschaft kann im Rahmen der Landwirtschaft erst ab den 1960er Jahren entwickelt werden.

[5] Dies ist die zentrale These von WOOLF 2022.

Das Zusammenspiel von stabilem Land und labiler Stadt sorgt dafür, dass bei einem städtischen Zusammenbruch das Land wie zuvor weiterlebt und weiterwirtschaftet, so dass nach einer gewissen Zeit, in der sich die städtisch genutzten Ressourcen wieder erholen, neue Städte und neue Großreiche entstehen können. Und dieses Zusammenspiel prägt die Welt bis zum Beginn der Industriellen Revolution.

Die Raumstruktur, die in dieser Zeit entsteht, zerstört die dezentralen ländlichen Zellen nicht, aber überlagert sie: Die Städte stellen starke Knotenpunkte mit hohen Konzentrationen von Menschen, Reichtum und Macht dar, die einerseits viele umliegende Zellen beherrschen und kontrollieren und die andererseits mit vielen weit entfernten Knotenpunkten durch Handel, geistigen Austausch und Politik verbunden sind. Damit entstehen erstmals weitreichende räumliche Verflechtungen zwischen weit entfernten Orten und eine räumliche Abhängigkeit zwischen städtischen Knotenpunkten (Zentren) und ländlichen Zellen (Peripherien).

5 Die Raumstruktur der Industriegesellschaften

Mit der Industriellen Revolution wird das Wirtschaften auf eine völlig neue Grundlage gestellt:

- Die technische Erschließung der fossilen Energieressourcen der Erde (Kohle, Öl) und ihre Nutzung mittels Maschinen vervielfacht die Produktivität der menschlichen Arbeit.
- Die Behandlung der Natur als Ressource ohne jeden Eigenwert, die durch die modernen Naturwissenschaften eingeübt wird, beseitigt zahlreiche traditionelle Nutzungsschranken kultureller oder religiöser Art und führt zu großen Umweltbelastungen.
- Das Geld wandelt sich von einem Tauschmittel (Erleichterung des Austauschs von Gütern und Dienstleistungen) zur bloßen Recheneinheit und zum Selbstzweck (aus Geld mehr Geld machen), und ermöglicht so ein kreditbasiertes Wirtschaften.
- Die zentralen Normen und Werte entkoppeln sich von allen räumlichen und zeitlichen Begrenzungen des Lebens auf der Erde und orientieren sich an abstrakten, unendlichen Steigerungsmöglichkeiten (schneller, höher, weiter = besser).

Diese vier Veränderungen führen zu einer völlig neuen Form des Wirtschaftens: An die Stelle des Wirtschaftens zum Zweck der Befriedigung menschlicher Bedürfnisse in Form der Selbstversorger- oder der Überschusswirtschaft tritt jetzt ein Wirtschaften, das Güter und Dienstleistungen nur deshalb herstellt und verkauft, um Gewinn zu erzielen, um also aus Geld mehr Geld zu machen – das Wirtschaften wird zum Selbstzweck, bei dem nicht mehr der Mensch, sondern ein abstraktes Prinzip im Zentrum steht.[6)]

So sehr die Wirtschaft seit der Industriellen Revolution von diesem neuen Prinzip geprägt wird, so darf man andererseits nicht übersehen, dass sich das neue Wirtschaften bis nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg nur auf den sekundären Wirtschaftssektor konzentriert. Der tertiäre (Dienstleistungen) und der primäre Wirtschaftssektor (Land- und Forstwirtschaft) werden davon noch nicht erfasst und verbleiben in ihren vormodernen Strukturen. Auch die Verhaltensweisen der Menschen orientieren sich weiterhin an traditionellen Werten und Normen, bei denen Gruppenidentitäten (auch in der neuen Arbeiterbewegung) eine wichtige Rolle spielen. Noch ist diese neue Form des Wirtschaftens eher ein inselhaftes Phänomen, auch wenn es bereits die gesamte Gesellschaft dominiert.

Da die Landwirtschaft bis zum Beginn der 1960er Jahre nicht modernisiert werden kann, zeigen sich die Raumveränderungen am stärksten im Bereich der Städte: Industrielles Wirtschaften kann dank seiner Unabhängigkeit von der (dezentralen) Sonnenenergie räumlich sehr stark konzentriert

[6)] Aus diesem Grund nennt Werner Plumpe 2019 sein großes Werk über diese Wirtschaftsform „Das kalte Herz".

werden, und räumliche Konzentrationen ermöglichen große Kostenvorteile, so dass sehr dicht bebaute Industriestädte und Industriegebiete entstehen, in denen sich das Wirtschaften sehr viel stärker als früher ballt. Diese neuen Stadtlandschaften zeigen in ihrer baulichen Struktur, dass es diesem Wirtschaften nicht um den Menschen, sondern um ein abstraktes Ziel geht: Die Gebäude werden möglichst kostengünstig errichtet (uniform, eng, funktional), und Umweltschutz und Lebensqualität spielen aus Kostengründen keine Rolle (starke Luft-, Boden- und Wasserverschmutzungen, ungesunde Lebensverhältnisse: „Black County"). Auch wenn später die größten Umweltbelastungen zum Teil beseitigt werden, so bleibt die industrielle Stadtstruktur durch die Logik der Kostenminimierung geprägt.

Da die Landwirtschaft nicht modernisiert werden kann, bleiben die traditionellen Kulturlandschaften im Großen und Ganzen erhalten, auch wenn sich die Auswirkungen der Agrarrevolution des 19. Jahrhunderts im Landschaftsbild niederschlagen (erste Homogenisierungen der Flur durch Einsatz von Dünger und Aufteilung der Allmende).

Damit bleibt der traditionelle Gegensatz zwischen Stadt und Land zwar erhalten, aber er wird jetzt auf beiden Seiten radikalisiert: Im Kontext der stark steigenden Einwohnerzahlen der Industriestaaten steigt der Anteil der Städte an der Bevölkerung und Wirtschaftskraft stark an; er entfernt sich sehr weit vom traditionellen Schwellenwert (etwa 10 % eines Großreichs leben in Städten), bleibt aber trotzdem deutlich unterhalb von 50 Prozent, so dass die traditionelle Stadt-Land-Struktur (die Mehrheit der Menschen wohnt auf dem Land) nicht aufgehoben wird.

Das Land verliert Einwohner und Wirtschaftskraft, da wichtige Wirtschaftsbetriebe des sekundären. Wirtschaftssektors (Handwerk, Gewerbe) der industriellen Konkurrenz unterliegen und geschlossen werden und das ländliche Wirtschaften stark re-ruralisiert wird. Damit beginnt das Land erstmals in der Geschichte wirtschaftsschwach und wirtschaftlich benachteiligt zu werden.

Damit werden die Ungleichheiten der vorindustriellen Stadt-Land-Strukturen – städtische Knotenpunkte (Zentren) dominieren ländliche Zellen (Peripherien) – noch einmal deutlich zugespitzt: Die Städte (jetzt: Industriestädte/-gebiete) dominieren die ländlichen Zellen wirtschaftlich und kulturell sehr viel stärker als zuvor, und die Peripherien werden jetzt zusätzlich wirtschaftlich benachteiligt, indem sie zu wirtschaftsschwachen Regionen werden, die das Leben der Landbevölkerung immer weniger gewährleisten können (die Selbstversorgung wird immer schwieriger, Abwanderung in die Stadt aus wirtschaftlichen oder kulturellen Gründen als Reaktion). Aber trotz dieser Zuspitzung auf beiden Seiten bleibt die traditionelle Raumstruktur im Rahmen der Industriegesellschaften grundsätzlich noch erhalten.

6 Die Raumstrukturen der Dienstleistungsgesellschaften

Die europäischen Industriegesellschaften transformieren sich zu Beginn der 1970er Jahre in Dienstleistungsgesellschaften (die USA vollziehen diese Entwicklung bereits in den 1940er Jahren). Dieser Wandel führt zu tiefgreifenden Veränderungen in Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft:[7)]

– *Wirtschaft*: Erst jetzt werden der primäre und der tertiäre Wirtschaftssektor gemäß der neuen Form des Wirtschaftens (aus Geld mehr Geld machen) umgestaltet, was mit tiefgreifenden Strukturveränderungen verbunden ist. Gleichzeitig setzt sich die neue Form des Wirtschaftens aufgrund ihrer wirtschaftlichen und politisch-militärischen Stärke mittels internationaler Verträge und Finanzstrukturen auf der gesamten Erde durch, so dass sie de facto alternativlos wird.

[7)] Die einzelnen Wissenschaftsdisziplinen, die diesen Wandel analysieren, verwenden dafür je eigene Begriffe wie nach-/postindustrielle Gesellschaft, Postfordismus, Konsumgesellschaft, Erlebnisgesellschaft, Zweite Moderne, Postmoderne, Spätmoderne, Spätkapitalismus.

– *Gesellschaft*: Erst jetzt werden die stabilen Beziehungen der Menschen untereinander aufgelöst, die noch in den Industriegesellschaften zu neuen gemeinsamen Identitäten geführt haben. An ihre Stelle tritt der Konsument, also ein vereinzelter Mensch, der sich zu „Lebensstilgruppen“[8] zusammenschließt, diese aber beim Wandel seiner Interessen oder bei Konflikten schnell wechselt, so dass es sich nicht mehr um verlässliche und stabile Beziehungen handelt.
– *Individuum*: Mit der Entstehung der Konsumgesellschaft werden die Menschen nicht mehr selbst aktiv, um die Befriedigung ihrer persönlichen Bedürfnisse zu erreichen, sondern sie kaufen jetzt mit Geld Waren und Dienstleistungen, um ihre Bedürfnisse besser als vorher befriedigen zu können. Daraus erwächst eine permanente Steigerung der Bedürfnisse, die keinen konkreten Endpunkt mehr akzeptiert, und die – analog zur Entwicklung in der Wirtschaft – zum Selbstzweck wird: Die zeitaufwändige Suche nach dem besten Angebot auf einem unendlich großen Markt und die Angst, es zu verpassen, verhindern die konkrete Bedürfniserfüllung.
– *Umwelt*: Die Messwerte aller wichtigen Umweltindikatoren verzeichnen seit Beginn der Industrielle Revolution ein leichtes Wachstum, aber ab den 1950er Jahren steigen sie dann auf einmal exponenziell an, was heute „The Great Acceleration“ genannt wird. Erst dadurch werden aus den regionalen Umweltbelastungen der Industriegesellschaft unsere heutigen globalen Umweltprobleme.

Mit diesen Veränderungen ist eine neue Raumstruktur verbunden: Mit dem schnellen Verbrauch der fossilen Energieressourcen der Erde und einer sehr weit gehenden Mechanisierung und Automatisierung der Produktion wird die wirtschaftliche Produktivität so stark erhöht, dass erstmals in der Geschichte der Menschheit ein Überangebot von Waren und Dienstleistungen auf dem Markt zur Verfügung steht. Und da der Markt durch Konkurrenz geprägt ist, werden die teuersten Produzenten vom Markt verdrängt. Gleichzeitig wird der Transport extrem verbilligt (sehr niedrige Energiepreise plus technische Innovationen), so dass räumliche Arbeitsteilungen auf Grund von Kostenunterschieden an verschiedenen Orten oder Kontinenten extrem stark zunehmen.

Diese beiden Faktoren führen dazu, dass die gesamte Welt heute extrem stark vernetzt ist. Dabei zerfällt die Welt immer stärker in Räume, die konkurrenzfähig produzieren und die an der Weltwirtschaft teilhaben, und in Räume, die nicht konkurrenzfähig sind und die von der Weltwirtschaft abgehängt werden. Aus den abgehängten Räumen, in denen die traditionelle Selbstversorgung nicht mehr möglich ist, wandern viele Menschen auf der Suche nach besseren Lebensmöglichkeiten ab, und am Ende bleiben kaum noch besiedelte Räume, in denen die traditionellen Kulturlandschaften verwildern.

In den Räumen, die konkurrenzfähig produzieren, werden alle traditionell multifunktional genutzten Räume in monofunktionale Flächen umgewandelt, weil alle modernen Nutzungen extrem intensiv und effizient gestaltet werden müssen, um den heutigen Ansprüchen (Wirtschaft: optimale Konkurrenzfähigkeit; Wohnen/Freizeit: optimale Bedürfnisbefriedigung) gerecht werden zu können.[9] Diese räumliche Leitidee, die lange Zeit mit „Fortschritt“ gleichgesetzt wurde, ist jedoch mit zwei gravierenden Nachteilen verbunden: Monostrukturen besitzen keine Lebendigkeit und sind steril, und sie erzeugen extrem viel Verkehr, der viele Teilräume stark beeinträchtigt.

Wenn größere Räume nach dieser Leitidee umgebaut werden, dann verlieren die Städte ihren städtischen und das angrenzende Land seinen ländlichen Charakter, und es entsteht in Verbindung

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[8] Der Autor bezieht sich auf den Soziologen Gerhard Schulze (1992), dessen Konzept gerade angesichts des Phänomens der neuen „sozialen“ Medien im Internet sehr aktuell erscheint.

[9] Die Leitidee der Nutzungstrennung und die Schaffung von monofunktionalen Raumstrukturen wurde bereits 1933 in der „Charta von Athen“ programmatisch formuliert (siehe dazu Le Corbusier 1962), aber erst nach 1950 im großen Stil umgesetzt.

mit der Suburbanisierung, die ab den 1960er Jahren in Europa einsetzt, eine neue Raumstruktur – die „Zwischenstadt".[10)]

Ihr Kennzeichen ist es, dass hier jeder einzelne Ort auf eine ganz bestimmte Monofunktion ausgerichtet ist und mit anderen, weit entfernten Orten, die der gleichen Monofunktion gewidmet sind, in engem funktionalem Kontakt steht. Aber mit den Nachbarorten, die zwar direkt nebenan liegen, die aber ganz andere Funktionen erfüllen, gibt es kaum Kontakte. Der Raum einer Zwischenstadt besteht also aus einer Addition von isolierten Einzelorten, die mittels Verkehr mit weit entfernten Orten verbunden sind, die aber alle keine Beziehungen zu ihrer direkten Nachbarschaft haben. Deshalb ist die Zwischenstadt ein strukturloses und identitätsloses Amalgam einzelner Monofunktionen, die beziehungslos nebeneinander liegen. Diese Raumstruktur ist so stark von den traditionellen Kulturlandschaften unterschieden, dass man sie – im Rückgriff auf FELS (1954) – als reine Wirtschafts- und Gebrauchslandschaften bezeichnen sollte.

Damit setzt sich in den Dienstleistungsgesellschaften eine völlig neue Raumstruktur durch: An die Stelle einer flächenhaft genutzten Welt mit jeweils unterschiedlichen Nutzungsintensitäten tritt jetzt eine Welt, die in zwei Teile zerfällt – entweder in Räume, die gar nicht mehr genutzt werden, oder in Räume, die weiterhin, dafür aber sehr intensiv genutzt werden. Damit gehört die Raumstruktur der Zentren und Peripherien der Vergangenheit an.

7 Raumveränderung und Umweltzerstörung

Bei den heutigen Diskussionen über die Umweltprobleme steht meist die Klimaerwärmung im Zentrum, gefolgt vom Artensterben. Dass die anthropogen geschaffenen Raumstrukturen damit irgendetwas zu tun haben könnten – obwohl sie der materielle Ausdruck des menschlichen Umweltbezugs sind –, wird nie thematisiert. Dies wird am Beispiel der Mobilität anschaulich sichtbar: Der Verkehr soll durch die Umstellung vom Verbrennungsmotor auf die E-Mobilität umweltverträglich gemacht werden, was zugleich bedeutet, dass der Verkehr selbst und seine Zunahme nicht problematisiert wird (nachsorgender Umweltschutz). Da der Verkehr aber stetig weiterwächst, läuft diese Strategie letztlich ins Leere.

Die meisten der heutigen Verantwortungsträger sehen diesen Widerspruch aber nicht. Sie hoffen, dass man die globale Umweltproblematik dadurch in den Griff bekommt, dass man einerseits möglichst große Flächen der menschlichen Nutzung entzieht und der Natur überlässt und andererseits in den intensiv genutzten Wirtschaftsregionen die Umweltprobleme durch nachsorgenden Umweltschutz (Effizienzsteigerungen und „grünes Wachstum") löst.

Dass dies eine Fehleinschätzung ist, zeigt die Zwischenstadt: Sie ist räumlicher Ausdruck eines permanenten Wachstums der Wirtschaft und der Bedürfnisse, und ihre räumlichen Beziehungslosigkeiten zeigen deutlich, dass die Menschen mit der Natur, aber auch mit sich selbst, mit anderen Menschen und mit ihrer Geschichte und Kultur auf eine rein instrumentelle Weise (Bedürfnismaximierung) umgehen. Dies führt zu einem extremen und stets weiterwachsenden Flächenverbrauch, zu zunehmender Bodenversiegelung und weiter wachsendem Verkehr, die ihrerseits zur Klimaerwärmung und zum Artenverlust beitragen – diese Entwicklung kann so nicht langfristig weitergehen, sondern führt zu ihrem Zusammenbruch.

Um diese Probleme wirklich zu lösen, müsste die Zwischenstadt eigentlich aufgelöst werden – die städtischen Teile müssten wieder städtischer, die ländlichen wieder ländlicher werden, um Flächenverbrauch, Bodenversiegelung und Verkehr reduzieren zu können – aber dies ist politisch nicht gewollt, weil sowohl der instrumentelle Umgang mit Natur als auch das permanente Wachs-

[10)] Die Konzeption der Zwischenstadt stammt vom Architekten Thomas SIEVERTS 1997.

tum der Wirtschaft und der Bedürfnisse nicht in Frage gestellt werden. In dieser Situation ist eine reale Umweltverantwortung nicht mehr möglich, und sie ist nur noch in Form von aufgesetzten, rein symbolischen Alibi-Aktivitäten vorstellbar.

Angesichts der beklemmenden Unmöglichkeit, die heutigen Umweltprobleme mit den Instrumentarien und den Leitideen der Dienstleistungsgesellschaften lösen zu können, hat die Erinnerung an den Umweltbezug der traditionellen Bauerngesellschaften etwas Entlastendes: Diese haben die Natur tiefgreifend für ihre Zwecke verändert, ohne sie zu zerstören. Auch wenn wir heute zu diesen Bauerngesellschaften nicht mehr zurückkehren können, so eröffnet uns ihre Leitidee – der Mensch ist für die ökologische Stabilität der von ihm veränderten und genutzten Natur verantwortlich, und diese Verantwortung stellt den Rahmen für sein gesamtes Wirtschaften und Handeln dar – eine neue Perspektive, um unsere heutigen Umweltprobleme auf eine völlig andere und erfolgversprechendere Weise anzugehen.

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[11)] Anmerkung der Schriftleitung: Siehe zu diesem Buch auch die zwei Rezensionen in diesem Band, Seite 415–420.

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Bericht über das AKO-Gedenksymposium „Geographische Namen im Gebrauch – Angewandte Toponomastik in ihrer Vielfalt“

Marietta Calderón (Salzburg) und Roman Stani-Fertl (Wien)*

Am 6. und am 7. November 2023 fand in den Räumen der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (ÖAW) ein von dieser, der Österreichischen Kartographischen Kommission (ÖKK) und der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft (ÖGG) unterstütztes interdisziplinäres Symposium der „Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Kartographische Ortsnamenkunde“ (AKO) zum Gedenken an den Geographen und Kartographen Josef Breu (1914 – 1998) und den Sprachwissenschaftler Otto Back (1926 – 2018) statt.[1)] Die für die Veranstaltung Verantwortlichen, der Kartograph und aktuelle AKO-Vorsitzende Roman Stani-Fertl und die aktuelle stellvertretende Vorsitzende der AKO, die Sprachwissenschaftlerin Marietta Calderón, hatten sich dabei zum Ziel gesetzt, neben dem Aufzeigen der Leistungen der zwei durch das Symposium Geehrten für die AKO seit ihrer Gründung 1969 auch einen zeithistorischen und synchronen Überblick über die Multidisziplinarität der Toponomastik und die gesellschaftliche, politische und ökonomische Bedeutung von Toponymen zu geben. Der entsprechende Rahmen konnte durch die Unterstützung der einschlägigen Institutionen ÖAW, ÖGG und ÖKK gesetzt werden.

Dem eigentlichen Symposium ging eine sehr detailreiche wissenschafts- und kunsthistorische Führung über die architektonische Gestaltung der Bibliothek der ÖAW durch deren Direktorin, Sibylle Wentker, voraus. Kurzbiografien zu den Vortragenden, Abstracts zu den im Folgenden kurz zusammengefassten Vorträgen sowie die Programmabfolge des Symposiums sind über die AKO-Homepage *ortsnamen.at* abrufbar und werden auch weiterhin verfügbar sein.

In Hinblick auf die ÖGG und die ÖKK konnte als Eröffnungsredner der Vorsitzende der „Internationalen Kartographischen Vereinigung“ (ICA), Georg Gartner gewonnen werden, der die Bedeutung der Toponyme zur Orientierung und Kommunikation sowohl für den täglichen Sprachgebrauch als auch für die wissenschaftliche interdisziplinäre Arbeit herausstrich. Die Laudatoren zu Josef Breu (siehe den Beitrag von Peter Jordan in diesem Band) und Otto Back (siehe den Artikel von Hans Christian Luschützky in diesem Band), die die beiden Geehrten jeweils persönlich gut gekannt haben, griffen nicht nur deren für die AKO relevante Beiträge heraus, sondern gaben auch Einblicke in die gesellschaftlichen, politischen und technischen Rahmenbedingungen und Kontexte der geehrten Personen sowie in ihre persönlichen, beruflichen und politischen Umfelder und ihre jeweiligen Strategien und Positionierungen.

[1)] Siehe dazu im Anschluss an diesen Beitrag die ausführlichen Würdigungen von Leben und wissenschaftlichem Werk von Josef Breu und Otto Back (Seite 354–366 bzw. 403–408 in diesem Band)

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Die im Rahmen des Symposiums präsentierten Beiträge zu aktuellen Forschungs- und Praxisfragen der Kartographischen Ortsnamenkunde waren in vier Blöcke gegliedert:

Den Block zu Mikrotoponymen, einem der Arbeitsfelder der AKO, eröffnete Marietta Calderón (Universität Salzburg) mit einem Überblick über relevante Begrifflichkeiten und aktuelle Fragen des Gebrauchs von Verkehrsflächennamen sowie über die Forschung zu diesen, wobei auch die aktuellen AKO-Empfehlungen zu Verkehrsflächenbenennungen Erwähnung fanden. Regina Falkensteiner (Bundesamt für Eich- und Vermessungswesen, Wien) stellte nicht nur regionale Unterschiede in der Benennung von Gletschern vor, sondern wies in einer Präsentation ihres Dissertationsvorhabens zu österreichischen Gletschernamen anhand von historischen und aktuellen Karten auch auf die Aktualität dieses Themas angesichts des klimaerwärmungsbedingten Gletscherschwundes hin. Die Sprachwissenschaftlerin Elisabeth Gruber-Tokić (Universität Innsbruck) zeigte in ihrem Vortrag über das Forschungsprojekt der Universität Innsbruck „FZ HiMAT" zu bergbaubezogenen Namen in Tirol dessen Interdisziplinarität auf und berichtete über den aktuellen Forschungsstand.

Im anschließenden Block zu Mehrsprachigkeit(en) gab Martin Hannes Graf (Schweizerisches Idiotikon, Zürich) einen klaren Überblick über Toponyme in der amtlich viersprachigen Schweiz, die in Relation zu deren Mehrsprachigkeit stehen, und überraschte darin mit Details wie etwa der Stützung des Rätoromanischen durch eingewanderte Lusophone (deren Quantität er durch die regional frequentesten Familiennamen veranschaulichte). Die Germanistin Uršula Krevs Birk (Universität Laibach [Ljubljana]) mit Forschungsschwerpunkten zum Sprachenpaar Deutsch-Slowenisch und zu Mehrsprachigkeit widmete sich deutsch-slowenischen Namenpaaren aus kontakt-, kontrastiv- und soziolinguistischer Sicht, wobei insbesondere die Aktualität des Gebrauchs historischer Exonyme, basierend auf einer Umfrage unter Studierenden ihrer Universität, thematisiert wurde. Der selbst interdisziplinär forschende Romanist Christopher F. Laferl (Universität Salzburg sowie korrespondierendes Mitglied der ÖAW) zeigte anhand der mehrsprachigen Habsburger Familienkorrespondenz der frühen Neuzeit Verständnisschwierigkeiten auf, die bei der Forschung bei Allonymvorkommen (hauptsächlich von Siedlungsnamen) auftreten. Roman Stani-Fertl (Universität Wien) stellte die europäische Namendatenbank „Open Gazetteer" vor. Sie umfasst die amtlichen Toponyme aller daran teilnehmenden europäischen Staaten sowie Exonyme in über fünfzig Sprachen.

Als erster Vortragender des thematischen Blocks zu sprachlichen Minderheiten widmete sich der Historiker Gerhard Baumgartner (ehemals wissenschaftlicher Leiter des Dokumentationsarchivs des Österreichischen Widerstands, DÖW, Wien), selbst – gemäß seiner Aussage bei seinem Vortrag – L1-ungarischsprachiger Burgenländer und Zeitzeuge der gesellschaftlichen und sprachlichen Veränderungen im Burgenland während seiner eigenen Lebenszeit, einem geschichtlichen Überblick über die im Burgenland verwendeten Sprachen der in Österreich offiziell anerkannten Volksgruppen, mit einem Schwerpunkt auf dem, wie er hervorhob, im Burgenland so (und nicht *Romani* oder *Romanes*) genannten Roman. Die Slawistinnen Martina Piko-Rustia (Slowenisches Volkskundeinstitut Urban Jarnik, Klagenfurt) und Susanne Weitlaner (Artikel-VII-Kulturverein für Steiermark – Pavelhaus, Bad Radkersburg) sprachen zur aktuellen Situation der Verwendung (insbesondere der Schreibung) slowenischer Toponyme in Kärnten und der Steiermark anhand kartographischer Beispiele. Der Kartograph Attila Sasi (Lechner Nonprofit GmbH, Budapest) stellte mit zahlreichen Fotobeispielen den heterogenen Gebrauch von Ortsnamen in Minderheitensprachen in Ungarn dar.

Die letzte Vortragsgruppe betraf die Themen Standardisierung und Standards und hatte einen Schwerpunkt in der Sprachpraxis: Zunächst bettete der Germanist Peter Ernst (Universität Wien) in einer theoretisch umfassenden Betrachtungsweise Toponyme in weitere Aspekte von Dialekt-Standardkontinua des Deutschen ein. Der Kartograph Lukas Birsak (Hölzel Verlag, Wien) berichtete unter Berücksichtigung einer Publikation der AKO über die Praxis der Namenschreibung in

Schulatlanten. Er würdigte den umfassenden Beitrag von Otto Back für die Standardisierung der Umschriftung von Toponymen für Bildungsmedien. Gerhard Rampl (Universität Innsbruck) fasste – auch in seiner Eigenschaft als ehemaliger AKO-Vorsitzender – die namenstandardisierungs- und namenstandardbezogenen Tätigkeiten, Funktionen und Positionen der AKO und ihre Zusammenarbeit mit weiteren Organisationen auf europäischer und auf internationaler Ebene zusammen. Zudem strich er den Beitrag von Josef Breu in der „Sachverständigengruppe der Vereinten Nationen für Geographische Namen" (UNGEGN) hervor. Abschließend informierte der Chefsprecher des ORF, Haimo Godler, über Zielrichtungen und Praxis der im ORF angestrebten orthoepischen Toponymrealisierungen (zum Beispiel durch Ausspracheproben von L1-Sprecherinnen und -Sprechern der jeweiligen Sprachen).

Die Vorträge mündeten in rege Diskussionen mit dem zahlreich vertretenen, am Thema des Symposiums interessierten Publikum. Sie zeigten, wie auch insgesamt der gute internationale Besuch der Veranstaltung und die intensiven Fachgespräche in den Pausen, die Aktualität bzw. aktuelle Relevanz der behandelten Themen. Der Erfolg der Veranstaltung spricht somit auch für die Durchführung weiterer, ebenfalls interdisziplinär ausgerichteter toponomastischer Veranstaltungen.

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Josef Breu – Atlasredakteur und Toponomast[1)]

Peter Jordan, Hermagor / Wien*

mit 8 Abbildungen im Text

Inhalt

Zusammenfassung 354
Summary 354
1 Zur Persönlichkeit von Josef Breu 355
2 Atlas der Donauländer 358
3 Toponomastik 362
4 Schluss 364
5 Literaturverzeichnis 365

Zusammenfassung

In diesem Beitrag wird aus der persönlichen Sicht seines Mitarbeiters (ab 1977), späteren Stellvertreters und Nachfolgers die Persönlichkeit von Josef Breu geschildert, wobei dessen wissenschaftliche Haupttätigkeitsfelder und größte Verdienste hervorgehoben werden: die Redaktion und Herausgabe des „Atlas der Donauländer" zwischen 1970 und 1989, einer Länderkunde des mittleren und unteren Donauraums in thematischen Karten, und die Toponomastik, in der Breu zu einer prägenden Persönlichkeit der Expertengruppe der Vereinten Nationen für Geographische Namen („United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names", UNGEGN) wurde und die „Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Kartographische Ortsnamenkunde" (AKO), das österreichische Expertengremium für geographische Namen, gegründet hat.

Summary

Josef Breu – Atlas Editor and Toponymist

In this contribution the personality of Josef Breu from the personal perspective of his employee since 1977, his later deputy and successor is described, and highlights concerning his main scien-

[1)] Dies ist die schriftliche Fassung eines Vortrags beim Internationalen Gedenksymposium zu Ehren von Josef Breu (1914–1998) und Otto Back (1926–2018), das unter dem Titel „Geographische Namen im Gebrauch – angewandte Toponomastik in ihrer Vielfalt" am 6. und 7. November 2023 an der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften abgehalten wurde, organisiert von der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Kartographische Ortsnamenkunde (AKO).

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tific fields of activity and greatest achievements are presented: the editing and publication of the "Atlas of the Danubian Countries" between 1970 and 1989, a regional geography of the countries along the middle and lower Danube in thematic maps, and toponomastics, where Breu *became a formative figure in the "United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names" (UNGEGN) and founded the "Working Group for Cartographic Toponomastics" ("Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Kartographische Ortsnamenkunde", AKO), the Austrian expert committee for geographical names.*

1 Zur Persönlichkeit von Josef Breu

Als Mitarbeiter von Josef Breu ab März 1977, der dann sein Stellvertreter als Leiter der Geographischen Abteilung am „Österreichischen Ost- und Südosteuropa-Institut" und schließlich sein Nachfolger wurde, will ich ihn aus einer sehr persönlichen Perspektive beschreiben. Wenn im Titel mit „Atlasredakteur" und „Toponomast" die Haupttätigkeitsfelder von Josef Breu angesprochen werden, so wären mit „Weltbürger", „Polyhistor" und „Redakteur" drei hervorstechende Eigenschaften seiner Persönlichkeit benannt.

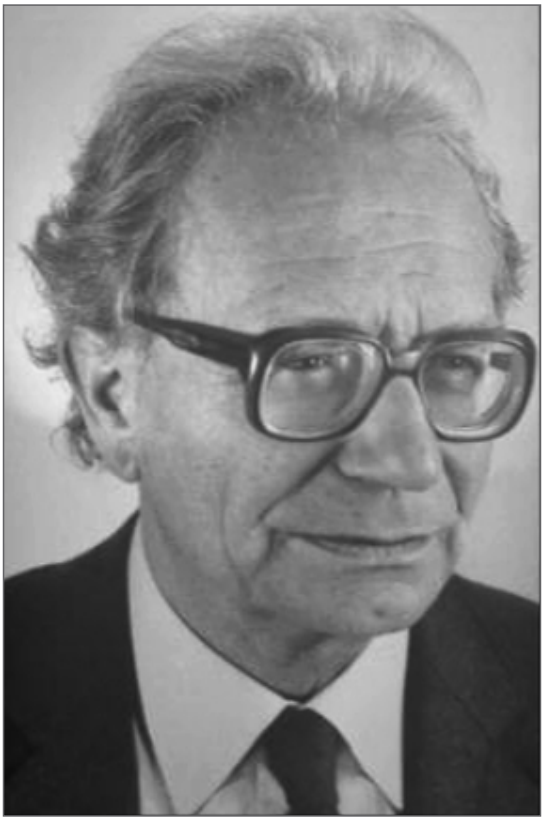


Abb. 1: Josef Breu (1914–1998) (Foto freundlicherweise zur Verfügung gestellt von Eva Breu)

- *Weltbürger*: In Triest [Trieste] kurz vor Beginn des Ersten Weltkriegs geboren, verbrachte Josef BREU schon seine Kindheit und frühe Jugend im späteren Italien, in Österreich, Ungarn und in der Schweiz, war also bald mit mehreren Sprachen vertraut und konnte, auch wenn er nicht viele aktiv beherrschte, etliche verstehen oder sich gut in sie hineindenken. Er fühlte sich gebildeten Menschen jedweder Herkunft nahe und kategorisierte Personen nach Bildung, Offenheit und Gesprächsbereitschaft, nicht nach nationaler oder örtlicher Zugehörigkeit. (Bildung sei hier nicht im Sinne von Schulbildung oder Ausbildung verstanden, sondern einer überlegten und reflektierten Lebensführung von einem festen Wertefundament aus.)

- *Polyhistor*: Josef BREU verfügte aber auch über ein umfassendes Wissen und man konnte mit ihm über alles sehr tiefgründig reden. Seine engeren Wissensgebiete waren die Sprachen („Sprachengeographie") und die ethnischen Gruppen. Da kannte er sich nicht nur in Europa, sondern in großen Teilen der Welt aus und ergänzte sich prächtig mit Otto Back, der sich diesen Themen als Linguist widmete und in ihnen wohl genauso beschlagen war wie BREU von Seiten der Geographie. Sprache hat er nicht nur als Ausdrucksmittel und literarisches Instrument verstanden, sondern vor allem auch als logisches System (obwohl Sprache ja nicht konsequent logisch ist). „Der exakte und sorgsame Gebrauch der Sprache schärft das Denken." „Alles, was man gut durchdacht hat, kann man auch einfach ausdrücken." Er war gegen das Aufgeblähte in der wissenschaftlichen Sprache, wie man ihm oft begegnet.

  BREU betrieb die Ortsnamenkunde vor allem aus sprachlicher und kartographischer Sicht (Namenverwendung in Karten). Eine im engeren Sinn geographische Sicht auf Ortsnamen, etwa im Sinn ihrer Würdigung als Mittler zwischen Mensch und geographischem Raum, konnte man ja erst durch die Rezeption der bahnbrechenden Werke von Yi-Fu Tuan (u. a. Tuan 1977, 1990 [1974], 1997) gewinnen, die zwar teilweise schon in den 1970er Jahren erschienen waren, aber erst später außerhalb Amerikas bekannt wurden. Man kann also nicht behaupten, dass Breu ein umfassendes Lehrgebäude zu geographischen Namen entwickelt hätte. Das war ihm vielleicht auch selbst bewusst, sodass er nie ein Lehrbuch zur Ortsnamenkunde geschrieben hat, das sich eigentlich alle von ihm erwarteten.

  Er hat sich mit mir oft stundenlang unterhalten, und ich habe von ihm mehr gelernt als von allen meinen Universitätslehrern, obwohl darunter Größen wie Elisabeth LICHTENBERGER, Erik ARNBERGER oder Fritz KELNHOFER waren – natürlich besonders im Bereich der Ortsnamenkunde, aber auch der Geographie, Geschichte und Linguistik. Er war ein umfassender Geograph der alten Schule (gleichermaßen beschlagen in Physischer und Humangeographie) und auch in der Geschichte sehr bewandert (Er hatte ja auch Geschichte studiert.): „Geographie und Geschichte sind die zwei großen Bildungswissenschaften – die Geographie in der räumlichen Dimension, die Geschichte in der zeitlichen." Und auch in der Linguistik war er „zu Hause": „Man kann Ortsnamenkunde nicht ohne gute Kenntnisse der Linguistik betreiben."

- *Redakteur*: Obwohl die Publikationsliste von Josef BREU nicht kurz ist (siehe JORDAN 1984), war er hauptsächlich und seinem Wesen nach Redakteur, der sich am liebsten die Manuskripte anderer Autoren vornahm und sie bis in das letzte Detail analysierte und korrigierte. Er hat selbst eigentlich nur ein Buch geschrieben („Die Kroatensiedlung im Burgenland und in den anschließenden Gebieten", BREU 1970), daneben wohl auch etliche Zeitschriftenartikel, hauptsächlich zu geographischen Namen in Schulatlanten und zur Standardisierung geographischer Namen, und er entwarf viele thematische Karten, vor allem Sprachenkarten für Schulatlanten.

Für ein umfangreicheres schriftliches Œuvre war er wahrscheinlich zu sehr Perfektionist, der sich gehütet hat, etwas aus der Hand zu geben, bevor er es nicht ganz überblickte. Das zeigte sich zum Beispiel bei der Sprachenkarte des Atlasses der Donauländer (Ausschnitt in Abb. 2), der einzigen Karte seines eigenen Atlasses (Breu 1970–1989), die von ihm als Autor (mit wesentlicher Unterstützung durch Michael Duschanek) verfasst wurde – ein politisch heikles Unterfangen während der kommunistischen Herrschaft im Osten Europas, denn es wurden

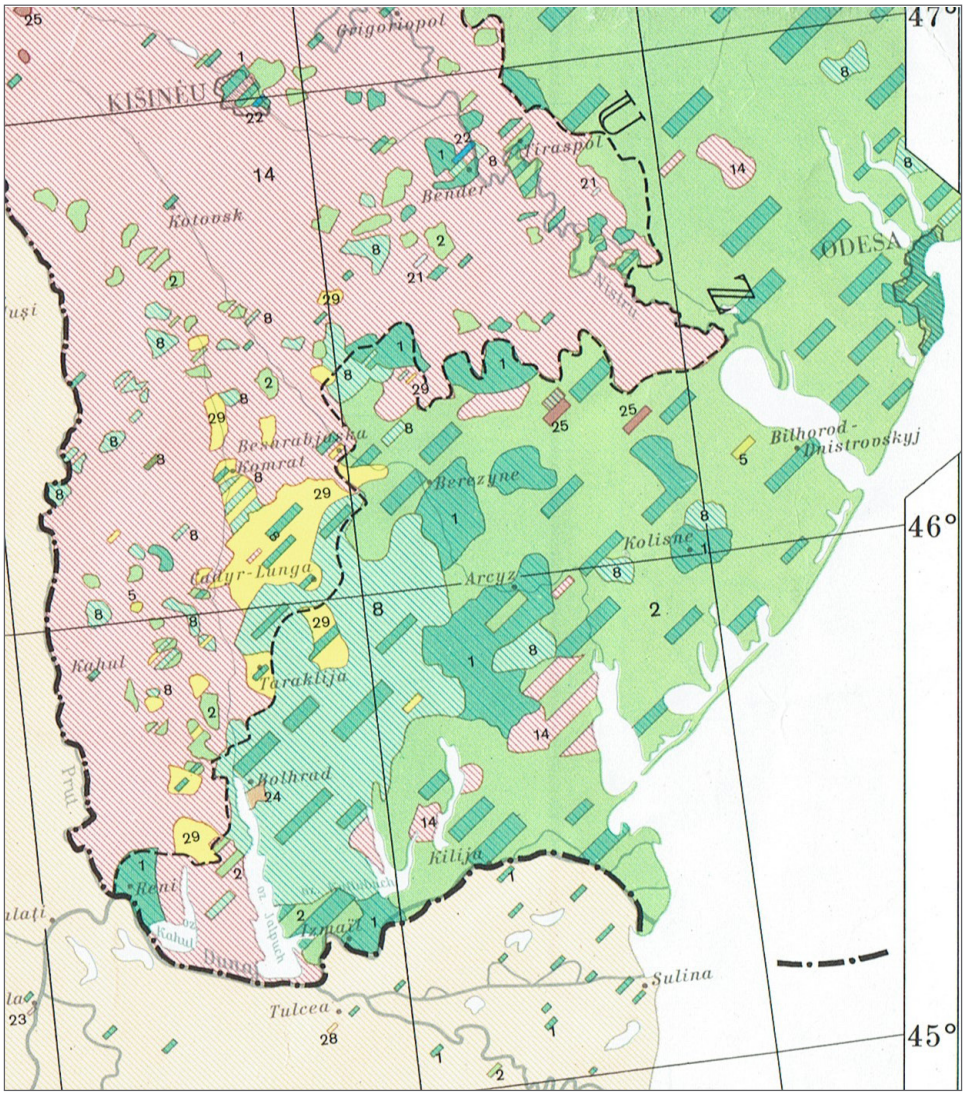


Abb. 2: Ausschnitt aus der Sprachenkarte des Atlas der Donauländer (Blatt 231): Südliche Republik Moldau [Moldova] und ukrainischer Budschak [Budžak]. Originalmaßstab 1:2.000.000. Entwurf: Josef Breu (Quelle: Breu 1989)

auf dieser Karte ja kleinste Sprachminderheiten erfasst. Ihr Erscheinen hat sich immer wieder verzögert, weil er noch diesen und jenen Fall überprüfen wollte. Sie ist auch erst als letzte Karte des Atlasses der Donauländer erschienen, als er sich damit „nichts mehr verderben" konnte.

Ich erinnere mich auch an die Genauigkeit, mit der er die Übersetzungen der Texte auf den Beiblättern der Atlaskarten in die drei anderen Sprachen (neben Deutsch auch Englisch, Französisch, Russisch) kontrollierte: Er ließ die Übersetzer für Französisch und Russisch (Bei Englisch konnte er das selbst beurteilen.) zu sich kommen und ihre Übersetzungen mündlich Satz für Satz in das Deutsche zurückübersetzen, um beurteilen zu können, ob sie die Bedeutung genau getroffen hatten.

BREUs Perfektionismus zeigte sich auch beim Drucken der Atlaskarten: Sie wurden am damaligen Sitz der Landesaufnahme des Bundesamtes für Eich- und Vermessungswesen (BEV) in der Krotenthallergasse im 8. Wiener Gemeindebezirk gedruckt. Dorthin fuhren wir mit der Straßenbahnlinie J zu jedem einzelnen Druckgang, oft mehrmals täglich eine ganze Woche lang. Damals wurde noch jede Druckfarbe einzeln gedruckt – es gab noch keine (oder wir verwendeten aus Kostengründen noch keine) Mehrfarbendruckmaschinen. Da hat BREU erstens immer darauf bestanden, dass wir als Kartenbearbeiter mit dabei sind (neben dem Drucker, Herrn Nowak sowie Herrn Schütz, dem Leiter der Druckerei, und Herrn Stuhr, dem ausführenden technischen Kartographen) und wollte zweitens möglichst viele Farben bis zum Schluss „in der Hand behalten", also nicht alles im Vierfarbendruck (Schwarz, Magenta, Cyan, Yellow) schon im Vorhinein festgelegt haben, sondern manches (wie die Geländeschummerung, den Meereston oder die Grenzen) mit eigens abzustimmenden „Schmuckfarben" drucken, damit nur ja keine Inhalte (etwa durch zu dunkle Schummerung) verloren gehen oder manches schlecht sichtbar wird. Die Farbabstimmung dauerte oft Stunden!

BREU war sich aber auch der Schattenseiten der Redakteursarbeit bewusst: „Redakteursarbeit verdirbt den Charakter. Man wird übergenau, pedantisch, rechthaberisch; glaubt, dass nur noch die eigene Art zu formulieren die richtige ist." „Redakteursarbeit ist unbedankte Arbeit. Kein Leser weiß, wie das Manuskript vorher ausgesehen hat und was der Redakteur dazu beigetragen hat." Im Gegensatz zu vielen anderen hat sich BREU aber nie zum Koautor erklärt, obwohl er manche Texte fast neu geschrieben hat.

Was man vielleicht auch noch über Josef BREU sagen könnte: Er war ein Workoholic und ein Pünktlichkeitsfanatiker. Er hat weit über seine offizielle Pensionierung hinaus gearbeitet und Funktionen ausgeübt und wurde erst durch eine schwere Krankheit zum Rückzug gezwungen. Die vielen Feiertage im Mai und Juni hat er stets beklagt: „Wir sind von Feiertagen verfolgt." Die große Bedeutung, die er der Pünktlichkeit zumaß, zeigte sich zum Beispiel darin, dass er manchmal um acht Uhr (damals die allgemeine Beginnzeit am Österreichischen Ost- und Südosteuropa-Institut) vor dem Lift im 3. Stock des Palais Palffy stand und schaute, wer pünktlich war und wer zu spät kam. Unsere Abteilungssekretärin Frau WEBER war immer sehr pünktlich, was ihn zum Ausruf veranlasste: „Fünf Minuten vor der Zeit ist der Frau Weber Pünktlichkeit."

2 Atlas der Donauländer

Das Lebenswerk von Josef BREU war der Atlas der Donauländer. Ihm ordnete er alles unter und ihn abzuschließen war sein größtes Ziel. Das gelang im Jahr 1989 mit der 10. und 11. Lieferung. Die zehn ersten Lieferungen enthielten 48 Kartenblätter mit Hauptkarten im Maß-

stab 1:2.000.000 (siehe Abb. 3) oder Viertelkarten im Maßstab 1:4.000.000, auch Nebenkarten, Diagramme und Profile, insgesamt 143 Karten und kartenverwandte Darstellungen. Die 48 Kartenblätter waren jeweils von viersprachigen Textblättern begleitet. Die 11. Lieferung bildete der von Elisabeth Tomasi bearbeitete Registerband mit allen geographischen Namen, die der Atlas zeigte.

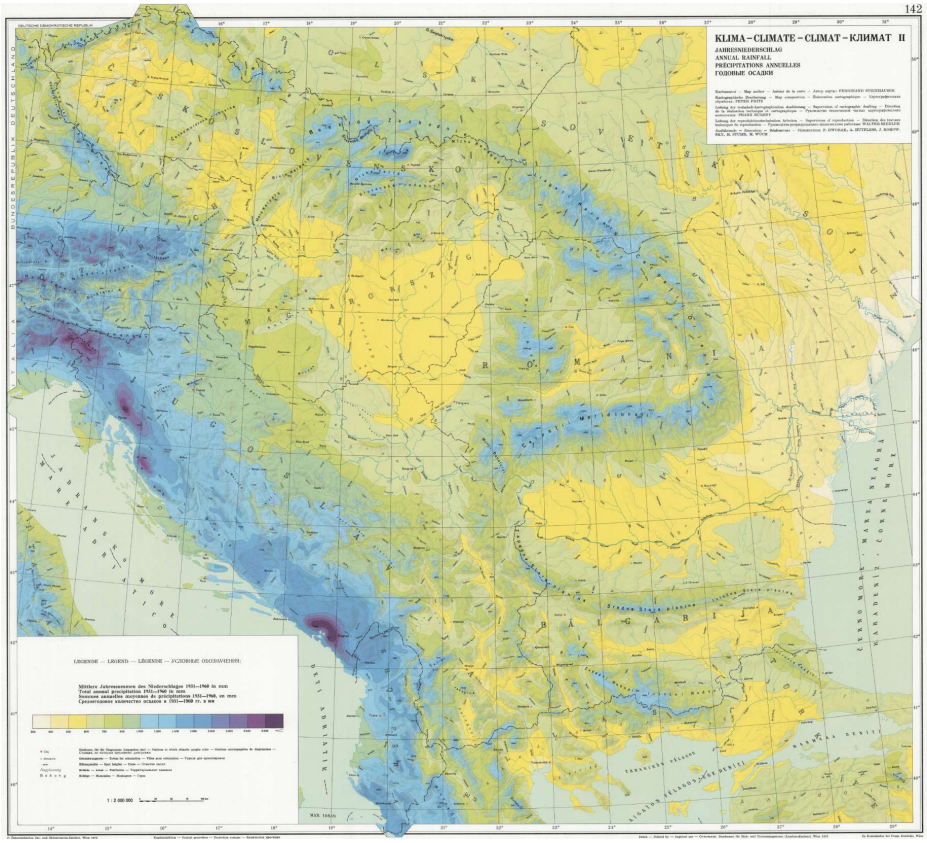


Abb. 3: Atlas der Donauländer, Blatt 142 „Klima II – Jahresniederschlag“, Originalmaßstab 1:2.000.000. Die Karte zeigt den üblichen Gebietsausschnitt des Atlasses mit den charakteristischen Geländestrukturen, dem Karpatenbogen und dem dinarischen Gebirgszug. Entwurf: F. Steinhauser (Quelle: Steinhauser 1973)

Der Atlas erschien zwischen 1970 und 1989, während der kommunistischen Periode im europäischen Osten, und kann als eine Länderkunde in Karten des mittleren und unteren Donauraums in dieser politischen Phase gelten. Von bleibendem Wert sind sicher seine naturgeographischen Karten, von denen einige der Terminologie Erik Arnbergers folgend (Arnberger 1966, 1977) nicht elementar- oder komplexanalytisch, sondern synthetisch, also typisierend sind und durchaus bedeutende Forschungsergebnisse darstellen. So die geomorphologische Karte von Marton Pécsi (Abb.

4) oder die Karte der natürlichen potenziellen Vegetation (der Vegetation, die sich einstellen würde, wenn das menschliche Wirtschaften aufhörte) von Harald NIKLFELD (Abb. 5).

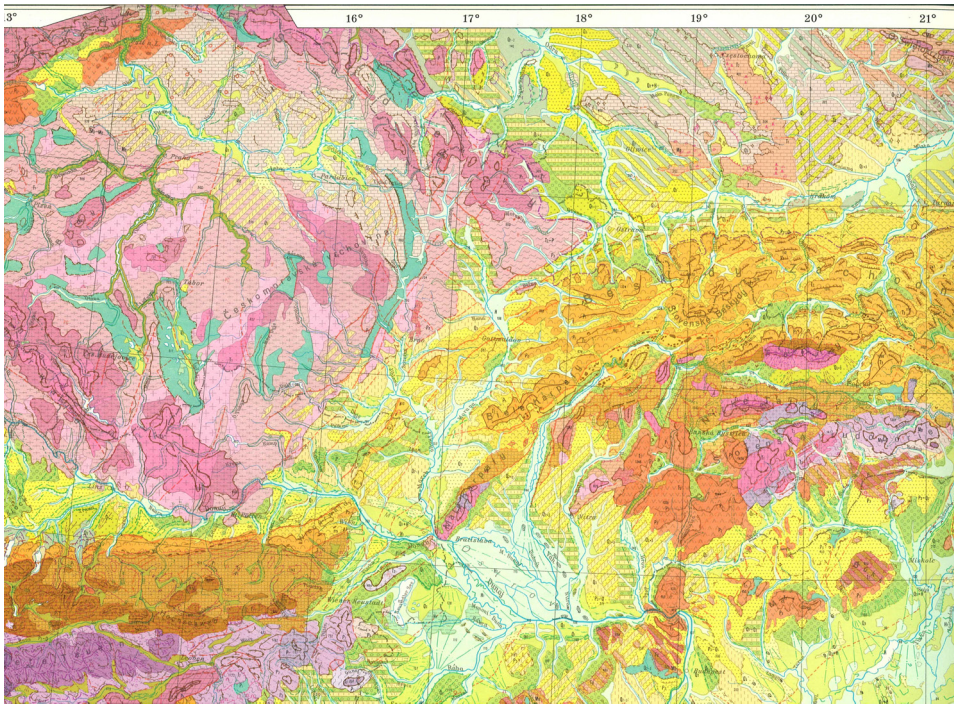


Abb. 4: Ausschnitt aus dem Atlas der Donauländer, Blatt 132 „Geomorphologie“, Originalmaßstab 1:2.000.000: Tschechien, Slowakei, Südpolen, östliches Österreich und nordwestliches Ungarn. Entwurf: M. PÉCSI (Quelle: PÉCSI 1978)

BREU hat für die einzelnen Karten – wie in diesen beiden Fällen oder auch bei der Karte der Naturlandschaftstypen von Emil MAZÚR (1985) – bedeutende Autoren engagiert, die es für den naturgeographischen Bereich im damaligen kommunistischen Osten durchaus gab. Für die Humangeographie war das viel weniger der Fall (weil sich im Kommunismus alle bedeutenden Geographen der politisch unproblematischeren Physischen Geographie zuwandten) und darüber erschienen dann zumeist elementar-analytische Karten von österreichischen Autoren wie beispielsweise die der Besitzverhältnisse in der Landwirtschaft (TASCHLER 1989, Abb. 6).

Politisch heiklen und historischen Themen ging BREU aus dem Weg. Ausnahmen waren eine politisch wenig sensible Karte der Entwicklung des Eisenbahnnetzes, die von mir als Autor gestaltet wurde (JORDAN 1986), und eben die Sprachenkarte, die er aber bewusst in die letzte Lieferung des Atlasses verlegte, um sich den Zugang zu Datenquellen und potenziellen Autoren in diesen Ländern nicht zu verbauen.

Der Atlas der Donauländer hätte auch heute noch als vergleichende Darstellung dieser Länder im Kommunismus großen Wert, wird aber leider kaum rezipiert und zitiert, auch nicht von Geographen, die sich mit eben dieser Periode beschäftigen. BREU hat es vielleicht verabsäumt, ihn

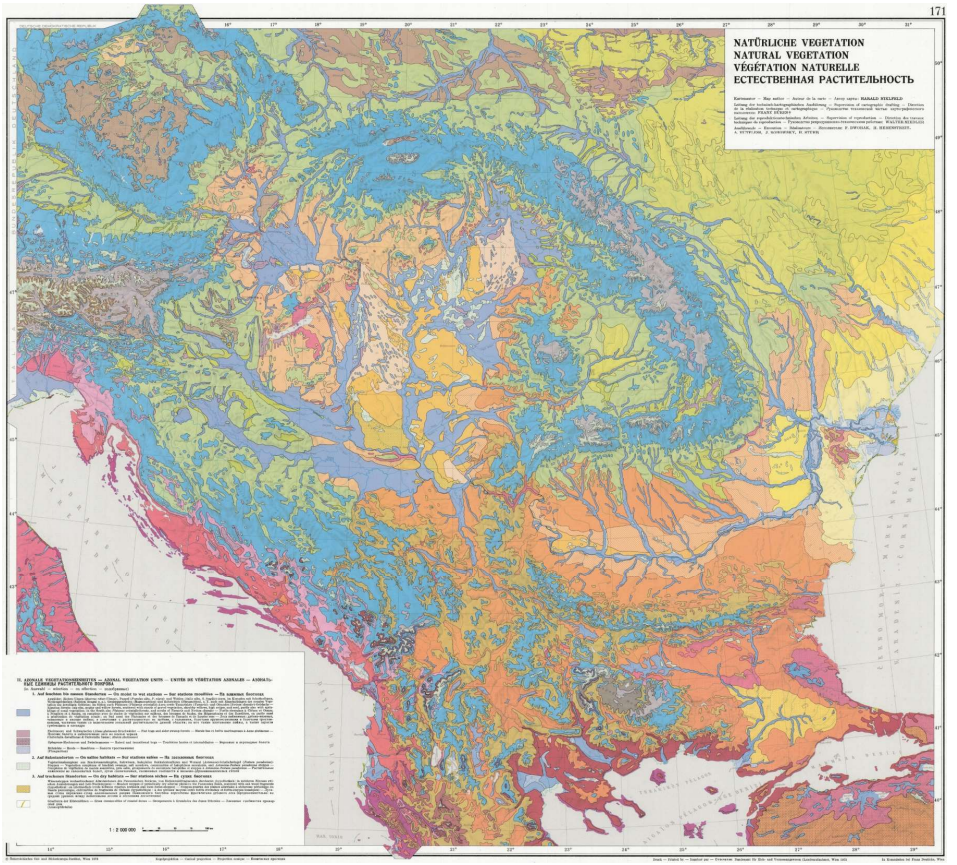


Abb. 5: Atlas der Donauländer, Blatt 171 „Natürliche Vegetation“, Originalmaßstab 1:2.000.000. Entwurf: H. Niklfeld (Quelle: Niklfeld 1973)

aktiv zu bewerben. Er war ja – abgesehen von den Sitzungen der Expertengruppe der Vereinten Nationen für Geographische Namen („United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names“, UNGEGN) und den Konferenzen der Vereinten Nationen zur Standardisierung Geographischer Namen („United Nations Conferences on the Standardization of Geographical Names“, UNCSGN) – kaum bei geographischen und kartographischen Tagungen wie etwa dem Deutschen Geographentag, Kongressen der Internationalen Geographischen Union („International Geographical Union“, IGU) oder den Konferenzen der Internationalen Kartographischen Vereinigung („International Cartographic Association“, ICA) – mit Ausnahme der ICA-Konferenz in Budapest im Jahr 1989, wo Breu als Chefredakteur und ich als sein Stellvertreter den gerade fertig gewordenen Atlas der Donauländer in der Schlusszeremonie gemeinsam auf der Bühne des Vigadó dem damaligen ICA-Präsidenten Árpád Papp-Váry überreichten. Breu hat Wissenschaftler, die sich viel auf Konferenzen „herumtrieben“, auch etwas verächtlich als „Konferenzschmetterlinge“ bezeichnet. („Es gibt diese Konferenzschmetterlinge.“)

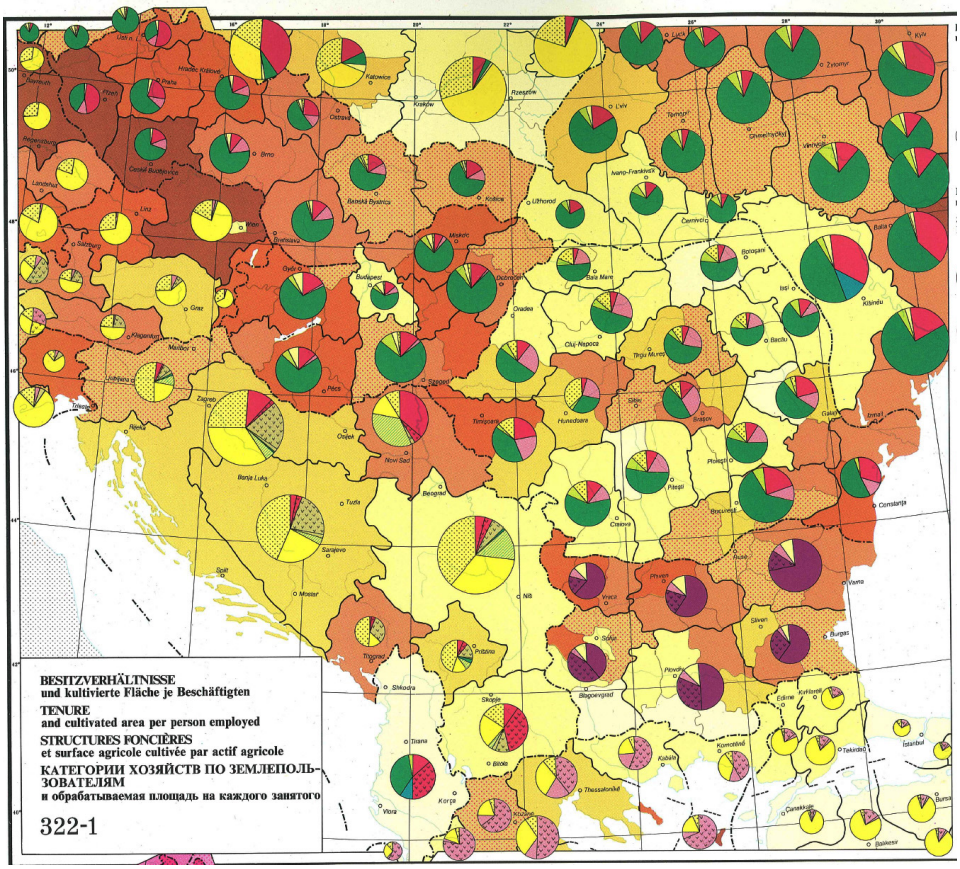


Abb. 6: Atlas der Donauländer, Blatt 322-1 „Besitzverhältnisse und kultivierte Fläche je Beschäftigten“, Originalmaßstab 1:4.000.000. Entwurf: B. TASCHLER (Quelle: TASCHLER 1989)

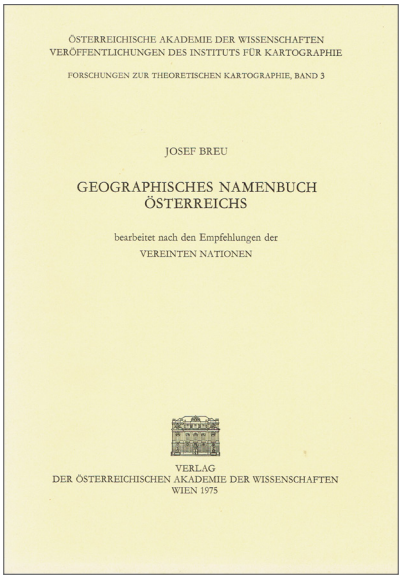
3 Toponomastik

Aus der Redakteurstätigkeit (und wohl auch der vorhergehenden eines Vermessungstechnikers des Bundesamts für Eich- und Vermessungswesen für agrarische Operationen, wodurch er viel Kontakt mit der ländlichen Bevölkerung und deren Hof- und Flurnamen hatte) entwickelte sich die Beschäftigung von Josef BREU mit der Toponomastik. Er näherte sich ihr mit einem profunden linguistischen Wissen von der kartographischen Seite, also über die Bedeutung der Namen für die Kommunikation mittels Karten.

Seine größten Verdienste auf dem Gebiet der Toponomastik sind die Gründung der Abteilung, später „Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Kartographische Ortsnamenkunde“ (AKO), des österreichischen Expertengremiums für geographische Namen, und in deren Gefolge etlicher Nomenklaturkommissionen österreichischer Bundesländer, damit verbunden auch die Namenstandardisierung in den amtlichen österreichischen topographischen Karten (Dienstvorschriften des BEV); weiters

das Geographische Namenbuch Österreichs (Abb. 7, Breu 1975, überarbeitete Fassung AKO 2000); die Herausgabe erster „Vorschläge zur Schreibung geographischer Namen in österreichischen Schulatlanten" (AKO 1994, überarbeitete Fassung AKO 2012); sein Vorsitz der AKO über zwei Amtsperioden, seine Leitung auch des „Ständigen Ausschusses für Geographische Namen" (StAGN), des deutschen Expertengremiums für geographische Namen mit Koordinierungsfunktionen für alle deutschsprachigen Länder und Gebiete; aber ganz besonders seine Tätigkeit bei den Vereinten Nationen (UNGEGN und UNCSGN).

Josef Breu war dort von Beginn an und lange Zeit der Vertreter Österreichs und eine Periode lang auch UNGEGN-Vorsitzender (1977–1982). Er gehörte zu den prägenden Persönlichkeiten und bis weit in die 2010er Jahre verging keine UNGEGN-Sitzung, ohne dass sein Name mehrmals genannt wurde. (Heute ist dort schon die übernächste Generation tätig.) Er wurde dort Begründer der „Toponymic Guidelines for Map and Other Editors" (UNGEGN 2023), die weltweit nach dem von Breu verfassten österreichischen Vorbild gestaltet wurden und die auch nach ihm zumeist unter österreichischer Obhut blieben. (Die weltweite Koordination der „Toponymic Guidelines" übernahmen nach Breu Isolde Hausner, Hubert Bergmann und später Gerhard Rampl – nur der Südafrikaner Peter Raper und derzeit der Niederländer Jasper Hogerwerf waren bzw. sind Ausnahmen.)


ÖSTERREICHISCHE AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN
VERÖFFENTLICHUNGEN DES INSTITUTS FÜR KARTOGRAPHIE

FORSCHUNGEN ZUR THEORETISCHEN KARTOGRAPHIE, BAND 3

JOSEF BREU

GEOGRAPHISCHES NAMENBUCH
ÖSTERREICHS

bearbeitet nach den Empfehlungen der
VEREINTEN NATIONEN

VERLAG
DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN
WIEN 1975

Abb. 7: Josef Breu: Geographisches Namenbuch Österreichs. Wien 1975 (vordere Umschlagseite)

Josef Breu setzte sich bei den Vereinten Nationen vehement vor allem in zwei Bereichen ein: Exonyme und Umschriftsysteme. Bei Exonymen vertrat er gegen den damaligen Mainstream den Standpunkt, dass man sie verwenden solle, weil sie der jeweils eigenen Sprache entsprechen und sich daher auch gut in sie einfügen, wenn sie dekliniert werden oder in die adjektivische Form zu bringen sind oder ein Einwohnername abgeleitet werden muss; weil sie uns mit unserer Geschichte verbinden; weil sie leicht auszusprechen sind, daher auch häufiger verwendet werden und besser zu merken sind und somit zum topographischen Wissen beitragen. Bei Umschriftsystemen trat er konsequent für die Transliteration ein – dabei massiv von Otto Back unterstützt. Es war daher sicher in seinem Sinn, dass die österreichische Delegation unter meiner Leitung bei der UNCSGN 2012

(gemeinsam mit Deutschland, den Niederlanden, Tschechien und Kroatien) gegen die Annahme der englisch-phonetischen Umschriftsysteme der Ukraine und Bulgariens auftrat und sich damit das Recht erwarb, weiterhin die slawistischen Transliterationen zu verwenden.

Die Standardisierung geographischer Namen und eben vor allem die internationalen Aktivitäten auf diesem Gebiet waren BREU ein Herzensanliegen. Er erzählte mir immer ausführlich von allen UNGEGN-Sitzungen und UN-Konferenzen und von den dort wichtigen Akteuren wie Şerban DRAGOMIRESCU, Ervin FÖLDI, R. R. RANDALL, Donald ORTH, H. A. G. LEWIS, und als ich 1986 zum ersten Mal die AKO und Österreich bei einer UNGEGN-Sitzung in Genf [Genève] vertrat, kannte ich diese Personen eigentlich schon fast alle.

Dafür, wie sehr BREU mit Leib und Seele daran hing, ist diese UNGEGN-Sitzung in Genf übrigens ein gutes Beispiel: Er konnte, weil er schon in Pension war, daran nicht mehr teilnehmen (Das österreichische Außenministerium delegierte ihn nicht mehr.) und Hofrat DESOYE, der als damaliger AKO-Vorsitzender eigentlich Österreich hätte vertreten sollen, sagte ab, weil er seinen Urlaub schon gebucht hatte. (Die Sitzung war im August kurzfristig angesetzt worden.). BACK kam nicht in Frage, weil er nicht gern reiste. Deshalb musste ich einspringen und das war auch meine erste UNGEGN-Sitzung. Dafür haben mich BREU und BACK im Wohnhaus von BREU eingehend „gebrieft“: Sie sagten mir ganz genau, wie ich die einzelnen österreichischen Papiere vorstellen sollte, welche Fragen kommen könnten, und wie ich darauf antworten sollte.

4 Schluss

Josef BREU hat darüber hinaus noch ein grundlegendes Werk über die Kroatensiedlung im Burgenland geschrieben (BREU 1970) (Abb. 8), er war Präsident der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft von 1981 bis 1984 und vieles mehr. Er war kein „Konferenzschmetterling“ und ist

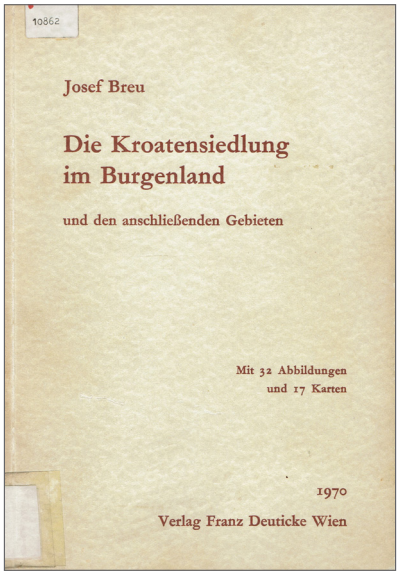


Abb. 8: Josef BREU: Die Kroatensiedlung im Burgenland und den anschließenden Gebieten. Wien 1970 (vordere Umschlagseite)

dadurch vielleicht nicht einer so breiten Öffentlichkeit bekannt geworden, wie es seine wissenschaftliche Leistung erwarten ließe. Es wird aber bestimmt jeder, der sich näher mit Fragen der kartographischen Ortsnamenkunde, mit der kartographischen Erfassung des Donauraums und mit der Erforschung ethnischer Minderheiten beschäftigt, auf ihn stoßen und dabei erkennen, dass ein Polyhistor, Redakteur, Geograph und Länderkundler klassischen Stils mit seltenem wissenschaftlichem Ethos in vorher kaum bearbeitete Bereiche der Geographie und in deren Überlappungszonen mit anderen Wissenschaften vorgestoßen ist.

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Wien (Vienna) 2023, https://doi.org/10.1553/moegg165-b04

Die hohe Schule der Polyglottie

Otto Back und die Vielfalt der Toponymie[1)]

Hans Christian Luschützky (Wien)*

mit 2 Abbildungen im Text

Zusammenfassung

In diesem Beitrag werden, nach einer kurzen Darstellung des Wirkens von Otto Back als akademischem Lehrer, seine Verdienste als Forscher und wissenschaftlicher Autor auf dem Gebiet der Toponomastik gewürdigt. Otto Backs Zugang zu diesem Forschungsfeld war geprägt von seiner umfassenden Kenntnis der Sprachenwelt Europas, seinem persönlichen Format als polyglotter „Homo universalis" und seinem immensen Detailwissen in den für die Namenkunde relevanten Fächern, von Geographie und Geschichte über Politik und Soziologie bis hin zu juristischen und administrativen Aspekten. Die wichtigsten Publikationen werden kurz vorgestellt und im Kontext aktueller Forschungen besprochen.

Summary

The "Haute École" of Polyglotty: Otto Back and the Diversity of Toponymy

In this contribution, after a brief presentation of Otto Back's work as an academic teacher, his achievements as a researcher and scientific author in the field of toponomastics are recognised. Otto Back's approach to this field of research was characterised by his extensive knowledge of the linguistic structure of Europe, his personal stature as a polyglot and "homo universalis" and his immensely detailed knowledge of the subjects relevant to onomastics, from geography and history to politics and sociology to legal and administrative aspects. The most important publications are briefly presented and discussed in the context of contemporary research.

Wenn man in den Siebziger- und Achtzigerjahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts das Hauptgebäude der Universität Wien an der Ringstraße betrat, konnte man damals noch von dem langen Korridor aus,

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[1)] Dies ist die erweiterte schriftliche Fassung eines Vortrags beim Internationalen Gedenksymposium zu Ehren von Josef Breu (1914–1998) und Otto Back (1926–2018), das unter dem Titel „Geographische Namen im Gebrauch – angewandte Toponomastik in ihrer Vielfalt" am 6. und 7. November 2023 an der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften abgehalten wurde, organisiert von der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Kartographische Ortsnamenkunde (AKO).

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der im ersten Stock, bei der sogenannten Philosophenstiege, vom Rektorat zur Universitätsbibliothek führt, linker Hand in zwei kleine Hörsäle gelangen. Heute sind dort, nach gründlichen und langwierigen Umbauten, die Promotionskanzlei und andere Einrichtungen der universitären Verwaltung angesiedelt. Einer dieser beiden Räume, der Hörsaal 35b, der die Bezeichnung *Saal* nur in Hinblick auf seine Funktion verdiente und nicht aufgrund seiner Größe, war für gewöhnlich dienstags und donnerstags von acht bis neun Uhr früh mit einer jeweils einstündigen Vorlesung belegt, die es vermochte, die Tendenz zum Langschläfertum notorisch nachtaktiver Studierender zumindest an diesen zwei Wochentagen außer Kraft zu setzen.



Quelle: Frontispiz in EICHNER H., ERNST P., KATSIKAS S. (Hrsg.) (1997): Sprachnormung und Sprachplanung. Festschrift für Otto Back zum Siebzigsten Geburtstag. 2., verbesserte Auflage. Wien: Edition Praesens. Mit freundlicher Genehmigung von Peter ERNST

Abb. 1: Otto BACK

Vorne am Pult, vor den kirchenbankähnlichen Sitzreihen, stand ein unauffällig, aber geschmackvoll in Weste und Sakko gekleideter, nicht gerade groß gewachsener und etwas rundlicher Herr schwer bestimmbaren Alters, der eine Aura von Aufgewecktheit verbreitete, die zu dieser für akademische Verhältnisse wahrlich randständigen Tageszeit als geradezu frivol empfunden werden konnte. Vor ihm ausgebreitet lagen mehrere Bündel von kleinformatigen Zettelchen und karteikartenähnlichen Notizblättern, die er nur fallweise zur Hand nahm, wie um sich zu vergewissern, dass eine längere Serie von aus dem Stegreif vorgetragenen Daten und Fakten auch tatsächlich korrekt dargebracht worden war.

Seiner Haltung und seinem Gesichtsausdruck war deutlich anzumerken, dass es ihm alles andere als schwerfiel, seinem Auditorium wissenschaftliche Inhalte in eleganten und einprägsamen Formulierungen verständlich zu machen. Ganz im Gegenteil: eher schien es ihm Mühe zu bereiten, den Gedankenschwall, der in ihm brodelte, zurückzuhalten und die Fülle dessen, was ihm mitteilenswert erschien, samt Assoziationen, Aperçus und Nebenbemerkungen, in bekömmlichen Portionen zu verabreichen. Man kann den Eindruck, den seine Vortragskunst hinterließ, mit dem Gefühl vergleichen, das nur besonders begnadete Sängerinnen und Sänger zu vermitteln vermögen, bei denen es den Anschein hat, dass ihre mentale und physische Anstrengung gar nicht so sehr darauf gerichtet ist, schöne und leidenschaftliche Töne hervorzubringen, sondern dass ihr Können vielmehr darin besteht, den Reichtum ihrer stimmlichen Mittel zu dosieren und den aus ihrem Inneren herausdrängenden Überfluss an vokalem Glanz und Klangfülle im Zaum zu halten.

Glasklare Diktion, eine sonore und perfekt geschulte Sprechstimme, von lebhafter Gestik akzentuierte freie Rede in druckreifen Perioden – das war die äußerliche Hülle, in der Otto Back seine Vorlesungen präsentierte; das war die Verpackung, in der er seiner überschaubaren, aber eingeschworenen Hörergemeinde viele Semester lang jeden Dienstag- und Donnerstagmorgen geistige Geschenke überreichte, deren Vielfalt und Wertbeständigkeit sich erst im Rückblick zur Gänze offenbaren. Heutigen Universitätsangehörigen, deren akademisches Bewusstsein von der industriellen Produktionsrationalisierung der Curricula „alla bolognese“ geprägt ist, könnte der intellektuelle Gabentisch, auf den Otto Back Woche für Woche und Semester für Semester seine Päckchen häufte, wie ein permanentes Weihnachtswunder erscheinen.

Die Lernpsychologie möge ergründen, ob es didaktisch effektiver und einprägsamer ist, wenn eine Präsentationsfolie, zum Beispiel mit einer fertigen Landkarte, eingescannt aus einer gedruckten Quelle oder heruntergeladen aus einer Datei, auf eine Leinwand projiziert wird, oder wenn der Vortragende freihändig in Echtzeit die Umrisse Europas und seiner Länder aus dem Gedächtnis mit der Kreide an die Tafel zeichnet, so wie es Otto Back im Hörsaal spontan und ohne Inanspruchnahme des zum Löschen bereitliegenden Schwammes jederzeit zu tun imstande war. Das Ergebnis musste die Überprüfung an geographischen Tatsachen nicht scheuen. Es sah ungefähr so aus wie auf dem Handout zu einem Vortrag aus dem Jahr 1981, das in Abbildung 2 wiedergegeben ist.

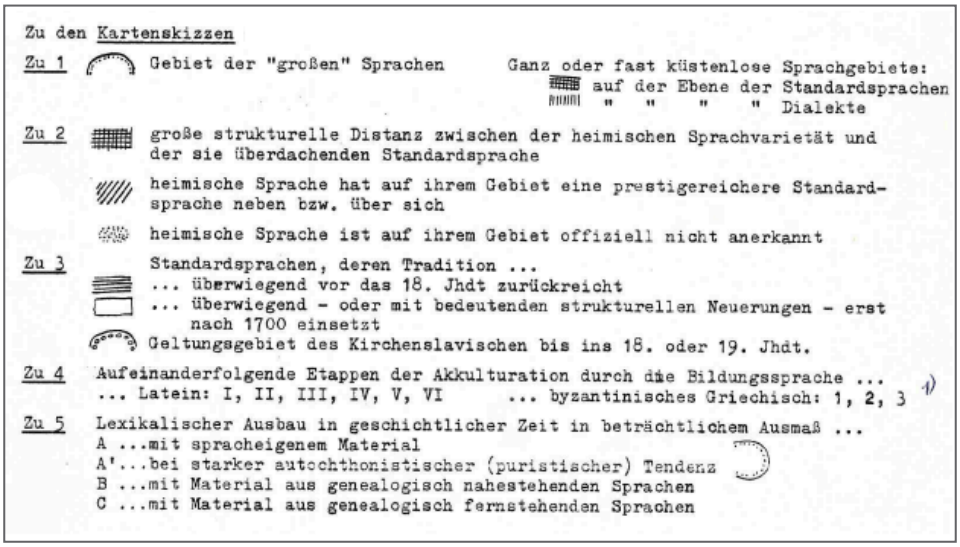
Die Themen der Lehrveranstaltungen, die Otto Back im Programm des Instituts für Sprachwissenschaft gehalten hat, reichten weit hinaus über das Gebiet der sogenannten „kleinen“ Venia legendi, die mit der ihm 1983 von der damaligen Geisteswissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Alma Mater Rudolphina verliehenen Honorarprofessur verbunden war. Die Beschränkung dieser Lehrbefugnis auf den Bereich „Angewandte Graphematik und Orthographieforschung“ erscheint geradezu kleinlich angesichts der Tatsache, dass damit nur eines der Forschungsgebiete umrissen ist, in denen sich Otto Back durch gehaltvolle Publikationen ausgewiesen hat.

Eine besonders eindrucksvolle Vorführung der Möglichkeit, so gut wie alle humanwissenschaftlichen Disziplinen mit linguistischen Fragestellungen zu verknüpfen, war die in den 1980er Jahren mehrsemestrig abgehaltene Vorlesung mit dem Titel „Einführung in die Sprachökologie“. Hier wurde von Geographie und Geschichte über Soziologie und Politik bis hin zu völkerrechtlichen und wirtschaftskundlichen Faktoren alles erörtert, was auf die Befindlichkeit von Sprachgemeinschaften einwirkt und ihr Schicksal bestimmt. Der Ansporn zur Vervollständigung der eigenen Allgemeinbildung, der von dieser Vorlesung ausging, beschränkte sich nicht nur darauf, sich beim mündlichen Kolloquium am Semesterende vor dem Prüfer keine Blöße zu geben. Den Hörerinnen und Hörern wurde vor allem deutlich gemacht, und zwar entgegen der damaligen fachspezifischen Leitkultur, einer reduktionistischen und abstraktionsverliebten Formallinguistik, dass die Sprachwissenschaft als Kulturwissenschaft betrieben werden muss, wenn sie Erkenntnisziele verfolgt, die auch außerhalb esoterischer Konventikel wahrgenommen werden können. Das

folgende Zitat bringt den Anspruch, den Otto BACK in seinem Wirken als Forscher und Lehrer verfolgt hat, auf den Punkt: “The scientific study of human language, because it is the most social of the exact sciences and the most exact of the social sciences, usually requires deep knowledge not only of the language or languages under scrutiny and of the goals, methods, standards, and terminology of the discipline but also of the history and culture of the people who use that language or those languages.” (GOLD 2009, S. 815).

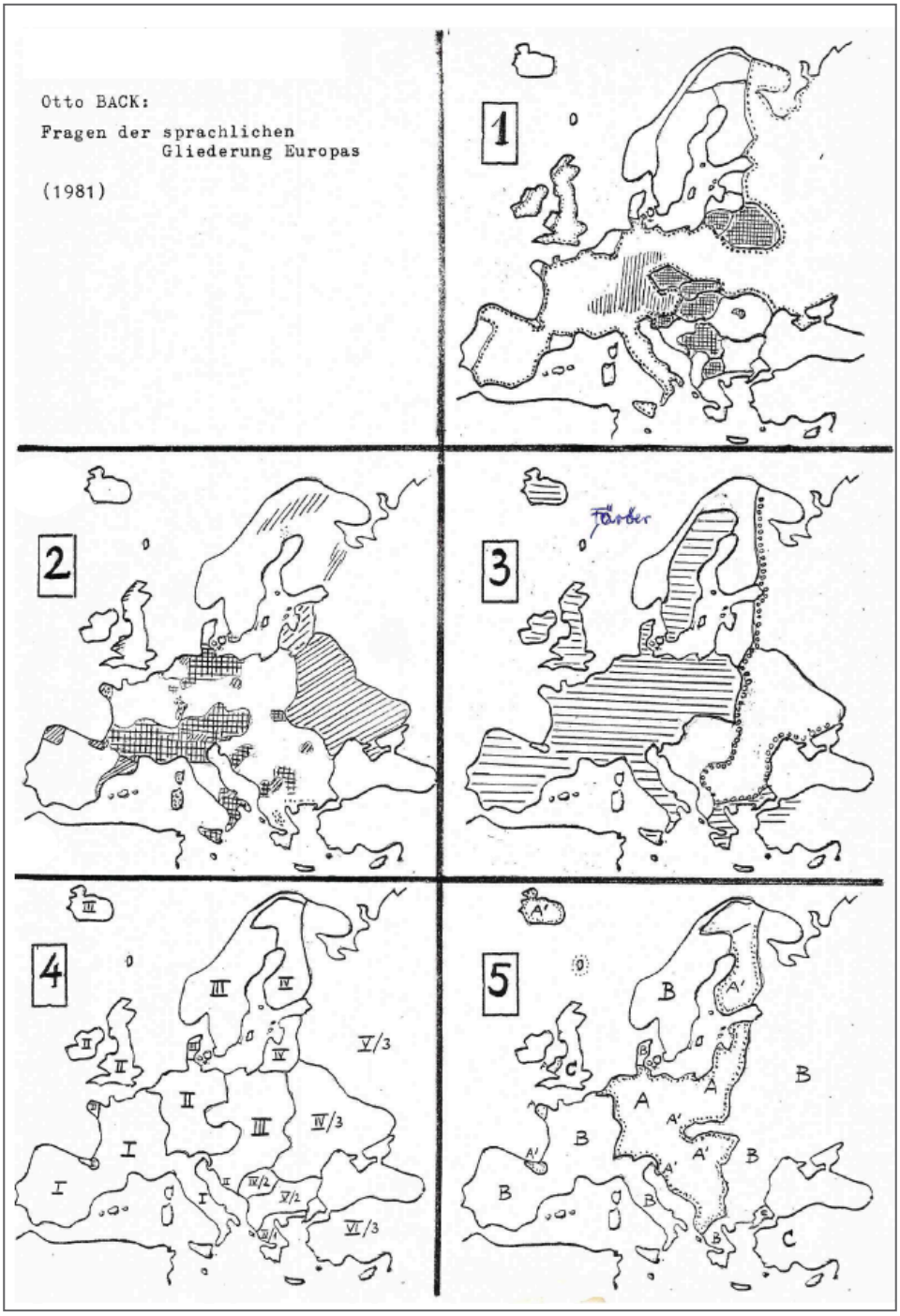
Dass die Welt der Eigennamen für eine kulturwissenschaftlich fundierte Sprachwissenschaft ein zentrales Phänomen darstellen muss, lernte man bei Otto BACK in allen seinen Vorlesungen, obwohl die eigentliche Onomastik in seiner akademischen Lehrtätigkeit nur vereinzelt vorkam (zuletzt in einer Vorlesung über geographische Namen im Wintersemester 1994). Der Großteil seiner Lehrveranstaltungen war dem Themenkreis der Graphematik und Orthographie gewidmet. In einer späteren Phase kam auch die Plansprachenforschung hinzu. Nebenbei sei noch erwähnt, dass Otto BACK lange Zeit für die Sommerakademie der „Wiener Internationalen Hochschulkurse“ Vorträge über das Österreichische Deutsch gehalten hat.

Als einem der aktivsten Konsulenten des „Österreichischen Wörterbuchs“, dessen Redaktionskollegium er seit der 36. Auflage von 1985 angehörte, war ihm die Pflege des Bewusstseins der Plurizentrizität des Deutschen ein großes Anliegen. Bei aller Sachlichkeit und besonnenen Strenge der Betrachtung, die ihm sonst eigen war, konnte man erleben, dass er sich zu polemischen Aufwallungen hinreißen ließ, wenn es um Fragen der stilistischen Authentizität dessen ging, was er aufgrund seines eingewurzelten Wienertums als regionaltypisch empfand. Hier berührte sich die analytische Schärfe seines Intellekts mit dem emotionalen Potenzial seines sanguinischen Temperaments in gleichsam elektrisierenden Impulsen. Ein Zitat aus einem Artikel über die österreichische



Quelle: Montage aus einem Vortragshandout von Otto BACK (1981)

Abb. 2: Kartenskizzen von Otto BACK für seinen Vortrag, gehalten im Programm der Wiener Sprachgesellschaft am 5. Mai 1981 zum Thema „Fragen der sprachlichen Gliederung Europas“ (1981)


Otto BACK:
Fragen der sprachlichen
Gliederung Europas
(1981)
1
2
3
Färber
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5

Standardlautung des Deutschen lässt erahnen, was mündlich, in ungefiltertem Zustand, von ihm über jene Fachkreise zu hören war, bei denen er sein Anliegen schlecht aufgehoben wähnte: „Der Weg ist umlagert von Mißverstehern, Mißdeutern und Hanswursten“ (BACK 1995, S. 284).

Das ausgeprägt sanguinische Temperament Otto BACKs scheint ihm dabei geholfen zu haben, das Unrecht und die Erschwernisse zu überwinden, von denen sein zweites Lebensjahrzehnt überschattet war. Ein Erlass des nationalsozialistischen Regimes vom Juli 1942 über sogenannte „Mischlinge ersten Grades“ verweigerte dem damals Sechzehnjährigen den Schulabschluss. Bis zur Befreiung 1945 konnte er sich in prekären Verhältnissen durchbringen, unter anderem als Kanzleigehilfe. Gleich nach Kriegsende jedoch wurde die Matura nachgeholt und an der Universität das Studium der Romanistik und Slawistik aufgenommen. Die 1951 approbierte Dissertation behandelte ein onomasiologisches Thema: „Die Ausdrücke für ‚schön‘ in den romanischen Sprachen“.

In einem Forscherleben sind die ersten selbstständigen explorativen Schritte oft prägend für die weitere Entwicklung des persönlichen Profils. Im Fall von Otto BACK verlief der Weg in die wissenschaftliche Eigenständigkeit in den Bahnen der Benennungs- und Bezeichnungslehre, in Verbindung mit der sprachvergleichenden Perspektive, die sich bei ihm auf eine außergewöhnliche Breite an Sprachkenntnissen stützen konnte. Die onomasiologische Betrachtungsweise, in der logisch-semantische Relationen und das Wechselspiel zwischen Form, Funktion und Bedeutung sprachlicher Zeichen im Mittelpunkt der linguistischen Analyse stehen, hat Otto BACK durch sein ganzes Forscherleben hindurch als Richtschnur beibehalten. Dass es ihm dabei gelungen ist, das Abgleiten in theoretische Selbstgenügsamkeit oder Spekulation zu vermeiden, dem man in diesem Revier der Denkarbeit nur allzu leicht erliegen kann, hat mit seiner starken Bindung an die sinnstiftende Essenz des Praktischen zu tun. Otto BACK betrieb Sprachwissenschaft auf der Basis universeller theoretischer Prinzipien, aber immer in Hinblick auf die Anwendbarkeit der gewonnenen Erkenntnisse in der Lebensrealität. In einem oft zitierten Artikel hat er herausarbeitet, wie breit der Begriff „Angewandte Sprachwissenschaft“ schon in frühen Phasen der Fachgeschichte gefasst worden ist, entgegen späteren Vereinnahmungen durch einzelne Richtungen (BACK 1970).

Ein nicht geringer Teil von Otto BACKs praxisbezogenen Aktivitäten entfiel auf die langjährige Tätigkeit als Konsulent des Österreichischen Normungsinstituts, das sich heute „Austrian Standards“ nennt. Dort hat er in etlichen Arbeitskreisen und Fachausschüssen, von Terminologie und Bibliothekswesen bis zu Onomastik und Sachklassifikationsfragen verschiedener Art, viel Heimarbeit geleistet, seine breite Belesenheit eingebracht und bei den Sitzungen mit nie ermüdender Diskussionslust glänzende Proben seines phänomenalen Präsenzwissens gegeben.

Seine Mitwirkung im österreichischen Standardisierungsgremium für geographische Namen, in der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Kartographische Ortsnamenkunde (AKO) und im Ständigen Ausschuss für geographische Namen (StAGN) ist von Isolde HAUSNER in einer Laudatio zum neunzigsten Geburtstag in dieser Zeitschrift ausführlich gewürdigt worden (HAUSNER 2016).

Wenn man die wichtigsten Eigenschaften aufzählen sollte, durch die sich die Arbeiten von Otto BACK auf den von ihm behandelten Forschungsgebieten auszeichnen, so sind es die folgenden drei: Erstens: ein systematischer Ansatz, der den untersuchten Phänomenen ein explizites Ordnungsschema zugrunde legt; Zweitens: begriffsanalytische Stringenz und kritische Reflexion der Terminologie; Drittens: ein breiter komparativer Skopus, der Sprachdaten nicht nur anekdotisch heranzieht, sondern die Gesamtheit des typologischen Spektrums im Blick behält.

Besonders klar können diese Charakteristika am Beispiel eines Handbuchartikels aus dem Jahr 1996 vorgeführt werden. Im Handbuch „Namenforschung“ aus der Reihe „HSK“ („Handbücher zur Sprach-und Kommunikationswissenschaft“) des Verlags de Gruyter ist im zweiten Teilband ein Artikel von Otto BACK enthalten mit dem Titel „Typologie der Ländernamen: Staaten-, Länder-,

Landschaftsnamen“ (Back 1996). Auf sehr beschränktem Raum wird hier ein klassifikatorisches Modell entworfen und mit Beispielen aus dem globalen Fundus von Choronymen belegt, das in mustergültiger Weise darstellt, wie sich eine unüberschaubare Menge von Einzelerscheinungen auf eine überschaubare Zahl von Typenklassen reduziert, sofern die Einteilungskriterien linguistisch fundiert sind und konsequent angewendet werden.

In einem einleitenden Abschnitt werden zunächst unter der Überschrift „Gegenstandsbereich und Methode“ die bestehenden Vagheiten in der Terminologie diskutiert und begriffliche Festlegungen getroffen. Auf die Spärlichkeit des Bestands an Vorarbeiten zur Typologie, nicht nur von Choronymen, sondern in der Toponomastik allgemein, wird mit Bedauern hingewiesen, und aus heutiger Sicht kann angemerkt werden, dass sich die Situation zwar gebessert hat – allerdings mit einem kleinen Schönheitsfehler, denn in der erfreulich großen Zahl von rezenten einschlägigen Publikationen zur toponymischen Typologie findet sich nur selten eine Erwähnung des wegweisenden Beitrags von Otto Back im „HSK“-Handbuch zur Namenforschung.

Im zweiten Abschnitt des Artikels wird kurz auf das Phänomen der interlingualen Allonymie eingegangen, mit dem Verweis auf Backs eigene Monographie „Übersetzbare Eigennamen“, die 1991 in zweiter Auflage erschienen war und seit 2002 in einer erweiterten dritten Auflage vorliegt (Back 1983 / ^{2}1991 / ^{3}2002). Im dritten Abschnitt wird das Prinzip der Motiviertheit erläutert, das der darauffolgenden Klassifikation im anschließenden Abschnitt als Hauptkriterium zugrunde liegt. Dieser vierte Abschnitt führt zehn Typenklassen von transparenten Choronymen vor, jeweils mit mehreren Untertypen, wobei die Kriterien nicht formaler, sondern inhaltlicher Natur sind und „mutatis mutandis“ auch auf andere Kategorien von Toponymen angewendet werden können. In der ersten Typenklasse konstituieren beispielsweise diejenigen Ländernamen einen Untertyp, die aus Namen von Festtagen gebildet sind, so wie *Ascension* oder *Natal*. Der historische Hintergrund ist in beiden Fällen der Tag der Entdeckung der betreffenden Gegenden. Im Fall der Insel im Südatlantik war das der Himmelfahrtstag 1501 oder 1502 (Livermore 2004, S. 626–628) und im Fall der südafrikanischen Provinz war es die Entdeckung durch Vasco da Gama am Weihnachtstag 1497.

Auch bei Siedlungsnamen bilden Chrononyme, das heißt, auf Zeitliches bezogene Namen, als Benennungsmotiv einen geläufigen Typus. Das können mittelalterliche Markttage sein, wie etwa im Fall von ungarisch *Szombathely* (wörtlich ‚Samstagsplatz‘), oder slowenisch *Murska Sobota* (ungarisch *Muraszombat*). Auch markante Ereignisse können eine Motivationsgrundlage sein, wie im Fall von *Großsonntag* bzw. *Velika Nedelja*, ebenfalls in Slowenien gelegen. Dort wurde am Ostersonntag des Jahres 1199 die Schlacht auf den Pettauer Feldern geschlagen, in der ein steirisches Heer die Ungarn besiegt hat.

Die Typologie ist jener Bereich in der Sprachwissenschaft, wo ein polyglott veranlagter Linguist, wie Otto Back einer war, am besten seine Vielseitigkeit und Kompetenz zur Geltung bringen kann. Das Handbuch Namenforschung enthält zwei Artikel zur onomastischen Typologie der Anthroponyme: einen zu den Einzel- und Vornamen (Seibicke 1996) und einen zur Typologie der Familiennamen (Kohlheim 1996). Darüber hinaus gibt es noch einen Artikel zur Typologie der Mikrotoponyme (Tyroller 1996), der jedoch sprachfamilienspezifisch und nicht allgemein sprachübergreifend ausgerichtet ist. Dem sprachübergreifenden Artikel von Otto Back über Choronyme steht in dem „HSK“-Kompendium kein allgemein-sprachübergreifender Artikel zur Typologie der Ortsnamen zur Seite. Es erscheint darum berechtigt, auf die Relevanz und Nützlichkeit des Backschen Ansatzes für die Typologie der Toponymik im Allgemeinen hinzuweisen.

Zum Unterschied von der ersten Typenklasse, wo die namensbildenden Elemente ihrerseits onymische Einheiten sind, wie die Ereignis- und Wochentagsnamen in den obigen Beispielen, hat die zweite Typenklasse appellativische Einheiten zur Grundlage. Aus der Vielfalt der möglichen Untertypen können etwa Wirtschaftsgüter angeführt werden, wie im Fall der Insel *Madeira*, deren Name

auf dem portugiesischen Wort für ‚Holz' beruht. Ein Parallelfall aus dem Bereich der Siedlungsnamen wäre zum Beispiel das steirische Städtchen *Eisenerz*. Bei der Erstnennung in einer Urkunde aus dem Jahr 1230 lautete der Name noch schlicht *Aerze*, in einem jüngeren Beleg aus 1293 schon *Eisenercz* (LOCHNER VON HÜTTENBACH 2015, Band 1, S. 121).

Die dritte Typenklasse umfasst Fälle, wo das zugrundeliegende Appellativum eine Gattung von Gebietseinheiten bezeichnet, zum Beispiel *Pfalz* oder *Ukrajina* (‚Grenzland'), oder italienisch *Marche* (Plural von *marca* ‚Grenzland', germanischen Ursprungs). Als Pendants aus dem Bereich der Oikonyme können Fälle wie *Graz* genannt werden, aus slawisch *gradec* (‚kleine Burg' bzw. ‚kleine befestigte Ansiedlung'), oder *Köln* (aus lateinisch *colonia*). Wenn man Max VASMERs Etymologie von *Praha* akzeptiert (VASMER 1987, S. 330), gehören auch die tschechische Hauptstadt und der Stadtteil *Praga* in Warschau zu diesem Typus (GRZENIA 2008, S. 240), denn auch ein Brandrodungsplatz (slawisch *pražiti* ‚rösten, brennen') ist eine Gebietseinheit. Schon an diesen wenigen Beispielen zeigt sich, welche Fülle an Möglichkeiten der Subklassifikation innerhalb der Typologie besteht.

Die vierte Klasse umfasst zusammengesetzte Namen, bei denen zu einer Einheit, die der dritten Klasse angehört, ein Bestimmungselement hinzutritt, wie im Fall von *Island* oder *Weinviertel*. Eine Unzahl von Toponymen fällt in diese Kategorie, und die Untertypen können beliebig fein klassifiziert werden, von Naturphänomenen als Determinans, wie im Fall von *Schwanenstadt*, das seit der Stadterhebung 1627 so heißt (davor *Schwans* oder *Markt Schwans*, ursprünglich *Suanaseo*, Erstnennung im Jahr 788; REUTNER et al. 1997, S. 232), über Statusbezeichnungen, wie im Fall von *Ciudad Real* (in Spanien), bis zu chronologischen Bestimmungen, wie im Fall von *Eskişehir* in Anatolien (aus türkisch *eski* ‚alt' und *şehir* ‚Stadt').

In der fünften Klasse ist das Determinans ein Proprium, zum Beispiel ein Hydronym, wie in *Innviertel*. Da die Typologie rein inhaltsbezogen ist und sich nicht auf morphologische Bildungstypen bezieht, sind hier auch Suffixableitungen zu subsumieren. Somit gehören auch Ländernamen wie *Jordanien* oder *Nigeria* in diese Kategorie. An Oikonymen wären hier unter anderem alle Ortsnamen einzureihen, die das Anthroponym eines Stifters oder Gründers enthalten, wie im Fall von *Felixdorf*, das bei der Gründung 1821 nach Felix Mießl benannt wurde, einem ehemaligen Bürgermeister von Wiener Neustadt, und eigentlich *Franzensdorf* hätte heißen sollen, nach dem damaligen Kaiser (SCHUSTER 1990, S. 16). Im Fall von *Porto Empedocle* (auf Sizilien) meint der Name des Philosophen nicht den Stifter oder Gründer, sondern ist als Hommage an einen berühmten Bewohner zu verstehen. Bis 1863 hieß diese Ortschaft schlicht *Molo* (bzw. sizilianisch *Molu di Ğğurğenti*, in der Funktion als Hafen von Agrigent; PELLEGRINI 2006, S. 605). Hier konstituiert sich wiederum ein Untertyp, dem etwa die zahlreichen israelischen Ortsnamen auf *Kirjat* (die hebräische Bezeichnung für ‚Siedlung, Stadt') angehören, deren zweiter Bestandteil der Name eines Widmungsträgers ist, wie *Kirjat Bialik* (nach dem Nationaldichter Chaim Nachman Bialik), *Kirjat Motzkin* (nach Leo Motzkin, einem Vordenker des Zionismus und der Minderheitenrechte), *Kirjat Schmuel* (kommt zweimal vor, einmal nach einem Parteigründer benannt und einmal nach einem ehemaligen Oberrabbiner von Jerusalem), und viele andere.

Einen weiteren Untertyp, der in gemischtsprachigen Gebieten häufig anzutreffen ist, bilden Ortsnamen wie *Böhmischdorf* (heute *Česká Ves*) im ehemaligen Österreichisch-Schlesien. Ein interessanter Einzelfall ist *Miasteczko Śląskie*, das ‚schlesische Städtchen' – ein Ortsname, der zu generisch klingt, um echt sein zu können im Sinne einer historisch gewachsenen Toponymie. In der Tat handelt es sich um eine bewusste Kreation aus der Zwischenkriegszeit für das vormalige *Georgenberg* (RYMUT 2007, S. 34–35). Ein Vergleich drängt sich hier auf mit den Erfindungen, die Ettore Tolomei schon vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg in seinem „Prontuario dei nomi locali dell'Alto Adige" zum Zweck der onomastischen Italianisierung Südtirols zusammengestellt hat (TOLOMEI 1916; vgl. KRAMER 1998).

Die Typenklassen zwei bis fünf stehen einander näher und könnten als Makroklasse zusammengefasst werden. Eine Verkomplizierung der hierarchischen Gliederung seiner Typologie wurde von Otto Back allerdings nicht ins Auge gefasst. Ihm erschien sein Entwurf nach eigener Aussage als explorativer Anstoß zu umfassender empirischer Arbeit und theoretischer Verfeinerung, die er selbst nicht oder nicht mehr zu leisten sich berufen gesehen hat.

Die sechste Typenklasse enthält Choronyme, denen ein relationales Benennungsmotiv zugrunde liegt. Es geht dabei um Namen wie *Vorarlberg, Transsilvanien, Transnistrien* (rumänisch *Transnistria* ‚jenseits des Dnister'), *Pomorze* (polnisch ‚am Meer'), *Zalesie* (polnisch ‚hinterm Wald') und dergleichen, wobei das Bezugsobjekt appellativisch oder proprial sein kann, woraus sich wiederum Untertypen ergeben. Beispiele für Ortsnamen sind unschwer zu finden: *Vordernberg* (in der Steiermark) und *Hinterzarten* (im Schwarzwald) liegen auf der Hand,[2)] genauso wie *Zagreb*, wenn man die Etymologie ‚hinter dem Berg' akzeptiert (Bezlaj 1976, S. 173; vgl. Gluhak 1991), oder *Podgorica*, wo die Etymologie unstrittig ist (‚am Fuß des Hügels').

Eine Typologie, die ihren Gegenstandsbereich vollständig abdeckt, gerät leicht an einen Punkt, wo ausgefallenere Phänomene durch Systemzwang in denselben Rang erhoben werden wie die allerhäufigsten und geläufigsten. So verhält es sich im Fall von Otto Backs Typologie der Länder- und Landschaftsnamen mit der siebenten Typenklasse. Diese enthält Namen, die gewissermaßen durch Vervielfältigung entstanden sind. Das Phänomen ist charakteristisch für Kolonien, und Beispiele aus dem Bereich der Siedlungsnamen sind geläufiger und in numerischer Hinsicht fallweise spektakulärer als aus dem Bereich der Choronyme. Über zwanzig Städte, Gemeinden und Ortsteile namens *Paris* gibt es bekanntlich in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, und eben soviele mit dem Namen *Rome*. Ein weniger bekanntes Kuriosum dieser Gattung ist der Name *Nju-Jork*, der für ein zwischenzeitlich *Novhorodske* genanntes ostukrainisches Städtchen (im Kreis Bachmut, zum Zeitpunkt der Niederschrift unmittelbar an der Frontlinie gelegen) seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bezeugt und mittlerweile wieder in Gebrauch ist (Gobert 2021).

Die achte Typenklasse beruht ebenfalls auf Vervielfältigung, doch kommt hier eine Erweiterung hinzu, aus der sich das neue Choronym ergibt, sei es als Benennung für einen Teil eines Gesamtgebiets, wie in *Małopolska* (Kleinpolen), oder als politische Kennzeichnung, wie in dem historischen Namen *Kongresspolen*. Einen weiteren Untertyp bilden Namen wie *New England*, die *Fränkische Schweiz*, die *South Orkney Islands* zwischen Feuerland und der Antarktis, um nur einige wenige zu nennen. Ein Phänomen, das Otto Back in seiner Klassifikation nicht berücksichtigt hat, weil es bei Choronymen kaum vorkommt, könnte hier als weiterer Untertyp angeschlossen werden, und zwar die spielerisch-ironische Abwandlung eines Namens durch Wortkreuzung nach dem Muster *Copa Kagrana* (ein Abschnitt der Uferlandschaft an der Neuen Donau in Wien, benannt in Anspielung auf Kagran, den Namen eines Stadtteils des 22. Wiener Gemeindebezirks, und den berühmten Strand *Copa Cabana* in Rio de Janeiro). Ein ähnliches Beispiel wäre *Bollywood*, sofern es sich dabei um ein Toponym handelt, was aber nicht eindeutig der Fall ist, denn es gibt zwar im Norden von Mumbai eine mit dem kalifornischen Hollywood vergleichbare Konzentration von Filmstudios, doch wird *Bollywood* in den Medien eher als Genrebegriff für die dort produzierten Unterhaltungsfilme verstanden denn als geographische Bezeichnung. Seit der Umbenennung von *Bombay* in *Mumbai* 1995 müsste der Name eigentlich *Mollywood* lauten, doch gilt im Namenwesen bekanntlich, so wie im Kartenspiel, der Grundsatz „was liegt, das pickt".

[2)] Der Versuchung, an dieser Stelle aus einem populären Nachschlagewerk zu zitieren, kann nicht widerstanden werden: „[…] das als heilklimatischer Kurort und Wintersportplatz bekannte Hinterzarten oberhalb des Höllentals, das 1554 als *hinder der Straß in der Zartten* umschrieben wird und daher wahrscheinlich seinen unterscheidenden Zusatz bekam (der dann vermutlich Freiburger Studenten zu dem ‚italianisierten' Scherznamen *Popo dolce* veranlasste" (Berger 1999, S. 164).

Eine weniger bekannte Kreation dieses Typs ist *Londongrad*, womit auf dubiose Aktivitäten russischer Geschäftsleute in der Finanzwelt der Londoner City angespielt wird (Bullough 2022). Ein ähnliches onomasiologisches Motiv liegt auch dem von israelischen Medien schon um das Jahr 2005 geprägten und in der internationalen Presse aufgegriffenen Spottnamen *Hamastan* für den Gazastreifen zugrunde.

Die neunte Typenklasse bezieht sich auf Erweiterungen einfacher Choronyme um ein spezifizierendes Element, wie im Fall von *Isle of Wight, Mark Brandenburg* oder *Fürstentum Liechtenstein*. Die erweiterten Formen können optional sein oder obligatorisch. Entsprechende Beispiele aus der Oikonymie wären etwa *Stadt Haag* (in Oberösterreich), *Markt Hartmannsdorf* (in der Steiermark), oder auch *Città del Vaticano*, *Chṓra Sfakíōn* (auf Kreta), und ähnliches mehr.

Die zehnte Typenklasse betrifft ebenfalls Mehrgliedrigkeit. Hierher gehören alle Choronyme, die aus additiv kombinierten Einheiten bestehen, sei es mit oder ohne Konjunktion, wie *Nordrhein-Westfalen*, *Bosna i Hercegovina, Trinidad and Tobago, Languedoc-Roussillon*. Bei Oikonymen sind die geläufigsten Beispiele zusammengewachsene Orte, wie *Bielsko-Biała* (Polen) *Frýdek-Místek* (Tschechien), *Thörl-Maglern* (Kärnten) *Attnang-Puchheim* (Oberösterreich). Ein formaler Untertyp sind vollständige Univerbierungen, wie im Fall von *Budapest*.

Otto Back hat seinen typologischen Entwurf als Modell verstanden, das am Beispiel der Länder- und Landschaftsnamen zeigt, wie an eine sprachübergreifende onomastische Taxonomie herangegangen werden sollte. Seine umfassende Kenntnis vieler Sprachen und Namenssysteme hat ihn dazu befähigt, den Horizont der Induktion so weit zu spannen, wie es für die Themenstellung eines Handbuchartikels über Ländernamen nötig war, also weltweit. Hier wurden einige wenige Beispiele aus der Oikonymie hinzugefügt, um die Anwendbarkeit der Einteilungskriterien zu illustrieren, sowie im Hinblick darauf, dass in den letzten Jahren auch in der regionalspezifischen Namenforschung die Typologie als methodisches Paradigma mehr und mehr in den Vordergrund des Interesses getreten ist.

In der rezenten Forschungsliteratur wird verstärkt auf den Bedarf nach allgemein verbindlichen Einteilungskriterien hingewiesen, nicht zuletzt auch im Interesse vergleichender Studien und internationaler Kooperationen, so zum Beispiel in einem Artikel aus 2018 in dieser Zeitschrift. István Tóth und Valéria Hoffmann schlagen darin ein Modell vor, das universelle Anwendbarkeit verspricht: „We introduce a universal toponym description model using a functional approach that is suitable for the description and characterisation of the toponym system of any language in any period of time." (Hoffmann und Tóth 2018, S. 283).

Hoffmann und Tóth bemühen sich zwar um linguistische Plausibilität und theoretische Fundierung ihres Modells, dieses wird aber in dem genannten Artikel nicht hinreichend detailliert beschrieben und somit bleiben viele Fragen offen, nicht zuletzt auch definitorische. Obwohl der Anspruch auf Universalität erhoben wird, beschränkt sich die Exemplifizierung auf ungarisches Namengut. Typisch ungarische mehrgliedrige Toponyme, wie *Hódmezővásárhely* oder *Kiskunfélegyháza*, können anhand dieses Schemas eindeutig charakterisiert werden, sofern die Zuordnung ihrer Bestandteile zu den von Hoffmann und Tóth postulierten Kategorien klar ist und die historischen Sequenzen der Namensgenese bekannt sind. Es lässt sich zeigen, dass sie zwar als Wortkörper aus jeweils vier lexikalischen Einheiten bestehen, als Toponyme aber nur aus jeweils zwei Namenskonstituenten, und dass sie typologisch verschieden strukturiert sind, weil die Namenskonstituente *hódmező* ‚Biberfeld' eine deskriptive Funktion erfüllt, während es sich bei *kiskun* ‚kleinkumanisch' um eine onymische Namenskonstituente handelt, deren Funktion designatorisch ist. Versucht man allerdings, das alte deutsche Exonym von *Félegyháza* in diesem Schema typologisch einzuordnen, sind die Grenzen des Modells gleich überschritten, denn Mehrnamigkeit ist darin nicht vorgesehen und so bleiben mit Allonymie einhergehende Phänomene unklassifiziert, zum Beispiel volksetymo-

logisch inspirierte Adaptierungen wie deutsch *Feulegaß* im Fall von *Félegyháza* (wohl vermittelt durch die jiddische Namensform *Fejlegas*).[3)]

Am anderen Ende des Globus, in Australien, arbeiten David Blair und Jan Tent seit längerer Zeit an einem typologischen Klassifikationsschema für Toponyme, das expliziter ist als das von Hoffmann und Tóth (Blair und Tent 2021). Teilweise beruht es auf ähnlichen Prinzipien wie die von Otto Back für Choronyme vorgeschlagene Taxonomie, aber auch hier ist die Datenbasis regionalspezifisch.

Bei Hoffmann und Tóth zeigt sich, dass eine deduktive Typologie, die auf rein semantisch-strukturellen Kriterien beruht, zur Grobmaschigkeit tendiert und nicht alle Phänomene abdecken kann, die im toponymischen Weltpanoptikum zu finden sind. Bei Tent und Blair wiederum stellt sich heraus, dass in typologischen Systemen, die rein induktiv auf der Basis von regionalspezifischem Material erstellt sind, Kategorien in den Vordergrund treten können, die „eo ipso" regionalspezifisch sind. Wenn dann ein solches Schema auf andere Regionen übertragen wird, entsteht Revisionsbedarf hinsichtlich der Gewichtung, wie es sich bei der Anwendung einer früheren Version des australischen Klassifikationsmodells auf Daten aus Südafrika ergeben hat (Jenkins 2018).

Ein typologisches Klassifikationssystem kann erst dann allgemeine Gültigkeit erlangen, wenn es mit möglichst heterogenen onomastischen Daten aus verschiedenen Weltgegenden konfrontiert worden ist. Daher empfiehlt sich als Ausgangspunkt für toponymische Klassifikationen mit dem Anspruch auf Allgemeingültigkeit eher ein System, das von vornherein überregional konzipiert ist, nach den methodischen Grundlinien, die Otto Back am Beispiel der Choronyme vorgeführt hat, und ergänzt durch die Berücksichtigung von Allonymie, die er in seinem Werk „Übersetzbare Eigennamen" mustergültig analysiert hat. Die Brisanz und Komplexität des Themas Mehrnamigkeit ist erst unlängst von Peter Jordan in einer Monographie wieder in Erinnerung gerufen worden (Jordan 2022), und damit auch die Relevanz und Aktualität dieses Beitrags von Otto Back zur Wissenschaft von den Eigennamen.

Die Lektüre der Publikationen von Otto Back kann leider nur ein unvollkommenes Bild dessen wachrufen, was er als Lehrer und Forscher verkörpert hat. Durch die persönliche Bekanntschaft mit ihm konnte man erfahren, was es heißt, *linguistisches* Sprachgefühl zu besitzen. Stilsicherheit und Eleganz des Ausdrucks in Verbindung mit systematischer Klarheit und Prägnanz waren Kennzeichen seiner Diktion in Wort und Schrift. Die verwendeten Begriffe analytisch zu durchleuchten, terminologische Fehlbildungen aufzuzeigen und Leerformeln aufzudecken lernte man bei ihm ganz nebenbei, gleichsam als selbstverständliche Grundeinstellung bei der wissenschaftlichen Herangehensweise an Sachfragen und Problemstellungen.

Der Verfasser dieser Laudatio ist sehr dankbar, dass ihm Gelegenheit gegeben wurde, Erinnerungen an Otto Back und damit verbundene Einschätzungen mitzuteilen. Die beeindruckende Vielfalt und das hohe Niveau der Beiträge zu der Gedenkveranstaltung, an deren Beginn diese Worte gesprochen werden durften, haben der geographischen Namenkunde und den beiden Altmeistern dieses Fachs große Ehre erwiesen.

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[3)] Der Verfasser dankt für diesen Hinweis Herrn Prof. Nelu Bradean-Ebinger (Budaörs / Wudersch). Man vergleiche hierzu auch die zahlreichen Beispiele in Sasi (2020).

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Die grossen geographischen Tagungen des Jahres 2023

Peter Jordan, Hermagor / Wien*

mit 4 Abbildungen im Text

Dieser Bericht umfasst in chronologischer Abfolge die vier aus österreichischer Sicht wichtigsten geographischen Tagungen des Jahres 2023, wobei die Sitzung der Expertengruppe der Vereinten Nationen für Geographische Namen kein rein geographisches Ereignis war, sondern ein interdisziplinäres Themenfeld zum Gegenstand hatte. An ihm nahmen deshalb auch Vertreter mehrerer Wissenschaften teil, darunter aber viele Geographen und Kartographen. Der Internationalen Kartographischen Konferenz („International Cartographic Conference", ICC) in Kapstadt [Cape Town], der alle zwei Jahre stattfindenden Weltkonferenz der Kartographie, ist ein eigener Beitrag gewidmet.

1 Dritte Sitzung der (neuen) United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names (UNGEGN), New York, 1. bis 5. Mai 2023

Die Expertengruppe für geographische Namen ist eine von neun aktiven Expertengruppen der Vereinten Nationen. Sie hielt im Jahr 1960 in New York ihre erste Sitzung ab und tagte später in der Regel alle zwei Jahre. Bei der 11. Konferenz der Vereinten Nationen zur Standardisierung Geographischer Namen im Jahr 2017 wurde beschlossen, die Funktionen der Konferenz und der Expertengruppe zusammenzulegen und nur noch Sitzungen unter dem Titel der „United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names" (UNGEGN) jedes zweite Jahr abzuhalten. Daraus ergibt sich die Zählweise der Sitzung des Jahres 2023 als der dritten Sitzung der in ihren Kompetenzen neu definierten UNGEGN, obwohl es eigentlich deren 33. Sitzung seit 1960 war.

An dieser Sitzung, die im Hauptquartier der Vereinten Nationen am East River im New Yorker Stadtteil Manhattan stattfand (Abb. 1), beteiligten sich mehr als 220 Delegierte aus 62 Mitgliedstaaten der Vereinten Nationen, weiters Vertreter globaler und regionaler wissenschaftlicher Dachorganisationen wie der „International Cartographic Association" (ICA), der „International Geographical Union" (IGU), des „International Council of Onomastic Sciences" (ICOS), der „International Hydrographic Organization" (IHO), des „Pan-American Institute of Geography and History" (PAIGH) und des „Scientific Committee on Antarctic Research" (SCAGI) sowie Repräsentanten von mit geographischen Namen befassten Firmen wie Google oder Esri. Die größten Delegationen stellten laut Sitzungsbericht Indonesien mit 18, die Republik Korea mit zwölf und die USA mit elf Personen. Seit der 2. Sitzung im Jahr 2021 leitet UNGEGN und deren Plenarsitzungen Pierre Jaillard (Frankreich), assistiert von den Vice-Chairs Susan Birtles (Australien) und Sungjae Choo (Republik Korea).

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Abb. 1: Hauptquartier der Vereinten Nationen am East River, New York (Foto: Jordan 2023)

Der Kern der Tagung bestand aus zehn Plenarsitzungen, in denen rund 60 Konferenzpapiere vorgestellt und diskutiert wurden, wobei die Länderberichte in dieser 3. Sitzung erstmals nach thematischen Schwerpunkten gruppiert (z. B. Aufarbeitung historisch belasteter Namen) und jeweils nur in Hinblick auf diese Schwerpunkte diskutiert wurden. In zwei Podiumsdiskussionen wurden die Themen „Geographische Namen und Umwelt“ sowie „Stärkung der internationalen Zusammenarbeit bei der Standardisierung geographischer Namen“ behandelt. Ausführlichere Präsentationen wurden vom Ständigen Forum für indigene Angelegenheiten der Vereinten Nationen („United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues“, UNPFII) über die Standardisierung von Namen in Sprachen indigener Gruppen im Bereich der Arktis, von Esri über die Rolle geographischer Namen in Not- und Rettungssituationen, vom Herder-Institut Marburg an der Lahn und dem Leibniz-Institut für Länderkunde in Leipzig über ein aus zahlreichen kartographischen Quellen kompiliertes digitales Verzeichnis aktueller und historischer geographischer Namen sowie von Google über den Umgang dieses Konzerns mit geographischen Namen dargeboten.

Um diesen Kern versammelten sich in 17 kleineren Sitzungen die Arbeitsgruppen (Working Groups) der UNGEGN und andere Gruppen, wie beispielsweise die „Joint ICA/IGU Commission on Toponymy“ sowie Diskussionsgruppen zu bestimmten Themen, etwa zu geographischen Namen in indigenen Sprachen oder zur neu entwickelten „World Geographical Names Database“ mit den Namen aller Städte mit mehr als 100.000 Einwohnern in allen sechs amtlichen Sprachen der Vereinten Nationen.

Beherrschende, besonders ausführlich diskutierte Themen der 3. UNGEGN-Sitzung waren geographische Namen in indigenen Sprachen und der Umgang mit Exonymen.

Eigentlich schon sehr früh, in größerer Deutlichkeit aber erst seit den 1980er Jahren haben die Vereinten Nationen die Gleichberechtigung von geographischen Namen in indigenen und Minderheitensprachen in Bezug auf die Standardisierung anerkannt und somit das Grundprinzip der Standardisierung „Ein Name für ein geographisches Objekt" diesbezüglich durchbrochen. Allerdings wurden viele indigene Sprachen erst später kodifiziert, womit auch erst dann eine schriftliche Form ihrer geographischen Namen zur Verfügung stand. Diese verschriftlichten Namen nun zu standardisieren und ihnen neben den Namen in der jeweiligen Mehrheitssprache gleichberechtigte Anerkennung zu verschaffen wird heute besonders in Kanada, Neuseeland und vielen Ländern Afrikas, aber auch in manchen anderen Teilen der Welt von starken gesellschaftlichen Strömungen vertreten. Dazu fand auch am Rande der 3. Sitzung eine vielbesuchte Nebenveranstaltung statt. Bei dieser wurde eine Schwerpunktgruppe (Focus Group) „Indigene Namen" gegründet und der dezidierte Wunsch geäußert, dieses Anliegen möge von der „UNGEGN Working Group on Geographical Names as Cultural Heritage" stärker vertreten werden.

Die Haltung der Vereinten Nationen zu Exonymen war in den 1970er und 1980er Jahren sehr restriktiv, damals wesentlich geprägt durch den internationalistischen, Exonyme als Ausdruck nationalen Denkens einschätzenden Kommunismus und das Bestreben westlicher, vor allem auch der deutschsprachigen Staaten, diesbezüglich keine Konflikte zu provozieren. Seither, besonders durch die „UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage" des Jahres 2003 und ihr folgende und entsprechende Resolutionen in den 2000er und 2010er Jahren hat sich die Haltung der Vereinten Nationen zu Exonymen entscheidend verändert: Als eine Kategorie geographischer Namen und Elemente der Sprache gelten sie nun ebenso wie Endonyme als Teil des immateriellen kulturellen Erbes und daher als bewahrenswert.

Der Vorsitzende der UNGEGN, Pierre JAILLARD, der Convenor der „UNGEGN Working Group on Exonyms", Kohei WATANABE (Japan) und der Verfasser dieses Berichts als Convenor dieser Working Group von 2006 bis 2017 sahen es nun als notwendig an, klarzustellen, dass die älteren Resolutionen der Vereinten Nationen zu Exonymen durch die nach 2003 beschlossenen überholt sind. Ein dazu in der Sitzung der Arbeitsgruppe in Laibach [Ljubljana] im September 2022 ausgearbeiteter und dort auch einstimmig beschlossener Entwurf stieß aber außerhalb der Arbeitsgruppe auf viel Widerspruch, der sich auch im Business Meeting der Arbeitsgruppe während der 3. UNGEGN-Sitzung manifestierte, an dem auch viele Delegierte teilnahmen, die sonst nicht in der Arbeitsgruppe mitwirken. Der Entwurf wurde daher gar nicht erst dem Plenum zur Abstimmung vorgelegt. Stattdessen wurde in das Schlussprotokoll der UNGEGN-Sitzung die „Entscheidung" („Decision", der seit den „neuen" Sitzungen der UNGEGN geltende und „Resolution" ersetzende Terminus) aufgenommen, die Arbeitsgruppe möge eine Entscheidung ausarbeiten, welche die jüngeren mit den älteren Resolutionen zur Exonymenfrage „versöhnt" („reconciles"). In den diplomatischen Usancen und im Sprachcode der Vereinten Nationen sehr versierten Personen zufolge genügt der Ausdruck „versöhnen", um klarzustellen, dass ältere Resolutionen nicht mehr gelten, sofern sie jüngeren widersprechen.

Österreich war im Plenum und in den Nebenveranstaltungen der 3. UNGEGN-Sitzung durch den Vorsitzenden der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Kartographische Ortsnamenkunde (AKO), Roman STANIFERTL, als Delegationsleiter und Peter JORDAN als weiterem Mitglied der Delegation vertreten. Peter JORDAN vertrat außerdem die „International Cartographic Association" (ICA) als deren Liaison Officer zur UNGEGN. Claudia KLUGER-RIBEIRO von der Ständigen Österreichischen Vertretung bei den Vereinten Nationen leistete wertvolle logistische Unterstützung. Die österreichische Delegation und JORDAN in seiner Funktion als ICA Liaison Officer stellten die folgenden, schon vor der Sitzung eingereichten und veröffentlichten[1)] Konferenzpapiere vor:

[1)] *https://unstats.un.org/unsd/ungegn/sessions/3rd_session_2023/*

- Falkensteiner Regina: Austrian Map 1:50 000-UTM (ÖK) – CRP.37 im Namen Österreichs
- Jordan Peter: Report of the Joint ICA/IGU Commission on Toponymy – CRP.36 im Namen der ICA
- Jordan Peter: Minority Place-name Standardization. A Comparison of Regulations and Approaches in Europe – CRP.39 im Namen der ICA
- Jordan Peter: The Endonym/Exonym Divide as a Core Topic of Critical Toponomastics – CRP.40 im Namen Österreichs
- Piko-Rustia Martina: Bilingual Municipal Maps in the Austrian Federal Province Carinthia – CRP.38 im Namen Österreichs
- Stani-Fertl Roman: Report of Austria for the Period 2021–2023 – CRP.35 im Namen Österreichs

Besonderes Interesse erweckte das von Martina Piko-Rustia verfasste und von Peter Jordan vorgestellte Papier „Bilingual Municipal Maps in the Austrian Federal Province Carinthia“, in dem die durchwegs zweinamige, als Wanderkarte gestaltete Karte des Gebiets der einzigen in Kärnten mehrheitlich slowenischsprachigen Gemeinde Zell (Der slowenische Namen Sele ist als Gemeindename nicht amtlich.) präsentiert wird, die vom Ethnographischen Institut Urban Jarnik in Zusammenarbeit mit der Firma MapExplorer und mit Unterstützung der Gemeinde Zell gestaltet wurde. An dieser Karte, die mittlerweile bereits zwei Nachfolgerinnen in Kärnten gefunden hat, ist aus namenkundlicher Sicht besonders bemerkenswert, dass streng nach den Prinzipien der Standardisierung nicht nur die zweisprachigen amtlichen Siedlungsnamen vermerkt sind, sondern in beiden örtlichen Sprachen auch alle Namen von Naturobjekten. Dazu wurde der örtliche Gebrauch erhoben und der Name in die Form der slowenischen Standardsprache nur dann übertragen, wenn dies auf die örtliche Bevölkerung nicht verfremdend wirkte.

Roman Stani-Fertl war in eine der thematisch fokussierten Vorstellungsrunden der Länderberichte eingebunden und hob dort die Arbeit österreichischer Historikerkommissionen zur Bewertung historisch bedenklicher Verkehrsflächenbenennungen hervor. Peter Jordan stellte als Vizepräsident des ICOS in Vertretung des abwesenden ICOS Liaison Officers auch den Bericht des ICOS vor. Er leitete außerdem das Business Meeting der „Joint ICA/IGU Commission on Toponymy“ und war einer der Panelists der im Plenum durchgeführten Podiumsdiskussion „Connections between Geographical Names and Environment“, wobei er die Funktion deskriptiver geographischer Namen als „verdichtete Erzählungen“ über die Umwelt betonte.

Da Expertengremien der Vereinten Nationen nur die wissenschaftlichen Zweige einer im Grunde politischen Einrichtung sind, werden die fachlichen Diskussionen oft auch von politisch motivierten Wortmeldungen begleitet und übertönt. Es kommen aber immer auch wichtige strategische Ziele der Vereinten Nationen wie der Umwelt- und Klimaschutz, die Stärkung der Rechte von Minderheiten und sonstigen benachteiligten Gruppen sowie Aktionen zugunsten des Globalen Südens deutlich zur Geltung.

Allerdings war auch bei dieser Sitzung wieder festzustellen, dass sich die Länder des Globalen Südens, besonders jene Afrikas, ganz überwiegend nicht von Experten, sondern von Diplomaten vertreten lassen, was zur Folge hat, dass sie in Fachdiskussionen kaum präsent sind und somit ihre aus fachlicher Sicht doch oft sehr andere und gerade deshalb beachtenswerte Situation kaum zur Geltung kommt. So gelangt die Problematik der im Globalen Süden und besonders in Afrika wohl überwiegend informellen Namen in den vielen und großen informellen Siedlungen, die sich einer Standardisierung bisher entziehen, kaum zur Sprache. Nach den Bedürfnissen des Globalen Nordens entwickelte und auf dessen Verhältnisse zugeschnittene Regeln drohen daher (auch) auf dem Gebiet der geographischen Namen auf den Süden einfach übertragen zu werden.

2 IGU Thematic Conference „The Ocean and Seas in Geographical Thought“, Mailand [Milano], 6. bis 8. Juni 2023

Über Anregung der „IGU Commission on the History of Geography“ unter der Leitung von Marcella SCHMIDT DI FRIEDBERG von der Università degli Studi di Milano-Bicocca fanden sich sechs weitere Kommissionen der „International Geographical Union“ (Gender and Geography; Geography of Governance; Mediterranean Basin; Political Geography; Toponymy; Tourism, Leisure and Global Change), um an dieser Universität in Mailand [Milano] wieder eine der thematischen Konferenzen der IGU zu veranstalten, die neben Regionalkonferenzen das übliche Vierjahresintervall zwischen IGU-Kongressen beleben. Zwischen dem letzten, rein virtuellen Kongress von Istanbul [İstanbul] im Jahr 2020 und dem nächsten regulären Kongress von Dublin im Jahr 2024 ist der vierjährliche Rhythmus aus Anlass des 100-jährigen Bestehens der IGU allerdings durch den „Centennial Congress“ des Jahres 2022 in Paris unterbrochen worden.



Abb. 2: Mailand, Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II (Foto: JORDAN 2023)

Die Konferenz sollte einen Beitrag zur UN-Dekade der Meereswissenschaften für nachhaltige Entwicklung (2021–2030) leisten und den Ozean und die Meere nicht nur aus physisch-geographischer Sicht, sondern auch als soziale, politische, logistische und kulturelle Räume darstellen. Sie sollte vor allem auch das Verständnis für die Wechselwirkung zwischen Ozean und Mensch vertiefen. Hauptthemen der Konferenz waren somit die Geschichte der Ozeane und Meere, die Verschiedenheit der Meere, das Leben im und am Meer, Vorstellungen vom Meer und Darstellungen des Meeres, Kultur

und Tourismus am Meer, Governance und Raumplanung in Küstengebieten, Meere als Räume von Inklusion und Exklusion, die Klimakrise aus maritimer Perspektive sowie Anpassungsfähigkeit und Resilienz von Küstengebieten und Meeren. Den beiden Konferenztagen in Mailand (Abb. 2) folgte ein abschließender Konferenztag an der Università Ca' Foscari in Venedig [Venezia], der unter anderen Exkursionen auch eine zum Flutschutzsystem Mose bot.

Einer globalen Teilnehmerschaft, vor allem natürlich aus maritimen Ländern, wurden 334 Vorträge geboten, einige davon virtuell. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit fanden die Keynotes von Roberto Casati, Direktor des Jean Nicod Instituts in Paris; Sanjay Chaturvedi, Professor für Internationale Beziehungen an der South Asian University in New Delhi; Farah Obaidullah, Gründerin der „Women4Oceans"; Gloria Pungetti, Vorstand des „Centre for Biocultural Landscape and Seascape" an der Universität Sassari; und Philip Steinberg, UArctic Chair in Political Geography an der Durham University. Sie stellten u. a. die Territorialisierung der Meere, wie sie durch das Seerechtsübereinkommen der Vereinten Nationen besteht und Meeresanrainerstaaten über die Küstengewässer (bis zu 12 Seemeilen) hinaus eine sogenannte Ausschließliche Wirtschaftszone („Exclusive Economic Zone", EEZ) bis zu 200 Seemeilen zubilligt, in Frage. Es wurde argumentiert, dass der Besitz kleiner Inseln diese Zone übermäßig ausweite und dadurch oft wirtschaftsschwache kleine Inselstaaten über einen Zuständigkeitsbereich verfügten, den sie insbesondere in Bezug auf Umweltschutz gar nicht den Erfordernissen gemäß betreuen könnten.

Für diese Thematik nicht überraschend hielt sich die Beteiligung aus Österreich bei dieser Tagung in engen Grenzen. Österreich war nur durch den Berichterstatter vertreten, der im Namen der „Joint ICA/IGU Commission on Toponymy" gemeinsam mit Cosimo Palagiano die Sitzung „Names and Naming of Oceans and Seas as a Specific and Politically Delicate Issue" organisiert hatte, diese auch leitete und in ihrem Rahmen einen Vortrag zum Thema „Is the endonym/exonym divide applicable on oceans and seas?" hielt. Jordan fasste in der Schlusssitzung der Tagung auch die Ergebnisse der Kommissionssitzung zusammen.

3 Neunter EUGEO-Kongress, Barcelona, 4. bis 7. September 2023

EUGEO, der in den 1990er Jahren gegründete Verband europäischer geographischer Gesellschaften, veranstaltet seit dem Jahr 2007 zweijährlich Kongresse, die dem Gesamtgebiet der Geographie gewidmet sind. Der erste fand in Amsterdam statt. Ihm folgten 2009 der Kongress in Pressburg [Bratislava], 2011 in London, 2013 in Rom [Roma], 2015 in Budapest, 2017 in Brüssel [Brussel/Bruxelles], 2019 in Galway, Irland, und 2021 in hybrider Form in Prag [Praha].

Der 9. Kongress wurde in Barcelona von der Katalanischen Gesellschaft für Geographie, einer Untereinheit des Instituts für Katalanische Studien [Institut d'Estudis Catalans], und der Universität Barcelona ausgerichtet. Die Gastgeberschaft des Instituts für Katalanische Studien (Abb. 3) wirkte sich in einer starken Präsenz der katalanischen Sprache nicht nur in der Eröffnungszeremonie, die fast ausschließlich auf Katalanisch durchgeführt wurde, sondern auch in einigen Fachsitzungen aus. Das erinnerte an den Kongress des „International Council of Onomastic Sciences" (ICOS) des Jahres 2011 in Barcelona, der ebenfalls das Institut für Katalanische Studien zum Gastgeber hatte. Schon damals hatte der Berichterstatter das Vorbringen katalanischer Themen bei einem internationalen Kongress auf Katalanisch als sprachliche Selbstisolation der Gastgeber empfunden. So sehr Sprachenvielfalt begrüßenswert und das Aufblühen des Katalanischen erfreulich ist, sprechen doch auch gute Argumente dafür, sich auf einer internationalen wissenschaftlichen Tagung in erster Linie und vielleicht auch ausschließlich der Wissenschaftssprache unserer Tage, des Englischen, zu bedienen (siehe dazu auch Jordan 2022). Neben dem Englischen und Katalanischen waren beim EUGEO-Kongress in Barcelona auch noch Spanisch und Französisch als Konferenzsprachen zugelassen.

An den mehr als 100 Sitzungen des Kongresses nahmen zirka 700 Personen aus vielen Ländern Europas und auch nicht wenige von anderen Kontinenten teil, mit hohen Anteilen aus romanischen Ländern sowie aus Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa. Sie befassten sich mit der ganzen Spannweite geographischer Themen, aber besonders mit Kartographie, Toponomastik, Geographischen Informationssystemen (GIS), Waldbränden, nachhaltiger Entwicklung, Klimawandel, dem Meeresspiegelanstieg, Politischer Geographie und Geopolitik, Reindustrialisierung, Verkehr und Mobilität, Tourismus, urbanen öffentlichen Räumen, Renaturierung städtischer Räume, Stadtplanung, Housing, Didaktik der Geographie, ländlichen Räumen, Landnutzungsplanung, Demographie, Migration, geographischem kulturellem Erbe, Landschaft, Wasserbau, Energie, Kultur, grenzüberschreitender Zusammenarbeit, der Genderperspektive in der Geographie, Bildung, Regionalisierung, sozio-ökonomischen Konflikten und „Geohumanities".



Abb. 3: Hof des Instituts für Katalanische Studien in Barcelona (Foto: JORDAN 2023)

Die einzigen Vertreter Österreichs waren Christian SMIGIEL von der Universität Salzburg, Koautor eines Vortrags über „The Rise of Corporate Hosts in the Short-term Rental Market and its Impact on Housing and Places"; Angela HOF, ebenfalls von der Universität Salzburg, Koautorin eines Vortrags zum Thema „Commodification of the Environment for Tourism Purposes and through Tourism: Dispossession, Resistance and Alternative Scenarios"; Regina FALKENSTEINER vom Bundesamt für Eich- und Vermessungswesen mit einem Vortrag über „Dwindling Glaciers – the Impact of Climate Change on Geographical Names in the Austrian Alps" sowie der Verfasser dieses Berichts, der eine Sitzung zu seinem laufenden Forschungsprojekt „Minority Place-name Standardization in Europe" mit 11 Vorträgen leitete und dazu selbst den einführenden Vortrag hielt.

Im Rahmen des Kongresses fand unter der Leitung des Präsidenten Zoltan Kovács (Ungarn), assistiert von Generalsekretär Massimiliano Tabusi (Italien), auch die Generalversammlung der EUGEO statt. In ihr konnte der Berichterstatter in Vertretung von Robert Musil verkünden, dass der nächste, der 10. EUGEO-Kongress in der ersten Septemberwoche des Jahres 2025 in Wien stattfinden wird, wo er vom Institut für Stadt- und Regionalforschung der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Zusammenarbeit mit der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft (ÖGG) in den Räumlichkeiten der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften ausgerichtet werden wird.

4 62. Deutscher Kongress für Geographie, Frankfurt am Main, 19. bis 23. September 2023

Die alle zwei Jahre durchgeführten Deutschen Kongresse für Geographie (DKG), früher „Deutsche Geographentage“ genannt, sind ein Treffpunkt der gesamten deutschsprachigen Geographie, also nicht nur der Geographie Deutschlands, sondern aller deutschsprachigen Länder und Gebiete sowie in wachsendem Maß auch der internationalen Geographie. Deshalb wurden am Kongress des Jahres 2023 von 325 Fachsitzungen auch 77 in englischer Sprache gehalten, also immerhin ein Viertel. Der stets große Zuspruch (von diesmal etwa 2.500 Teilnehmern) und der damit rege wissenschaftliche Austausch innerhalb des deutschsprachigen Raumes gehen aber offenbar auf Kosten der Beteiligung der deutschsprachigen Geographie an internationaleren und globalen Tagungen und Kongressen, wo sie (im Gegensatz zur Kartographie) zumeist nur spärlich vertreten ist.



Abb. 4: Das Hörsaalzentrum am Campus Westend, einer der beiden Austragungsorte des DKG 2023 (Foto: Jordan 2023)

Die „Deutsche Gesellschaft für Geographie“ mit ihrer Präsidentin Ute WARDENGA und die beiden Frankfurter geographischen Universitätsinstitute für Human- bzw. Physische Geographie unter der Leitung von Marc BOECKLER bzw. Robert PÜTZ richteten den DKG des Jahres 2023 auf dem weitläufigen, parkartigen Campus Westend der Universität Frankfurt aus, der an den warmen Spätsommertagen zu angenehmen Pausengesprächen einlud. „Bespielt“ wurden lediglich zwei benachbarte Gebäude, sodass es trotz seiner Größe auch ein Kongress der kurzen Wege war (Abb. 4).

Aus der Perspektive eines einzelnen Tagungsteilnehmers, der stets nur eine der vielen Parallelveranstaltungen verfolgen konnte, wäre es vermessen ein Urteil darüber abzugeben, welche Entwicklungstendenzen der Geographie sich bei diesem DKG offenbart hätten. Besseren Aufschluss darüber bringen könnte vielleicht eine eingehende Analyse der Titel von Sitzungen und Vorträgen, doch wäre dies doch ein aufwändigeres Unterfangen. Die einfachste Näherung bieten vielleicht das Tagungsmotto „Planetary Futures“ und die 45-minütigen „Lectures“, die dem gleichkommen, was üblicherweise als „Keynotes“ bezeichnet wird. Sie fanden in der Mittagspause, also nur konkurrenziert durch die anderen der jeweils zwei bis drei parallelen Lectures und nicht durch sonstige Veranstaltungen, statt, und waren wohl im Sinn einer gewissen Richtungsweisung ausgewählt worden. In zeitlicher Abfolge waren das die folgenden (Originaltitel ohne Korrektur übernommen):

EVERS Mariele (Universität Bonn): Water as a Connector: Global and National Challenges and Action Frameworks

ALTENRIED Moritz (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin) und Lizzie Richardson (Goethe-Universität Frankfurt): Platform Geographies: Digital Factory and Flexible Space

WERNER Oliver (Geschichtsbüro Reder Roeseling & Prüfer, Köln): Die Zeitschrift „Raumforschung und Raumordnung“ (RuR) von 1936 bis 1944 im „Dritten Reich“

FÜNFGELD Hartmut (Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg): Transformative Potentiale oder normative Verengung? Überlegungen zur Umweltgerechtigkeit in der geographischen Gesellschaft-Umwelt-Forschung

WILSON David (University of Illinois, USA): Toward a Dracula Urbanism: Smart City Mania

WARDENGA Ute (Leibniz-Institut für Länderkunde, Leipzig): Planetary Pasts and Planetary Futures: Raumkonzepte der Geographie neu interpretiert

MUCKEL Stephan (Geograph und Bürgermeister der Stadt Erkelenz, Rheinisches Braunkohlenrevier): Angewandte Geographie: Verantwortung und Engagement in der und für die Politik

LEE Jia Hui (Universität Bayreuth): Geographies of the Counterhuman

CASTAN BROTO Vanesa (University of Sheffield, UK): Space, Energy and Social Change. Energy Geographies in the Making

AGGARWAL Surinder (University of Delhi, India): Reimagining India in a Changing Global Order

DOERR Stefan (Swansea University, UK): Fire in the Earth System: Perceptions and Realities in a Changing World

SCHIPPER Sebastian (Goethe-Universität Frankfurt): Wohnungsregime im postneoliberalen Wandel?

CHANG Chew-Hung (Nanyang Technological University, Singapur): Geography Education that Matters in the Twenty-second Century

MAKAREMI Chowra (Centre national de la recherche scientifique, CNRS, Paris): Insurrections in Iran: An Off-site Ethnography

HOFFMANN Karl Walter (Verband Deutscher Schulgeographen): Schulgeographie – quo vadis? Zur Zukunftsbedeutung eines kompetenzorientierten Geographieunterrichts

FALL Juliet (Université de Genève): Beating the Bounds: Visual Political Geographies for Difficult Times

Breul Moritz (Ministerium für Wirtschaft, Industrie, Klimaschutz und Energie des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen): Strukturwandel im Rheinischen Revier: Eine Analyse der technologischen Diversifizierungspotenziale

Steinbauer Manuel (Universität Bayreuth): Understanding Biodiversity Dynamic: From Human Dominated Systems to the Fossil Record

Jaffe Rivke (Universität Amsterdam): Racist Dogs and Classist Rats? The More-than-human Politics of Urban Inequalities

Sippel Maike (Hochschule Konstanz): Klima – Wir haben es in der Hand

Aus dieser Auswahl lässt sich schließen, dass die deutschsprachige Geographie dem Klimawandel, den Problemen der Energieversorgung, dem damit verbundenen wirtschaftlichen Strukturwandel, dem Wohnen und der Stadtgestaltung, dem Globalen Süden sowie der Gestaltung des Geographieunterrichts besondere Aufmerksamkeit widmet oder widmen möchte. In den Fachsitzungen waren auch die Themen „Regionalentwicklung", „Ländlicher Raum" und „Neue Arbeitswelt" stark vertreten.

Wie zumeist beteiligten sich auch viele Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmer aus Österreich an diesem geographischen Großereignis. Sie seien mit ihren Beiträgen zu Panels und Fachsitzungen sowie zu Sitzungen des „Jungen Kongresses für Geographie" (mit JKG gekennzeichnet), nicht aber zu Posterpräsentationen, in alphabetischer Reihenfolge genannt (Originaltitel ohne Korrektur übernommen):

Bork-Hüffer Tabea (Universität Innsbruck) mit Leonie Wächter: Am Berg ist die Welt noch in Ordnung: Auswirkungen von Verlust und Rückgewinn alltäglicher Naturerfahrungen im Laufe der COVID-19-Pandemie

Bork-Hüffer Tabea, Jacqueline Kowalski (beide Universität Innsbruck), Niklas Gudowsky-Blatakes: Augmented Public Futures: A Reflection on Future Visioning and Scenarios of Augmented Realities in Public Space

Bruckner Heide (Universität Graz) und Matthias Kowasch (Pädagogische Hochschule Steiermark): Knowing and Growing Pacific Island Traditional Food (Knowledges) at Home and in School

Elverfeldt Kirsten von (Universität Klagenfurt) und Yannick Strasmann: Leitung der Sitzung „Verantwortung in der Klimakrise" mit 5 Vorträgen

Ermann Ulrich (Universität Graz), Yue Mao und Danai Liodaki: Leitung der zweiteiligen Sitzung „(Re)Working Spaces: Collaborative Workspaces as Effects and Drivers of New Spatial Relations" mit 8 Vorträgen

Ermann Ulrich (Universität Graz): Panelist im Panel „42 Kleinigkeiten zwischen den Arten. Stichworte aus einer mehr-als-menschlichen Welt"

Ermann Ulrich, Sabine Hostniker, Ernst Michael Preininger und Danko Simić (alle Universität Graz): Leitung der Sitzung „Twists and Turns: (New) Technologies of Food Provisioning" mit 4 Vorträgen

Ermann Ulrich, Sabine Hostniker, Ernst Michael Preininger und Danko Simić (alle Universität Graz): Grappling with (New) Technologies and Places of Food Provisioning

Franz Yvonne und Kerstin Krellenberg (beide Universität Wien) mit Sarah Klosterkamp: Leitung der Sitzung „Neue Herausforderungen, alte Probleme: Das Nachhaltigkeitsparadigma als Treiber von Wohnungsmarktungleichheiten?" mit 4 Vorträgen

Gatsinos Nikos, Malte Höfner (beide Universität Graz) und Suntje Schmidt: Leitung der Sitzung „New Geographies of Work and Labour Within, Across and Around Collaborative Workspaces" mit 2 Vorträgen

GESING Friederike (Universität Graz) und Johanna KRAMM: Leitung der Sitzung „Chemische Geographien zwischen ‚neuem' und ‚altem' Materialismus" mit 4 Vorträgen

GESING Friederike, Nicolas SCHLITZ (beide Universität Graz) und Yusif IDIES: Leitung der Sitzung „Müllberge schürfen: Zum Verhältnis von Abfallkrise und Extraktivismus" mit 3 Vorträgen

GRUBER Elisabeth (Universität Innsbruck) und Yvonne FRANZ (Universität Wien): Studentisches Wohnen: Von „Pionierbewohner*innen" der Stadtentwicklung zur integralen Größe sozialer Infrastrukturen

GRUBER Elisabeth (Universität Innsbruck) und Julia KIESLINGER: Leitung der Sitzung „Räumliche Immobilitäten in unterschiedlichen geographischen Kontexten" mit 4 Vorträgen

HEINTEL Martin (Universität Wien) und Christian KRAJEWSKI: Leitung der zweiteiligen Sitzung „Transformation ländlicher Räume und Ökonomien" mit 7 Vorträgen

HEINTEL Martin und Yvonne FRANZ (beide Universität Wien): Leitung der Sitzung „Perspektiven zur Kooperativen Stadt- und Regionalentwicklung" mit 4 Vorträgen

HOSTNIKER Sabine (Universität Graz) und Marc Michael SEEBACHER (Amt der Steiermärkischen Landesregierung): Nur ein Flirt oder „Fix zamm"? Einblicke in eine Wissenschafts-Praxis-Kooperation im Bereich der Regionalentwicklung in der Steiermark

HOSTNIKER Sabine (Universität Graz) mit Frank MEYER: 3, 2, 1, Region! Improvisationstheater als partizipatives Instrument der Analyse von Raumproduktion

HÜRTGEN Stefanie (Universität Salzburg), Christin BERNHOLD, Márton CZIRFUSZ, Nadine REIS und Nicolas SCHLITZ (Universität Graz): Leitung der dreiteiligen Sitzung „Revisiting „Global Workers Unite": Worker Fragmentation and Worker Aalliances in Global Capitalism" mit 10 Vorträgen

HUMER Alois (Universität Wien) und Angelika MÜNTER: Leitung des Panels „Wohnen in der (post-) pandemischen Stadtregion: Empirische Befunde und planerische Implikationen"

HUMER Alois (Universität Wien) und Franziska SIELKER: Leitung der zweiteiligen Sitzung „EU Spatial Policies for a Green, Just and Cohesive Europe" mit 8 Vorträgen

JEKEL Thomas und Herbert PICHLER (beide Universität Wien): Wider den erhobenen Zeigefinger

JORDAN Peter (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, ISR): Cultural Landscapes as Anchors of Stability and Identity under Changing Political Conditions: Illustrated by Examples from Eastern Europe

KELLER Lars (Universität Innsbruck) und Holger JAHNKE: Leitung der Sitzung „Mehr als nur (Über-) Leben: Zur Rolle von Utopien in kritischen Zeiten" mit 8 Vorträgen

KELLER Lars (Universität Innsbruck) und Herbert PICHLER (Universität Wien): Leitung der Sitzung „Gedankenlos in die Zukunft? Gedanken – LOS in die Zukunft" mit 6 Vorträgen

KLOIBER Michael (Universität Wien): Das Planungsinstrument Green Belt am Beispiel des Wiener Grüngürtels: Vom grünen Ring zum Freiraumnetz (JKG)

KOCH Andreas (Universität Salzburg): Orte als Ursprung sozialräumlicher Praktiken

KRAUSHAAR Sabine (Universität Wien) mit Michael DIETZE, Frank LEHMKUHL und Michael KRAUTBLATTER: Leitung der Sitzung „Geomorphological Hazards and Risks in a Changing Planetary Future" mit 2 Vorträgen

KRELLENBERG Kerstin (Universität Wien): Panelist im Panel „Spatial Futures: Räumliche Planung und die Ansprüche multipler Transformationen"

KRELLENBERG Kerstin und Yvonne FRANZ (beide Universität Wien): Co-Design-Prozesse zur Unterstützung von Wissensbeständen und Entscheidungen im Kontext der Anpassung an die Auswirkungen des Klimawandels

LENTZ Janne Martha (Universität Graz): Produktifizierung von Reinigungskräften: Eine feministische Analyse von Arbeitsbeziehungen in der Plattformökonomie

Mahlknecht Belinda, Andrea Markl und Tabea Bork-Hüffer (alle Universität Innsbruck): Aushandlungen von Gender und Differenz durch junge Erwachsene in sozio-materiell-technologischen Räumen: Analyse von Erfahrungen sexualisierter, körperlicher und psychischer Gewalt aus subjektiv-empirischer Perspektive

Mandl Peter (Universität Klagenfurt) und Alexander Brenning: Leitung der zweiteiligen Sitzung „GeoAI: Potenziale, Anwendungen und Herausforderungen einer aktuellen Methodik in der Geographie“ mit 8 Vorträgen

Mandl Peter und Janno Wieltschnig (beide Universität Klagenfurt): Cappable: Eine Plattform zum Informationsaustausch über Applikationen im Unterricht

Melchert Johannes, Tabea Bork-Hüffer und Jan Misera (alle Universität Innsbruck): Kritische geographische Perspektiven zu mehr-als-repräsentationalen Methodologien: Erkenntnisse aus einer interdisziplinären Mixed-Method-Feldstudie mit mobilem Eye-tracking

Menzel Max-Peter (Universität Klagenfurt) und Tina Haisch: Core and Periphery from a Valuation Perspective

Militz Elisabeth (Universität Innsbruck): Feministische politische Geographien auf Instagram: Digitaler Widerstand gegen geschlechtsspezifische Gewalt in Kirgistan

Militz Elisabeth (Universität Innsbruck): Discussant im ersten und letzten Teil der vierteiligen Sitzung „Verräumlichte Gemeinschaften: Differenz und Gemeinschaften im Entstehen“ mit 13 Vorträgen

Militz Elisabeth (Universität Innsbruck) mit Carolin Schurr: Intimate Technologies: Towards a Feminist Perspective on Geographies of Technoscience

Musil Robert (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, ISR) und Florian Brand: Eigentümer als Schlüsselakteure der Bestandsstadt-Entwicklung: Die Potenziale des Grundbuches in der geographischen Wohnungsmarktforschung

Oberauer Karin (Universität Innsbruck): Utopien, Anticipatory Competency und Hoffen auf eine positivere, nachhaltigere Zukunft in der Bildung für Nachhaltige Entwicklung

Obermayer Christian und Elsa Ventruba (beide Universität Innsbruck): Nachhaltig bauen, nachhaltig wohnen? Die Einzugsbegleitung der Stadt Innsbruck

Obermayer Christian, Stefan Obkircher (beide Universität Innsbruck) und Lukas Endres: Potentiale für leistbares und nachhaltiges Wohnen in der Diözese Innsbruck: Von der Analyse zur Strategieentwicklung

Pettig Fabian (Universität Graz): Transformatives Lernen als Beitrag zur politischen Bildung: Partizipative Forschung mit Jugendlichen zu Fragen (nicht-)nachhaltiger Ernährung

Pettig Fabian (Universität Graz): Panelist im Panel „Quo Vadis, Geographiedidaktik?“

Pettig Fabian (Universität Graz) mit Jochen Laub: Leitung der zweiteiligen Sitzung „What Planetary Futures?“ mit 8 Vorträgen

Pettig Fabian (Universität Graz) mit Isabelle Muschaweck: Leitung der zweiteiligen Sitzung „Wie(so)? Geographische Bildungsprozesse im Zeitalter der Digitalität“ mit 9 Vorträgen

Posch Eva (Universität Innsbruck), Theresa Gorbach und Robert Steiger: Die Pandemie als Chance zur Transformation im Tourismus? Eine Fallstudie aus Österreich

Saltiel Rivka (Universität Graz): Kuratierte Begegnung als transformative Praxis für eine sorgende Gemeinschaft?

Sakdapolrak Patrick und Harald Sterly (beide Universität Wien): Leitung der Sitzung „The Geography of Climate and Environmental Mobilities“ mit 4 Vorträgen

Schlitz Nicolas (Universität Graz): The Problem of Traceability in Informal Plastic Recycling

Schnelzer Judith (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, ISR): Wohnen unter Druck: Eine Praxis des kommodifizierten Wohnens zwischen politisch-ökonomischen, kognitiv-affektiven und sozial-räumlichen Dimensionen

SCHORN Martina (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, ISR): Panelist im Panel „Wohnen in der (post-)pandemischen Stadtregion: Empirische Befunde und planerische Implikationen“

SCHORN Martina (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, ISR), Anna KAJOSAARI (Universität Wien), Alexander BARNSTEINER, Fabian WINDHAGER und Alois HUMER (Universität Wien): Wohnstandortpräferenzen im Kontext von Krisen: Krisen als Treiber oder Barriere von residentieller Mobilität?

SIMIĆ Danko (Universität Graz): (Un)making Europe through Commodity Circulation or what's a Chicken to Europe?

SMIGIEL Christian (Universität Salzburg) und Michael MIESSNER: Leitung der zweiteiligen Sitzung „Tourismus Macht Stadt“ mit 7 Vorträgen

STERLY Harald und Patrick SAKDAPOLRAK (beide Universität Wien): Adaptation for All? An Intersectional and Multidimensional Perspective on Translocal Social Resilience Uncovers Differentiated Migration Outcomes

STERLY Harald, Patrick SAKDAPOLRAK (beide Universität Wien) mit Simon MERSCHROTH, Mumuni ABU und Jan-Niklas JANOTH: Habitability in the Context of Environmental Change is Subjective and Thereby Shaped by an Individual's Position within a Socio-ecological System

STERLY Harald (Universität Wien) mit Jan-Peter MUND: Leitung des Panels „ChatGPT und die Konsequenzen für die geographische Hochschullehre: Herausforderungen und Lösungsansätze“

STRÜVER Anke (Universität Graz) mit Matthias NAUMANN und Bernd BELINA: Leitung des Panels „Neue Perspektiven für die Kritische Stadtgeographie? Ein Dialog mit Geographiedidaktik, Stadtplanung und -soziologie“

STRÜVER Anke (Universität Graz), Panelist im Panel „Gesellschaftstheorie und Tourismus“

STRÜVER Anke (Universität Graz), Panelist im Panel „Initiativen, Vereine, Stadtteilzentren: Der Mehrwert transformativen Forschens für zivilgesellschaftliche Akteur*innen“

VANDENBERG James (Universität Wien): Assessing the Resilience Capacities of Urban Food Systems: A Multi-Dimensional Framework to Enhance Urban Governance

VERWEY Anna (Universität Graz): Stirring It Up: Community Cooking as Social Reproduction

WENZEL Till, Philipp MARR, Thomas GLADE (alle Universität Wien), Astrid PREISSLER, Klaus GSPAN, Marc ADAMS und Silvia COCUCCIONI: Identifying Key Challenges and Geomorphological Hazards along the Brenner Corridor (Central Alps), the Main Transit Route between North and South Europe

ZELLER Christian (Universität Salzburg): Panelist im Panel „Klimakrise in der Geographie“

Aus einer sehr persönlichen Perspektive und im bis in das Jahr 1973 (mit großen Lücken) zurückreichenden Vergleich mit früheren Deutschen Kongressen für Geographie und Deutschen Geographentagen seien die folgenden Eindrücke vom Frankfurter DKG genannt:

- Nach der als einschneidend empfundenen COVID-19-Pause erfreute sich ein Großereignis wie dieses wieder großen Zulaufs und wurde als Treffpunkt und „Marktplatz“ geschätzt.
- Wer einen Eindruck von der Entwicklung des Gesamtgebiets der Geographie gewinnen wollte, konnte bei der Fülle des Gebotenen nicht viel mehr als kaum repräsentative „Kostproben“ erhaschen. Wem es auf die Vertiefung in sein eigenes Teilgebiet angekommen war, wäre durch eine zeitliche und räumliche Bündelung nach Themen besser bedient gewesen. Großveranstaltungen reichen in dieser Hinsicht nicht an kleine themenspezifische Symposien heran.
- Die Dominanz prägender Persönlichkeiten war schon einmal größer. Viele haben diesmal entweder gar nicht teilgenommen, hatten keinen Auftritt oder haben sich sehr zurückgehalten. Der Kongress bot stattdessen jungen, aufstrebenden Geographinnen und Geographen eine große Bühne.

- Auf eine gut verständliche, einfache Sprache wird immer weniger Wert gelegt. Man vermeint, durch die Verwendung sehr spezifischer Fachausdrücke, Anleihen beim Englischen und oft auch absichtliche Kompliziertheit Wissenschaftlichkeit zum Ausdruck zu bringen. Das erschwert aber die Kommunikation über das eigene Themenfeld hinaus und behindert wohl auch die öffentliche Wirksamkeit der Geographie.

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Die Internationale Kartographische Konferenz 2023 der ICA

Georg Gartner, Wien*

mit drei Abbildungen im Text

Vom 13. bis 18. August 2023 fand die 31. „International Cartographic Conference“ (ICC) der „International Cartographic Association“ (ICA) in Kapstadt [Cape Town] statt. Diese von der ICA alle zwei Jahre organisierte Veranstaltung ist ein Flaggschiff der internationalen Kartographie, ermöglicht sie doch den Austausch wissenschaftlicher Erkenntnisse, die Ausstellung neuester kartographischer Produkte, die Vernetzung von Kartographen und Experten vieler Nachbardisziplinen aus Wissenschaft, Industrie und Behörden sowie das Kennenlernen vieler Fachkollegen und zahlreiche Kontakte mit diesen.



Abb. 1: Das offizielle Logo der „International Cartographic Conference“ (ICC) 2023

Als Veranstaltungsort wurde von den Organisatoren das „Cape Town International Convention Centre“ gewählt, das sich sowohl aufgrund seiner zentralen Lage als auch durch seine gebotenen Möglichkeiten als idealer Konferenzstandort erwies. Die Veranstalter unter der Leitung von Morena Letsosa, Serena Coetzee und Derek Clarke bestimmten das Motto „Smart Cartography for a Sustainable Development“, das den afrikanischen Gegebenheiten und den Möglichkeiten, die die moderne Kartographie eröffnet, sehr passend Rechnung getragen hat.

Der Reigen der Veranstaltungen auf den ICC-Konferenzen beginnt traditionellerweise mit halb- oder ganztägigen Pre-Conference Workshops, die von diversen ICA-Kommissionen organisiert werden. Vor der ICC 2023 fanden demgemäß Workshops zum Thema „OGC Standards for Making Geospatial Data, Maps and Charts Findable, Accessible, Interoperable, and Reusable“ (organisiert von der Kommission für SDI und Standards), „Other Cartography“ (Commission for

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Art and Cartography), „Cartography and Geospatial Information Education: Transformation in the Era of AI“ (eine gemeinsame Veranstaltung der Kommissionen für „Education and Training“ und „Open Source Geospatial Technologies“ sowie der Working Group „Cartographic Body of Knowledge“), „Cartography Connecting Schools“ (eine gemeinsame Veranstaltung der Kommission „Cartography and Children“ und der Kommission „Maps and Graphics for Blind and Partially Sighted People“), „Cartography and AI“ (eine gemeinsame Veranstaltung der Kommissionen für „Visual Analytics“ und „Cognitive Issues“), „Location-based Big Data and GeoAI“ (eine gemeinsame Veranstaltung der Kommissionen für „Location Based Services“ und „Geospatial Analysis and Modelling“ sowie der Working Group „Digital Transformation of National Mapping Agencies“), „Storytelling with Geographical Visualization“ (organisiert von der Kommission für „Topographic Mapping“) sowie „Visualization of Dynamic Phenomena and Processes on WebMaps and Ubiquitous Mapping“ (organisiert von den Kommissionen für „Ubiquitous Mapping“ und „Maps and the Internet“) statt.

Die Eröffnung der Konferenz erfolgte am 13. August 2024 durch Konferenzdirektor Morena Letsosa und den Präsidenten der „International Cartographic Association“ Timothy Trainor. Im Eröffnungsvortag zum Thema „Maps for a Just Climate Transition“ stellte Barend Eramus in einem größeren Rahmen die derzeitigen globalen Herausforderungen in den Kontext zu den Möglichkeiten und Leistungen der wissenschaftlichen Kartographie. Umrahmt wurde die Eröffnung vom Gesang und Tanz des „South African Youth Choir“ und einem vertonten Kartographie-Gedicht von der Slam-Poetin Malika Ndlovu. Es folgten Begrüßungsworte des Kapstädter Vize-Bürgermeisters Alderman Eddie Andrews und der Agrarministerin Angela Thokozile Didiza. Der Staatspräsident Südafrikas, Cyril Ramaphosa, verfolgte die Eröffnungszeremonie online.

Das Konferenzprogramm der 31. ICC bot dann das gewohnte reichhaltige Angebot aus insgesamt 364 Vorträgen in 122 Sessions, weiters fünf Keynote-Vorträge (inklusive eines Keynote-Vortrags von Georg Gartner), sechs spezielle Sessions zu spezifischen Themen, eine Internationale Kartenausstellung mit 446 Karten und kartenverwandten Darstellungen aus 34 Mitgliedsländern der „International Cartographic Association“ (ICA) sowie einer Ausstellung der prämierten Einsendungen zum Internationalen Barbara-Petchenik-Kinderkartenwettbewerb, die 176 Karten aus 32 Ländern umfasste – wobei der österreichische Anteil an diesem Wettbewerb von Hannes Mittergeber (Firma Freytag & Berndt) und Markus Jobst (Bundesamt für Eich- und Vermessungswesen) koordiniert wurde. Umrahmt wurde das Programm noch von zehn „Technischen Touren“ zu verschiedenen Institutionen im Kontext der Kartographie sowie einem Gala-Dinner mit südafrikanischem Kolorit.

Inhaltlich wurde den 815 Teilnehmern aus 80 Ländern dadurch die gesamte Breite der Fragestellungen der modernen Kartographie als Disziplin geboten. Während neueste technologische Erkenntnisse vor allem Fragen des Kontexts von „Künstlicher Intelligenz“ und Kartographie aufgriffen, waren als weitere Schwerpunktthemen die Möglichkeiten von „Knowledge Networks“ für die kartographische Informationsvermittlung, partizipative kartographische Kommunikationsmöglichkeiten, Ethik und Kartographie, neue Möglichkeiten der kartographischen Visualisierung durch neue Medien sowie die zahlreichen unterschiedlichen Anwendungsmöglichkeiten von Karten in verschiedenen Disziplinen erkennbar.

Über allem ist allerdings ein genereller Trend sichtbar, nämlich, dass sich die wissenschaftlichen Fragestellungen in der modernen Kartographie vermehrt nicht nur der „Kartenproduktion“, sondern mehr und mehr der „Kartennutzung“ zuwenden. Dabei spielen zunehmend Fragen der „Kritischen Kartographie“, der „Kognitiven Kartographie“ und der Relevanz von Karten in verschiedenen Szenarien eine steigende Rolle. In diesem Sinne stellte die 31. ICC einen wichtigen Meilenstein in der Fortentwicklung der eigenständigen Disziplin „Kartographie“ dar.

Am Rande der Konferenz fand zusätzlich die 19. Generalversammlung der ICA statt. Dabei wurden von den nationalen Delegierten wichtige Weichenstellungen für die nächsten vier Jahre der „International Cartographic Association“ getroffen. Österreich wurde bei der Generalversammlung



Abb. 2: Das Motto der „International Cartographic Association“ (ICA): „We love Maps“

vom Vorsitzenden der Österreichischen Kartographischen Kommission (ÖKK), Wolfgang KAINZ, und seinem Stellvertreter Georg GARTNER vertreten. Gewählt beziehungsweise bestätigt wurden das neue Budget, insgesamt 28 Kommissionen mit ihren Vorsitzenden (unter anderem Florian LEDERMANN vom Institut für Kartographie der TU Wien) sowie das neue „Executive Committee“, bestehend aus dem Präsidenten Georg GARTNER (Österreich), Generalsekretär Thomas SCHULZ (Schweiz), Past-President Tim TRAINOR (USA) und den Vize-Präsidenten Dušan PETROVIČ (Slowenien), Amy GRIFFIN (Australien), Serena COETZEE (Südafrika), Alex KENT (Großbritannien), Jiping LIU (China), Dariusz DUKACZEWSKI (Polen) und Haosheng HUANG (Belgien). Die Versammlung gedachte auch besonders Igor DRECKI, dem langjährigen Delegierten Neuseelands sowie Herausgeber des ICA-Newsletters, der kurz vor der Konferenz verunglückte.



Abb. 3: Das bei der 31. „International Cartographic Conference“ (ICC) in Kapstadt gewählte neue Führungsteam der „International Cartographic Association“ (ICA); 4. von rechts: Präsident Georg GARTNER (Foto: © ICA 2023)

Die gesamte Konferenz zeichnete sich durch eine umsichtige und professionelle Organisation aus. Zahlreiche Teilnehmer drückten auf verschiedenste Weisen ihre Anerkennung dafür aus und betonten insbesondere den Mehrwert und umfassenden Nutzen, den diese Konferenz für ihre Tätigkeit und weitere Entwicklung darstellte. Österreich war gut und prominent vertreten; so wurde beispielsweise Markus JOBST (Bundesamt für Eich- und Vermessungswesen) zum Auditor der ICA bestellt, hielten Florian LEDERMANN, Wangshu WANG, Andrea BINN und Georg GARTNER vielbeachtete Vorträge. In der Abschlusszeremonie erhielten Peter JORDAN für seine langjährigen Tätigkeiten im Kontext der ICA die sehr ehrenhafte Auszeichnung einer „ICA Honorary Fellowship“ sowie – in der Kategorie „Digital Products“ – das Bundesamt für Eich- und Vermessungswesen den „Popular Vote“ für sein WMTS Map Service „Cadastral Map Online“.

Die 32. „International Cartographic Conference“ wird 2025 in Vancouver, Kanada stattfinden. In den Zwischenjahren hat die ICA nun begonnen, verstärkt „Regional Cartographic Conferences“ anzubieten. Demgemäß werden vom 9. bis 11. September 2024 die „EuroCarto 2024“ an der Technischen Universität in Wien sowie im Dezember 2024 die „AsiaCarto 2024“ in Hongkong stattfinden.

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„Bold Europe" – European Forum Alpbach
Die Erneuerung Europas im Dialog

Karl Martin Pangerl, Vöcklabruck*

mit 2 Abbildungen im Text

„Die Fähigkeit einer Gemeinschaft, schwierige Probleme einvernehmlich zu lösen, hängt weitgehend davon ab, ob bereits lange zuvor im Vorfeld und ungehindert von Interessengegensätzen eine Gesprächskultur entwickelt worden ist."
(Heinrich Pfusterschmid-Hardtenstein)

Der „Geist von Alpbach"

Wagt ihr schon wieder zu sitzen am mittäglich sorglosen Abhang,
Brüder, genesene kaum vom Grauen der kürzlichen Tage.
Wagt ihr zu glauben, dass Friede so herzlich euch wieder umblühe …
(Paula von Preradović, Die Alpbacher Elegie)

„In den Jahren der [nationalsozialistischen, Anm.] Diktatur war […] der Verfall des intellektuellen und kulturellen Lebens dramatisch gewesen."[1] Der von der Widerstandsgruppe O5 kommende Journalist und Publizist Otto Molden wollte möglichst schnell nach Kriegsende eine freie Gemeinschaft europäischer Intellektueller bilden. Ziel des Innsbrucker Dozenten der Philosophie Dr. Simon Moser war vor allem, nach Faschismus und Nationalsozialismus „heimzukehren zum Humanum als Unterpfand der Wissenschaft". „Wenn also in Alpbach seit 1945 von der Erneuerung des geistigen Lebens die Rede war, so war damit die Einführung des interfakultativen Gesprächs der Wissenschaften […] und die Wiederherstellung der übernationalen Lebensform, wie sie Europas hohe Schulen einst ausgezeichnet hatte, gemeint."[2]

Das „Europäische Forum Alpbach" war unmittelbar nach Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges der erste Versuch, die „Voraussetzungen für ein Europa zu schaffen, in dem die großen Ideen, die hier von Anfang an wirksam waren, neu verarbeitet und gestaltet werden sollten".[3]

Die ersten „Internationalen Hochschulwochen" des Österreichischen College in Alpbach fanden von 25. August bis 10. September 1945 statt. Erst die fünften Alpbacher Hochschulwochen 1949 erhielten den Titel „Europäisches Forum Alpbach".[4]

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[1] Heinrich Pfusterschmid-Hardtenstein, zitiert aus Auer (1994, S. 15).
[2] Alexander Auer, zitiert aus Auer (1994, S. 7).
[3] Otto Molden, zitiert aus Auer (1994, S. 12).
[4] Hans Albert, zitiert aus Auer (1994, S. 16).

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„So wie Europa in diesen Jahren des Neubeginns das Bild der Zerrissenheit bot, musste auch in Österreich und in Alpbach erst aus den vorhandenen Stücken und Relikten des intellektuellen und politischen Lebens der Vorkriegszeit ein neues Bild zusammengesetzt werden. Menschen an einen Tisch zu ernstem Gespräch zusammenzubringen, die bis kurz davor nicht zusammenkommen konnten, ja sogar in verfeindeten Lagern standen, war eine sowohl spirituelle als auch organisatorische Leistung. In nächtelangen Gesprächen […] erwuchs in Alpbach eine Diskussionskultur, die im Gegensatz zum Lagerdenken der Vorkriegszeit als auch zum verordneten Denken der Diktaturen stand. […] Von Philosophie und Wissenschaft spannte sich bald ein Bogen zum Denken in europäischen Kategorien in Politik und Wirtschaft. Ein Tor stand nun weit offen.“ [5)]

Aber wohin denn entschwanden die nächtlichen Schreckensgestalten?
Schlug sie der himmlische Blitz?
Sog sie der Wasserfall ein?

Haben, die uralte Brut begrabend, sich Berge geöffnet?
Oder sind sie am Leben noch immer,
von Bösem sich nährend?
(Paula VON PRERADOVIĆ, Die Alpbacher Elegie)

Die Rückkehr der Schatten

Das European Forum Alpbach widmete sich von 19. August bis 2. September 2023 dem Thema „Bold Europe“, also einem Europa, das mutig, zuversichtlich und unternehmungsfreudig in die Zukunft blickt. Dies impliziert zumindest zwei Zugänge: Zum einen, dass – wie Präsident Andreas TREICHL anlässlich der Eröffnung der „Europe in the World Days“ konstatierte – diese Zuversicht irgendwo auf dem Weg seit der Wende 1989/90 verloren gegangen sei, und zum anderen, dass eine solche nur auf einem tieferen Selbstbewusstsein aufbauen könne, auf das hin sich alles ordnet und aus dem heraus Dynamik generiert und in sinnstiftende Bahnen gelenkt zu werden vermag.

Das Forum Alpbach selbst spiegelt jenen Wandel, den Europa durchlaufen hat. Das Ende des Kalten Krieges evozierte die Begeisterung, das freie, demokratische und marktwirtschaftliche System trete seinen Siegeszug um die Welt an. EU und NATO expandierten gegen Osten; liberale Ökonomen suchten sogar Russland auf den Weg der Marktwirtschaft zu leiten – was aus Mangel an Verständnis scheiterte; die Globalisierung unter dem Banner offener Märkte relativierte Grenzen, aber auch das Verhältnis von Wirtschaft und Politik. Aus Träumen und Idealen erwuchs 2004 der Verfassungsvertrag der EU als Wertefundament und funktionaler Rahmen.

Gerade dieser Erfolg führte Anfang des 21. Jahrhunderts zu massiven Gegenreaktionen. Der Aufschwung populistischer Parteien spiegelte die Angst der Menschen vor einem Verlust an Identität wider. Die Internationalisierung führte zur Auslagerung von Arbeitsplätzen, Automatisierung und Rationalisierung zur „Humanressource Mensch“, die Digitalisierung zu einer Beschleunigung des Lebens und die einsetzenden Migrationswellen zu Entfremdung in der eigenen Heimat. Doch auch die Weltregionen außerhalb der Achse USA – EU lehnten sich gegen fremde Dominanz auf: die islamische Welt in Form von Terroranschlägen und Kriegen; China verfolgte mit strategischer Disziplin seinen Aufstieg zur Weltmacht; Wladimir Putin sucht Russland neues Selbstbewusstsein einzuhauchen, selbst um den Preis von Freiheit und Völkerrecht. Und nun beginnt auch Afrika sein Joch kolonialer Traumata abzuschütteln. Über alledem drohen Klimawandel und Artensterben.

[5)] Heinrich PFUSTERSCHMID-HARDTENSTEIN, zitiert aus AUER (1994, S. 15, S. 49).

Wendezeit. Gesellschaftliche Ordnung, europäische Ordnung und Weltordnung wanken. Die Menschen suchen Orientierung, die ihnen die kurz- und mittelfristig interessengeleitete Politik nicht zu bieten vermag. Was als Konfrontation demokratischer und autoritärer Systeme erscheint, ist in Wirklichkeit das Aufeinandertreffen zweier unterschiedlicher Modelle im Umgang mit diesem Umbruch. Demokratien weisen dabei eine längere zeitliche Toleranz auf. Während in Diktaturen der Wahrheitsanspruch auf einen engen Kreis oder gar nur eine Person konzentriert ist, von der man ein rasches und treffsicheres Reagieren erwartet, verteilt sich in Demokratien die Verantwortung auf eine Vielzahl von Schultern. Man hat nicht nur die Zeit, sich der Wahrheit zu stellen, sondern empfindet dies gemäß dem Erbe der Aufklärung auch als Selbstverständlichkeit. Nach drei Jahrzehnten lässt sich allerdings sagen, dass nun Antworten und Entscheidungen erwartet werden, soll nicht Enttäuschung in politische Polarisierung abgleiten.

Diese Antworten werden seitens der EU durchaus gegeben: Der „Green Deal“ ist ein ambitionierter Ansatz, dem Klimawandel zu begegnen. Das Programm „Digital Europe“ will Digitalisierung und Modernisierung forcieren. Mit Freihandelsverträgen sucht man, seine Position als starke Handelsmacht zu festigen. Assoziierungsabkommen und Nachbarschaftsverträge sollen die Beziehungen im engeren Umfeld ordnen helfen.

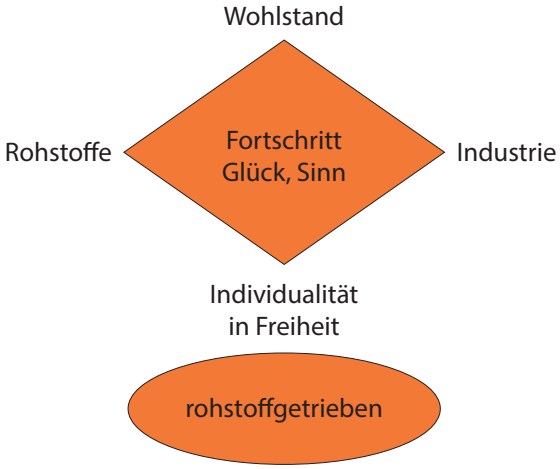
Doch all dies ist ambivalent: Nach innen vermögen die Reformbemühungen nicht in einem größeren Zusammenhang vermittelt zu werden und erscheinen singulär; mehr freier Handel weckt Bedrohungsängste in der heimischen Landwirtschaft ebenso wie bei Klein- und Mittelbetrieben; der Geschwindigkeit und Intransparenz des technologischen Umbruchs fühlt man sich ausgeliefert. Hat bereits die Zuwanderung den sozialen und politischen Zusammenhalt erschüttert, so verstärkt die jüngste Inflation die innere Zerrissenheit zusätzlich. Nach außen steht der öffentlich vertretene Anspruch der Souveränität im Gegensatz zur realen atomaren und militärischen Abhängigkeit von den USA; und Absichtserklärungen speziell gegenüber Südosteuropa und dem Globalen Süden unterminieren mangels Konsequenz als Lippenbekenntnisse die Glaubwürdigkeit und Paktfähigkeit. Ganz abgesehen davon, dass man den Krieg in der Ukraine als Naturereignis hinzunehmen scheint und früher selbstverständliche Friedensoffensiven anderen überlassen werden; auch die Erosion der Weltordnung unter dem Dach der Vereinten Nationen scheint man ohne größere Gegenwehr zur Kenntnis zu nehmen.

Die „Säulen von Florenz“ – Eckpfeiler für einen neuen Grundkonsens

„Fracted Europe, fracted World, fracted Future“. Der Grund für diese Zerrissenheit liegt darin, dass es bislang nicht gelungen ist, die Vielzahl widerstreitender Kräfte sowohl europa- als auch weltpolitisch in ein aufeinander bezogenes System zu integrieren, sie solcherart in ihrem Wechselwirken verständlich, damit modulierbar und steuerbar zu machen. Diese verwirrende Gleichzeitigkeit konstruktiver wie dekonstruktivistischer Prozesse und der damit einhergehende Mangel an Orientierung sind der Urgrund aller Unzufriedenheit, Angst, Unruhe und Ungeduld. Gerade dieses Selbst-Bewusstseins im eigentlichen Sinn des Wortes aber bedarf es, um aus ihm Sinnstiftung und Dynamik zu generieren. Mit anderen Worten: um eine in sich schlüssige Erzählung, ein Narrativ für das 21. Jahrhundert zu kreieren. Und hier ist ein grundlegender Wandel eingetreten:

Der Grundkonsens nach dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges bestand darin, eine friedliche, demokratische Gesellschaft und Wohlstand für alle aufzubauen. Der Mythos von Marshall-Plan und Wirtschaftswunder ist jene Erfolgsgeschichte, die bis zu Beginn der 2000er Jahre unsere Gesellschaft leitete. Verbunden war dies mit einer leistungsstarken, rohstoffbasierten Industrie und einer freiheitsgeleiteten Konsumgesellschaft. Antrieb auf individueller Ebene war das Streben nach Glück und Sinn, auf gesellschaftlicher Ebene war Fortschritt das Leitmotiv (Abb. 1).

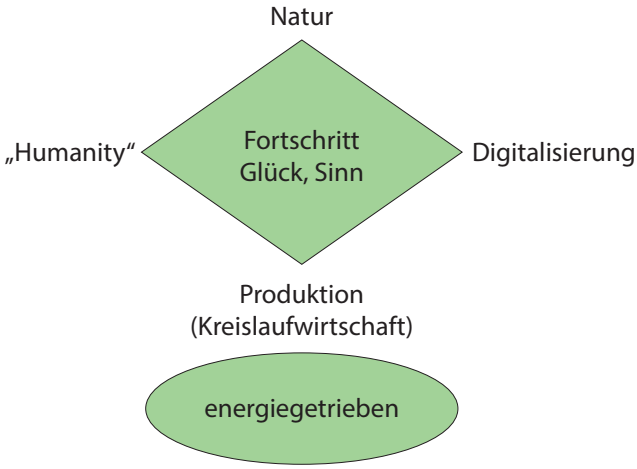
Abbildung 1:



Mit der Erfüllung des Wohlstandsversprechens hatte dieses System seinen Zenit zu Beginn der 1990er Jahre erreicht und begann, in eine zunehmend ziel- und gesichtslose, mediengesteuerte Massengesellschaft abzugleiten. Die Krisenpolitik seit „9/11“ hat den grundlegenden Bedarf an Ursachenanalyse und Neuordnung stets nur soweit berührt, als es dem eigenen politischen Überleben dienlich war.

Die zentralen Antriebskräfte sind durch den Umbruch der vergangenen drei Jahrzehnte hindurch gleichgeblieben, die Rahmenparameter allerdings haben sich verändert (Abb. 2). Der Klimawandel rückt das Bewusstsein des Menschen als Naturwesen verstärkt in den Mittelpunkt. „Humanity“ umfasst mehrere Dimensionen: Freiheit aus dem Gewissen, physische und seelische Gesundheit ebenso wie Gemeinschaft, Vertrauen, Zusammenarbeit; aber auch die Fähigkeit, Grenzen zu ziehen und Grenzen zu respektieren. Sie bildet den Gegenpol zur Digitalisierung in ihrer Dynamik und immanenten Tendenz der Vereinnahmung. Der Produktionssektor bildet weiterhin eine wesentliche

Abbildung 2:



Grundlage und bindet in Form der Kreislaufwirtschaft als Wertekreislauf Produzent und Konsument enger aneinander. Dieses System ist energiegetrieben: Energie als wichtigste Ressource gilt es vor dem Hintergrund der Bewahrung des Ökosystems Erde gemäß dem Minimalprinzip sparsam und effizient einzusetzen. Als Anspruch und Maßstab fungieren die nachhaltigen Entwicklungsziele („Sustainable Development Goals“) der Vereinten Nationen.

Alle innenpolitischen Prozesse – sei es in Europa, sei es in den Nationalstaaten – sollten sich in diesem „magischen Viereck“ einordnen, bemessen und optimieren lassen. Diese Ordnung der Kräfte ermöglicht es, jene Dynamik, die Wissenschaft und Ökonomie innewohnt, zu bündeln und sie in sinn- und nutzenstiftende Bahnen zu lenken. Individuelle Lebensziele dank Orientierung, Dynamik aus der Synthese!

Doch auch außenpolitisch erfolgte eine Verschiebung. Die Zeit des Kalten Krieges prägte das „Gleichgewicht des Schreckens“ zwischen Ost und West mit den Vereinten Nationen als Ort des Dialogs und Ausgleichs. In der neuen Weltordnung stehen die Vereinten Nationen weiterhin im Mittelpunkt, allerdings im Rahmen einer multipolaren Ordnung in wechselseitigem Respekt mit wechselnden fallspezifischen Allianzen. Dieses System ist offener, vielseitiger und beweglicher. Die gemeinsame Aufgabe liegt in der Bewältigung von Klimawandel, Artensterben und in den nachhaltigen Entwicklungszielen der Vereinten Nationen. Die zentrale Herausforderung besteht darin, im transkontinentalen und interkulturellen Dialog eine Vertrauensbasis aufzubauen, welche den Fortschritt der Menschheit als friedlichen Wettstreit der Interessen und Fertigkeiten in geregelten Bahnen leitet.

Als Brücke zwischen Idee – EU – Bevölkerung wäre im Vorfeld der Wahlen zum EU-Parlament ein EU-Konvent oder ein EU-Gipfel anzustreben, der die folgenden fünf Säulen den Menschen, der Wirtschaft, aber auch den nationalen Politiken als Bezugssystem kommuniziert – beispielsweise in Anlehnung an Maastricht als die „Fünf Säulen von Florenz“, dem Epizentrum der Renaissance, oder in Bezug auf Alpbach als „Five Pilars for a Bold Europe“:

- „Man and Nature“ / Mensch und Natur
- „Humanity and Dignity“ / das menschliche Maß
- „Digitalisation“ / Digitalisierung
- „Circular Economy“ / Kreislaufwirtschaft
- „Bold Europe in a Multipolar World“ / ein gestaltungsfreudiges Europa in einer multipolaren Welt

Auf globaler Ebene könnte nach Vorbild der Ära von Generalsekretär Boutros Boutros-Ghali eine UN-Weltkonferenz die Leitlinien für das Zusammenleben in einer multipolaren Welt ausarbeiten.

Die Verwandlung Europas als sozialer Imperativ

Anlässlich des 50-jährigen Jubiläums notierte der damalige Präsident des Europäischen Forums Alpbach, Botschafter Heinrich Pfusterschmid-Hardtenstein: „So befindet sich Alpbach […] wieder in der Nähe seines Anfangs: wie damals hat es auch heute nach Wegen zu suchen, die Orientierung und klare Sicht in unsere Welt zu bringen vermögen.“ Der nunmehrige Präsident Andreas Treichl schreibt diese Tradition fort: „Das European Forum Alpbach hat sich das klare Ziel gestellt, über Generationen und Disziplinen hinweg an neuen Ideen zu arbeiten. Wenn Polarisierung um sich greift, ist es wichtig, dass es Orte gibt, an denen verschiedenste Menschen zusammenkommen und es schaffen, sich auf wesentliche Dinge zu einigen.“ Als zentrale Linien für die Arbeit der nächsten Jahre soll die Förderung des inter- bzw. transdisziplinären Denkens und Dialogs Räume zum Handeln eröffnen und die weitere Vertiefung der Integration zur Festigung eines freien und demokrati-

schen Europas beitragen, damit es in internationaler Zusammenarbeit seine Verantwortung lebe und aktiv zu Frieden und Prosperität in der Welt beitrage.[6)]

Wenn man auf das "European Forum Alpbach" 2023 blickt, so ist es ein junges Forum geworden. „Was mir an Alpbach besonders gefällt, ist das problemlose Zusammenarbeiten so verschiedener Altersgruppen in einem Geist fast utopischer Toleranz und Freiheit" (Ernst BLOCH, zitiert nach MOLDEN 1981, S. 147). Viele junge Menschen aus Europa, aus aller Welt kommen zusammen und diskutieren. Nicht Exklusivität steht im Mittelpunkt, sondern Inklusion, nicht die Suche nach der *einen* Antwort, sondern Talent und Wissen, Empathie und Engagement, Individualität in Gemeinschaft – kurz: das Leben selbst: Alpbach – ein kleines Universum, in dem sich für einige Tage Sterne aneinander entzünden, um dieses Licht in ihre Welt mitzunehmen und sie zu einer besseren zu machen.

Ihr, die ihr sitzet am Abhang, entronnen dem wütigen Jagen,
Hebet das reine Gesicht friedlich ins flutende Licht …
Schlage das Herz euch getrost.
Es ward euch das Erdreich zu eigen, wenn ihr das Gute nur suchet,
ihr Friedlichen, fürchtet euch nicht!
(Paula VON PRERADOVIĆ, Die Alpbacher Elegie)

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[6)] Vgl. WIRTH (2018, S. 228) und European Forum Alpbach (2023).

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Personalia

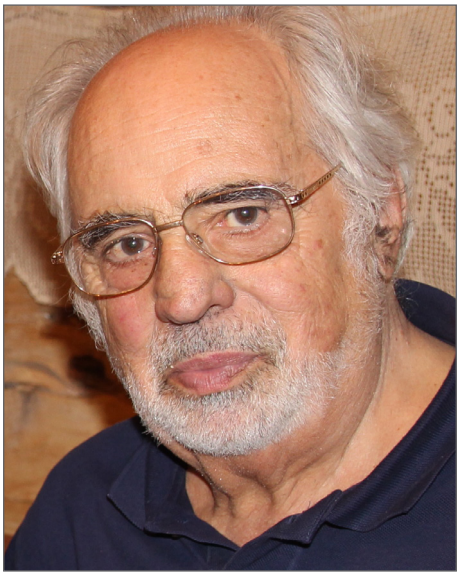
Biographical Notes

In Memoriam Em. O. Univ.-Prof. Dr. Bruno Backé (1932 – 2023)

Helmut Riedl, Wiener Neustadt*

mit 1 Abbildung im Text

Bruno Backé verstarb in der Nacht des 1. auf den 2. März 2023 an den Folgen eines Schlaganfalls nach einem fast fünfmonatigen schweren Leiden im Landeskrankenhaus in Klagenfurt am Wörthersee. In dieser Zeit war er weitgehend an das Bett gefesselt. Er hatte Atemprobleme bei seiner Herzinsuffizienz und einer chronischen, lymphatischen Leukämie, die 2014 diagnostiziert wurde. Seine



Bruno Backé (Foto: M. Seger 2017 anlässlich des 85. Geburtstags von Backé)

* Em. O. Univ.-Prof. Dr. Helmut Riedl, ehem. Vorstand des Instituts für Geographie und Dekan der Naturwissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Paris-Lodron-Universität Salzburg, Purgleitnergasse 29, A-2700 Wiener Neustadt.

geistigen Kräfte waren bis zu seinem Tod in vollem Umfang erhalten. Sein Leiden ertrug er mit der Trotzmacht des Geistes, obwohl er wusste, dass keine Besserung zu erwarten war.

Bruno BACKÉ (geboren am 27. Juni 1932 in Eisenstadt) war ein großer Denker, ein Selbstdenker, wie er sich selbst bezeichnete, im Gegensatz zum angelesenen Wissen. Er sprach auch von der Verantwortung des ständigen Nachweises des eigenständigen Denkens, das auch eine Affinität zur Eigenwilligkeit aufweisen konnte.

Der Vater (1885–1959) von Bruno BACKÉ war Landwirtschaftsingenieur und arbeitete in verschiedenen Gütern der Habsburgermonarchie. Infolge von Erbschaften kaufte er das 67 Hektar große Gut Wasserburg westlich von Obergrafendorf in Niederösterreich. Dort wurden die beiden Schwestern von Bruno BACKÉ geboren. Er selbst betrachtete sich jedoch als Einzelkind, da seine Schwestern am Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs 29 und 31 Jahre alt waren und seine Mütter hätten sein können. Der Großvater väterlicherseits war k.u.k. Hoftapezierer, erlernte sein Handwerk in Paris und war verantwortlich für die Ausstattung der Rotunde auf der Wiener Weltausstellung, die am 1. Mai 1873 eröffnet wurde. BACKÉS Mutter war Ungarin und bei seiner Geburt in einem Haus in der Wiener Straße von Eisenstadt (heute Esterhazystraße) 39 Jahre alt. Im 17. und 20. Jahrhundert sind im Stamm der Mutter zwei Erzbischöfe nachzuweisen.

Verhängnisvoll war der Verkauf des Großgrundbesitzes Wasserburg im Jahr 1917 noch während des Ersten Weltkrieges. Der Verkauf erfolgte auf Drängen der Mutter, um ein Gut in Ungarn erwerben zu können. Sie litt unter den Nachstellungen der russischen Kriegsgefangenen, die als Knechte am Gut arbeiteten. 1922 saugte die Inflation das durch den Verkauf des Gutes bestehende Vermögen auf. Die Familie war verarmt: Der Vater kam als Schlachthausdirektor in Wiener Neustadt unter, konnte aber in der sozialistischen Stadt nicht Fuß fassen. Er wurde arbeitslos. Ein Onkel der Mutter von Bruno BACKÉ war zu dieser Zeit Erzbischof in Nitra (Slowakei) und setzte sich bei Bundeskanzler lgnaz Seipel (1926–1929) für BACKÉS Vater ein. So konnte dieser in der Landwirtschaftskammer Sauerbrunn (Burgenland) angestellt werden, die dann nach Eisenstadt übersiedelte.

Entscheidend für die Persönlichkeitsentwicklung von Bruno BACKÉ war wie für viele seiner Generation das Jahr 1945 und die frühe Nachkriegszeit. Er erlebte die Flucht vor der russischen Besatzungsmacht nach Niederösterreich in das ehemalige Gut Wasserburg, wo noch die Möglichkeit der Umquartierung bestand. Der Vater blieb in Eisenstadt zurück. Vor der Flucht war für den 13-jährigen Bruno der Diebstahl des Fahrrades, das seine Schwester und er benützten, prägend. Vor allem war die Enttäuschung groß, als die Soldaten der russischen Kommandantur nicht das Geringste gegen den Diebstahl unternahmen. Der Tiefgang von Enttäuschungen begleitete Bruno BACKÉ ein Leben lang.

Im Jahr seiner Matura bezog die Familie wieder ihr Haus in Eisenstadt-Kleinhöflein, nachdem der Vater nach einer Erbschaft wieder zu Geld gekommen war, wodurch er einen Kredit aufnehmen konnte. Allerdings wurde es für Bruno finanziell eng, sodass er nur die Möglichkeit eines Werkstudiums verwirklichen konnte. Er war in seiner Wiener Zeit Zeitungsausträger, Fensterputzer, Schädlingsbekämpfer und Fleischausträger. Immer wieder versuchte er auszubrechen, war kurze Zeit Gendarmerieschüler und Student an der Juridischen Fakultät der Universität Wien. Schließlich erwachten die geographischen Interessen und er fand dort seine geistige Heimat.

Nach dem Tod des Vaters heiratete Bruno BACKÉ im Jahre 1959. Der Ehe entstammten drei Söhne, sie wurde jedoch in seiner Berliner Zeit geschieden. Nur zu dem ältesten Sohn hatte Bruno BACKÉ Kontakte. Die beiden anderen Söhne waren der Mutter zugetan. Zu ihnen bestand keine Kommunikation.

Nach versuchsweisen Studien an der damaligen Hochschule für Bodenkultur fand BACKÉS Geographiestudium 1958 einen formalen Abschluss. Aber bereits seit 1955 war er freier wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter an der kulturgeographischen Lehrkanzel seines großen Vorbildes Hans BOBEK.

Nach dem Abschluss seines Studiums wurde er in der Zeit von 1959 bis 1967 Angestellter am Österreichischen Institut für Raumplanung in Wien, wo er zum Beispiel die Bearbeitung der Grünflächenplanung für den 13. Wiener Gemeindebezirk (Roter Berg) und für den 6. und 12. Bezirk durchführte. Die Praxisorientierung seines Verständnisses von Geographie dürfte in dieser Zeit voll erwacht sein; beispielsweise gehen die Wiener Zählsprengel in ihrer Abgrenzung auf Bruno Backé zurück.

Noch während seiner Zeit am Institut für Raumplanung erfolgte 1966 die Approbation seiner Dissertation an der Lehrkanzel von Hans Bobek im Geographischen Institut der Universität Wien über die sozialräumliche Differenzierung von Floridsdorf,[1)] die wegen ihrer wissenschaftlichen Qualität mit dem „Johann-Hampel-Preis" der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft ausgezeichnet wurde. In seiner Dissertation war Bruno Backé der Erste, der in Wien sozioökonomische Primärdaten zum Zwecke der kleinräumigen-sozialstrukturellen Analyse der Wohnbevölkerung analysiert hat.

Ein Jahr vor seinem Tod teilte Bruno Backé in einem seiner zahlreichen *handschriftlichen Briefe* dem Verfasser mit, dass in Bezug auf die Erfahrungen seiner Dissertation die disziplingeschichtliche Betrachtungsweise dahin geändert werden müsste, dass von einem großen Maßstab (hausweise Erfassung einer Stadt) über einen mittleren Maßstab (Regionen) bis zu einem kleinen Maßstab, zum globalen Aspekt, vorgedrungen werden müsste, wodurch die Zersplitterung des Faches verhindert werden könnte.

Im gleichen Jahr 1967, als Bruno Backé sein Dienstverhältnis am Institut für Raumplanung beendete, trat er an der Technischen Universität Berlin einen Assistenzposten an.

Der Aufbruch nach Berlin mag als unvorhergesehen betrachtet werden, denn Backé hatte bisher keinerlei Beziehungen zu dieser Stadt. Es bestanden aber Kontakte von Prof. Wurzer an der Technischen Hochschule in Wien, der ein richtungsgebender Raumplaner war, zu Prof. Koller an der TU Berlin, der Vorstand des Instituts für Städtebau war. Es war Elisabeth Lichtenberger, die Backé darauf aufmerksam machte, dass Prof. Koller einen Assistenten suche. Auch Hans Bobek hatte gute Kontakte zu Koller. Dieser (geboren 1907, verstorben 1996) stammte aus einer Heiligenbluter Familie, wurde in Wien geboren, studierte an den Technischen Hochschulen Wien und Berlin und war von 1960 bis 1973 Ordinarius am Institut für Städtebau der Technischen Hochschule Berlin.

Für Backé öffnete sich in Berlin ein Netzwerk von Beziehungen, die ihm zugetan waren. Hier konnte er unabhängig vom Universitätsfach Geographie denken und in Berlin einen eigenständigen wissenschaftlichen Weg beschreiten. Ja, er distanzierte sich sogar von seinem Fach. Seines Erachtens saß er zwischen zwei Stühlen und war im hohen Alter froh, bei dieser Sitzgelegenheit der Wahrheit auf der Spur gewesen zu sein.

Vier Jahre nach Backés Dienstantritt in Berlin erschien seine Arbeit über Altersstruktur und regionale Bevölkerungsprognose am Beispiel des Landes Niedersachsen.[2)] Er zeigte am Beispiel dieses deutschen Bundeslandes die Zusammenhänge zwischen der regionalen Altersstruktur und der regionalen Prognose der natürlichen Bevölkerungsentwicklung. Hans Bobek beglückwünschte ihn in einem Brief vom 21. Mai 1971 zu seiner Forschungsrichtung, indem er feststellte, dass seine Studie hochaktuell sei und ihre Tendenz genau in die Kerbe schlage, um die es derzeit in der Geographie ginge (Anmerkung des Verfassers: Es handelte sich um die Situation der Geographie nach dem Kieler Geographentag).

Mit seiner Arbeit über die Altersstruktur der Bevölkerung hat Backé die bereits bestehenden Betrachtungsweisen und Arbeitsrichtungen der Geographie, die physiognomische, die historisch-genetische und die funktionale Arbeitsrichtung, um eine vierte Arbeitsrichtung, die *prognostische* erweitert.

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2) Backé Bruno (1971): Altersstruktur und regionale Bevölkerungsprognose, dargestellt am Beispiel des Landes Niedersachsen. In: Neues Archiv für Niedersachsen, 20 (1), S. 17–29.

Bruno BACKÉ habilitierte sich 1975 im Fachbereich Gesellschafts- und Planungswissenschaften an der TU Berlin. Sein Habilitationsvater war nicht KOLLER, sondern Prof. Friedrich GÜNKEL. Im Jahr seiner Habilitierung übte er Kritik an der Berliner Bevölkerungsstatistik, die in der Zeitung „Die Welt" am 3. Juni 1976 erschien. In der Zeitung „Der Tagesspiegel" vom 4. November 1975 war zu lesen, dass eine „Bevölkerungs-Enquete-Kommission" im Berliner Abgeordnetenhaus eingerichtet wurde, in der Bruno BACKÉ Mitglied war.

Noch in seiner Klagenfurter Zeit wandte er sich an den Regierenden Bürgermeister von Berlin Dr. von WEIZSÄCKER hinsichtlich des Problems der Bevölkerungsentwicklung im westlichen Teil Berlins. WEIZSÄCKER antwortete mit Brief vom 1. Juli 1982, worin er sich über die Andauer der Beziehungen von BACKÉ zu Berlin erfreut zeigte. Er lobte seine Arbeit in der Enquete-Kommission des Abgeordnetenhauses in den Jahren bis 1978 und zuletzt als von der CDU-Fraktion benanntes Sachverständigen-Mitglied. WEIZSÄCKER teilte mit, dass er den betreffenden Dienststellen des Senats von Berlin Kopien des kritischen Brieftextes von BACKÉ zur Beachtung überreichen werde. Das bedeutete für BACKÉ eine Bestätigung seiner praxisorientierten und prognostischen Arbeitsrichtung.

Die gesamte Berliner Zeit zeigt, wie sich der „Selbstdenker" BACKÉ vom Fach seiner Doktorarbeit, der Geographie, inmitten des Geistes, der mit der Technik verbunden war, löste und andererseits durch diese geistige Unabhängigkeit sein Fach, die Geographie, ungemein bereicherte.

Im Wintersemester 1976/77 gründete Bruno BACKÉ das Institut für Geographie an der Universität für Bildungswissenschaften in Klagenfurt, nachdem er als Privatdozent am Institut für Stadtplanung und Raumplanung der TU Berlin einen Ruf nach Frankfurt am Main ausgeschlagen hatte und der damalige Rektor der Universität Klagenfurt, Peter HEINTEL, ihn telefonisch aufforderte, sich für Klagenfurt zu bewerben.

Beim Antrittsbesuch bei Leopold WAGNER, dem Landeshauptmann des Bundeslandes Kärnten, wollte BACKÉ seine Ideen, die aus Praxisorientierung und Prognostik entstammten, unterbreiten. Es ging auch um seine Intentionen zur Errichtung des Nationalparks Hohe Tauern. Der Landeshauptmann sagte: „Sie, Herr Professor, können ja über all dies an der Universität forschen. Wir im Land nehmen für uns das gleiche Recht in Anspruch nach unserem eigenen Gutdünken."

Damit war für Bruno BACKÉ frühzeitig in der Klagenfurter Zeit eine große Enttäuschung bei seinen Intentionen entstanden, den Politikern geographische Erkenntnisse zu unterbreiten, damit Fehler ihrer Planungen vermieden werden können. Seine Bereitschaft, für die Raumordnung Kärntens praktische Forschungsarbeit durchzuführen, wurde bitter enttäuscht. So gesehen, stand die Klagenfurter Zeit unter keinem guten Vorzeichen, wie auch die erneute Zuwendung zu den Bevölkerungsproblemen Berlins bezeugte.

Die hemmende Brüskierung durch die öffentliche Hand in Kärnten wurde durch ein offenes, durchaus freundschaftliches Verhältnis zum zweiten Lehrstuhlinhaber am Institut für Geographie an der Universität Klagenfurt, Martin SEGER, gemildert, obwohl das wissenschaftliche Grundverständnis beider Personen verschieden war. BACKÉ bewahrte, wahrscheinlich gerade wegen seiner Praxisorientiertheit die *Einheit der Geographie*, die Einheit von Physischer Geographie und Kultur- bzw. Sozialgeographie.

Schließlich muss berücksichtigt werden, dass es ein Jahr nach dem Dienstantritt in Klagenfurt 1978 zur Heirat von Bruno BACKÉ mit seiner Gattin Ingrid kam. Ingrid REITER arbeitete an der Wiener Stadtkartierung des Instituts für Geographie der Universität Wien mit und studierte auch bei Prof. Hans KINZL in Innsbruck. Die heute emeritierte Oberstudienrätin brachte in die Ehe eine 1973 geborene Tochter mit, welche die volle Empathie von Bruno BACKÉ erfahren hat.

Vermutlich war die Brüskierung seitens des Landes auch der Anlass, dass sich Bruno BACKÉ besonders in den 1980er Jahren vermehrt dem Ausbau des Klagenfurter Instituts und der Betreuung der Studierenden widmete. Er litt außerordentlich an dem ein Jahr vor seinem Dienstantritt in Kraft

gesetzten Universitätsorganisationsgesetz des Jahres 1975. Die neuen Sitzungen mit einer Länge von mehreren Stunden und die Mitbestimmung von Mittelbau und Studierendenvertretern bezeichnete er als Horror. Auch konnte er die Lehre nach seiner Sicht nicht so gestalten, wie er es wollte. So kündigte er eine Vorlesung im zweiten Studienabschnitt an, die nicht verpflichtend war und daher von keinem Studierenden besucht wurde. Er war auch betrübt, wenn er sah, wie Studierende ohne Begeisterung durch das Studium gingen. Es ist eigenartig, dass der Salzburger Plagiatsjäger Weber 2002 in Klagenfurt bei seiner Lehre in den Kommunikationswissenschaften erfahren musste, dass bei den damaligen Studierenden keine Zitierungskenntnisse vorhanden waren und sie alles aus dem Internet wissensmäßig bezogen. Für Weber war es ein Trauma, aus dem heraus er zum Plagiatsjäger wurde. Auch Bruno Backé stand solchen Situationen gegenüber.

1993 stellte Bruno Backé den Antrag auf vorzeitige Emeritierung, die auf Grund gesetzlicher Grundlagen möglich war und vom damaligen Wissenschaftsminister Busek auch genehmigt wurde.

Das Hauptverdienst von Bruno Backé war, dass er als Erster ein stringentes sozialwirtschaftliches Gliederungsschema der Bevölkerung als Grundlage sozialgeographischen Handelns einführte. Damit hat er das „Logische System der Geographie“ um den prognostischen Forschungsansatz erweitert, um damit Grundlagen zu liefern, geographische Kenntnisse in das praktische Handeln (der Politiker auf dem Gebiet der Raumplanung) einzubeziehen, um nicht gewollte Entwicklungen beizeiten zu korrigieren. Er hat die Praxisorientierung des Faches explizit gefordert und selber vertreten.

Ein Grundzug seines Denkens war, dass für ihn das Resultat nicht das Wichtigste war, sondern die unerschütterliche Mühewaltung der Aufklärung und er distanzierte sich mit aller Deutlichkeit, wenn fachliche Erkenntnisse in der interpretierenden Beschreibung stecken blieben gegenüber dem primären Ziel wissenschaftlichen Denkens, der Frage nach dem „Warum?“ Er sagte einmal: „Die Wissenschaft war für mich das Vehikel der eigenen Menschwerdung.“

Es war eine günstige Situation, als seine Gattin im gleichen Jahr seiner Emeritierung in Pension ging. Wer dachte, dass Bruno Backé nach seiner Emeritierung wieder in den pannonischen Lebensraum seiner Jugend zurückkehren würde, hat seine Persönlichkeitsstruktur kaum erfasst. Er war bei aller Schätzung der Tradition jemand, der auch daraus ausbrechen konnte, wenn sich das neue Lebensgefühl am Horizont abzeichnete. So war es auch am Beginn seiner Emeritierungszeit. Er erwarb mit seiner Gattin ein altes Bauernhaus in der Landschaft der Gurktaler Alpen in 1260 Metern Seehöhe, knapp über der Nebelgrenze.

Hier konnte er abseits der Wissenschaft den Alltag bewältigen. Er verfügte über kein Internet, weil es seines Erachtens der Selbstzerstörung dient: Information, gepaart mit Langeweile und Neugierde. Er publizierte in dem Bauernhaus, das mit 15 Hektar Grund umgeben ist, nichts mehr und besuchte auch das Klagenfurter Institut kein einziges Mal. Er lebte mit seiner Gattin in Abgeschiedenheit mit geringsten Kommunikationen. Er hat auch an keiner wissenschaftlichen Veranstaltung während der letzten 30 Jahre teilgenommen. Es war ein völliger Rückzug von der institutionellen Wissenschaft, den er nie bereute. In den letzten Lebensjahren, in denen die Tochter dem Ehepaar wöchentlich geholfen hat, konnte Bruno Backé sein Leben aus gesundheitlichen Gründen nicht mehr so gestalten, wie er es wollte. Aber sein Denken blieb wie ein erratischer Block voll erhalten.

Wer glaubte, dass er in der selbstgewählten Einsamkeit die Geographie aus seinem Gedächtnis entließ, der irrte. In den zahllosen Briefen an den Verfasser dieses Nachrufs, die disziplingeschichtliche und zeithistorische Dokumente darstellen und nach meinem Tode der niederösterreichischen Landesbibliothek übergeben werden, hatte Bruno Backé wiederholt auf die rezente Entwicklung der Geographie und die Methodologie Bezug genommen. Er war an philosophischen Fragen interessiert, war ein glühender Verehrer des Philosophen Schopenhauer und hatte sogar geographische Affinitäten bei ihm gefunden.

In den letzten Lebensjahren fragte er intensiv nach dem Sinn der Welt und er verzweifelte auch an der – seiner Meinung nach – (rezenten) „Erbärmlichkeit“ der Welt. Seine Empathie zeigte sich, wenn man gegen seinen Pessimismus ankämpfte. Vor seinem Tod hatte er das Bewusstsein, dass die Welt doch einen Sinn hat und es eine Existenz ohne Sinn gar nicht geben könnte. Er kämpfte sich wenige Wochen vor seinem Tod zur Ansicht durch, dass es einen Gegensatz zur Materie geben müsste. Es müsse das Ideelle geben außerhalb unseres Intellekts.

Wir danken seiner Gattin Ingrid, die die inhaltsreiche Einsamkeit mit Bruno BACKÉ teilte, und sprechen ihr unsere Anerkennung und unser Mitleid aus.

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Herwig Wakonigg (1942 bis 2023) – Ein Nachruf

Gerhard Karl Lieb, Graz*

mit 1 Abbildung im Text

Für den letzten Band Nr. 164 (2022) der „Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft“ durfte ich eine Würdigung von Herwig Wakonigg anlässlich seines 80. Geburtstags verfassen (Lieb 2022), über die er sich sehr freute. Das E-Mail vom Frühjahr 2023, worin er mir dies zum Ausdruck brachte, sollte der letzte Kontakt mit meinem akademischen Lehrer sein, bevor er am



Herwig Wakonigg in seinem Element: Als brillanter Redner (2018 in Graz; Foto: P. Hadler), *links oben*; – als aufmerksamer Beobachter und Fotograf (2002 am Macugnaga-Gletscher, Italien; Foto: A. Pilz), *rechts oben*; – auf Exkursion 1991 in den Badlands von Alianello (Basilicata, Italien; Foto: G. K. Lieb), *links unten*; – und 1980 auf „seinem“ Gletscher, der Pasterze (Hohe Tauern, Österreich; Foto: G. K. Lieb), *rechts unten*.

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28. September 2023 seinem langen, schweren Leiden erlag. Herwig Wakonigg, Emeritus der „Grazer Geographie“ und langjähriger Leiter der Zweigstelle Graz der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft, prägte als Universitätsprofessor für Physische Geographie das Institut für Geographie und Raumforschung der Universität Graz 27 Jahre lang von 1982 bis 2008, war aber schon zuvor als Universitätsassistent und auch einige Jahre nach seiner Emeritierung in der Lehre am Institut tätig. Seine großen Leistungen in Forschung, Lehre und Verwaltung sind mehrfach gewürdigt worden – am ausführlichsten bei Zimmermann und Lieb (2002) –, weshalb an dieser Stelle nur auf wenige Eckpunkte seines Lebens und Schaffens eingegangen sei.

Geboren am 17. Juli 1942 im damaligen obersteirischen Bezirk Knittelfeld, verlegte Herwig Wakonigg mit dem Studium den Mittelpunkt seiner Lebensinteressen nach Graz. Er studierte an der Universität Graz und promovierte 1967 mit einem witterungsklimatologischen Thema. Als Mitarbeiter am damaligen Geographischen Institut vertiefte er für sich und den Standort den Schwerpunkt Klimatologie, dem sich noch heute eine von sechs Forschungsgruppen der Grazer Geographie widmet. Ein weiterer von ihm verstärkter fachlicher Schwerpunkt, der heute sogar von zwei der Forschungsgruppen betreut wird, sind die Gletscher, wofür ihm vor allem das Monitoring der Pasterze, des größten Gletschers Österreichs, als Basis diente. Jedoch war Herwig Wakonigg nie der einseitige Spezialist, sondern verstand sich stets als Vertreter des Gesamtfachs Geographie, was sich insbesondere in seinem breiten Portfolio in der Lehre widerspiegelte.

In Bezug auf Verwaltungsagenden stechen seine Leistungen für die Curricula-Entwicklung in den diesbezüglich wichtigen 1990er und frühen 2000er Jahren hervor, wovon die Diversifizierung der Studiengänge als Erbe immer noch nachwirkt. Dank seiner verdienstvollen Tätigkeit für die Zweigstelle Graz der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft wurde ihm 2016 die Ehrenmitgliedschaft der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft verliehen.

Sein Ableben hinterlässt eine große Lücke in Bezug auf verfügbares Fach- und Erfahrungswissen, auf das wir bis zuletzt gerne zugegriffen haben. Jedoch tragen seine Schülerinnen und Schüler sowie Kolleginnen und Kollegen sein Erbe insofern weiter, als er in seiner wissenschaftlichen Akribie, Exaktheit und Umsicht, seiner fachlichen Breite sowie in seinem unbeirrbaren Gerechtigkeitssinn den Studierenden und dem Kollegium gegenüber immer noch ein Vorbild ist. So darf ich mich im Namen der Grazer Geographie und der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft noch ein letztes Mal in Dankbarkeit vor einem der Großen der österreichischen Geographie verneigen.

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Humangeographin, Kartographin, Förderin der ÖGG – Maria Bobek-Fesl 90 Jahre

Wolfgang Schwarz, Wien*

mit 1 Abbildung im Text

Am 29. April 2023 vollendete Frau Hofrat Dr. Maria Bobek-Fesl, seit 2012 Ehrenmitglied der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft (ÖGG), das 90. Lebensjahr. Sie kann auf ein bedeutendes Lebenswerk zurückblicken.

Großzügige Förderin der ÖGG – Stifterin des Hans-Bobek-Preises

Bald nach dem Ableben ihres Ehemannes, Em. O. Univ.-Prof. Dr. Hans Bobek, im Jahr 1990 hat Frau Bobek-Fesl den nach ihrem Gatten benannten „Hans-Bobek-Preis“ für herausragende Disser-



Maria Bobek-Fesl bei der Verleihung der Ehrenmitgliedschaft der ÖGG im Rahmen der Hauptversammlung unserer Gesellschaft im April 2012 (Foto: W. Schwarz)

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tations- und Habilitationsschriften gestiftet, zum Gedenken an einen der bedeutendsten Geographen des 20. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachraum und Inhaber der Lehrkanzel für Kulturgeographie am damaligen Geographischen Institut der Universität Wien von 1951 bis 1971. Der Preis wurde, in der Nachfolge des 1989 ausgelaufenen Johann-Hampel-Preises der ÖGG, zum ersten Mal im Jahr 1992 im Rahmen der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft vergeben, und zwar an Heinz FASSMANN.

Die ÖGG ist Frau BOBEK-FESL in hohem Maß dafür dankbar, dass sie durch namhafte Zuwendungen nunmehr schon mehr als dreißig Jahre lang die Finanzierung dieses Preises ermöglicht hat. Anfang des Jahres 2023 hat sie durch eine weitere großzügige Spende für eine langfristige Absicherung des Hans-Bobek-Preises gesorgt, der zu den wichtigsten Förderungspreisen für die geographische Forschung im deutschen Sprachraum zählt.

Studium und beruflicher Werdegang

Neben ihrem Mäzenatentum müssen die außerordentlichen Leistungen von Frau BOBEK-FESL auf dem Gebiet der Humangeographie und der Kartographie hervorgehoben werden. Zunächst einige Worte über ihren Werdegang:

Maria Anna („Marianne") FESL wurde 1933 in Wien geboren. Sie maturierte an der Lehrerinnenbildungsanstalt in Wien 7, Kenyongasse. An der Universität Wien studierte sie Geographie und Geschichte. Bereits in ihrer Studienzeit hat sie eisern gespart, um in die Ferne reisen zu können und fremde Länder kennenzulernen. In ihrer Dissertation „Die Städte um Wien und ihre Rolle im Wandel der Zeit" (veröffentlicht in der Reihe „Forschungen zur deutschen Landeskunde", Band 151) untersuchte sie den historischen Funktionswandel und die aktuelle zentralörtliche Bedeutung von zwölf Städten im Umland der Bundeshauptstadt Wien und bediente sich bereits empirischer quantitativer Methoden. Die Arbeit „zeichnet sich durch straffe Gedankenführung und Systematik aus, so dass die aufgeworfene Fragestellung klar und überzeugend beantwortet erscheint" urteilte Hans BOBEK, ihr Doktorvater (zitiert aus dem Geographischen Jahresbericht aus Österreich, XXIX. Band, 1961/62, S. 174). Das umfangreiche Werk fand hohe Anerkennung. Maria FESL erhielt hierfür den Johann-Hampel-Preis der ÖGG und den Theodor-Innitzer-Preis für Jungakademiker.

Gleich nach ihrer Promotion am 17. Juli 1963 engagierte sie Hans BOBEK als Mitarbeiterin der Kommission für Raumforschung der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (ÖAW), deren Obmann BOBEK war. Diese Forschungseinrichtung der ÖAW bildete jenes kreative Milieu, das auf Maria FESL äußerst inspirierend wirkte. Ihre Kollegen waren dort Heimold HELCZMANOVSZKI, danach Gertrude MRAS und Josef STEINBACH, später Heinz FASSMANN und Albert HOFMAYER. Sie arbeitete dort bis zu ihrer Pensionierung. Als Beamtin des Bundes wurde ihr 1992 der Titel „Hofrat" verliehen. Bereits 1978 hatte sie Hans BOBEK, nach dem Ableben seiner ersten Frau, geehelicht. Gleich danach bereisten sie gemeinsam den Iran, ein Land, das BOBEK in früheren Jahren so intensiv erforscht hatte.

Bleibende wissenschaftliche Leistungen: Österreich-Atlas, Zentrale-Orte-Forschung

Der Name Maria BOBEK-FESL ist untrennbar mit zwei wissenschaftlichen Großvorhaben verbunden, die ohne ihre engagierte Mitwirkung wohl nicht in dieser Qualität und inhaltlichen Breite realisiert worden wären:

- das Megaprojekt „Atlas der Republik Österreich“ und
- die Erforschung des zentralörtlichen Gefüges Österreichs

Der großformatige Österreich-Atlas enthält insgesamt 119 analytische sowie komplexe thematische Karten in einem systemhaften Kontext. Es werden darin Raumstrukturen abgebildet, „denen für das Leben der Menschen in unserem Lande reale Bedeutung zukommt“ (Hans Bobek in den Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft, Band 117, 1975, S. 119). Das Themenspektrum dieses Nationalatlasses reicht vom Naturraum bis zu den Zentren gesellschaftlicher Interaktionen samt ihren entsprechenden Einflussfeldern. In dem Langzeit-Projekt wurde auch dem bekannten Paradigmenwechsel in der Geographie Rechnung getragen: Zunächst standen landeskundliche Informationen im Vordergrund, später lag der Fokus auf Themen mit hoher Praxisrelevanz für Raumordnung, Raumplanung und Regionalpolitik.

Maria Fesl, wie sie damals noch hieß, war die „Seele“ des Großprojekts Österreich-Atlas. Mit ihrem Organisationstalent, ihrem großen Fachwissen, ihrem geradezu „sechsten Sinn“ für die bei Kartendarstellungen erforderlichen Ästhetik und ihrer akribischen Redaktionstätigkeit hat sie zur erfolgreichen Realisierung dieses Nationalatlasses entscheidend beigetragen.

Hans Bobek als Herausgeber dieses großen Atlaswerks war bestrebt, für den Entwurf der vielen unterschiedlichen thematischen Karten die jeweils bestmöglichen Expertinnen und Experten zu gewinnen. 66 Prozent der Kartenblätter des Atlas wurden deshalb von externen Fachleuten entworfen. „Gerade die oft zeitaufwändigen, manchmal auch viel Geduld und neue Ideen erfordernden Gespräche mit den externen Autoren in Hinblick auf eine bestmögliche kartographische Umsetzung und Lesbarkeit des Karteninhalts sind eine Leistung von Marianne im ‚unsichtbar gebliebenen Hintergrund‘, die nicht hoch genug eingeschätzt werden kann, und die ganz wesentlich zum Gelingen des Gesamtwerks beigetragen hat.“ (Mitteilung von Gertrude Mras vom 31. Oktober 2023 über die Tätigkeit von Maria Fesl).

Mehrere Kartenblätter des großen Atlaswerkes hat Maria Fesl eigenständig entworfen und bearbeitet. Als Beispiel soll das Blatt „Fremdenverkehr: Typen, Intensität und Entwicklung“ angeführt werden. In seiner subtilen Farbgebung ist es ein kartographisches Meisterwerk hinsichtlich Übersichtlichkeit bei gleichzeitigem Detailreichtum.

Im Rahmen des Österreich-Atlas hat die Darstellung der zentralörtlichen Organisation unseres Staatsgebiets einen hohen Stellenwert. In diesem Themenfeld wurde damals von Hans Bobek und Maria Fesl weitgehend fachliches Neuland betreten. Umfangreiche empirische Untersuchungen wurden notwendig, um die Zentrale-Orte-Hierarchie, die zentralörtlichen Einzugsbereiche und damit die funktionalräumliche Gliederung Österreichs zu ermitteln.

Die Ergebnisse dieses Langzeit-Projekts in Form von zwei Büchern und einer ganzen Serie thematischer Karten wurden zu einer international viel beachteten Visitenkarte der damaligen österreichischen geographischen Forschung. In einer glückhaften Symbiose mit Hans Bobek hat Maria Fesl durch ihre fachliche Kompetenz, aber auch ihren bewundernswerten physischen Einsatz (viele nächtliche Überstunden) zu diesem Erfolg maßgeblich beigetragen.

Abschließend noch einige persönliche Bemerkungen: Neben den oben genannten Meriten zeichnen Maria Bobek-Fesl Empathie, Eloquenz und kultivierte Lebensart aus. In den vielen inspirierenden Gesprächen mit ihr ist oftmals ihre Begeisterung für die Oper thematisiert worden. Sie besuchte rund 1.200 Aufführungen, die meisten davon in der Wiener Staatsoper, in deren Nähe sie wohnt.

Im Namen der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft gratulieren wir ganz herzlich zum Neunziger und wünschen noch viele Jahre in guter Gesundheit!

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Buchbesprechungen

Book Reviews

Bätzing Werner (2023): Homo destructor. Eine Mensch-Umwelt-Geschichte. Von der Entstehung des Menschen zur Zerstörung der Welt. München: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1. Aufl., 463 S., 4 Karten, ISBN 978-3-406-80668-1 (Hardcover), 978-3-406-80670-4 (E-Book, PDF).

Hinweis der Schriftleitung:
Zu diesem Buch liegen zwei Rezensionen vor. Diese werden im Folgenden in alphabetischer Reihenfolge der Namen der Rezensenten veröffentlicht.

Werner Bätzing, der renommierte Geograph, der auch Philosophie und Theologie studierte, beschäftigt sich schon seit über fünfzig Jahren mit Grundsatzfragen der Mensch-Natur-Beziehungen. Er hat sich dabei mit Natur- und Technikphilosophie auseinandergesetzt und kann in dem vorliegenden Band auf seinen breiten empirischen Erfahrungen aufgrund seiner Forschungen über den Alpenraum aufbauen. Das 463 Seiten umfassende Werk „Homo destructor" darf als sein „Opus magnum" bezeichnet werden. Es stützt sich auf eine umfangreiche Fachliteratur (290 Titel), neben der Geographie aus einem breiten Spektrum themarelevanter Disziplinen (Philosophie, Geschichte, Soziologie, Kulturanthropologie, Humanökologie, Evolutionsbiologie usw.), um allen Facetten dieses anspruchsvollen Themas gerecht zu werden.

Das übersichtlich gegliederte Werk besteht aus zehn Kapiteln. Im einleitenden Kapitel („Eine vernetzte Gesamtperspektive") stellt Bätzing fest, dass es bei diesem Thema keine allgemein anerkannte „richtige" Position gibt. Die extremen Alternativen zur Lösung der gegenwärtigen Umweltprobleme reichen von den technokratischen Zukunftsfantasien der Transhumanisten bis zu nostalgischen Vergangenheitsvorstellungen nach dem Motto „Zurück zur Natur". Im Gegensatz dazu hält Bätzing einen historischen Ansatz für zielführend, was schon im Untertitel „Eine Mensch-Umwelt-Geschichte" zum Ausdruck kommt.

Ausgehend von der Entstehung des Homo sapiens bis zur gegenwärtigen Epoche massiver, existenzbedrohender Umweltzerstörungen werden die komplexen wechselseitigen Beziehungen von Mensch, Natur und Umwelt im Lauf der Geschichte dargestellt und kritisch bewertet. Eine solche historische Perspektive erachtet Bätzing für notwendig, um die Ursachen der heutigen Umweltkrise deutlich zu machen und darauf aufbauend Lösungsvorschläge zu erarbeiten. Er gliedert seine breit angelegte Darstellung der Mensch-Umwelt-Historie in drei große umweltrelevante Epochen:

– Epoche 1: Jäger- und Sammlergesellschaften (Kapitel 3). Diese Epoche reicht bis zum *Wendepunkt 1*, der Neolithischen Transformation.
– Epoche 2: Bauerngesellschaften, später Stadtstaaten und die alten Großreiche, danach Hirtennomaden sowie die „Achsenzeit" (um 500 v. Chr.) (Kapitel 4 bis 6), eine Epoche, die mit der Industriellen Transformation (*Wendepunkt 2*) beendet wird.
– Epoche 3: Beginn der Moderne (Aufklärung usw.) sowie die Industrie- und Dienstleistungsgesellschaften (Kapitel 7 bis 9).

In den einzelnen historischen Abschnitten werden zunächst die Spezifika jeder Epoche vorgestellt, dann die Veränderungen der Wirtschaft, des menschlichen Zusammenlebens und schließlich des Umweltbezugs. Daran anknüpfend versucht Bätzing, in einer vernetzten Gesamtperspektive das Zusammenwirken der einzelnen Teilelemente in dem komplexen Mensch-Umwelt-Gefüge deutlich zu machen, im Sinne einer ganzheitlichen, holistischen Sichtweise – im Gegensatz zur herkömmlichen, allzu eindimensionalen Behandlung dieses Themas. Die bisherigen Forschungen zur Mensch-Umwelt-Geschichte waren zumeist fachlich zersplittert.

In der sehr lang währenden Epoche der Jäger- und Sammlergesellschaften lebten die Menschen noch im Einklang mit der Natur. Mit der Neolithischen Revolution hat der Mensch bereits erheblich in die Natur eingegriffen. Die egalitären Bauerngesellschaften waren jedoch bemüht, diese Transformation zur Kulturlandschaft positiv und nicht destruktiv zu gestalten. Auch in der Zeit des älteren Städtewesens und der Etablierung von Großreichen in der Antike orientierten sich die Menschen an der natürlichen (göttlichen) Ordnung der Welt. Die städtischen Umweltzerstörungen blieben lokal oder regional begrenzt.

Erst spät, mit der Aufklärung und der Industriellen Revolution, setzt sich ein kurzfristiges Denken und Handeln durch, die traditionelle Selbstbegrenzung im Umgang mit der Natur wird aufgehoben. Natur und Umwelt werden als „Material" betrachtet und beliebig „vernutzt". Die fossilen Energieressourcen werden rasch verbraucht. Ein permanentes, grenzenloses Wirtschaftswachstum ist die Maxime dieser Epoche. Der Mensch wird zum „Homo destructor". Im klassischen Industriezeitalter bleiben die Umweltzerstörungen noch auf die industriell geprägten Teilräume beschränkt. Erst mit dem Übergang von der Industrie- zur Dienstleistungsgesellschaft ab den 1960er Jahren wird die Umweltzerstörung zu einem großflächigen globalen Phänomen, mit seinen die menschliche Existenz bedrohenden Folgen (Klimaerwärmung, Wetterextreme, Artensterben usw.). Der Mensch stehe kurz davor, so Bätzing, seine eigenen Lebensgrundlagen und damit auch sich selbst zu zerstören.

Im abschließenden Kapitel 10 („Der Beitrag der Mensch-Umwelt-Geschichte zur aktuellen Umweltkrise") entwickelt Bätzing, aufbauend auf den Ergebnissen seiner gründlichen historischen Analyse, eine Reihe von Leitideen und konkreten Perspektiven zur Bewältigung der gegenwärtigen bedrohlichen Umweltsituation. Das grenzenlose Wachstum von Wirtschaft und Konsum, verbunden mit hohem Energieverbrauch, und der Umgang mit der Natur als bloßem „Material", müsse eingestellt werden. Der Mensch müsse sein „gesamtes Wirtschaften und Handeln von vornherein [...] und langfristig daran ausrichten, dass die von ihm genutzte und veränderte Natur stabil und vielfältig bleibt" (S. 382). Die Erfahrungen der vormodernen Gesellschaften in ihrem schonenden Umgang mit Natur und Umwelt liefern dabei wertvolle Anstöße. Eine Kultur der Selbstbegrenzung ist ein Wesensmerkmal dieser traditionellen Gesellschaften. Sie müsste mit verbindlichen Normen und Werten neu definiert werden, angepasst an die Erfordernisse der modernen Welt.

„Homo destructor" ist ein gut verständlich geschriebenes, wichtiges Buch, das zur richtigen Zeit erschienen ist. Es ist in hohem Maß „bildend", weil es eine Fülle von Erkenntnissen im spannenden Kontext der Mensch-Umwelt-Geschichte bietet. Vor allem aber zwingt es den Leser / die Leserin zur Reflexion über ein für die Zukunft der Menschheit essenzielles Thema. Wegen der vielen wertenden Aussagen darin beflügelt es den fachlichen Diskurs, reizt bisweilen aber auch zum Widerspruch.

Das – zu Recht – sehr kritische Urteil Bätzings über die moderne Wirtschaft und Konsumgesellschaft als Verursacher der aktuellen Umweltkrise trübt den Blick auf zahlreiche positive Entwicklungen in jüngerer Zeit. Einige Beispiele dazu: Industrialisierung und Globalisierung haben entscheidend dazu beigetragen, dass, weltweit betrachtet, die extreme Armut enorm zurückgegangen ist. – Das betont quantitative Wirtschaftswachstum im Industriezeitalter mutierte in der Dienstleistungsgesellschaft zu einem qualitativen, Ressourcen sparenden Wachstum. Seit

den 1990er Jahren kam es zu einer deutlichen Entkoppelung von Wirtschaftswachstum und – geringer ansteigendem – Energieverbrauch. – In der Industrie gibt es derzeit – teilweise noch im Versuchsstadium – große Fortschritte bei der Dekarbonisierung, zum Beispiel bei der Erzeugung von „Grünem Stahl". Die gegenwärtige globale Entwicklung ist dank bedeutsamer Innovationen und einem Umdenken in Politik, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in Hinblick auf die Umwelt- und Lebensqualität also keineswegs hoffnungslos.

Wolfgang Schwarz (Wien)

Werner Bätzing, den Leserinnen und Lesern der „Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft" (MÖGG) gut bekannt,[1] sieht nur einen Trend, dem „Homo destructor" entgegenzuwirken. Es ist der Schlüsselsatz vom Ende des Buches: *„Habe den Mut, deine eigene Grenzenlosigkeit in Frage zu stellen"* – und wer sollte dem heute nicht zustimmen. Der weit ausholende große Wurf mit einem zutiefst pessimistischen Weltzustandsbefund hat sich abgezeichnet. Denn schon in Werner Bätzings Buch „Landleben"[2] kommt der Tenor des gesamten Erzählstranges zum Ausdruck: Eine „naturverträgliche" Nutzung der Welt durch den Menschen gäbe es nur in der Form des bäuerlichen Wirtschaftens, dessen Produkt die vielfältige und kleinteilig gegliederte Kulturlandschaft ist.

„Die vom Menschen verursachten Umweltprobleme [...] sind heute so stark ausgeprägt, dass ein Zusammenbruch der menschlichen Welt immer unausweichlicher wird", schreibt Werner Bätzing (S. 19) und führt dazu an: *Verschmutzung von Boden, Wasser, Luft und aller Ökosysteme, Zerstörung der Artenvielfalt, Klimaerwärmung, Vernutzung aller Ressourcen*. Das sind die Befunde, die seinen „Homo destructor" begründen. Und es sind zugleich sehr generelle Begriffe, unscharf und allumfassend, wie sie typisch sind für kulturwissenschaftliche oder sozialhistorische Narrative. Ein in den Naturwissenschaften Sozialisierter wie der Rezensent tut sich damit schwer. Das Thema an sich aber berührt gerade aufgrund naturwissenschaftlicher Befunde zutiefst. Wie aber kann ein Ausweg aus diesem heute zunehmend auch von der Politik als bedrohliches Dilemma erkannten Faktum (globale Erwärmung, Einleitung der Energiewende) gefunden werden? Überaus umfangreich sind heute die Aussagen dazu, das Thema boomt.

Werner Bätzing stellt sich die Frage, ob die menschlichen Gesellschaften stets schon als *„Homini destructores"* in ihren Lebensraum eingegriffen haben. Die beängstigende Intensität der Umweltzerstörung sei ja relativ jung, sie entwickelte sich seit etwa 200 Jahren im Gefolge von *Aufklärung, Naturwissenschaft und Industrialisierung* (S. 10) – und mit der Entfesselung jeglicher kultureller Selbstbeschränkung, wie er betont. Gerade in diesem Zusammenhang sei es sinnvoll, die menschlichen Beziehungen zur „Natur" zu analysieren und im Zeitverlauf darzustellen. Denn nicht immer war „der Mensch" ein „Homo destructor" – und liegen nicht in solchen Phasen Potenziale zu einem großen Umdenken? Mit diesen Worten wird der Inhalt dieses Buches und die Begründung zu einem weit ausholenden kulturhistorisch-transdisziplinären Rahmen abgesteckt.

Der Text folgt der Zeitachse und den Hauptstufen der Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftsentwicklung des Menschen. Ein mir in extenso bekanntes Thema seit der frühen Studienzeit; der bekannte Aufsatz von Prof. Hans Bobek[3] war damals Prüfungsstoff. Werner Bätzing geht in mehrfacher Hinsicht über Bobek hinaus – besonders dort, wo es sich um den Umfang der Natureingriffe des

[1] Siehe zum Beispiel: Wolfgang Schwarz (2019): Die Geographie als „Großes Ganzes". Werner Bätzing 70. Jahre. In: Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft, 161, S. 407–413.

[2] Werner Bätzing (2020): Das Landleben. Geschichte und Zukunft einer gefährdeten Lebensform. München: Verlag C. H. Beck.

[3] Hans Bobek (1959): Dier Hauptstufen der Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftsentwicklung aus geographischer Sicht. In: Die Erde, Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, 90 (3), S. 259–298.

wirtschaftenden Menschen handelt. Dabei folgt er mit Absicht „nicht dem aktuellen Forschungsstand der einschlägigen Fächer“ (S. 21), sondern stützt sich auf philosophische Überlegungen und kritische Reflexionen, um dem Thema die „notwendige Tiefe“ zu geben.

Damit verlässt der Autor die bloß faktenbasierte Umweltgeschichte, es kommt zu einer sehr eigenständigen Gesamtdarstellung und zu einer individuellen Interpretation, unterstützt durch eine umfangreiche Literatur (etwa 400 Zitate, umfangreiche Annotationen: 46 Seiten). So entsteht ein kulturwissenschaftlich und philosophisch orientierter (und vielfach wertender) Text. Der Erzählstrang ist auf ein breites Publikum hin ausgerichtet – bildend, informativ, lehrend. Vieles dabei wird dem Leser geläufig sein, in den vielfach überblicksartigen Passagen; häufig stellt sich die Frage, ob nicht auch eine andere Interpretation des jeweiligen Sachverhalts möglich wäre. Aber man sollte sich vielleicht schlicht auf den Erzählmodus von Werner Bätzing einlassen – wenn auch so manche Auffassungen sehr eigenwillig erscheinen mögen, so jene zur Idee der natürlichen Ordnung durch Selbstbeschränkung (S. 107) oder zu Überfluss und Muße (S. 122, 159). Dennoch: Im postmodernen Heute kennzeichnen kritische Reflexionen und Anmerkungen alle großen Metaerzählungen, meint Peter Zima,[4)] emeritierter Professor an der Universität Klagenfurt. Sie sind ein Ausdruck der Wertschätzung, und das gilt auch für Werner Bätzings große Kulturgeschichte.

Im einleitenden Kapitel 1, *Vernetzte Gesamtperspektive*, wird die geisteswissenschaftliche Grundkonzeption des Buches mit den Bezügen zur Philosophischen Anthropologie vorgestellt. Darauf basierend und in Verschränkung mit dem breiten landeskundlichen Erfahrungswissen des Autors (auch und besonders aus dem Alpenraum) entsteht das originäre Konstrukt des wechselseitigen Beziehungsgefüges zwischen Mensch und Natur. Dieser grundlegenden Denkfigur folgend sind es die großen Epochen der Menschheitsgeschichte und die tiefgreifenden technosozialen Veränderungen, nach denen das Buch aufgebaut ist. Dabei zeigt gerade ein solcher Längsschnitt, wie sehr sich dieses lange Zeiträume hindurch ausgewogene Verhältnis nun zu Lasten der Natur verändert hat: „Homo destructor“.

Kapitel 2 (*Entstehung des Menschen*) erscheint als gewagtes Manöver. Aber ein Blick in die zahlreichen Anmerkungen zeugt vom überaus breitem Hintergrundfundus des Autors. In diesem findet sich auch der von mir seit der Studienzeit geschätzte Zoologe Alfred Portmann mit der Kennzeichnung des Menschen als „nicht-spezialisiertes Säugetier“, und dort auch dessen Bezeichnung als „Mängelwesen“ (A. Gehlen) oder als „Wesen ohne feste Mitte“ (H. Plessner), zu beidem fehlt mir der Zugang.

In Kapitel 3 behandelt der Autor die wichtige *Epoche der Sammler und Jäger* – wobei er dabei nicht nur frühe Formen anspricht, sondern auch subrezente Gesellschaften miteinbezieht. Ihnen allen sei Ehrfurcht vor der Ordnung der Natur zu eigen, Ehrfurcht vor der beseelten Landschaft. Dieser Natur- und Weltbezug der neolithischen Menschen führe zu einer „Kultur der Selbstbegrenzung“, zu einer Beschränkung der Natureingriffe aus der Weltsicht, selbst Teil einer großen Ordnung zu sein. Es ist eine Kulturleistung ersten Ranges, sagt der Autor (S. 107), dieses Unterbinden der potenziellen Grenzenlosigkeit menschlichen Handelns. Daneben wird auf Spezialisierungen dieser Lebensformen eingegangen, auf die Entwicklung von Hierarchien und von Herrschaft.

„Natur als Kulturlandschaft“ ist das Hauptthema von Kapitel 4, geprägt von *„egalitären Bauerngesellschaften“*. Es geht zunächst um die „neolithische Transformation“, gefolgt von der Entwicklung des Ackerbaus und der Viehzucht – und der Darstellung der Landwirtschaftsregionen der Erde. Hervorgehoben werden die Kleinteiligkeit der agrarischen Kulturlandschaft, die Reproduk-

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4) Peter Zima (2019): Kultursoziologie zwischen Spätmoderne und Postmoderne. In: Moebius S., Nungesser F., Scherke K. (Hrsg.): Handbuch Kultursoziologie, Band 2: Theorien – Methoden – Felder (Reihe: Springer Reference Sozialwissenschaften). Wiesbaden: Springer VS, S. 149–173.

tionsarbeit zu deren Bestand, die Vielgestaltigkeit der Landbenützungen – und das Wechselspiel zwischen der bäuerlichen Landwirtschaft und den bäuerlichen Lebensformen selbst, mit Hinweisen auf die Abläufe im Jahres- und Lebenszyklus über Generationen – fast ausgeblendet werden jedoch die unterschiedlichen Formen von Herrschaft darüber. Denn das Fazit lautet bei Bätzing: Die Landwirte hätten noch Achtung vor der Natur, und: „Landwirtschaft, eine religiöse Tätigkeit" (S. 151). Bauerngesellschaften wüssten um die Gefahr der Selbstzerstörung, und sie zeigen daher in ihrem Handeln eine besondere Zurückhaltung gegenüber Neuerungen und Verbesserungen (S. 156). Er sieht in der Selbstbeschränkung der Bauerngesellschaften eine Grundlage zum Fortbestand einer vielfältigen Natur wie gleichermaßen zum Erhalt der bäuerlichen Kulturlandschaft.

Die Kapitel 5 (*Stadtstaaten und Großreiche*) und 6 (*Hirtennomadismus und „Achsenzeit"*) schließen an. Weite Teile dieser Kapitel sind kulturhistorisch überaus interessant. Mit dem Themenkreis Achsenzeit (Karl Jaspers) berührt Bätzing die Zeit der großen zeitgeschichtlichen Entwicklungen um 800 v. Chr. bis 200 v. Chr., aus denen eine „neue Sicht auf die Welt" entsteht. Mit jenen grenzenlosen gedanklichen Möglichkeiten, die die Basis bilden zur Aufkündigung der Unterordnung des Menschen unter die „göttliche Ordnung der Natur". Auswege aus diesem Dilemma? Wer weist den Weg?

Im folgenden Kapitel 7, *Dreifacher Beginn der modernen Entwicklung*, wird beschrieben, welchen Weg der „Homo destructor" seit dem großen Sündenfall (nämlich: sich von seiner Selbstbegrenzung zu entfernen) beschritten hat. Drei Schritte dieses Sündenfalles der modernen Entwicklung werden beschrieben: die *griechische Antike*, die *mittelalterliche Revolution* und schließlich *Renaissance und Aufklärung*. Das „sapere aude" der Aufklärung (Kant: „wage es, deinen Verstand zu nutzen") wird als Aufforderung zur Entfaltung aller menschlichen Möglichkeiten gesehen und zum Ausnützen der natürlichen Potenziale. Das daraus folgende grenzenlose Wachstum wird zum zerstörerischen Selbstzweck, die Entgrenzung der menschlichen Bedürfnisse kann auf einer begrenzten Welt nur zu einem bösen Ende führen. Diesem Befund ist zuzustimmen, aber wo sind die Auswege aus diesem Dilemma? Wer weist den Weg?

Werner Bätzing lässt danach (Kapitel 8) die letzten Jahrzehnte Revue passieren, mit einer Fülle von negativen Anmerkungen zur *industriellen Transformation* im Vergleich zum Leben davor. Manches ist schwer nachvollziehbar (so das Ende der flächenhaften Nutzung, S. 287, oder etliche der Aussagen zur Grundentlastung 1848). Komplettiert wird das Bild des „Homo destructor" durch die Folgen der *Dienstleistungsgesellschaft* (Kapitel 9) – und negative Anmerkungen gibt es zur Globalisierung, zur Raumordnung und zur Konsumgesellschaft, usw. Der Zuordnung nach sozialen Schichten seien Lebensstilkategorien gewichen, und nur wahlweise gehört auch noch die Tradition dazu – wo doch die Tradition zuvor ein unangreifbares Wertesystem gewesen war, über den Entscheidungen der einzelnen Menschen stehend (S. 327). Hier scheint Werner Bätzings Idealbild durch, jenes der „marktoffenen bäuerlichen Gesellschaft" mit der zugehörigen Kulturlandschaft.

„Eine feste Burg" kann eine Weltsicht sein, begründet auf einer breiten geisteswissenschaftlichen Basis aus bürgerlich-urbaner Herkunft und aus den Hohen Schulen. Eine solche Prämisse aber ist natürlich auch ein permanenter Filter, durch den Alltagswahrnehmungen zu ganz eigenen Meinungen gerinnen; – dem Traumbild der klassischen bäuerlichen Kulturlandschaft, wie ich sie selbst noch erlebt habe als jugendlicher Mithelfender auf den Almmädern im Lungau. Ein urbaner Außenseiter war ich, und bin es auch heute, mittlerweile seit 40 Jahren inmitten der Alpen lebend und in Steinwurfdistanz zu mehreren bäuerlichen Gehöften. So ein Außenseiter bleibt jeder, auch Werner Bätzing, und seine Sicht der traditionsbewussten Bauernwelt ist ein Wunschbild. Sie ist weder friktionsfrei noch egalitär, und der größte Wandel war stets verbunden mit der Generationenabfolge. Vielgestaltig und schön ist die bäuerliche Kulturlandschaft nach wie vor, wenn sie auch ihre Funk-

tion der Tragfähigkeit für die regionale Bevölkerung längst verloren hat. Im umfangreichen „Österreich-Buch“[5] finden sich ungezählte visuelle Dokumentationen zur Kulturlandschaft des ländlichen Raumes.

Zurück in die Realität: Werner Bätzings düstere Prognosen sind nicht von der Hand zu weisen. Das beweisen zum Beispiel hinsichtlich des Klimawandels die physikalischen Daten. So ist das angestrebte Klimaziel, eine Erwärmung von 1,5° C nicht zu überschreiten, für das Klagenfurter Becken schon hinfällig – die Temperaturzunahme im Vergleich zur Periode von 1960 bis 1990 liegt bereits bei +2° C, wie eine rezente Arbeit[6] zeigt.

Was bleibt, ist eine tiefe Ratlosigkeit in Bezug auf sinnvolles Verhalten. Werner Bätzing bietet in seinem Buch einen Lösungsansatz an. Sein Credo gegen diese Entwicklungen mit negativen Tendenzen, gegen den „Homo destructor“: Es ist die Selbstbeschränkung als Schlüsselerkenntnis für eine menschliche Welt ohne Umweltzerstörungen. Und er folgert daraus die Weiterentwicklung des Kernsatzes der Aufklärung: „Habe den Mut, deine eigene Grenzenlosigkeit in Frage zu stellen.“ Und tue es zumindest im eigenen Umfeld und auch für dich selbst.

Martin Seger (Klagenfurt am Wörthersee)

Franz Yvonne, Heintel Martin (Hrsg.) (2022): Kooperative Stadt- und Regionalentwicklung. Wien: Facultas-Verlag (= UTB-Uni Taschenbücher, Band 5880), 1. Aufl., 480 S., ISBN 978-3-8252-5880-1 (Print-Ausgabe), 978-3-8385-5880-6 (eBook).

Im Vorwort zu diesem Buch stellen die beiden Herausgeber die Frage, warum es ein Lehrbuch zur kooperativen Stadt- und Regionalentwicklung eigentlich braucht, und beantworten dies mit dem Übersetzungsbedarf in der Kommunikation zwischen unterschiedlichen Akteursgruppen im Falle aktueller raumrelevanter Handlungsfelder. „Kooperation“ sei die zentrale Aussage dieses Lehrbuchs, das für den Rezensenten zu Beginn der Lektüre noch nicht als Lehrbuch erkennbar war. Es machte zuerst den Eindruck eines gewöhnlichen Sammelbandes zum gestellten Generalthema mit zahlreichen unterschiedlichen, nicht miteinander verbundenen, Beiträgen. Die Herausgeber bemühten sich zwar, sowohl im Vorwort als auch in der achtseitigen Einleitung, die Notwendigkeit eines Einführungslehrbuchs in die kooperative Stadt- und Regionalentwicklung ausführlich darzulegen, denn ein solches sei nicht nur für Studierende im klassischen Ausbildungsbereich, sondern auch für die Anwender in der beruflichen Weiterbildung und der Berufspraxis geeignet. Doch bei diesem Stand der Lektüre konnte der Rezensent den roten Faden durch das Buch noch nicht erkennen. Erst nach Fertigstellung der Lektüre des ersten Teils und des ersten Beitrags des zweiten Teils des dreigliedrigen Buches wurde erkannt, dass es sich tatsächlich um ein Lehrbuch handelt, das auf Grund der Komplexität des Themas in dieser Form gestaltet werden musste.

Wie schon erwähnt, handelt es sich um ein dreigliedriges Lehrbuch, dessen erster Teil sich mit der Konzeption von Kooperation in Form von sieben Buchbeiträgen befasst. Der zweite Teil widmet sich methodischen Fragen in sechs Beiträgen und der dritte Teil des Buchs der konkreten Implementierung mit 13 Beiträgen im breiten Umfeld der Stadt- und Regionalentwicklung. Es ist notwendig, auf alle Beiträge in diesem Buch kurz einzugehen.

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[5] Martin Seger (2019): Österreich – Raum und Gesellschaft. Vermessung der Landschaft. Porträts der Bundesländer. Klagenfurt: Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein für Kärnten in Kooperation mit der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft.

[6] Benjamin Strauss (2022): Klimaveränderungen der vergangenen Jahrzehnte am Beispiel einer Auswertung von Messdaten des Klagenfurter Beckens. Masterarbeit, Universitär Graz.

Im Teil 1 „Konzeption_Kooperativ“ widmet sich Daniel Barben in einem soziologischen bzw. auch sozialgeographischen Beitrag dem Widerspruch zwischen dem historisch geprägten Stadt-Land-Gegensatz und der modernen, weitgehend urbanisierten Gesellschaft der Postmoderne. Er sieht das Jahr 2007 als einen wichtigen Wendepunkt der globalen Urbanisierung, weil seither nach dem Habitat-Bericht der UNO aus dem Jahr 2008 mehr Menschen in einem städtischen Raum als in einem ländlichen Raum leben. Im Beitrag wird in der Folge ausführlich auf städtische Hierarchisierungen im globalen Zusammenhang und auf die Notwendigkeit von Kooperation für eine den Nachhaltigkeitszielen der UNO verpflichtete Siedlungsentwicklung eingegangen.

Im zweiten Beitrag beschreibt Roland Arbter die Herausforderungen der vertikalen Kooperation im Mehrebenensystem der österreichischen Regionalpolitik, die eine vertikale Governance notwendig machen. Als langjähriger verantwortlicher Mitarbeiter des Bundeskanzleramts im Rahmen vieler regionalpolitischer Projekte ist er die geeignete Persönlichkeit, um den von ihm formulierten Appell für mehr vertikale und horizontale Governance im Österreichischen Raumentwicklungskonzept (ÖREK) 2030 die nötige Aufmerksamkeit zu widmen. Er schlägt mehrere methodische Zugänge zur Umsetzung dieses Appells vor und stellt das mit dem ÖREK 2011 eingeführte Partnerschaftsmodell als Innovation in der Mehrebenen-Kooperation vor, das auch die Mitarbeit von Nicht-Mitgliedern der Österreichischen Raumordnungskonferenz (ÖROK) bei den auf maximal zwei Jahre befristeten Umsetzungsprojekten ermöglicht. Diese Innovation wurde mittlerweile bereits von zwei österreichischen Bundesländern als Instrument der überörtlichen Raumplanung kopiert (Salzburg und Vorarlberg). Da nach Ansicht Arbters eine gewisse Governance-Lücke auf gesamtstaatlicher Ebene besteht, schlägt er die Umsetzung des ÖROK-Vorschlags zur Einführung einer „Österreich-Plattform“, durch die eine weitere Verbesserung der Kooperation zwischen Bund, Ländern und Gemeinden erreicht werden soll, vor.

Im nächsten Beitrag stellt Elisabeth Stix das ÖREK 2030 als Beispiel für kooperative Raumentwicklung vor. Auch sie ist als frühere Mitarbeiterin der ÖROK und Mitarbeiterin der Auftragnehmer im Bearbeitungsteam des ÖREK eine für diese Aufgabe kompetente Persönlichkeit. Auf insgesamt zwölf Seiten werden Grundsätze, Ziele, Handlungsprogramm und Umsetzung anhand eines 10-Punkte-Programms des ÖREK 2030 präsentiert. Dem Beitrag über das ÖREK 2030 folgt ein Artikel, in dem Julia Dahlvik und Potjeh Stojanović die Frage beantworten, welche Methoden und Tools dabei helfen können, eine gemeinwohlorientierte Stadt- und Regionalentwicklung zu betreiben. Dazu werden im Beitrag drei unterschiedliche Wege gezeigt, die bei der Vorbereitung von Projekten nützlich sind. Mit dem Begriff der Solidarischen Ökonomie und dessen Anwendung in der Stadt- und Regionalentwicklung beschäftigt sich der anschließende Beitrag von Andreas Exner. Er entwickelt ein Konzept, das durchaus geeignet ist, ein demokratisches Mehrebenenprojekt umzusetzen. Insbesondere Genossenschaften scheinen ihm dabei geeignet, als langfristige Lösungsplattform zur Umsetzung dieser Ziele eingesetzt zu werden, denn „Solidarische Ökonomien entwickeln soziale Innovationen, die dazu beitragen, neue oder vernachlässigte gesellschaftliche Bedürfnisse zu befriedigen“ (Exner, S. 91).

Mit den Zusammenhängen zwischen Daseinsvorsorge, Governance und Kooperation in der Stadt- und Regionalentwicklung beschäftigt sich der nächste Beitrag von Alexandru Brad, Alistair Adam Hernandez und Anett Steinführer. Dabei werden die Begriffe der Daseinsvorsorge auf nationaler Ebene in Österreich und Deutschland als Grundlage verwendet und die Governance auf regionaler Ebene zur Umsetzung des Ziels „gleichwertiger Lebensbedingungen“ näher untersucht. Kooperation wird dabei als wesentliche Rahmenbedingung gesehen. Der abschließende Beitrag im ersten Teil des Buchs untersucht Schlüsselakteurinnen und Schlüsselakteure sowie Netzwerke, die ein kooperatives Handeln in der lokalen Wirtschaftsentwicklung ermöglichen. Dies wird bei zwei Fallbeispielen, dem informellen Kleinnetzwerk „Cowerk Kindberg“ und dem „Beta-Campus Waidhofen“ näher untersucht. Darauf aufbauend werden Handlungsempfehlungen für die Praxis abgeleitet.

Nach dem Lesen des ersten Beitrags von Teil 2 „Methode_Kooperativ“ von Alexander Hamedinger und Christoph Stoik mit dem Titel „Sozialraumanalyse in der Stadtentwicklung: eine transdisziplinäre und kooperative Aufgabe“ und der Durchsicht der folgenden methodischen Arbeiten erkannte der Rezensent den roten Faden, der durch das Buch führt. Dieser zweite Teil fasst die wesentlichen Methoden zusammen, die im Bereich der kooperativen Stadt- und Regionalentwicklung entweder schon angewendet wurden oder die für diese Zwecke als geeignet erscheinen.

Die erste dieser Methoden ist eben die Sozialraumanalyse, ein raum- und sozialtheoretisch fundierter Ansatz, der sich mit raumbezogenen sozialen Prozessen und Strukturen befasst. Hamedinger und Stoik untersuchen dabei zwei konkrete Anwendungsfälle, nämlich erstens in der Sozialen Arbeit und zweitens in der Stadtteilplanung. Daraus leiten sie als Fazit den Beitrag der Sozialraumanalyse für eine kooperative Stadtentwicklung ab. Im folgenden Beitrag von Jakob Eder werden Grundlagen der Datenvisualisierung vermittelt. Es werden Datenquellen, Darstellungsformen und Visualisierungen diskutiert, um dem Anwender Hilfestellungen für richtige Anwendungen zu geben.

Im darauffolgenden Buchbeitrag von Eva Franziska Michlits wird die Strategische Kommunikation in der Stadt- und Regionalentwicklung als Erfolgskriterium dargelegt. Eine zeitgerechte Einbindung von Kommunikatorinnen und Kommunikatoren sei wesentlich für den Erfolg eines Projektes. Die im Beitrag vorgestellten Werkzeuge zur Visualisierung dienen zur Kommunikation komplexer Zusammenhänge mit unterschiedlichen Zielgruppen. Michael Fischer und Martin Heintel befassen sich im nächsten Beitrag mit „Framing und Reframing“ in der kooperativen Stadt- und Regionalentwicklung. Nach einem Exkurs zum Begriff der raumbezogenen Identität stellen sie ausführlich die Macht der Worte vor, die durch „Framing“ bis zur Umkehrung von Botschaften führen kann. Abschließend werden in diesem Beitrag Beispiele aus einer ÖREK-Partnerschaft vorgestellt, mit denen ein „Reframing“ abgehängter Regionen versucht wurde.

Mit agilen Arbeitsweisen in der Stadt- und Regionalentwicklung versucht Harald Payer eine Alternative zur klassischen Vorgangsweise im Projektmanagement begreifbar zu machen. Diese, in der Softwareindustrie entstandene, alternative Methode zur Projektsteuerung ermöglicht kurzfristige Adaptierungen und lässt sich auch in der Stadt- und Regionalentwicklung nutzen, da es auch dort oft zu kurzfristigen Änderungen der Projektvoraussetzungen kommen kann. Der letzte methodische Beitrag von Herwig Langthaler stellt die Entwicklungsmethode des „Design Thinking“ vor, die sich durch einen radikalen Nutzer/innen/fokus sowie ein kreatives Teamwork auszeichnet. Langthaler sieht vielfältige Anwendungsmethoden in der kooperativen Stadt- und Regionalentwicklung.

Der dritte Teil „Implementierung_Kooperativ“ des Buches enthält 13 Anwendungsfälle, die in dieser Rezension nicht ausführlich behandelt werden können. Das oberösterreichische Beispiel interkommunaler Betriebsansiedlungsprojekte (INKOBA) stellt Tanja Spennlingwimmer im ersten Beitrag dieses Teils vor. Es folgt ein Beitrag von Volkmar Pamer über niederschwellige Kooperation in städtebaulichen Projekten am Beispiel des Konversionsprojektes Kabelwerk im 12. Wiener Gemeindebezirk und ähnlich gelagerter Projekte. Georg Trimmel widmet sich im nächsten Beitrag dem kooperativen Stadtmarketing, Martina Schorn der Jugendabwanderung in ländlichen Räumen, Michaela Kauer untersucht die „Multilevel Governance“ der Wohnungspolitik in der europäischen Dimension und damit die Ursachen der Wohnungskrise in Europa.

Es folgt ein Beitrag zur Implementierung kooperativer Mobilität durch Irina Koller-Matschke. Mit der Nachhaltigkeit im Tourismus und der Kooperation als Erfolgsmodell jenseits des klassischen Destinationsmanagements befasst sich Christian Baumgartner. Nina Kovacs und Norbert Weixlbaumer untersuchen die Partizipation in der Gebietsschutzpolitik am Beispiel des UNESCO-Biosphärenreservats Wienerwald, während sich Christina Holweg und Eva Lienbacher mit Initiativen kooperativer Stadt- und Regionalentwicklung im Lebensmittelbereich beschäftigen.

Die vier letzten Beiträge gehen noch weiter in lokale Details der Umsetzung: Elisabeth Gruber analysiert „Rural Coworking Spaces“ und die Entstehung kollaborativer Arbeitsorte in ländlichen Räumen. Jutta Kleedorfer und Angelika Schmied stellen Mehrfach- und Zwischennutzungen anhand mehrerer Beispiele aus Wien vor, während Daniel Dutkowski und Markus Steinbichler den Weg vom urbanen Trend der „Do-It-Yourself-Stadt“ zur „Do-It-Together-Stadt“ ebenfalls auf Bais von Wiener Beispielen präsentieren. Abgeschlossen wird der Sammelband mit einem Beitrag von Brigitte Vettori, die sich mit kreativen Nutzungen öffentlicher sozialer Räume in Wien auseinandersetzt.

Zusammenfassend möchte der Rezensent der Herausgeberin und dem Herausgeber zur Auswahl der Beiträge ausdrücklich gratulieren, die in Summe dem hohen Anspruch an ein Lehrbuch gerecht werden. Da es in der Stadt- und Regionalentwicklung kein Patentrezept gibt, war es wohl notwendig, die Auswahl so zu treffen, dass für möglichst viele potenzielle Anwendungsfälle ein Zugang gefunden werden kann. Dem ist wohl geschuldet, dass manche Methoden im Umfeld von Partizipation nicht berücksichtigt werden konnten, obwohl im Autorenteam dafür kompetente Persönlichkeiten zu finden sind. Daher würde ein kurzer Beitrag am Ende des sehr umfangreichen Buches mit Hinweisen auf Beteiligungsmethoden und weiterführende Literatur eine hilfreiche Ergänzung sein. Vielleicht könnte man diesen Vorschlag in einer kommenden Auflage berücksichtigen.

Abschließend wird festgestellt, dass dieses Lehrbuch insbesondere den Verantwortlichen der zahlreichen Regionalmanagementstellen zum Ankauf empfohlen werden soll.

Franz Dollinger (Salzburg)

Hedtke Reinhold (2023): Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft. Eine Theorie der sozioökonomischen Bildung. Frankfurt am Main: Wochenschau Verlag, 1. Aufl., 491 S., 18 Abb. und Übersichten, ISBN 978-3-7344-1567-8 (Print), ISBN 978-3-7566-1567-4 (eBook).

Wirtschaftliche Strukturen und Prozesse sind mit Gesellschaft, Politik und Umwelt eng verwoben. Mehr noch: Wirtschaft wird immer gesellschaftlich konstituiert und wird daher von Menschen je nach ihrer individuellen Machtausstattung mehr oder weniger intensiv gestaltet. Wirtschaften und Wirtschaft hängen somit mit den Lebenswelten von Menschen und ihren individuellen Lebensentwürfen und Zukunftsideen zusammen, weswegen es zentral um die sinnstiftende Ausgestaltung der Domäne „Wirtschaft in der Gesellschaft“ geht.

Reinhold Hedtke entwirft mit diesem Band eine ökonomische Bildung, die Sozialwissenschaften mit Wirtschaft sowie Erfahrung mit Theorie systematisch verknüpft. Im Mittelpunkt steht ein plurales Weltbild, das von mündigen und selbstbestimmten Menschen geprägt wird. Eine derartige Bildung verpflichtet sich den Interessen der Lernenden und ihrer Reflexionsfähigkeit sowie Emanzipierung und nicht den (Geschäfts-)Interessen Dritter. Dadurch weist diese Ausrichtung und Ausdifferenzierung der ökonomischen Bildung eine Kongruenz zu der im österreichischen Unterrichtsfach *„Geographie und wirtschaftliche Bildung“* vertretenen ökonomischen Bildung auf, nämlich der sozioökonomischen Bildung, die unter anderem auch im Lehrplan 2023 für die Sekundarstufe I mit dem Wirkungsgefüge „Gesellschaft – Wirtschaft – Politik – Umwelt in räumlichen Kontexten“ deutlich zum Ausdruck kommt.

Die vorliegende Monographie „Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft. Eine Theorie der sozioökonomischen Bildung“ schließt in dreifacher Weise eine Lücke für die (sozio)ökonomische Bildung, indem sie erstens den relevanten Bildungsbegriff schärft, zweitens die fachliche Fundierung des Ge-

genstandsbereichs „Wirtschaft“ vornimmt und drittens den Anschluss an die Wirtschaftsforschung systematisiert. Zur Behebung dieser drei Lücken ist das Buch in drei übergeordnete Schwerpunkte gegliedert, die dieses zugleich aufeinander aufbauend strukturieren: Bildungspolitische Rahmenbedingungen für die sozioökonomische Bildung, empirische und inhaltliche Konzeption sozioökonomischer Bildung sowie schließlich Grundlagen der Sozioökonomiedidaktik.

Zunächst wird ein bildungstheoretisches Fundament für die sozioökonomische Bildung gelegt, in welchem der handelnde Mensch, seine Lebensrealitäten und seine Perspektiven in das Zentrum der Betrachtungen gestellt werden. Völlig zutreffend kritisiert Reinhold Hedtke, dass nach wie vor Unklarheit, Unschärfe und sogar Unsicherheit darüber bestehen, was unter Bildung verstanden werden kann. Bildung steht dann für alles (Beliebigkeit) und nichts (Leerformel), was einer Vereinnahmung und Verwässerung Tür und Tor öffnet. Folgerichtig werden Standardisierung, Ökonomisierung und Instrumentalisierung von Bildung unter die Lupe genommen und einer fundierten Kritik unterzogen.

Gleichzeitig werden das Bildungsverständnis der Sozioökonomiedidaktik und dessen Auswirkungen auf die fachliche Bildung dargelegt. Anhand des ausführlich vorgestellten Beispiels des Übergangs junger Menschen in die Erwerbsarbeit werden Optionen für sinnvolle Vernetzungen von persönlichen Erfahrungen, Wirtschaftswissen und Bildung erarbeitet. Dabei bezieht sich Bildung immer auf Selbstverständnisse, Sozialverhältnisse und Weltbeziehungen des Subjekts, das heißt, dass neben persönlich-individuellen Aspekten immer auch gesellschaftlich-wirtschaftliche Rahmenbedingungen in den Blick zu nehmen sind. Ein anderes aufschlussreiches Exempel aus der Domäne „Wirtschaft in der Gesellschaft“ fokussiert sich auf Konsum.

Einen weiteren Schwerpunkt bilden die Grundlagen der Sozioökonomiedidaktik und der umfassenden Konzeption von sozioökonomischer Bildung in Bezug auf Wissensformen (Lebensweltwissen, Praxiswissen, Wissenschaftswissen), auf Selbstverständnis (insbesondere die Tradition der sozioökonomischen Bildung im deutschen Sprachraum) und auf Verortung des Gegenstandsbereichs (im Dreieck Gesellschaft – Wissenschaft – Fachdidaktik).

Das große Verdienst des vorliegenden Buchs besteht darin, erstmals umfassend die Relation zwischen Bildung im Allgemeinen und (sozio)ökonomischer Bildung im Speziellen angesichts der voranschreitenden Ökonomisierung des Alltags und der Bildung selbst sowie aktueller bildungspolitischer Entwicklungen und Strategien zu klären. In diese Betrachtungen werden auch grundlegende Bildungskonzepte einbezogen, ebenso wie bildungstheoretische Grundlagen der allgemeinbildenden Wirtschaftsdidaktik. Der Autor packt damit auch heiße Eisen an und stellt sie gekonnt als Ergänzung zum Fließtext in 60 vertiefenden Fokussen in einen bildungspolitischen Kontext, so etwa zu den Themen „Was heißt Emanzipation?“, „Wozu ermächtigt *powerful knowledge*?“, „Pädagogisierung politischer Probleme“, „Figurationen von Bildung“, „Prekäre Entwicklung“, „Ergebnisoffenheit als Strategie“, „Komplexer Konzeptwechsel“, „Wirtschaftliche Mythen und kritisch differenziertes Denken“, u. v. a. m.

Aus dem Ausgeführten ist zu konstatieren, dass diese Monographie einen Meilenstein in der didaktischen Entwicklung der ökonomischen Bildung und ihrer theoretischen Grundlagen darstellt und aufgrund ihrer Bedeutung in die Reihe der wichtigsten Werke der Ökonomiedidaktik der letzten Jahre eingeordnet werden kann. Ohne Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit zählen auch folgende bedeutsame Bände mit großem Impakt auf den fachdidaktischen Diskurs dazu: Fischer und Zurstrassen (2014), Engartner et al. (2018), Hedtke (2018), Autorengruppe Sozioökonomische Bildung (2019), Engartner et al. (2021).

Resümierend wird festgehalten, dass in diesem Werk systematisch, facettenreich, fundiert und übersichtlich Grundlagen der sozioökonomischen Bildung diskutiert und eine umfassende Theorie der sozioökonomischen Bildung entwickelt werden. Somit kann es einerseits als gediegener Überblick über eine komplexe Materie, andererseits als inspirierende Fundgrube für zahlreiche

Subthemen dienen. Umfassende Bezüge zu aktuellen fachwissenschaftlichen und fachdidaktischen Diskursen und Diskussionen, ein breiter Materialfundus, weiterführende Literatur und vor allem anregende Ausführungen machen diesen Band, dem größtmögliche Verbreitung zu wünschen ist, zu einer überaus wertvollen Lektüre für Aus- und Fortbildung in der Hochschullehre.

Zitierte Literatur:

Autorengruppe Sozioökonomische Bildung (Engartner T., Famulla G.-E., Fischer A., Fridrich C., Hantke H., Hedtke R., Weber B., Zurstrassen B. (Hrsg.) (2019): Was ist gute ökonomische Bildung? Leitfaden für den sozioökonomischen Unterricht. Frankfurt am Main: Wochenschau Verlag (Reihe: Ökonomie unterrichten).

Engartner T., Fridrich C., Graupe S., Hedtke R., Tafner G. (Hrsg.) (2018): Sozioökonomische Bildung und Wissenschaft. Entwicklungslinien und Perspektiven. Wiesbaden: Springer VS (= Sozioökonomische Bildung und Wissenschaft, 1).

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Christian Fridrich (Wien / Großweikersdorf)

Lüdecke Cornelia (2019): Militärische und zivile Geographie – Von Carl Ritters Geographie in Berlin bis zu Karl Haushofers Geopolitik in München (= Bibliothek der Erde, Band 1). Norderstedt: BoD – Books on Demand, 2. Aufl., 234 S., Schwarz-Weiß-Abbildungen und Karten, ISBN 978-3-7431-1710-5.

In diesem Buch geht es um einen Blick auf die Wissenschaftsgeschichte mit dem Schwerpunkt Deutschland. Es werden aber auch die Wechselwirkungen mit dem Ausland betrachtet, so dass man einen ganzheitlichen Eindruck von der Geschichte der Geographie erhält.

Im Mittelpunkt steht Carl Ritter, der weder ein promovierter noch ein habilitierter Geograph war, sondern aus seiner Lehre an der preußischen Kriegsschule in Berlin seine Kontakte zur Universität und ihren Dozenten nützte, um dort die Geographie als Teil der Geschichte in Vorlesungen zu präsentieren. Die Geographie als Wissenschaft entstand im Gefolge des intensiven Engagements von Ritter in Form von Veröffentlichungen und Expeditionsreisen und durch seine Beliebtheit im Laufe des 19. Jahrhunderts, was sich in der Einrichtung von universitären Lehrstühlen, geographischen Gesellschaften, Forschungsreisen, öffentlichem Wirken und der Einrichtung des Schulfaches Erdkunde dokumentierte. An Gymnasien fand zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts kein Erdkunde-Unterricht statt, so dass in der Kriegsschule von Ritter ein zu hohes Niveau an Geographie vermittelt wurde. Gleichwohl wurde er von der zunehmenden Zahl seiner Schüler verehrt und von seinen Gästen wie Clausewitz, Roon, Alexander von Humboldt und vielen anderen geschätzt. Diese wichtigen militärischen und zivilen Repräsentanten werden von der Verfasserin ausführlich gewürdigt.

Das Besondere an Ritters Geographie als Teil der Geschichte ist aus seinen Kontakten mit Medizinern entstanden: die „organische“ Geographie, die die verschiedenen Völker fest an natürliche Erscheinungen band. Dabei musste es darum gehen, die allgemeinen Gesetze der Verhältnisse der Natur des Erdballs im Zusammenhang mit den Menschen der Welt zu verstehen. Damit wird deutlich, dass Ritter die organische Geopolitik begründete, auf der Ratzel und Haushofer wie auch Mackinder, Kjellen und andere im späten 19. Jahrhundert aufbauten.

Die Terrainlehre als Bedeutung geographischer Faktoren für das Heer war erfahrenen Militärs überlassen. Hierzu gehörte auch die Herstellung von Karten im Rahmen der Offizierausbildung, deren Basis überhaupt die Geographie sei. Ritter hielt Vorträge über die Geographie Deutschlands, Europas, die Kontinente und die Welt. Hinzu kamen die Einteilung in Nord und Südhalbkugel, die Charakterisierung der Erdteile, die Einteilung der Erdräume, die Systematik der Länder, der Einfluss von Flusslängen und Gebirgskämmen, die militärische Einteilung der Erde in Klimazonen sowie die räumliche Lage von Schlachten. Er verwendete gänzlich neue Wandkarten, die seine lebendigen Vorlesungen treffend illustrierten. Auch farbige Schulatlanten waren ab 1842 sein Anliegen. Insofern war er auch ein guter Didaktiker und Methodiker für das Fach Erdkunde in den Kadettenanstalten und Schulen. Immer wieder nahm er Einfluss auf die Lehrpläne, um das geographische Grundwissen von Schülern zu intensivieren.

Die Verfasserin Lüdecke referiert zu Beginn ihres Werkes auch über den Wandel von der Geographie zur Geopolitik, vor allem in ihrem Abschnitt über Karl Haushofer. Leider übersieht sie hier neuere Literatur von Kost, Nissel, Jordan, Spang und Werber. Friedrich Ratzel war nur in einem Punkt kritisch mit Ritter, dem er zu wenig Wissenschaftlichkeit vorwarf. Ritter konterte erfolgreich mit einer Schrift über die Kolosse von Bamiyan in Afghanistan und er präsentierte eine Weltkarte von Albrecht Dürer, die er in Wien fand.

Zu Haushofer wird ausgeführt, dass sein Vater Max eine gleiche Funktion an der Bayerischen Kriegsschule in München wie Carl Ritter in Berlin ausübte, was zusätzlich einen erheblichen Einfluss auf seinen Sohn Karl bedeutete. Spang hat sich aktuell mit ihm beschäftigt, so dass die Fußnote 514 auf Seite 157 auf ihn verweisen müsste. Lüdecke macht deutlich, dass Haushofers Geopolitik die Lehre vom Staat als ein Organismus ist. Auf Seite 158 zitiert sie ihn: „Geopolitik sei das Endziel der Anwendung der Geographie auf die Geschichte“, was auch von Oskar Niedermayer als Haushofer-Schüler aufgenommen wurde: „Beherrschung Zentralasiens sei der Dreh- und Angelpunkt der Weltgeschichte.“ Die Einteilung der Welt als Organismus ist nach Haushofer „Wissenschaft von der politischen Lebensform im Lebensraum, in ihrer Erdgebundenheit und Bedingtheit durch geschichtliche Bewegung“ (zitiert aus S. 160).

Damit schließt sich der Kreis in dem sehr guten und anregenden Buch von Cornelia Lüdecke: Die von Carl Ritter präsentierte Geographie fand ihren Beginn in der Erde als Organismus, dessen Eigentümlichkeiten von Karl Haushofer und anderen Geographen des 19. Jahrhunderts präzisiert wurden, aber im 20. Jahrhundert zu zwei Weltkriegen führten.

Thomas Palaschewski (Pinneberg bei Hamburg)

Milanović Pešić Ana, Jakovljević Dejana (Hrsg.) (2020): Water Resources Management: Methods, Applications and Challenges. New York: Nova Science Publishers (Edition Water Resources Planning, Development and Management), 1. Aufl., 381 S., 30 Tab., 67 Abb., Karten und Schemata, ISBN: 978-15361-6297-2 (Hardcover), 978-15361-8381-8 (E-Book).

“Water Resources Management: Methods, Applications, and Challenges” is a comprehensive and authoritative monograph, published within the edition “Water Resources Planning, Development and Management” by the Nova Science Publishers Inc. It provides profound insights into various aspects of water resources management, serving as a vital resource for scholars, policymakers, and practitioners in this field.

This monograph aims to offer a valuable resource for individuals and entities engaged in water resources management, fostering a deep understanding of the complexities surrounding water resources. The audience for this monograph is vast and diverse, including academics, government offi-

cials, environmental agencies, and professionals in hydrology, environmental science, and geology. It also benefits students pursuing studies in environmental sciences, climate change, or hydrology.

Comprising nine chapters, this monograph presents an extensive compilation of research and analysis supported by a wealth of data, visuals, and methodologies. The monograph opens with a chapter "Impact of Regional Climate Changes on the Emergence of Extremely Dry Years in European Russia in the 21st Century", authored by Maria Vladimirovna Sidorova, Ekaterina Alexandrovna Kashutina, and Elena Anatol'evna Cherenkova, who employ climate projection models to predict dry years in the European part of Russia. The findings suggest that southern and southwestern parts of the research area are at risk of a significant decrease in runoff, potentially leading to an eightfold increase in extremely dry years. Golub Lj. Ćulafić's contribution, "Impact of Climate Change on River Discharge Regimes in the Danube River Basin: Example of Lim River (Montenegro)" examines the climate change influence on the Lim River basin which belongs to the Danube River Basin. Changes in precipitation and air temperature have led to reduced discharge. The chapter emphasises the urgency of addressing these changes, which are projected to continue, albeit with varying intensity, depending on the climate scenario.

The work of Jelena Kovačević-Majkić, Dragana Miljanović, and Dejan Doljak "Spatial Aspects of Flood Exposure in Serbia" focuses on flood hazard in Serbia. The chapter evaluates the exposure of various elements (population, built-up areas, protected regions, and mineral resources) to flood risk. The results reveal that a substantial portion of the Serbian population and built-up areas are susceptible to flooding, primarily contingent on population density and urban development. Sergey Vladimirovich Yasinsky, Nikolaj Ivanovich Koronkevich, Ekaterina Alexandrovna Kashutina, Maria Vladimirovna Sidorova, and Alexej Nikolaevich Narykov delve into water quality concerns within the Volga River Basin in the chapter entitled "Diffuse Biogenic Pollution of Water Bodies in the Volga River Basin – Example of Cheboksary Reservoir Basin", emphasising non-point (diffuse) pollution. The authors' findings highlight the considerable impact of diffuse pollution on water quality and emphasise the need for comprehensive management strategies.

Călin Dejeu and Rahela Carpa discuss the ecological consequences of abandoned hydropower projects, particularly in protected areas, in the chapter "Ecological Impact of Hydropower Building Yards in Romania". This chapter underscores the lasting impacts of these projects on river ecosystems and calls for restorative measures. Jovana Brankov provides an overview of water resource management in Serbian national parks and its significance for tourism. The chapter "Water Resource Management in National Parks in Serbia – Towards an Integrated Protection and Sustainable Tourism Use" highlights the need for improved management to ensure the conservation of water resources in these vital areas.

Ana Milanović Pešić, Dejana Jakovljević, and Dragana Milijašević Joksimović deliver a thorough analysis of water resources in Serbia, encompassing quantity, quality, and distribution. The chapter "Water Resources Management in Serbia" offers insights into various aspects of water resource utilisation, emphasising the need for more stringent water quality assessment and classification.

Gordana Kranjac-Berisavljevic explores the challenges of water reuse in urban farming in West Africa in "Experiences with Water Reuse in Urban Farming in West Africa". The study highlights the health risks associated with using polluted water in agriculture and underscores the potential for urban and peri-urban farming to contribute to food security. Reniko Gondo and Oluwatoyin D. Kolawole examine Botswana's water policy in detail, emphasising the importance of equity, efficiency, and environmental sustainability. The chapter "A Review of Botswana 2012 National Water Policy" recommends harmonising water policy with water legislation to ensure sustainable water resource management.

The scientific content within "Water Resources Management: Methods, Applications, and Challenges" demonstrates rigorous research, meticulous data collection, and multidisciplinary collaboration. Each chapter shows advanced scientific approaches to addressing critical water management issues, supported by comprehensive data and precise visualisation tools.

This monograph makes a significant contribution to the field of water resources management, encompassing a broad spectrum of critical topics, from climate change impact to sustainable water utilisation. The monograph's in-depth analysis of these issues, supported by rigorous research and empirical data, provides an extensive resource for scholars, policymakers, and practitioners striving to address contemporary water-related challenges. This comprehensive volume fosters a holistic understanding of water resource dynamics, offering valuable insights that promote effective and sustainable water resource management.

In light of the invaluable insights presented in this monograph, it is imperative for policymakers and water resource stakeholders to consider several recommendations. First, greater emphasis should be placed on the development and implementation of climate-resilient water resource management strategies, accounting for projected changes in precipitation and temperature patterns. Second, the need for proactive measures to mitigate water pollution, particularly in non-point sources, cannot be understated, and integrated pollution control efforts should be promoted. Third, enhancing the management of water resources in protected areas, as outlined in "Water Resource Management in National Parks in Serbia – Towards an Integrated Protection and Sustainable Tourism Use" is essential to safeguard these crucial ecological zones. Moreover, the monograph underscores the importance of harmonising water policy with legislation to ensure equitable, efficient, and environmentally sustainable water use in regions facing water scarcity, such as Botswana. By implementing these recommendations, we can work toward safeguarding our water resources for future generations.

In conclusion, "Water Resources Management: Methods, Applications, and Challenges" stands as an essential and groundbreaking contribution to the field of water resources management. This monograph enriches our understanding of contemporary water-related challenges through its meticulous exploration of diverse aspects, from climate impacts to pollution and water legislation. It equips us with the knowledge and methodologies needed to address these issues effectively. The comprehensive and multidisciplinary research presented within its pages underscores its significance for scholars, policymakers, and practitioners alike, providing a holistic view of the complex dynamics surrounding water resources.

By offering invaluable insights, recommendations, and innovative models, this monograph heralds a promising future for sustainable water resource management. As we confront the ever-pressing challenges of water scarcity, pollution, and climate change, this monograph remains a beacon of knowledge, guiding us toward a more secure and sustainable management of our most precious resource – water. It is not only a testament to the dedication of the authors and editors but also an indispensable reference work for those working to safeguard our planet's vital water resources.

Igor Leščešen (Novi Sad, Serbia)

Werber Niels (2022): Geopolitik zur Einführung. Hamburg: Junius Verlag. 2. Aufl., 245 S., wenige Schwarz-Weiß-Karten und Fotos, ISBN 978-3-88506-085-7.

Bisher war Geopolitik Forschungsgegenstand von Geographie, Politikwissenschaft und Geschichte, aber es verwundert, dass dieses neue Geopolitik-Buch von einem Literaturwissenschaftler verfasst wurde. Er zitiert überwiegend moderne Historiker (z. B. Osterhammel, Münkler und Schlögel)

und nur wenige Geographen (z. B. Kost). Hauptanliegen ist die Diskussion der „alten" Geopolitik von Ratzel, Mackinder, Kjellén, Mahan und Haushofer, die er sehr umfassend darstellt – auch für diejenigen, die sich bisher wenig mit ihr beschäftigt haben. Als Geograph vermisst man dabei eine moderne, sorgfältige Definition von Geopolitik und Politischer Geographie. Hier bleibt der Autor bei der „alten" Geopolitik. Auch der Begriff des „Raumes" wird theoretisch undeutlich behandelt.

Wichtig ist bei den genannten „alten" Geopolitikern die organisch-körperliche Einheit von Erde und Menschen, aus denen die Gesetze des politischen Handelns abgeleitet wurden. Die Folgen des Ersten und Zweiten Weltkrieges führten vor allem im deutschsprachigen Raum zu einem Verschwinden der Politischen Geographie und der Geopolitik, die sich vor allem im Dritten Reich zu einem geopolitischen Propagandainstrument entwickelt hatten.

Niels Werber schließt sein modernes Raumbewusstsein, das aber an die „alte" Geopolitik anknüpft, aus modernen Medien über Tolkin, „The Lord of the Rings", in dem die Erde als politische Kraft im Sinne von Mackinder verstanden wird. Da aber nun doch heute die Politik von Menschen gemacht wird, ist die Geopolitik ein „einfaches Bühnenbild der Weltpolitik" (S. 25). Es ist nicht leicht, ja sogar abenteuerlich, Werbers Verknüpfung zu Tolkin mit der früheren Geopolitik nachzuvollziehen!

Sehr ausführlich setzt sich der Autor mit Gustav Freytag auseinander, von dem man schließen kann, dass alles menschliche Handeln im Raum Geopolitik sei, was in der Verbindung mit der Gegenwart den Eindruck bestätigt, dass jetzt Geopolitik und das Universaladjektiv „geo-politisch" in den Medien für alles verwendet wird, was mit dem Raum zu tun hat. Freytag schloss sich den „alten" Geopolitikern an: eine große Leistung sei die Kolonialisierung der Erde gewesen, eine „Raumnahme" (S. 39) der höheren Rasse von den niederen Rassen sowie die Urbarmachung des europäischen Ostens. Hier wird deutlich, dass Hitler diese Konzeption aufgriff zum „Kampf um Lebensraum im Osten".

Werber blickt zusätzlich auf die Ideen der Geopolitik im angelsächsichen Raum, die nach 1945 nicht so wie in Mitteleuropa diskreditiert war und geendet hat. Die englische Premierministerin hatte 1989/90 Angst vor der deutschen Einheit, fürchtete sie doch ein mächtiges, Gefahren bringendes Deutschland in Europa. Sie wusste nicht, was die Einheit kosten würde und welche Belastung sie war, um die neuen Bundesländer auf den Stand alten Bundesländer zu bringen. Auch Russland, das man vor und nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg als „Herzland" empfunden hatte, schien die Geopolitik zu bestätigen, da es vor allem unter Putin Europa mit Erdöl, Erdgas und Rohstoffen versorgte und gemäß US-Befürchtungen erpressbar machte. Damit wird deutlich, dass es in Russland – seit dem Angriff auf die Ukraine – offensichtlich eine Kontinuität geopolitischen Denkens gibt, auf die Werber in seinen Gedanken zur heutigen Zeit eingeht.

Bemerkenswert ist in der heutigen Weltpolitik der „Relevanzverlust des Raumes" (S. 145) durch die weltweiten Netzwerke der Globalisierung. Hier wäre es gut, wenn der Autor mehr aktuelle Beispiele für diese Fakten bringen würde.

Werber behandelt ferner heutige Kriege, die sich mit dem 11. September 2001 (u. a. Verlust des World-Trade-Center in New York) geändert haben. Die Frage ist dabei, ob es die Geopolitik mit neuen Fragestellungen gibt, um sie beizubehalten. Man muss sie nicht behalten, weil heute die Welt mit ihren Staaten, Bündnissen und der UNO völlig anders strukturiert ist als zu den „alten" Zeiten. Werber zitiert Huntington, der für heute von „Einflusslinien, Kulturkreisen und Bruchlinienkonflikten" (S. 166) in der Weltpolitik spricht. Auch Geopolitik wird in der Gegenwart anders verstanden: In der Zeitschrift „Der Spiegel" gibt es unter diesem Stichwort regelmäßig Beiträge, in denen Geopolitik als Teil von Außenpolitik verstanden wird, mit der es um Machtinteresse, Wirtschaftsinteresse, militärisches Interesse und territoriales Interesse geht. Wichtig ist ferner, dass neue Mächte weltweit aufsteigen. Dabei muss die Frage gestellt werden: ist das eine neue Form der Geopolitik?

Werber hat ein bemerkenswertes Buch verfasst, das zum Nachdenken und zur Diskussion anregt über die Verwendung des Begriffes Geopolitik in der Geschichte, heute und vielleicht auch in der Zukunft.

Thomas Palaschewski (Pinneberg bei Hamburg)

Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft, 165. Jg., S. 431–446
(Annals of the Austrian Geographical Society, Vol. 165, pp. 431–446)
Wien (Vienna) 2023, https://doi.org/10.1553/moegg165-m01

Informationen der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft

Information of the Austrian Geographical Society

Gesellschaftsnachrichten 2022/2023[1)]

Helmut Wohlschlägl, Wien*

mit 5 Tabellen im Text

Inhalt

1 Ordentliche Hauptversammlung der ÖGG 2023 432
1.1 Bericht des Präsidenten zur Lage der ÖGG 2022 432
1.2 Vermögensrechnung und Rechnungsabschluss zum 31.12.2022 436
1.3 Bericht der Rechnungsprüfer und Entlastung des Vorstandes für 2022 439
1.4 Budgetvoranschlag 2023 440
1.5 Mitgliederstand und -bewegung 2022 440
1.6 Anpassung der Mitgliedsbeiträge ab 2024 441
1.7 Ergebnisse von Wahlen 2023 441
2 Geographie-Fonds der ÖGG 442
2.1 Verleihung der wissenschaftlichen Preise der ÖGG für 2021 im Herbst 2022 442
2.2 Ausschreibung der wissenschaftlichen Preise der ÖGG für 2024 444
Hans-Bobek-Preis 2024 444
Förderungspreis der ÖGG 2024 444
Leopold-Scheidl-Preis für Wirtschaftsgeographie 2024 445
OeNB-Award für Wirtschaftsdidaktik 2024 445
3 Herfried-Berger-Preis 2024 446

[1)] Zur Vereinfachung und besseren Lesbarkeit werden die akademischen Titel bei der Nennung der jeweils Zuständigen oder Berichtenden weggelassen.

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1 Ordentliche Hauptversammlung der ÖGG 2023

Die **Einladung** zur Hauptversammlung am Dienstag, 26. April 2023 um 17 Uhr erfolgte, wie üblich, in der 10. Kalenderwoche 2023 und wurde mit „Geographie aktuell" Nr. 55 (I/2023) schriftlich sowie eine Woche später ergänzend per E-Mail an alle Mitglieder zugestellt. Die Hauptversammlung wurde als Online-Videokonferenz durchgeführt.

Die **Beschlussfähigkeit** der Hauptversammlung war satzungsgemäß erst ab 17:15 Uhr gegeben, da zu Beginn der Veranstaltung nur 25 Mitglieder online anwesend waren. Gegen das in den „Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft" (MÖGG), Bd. 164/2022, S. 449–462 veröffentlichte **Protokoll** der Hauptversammlung 2022 vom Dienstag, 26. April 2022 lagen keine Einwände vor. Die für die Hauptversammlung 2023 vom Präsidenten vorgelegte **Tagesordnung** wurde genehmigt.

Zu Beginn der Hauptversammlung überbrachte der Vizepräsident der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Geographie (DGfG), Prof. Dr. Rudolf JUCHELKA (Universität Duisburg-Essen), der seit 2003 auch Mitglied der ÖGG ist, ein freundliches **Grußwort** unserer deutschen Schwestergesellschaft. Herzlichen Dank!

1.1 Bericht des Präsidenten zur Lage der ÖGG 2022
(Helmut WOHLSCHLÄGL)

Im Vereinsjahr 2022 wurde die **Österreichische Geographische Gesellschaft** (ÖGG) bereits **166 Jahre** alt und ist damit eine der ältesten geographischen Gesellschaften der Welt sowie die drittälteste im deutschen Sprachraum nach den Geographischen Gesellschaften von Berlin (seit 1828) und Frankfurt am Main (1836) und die zweitälteste wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft in Österreich nach der Zoologisch-Botanischen Gesellschaft. Dieses kontinuierliche Bestehen einer wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft über einen so langen Zeitraum ist nicht selbstverständlich und nicht alltäglich. Das Ziel ist über die Jahre im Wesentlichen gleichgeblieben: Die Förderung und Verbreitung geographischen Wissens im Fach und über die Grenzen des Faches und der Wissenschaft hinaus. Dazu organisiert die ÖGG Vorträge, Exkursionen und weitere wissenschaftliche Veranstaltungen wie z. B. Fachausstellungen, fördert den akademischen Nachwuchs durch die Vergabe von wissenschaftlichen Preisen und gibt eine angesehene wissenschaftliche Fachzeitschrift, die „Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft" (MÖGG, „Annals of the Austrian Geographical Society"), heraus. Die ÖGG möchte Studierende, Wissenschaftler und alle ansprechen, die sich für geographische Themen interessieren. Sie versteht sich in diesem Sinn als Interessenvertretung der Geographinnen und Geographen an den Universitäten, in den Schulen und in den vielfältigen Arbeitsfeldern der außeruniversitären und außerschulischen Berufspraxis und ist bemüht, die Anliegen unseres Faches in der Öffentlichkeit und gegenüber anderen Institutionen zu vertreten.

Der **Hauptsitz** der ÖGG befindet sich in Wien, zwei **Zweigstellen** sind in Graz und in Klagenfurt am Wörthersee lokalisiert (diese bilden zusammen mit dem Hauptsitz den sog. „Stammverein Wien". Zusätzlich zählt noch zur ÖGG der selbstständig wirtschaftende **Zweigverein** Innsbruck (Innsbrucker Geographische Gesellschaft, IGG), der vor allem das westliche Österreich betreut. Auch die Geographische Gesellschaft Salzburg (GeoComPass SALZBURG) ist ein **Mitgliedsverein** der ÖGG.

Innerhalb der ÖGG bestehen zum Zweck der besonderen fachlichen Vertiefung für Spezialgebiete oder zur Anwendungsorientierung sowie als Interessen- und Kontaktgruppen für verschiedene Fachgebiete zurzeit **vier Fachgruppen**: Die Österreichische Kartographische Kommission (ÖKK), die Österreichische Forschungsgruppe für Geomorphologie und Umweltwandel (geomorph.at), der Österreichische Verband für Angewandte Geographie (ÖVAG) und die Fachgruppe für Geographische und Sozioökonomische Bildung (GESÖB).

- Nach den Einschränkungen 2020 und 2021 während der Corona-Krise konnten im Rahmen des Exkursionsprogramms der ÖGG im Jahr 2022 vom Standort Wien aus wieder vier **Exkursionen** angeboten werden. Alle Exkursionen waren gut besucht, sowohl von Mitgliedern als auch von Gästen.
  Im Frühjahr 2022 wurden zwei Exkursionen durchgeführt, ein interessanter Stadtspaziergang „Invisible City Tour" durch den sich baulich stark verändernden 2. Wiener Gemeindebezirk am 29. April

2022 und eine Exkursion zum Thema „Stadtplanung in Wien“ mit Besichtigung des neuen Sonnwendviertels in der Nähe des Hauptbahnhofs Wien mit instruktiven Vorträgen und Führungen durch das planende Architektenteam am 10. Juni 2022.
Im September folgte eine zweitätige Exkursion vom 3. bis 4. September 2022 „Die Region Lunz am See (NÖ). Von der ‚alten‘ Industrialisierung zum sanften Tourismus“, unter der ausgezeichneten Leitung von Mag. Wolfgang Ludwig sowie am 25. November 2022 eine Exkursion in die VOR Gmbh (Verkehrsverbund Ostregion) zum Thema „Planung des öffentlichen Nahverkehrs in der Ostregion“, die von der VOR Gmbh hervorragend vorbereitet und durchgeführt wurde.
Kurzberichte von Wolfgang Ludwig und Jakob Pachschwöll über die ÖGG-Exkursionen 2022 befinden sich in unserer Informationszeitschrift „Geographie aktuell“, Nr. 54 (IV/2022) und 55 (I/2023).
In diesem Zusammenhang danke ich im Namen des gesamten Vorstands sehr herzlich Herrn Jakob Pachschwöll, der als Exkursionsreferent der ÖGG und als für die Exkursionen zuständiges Mitglied des Vorstandes seit dem Neustart des Exkursionsprogramms der ÖGG den Exkursionsbereich in hervorragender Weise sehr umsichtig und professionell betreut und organisiert.

- Die farbige Informationszeitschrift für alle Mitglieder, **„Geographie aktuell“**, ist im Jahr 2022 mit den Heften 51, 52, 53 und 54 wie geplant regelmäßig erschienen. Die Neuerung, dass seit Anfang 2017 jedes erste und dritte Heft eines Jahrgangs mit einem um 50 Prozent erweiterten Umfang veröffentlicht wird, wodurch den Mitgliedern noch mehr aktuelle Informationen aus der Geographie bzw. der ÖGG, insbesondere zu Ereignissen und Aktivitäten aus den Fachgruppen, Zweigstellen und Zweigvereinen der ÖGG, aus den Geographie-Instituten, aus dem Bereich der Schulgeographie und der Berufspraxis von Geographen vermittelt werden können, wurde beibehalten. Dem Redaktionskomitee unter der Leitung von Robert Musil und Mitwirkung von Jakob Pachschwöll, Wolfgang Schwarz, Christian Staudacher und Helmut Wohlschlägl gelang es auch im Jahr 2022, dieses Medium mit zahlreichen interessanten und anregenden Beiträgen zu füllen. Dafür ist herzlich zu danken!
- Der Jahresband der **„Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft“** (MÖGG) (Annals of the Austrian Geographical Society) (Bd. 164/2022) ist mit 464 Seiten und 12 wissenschaftlichen Fachbeiträgen, davon sieben in deutscher und fünf in englischer Sprache, mehreren kleineren Berichten und Mitteilungen, einem Abschnitt über Personalia (Würdigungen), einem umfangreichen Buchbesprechungsteil und den jährlichen Gesellschaftsnachrichten samt Rechnungsabschluss im gewohnten Umfang erschienen, allerdings erst etwas verspätet im März 2023.
Inhaltlich weist der Band, dem Ausklang der Corona-Krise entsprechend, einen Covid-Schwerpunkt auf. Unter dem Rahmenthema „COVID-Geographien“ (*Covid Geographies*) werden in fünf ausführlichen wissenschaftlichen Beiträgen verschiedene räumliche Aspekte und Auswirkungen der Covid-Krise analysiert. Die weiteren wissensachaftlichen Fachartikel stammen aus dem Bereich der Wirtschaftsgeographie, Siedlungsgeographie, Politischen Geographie und Fachdidaktik.
Um die Online-Präsentation der MÖGG und die Verfügbarkeit der Beiträge der Zeitschrift im Internet „open access“ zu professionalisieren, wurden bereits 2018 Gespräche mit dem Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften über eine Kooperation aufgenommen, die 2019 mit dem Abschluss eines Vertrages zwischen der ÖGG und dem ÖAW-Verlag zu einem positiven Ergebnis führten. Demnach übernahm der ÖAW-Verlag rückwirkend ab Band 151 (2009) die Online-Präsentation der MÖGG und sichert seither die laufende Verfügbarkeit der MÖGG-Beiträge im DOI-System, im ISI Web of Science, dem Social Science Citation Index (SSCI), bei SCOPUS und Google Scholar sowie anderen internationalen wissenschaftlichen Zitierungs- und Referenzplattformen und verwaltet auch die digitalen Versionen der MÖGG-Beiträge samt Einspeisung in die MÖGG-Homepage.
- Nachdem im Jahr 2019 das von der ÖGG in Kooperation mit dem Naturwissenschaftlichen Verein für Kärnten herausgegebene monumentale Werk von Martin Seger **„Österreich. Raum und Gesellschaft – Vermessung der Landschaft – Porträts der Bundesländer“** erschienen ist, konnte von der ÖGG Ende 2019/Anfang 2020 eine weitere interessante Sonderpublikation veröffentlicht

werden. Das Buch ist im Anschluss an die 2019 vom Land Niederösterreich durchgeführte Niederösterreichische Landesausstellung „Welt in Bewegung“ in Wiener Neustadt erschienen, um allen Interessierten den Großraum Wiener Neustadt“ näher vorzustellen. Der Band mit dem Titel **„Zur Geographie des Großraums Wiener Neustadt“** (= Sonderpublikation Nr. 24 der ÖGG) von Werner BÄTZING, Gerhard FASCHING und Wolfgang SCHWARZ umfasst 248 Seiten, zahlreiche Tabellen und farbige Abbildungen und Kärtchen sowie vier Kartenbeilagen. Die ÖGG freut sich, dass es möglich war, diesen inhaltsreichen, informativen und sehr gut ausgestatteten Begleitband zur Niederösterreichischen Landesausstellung herauszugeben. Beide Sonderpublikationen wurden auch im Jahr 2022 weiter beworben und an interessierte Mitglieder jeweils zu einem ermäßigten Mitgliederpreis sowie an Nichtmitglieder und den Buchhandel zum Ladenpreis abgegeben.

- Im Vereinsjahr 2022 wurden vom Stammverein Wien insgesamt sechs **Vortragsveranstaltungen**[2)] durchgeführt. Da sich während der Covid-Pandemie die Durchführung der ÖGG-Vorträge online mit Hilfe eines Videoprogrammsystems bewährt hat, wurde die Online-Präsentation zusätzlich zu den im Jahr 2022 wieder als Präsenzveranstaltung abgehaltenen Vorträgen beibehalten. Die Kombination der Vorträge in Präsenz plus Online erwies sich in Bezug auf die Zuhörerzahl durchaus als günstig, da nun auch Mitglieder und Interessierte, die nicht in Wien wohnhaft sind, eine verstärkte Teilnahme an den Vorträgen zeigten. Die Vorträge wurden ab dem Wintersemester 2021 durch Univ.-Prof. Dr. Alois HUMER in ausgezeichneter Weise organisiert und moderiert. Der Präsident und der gesamte Vorstand der ÖGG danken Alois HUMER für sein Engagement bei der Organisation und Moderation des Vortragswesens am Standort Wien.
- Zahlreiche in der Geschäftsstelle der ÖGG eingelangte **Anfragen** aus Österreich, Deutschland und anderen europäischen Staaten, aber auch aus Übersee, die das **Archiv** der ÖGG oder älteres Kartenmaterial aus unserer Bibliothek, schwerpunkthaft aus der Zeit der „k.k. Geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien“ zwischen 1856 und 1918 betreffen, konnten dankenswerterweise von unserem für Ehrungen, Traditionspflege und das Archiv zuständigen Vorstandsmitglied Gerhard FASCHING erfolgreich und zur Zufriedenheit der Nachfrager bearbeitet werden.
- Im Jahr 2020 wurde auch eine wichtige Neuerung innerhalb der ÖGG eingeführt, nämlich die Schaffung eines eigenen **Referats für Internationale Beziehungen** („Department of International Relations“), um einerseits die vielfältigen internationalen Kontakte der ÖGG besser pflegen zu können und andererseits im internationalen Feld der Geographie und ihrer Nachbargebiete stärker präsent und sichtbar zu sein. Die Leitung dieses Referats hat unser international ausgezeichnet vernetztes und im Bereich internationaler Angelegenheiten sehr erfahrenes und kompetentes Vorstandsmitglied Peter JORDAN übernommen, wofür ihm herzlich gedankt sei.
  Die Neueinrichtung dieses Referats bewährte sich auch 2022. Peter JORDAN vertrat den Präsidenten bei mehreren internationalen Veranstaltungen, darunter auch bei Tagungen und Festveranstaltungen unserer Nachbargesellschaften in Mittel-, Ost- und Südosteuropa. Durch seine Berichte über internationale Großkongresse, an denen er laufend teilnimmt, gewinnt der Vorstand der ÖGG wichtige Informationen. Die Pflege der internationalen Beziehungen der ÖGG zu unseren Schwestergesellschaften und zu fachspezifischen internationalen Organisationen (EUGEO, DGfG, IGU, ICA, etc.) wurde dadurch deutlich verbessert.
  In diesem Zusammenhang sei auch darauf hingewiesen, dass die ÖGG gleich nach dem Einmarsch von Truppen der Russischen Föderation in die Ukraine im Februar 2022 unter dem Titel „Erklärung der ÖGG zum Krieg in der Ukraine“ („Declaration oft he Austrian Geographical Society Regarding the War in Ukraine“) eine eindeutige, von Peter JORDAN erstellte und vom Geschäftsführenden Vorstand der ÖGG einstimmig beschlossene **Stellungnahme** in deutscher und englischer Sprache

[2)] Zu den einzelnen Vortragstiteln in Wien und zu den Vorträgen im Rahmen des von der ÖGG mitveranstalteten Kolloquiums „Wirtschaftsgeographische Debatten“ an der Wirtschaftsuniversität Wien sowie zu jenen im Zweigverein Innsbruck, in den Zweigstellen Graz und Klagenfurt und beim Mitgliedsverein in Salzburg siehe „Geographie aktuell“ Nr. 51, 52, 53 und 54.

verfasst hat, die auch auf der Homepage der ÖGG abgebildet ist: „Die Österreichische Geographische Gesellschaft (ÖGG) verurteilt die militärische Aggression der Russischen Föderation gegen die Ukraine und die verzerrte Darstellung historischer und kultureller Fakten zur Legitimierung ihres Vorgehens. Wir bringen hiermit unsere Solidarität und unser Mitgefühl mit allen Menschen in der Ukraine und in Russland zum Ausdsruck, die unter diesem Krieg leiden und die gegen diesen Krieg sind. Wir möchten auch betonen, dass sich unsere Erklärung nicht gegen die russische Nation als solche und unsere geschätzten russischen Kolleginnen und Kollegen richtet."

- Eine schmerzliche Nachricht hat die die ÖGG bereits im Oktober 2020 erreicht. Wie bekannt, besitzt die ÖGG auch eine sehr umfangreiche, historisch wertvolle **Bibliothek** mit rund 23.000 Bänden sowie eine umfangreiche **Kartensammlung**, die beide im Österreichischen Staatsarchiv untergebracht waren. Im Oktober 2020 hat das Staatsarchiv nun den Vertrag mit der ÖGG wegen Eigenbedarf gekündigt. Es war eine wichtige Aufgabe des Geschäftsführenden Vorstands im Jahr 2021, nach Lösungsmöglichkeiten für die Erhaltung der ÖGG-Bibliothek, die quasi das „historische Erbe" der ÖGG darstellt, zu suchen.

  Diese Suche war erfolgreich und Ende 2021 konnte im Rahmen einer ausgezeichneten Kooperation mit der Bibliothek der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften im Rahmen eines Schenkungsvertrags, über den 2021 und 2022 in den Vorstandssitzungen ebenso wie in der Hauptversammlung 2022 ausführlich berichtet worden ist, die Übersiedlung der wertvollen und großen Bibliothek der ÖGG in die neuen Räumlichkeiten in der ÖAW abgeschlossen werden.

  Es wird natürlich noch etwas dauern, bis diese in den neuen Räumlichkeiten der ÖAW neu aufgestellt, katalogisiert und – heutzutage besonders wichtig – erstmals digitalisiert sein wird, aber dann wird die **„Sammlung ÖGG"**, wie sie auch in der Bibliothek der ÖAW als eigenständiger Sammlungsbereich aufgestellt und leicht zu finden ist, auch deutlich besser benützbar und durch den digitalen Katalog viel besser erschlossen sein als im Staatsarchiv mit seinen doch aus Sicherheitsgründen sehr restriktiven Zutrittsbedingungen, wodurch es dort leider immer nur sehr wenige Benützer gab. Ich freue mich, dass wir – nach der für uns alle überraschenden Kündigung durch das Staatsarchiv – nun mit der Schenkung an die ÖAW eine, wie ich meine, ausgezeichnete Lösung für die altehrwürdige Bibliothek der ÖGG gefunden haben und das „historische Erbe der ÖGG" kann somit geschlossen weiter bestehen – das war vielen Vorstandsmitgliedern sehr wichtig.

  Im Berichtsjahr 2022 kann somit berichtet werden, dass das Großprojekt „Übersiedlung von Bibliothek und Kartensammlung der ÖGG" mittlerweile abgeschlossen ist. Offen ist noch das Handling des Tauschverkehrs, der weiterhin in der Geschäftsstelle der ÖGG eintrifft. Das soll 2023 noch geklärt und geregelt werden.

- Die ÖGG versteht sich auch als Interessenvertretung der Geographinnen und Geographen an den Universitäten, in den Schulen und in den vielfältigen Arbeitsfeldern der außeruniversitären und außerschulischen Berufspraxis und gibt in diesem Zusammenhang, wenn erforderlich, auch **Stellungnahmen** ab, etwa zu den Forderungen nach Aufteilung des Schulfachs „Geographie und Wirtschaftskunde" (neu: „Geographie und Wirtschaftliche Bildung") oder Abtrennung der Wirtschaftskunde, zur Stärkung der Wirtschafts- und Finanzbildung, zur Rolle der Wirtschaftserziehung in den Lehrplänen etc. (vor allem über die Fachgruppe für Geographische und Sozioökonomische Bildung, GESÖB).

- Die **Zweigvereine**, **Zweigstellen** und **Fachgruppen**, also jene Teilorganisationen, welche entweder regional oder fachlich näher an den Mitgliedern sind, laufen überall dort, wo Engagement und freiwilliger Einsatz vorhanden sind, sehr gut und sind so Hoffnungsträger und Aktivposten der ÖGG. Es sei daher den Leitern und Leitungsgruppen des Zweigvereins bzw. der Zweigstellen in Innsbruck, Graz und Klagenfurt a.W. sowie jenen der vier ÖGG-Fachgruppen „Österreichische Kartographische Kommission" (ÖKK), „Österreichische Forschungsgruppe für Geomorphologie und Umweltwandel" (geomorph.at), „Österreichischer Verband für Angewandte Geographie" (ÖVAG) und „Fachgruppe für Geographische und Sozioökonomische Bildung" (GESÖB) sehr herzlich gedankt!

Die Fachgruppen berichten laufend in unregelmäßigen Abständen über ihre Aktivitäten in unserer vierteljährlichen Informationszeitschrift „Geographie aktuell“. Hinzuweisen ist in diesem Zusammenhang für das Jahr 2022 auf die Berichte der „Fachgruppe für Geographische und Sozioökonomische Bildung“ (GESÖB) in Heft 52 (II/2022) über INSERT-Money, das Projektnetzwerk zur pluralen Finanzbildung im Unterrichtsfach „Geographie und wirtschaftliche Bildung“ und in Heft 53 (III/2022) zum Positionspapier der GESÖB zum neuen Lehrplan „Geographie und wirtschaftliche Bildung“ und auf den Bericht von Wolfgang KAINZ und Georg GARTNER über die Österreichische Kartographische Kommission („Rückblick, Aktuelles und Ausblick“) in Heft 54 (IV/2022).

Das alles ist ohne die freiwillige und ehrenamtliche Mitarbeit, insbesondere aller Vorstandsmitglieder, und ohne die finanziellen Beiträge der Mitglieder nicht möglich! Ihnen allen gilt deshalb abschließend mein besonderer Dank!

1.2 Vermögensrechnung und Rechnungsabschluss zum 31.12.2022
(Bericht des Rechnungsführers Norbert HACKNER-JAKLIN)

Aus der Sicht des Rechnungswesens konnte das **Wirtschaftsjahr 2022**, wie aus den detaillierten Aufstellungen in Tabelle 1 und 2 hervorgeht, ordnungsgemäß abgewickelt werden und die ÖGG ihre Aufgaben voll wahrnehmen. Wie schon in der Budgetvorschau für 2022 bei der Hauptversammlung 2021 angekündigt, hat sich das Wirtschaftsjahr 2022 durchaus fordernd dargestellt. Die laufenden Kostenerhöhungen schlugen bereits durch; gleichzeitig wird die in der Hauptversammlung des Vorjahres beschlossene Anpassung der Mitgliedsbeiträge erst 2023 wirksam.

Nachfolgend einige Erläuterungen zum Zahlenwerk:

- Das Rechnungsjahr 2022 wurde – nach der positiven Entwicklung im Jahr 2018 mit einem operativen Überschuss von EUR 5.517,07 und den Jahren 2019 und 2020 mit operativen Verlusten von EUR 4.921,86 und EUR 2.535,27 – im Jahr 2021 wieder mit einem positiven Ergebnis von EUR 1.600,57 abgeschlossen. Im Wirtschaftsjahr 2022 erfolgte der Abschluss nun wieder mit einem leicht negativen Ergebnis von EUR -2.848,94.
- Die **Erträge** waren in diesem Jahr im Plan. Leichte Rückgänge beim Publikationsverkauf konnten durch stabile Eingänge bei den Mitgliedsbeiträgen, Spenden und projektbezogenen Zusatzerlösen kompensiert werden. Die Einwerbung von Sponsoren für „Geographie aktuell“ gestaltet sich zunehmend schwieriger.
- Bei den **Ausgaben** sind durch eine zeitliche Verschiebung bei der Rechnungserstellung für die MÖGG-Druckkostenbeiträge durch einzelne Autoren über die Rechnungsperiode hinaus die Herstellungskosten der MÖGG über Plan. Zusätzlich sind hier bereits die gestiegenen Herstellungskosten (starker Preisanstieg bei den Papierkosten) spürbar. Ebenso liegen die Aufwendungen für das Vortragswesen über Plan, wobei es sich hier um eine zentrale Leistung der ÖGG handelt und dies auch in der Budgetvorschau für 2023 entsprechend berücksichtig ist. Eine einmalige Sonderinvestition in die Infrastruktur der Geschäftsstelle wurde widmungsgemäß über die Rücklage des Investitionsfonds abgerechnet.
- Der **Geographie-Fonds** konnte seine Aufgaben auch 2022 voll wahrnehmen und eine ordnungsgemäße Preisgeldverleihung durchführen. Im Gegensatz zum Jahr 2020 (in dem geringe Bewertungsgewinne in der Höhe von EUR 361,26 verzeichnet wurden) konnten 2021 Bewertungsgewinne in der Höhe von EUR 3.708,26 erzielt werden (ähnlich wie 2019 mit Bewertungsgewinnen von EUR 4.163,50). Im Wirtschaftsjahr 2022 verzeichnete der Fonds jedoch ein negatives Gesamtergebnis von EUR -7.541,65. Das ist im Wesentlichen auf folgende Umstände zurückzuführen: Die Ertragslage der Veranlagungen ist 2022 sehr überschaubar geblieben, der Geographie-Fonds hat in diesem Zeitraum keine zusätzlichen Spenden erhalten und gleichzeitig ist – neben der Ausschüttung der Preisgelder in der Gesamthöhe von EUR 5.000,- – durch das Auslaufen einer Veranlagung bei der

Bank Austria die entsprechende Kapitalertragssteuer (KESt) auf die bisher realisierten Bewertungsgewinne fällig geworden. (Inzwischen konnten im Jahr 2023 der allgemeinen Marktlage entsprechende neue Veranlagungsformen gefunden werden, die auf steigende Erträge im Jahr 2023 und darüber hinaus hoffen lassen.).

- Die **Budgeterstellung für 2023** berücksichtigt die aktuell anhaltenden Kostensteigerungen bei praktisch allen Ausgabenpositionen der ÖGG. Auf der Einnahmenseite wird die in der Hauptversammlung 2022 beschlossene Anpassung der Mitgliedsbeiträge berücksichtigt und schafft so wieder etwas mehr Spielraum. – Dennoch bleibt die Situation fordernd und es ist daher mittelfristig zu empfehlen, zusätzliche Einnahmen (sei es aus Spenden, Sponsoring, Inseraten etc.) zu erschließen, um die qualitative Leistungserbringung der öGG nachhaltig zu sichern.

gez. N. Hackner-Jaklin, 17.04.2023

AKTIVA		**PASSIVA**	
Anlagevermögen		**Kapital**	
Inventar Geschäftsstelle (Wandsystem)	0,00	Kapital	1.409,98
Bibliothek	0,00		
Kaution Kanzlei	700,00	**Rücklagen**	
		Allgemeine Rücklage	8.324,22
Umlaufvermögen		Rücklage Investitionsfonds	12.787,34
Forderungen (offene Rechnungen)	725,00	Rücklage Fachgruppe ÖKK	6.518,22
Ausstehende Mitgliedsbeiträge	1.416,00	Rücklage Fachgruppe geomorph.at	9.942,93
Forderung Österreich-Buch	0,00	Rücklage Fachgruppe ÖVAG	2.043,30
		Rücklage Fachgruppe GESÖB	21.903,16
Bankguthaben		Rücklage Exkursion Inland	863,67
Giro Erste Bank ÖGG	64.938,10	Rücklage Exkursion Ausland	1.354,45
Subkonto Fachgruppe ÖKK	2.444,16	Rücklage Geographie-Fonds	145.779,50
Subkonto Fachgruppe geomorph.at	6.200,25		
Subkonto Fachgruppe ÖVAG	2.451,26	**Rückstellungen**	
Subkonto Fachgruppe GESÖB	21.903,16	Druckkostenrückstellung	34.820,38
Profitkonto Erste Bank ÖGG	0,00	Rückstellung Geographie aktuell	0,00
Sparbuch Deniz Bank ÖGG	0,00		
Barvermögen			
Kassa Geschäftsstelle Wien	0,00	Hans-Bobek-Preis der ÖGG	0,00
Kassa Zweigstelle Graz	566,63	Förderungspreis der ÖGG	0,00
Kassa Zweigstelle Klagenfurt a.W.	1.299,75		
Kassa Fachgruppe ÖKK	0,14		
Geographie-Fonds			
Wertpapiere Depot Bank Austria	20.519,00		
Referenzkonto Bank Austria	24.726,33		
Sparkonto Vakif-Bank	0,00		
Profitkonto Erste Bank Geographie-Fonds	0,00		
Subkonto Erste Bank Geographie-Fonds	97.757,37		
Bausparvertrag	0,00		
	245.647,15		**245.647,15**

Tab. 1: Vermögensrechnung der ÖGG per 31.12.2022 in Euro

AUFWENDUNGEN			ERLÖSE	
Publikationen			**Publikationen**	
Herstellung MÖGG		15.067,09	Verkauf Publikationen	2.798,35
„Geographie aktuell“		3.798,78	Inserate „Geographie aktuell“	2.500,00
Abschr. uneinbringlicher Forderungen		0,00		
Fachgruppen			**Fachgruppen**	
ÖKK		1.709,86	ÖKK	2.367,19
geomorph.at		1.232,15	geomorph.at	767,40
ÖVAG		158,11	ÖVAG	337,93
GESÖB		24.678,24	GESÖB	26.903,33
Exkursionen			**Exkursionen**	
Exkursion Inland		2.566,80	Exkursion Inland	3.062,00
Exkursion Ausland		0,00	Exkursion Ausland	0,00
Büroaufwand			**Mitgliedsbeiträge und Spenden**	
Raumaufwand			Mitgliedsbeiträge	24.708,00
Miete (inkl. Instandhaltung)	3.296,41		Spenden	1.418,00
Raumpflege	0,00			
Strom, Gas	621,30		**Subventionen**	
Versicherungen	119,89	4.037,60	Subvention MÖGG	1.000,00
Kanzlei, Verwaltung		6.960,48		
Büroaufwand		0,0		
Portogebühren		4.244,50		
Telefongebühren, Internet		524,97		
AfA-Anlagen (Wandsystem)		0,00		
Sonstiger Druckaufwand		35,20		
Sonstige Vereinstätigkeiten			**Sonstige Vereinstätigkeiten**	
Veranstaltungen		0,00	Veranstaltungen	0,00
Beiträge zu Vereinen		100,00		
Bücher, Zeitschriften		0,00		
Modernisierung Bibliothek		0,00		
Vortragskosten		2.239,35		
Reisekosten		0,00		
Repräsentation, Ehrungen		244,70		
Sonderband Österreich-Buch		0,00	Sonderband Österreich-Buch	0,00
Kooperation IfGR, Univ. Wien		0,00	Kooperation IfGR, Univ. Wien	0,00
Geographie-Fonds			**Geographie-Fonds**	
Aufwendungen Geographie-Fonds		7.893,28	Erlöse Geographie-Fonds	351,63
Sonstiger Aufwand			**Sonstige Erlöse**	
Bankspesen		440,89	Kapitalerlöse	84,75
Sonstiger Aufwand		1.636,43	Sonstige Erlöse	1.132,98
Dotierung Rückstellungen			**Auflösung Rückstellungen**	
Rückstellung Geographie aktuell		0,00	Aufl. Rückstellung Geographie aktuell	0,00
Rückstellung Österreich-Buch		0,00	Aufl. Rückstellung Österreich-Buch	0,00
Dotierung Rücklagen			**Auflösung Rücklagen**	
Allgemeine Rücklage		0,00	Aufl. Allgemeine Rücklage	2.848,94
Rücklage ÖKK		657,33	Aufl. Rücklage ÖKK	0,00
Rücklage geomorph.at		0,00	Aufl. Rücklage geomorph.at	464,75
Rücklage ÖVAG		179,82	Aufl. Rücklage ÖVAG	0,00
Rücklage GESÖB		2.225,09	Aufl. Rücklage GESÖB	0,00
Rücklage Investitionsfonds		0,00	Aufl. Rücklage Investitionsfonds	1.204,90
Rücklage Geographie-Fonds		0,00	Aufl. Rücklage Geographie-Fonds	7.541,65
		80.630,67		**80.630,67**

Tab. 2: Rechnungsabschluss mit Jahresabgrenzungen per 31.12.2022 in Euro

1.3 Bericht der Rechnungsprüfer und Entlastung des Vorstands für 2022
(Andreas Palkovics und Klaus Wilhelmer)

„Die Prüfung des Rechnungsabschlusses für das Geschäftsjahr 2022 fand am 14. April 2023 in Anwesenheit des Rechnungsführers, Mag. Norbert Hackner-Jaklin, des Präsidenten der ÖGG, Univ.-Prof. Mag. Dr. Helmut Wohlschlägl und des Vizepräsidenten der ÖGG, Univ.-Doz. Dr. Christian Staudacher, in den Räumlichkeiten der ÖGG in der Karl-Schweighofer-Gasse 3/7, 1070 Wien statt.

Die Erstellung der Bilanz und der Gewinn/Verlust-Rechnung sowie die zahlenmäßige Aufstellung des Geographie-Fonds und die Erstellung des Ordentlichen Budgets für 2023 erfolgten zeitgerecht und konnten den beiden Rechnungsprüfern, Herrn Mag. Andreas Palkovics und Herrn Mag. Dr. Klaus Wilhelmer, bereits einige Tage vor dem Prüfungstermin zur Verfügung gestellt werden.

Im Rahmen der Rechnungsprüfung wurden sämtliche Unterlagen offengelegt und sowohl stichprobenartig Aufwands- und Erlöspositionen der Gewinn/Verlust-Rechnung geprüft als auch die Bilanzpositionen erörtert. Alle Fragen wurden beantwortet und konnten inhaltlich geklärt werden. Die Überprüfung der Gebarung durch die Rechnungsprüfer erstreckte sich auf ziffernmäßige Richtigkeit, Rechtmäßigkeit, Sparsamkeit, Wirtschaftlichkeit und Zweckmäßigkeit.
Darüber hinaus wurden die Abweichungen des IST zum SOLL (Budgetentwurf) besprochen und sowohl vom Präsidenten als auch vom Rechnungsführer erläutert und begründet. Des Weiteren wurde auch das Budget für das laufende Geschäftsjahr 2023 durchgegangen.

1. **Zusammenfassend** wird wie folgt festgehalten:
   a) Sämtliche Prüfungsunterlagen (Bilanz und Gewinn/Verlust-Rechnung) wurden vorgelegt.
   b) Die Ausführung und die Rechnungsführung entsprechen vollinhaltlich den Grundsätzen ordnungsgemäßer Buchführung.
   c) Das pagatorische Rechnungswesen wurde formell richtig geführt, insbesondere wurde der Rechnungsabschluss zum 31.12.2022 ordnungsgemäß abgeleitet. Das ausgewiesene Vermögen ist laut Bestand vorhanden und alle Ausgaben sind durch Belege nachgewiesen.
2. **Antrag auf Entlastung des Vorstandes:** Es wird festgehalten, dass die Mittel des Vereins statutengemäß verwendet worden sind. Aus diesem Grund stellen die unterzeichneten Rechnungsprüfer an die Hauptversammlung der ÖGG den Antrag, den Rechnungsabschluss 2022 zu genehmigen und den Rechnungsführer sowie den gesamten Vorstand zu entlasten.“

Der Antrag der Rechnungsprüfer auf Entlastung des Vorstandes einschließlich des Rechnungsführers wurde in der Hauptversammlung vom 26. April 2023 einstimmig angenommen.

1.4 Budgetvoranschlag 2023
(Norbert Hackner-Jaklin, Helmut Wohlschlägl)

Der Budgetvoranschlag wurde wie üblich nach den Erfahrungen des abgelaufenen Vereinsjahres sowie den sich abzeichnenden Notwendigkeiten des laufenden Jahres solide und konservativ konzipiert. Unter diesen Rahmenbedingungen wurde ein ausgeglichenes Budget für 2023 erstellt.

Auf der Ausgabenseite wurde die Ausgabenstruktur des Jahres 2022 für 2023 im Wesentlichen fortgeschrieben. Eine stärkere Erhöhung der Postgebühren wurde eingerechnet. Bei den MÖGG ergaben sich 2022 überdurchschnittlich hohe Herstellungskosten. Diese sind vor allem durch eine starke Erhöhung der Papierpreise und eine erstmals nach fast zehn Jahren durchgeführte Erhöhung der Kosten für Lektorat, Layout, Grafik und Herstellung des Drucksatzes bedingt. Durch Einsparungen beim Umfang der MÖGG und Reduktion des Anteils des Farbdrucks im aktuellen MÖGG-Band soll ein Teil der Mehrkosten wieder eingespart werden.

Auf der Einnahmenseite wird eine Zunahme der Einnahmen aus Mitgliedsbeiträgen angestrebt. Weiters besteht das Ziel, höhere Erträge aus den Spenden, den Werbeeinnahmen für Inserate in „Geographie aktuell“ und dem Publikationsverkauf zu lukrieren; dies wurde aber im Budgetvoranschlag nur sehr vorsichtig berücksichtigt. Die hohen Einnahmen aus dem Publikationsverkauf waren 2021 ein

Einmal-Effekt wegen der Neuerscheinung der zwei Sonderpublikationen und wurden daher schon 2022 budgetär nicht fortgeschrieben.

Ausgaben (in 1.000 EUR)	2022		2023	Einnahmen (in 1.000 EUR)	2022		2023
	Soll	Ist	Soll		Soll	Ist	Soll
Publikationen				**Publikationen**			
Herstellung MÖGG	12,60	15,07	12,75	Publikationsverkauf	3,90	2,80	3,00
Versand MÖGG	0,00	0,00	0,00				
Sonstige Druckwerke	0,00	0,03	0,00				
„Geographie aktuell“	3,00	3,80	3,00	„Geographie aktuell“	2,40	2,50	2,50
Büroaufwand				**Mitgliedsbeiträge**			
Raumaufwand	4,20	4,04	4,40	**und Spenden**			
Kanzlei, Verwaltung	7,00	6,96	7,20	Mitgliedsbeiträge	24,10	24,64	26,50
Büroaufwand	0,00	0,00	0,00	Spenden	1,40	1,42	1,40
Portogebühren	4,60	4,24	4,60				
Telefongebühren, Internet	0,50	0,52	0,55	**Sonstige Erlöse**			
				Sonstige Erlöse	0,30	1,13	0,70
Sonstige Vereinstätigkeiten				Kapitalerlöse	0,20	0,08	0,20
Beiträge zu Vereinen	0,10	0,10	0,10	Subventionen	1,00	1,00	1,00
Bücher, Zeitschriften	0,00	0,00	0,00	Überschuss Exkursionen	0,00	0,50	0,40
Bibliothek	0,00	0,69	0,00				
Vortragskosten	0,60	2,24	2,00				
Reisekosten	0,00	0,00	0,00				
Veranstaltungen, Ehrungen	0,10	0,24	0,10				
Sonstiger Aufwand							
Bankspesen	0,40	0,44	0,50				
Sonstiger Aufwand	0,20	1,57	0,50				
AfA	0,00	0,00	0,00				
Zweigstellen	0,00	0,00	0,00				
	33,30	**39,25**	**35,70**		**33,30**	**34,07**	**35,70**

Tab. 3: Budgetvoranschlag 2023 in 1.000 EUR (ohne den Zweigverein Innsbruck)

1.5 Mitgliederstand und -bewegung 2022

(Helmut WOHLSCHLÄGL)

Gedenken für die im Jahr 2022 verstorbenen Mitglieder: Im Vereinsjahr haben uns folgende Mitglieder für immer verlassen:

Mag. Dr. Franz KAISER, Laxenburg
Dr. Friedrich BENESCH, Wien
Mag. Gertrude ZEILINGER, Wien
Dkfm. Dr. Johannesl GIESSRIGL, Wien

Die ÖGG wird den verstorbenen Mitgliedern ein ehrendes Andenken bewahren.

Die **Mitgliederentwicklung** der ÖGG zeigt im Jahr 2022 – nach einer positiven Entwicklung im Jahr 2018 (Saldo: +7), einer leicht negativen Entwicklung im Jahr 2019 (Saldo: -10), einer stärker negativen Entwicklung 2020 (Saldo: -25) und einer leicht negativen Entwicklung 2021 (Saldo: -10) – neuerlich eine allerdings nur gering negative Bilanz (Saldo: -6) und ist daher nach wie vor nicht zufriedenstellend. Ab 2024 soll daher ein verstärktes Augenmerk auf die Mitgliederwerbung, insbesondere beim jüngeren

	Wien	Innsbruck	ÖGG gesamt
Mitglieder Anfang 2022	**618**	**555**	**1.173**
Eintritte	11	1	12
Todesfälle	4	3	7
Austritte	13	6	19
Streichungen	0	7	7
Mitglieder Ende 2022	**612**	**540**	**1.152**
Mitgliedergewinn/-verlust	–6	–15	–21

Tab. 4: Mitgliederbewegung 2022 im Stammverein Wien und im Zweigverein Innsbruck

wissenschaftlichen Nachwuchs, bei den Studierenden und bei den Lehrkräften an den Schulen gelegt werden.

Allerdings gibt es jedes Jahr, so auch 2022, eine nicht unerhebliche Zahl von Austritten und gleichzeitig wird es weiterhin erforderlich sein, einige Mitglieder zu streichen, von denen der Mitgliedsbeitrag schon seit vielen Jahren ausständig ist und mit denen es auch nicht möglich war, wegen einer Änderung der Wohnadresse, die der ÖGG nicht mitgeteilt wurde, einen persönlichen oder schriftlichen Kontakt herzustellen.

1.6 Anpassung der Mitgliedsbeiträge ab 2024

(Helmut Wohlschlägl)

Auf Antrag des Vorstandes der ÖGG, den dieser in seiner Sitzung am 22. April 2022 mehrstimmig gefasst hatte, war in der Hauptversammlung des Jahres 2022 am 26. April 2022 – einstimmig – beschlossen worden, die **Mitgliedsbeträge ab dem Jahr 2023** moderat zu erhöhen. Diese Erhöhung wird nun im Jahr 2023 erstmals budgetär wirksam und schlägt sich auch im Budgetvoranschlag für 2023 (siehe Tab. 3) nieder. Eine weitere Erhöhung des Mitgliedsbeitrags ist zurzeit nicht vorgesehen.

Der Hauptversammlung lag daher ein einstimmiger Antrag des Vorstands der ÖGG von seiner Sitzung am 21. April 2023 vor, die Mitgliedsbeiträge **für 2024 nicht zu erhöhen**. Die Hauptversammlung stimmte diesem Antrag des Vorstands einstimmig zu.

1.7 Ergebnisse der Wahlen

(Helmut Wohlschlägl)

Wahl oder Wiederwahl von Vorstandsmitgliedern

Der Vorstand hat in seiner Sitzung vom 21. April 2023 beschlossen, der Hauptversammlung die folgenden Mitglieder des Vorstands der ÖGG zur **Wiederwahl** vorzuschlagen (da ihre gemäß Satzung der ÖGG dreijährige Funktionsperiode mit der Hauptversammlung 2023 abläuft) und eine diesbezügliche Empfehlung an die Hauptversammlung abgegeben. Überdies hat der Vorstand einstimmig beschlossen, der Hauptversammlung vorzuschlagen, Herrn Dr. Alois Humer, der seit 2022 in ausgezeichneter Weise das ÖGG-Vortragsprogramm am Standort Wien organisiert und moderiert, **neu in den Vorstand** als für die Vortragsorganisation und -moderation zuständiges Vorstandsmitglied aufzunehmen. Bei Zustimmung der Hauptversammlung umfasst der Vorstand der ÖGG dann insgesamt 19 Personen. Zusätzlich soll Herr Dr. Jan-Christoph Otto als neues Ersatzmitglied für die Fachgruppe „geomorph.at“ in den Vorstand aufgenommen werden.

Die Wahl wurde – nach dem gleichen Modus wie schon im Vorjahr – als **geheime Briefwahl** durchgeführt: Alle bei der Online-Hauptversammlung bei diesem Tagesordnungspunkt (noch) online anwesenden Mitglieder erhielten einen Wahlzettel per E-Mail zugesandt, der dann von den Mitgliedern

auszufüllen und im doppelt verschlossenen Kuvert (wobei das innere Kuvert den ausgefüllten Wahlzettel, aber keine Namensangaben enthielt) per Post an die Geschäftsstelle der ÖGG in 1070 Wien, Karl-Schweighofer-Gasse 3/7 zu senden war. Die Öffnung der per Post eingelangten anonymen Kuverts und die Auszählung erfolgten dann in der Geschäftsstelle der ÖGG durch zwei anwesende Skrutatoren und in Anwesenheit der Leiterin der Geschäftsstelle.

Die Wahlen ergaben bei jeweils 21 abgegebenen gültigen Stimmen folgende Zustimmungswerte für die **Wiederwahl** bzw. **Neuwahl** (siehe Tab. 5). Damit wurden alle zur Wiederwahl oder Neuwahl vorgeschlagenen Vorstandsmitglieder auch gewählt.

Wiederwahl für die Funktionsperiode 2023–2026	**ja**	**nein**	**Enthaltung**
Priv.-Doz. MMag. Dr. Robert MUSIL	19	0	2
Jakob PACHSCHWÖLL MA	21	0	0
HS-Prof. Dr. Christian FRIDRICH	19	0	2
Ao. Univ.-Prof. Dr. Martin HEINTEL	17	2	2
Neuwahl für die Funktionsperiode 2023–2026	**ja**	**nein**	**Enthaltung**
Dr. Alois HUMER	21	0	0
Dr. Jan-Chistoph OTTO (*als Ersatzmitglied*)	18	0	2*

* plus eine Stimme ungültig

Tab. 5: Ergebnis der Wieder- und Neuwahl in den Vorstand der ÖGG

Wahl von Rechnungsprüfern

Für die Funktion von Rechnungsprüfern standen für das Vereinsjahr 2022 neuerlich zur Verfügung: Mag. Andreas PALKOVICS und Dr. Klaus WILHELMER. Beide Herren haben sich bereit erklärt, diese Funktion auch in Hinkunft weiterhin auszuüben. Sie wurden – ebenfalls per geheimer Briefwahl – bei 21 abgegebenen gültigen Stimmen – einstimmig in dieser Funktion wiedergewählt. Die ÖGG dankt für ihre wertvolle Arbeit als Rechnungsprüfer!

2 Geographie-Fonds der ÖGG

2.1 Verleihung der wissenschaftlichen Preise der ÖGG für 2021 im Herbst 2022

Die wissenschaftlichen Preise des Geographie-Fonds der ÖGG für das Jahr 2021 wurden in Band 162/2020 der MÖGG sowie ab Jänner 2021 auf der Homepage der ÖGG (damals: *http://www.geo-austria.ac.at*), ferner ab Sommer 2021 bei der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Geographie (DGfG), im GEO-Büro und auf der Homepage des Verbandes der Geographen an deutschsprachigen Hochschulen (VGDH) sowie bei allen Institutsdirektoren und Sekretariaten der Geographie-Institute in Österreich, Deutschland und der Schweiz ausgeschrieben. Bis zum festgesetzten Einreichtermin 31. Dezember 2021 sind insgesamt 19 Einreichungen eingegangen: für den Hans-Bobek-Preis sieben Einreichungen (eine Habilitationsschrift und sechs Dissertationen), für den Förderungspreis der ÖGG neun (eine Diplomarbeit und acht Masterarbeiten), für den Leopold-Scheidl-Preis für Wirtschaftsgeographie eine Dissertation und für den OeNB-Award für Wirtschaftsdidaktik zwei Dissertationen..

Entsprechend den Statuten des Geographie-Fonds mussten im Begutachtungsverfahren von Albert HOFMAYER, dem Geschäftsführer des Fonds, dem an dieser Stelle für seine aufwändige Arbeit sehr herzlich gedankt werden soll, im nächsten Schritt für die ersten drei angeführten Preise insgesamt 34 Gutachterinnen und Gutachter, davon 25 aus dem Ausland, eingeworben werden; diese haben ihre Gut-

achten sehr gewissenhaft erstellt, wofür Ihnen im Namen der ÖGG herzlich zu danken ist. Die anschließende intensive Arbeit der zwölfköpfigen Jury über die Preisvergabe 2021 ergab in der **Jurysitzung vom 21. November 2022** folgende Entscheidungen:

- **Hans-Bobek-Preis 2021** (EUR 2.000,-): Nach einer ausführlichen inhaltlichen Diskussion über die zuvor gutachterlich bewerteten sieben eingereichten Arbeiten durch die Jurymitglieder wurden drei Abstimmungsrunden durchgeführt, wobei sich in der dritten Runde eine klare mehrheitliche Entscheidung (Zwei-Drittel-Mehrheit) zur Vergabe des Hans-Bobek-Preises der ÖGG 2021 an eine der eingereichten Dissertationen ergab, und zwar an Frau Dr. Hannah Uprety MSc BA für ihre am Geographischen Institut der Universität Münster verfasste Dissertation *„The Governmentality of Nepali Labour Migration. Governing Migrant Subjectivities and the Transnational Marketisation of Labour"*.
- **Förderungspreis der ÖGG 2021** (EUR 1.000,-): Nach einer inhaltlichen Diskussion der zuvor gutachterlich bewerteten neun eingereichten Arbeiten durch die Jurymitglieder wurde in der Sitzung festgestellt, dass sich unter den eingereichten Arbeiten gleich mehrere befänden, die wegen ihrer sehr guten Qualität den Förderungspreis verdienen würden. Nach ausführlicher Abwägung und vier Abstimmungsrunden verblieben schließlich zwei Masterarbeiten in der engeren Wahl mit nahezu gleich hoher Stimmenzahl, von denen jedoch keine eine Zwei-Drittel-Mehrheit erreichte. Angesichts dieser Gleichwertigkeit stellte das Jurymitglied Martin Coy den Antrag, den Förderungspreis der ÖGG dieses Jahr ausnahmsweise *zweifach* zu vergeben. Die Jury stimmte diesem Antrag mit großer Mehrheit zu. Der Förderungspreis 2022 wurde daher vergeben an Frau Franziska Allerberger MSc BSc für ihre am Institut für Geographie der Universität Innsbruck verfasste Masterarbeit *„Raus aus dem Elfenbeinturm! Studierende als Partner/innen und Gestalter/innen für eine (Selbst-) Transformation von Wissenschaft und Gesellschaft auf dem Weg zu einer nachhaltigen Zukunft"* und an Herrn Dominik Ebenstreit MA BA für seine am Institut für Geographie und Regionalforschung der Universität Wien verfasst Masterarbeit *„Im Kern das Zentrum? Abgrenzung und Strukturanalyse historischer Ortskerne am Beispiel von Oberösterreich"*.
- **Leopold-Scheidl-Preis für Wirtschaftsgeographie 2021** (EUR 1.000,-): Nach einer inhaltlichen Diskussion der zuvor gutachterlich bewerteten eingereichten Dissertation durch die Jurymitglieder erfolgte relativ schnell und sehr eindeutig eine einstimmige Entscheidung zur Vergabe des Leopold-Scheidl-Preises für Wirtschaftsgeographie der ÖGG 2021 an Frau Dr. Stefanie Döringer MA BA für ihre am Institut für Geographie und Regionalforschung der Universität Wien verfasste ausgezeichnete Dissertation *„Individual Agency in Regional Economic Development: Governance Entrepreteurship in Peripheral Towns"*.
- **OeNB-Award für Wirtschaftsdidaktik 2021** (EUR 2.000,-): Für diesen von der Österreichischen Nationalbank finanzierten, von der ÖGG gemeinsam mit ihrer Fachgruppe für Geographische und Sozioökonomische Bildung (GESÖB) vergebenen Preis für ausgezeichnete fachdidaktische Arbeiten ist eine eigene, fachdidaktisch ausgerichtete Jury unter der Leitung des Vorsitzenden der GESÖB, Christian Fridrich, eingerichtet, die am 31. Mai 2022 getagt hat und im zweiten Wahlgang der geheimen Abstimmung aus den zwei eingereichten, zuvor gutachterlich bewerteten Dissertationen ein klares einstimmiges Ergebnis erbracht hat, und zwar die Vergabe des OeNB-Awards für Wirtschaftsdidaktik 2021 an Herrn Dipl.-Hdl. Dr. Christian Riel für seine an der Pädagogischen Hochschule Ludwigsburg approbierte Dissertation *„In Alternativen denken. Vielfaltsbewusste Lehre am Beispiel der Wirtschaftsdidaktik"*.

Die ÖGG gratuliert den fünf Preisträger/inne/n sehr herzlich. Kurzberichte über die fünf preisgekrönten Arbeiten wurden in „Geographie aktuell", Nr. 55 (I/2023), Seite 4 (Riel) und Seite 5 (Döringer), und Nr. 57 (III/2023), Seite 4 (Allerberger), Seite 5 (Uprety) und Seite 6 (Ebenstreit) abgedruckt. Sie können auch online auf der Homepage der ÖGG unter *„https://oegg.univie.ac.at/publikationen-der-oegg/geographie-aktuell/"* nachgelesen werden.

2.2 Ausschreibung der wissenschaftlichen Preise der ÖGG für 2024

Hans-Bobek-Preis 2024

Zum Gedenken an den Ehrenpräsidenten der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft sowie in Würdigung der großen Verdienste von Univ.-Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. Hans BOBEK als einem der bedeutendsten und international hoch angesehenen Geographen wird seit dem Jahr 1991 jährlich ein Förderungspreis in der Höhe von **EUR 2.000,-** ausgeschrieben, der von Frau Dr. Maria BOBEK-FESL gestiftet wird.

Eingereicht werden können in deutscher oder englischer Sprache verfasste Dissertationen, Habilitationsschriften oder andere gleichwertige, von einer Person selbstständig verfasste wissenschaftliche Arbeiten, die in den Jahren 2023 oder 2024 fertiggestellt und approbiert worden sind. Zugelassen sind Personen im Alter bis zu 45 Jahren.

Ausgeschlossen sind Personen, die zur Zeit der Bewerbung um den Hans-Bobek-Preis als Vorstandsmitglieder, Rechnungsprüfer oder Angestellte der ÖGG wirken, ferner solche, bei denen das Verfahren der Approbation der Dissertation oder das Habilitationsverfahren noch nicht rechtskräftig abgeschlossen ist.

Bei den eingereichten Arbeiten muss es sich um thematisch und methodisch besonders heausragende wissenschaftliche Leistungen handeln, die geeignet erscheinen, die geographische Wissenschaft wesentlich zu bereichern und voranzutreiben. Die dazu notwendige Feststellung trifft eine vom Vorstand der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft eingesetzte Jury des Geographie-Fonds der ÖGG. Der Preis wird unter Ausschluss des Rechtsweges zuerkannt.

Sollte keine der eingereichten Arbeiten den zu fordernden Standard erreichen, bleibt es der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft vorbehalten, von einer Preisverleihung Abstand zu nehmen und den Geldbetrag des Hans-Bobek-Preises auf Folgejahre zu übertragen.

Die Einreichung muss spätestens bis **31. Dezember 2024** bei der Geschäftsstelle der ÖGG, A-1070 Wien, Karl-Schweighofer-Gasse 3/7 (E-Mail: oegg.geographie@univie.ac.at), mit einem gedruckten Exemplar und einer elektronischen Version samt Bewerbungsschreiben, Lebenslauf und nach Möglichkeit mit bisher vorliegenden Gutachten erfolgen.

Die Jury des Geographie-Fonds der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft trifft ihre Entscheidung in ihrer Sitzung im Frühherbst des Jahres 2025 unter Einbeziehung von jeweils zwei Fachgutachten pro eingereichter Arbeit. Die eingereichten Unterlagen verbleiben bei der ÖGG.

Helmut WOHLSCHLÄGL, Präsident

Förderungspreis der ÖGG 2024

Die ÖGG vergibt seit 1995 alljährlich einen Förderungspreis in der Höhe von **EUR 1.000,-.** Die Mittel stammen zu 75 Prozent aus den Erträgen des Geographie-Fonds der ÖGG und zu 25 Prozent aus einem Beitrag des Zweigvereins Innsbruck der ÖGG.

Dieser Preis wird für thematisch und methodisch hervorragende Diplom- und Masterarbeiten aus allen Teilgebieten der Geographie verliehen, die von einer Person selbstständig verfasst und in den Jahren 2023 oder 2024 fertiggestellt und approbiert worden sind. Es können sich nur Personen bewerben, die zum Zeitpunkt der Bewerbung das 35. Lebensjahr noch nicht vollendet haben und deren eingereichte Arbeit an einer österreichischen Universität approbiert wurde. Ausgeschlossen von der Bewerbung sind Vorstandsmitglieder, Rechnungsprüfer oder Angestellte der ÖGG. Der Preis wird unter Ausschluss des Rechtsweges zuerkannt.

Die eingereichten Arbeiten müssen spätestens bis **31. Dezember 2024** in der Geschäftsstelle der ÖGG eingetroffen sein. Erwartet werden: ein gebundenes Exemplar und eine elektronische Version der Arbeit mit Bewerbungsschreiben, Lebenslauf und bisher vorliegenden Gutachten, zu senden an die Österreichische Geographische Gesellschaft, A-1070 Wien, Karl-Schweighofer-Gasse 3/7 (E-Mail: oegg.geographie@univie.ac.at).

Die Jury des Geographie-Fonds der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft trifft ihre Entscheidung in ihrer Sitzung im Frühherbst des Jahres 2025 unter Einbeziehung von jeweils zwei Fachgutachten pro eingereichter Arbeit. Die eingereichten Unterlagen verbleiben bei der ÖGG.

Helmut Wohlschlägl, Präsident

Leopold-Scheidl-Preis für Wirtschaftsgeographie 2024

Die ÖGG vergibt für hervorragende Leistungen auf dem Gebiet der Wirtschaftsgeographie den Leopold-Scheidl-Preis 2024 in Höhe von **EUR 1.000,-**.

Dieser Preis wird für thematisch und methodisch hervorragende Dissertationen, Diplom- und Masterarbeiten aus Wirtschaftsgeographie und verwandten Fachgebieten verliehen, die von einer Person selbstständig verfasst und in den Jahren 2023 oder 2024 fertiggestellt und approbiert worden sind. Es besteht keine Einschränkung nach Alter oder Wohnsitz der einreichenden Person. Ausgeschlossen von der Bewerbung sind Vorstandsmitglieder, Rechnungsprüfer oder Angestellte der ÖGG. Der Preis wird unter Ausschluss des Rechtsweges zuerkannt.

Die eingereichten Arbeiten müssen spätestens bis **31. Dezember 2024** in der Geschäftsstelle der ÖGG eingetroffen sein. Erwartet werden: ein gebundenes Exemplar und eine elektronische Version der Arbeit mit Bewerbungsschreiben, Lebenslauf und bisher vorliegenden Gutachten, zu senden an die Österreichische Geographische Gesellschaft, A-1070 Wien, Karl-Schweighofer-Gasse 3/7 (E-Mail: oegg.geographie@univie.ac.at).

Die Jury des Geographie-Fonds der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft trifft ihre Entscheidung in ihrer Sitzung im Frühherbst des Jahres 2025 unter Einbeziehung von jeweils zwei Fachgutachten pro eingereichter Arbeit. Die eingereichten Unterlagen verbleiben bei der ÖGG.

Helmut Wohlschlägl, Präsident

OeNB-Award für Wirtschaftsdidaktik 2024

Die Österreichische Geographische Gesellschaft (ÖGG) vergibt in Kooperation mit ihrer Fachgruppe für Geographische und Sozioökonomische Bildung (GESÖB) für hervorragende Leistungen auf dem Gebiet der Fachdidaktik „Sozioökonomische Bildung" einen von der Österreichischen Nationalbank (OeNB) gestifteten Sonderpreis in Höhe von **EUR 2.000,-**. Dieser Preis wird für thematisch und methodisch hervorragende Dissertationen, Diplom- und Masterarbeiten aus dem Bereich der sozioökonomischen Bildung verliehen, die von einer Person selbstständig verfasst und in den Jahren 2023 oder 2024 fertiggestellt und approbiert worden sind. Die eingereichte Arbeit muss in deutscher oder englischer Sprache verfasst sein. Es besteht keine Einschränkung nach Alter oder Wohnsitz der einreichenden Person. Ausgeschlossen von der Bewerbung sind Vorstandsmitglieder, Rechnungsprüfer oder Angestellte der ÖGG sowie der Vorsitzende und die stellvertretenden Vorsitzenden der Fachgruppe GESÖB und die Mitglieder der Jury.

Die eingereichten Arbeiten müssen spätestens bis **31. Dezember 2024** in der Geschäftsstelle der ÖGG eingetroffen sein. Erwartet werden: ein gebundenes Exemplar und eine elektronische Version der Arbeit mit Bewerbungsschreiben, Lebenslauf und bisher vorliegenden Gutachten, zu senden an die Österreichische Geographische Gesellschaft, A-1070 Wien, Karl-Schweighofer-Gasse 3/7 (E-Mail: oegg.geographie@univie.ac.at).

Eine Jury der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft und der GESÖB trifft ihre Entscheidung in der ersten Jahreshälfte 2025 unter Einbeziehung von jeweils zwei von der Jury eingeholten Fachgutachten pro eingereichter Arbeit. Wenn zwei der eingereichten Arbeiten von der Jury als gleichwertig preiswürdig beurteilt werden, kann der OeNB-Award gemäß Beschluss der Jury auch in zwei Preise à EUR 1.000,- geteilt werden. Der Preis wird unter Ausschluss des Rechtsweges zuerkannt. Die eingereichten Unterlagen verbleiben bei der ÖGG.

Christian Fridrich, Vorsitzender der Fachgruppe GESÖB
Helmut Wohlschlägl, Präsident der ÖGG

3 Herfried-Berger-Preis 2024

Der Fonds zur Förderung wissenschaftlicher Arbeiten auf dem Gebiet der Geographie in memoriam des aus Hermagor stammenden Prof. Herfried BERGER verleiht 2024 wieder einen Preis für herausragende Diplomarbeiten oder Dissertationen auf dem Gebiet der Geographie. Sie sollen regional dem Bundesland Kärnten, dem Ostalpenraum oder dem östlichen Afrika, den Forschungsgebieten von Herfried BERGER, zuordenbar, neu erstellt und zu einer Preisverleihung noch nicht eingereicht worden sein.

Prämiert werden im Jahr 2024 so wie erstmals 2023 auch vorwissenschaftliche geographische Arbeiten an Kärntner allgemeinbildenden und geographische Diplomarbeiten an Kärntner berufsbildenden höheren Schulen, die sich auch mit dem Adriatischen Raum und dessen Teilgebieten oder mit Südosteuropa befassen können. Unter Adriatischem Raum werden dabei die Anrainerstaaten der Adria, insbesondere ihre adriatischen Fassaden sowie nicht unwesentlich auf den Kernraum der Adria bezogene Binnenländer wie Kärnten, die Steiermark oder Tirol verstanden; unter Südosteuropa die Staaten Bosnien-Herzegowina, Serbien, Montenegro, Kosovo, Nordmakedonien, Albanien, Griechenland, Zypern, Bulgarien, Rumänien und die Moldau. Es können Studien kleinerer Teilgebiete oder Überblicksarbeiten aus allen Zweigen der Geographie sein. Bevorzugt werden Arbeiten, die Kärnten mit diesen Gebieten in Beziehung setzen.

Über die Preisverleihung entscheidet das Kuratorium des Fonds unter Einbeziehung von Fachgutachten unter Ausschluss des Rechtsweges.

Die Arbeiten mögen Univ.-Prof. h.c. Univ.-Doz. Dr. Peter JORDAN an die Postadresse 9620 Hermagor, 10.-Oktober-Straße 4, oder (vorzugsweise) per E-Mail oder WeTransfer als PDF an peter.jordan@oeaw.ac.at mit formlosem Begleitschreiben zugesandt werden.

Für das Kuratorium:
Peter JORDAN

Schriftliche Anfragen und Bestellungen

mögen an die Geschäftsstelle der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft, A-1070 Wien, Karl-Schweighofer-Gasse 3/7 (E-Mail: oegg.geographie@univie.ac.at), gerichtet werden.

Manuskripte von wissenschaftlichen Beiträgen

werden an den Schriftleiter (Univ.-Prof. i.R. Mag. Dr. Helmut Wohlschlägl, Institut für Geographie und Regionalforschung der Universität Wien, A-1010 Wien, Universitätsstraße 7/5, Tel.: +43-1-4277-48630, E-Mail: helmut.wohlschlaegl@univie.ac.at) erbeten. Es kommen nur Manuskripte in Betracht, die anderweitig nicht publiziert wurden oder zur Publikation vorgesehen sind.

Die **Texte** müssen inhaltlich und sprachlich druckreif verfasst sein und ohne besondere Formatierungen in elektronischer Form übermittelt werden (helmut.wohlschlaegl@univie.ac.at). Die Sprache der Beiträge kann Deutsch oder Englisch sein. In beiden Fällen sind die Verfasser für den einwandfreien sprachlichen Stil zuständig. Der Umfang von Aufsätzen soll 20 Seiten zu je 3.700 Zeichen inkl. Leerzeichen nicht überschreiten. Abbildungen sind in dieser Seitenzahl bereits inbegriffen. Den Beiträgen sind eine *Zusammenfassung* in englischer und deutscher Sprache sowie eine Auswahl von treffenden *Schlagwörtern* in beiden Sprachen voranzustellen. Beim Literaturverzeichnis ist die Zitierweise der MÖGG (Band 162 oder 163) einzuhalten. Literaturverweise im Text bestehen aus Familienname des Autors, Erscheinungsjahr und Seitenzahl in Klammern: z.B. (Seger 1982, S. 52 bzw. p. 52). Fußnoten werden fortlaufend nummeriert. Geographische Namen müssen jedenfalls auch in ihren endonymischen Formen (in mehreren, wenn auch Minderheitennamen amtlich sind), Namen in anderen als Lateinschriften auch in ihrer Originalschrift angegeben werden. Die Redaktion sorgt dann für Namenschreibung und Umschrift nach einheitlichen Prinzipien. Die Korrekturen in den Fahnen sind auf Schreibfehler zu beschränken. Bei darüberhinausgehenden Änderungen müssen die entstandenen Mehrkosten von den Verfassern getragen werden.

Bei **Abbildungen** ist das vorgegebene Satzspiegelformat (126 x 189 mm einschließlich Abbildungstexten) einzuhalten. Sie sind in digitaler Form in einer Auflösung von zumindest 300 dpi als PDF-, JPG- oder TIFF-Datei getrennt vom Textmanuskript elektronisch zu übermitteln. Reihenfolge und gewünschte Position der Abbildungen im Text sind deutlich anzugeben. Im Fall von Abbildungen, die nicht von den Verfassern selbst gestaltet wurden, ist das Copyright nachzuweisen und den MÖGG zu übertragen. Für den Farbdruck von Abbildungen ist ein Druckkostenbeitrag von EUR 350,- pro Artikel zu entrichten. Für Abbildungen, die nicht druckfertig geliefert werden und erst von der Redaktion erstellt oder gezeichnet werden müssen, ist ein Kostenbeitrag von EUR 50,- pro Abbildung zu bezahlen.

Redaktionsschluss (Einsendeschluss für Manuskripte) ist für Band 166 (2024) der 1. August 2024, für Band 167 (2025) der 1. Juni 2025. Eingesandte Manuskripte durchlaufen eine zweifache anonyme Begutachtung durch unabhängige Experten und gelten erst danach und nach ausdrücklicher Bestätigung durch den Schriftleiter als angenommen. Mit der Annahme des Beitrags treten die Verfasser alle Rechte an ihrem gesamten Beitrag an die ÖGG ab. Die alleinige Verantwortung für den Inhalt der Beiträge verbleibt jedoch bei den Verfassern. Die Verfasser erhalten kostenlos den Band der MÖGG und das PDF ihres Beitrags. Für unverlangt eingehende Beiträge kann keinerlei Haftung übernommen werden.

Buchbesprechungen

Besprechungsexemplare mögen an die Geschäftsstelle der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft, A-1070 Wien, Karl-Schweighofer-Gasse 3/7, gesandt werden.

Written inquiries and orders

may be addressed to the office of the Austrian Geographical Society [Österreichische Geographische Gesellschaft], A-1070 Wien, Karl-Schweighofer-Gasse 3/7 (email: oegg.geographie@univie.ac.at).

Manuscripts of scientific contributions

are requested to be sent to the Managing Editor (Prof. Dr. Helmut Wohlschlaegl, Department of Geography and Regional Research, University of Vienna, Universitaetsstrasse 7/5, A-1010 Vienna, Austria; Tel.: +43-1-4277-48630; email: helmut.wohlschlaegl@univie.ac.at). Only manuscripts, which have not been published elsewhere or are not intended for publication elsewhere can be taken into consideration.

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