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# Industrial forever? Narratives, place identity, and the development path of the city of Zeitz, Germany

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## Abstract

*There is a growing interest in understanding development processes and opportunities in small and medium-sized towns that so far did not attract much attention in mainstream urban theory. Conventional growth-oriented approaches fail to capture the complexity of local development and policy-making processes because they prioritise production factors and understate the role of discourse and place-based identity. This paper aims to explore the linkages between narratives, place identity, and local development. As local actors try to make sense of a place's past and future, they select, contribute to, and mobilise various local narratives. Multiple narratives feed into and are part of a place's identity that defines a frame for possible development options. The paper uses the case of Zeitz in Saxony-Anhalt (Germany) to analyse the evolution of local development narratives from the 1970s until today. The paper concludes that: i) narrative-making is not a linear process; narratives, spatial imaginaries and local identity are complex, dynamic, and interconnected with each other; ii) local narratives help to construct a coherent imaginary of a place and are mutually intertwined with local development and policies; and iii) local narratives are interdependent with external events and strategies requiring a multiscalar relational perspective on local development processes.*

**Key words:** narrative; place identity; past; coal mining; small town; local development, Germany

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## 1. Introduction

There is a growing interest in expanding the current understanding of the urban via engaging with a variety of geographical scales, histories, and types of urban settlements, and encouraging dialogues between various world regions. Leading theorists have argued for a long time that the “paradigmatic city” approach has limitations (Jacobs 2012, p. 908), suggesting that urban theory must be “provincialized” in order to “address a much wider range of modes of urbanism” (Parnell and Robinson, 2012, p. 600), and that “cities have to be theorised as open, embedded and relational” (Ward, 2010, p. 481).

While the focus of current debates has been shifting beyond large cities and western domains (Bell and Jayne, 2006; Brenner and Schmid, 2014; Bryson et al. 2021; Hamdouch et al., 2017), there is a need and scope for a more nuanced understanding of development processes in smaller, peripheral, and disadvantaged places (Carter, 2016; Servillo et al., 2017). The complex dynamic of urban development “under the conditions of deindustrialisation and (sometimes) subsequent regeneration” (Bell and Jayne, 2009, p. 693)

deserves more research attention, especially about understanding the role of non-economic factors, such as local identity. Research should “delve into the spatial and historical contexts in which economic [and political] change has unfolded and economic [and political] agents have made key decisions” (Martin and Sunley, 2022, p. 12). This paper responds to these calls by exploring the role of local identity and local narratives about a place's development in forming a specific development path.

Old-industrial places and particularly those strongly connected to mining activities often have experienced economic and demographic decline as a result of changes in global production patterns and technology. After mining has lost its relevance, such places often find themselves in a precarious economic and social position (Wirth et al., 2012). Finding new economic roles poses a formidable challenge because of the structural conditions and various lock-ins, including structural, institutional, and cognitive factors (Grabher, 1993; Hassink, 2010). Intertwined processes of economic restructuring, demographic change, disinvestment, and the collapse of social fabric often result in a very

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# Narratives Of Identity And Place

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