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Lifestyles, choice of housing location and daily mobility

Conceptual framework, methods and preliminary results of the interdisciplinary research project "StadtLeben"

Paper presented at the 42nd congress of the European Regional Science Association (ERSA)
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abstract

Today, spatial research and planning is confronted with complex frame conditions which have substantially changed in the past decades. Thus, a comprehensive social change is stated, giving new room for individual development, but on the other hand making new decisions necessary (cue: individualisation). At the same time, settlement structures and time-regimes – essential conditions for spatial mobility – have developed dynamically (cues: decentralisation, flexibilisation).

However, hitherto research and planning show serious methodological problems in the consideration of the stated changes. The explanation patterns of existing approaches for spatial mobility are mainly based upon spatial and individual restrictions. Neither the increasing degrees of freedom nor the subjective rationales behind mobility decisions are adequately considered.

The paper presents the conceptual framework, methods and preliminary results of the interdisciplinary research project "StadtLeben". The central research question focuses on the interrelation between social structures (lifestyles, milieus), space-time-structures, housing respectively choice of housing location, and daily mobility.

The proposed research approach shall help to develop target group-oriented and efficient planning and design strategies, which are tested in a workshop in an exemplary study area in Cologne. Together with planning practitioners, action-oriented knowledge as well as suggestions for planning methods (participation, processes, competence) shall be derived.

1 Introduction

Today, spatial research and planning is confronted with complex frame conditions which have changed substantially in the past decades. Two phenomena have to be concluded:

- An increasing socio-cultural differentiation or even fragmentation of the society (individualisation, differentiation and pluralisation of lifestyles);
- a dynamic development of spatial structures and time-regimes, including increasingly complex forms of mobility on different levels (e.g. choice of housing location and mobility behaviour as basic forms of spatial mobility).

The main idea of this contribution is to find both observations in a research context. For spatial and mobility research, this involves a different understanding of social and spatial structures. At the same time, new conclusions for current planning strategies in context with the development of urban neighbourhoods have to be drawn.

The contribution is based upon the research concept of the interdisciplinary project "Stadt-Leben". In this project, transport researchers, urban planners, geographers and psychologists from the following institutions are working together: RWTH Aachen, Institut für Stadtbauwesen und Stadtverkehr (coordination); Freie Universität Berlin, Institut für Geographische Wissenschaften, Abteilung Stadtforschung; Ruhr-Uni-Bochum, Arbeitseinheit Kognitions- und Umweltpsychologie; Universität Dortmund, Fachgebiet Verkehrswesen und Verkehrsplanung; Wohnbund Frankfurt Entwicklungsgesellschaft mbH. The project is supported by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research in the research program "Building and Housing".

2 Basic principles

2.1 Lifestyles

In German sociology, lifestyle research became a well developed field of research since the late eighties. The thesis of BECK (1986), stating an increasing individualisation was the starting point: Traditional structures of social inequality are loosing their relevance because ‘old’ vertical inequality was supplemented by new horizontal inequalities, “beyond classes and stratums" (BECK 1986:121). The clear picture of social stratums would be scattered in a mosaic of bits and pieces, that remain dynamically connected by social mobility. The

unexpected liberation from traditional patterns was made possible by the economic prosperity in the post-war decades. “The brief dream of never-ending prosperity” (LUTZ 1984) facilitated an unexpected liberation from traditional patterns, including the disappearance of linear, predictable courses of life, better chances for education for all parts of the population, longer duration of adolescence, changes in the relation of gender (increasing amount of women having jobs), smaller households, diversification and flexibilisation of employment and the dissolving of traditional time-regimes. Concerning mobility, the steep motorization of the sixties and seventies outstripped all prognoses regularly (SCHEINER 2002).

Quite recently, some of these developments have reached new dimensions: The deregulation of labour in context with globalisation of the economy or the spatial results of the decline of fixed time-regimes (WOLF and SCHOLZ 1999).

For lifestyle-research these structural developments are rather the background than the research subject itself. Primarily lifestyle research works with the life-designs of individuals. Lifestyle is defined as “regular patterns of behaviour, that represent structural situations as well as habitual behaviour and social affinities" (LÜDTKE 1996:140). An abundant field of research for self-stylisation is the leisure time and thus it is elaborated intensively. On the theoretical level voluntaristic concepts have to be distinguished from structuralistic concepts. In German sociology, the voluntaristic concepts of lifestyles tend to disconnect lifestyles from social stratums (SCHULZE 1992, LÜDTKE 1995). However, the interdependence between lifestyle and social status can’t be neglected. Empirical results show that the classical stratum variables (income, professional status) became less important than age and education, and partly gender (SCHULZE 1992, SPELLERBERG 1996, SCHNEIDER and SPELLERBERG 1999, KLEE 2001:131ff). The results indicate the persistance of the connection of education perspectives and promotion to the economic elite with the parents' education and profession (SCHIMPL-NEIMANNS 2000). This concept points to a structural perception of lifestyles (BOURDIEU 1982).

2.2 Mobility

The main thesis is, that certain lifestyle groups have specific forms of mobility. But mobility is a two folded term. On the one side it identifies social and spatial mobility, on the other side it indicates short term (travel behaviour) and long term mobility (housing mobility, choice of

location). Moreover it is used for realised movement (relocation, travel behaviour, moving up or down socially) as well as mov*ability* and the opportunity of activity. The opportunity doesn't only result in the motion of an individual, but also results from the accessibility of destinations as a 'supply' (TOPP 1994). Finally spatial mobility is often used as a synonym for physical motion, but it includes the use of media as well ('virtual mobility') in a sense of individualised use (internet, e-mail, interactive CD-ROM, fax, BTX, phone...) as well as classical mass media (TV, radio, newspaper, journals). These differentiations are of great relevance for the analysis in the context of lifestyles and mobility.

The concept of the (partial) dissolving of lifestyles from socio-structural framework implies an increase of the spatial opportunities. The analogy seems to be true for the spatial level: Because of the loosening of structural conditions, the spatial descent is hardly to be a restriction for the design of the individual life. Furthermore spatial affiliation to the neighbourhood could decline (motorization and increasing use of cars, virtual mobility...).

Secondly, individualisation and pluralisation of lifestyles will imply a changing dynamic in the hardly defined context of social and spatial mobility. As an example, the considerations for mobility after a change of job have modified. The decision between commuting on long distance and moving closer to the place of work after a professional change favours increasingly the commute, since the availability of a car enables a fast commute over longer distances and homeownership increases the connection to the location of the home (KALTER 1994). Modern forms of professional developments (double-income households) and frequent change of job restrict a short-distance choice of location anyway.

Thirdly, the increasing 'mediatisation' of the society and the partial replacement of face-to-face-interaction by virtual communication increases the extension of spatial opportunities. Subsequently, the physical interrelations change (SCHEINER 2001a). So far, it is undetermined, how this change will evolve. Especially in the context of tele-working, different perspectives are discussed. The central question is whether physical mobility will be substituted by telecommunication or whether both forms reinforce themselves mutually (see VOGT 2000).

In contrast to the traditional media, the new media allow an extension of complexity concerning spatial connections. With TV, earth was seen as a "global village" (MACLUHAN and FIORE 1968), but it was a village with a one-way communication ("one-to-many"). The new

media allow an exponential increase in variety and complexity as well as the individual steering of interrelations between institutions and individuals ("many-to-many") concerning speed, efficiency and time autonomy of the transmission of information. The use of new media is highly specified to lifestyles (ARD-Forschungsdienst 2000:327).

In conclusion, processes of mobility are interrelated on different levels (housing and daily mobility, physical and virtual mobility) and in a social and economical context.

3 Connections

3.1 Lifestyles and daily mobility

In the nineties, mobility research started to translate the concept of lifestyles to „mobility styles“. A differentiated understanding of travel demand was created, that connects lifestyles with daily mobility in a subject oriented scheme (LABONTE 1996, GÖTZ, JAHN and SCHULTZ 1997, SCHEINER 1997, WULFHORST, BECKMANN, HUNECKE and HEINZE 2000). So far, it is limited to modal choice (use of means of transport) (GÖTZ, JAHN and SCHULTZ 1997), where mobility styles conclude the context of mobility orientation and modal choice. Mobility orientation label the symbolic functions of means of travel, like representation, fun, adventure and so forth. The types that are found by cluster analysis are described in relation to life situation (gender, age, education, employment, income) and lifestyle (aims in life, importance of specific areas, value orientation).

SCHEINER (1997) typifies the population of different research areas in Stuttgart, Germany concerning the spatial orientation of activity space. He distinguishes groups with a concentration on few destinations and groups with disperse orientations. Significant differences between distances and modal choice were found that resulted in the characterisation of mobility stiles.

In recent studies, the concept of mobility styles found application. Partly, the aim is the thorough description of typical forms of mobility behaviour (TROSTORFF 2000, LANZENDORF 2001), partly, the focus lies on theoretical models to explain mobility behaviour (HUNECKE 1999).

However, some central questions remain unanswered: The relevance of lifestyles for mobility research is still unclear. Do lifestyles lead to explications that extend the results of conventional sociodemography? It is unclear what is "behind" lifestyles. Generally, typologies of lifestyle are treated as independent variables and therefore as autonomously emerging styles. The question remains, how they are influenced structurally by non-lifestyle-specific resources or restrictions. The question is well-grounded by the strong correlation between lifestyles and socio-demographic issues (e.g. age) as well as by theoretical considerations about the resource dependence of lifestyles.

Secondly, mobility research still focuses mainly on modal choice. Further aspects like realised distances, activity participation or time structure of activities are neglected. Nevertheless, these aspects remain important from an analytical as well as from an applied point of view with respect to sustainable transport planning: For instance, the realised distances are connected to the consumption of resources and to the emissions of transport. Opportunities to participate in activities are highly relevant for older or mobility-restricted people (KASPER/SCHEINER 2002).

3.2 Lifestyles and choice of housing location

Realising a lifestyle puts individuals in a context to their spatial environment. It might be in a direct context, when activities rely on 'scenes', like discos, pubs, sport facilities or other meeting points (SCHULZE 1992:459ff). However, domestic lifestyles as well as 'non-spatial' lifestyles (e.g. media-oriented, netsurfing) also imply a 'statement' on space. It may indicate 'just' a concentration on the private sphere or a focus on global contacts where individuals "just don't dissolve in the internet and live on in cyberspace" because of their material existence (RHODE-JÜCHTERN 1998:7).

Concerning the internal infrastructure of the house, the neighbourhood and the housing location, these differentiated designs of daily life are a challenge (e.g. KLEE 2001:162ff): While some need shopping malls, sport facilities and an entertainment district close to his home, for the other ones, internet access and delivery services are suitable. Most recently, these phenomena are discussed in connection with lifestyles and choice of housing location.

Within sociology, this discussion emerged from segregation research. The pluralisation of lifestyles is associated with young urban elites (Yuppies, Dinks etc.) with economically and

culturally dominating lifestyles, who cover urban space symbolically and functionally and who displace other groups of population by invading new neighbourhoods (Gentrification). In contrast, other groups like older people are excluded from lifestyle research (e.g. SPELLERBERG 1996, KLEE 2001), despite of their high differentiation (see SCHEINER 2001b). DANGSCHAT (1996:113) concludes that the idea of social de-structuration and pluralisation of lifestyles just describes one part of society – "the sunny side of modernisation winners"(see p. 127) -, because freedom from structural constraints isn't true for everybody (see FRIEDRICHS and BLASIUS 2000).

Housing location as spatial distribution of social groups has to be distinguished from housing mobility as an indicator for the development of housing biographies and housing location. The housing unit (type, size, standard) is the linking variable, since the unequal spatial distribution of housing types influences the choice of housing location. So far, SCHNEIDER and SPELLERBERG (1999) have presented the most systematic analysis of the context of housing needs, housing mobility and lifestyles. They state, that the lifestyles still differ significantly between urban and rural environment – though urban lifestyles were established since the 1960s in rural environment, along with the economic and structural change (decline of agricultural sector), with sub- and exurbanisation, mass-motorization and mass media. Spatial differentiation is also "visible" within cities (see KLEE 2001 for Nuremberg, WULFHORST, BECKMANN, HUNECKE and HEINZE 2000 for Cologne). Beside the locations, the extend of housing mobility differs significantly between the lifestyles (SCHNEIDER and SPELLERBERG 1999:229ff).

After a critical view on space related lifestyle research, two points have to be kept in mind: In general, the general focus lies on high-density centres of urban areas. Extremely differentiated lifestyles are expected to concentrate there because of socio-cultural heterogeneity and economic polarisation (BLASIUS and DANGSCHAT 1994). This narrow perspective is fatal for the case that lifestyle research claims to be universally valid (e.g. SCHULZE 1992). It would favour the high variety of styles, even if new studies show a tendency of levelling the social urban-rural-gap and a diminishing tendency of segregation by suburbanisation (KREIBICH 2000). Moreover, lifestyles are normally regarded as independent. Their relative explanatory value in comparison to social structures remains unanswered (see also section 3.1).

3.3 Choice of housing location and daily mobility

Choice of housing location and daily mobility are not only two dependent variables for the investigation of lifestyles, they are connected to each other. This connection is not analysed adequately by now, although it was discussed already in the seventies in Anglo-American urban research (CHAPIN 1974), and sporadically in German social-geography (TROXLER 1986). Only recently, the connection between choice of housing location and daily mobility is (re-)cognized and put in use for applied urban planning. GEIER, HOLZ-RAU and KRAFFT-NEUHÄUSER (2000) compare the spatial orientation of the old-established population and newcomers in suburban Berlin. They find that the 'neo-suburbanites' maintain their orientation towards the central city on the medium-term, resulting in relatively high daily distances. This is valid for the commute as well as for supply and leisure trips. SCHEINER (2002) analyses in Berlin notable differences in spatial orientation in relation to spatial origin: While people from West-Berlin have their destinations mainly it the western part of the city, it is – in the same residential area – the opposite result in East-Berlin. Changes in travel behaviour as a consequence of the relocation of the residence to suburban areas – like the increase of realised distances or the purchase of a second car in a household – are stated by several authors. But on the other hand, the first car in a household is already the *precondition* for moving to the suburbs, because nearly all of these households are motorised (HERFERT 1997). According to this, there is no clear direction of effect between choice of housing location and travel behaviour. Instead, extensive mutual influences have to be expected between short- and long-term mobility. These are symbolically marked by the symbiosis of car and suburbanisation. Households without a car might choose their housing location much more in dependence of the availability of public transport and supply of infrastructure on a small-scale level than households with car – who are able to choose their housing location in a broader range.

Not only relocation of housing, but also maintenance of housing locations has impact on travel behaviour, depending on the change of activity space. KALTER (1994) analyses the context of migration and commuting. His results show an increasing percentage of long-distance commuting (1985 to 1997 from 2,6% to 6,6%, VOGT et al. 2001:560) and a tendency of maintaining the housing location. He concludes that commuting replaces moving increasingly. For a part of the commuters, commuting is the 'precursor' of moving or a short-term solution

until a change of job occurs, but for 46% of the long-distance commuters the housing-job-combination remains stable for at least 10 years (KALTER 1994:465).

Despite the increasing interest of mobility research in the connections between choice of housing location and travel behaviour, many important questions remain unanswered. Especially the subjective rational behind location and travel decisions remains open as well as the effects of migration in its spatial differentiation (between different spatial types, small- and large scale and so forth). One of the reasons is, that the analysis of changes in everyday behaviour because of one significant event (relocation) is difficult to carry out (e.g. ex ante and ex post analysis). Currently, the project 'Mobiplan' tackles this topic (BECKMANN 2001).

4 Integration

Picture 1 tries to integrate the discussed interdependencies into a research concept. The focus lies on the choice of housing location and daily mobility as well as the mutual context and the relation to social structures. Decisions on mobility behaviour are reached within the context of certain space-time structures. These do not determine human activities (particularly with respect to the opportunity of choice emerging from spatial mobility). Rather they have to be understood as resources with dynamic and permeable character. Space-time-structures are macrostructures that consist of global and national spatial and time regulations (e.g. spatial division of labour, regional planning policy of the EU, high-speed transport infrastructure) as well as settlement structures and time-regimes on the scale of cities and neighbourhoods like land use, quality of life in local communities, small-scale time-regimes (e.g. opening hours, time agreements), situation in the urban context and so forth. Interpretations have to be made with regard to economic, social, political and technical frame conditions (e.g. real estate market, fiscal

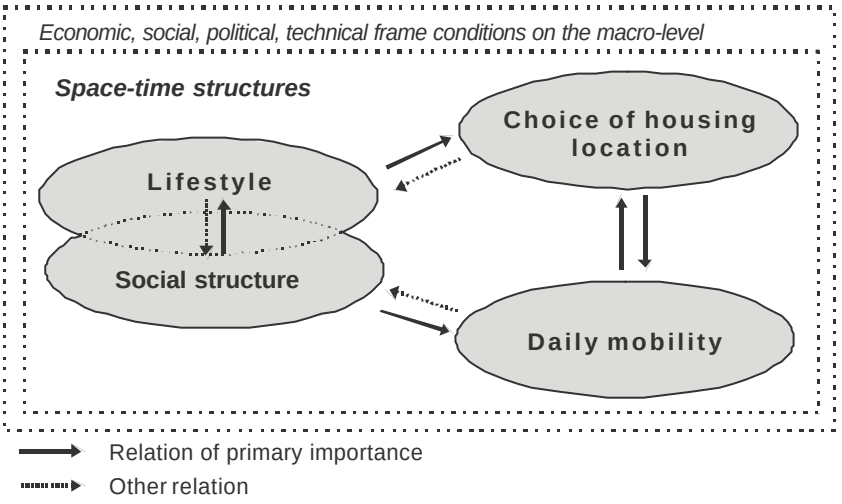

Fig. 1: Structure of the research concept
Design: Scheiner. Similar to Hesse/Trostorff (2002)

housing grants, mobility-related taxes). Neither lifestyles nor mobility can be separated from macro-structural frameworks.

Social structures and social positions on the one side, and lifestyles on the other side, have to be seen connected to each other, though lifestyles have a stronger dependence on social status than the opposite way round. In this context the term of 'lifestyle' has to be seen slightly differently than in sociology. In addition to aesthetic schemes and consumption patterns, household types with their specific time-management and professional biographies, with the availability of means of transport as well as information- and communication-technologies are necessary to realise mobility. Thus, 'chosen' lifestyles are affected by structural frame conditions that might restrict or open further options.

Lifestyles partly depend on social positions, even if a backlash of the lifestyle on the social position has to be expected. Generally, individual time- and financial budgets, household type or professional position are modifiable. However, firstly, some characteristics are unchangeable (gender, age). Secondly, the opportunities to change the frame conditions are unequally distributed.

Hence, lifestyles as *exclusive* explanation patterns for mobility research are not adequate. The value of the concept of lifestyles for mobility research lies primarily in the differentiation and supplement of social structures, the consideration of subjective patterns of explanation, aims of activity, value orientation, preferences and (sub-) cultural affiliation. Because neither spatial nor social structures are able to steer (mobility-) behaviour, lifestyle research can establish differentiated explications of target groups in contrast to current explanation patterns on the basis of socio-economic and demographic factors.

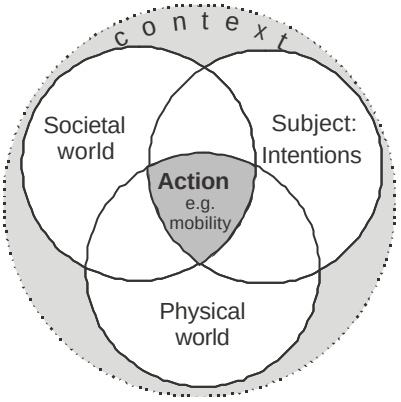

Fig. 2: Context of Acting
Design: Scheiner

On the one hand, realised mobility is the expression of social behaviour and results from aims and individual values. On the other hand, realised mobility is embedded in a social and spatial context (picture 2). Just in the confrontation with this context the leeway emerges that makes mobility behaviour possible. However, this leeway is individually changeable (f.i. by means of

mobility!). Therefore it is important to note that the contexts, the conditions of behaviour – even if they are not chosen by the individual himself – are not *causes* for behaviour.

As already stated, the basic thesis is, that different lifestyle groups are characterised by specific forms of mobility. Thus, methodically choice of housing location as well as daily mobility are seen as dependent variables. Housing mobility could be analysed regarding the extent of mobility or extent of persistency (occupancy, number of relocations in a specific time, distances), and regarding choice of location. The reasons for housing mobility are relevant as well, since they correspond with spatial patterns. Whereas local and regional mobility relates to dissatisfaction concerning housing situation or personal reasons (birth of a child, marriage), long-distance mobility is dominated by change of job (see for Frankfurt am Main DOBROSCHKE 1999).

Central aspects of daily mobility are type, quantity and timing of activities, choice of destinations and spatial orientation (activity spaces), realised distances and modal choice.

An analysis of these aspects exceeds current studies concerning lifestyle specific travel behaviour with the focus on modal choice. Choice of housing location and daily mobility are regarded as interwoven, with a priority of the impact of housing mobility on daily mobility: Housing mobility is a long-term decision that dominates daily mobility and sort of intervenes in between lifestyle and daily mobility. Undoubted is the influence of certain forms of daily mobility on the choice of housing location. Not only the choice of transport modes remains relatively stable, but also daily spatial orientations (working place, social network, leisure time).

Consequently, spatial mobility has to be seen as a process of subsequent long- and short-term choices. To analyse the coherence methodically, this process can be dissolved in single steps. For daily mobility, data can be collected for two points of time – before and after the relocation. Consequently, changes can be interpreted – considering other factors – as an impact of relocation. Inversely, the relevance of single aspects of daily mobility (e.g. important activities, distance to activity spaces, availability of a car) for the choice of location can be investigated. Subjectively relevant aspects can be interpreted as influences on the choice of location.

Finally, what is the revenue of this approach? In conclusion, the following arguments have to be analysed empirically.

- To explain spatial mobility, the model of lifestyles is more suitable than concepts built on socio-economic, demographic or spatial differentiation.
- Lifestyles partly depend on social positions, so they don't replace this classical tool of explanation. Rather they complement and differentiate this concept.
- Housing mobility – especially choice of housing location – and daily mobility are mutually intertwined. To analyse reasons and effects, a clear separation of both schemes is necessary. Special attention lies on the impact of choice of housing location on daily mobility.
- The use of information and communication technology is linked with the physical daily mobility as well as with housing mobility. This context has to be concretised with empirical results. Especially the potential reduction of travel demand or induction of traffic in consequence of the use of information and communication technology has to be examined.

5 Transfer of the concept to the planning context

A central question in applied research is, how built environments will meet the new demands resulting from less predictable ways of life, pluralisation of lifestyles and the differentiation of socio-spatial concentrations of lifestyles. Increasing resistance against the development of major projects or area-wide rehabilitation of urban neighbourhoods in the eighties resulted in comprehensive or participatory planning methods. Despite the tendencies of globalisation and large scale development, these approaches remain valid, especially on the neighbourhood level where most of the lifestyles are localised and where they find their surface of projection. Moreover, neighbourhoods are the spatial context, where specific lifestyles might create communities („milieus"). Therefore, the spatial point of reference in the research project 'StadtLeben' is the level of neighbourhoods.

5.1 Spatial reference

As the spatial context for the research project, three neighbourhoods in the City of Cologne, Germany, had to meet certain criteria. The neighbourhoods had to differ clearly from each other, but at the same time each had to be a typical example for one kind of neighbourhood. The differences lie in the

- spatial distance to the centre of the city and the availability of public transport (accessibility),
- dominating social structure (age, size of household, income),
- dynamic of development (concerning urban development as well as housing mobility),
- and deficits (built environment, social and spatial mobility).

The neighbourhoods are:

- Ehrenfeld, an inner-city sub centre („Wilhelminian Style“), built by the end of the 19th century,
- Stammheim, a settlement in the first peripheral ring („modern functionalism”) with flats in three- or four-story row houses, built in the sixties, and
- Esch, a suburb with its origin as a rural village (“suburbia”), that expanded since the fifties constantly with single-family row houses or (semi-) detached single occupancy houses.

5.2 Empirical research

To examine and define the lifestyles in these three neighbourhoods, several empirical methods are used: A standardised survey with 180 face-to-face interviews in each neighbourhood examines topics like choice of housing location, housing satisfaction, travel behaviour, life-styles, social networks, information and communication technology, behaviour settings in the neighbourhood, availability of means of travel, socio-demographic information. For a thorough understanding, qualitative research methods are added, like face-to-face interviews in each neighbourhood with residents and with experts. ‘Experts’ are individuals who work in the neighbourhood with or for a specific group of residents and who know the community, the problems and the dynamic very well because of their professional responsibility (e.g. pastor, local mayor (alderman), owner of the grocery, school director, police officer, principal of a youth club, executive of the housing corporation). The experts are interviewed about the same topics (choice of housing location and so forth) and in addition they are asked about their professional relationship to the neighbourhood and professional networks. In general, the aim of these interviews is to understand the common and the subjective signification of attitudes

and settings in the neighbourhood. Since these experts are counselors for people, who are not participating in regular planning processes, their judgement and point of view needs to be interpreted to understand the perspectives dominating daily mobility and lifestyles. Concerning potentials for the neighbourhoods, the interviews focus on the different lifestyles or communities, that exist side by side in the neighbourhood or that oppose each other. It is a matter of different interest in the neighbourhood that result in social and spatial potentials, in the desire for changes or in strategies of arrangement with the given structure.

5.3 Results in the neighbourhoods

Ehrenfeld is a neighbourhood that follows the rule "live and let live". Different ethnic and social groups live side by side in a functional and structural divers setting. Concerning choice of working location, the motivations of the experts differ widely, but all of them claim that this variety of different population groups makes life and work in Ehrenfeld appealing. As a result, this connectedness is an important purpose to work in and for the neighbourhood (the same is true for Esch). In contrast, Stammheim is seen as a "different" place to work. Here work in or for the neighbourhood is seen as a "challenge". Stammheim has to deal with stigmatisation and a missing positive identity and this is the motivation for the commitment: Helping to fight stigmatisation and disadvantages.

Stammheim is characterised by a stronger separation of different groups of population. Built up in a few months in the year 1963, next to the former village of Stammheim, the lifestyles in the neighbourhood differ extremely: "Native" people from Old-Stammheim, the first inhabitants of New-Stammheim (who turned from families to senior households by now) and the different waves of immigrants that were placed in the public housing units throughout the city of Cologne. Without respect to the different ethnic or cultural background the existing and arriving inhabitants had neither a choice of housing location on the large- nor on the small-scale. One interpretation of the experts is, that because of lack of choice, it was difficult to approach each other and it created (besides social and economic problems) internal conflicts and an explicit stigmatisation. Experts describe it as exaggeration and they try to support the image, that Stammheim still is "a pretty normal neighbourhood". Conflicts didn't occur in that intensity in Ehrenfeld and they didn't occur at all in Esch, because of the exclusivity of the neighbourhood.

In Esch, all the experts explain, that the neighbourhood still is close to "the ideal world", even if some disturbances occur. It is an atmosphere of exclusivity and distance to urbanity, without privation from the amenities of the city. The commitment is a result of a strong feeling to contribute at least to a part to the community and to benefit from mutual support. Compared to the other two neighbourhoods, in Esch exists a strong orientation towards uniformity of lifestyles and the motivation to result in a community.

5.4 Next steps

Comparable interpretations of lifestyles, neighbourhoods, communities and spatial mobility will be concluded and integrated in planning designs concerning housing and mobility. These designs will serve as a bridge between basic research and applied urban planning. As first impressions show, it is important to think of "design" not only in a two-dimensional way. Planning strategies in this context are thinkable as spatial, organisational, structural or even political designs.

However, the experts of the neighbourhoods will play another important role when it comes to a workshop that will be organised. The designs will be discussed, tested and proposed for realisation. It will depend on the responsibility of the neighbourhood whether new patterns of community or accessibility will be developed.

6 Outlook

The development of spatial mobility in connection with individualisation and pluralisation of lifestyles is increasingly resistant to regulation by planning. This phenomena is visible in the growing dispersion in the spatial development, that opposes land use policy and regional planning programs and in the remote success of supply oriented transport planning. Under-developed is especially the perception of spatial mobility as a long-term process, consisting of choices of housing location and daily activities.

Concerning the initial research question for the context of lifestyles, choice of housing location and daily mobility, the presented research concept wants to contribute results to the connection of (mobility-) behaviour, social structure and spatial structure.

With this approach the analytical output is expected to be higher, because the general development of this era is the definition of a mobility oriented society (URRY 2000). Additionally, in the light of a more sustainable development of mobility and spatial structures it is necessary to acknowledge this approach, since mobility research and transport planning shouldn't persist on the assumption of a more or less causally determined relation of space and mobility.

For urban planning the consequence lies in the challenge to combine the differentiation of lifestyles with traditional assignments. Despite of extensive prognoses of the increasing use of information and communication services, the neighbourhood remains a focus point of human life and the background for lifestyles. It is even more challenging to support the needs in a greater variety, while the design and organisation of the local environment as well as choice of housing location have major impact on daily mobility.

Following the assumption that spatial behaviour is dissolving increasingly from (infra-) structural frame conditions, the consequence is, that planning also has to disengage from the pure determination of (infra-)structural frame conditions.

This would imply the opportunity to develop a broader concept of planning that includes a more individualised, demand oriented scheme with a broad array of organisational, infrastructural, constructive, legal, financial and informative measures, so that the designation 'integrated planning' would be justified.

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