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1. Introduction

REFLECTIONS BETWEEN URBAN AND UNIVERSITY STRUCTURES AND PLANNING

Klaus Dietz and Gerhard O. Braun
Free University of Berlin, Germany

Honoured conference participants
Honoured chairpersons
Honoured colleagues and students
Honoured representatives of the press

It is our great pleasure to greet you as guests of the Free University of Berlin and of the Institute for Geographical Sciences.

We are satisfied, based on the financial support of the German Research Foundation (DFG), the Senate Administration for Science and Research and the Academic Office for External Affairs of the Free University, that the formal conditions, necessary to bring together in this conference more than 80 scientists from more than 45 countries, have been fulfilled. This foundation will enable you to discharge the tasks to which you have bound yourselves in the course of your commission's work. It is an honour for the University and for the Institute to be able to organise the conference.

With the quotation from Theodor FONTANE "I do not myself do well in life, I lack a sense of social spice" in a commentary on the Rector's opening of the Berlin University in 1948, a stone was loosened from the university landscape which was itself changing. This led to the founding of the Free University in the same year. This event was to have a lasting effect on the structure of the city. It was during the Berlin blockade and marked a time of great economic and social distress, of internal re-orientation, and political confrontation. Perhaps it was a time which was not really appropriate for founding a university. Or, as we hope you will concede at the end of our remarks, it was a time that was exactly right because of the long-term effects that the foundation of the Free University was to have.

In its demands for freedom in research and teaching, and independence from the pervading power of the State, the founding of the university aimed at a social condition well above the widespread poverty and near economic collapse of the time. The university's foundation, carried through by the students and supported by the American military government, initiated two aspects of the university as well as for German society, which have remained characteristic of Berlin:

- the readiness to offer support (shown, in the case of the founding of the FU, by Berliners, emigrants, international help and the Ford-Foundation) and
- the readiness to accept innovation (brought about by both the structure of the university's constitution and by the achievements of its researchers).

The relationship between political-social-ecological responsibility and the allocation of scientific responsibility seldom produces a balance. More often the tensions between these areas of responsibility produces swings between extreme positions - moreover, this was particularly the case in the political arena. This environment of uncertainty bred a climate of constant re-structuring which could only continue as the growth of democracy triumphed over dictatorship. Thus, it was from the university's high ideals - born in a difficult economic and social situation - that the almost obvious varied structures for the municipal organisation of Berlin were derived and developed further so that a close interdependent relationship was created between the city and its university.

In the first term after its foundation, 2140 students had matriculated in three faculties of the new "free" and "substitute" university. The first Rector called on these students and professors not to engage in competition against the Berlin University (today the Humboldt University) but to compete with each other, a situation chance which at that time, and is the case today, did not properly present itself.

In the following years the university quickly diversified, creating additional faculties (twenty-four in all) and six central institutes offering about a hundred academic disciplines. Prior to the building of the Berlin wall about one third of the students came from the eastern part of the city. After 1961, about two thirds came from outside Berlin. The evolving character of the university as a center of progressive thought facilitated great spatial and intellectual mobility on the part of its students and faculty. These traits help to explain the attractiveness of both the university and the city to the present day.

The rapid growth of the Freie Universität in an already built-up area meant that locational cohesion was lost. Despite the university's effort to concentrate its development at a few planned locations, the institutes are spread out over the whole S-W sector of the city. Moreover, there are branches strewn in other parts of the city as well. Libraries, living quarters and student services are quite often far away from these related institutes. For many students and the academic administration, a logistical problem has been created which has led both to friction and imaginative solutions.

Thus the locational problems of the Freie Universität have their parallels with the spatial city-structure of Berlin. This is indicated by the almost hierarchy-less

polycentric structure which was inherited when the formerly independent local authorities were first incorporated in 1920. The potential of the market locations were however diminished lagging synergy-effect because of missing suitable infrastructural network.

The current problems of the university are especially affected by both the substantial financial cuts and the negative effects of being a mass-university. These problems have led to a fundamental necessity for the creation of a new image, the sphere of resolution of which must be defined through research performance and political discussion. Based on the aims of your commission's work it is apparent that you address many similar problems. The three principal topics of discussion selected by your commission: "Restructuring", "Management, and Marketing" as well as your interest in "the informal economy" have parallels in the organisation and structure of the Free University.

Allow us a few explanatory comments on this theme in the hope that we may both stimulate solutions to your questions and be able to adapt your results to our tasks.

1. First, the process of restructuring the system of land settlement from a strictly hierarchical organisation to one which is network-like, is one which affects the universities. The smaller universities which lie outside large cities currently enjoy development advantages which stem partly from their current geographical location and partly from the movement away from hierarchies in the distribution of universities. It seems to be easier to develop new locations than to reconstruct old ones.

Added to this come the structural effects of the central allocation of the limited admission to university places, the formerly valid reasoning for which justified the allowing of expansion where the greatest demand existed, or at least to the tolerating of it, as well as the pressure for an urbane lifestyle and the free selection of a place to study.

Fulfilling its role, the Free University grew into one of the largest German universities. Its budget, however, could only be produced while the political function could be coupled to do so. The structural effects of this growth were above all

- the separate development of the contents of teaching and research,
- an adverse development in the relationship of care between lecturers and students,
- the proportion of student over-loading,
- the development of deficiencies in the teaching and research infrastructure,
- over-lengthy average lengths of study (with in the whole negative influence on the ability to study),
- very rapid growth in the sphere of administration, and

- an increase in intervention by the state, together with a growing inflexibility towards innovation; the opportunity for implementing innovative developments was made difficult because of the mass-effect.

Because of the hierarchical organisation of the university's administration, the problems moved downwards through the structure. Thereby, larger subjects in a university such as German, Economics and Law were as affected as smaller subjects. Some of the smaller subjects lost their earlier purpose because earlier conditions for study, as escape refuges, had changed. The Freie Universität shared this fate with other large universities which, having reached a state of diseconomies of scale, had to accept an ossification of its structure just as the city as a whole did. Both were affected by the strain imposed by long, forced, unrestricted economic and political growth which accumulated without a qualitative balance and without the opportunity to exercise influence over it.

To counter this situation, the smaller universities developed outside the large conglomerations knowing full well the quality of easier locational factors for current economic and social forces, as well as the advantages from economies of scope. This development was only possible through the building of a complete non-hierarchical spatial and structural network for information carriers and innovators. Scientists no longer needed to go to seek information because the information comes to the scientist. The infrastructural development advantages of the "Big ones" are thus reduced; however, their massive structures remain.

It is, however, more than a mere suburbanisation of science and research that has occurred. There has developed a new standard of university environment that corresponds more to current conditions; e.g., the current conditions established by the synergetic effect of university research and training with economics and society.

University planning is eagerly going to see which solutions are suggested for the current urban development problems caused by the old influences on modern growth through the current processes of destructuring and de-concentration.

One development path that has appeared clearly is the new creation of hierarchies on a global scale. This pattern, however, may not indicate a direction for all former growth poles.

2. Your second principal topic certainly calls for wider management and marketing strategies which are in equal measure meaningful for cities as for universities. Even if the products of universities can be described as research and training, the universities in their entirety, and just like the cities, are a long way from being products that can be traded exclusively as monetary wares dealt in specifically organised markets. Included here is not only research which is directly applicable economically or socially, but, above all, research which requires time to convert its

potential, basic research into the long-term cultural value out of which the stuff of social, political and organisational regeneration may be extracted.

In this context, please allow us to touch on two things which in my view will be significant in the future structures; namely, the management of invention within the university and the protection of university image. The Freie Universität has at present, and more than any of the other universities, to suffer the pressure of past mass growth and current budget control. In shorter and shorter periods new adaptations and strategies aimed at reducing these problems have been encouraged. Nevertheless, conditions which, when applied to the aims of a university, were ever more illogical continue to appear. The solutions to such conflicts are no longer to be found in the usual rational thinking but need expansive thinking which is separated from the logic of the short term objective. That means solutions which are to be found not in linear thinking but in self-created dynamics or the state of Autopoiesis. Thus, to make future structures self-aware, a new creativity is necessary, a creativity for which, as yet, no awareness exists.

In the sphere of product economics it is the case that those products on the market which are especially successful were not invented because the market demanded them - but before the demand for them arose. Nearly all current economic and social structures are frustrated in their attempt to cope with the demand for solutions to their structural problems. Such solutions must be appropriate to autopoietic conditions. Exceptions to this argument are the merely basic products and non-proprietary bulk goods to which neither universities nor municipal functions should be compared, if they wish to remain capable of surviving.

Autopoiesis demands invention, "as-if-realities". It demands new programmes which are de-coupled from traditional logic and linear thought structures, there must be freedom for illogical thinking, surprise, and the making possible of the virtual and the untrue. The task of the university is to organise itself in such a way as to create a situation which allows processes of thought beyond the limits of what has hitherto been usual, logical or true. It is necessary to go beyond what can be easily corroborated and nevertheless guarantee certainty for those who think in terms of future inventiveness.

That means that the management and marketing functions of the universities, as well as of municipal authorities must free themselves from the burden of offering only bulk products for the market place. The traditional duties of the universities should be handed over to the colleges, just as the cities must release certain decisions to their substructures on their spacious outskirts. Universities, equally, are not appropriate locations for "knowledge-shops", just as cities are not appropriate locations for supermarkets. The sites are too valuable. Universities and central cities should produce innovation, synergies and creative variety. Certainly, such a "culture of enterprise" demands its price from management when a High-Trust-Culture is

introduced. Only when conditions - like planning certainty, more individual freedom in more general safety, and freedom from individual risk - raise the assumption of the possibility of identifying with work and produce such an identification, it is currently possible to develop creativity and the willingness to take risks in order to develop the structures, which will be needed tomorrow and which cannot easily be taken into account today.

Consequently, expansive thinking depends decisively on a culture of enterprise and entrepreneurship.

Although, we are a long way from being able to offer such solutions for future university structures, useful working hypotheses can be identified in two different dimensions. One concerns itself with producing a dissolution of the mass-effect structures. This means in increasing measure not attracting students to the universities but, rather, to promote knowledge where students are involved in the Latin sense (i.e. those who strive for engagement and erudition). The second hypothesis takes into account the fact that people prefer to work where there are others with similar tasks and needs. Arising from this situation, specialisation and originality are essential prerequisites so that commissions can be accepted and solutions for tomorrow's problems thought through.

Transferred to municipal problems, the argument just presented means that cities can only be innovative with respect to growth and development when they are ready to de-centralise and take on highly specialised functions. Thus, the city of tomorrow could more closely correspond to the pre-industrial time than to trends in current metropolisation.

3. Your third principal topic is concerned with the informal economic sector. There are also demonstrable and substantial connections with university structures in this area. Although the term "Informal economy" is derived from less developed economies and from a planning point of view may be seen as a possibility for dealing with poverty, it must be made clear that this form of economy has achieved a growing importance in developed economies as well. Let us try to demonstrate this on the basis of two examples: the student labour market and "science at almost no cost". The Free University has over 60 000 students, about 4000 academics and 12 000 non-academic workers together with the structures of a large business (budget 1993: DM 1.3 billion).

Even if the students take their responsibilities seriously in accordance with college law almost all of them are more or less regularly employed up to half-days. Even with higher unemployment, regular workers for part-jobs are increasingly difficult to find. Thus, students as "corner workers" (who in general work for minimal wages and live in the residual housing market) are valued in the general economy for their qualifications and in the meantime have become economically necessary.

Discussion about studying for over-lengthy periods would profit from considering the impact on student behaviour of the multiple forms of employment.

The second example deals with "research at no cost". Most university institutes produce research the conversion of which to income only indirectly benefits the university or the researchers.

A university budget based at least partially on interest payments would be easy to manage, and could provide the capital for research for the national economy. Recalling the comments made above, this would, however, also mean that universities must become predominantly places of research and places for negotiating for research. This in turn, could only be achieved by securing the necessary certainty of planning. The political and academic management belonging thereto must be developed into invention-management for this purpose.

The suggestions we have made in these remarks should be accepted in the sense set out above; namely, to procure "illogical" processes of thinking. They should emphasize that the solutions offered by your varied discussions have complex parallels in other contexts.

We wish the conference creative power, to be able, in the sense of PRIGOGINE, to discover new routes leading into a new open existence.

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BERLIN - METROPOLIS IN TRANSITION: THE STATE OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN 1994

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After the rapid end of its geopolitical constraints, Berlin - with its region - is experiencing far-reaching changes in spatial processes. Set to become Germany's centre of political decision-making again, the city is reappearing as a metropolis of European importance. An urban fabric which was conserved under special conditions is rapidly changing, mainly in accordance with general principles of Western capitalist urban development. Berlin's specific situation regarding a number of development factors to be examined, however, has important implications for the direction of spatial evolution.

Key words: Berlin, Containment, Suburbanisation, Urban Sprawl, Deindustrialization, Capital City, Power, Knowledge

1. The end of the contained city

After 50 years of no or very little suburbanisation in both West and East Berlin, urban sprawl, and suburbanisation of all kinds of urban functions, is setting in again in the Berlin metropolitan region. Berlin is developing from an exceptional case of urban containment into a "normal" urban area.

The reasons for this specific conservation of urban containment are, of course, different in West and East Berlin: In West Berlin, the wall prevented urban expansion. Here, containment was not a planning vision, but a harsh geopolitical reality. Against tertiarization pressure, which, however, was still comparatively weak, housing and a rich functional mixture had to be preserved in the central areas, though decentralisation (especially of population) did occur within the city of West Berlin, with the development of large-scale housing schemes on the periphery.

In East Berlin, it was rather the central allocation of land use (and of building materials) that hindered urban sprawl on a large scale, and enabled functional variety in the core area to be retained. (There was, however, "suburbanization through the back garden", with a large part of the population spending the summer in allotment plots outside the city, as well as population decentralisation to large new housing estates on the urban fringe).

The vital questions of urban development in the Berlin metropolitan area in the 1990s are: In what way and how fast will the move of urban elements towards the urban fringe set in? How will this process of metropolitan expansion transform the functional structure of the metropolitan area, i.e. the reunited city of Berlin as the core and the „new“ or rediscovered suburban belt in the neighbouring state of Brandenburg (Figure 1)? In addition to this, the macro-spatial question concerns the

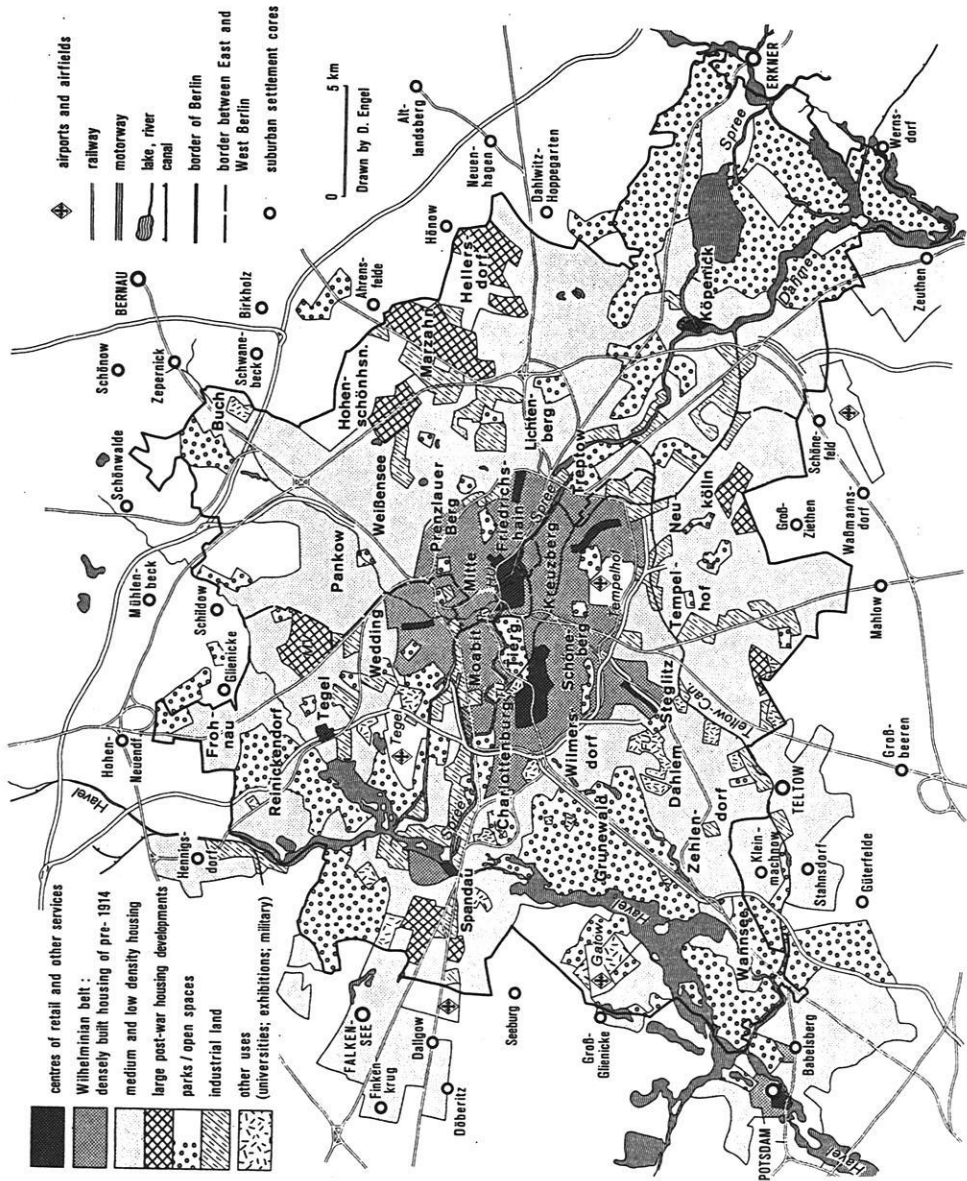
still very sparsely populated rural periphery of Brandenburg: Will it continue to be the origin of urbanisation flows, or will it gain from far-reaching suburbanisation or counterurbanisation?

Figure 1 Berlin und Brandenburg



In 1994, Berlin presents itself still as the compact city of the recent past, with its clear-cut urban edge in most parts, with two central business districts as focal points within the densely built-up pre-1914 housing belt (also including much small and medium scale industry and services), with medium and low density housing beyond and the large post-war housing developments as well as open spaces on the urban periphery (Figure 2). So far, in 1994, there are few signs of suburban development in the Brandenburg part of the metropolitan area. They can be seen above all in consumer services, haulage and warehousing and some manufacturing, but much less so in housing. In 1994, integration of the two Berlins and also of the rediscovered suburban space surrounding Berlin is mainly through commuter flows from East to West Berlin (118 000 in 1993, ca. 8% of the labour force employed in Berlin) and from Brandenburg to West Berlin (45 000). But planning for the development of commercial and housing estates is heavily under way. The sparsely populated rural parts of peripheral Brandenburg are losing out totally and preparing for further depopulation.

Figure 2 Berlin - General Structural Lay-out



2. Fundamental ingredients of metropolitan growth and their role in present-day Berlin

Six factors have been selected for discussion that will in any case play a key role in the development of Berlin and its region. In general, these determinants influence wealth creation, urban development and the ability to attract value added in metropolises.

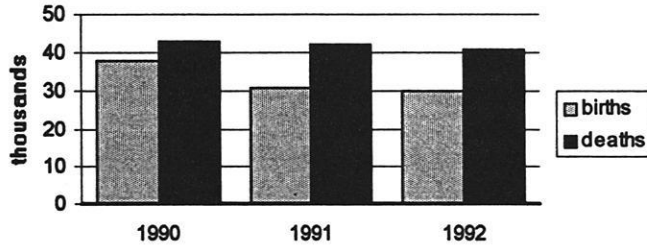
Size, in terms of population, stands for the size of the regional market, the purchasing power as well as the available human capital and general interaction potential of the urban area considered. Secondly, despite the relative growth of services, manufacturing still matters as a source of wealth and employment in urban areas; the future "service society" or "information society" will certainly not be "post-manufacturing". Thirdly, services are expanding in the shape of consumer services, shaping the role of a city as a central place in Christallerian terms. In addition, two kinds of information functions strongly determine the dynamics of urban areas: those of power and knowledge. Both have always been a major facet of urban growth. With the increasing importance of control and knowledge in the economy, where competitive advantages are above all sought in advantages in knowledge, their influence is still rising (LAMBOUY 1993). Finally, quality of life, in terms of housing, environmental quality, social, cultural and leisure facilities, is important, not only for elite personnel, but also as the foundation of the social urban fabric, minimizing social strain.

2.1 Size, in terms of population

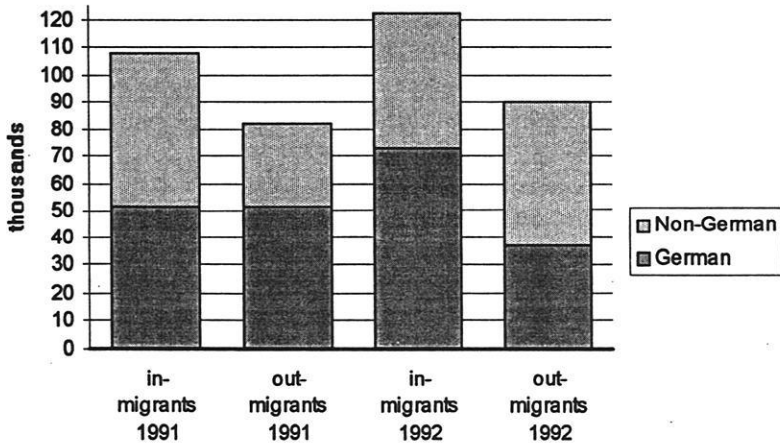
The city of Berlin has experienced slight population growth for a number of years, and has now a population of 3.472 million (1993), of which 2.174 are registered in West Berlin and 1.297 million in East Berlin. In recent years, this growth has been due to the fact that increases in the non-German population (mostly through in-migration, but also as a result of higher fertility of non-Germans) have been greater than losses in the German population, which have to be attributed to the number of deaths per annum exceeding the number of births (Figure 3). West Berlin experienced population decline from 1957 onwards until 1983, when a turnaround occurred, and in-migration of migrant workers from Southern Europe as well as Germans from the 'mainland', lured into Berlin by tax incentives and other subsidies, caused West Berlin's population figure to rise again. East Berlin had lost about 150 000 of its population between 1949 and 1961, mainly through out-migration to West Germany, which was consequently stopped by the wall. Since then population figures in East Berlin have shown a steady increase, in contrast to population losses in the whole of the GDR (Table 1).

Figure 3 Berlin: Population Change 1990-1992

Natural population change



Migration



Source Statistisches Landesamt Berlin

Table 1 Berlin: Population figures (1000s)

	West	East	total
1939	2751	1588	4339
1950	2147	1190	3337
1961	2197	1055	3252
1970	2122	1086	3208
1993	2170	1291	3461

Source Statistisches Jahrbuch Berlin, 1994

With the in-migration of migrant workers and their families, the share of non-Germans in the total Berlin population has risen continuously, and amounts to 10.7% in 1992. Most of the migrants still live in West Berlin, so here the percentage is 15.3 (which is still much less than in cities like Frankfurt or Stuttgart) as opposed to East Berlin's 3.4%. Just over one third (34.7%, June 1993) of the non-Germans are Turkish, 15.6% come from former Yugoslavia. Other important national minorities in Berlin are Polish, Greeks and Italians. The Turkish as well as the other non-German inhabitants of Berlin live predominantly in the old working class quarters of the pre-1914 Wilhelminian belt (Neukölln, Kreuzberg, Wedding, Schöneberg and Charlottenburg).

Thus, the mass in-migration, which many commentators expected after the fall of the wall, has not materialized. Neither have large numbers of Germans entered the city in a wave of 'catching-up' with urbanisation, nor have large numbers of people from Eastern Europe (both Germans and other nationalities) migrated to Berlin so far.

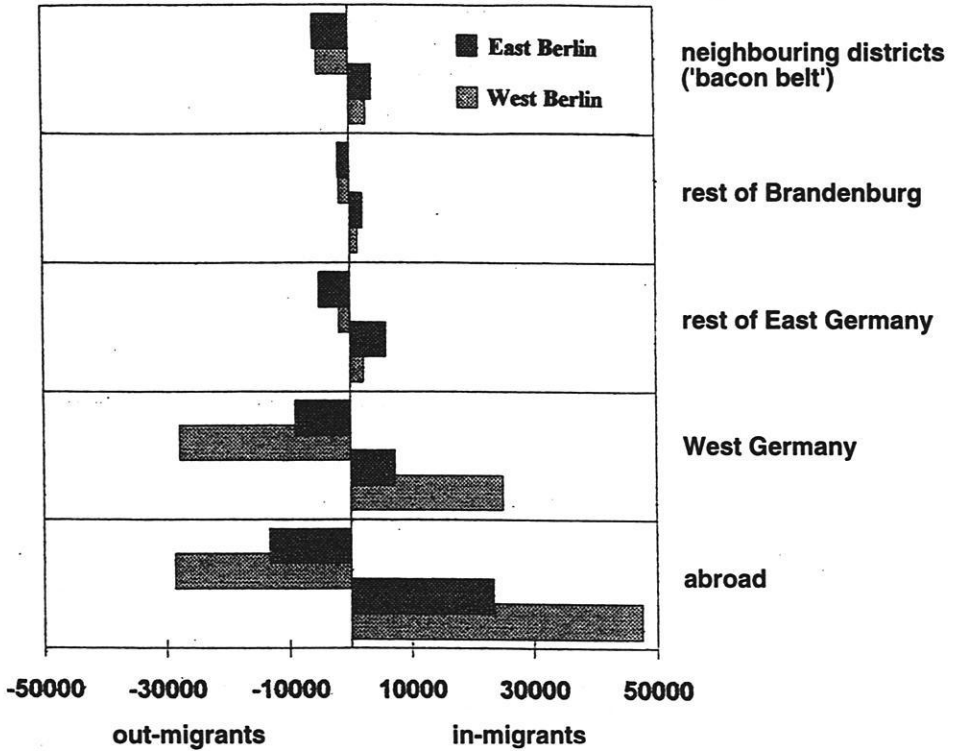
Neither has there been a great population increase in the surrounding districts of the federal state of Brandenburg, so far. For the period from 1989 to 1992, the districts neighbouring Berlin actually experienced population losses, mainly due to out-migration (to West Germany and to West Berlin!). Berlin was still in the process of urbanization. 1993 is the first year, when a centrifugal movement from Berlin towards the neighbouring Brandenburg districts has set in, though on a very small scale (Figure 4).

2.2 Manufacturing industry

Sheltered by specific mechanisms from national and international competition, both East and West Berlin were heavily over-industrialized. In East Berlin, this was due to economic strategies in the GDR relying predominantly on manufacturing industry. In West Berlin substantial subsidies for branch plants with very low qualification profile of the workforce (in textiles, food processing, consumer durable industries) were responsible for the over-industrialization during the division period. This is now

followed by a process of harsh deindustrialization in both halves of Berlin (Figure 5). In East Berlin, manufacturing employment has gone down from around 180 000 in 1989 to just over 40 000 in 1994. Noncompetitive plants were given no time to adapt, and the East German market was swamped by Western products. In West Berlin, subsidies have been cut severely. Here, manufacturing employment declined by 16%, falling from 172 000 (in 1990) to 144 000 (in 1994).

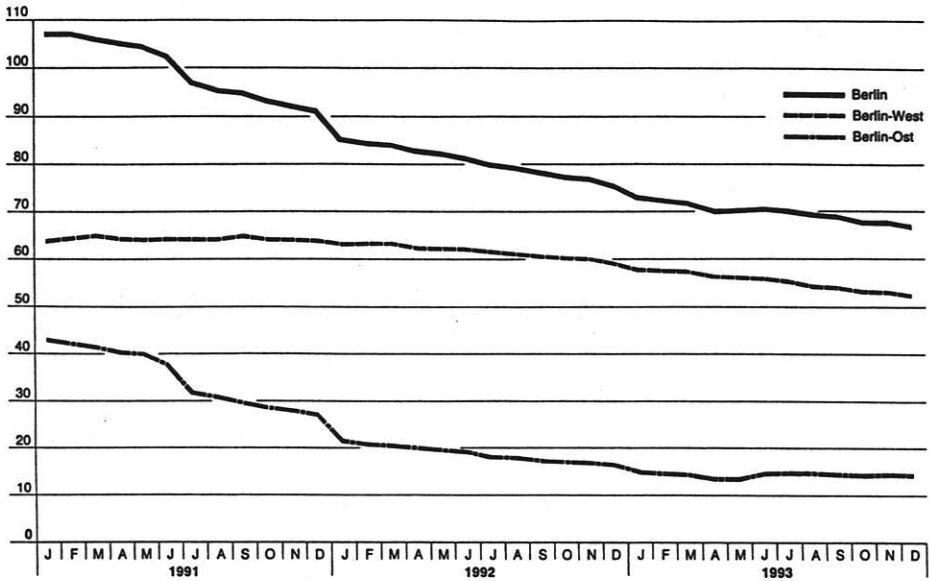
Figure 4 Migration from and to Berlin 1993 according to regions of origin and destination



Source Statistisches Jahrbuch Berlin, 1994

In July 1994 212 000 people were unemployed, 13% of the working population. Moreover, a similar number of people work in employment creation schemes paid by the labour office. Without these, the actual unemployment rate would amount to about 25%! Correspondingly, cases of derelict land - to be developed - are numerous. Amidst the dereliction, individual new plants stand out as modernisation islands, in the built-up area as well as on the metropolitan fringe.

Figure 5 Employment Change in Manufacturing Industry in Berlin 1991-1993



Berlin 1991 = 100

Source Statistisches Landesamt Berlin

2.3 Trade and central place function

Retail trade and other consumer services contribute considerably to the visual image of the city, and both halves of the city have well-developed hierarchies of retailing centres, though on different levels of quality and quantity. Whereas East Berlin functioned as the unquestioned retailing centre for the GDR as a whole, the situation was different in West Berlin, which was relatively under-equipped with retail functions, - in comparison with West Germany. Tourists did not compensate for the missing hinterland. Various indicators reveal figures for Berlin retailing that are below the national average for big cities, e.g. retailing floorspace per capita (FNP 1994), and Berlin's share in the total retailing turnover in Germany is less than its population share.

2.4 Power

The capital question is the capital question: The role which Berlin will play as a government centre depends, of course, on the speed with which the Federal government and parliament are moved from Bonn to Berlin (envisaged now for the

year 2000). This will also result in relocations of various other functions (business and nonprofit associations). So far, Berlin's importance in power functions is very small. The Berlin government is only responsible for the city of Berlin. Former GDR functions have been replaced by branch ministries from Bonn.

Very important to note is the very small role that Berlin plays in housing industrial headquarters, after a more or less complete post-war exodus from West Berlin and the break-down (and sell-out by the Treuhand) of the former GDR conglomerates in East Berlin. Of the 250 largest companies in Germany (1993, by turnover) only six have their headquarters in Berlin, and only 8 of the 500 largest. This small list is headed by debis, the Daimler-Benz services company, now the main investor on Potsdamer Platz, and includes a large proportion of public companies like the German railways and electricity companies for East Germany and Berlin. The same applies for banking: Berlin is only a minor location for finance capital institutions, and the relocation of major institutions from Frankfurt, Germany's dominating financial centre, is not expected.

2.5 Knowledge

Berlin is the leading centre for university education in Germany, with nearly 130 000 students - though with specific problems (see the contribution of DIETZ and BRAUN in this volume). In research also, Berlin occupies a leading position, especially in information technology, materials research and biomedical science, of which by far the greater share is government-funded.

The fundamental problem of R & D in Berlin is a lack of networking of government institutions with industry and industrial R & D as well as of technology transfer and application, which results in a poor performance in innovation compared with other metropolitan areas in Germany. With this lack of internal industrial integration Berlin does not function as a „new industrial space“ with an „innovative milieu“, and retains many aspects of a „Fordist“ city instead. Associated with the lack of business headquarters, there are deficiencies in high-ranking business services like advertising, accounting and legal services - although Berlin is currently catching up. On the other hand, there is an over-supply of administrative bureaucratic organizations (though with a large labour force), e.g. the state pension fund organisation BfA or the Treuhand, the largest state holding company in the world set up to privatize East German industry.

Finally, there is the rich cultural life of the city, but again this is mostly based on public funds, and therefore in danger. Hopes are set on media development, especially the film industry, which is also based in the Potsdam suburb of Babelsberg.

2.6 Quality of Life

For a city of over 3 million inhabitants, Berlin is still a 'soft city' in many respects: For those who have lived here for a long time and who have been in rented accommodation for a long time (and Berlin is a city of tenants - only just above 10% of the population are owner-occupiers), housing is not expensive - but for newcomers the situation is different. In a highly segmented housing market, new rents are three times higher than those in long-standing contracts!

Public transport is efficient and comparatively cheap, as are social facilities of various kinds. The environmental situation shows signs of improvement - but there are - now - too many cars (and too many dogs). Increasing use of private cars has counteracted the benefits from reductions in power station and industrial waste emission.

In general, the rediscovered quality of life, in the extensively renewed urban fabric of the late 19th century with its density, tradition and the generous layout of Prussian urban planning with wide tree-lined streets, is widely acknowledged. Leisure facilities are also numerous and generally of good quality, including parks, forests, lakes in the city and nearby.

3 Conclusion

In 1994, Berlin's economic situation is largely problematic: A capital accustomed to subsidies is entering a phase of financial crisis due to the harsh winds of competition. Employment creation, especially for the large petit bourgeois and working classes, will continue to be a great problem in the near future. The situation is aggravated by the unfavourable macro-spatial situation of Berlin, on the Eastern edge of the European growth area (wherever a European „banana“ can be found, Berlin will not be in it!). All this happens in (and is made worse by) a phase of mental stress due to rising East-West differentiation and tensions, which heavily diverging election results in West and East Berlin clearly demonstrate. This is why Berlin has put so much pressure into becoming the seat of government.

On the other hand, office and retailing development, infrastructure renewal and redevelopment of derelict land on the former wall strip area (especially on Potsdamer Platz) indicate the potential for growth in the near future. In addition, there is the investment on the suburban fringe, in the „bacon belt“ around Berlin, where Brandenburg wants to take part in the growth process. Favourable sites for housing as well as commercial uses are being developed there, often in competition with central Berlin. A political and planning solution to direct spatial evolution in this situation of competition still has to be found, also including the difficult situation in peripheral Brandenburg.

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PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE OF BERLIN

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Planning for the future of Berlin

It is over four years now since the Berlin Wall was opened. Previously a symbol of the bi-polarity that divided the world, today Berlin is an example that the difference between the two systems can be successfully overcome. Due to its geopolitical position at the heart of Europe and as the German capital, Berlin will play a vital role in the future of Europe.

Now the city stands at the brink of an enormous growth process, offering great opportunities but also considerable challenges in the field of urban planning. The city of Berlin, 880 square kilometres in all, has a present population of 3.5 million, predicted to rise by 300,000 by the year 2010. Such growth demands a similar development in the necessary housing and infrastructure. Furthermore the decision to make Berlin the capital of Germany, siting a number of ministries here as well as the Federal Parliament, has brought a wave of investment which requires a corresponding growth in available office space.

With this in mind, we intend to make Berlin a global forum for contemporary urban design and architecture. However new developments must respect the distinct identity of Berlin and conform to Berlin's traditional urban structure and architecture. Above all they should not disrupt the mixture of housing, parks and commercial activities that can be described as being typically 'berlinish.' To address all these points, parliament decided upon the new Land Use Plan (LUP) after 60 hours of discussion and voting on the 23rd June, 1994. With this fell one of the biggest hurdles that Berlin would have to face in this definitive stage of its development; that is to say, having no one permissible development strategy for the entire city area. The Land Use Plan aims at nothing less than laying down the preliminary prerequisites for a reunited capital, Berlin. While protecting 'green' Berlin, the Plan's contents also insure and encourage the unusual scope of variety particular to this city. The Plan forms the basis of new strategy for Berlin the working city, and for sufficient and attractive accommodation potential.

For each area of the city the type and intensity of use has been defined and is a precondition for all investment. So the Land Use Plan is an opportunity to put our major principles of urban development into practice. Emphasis is to be placed upon development within the city rather than urban expansion. Priority will be given to regaining the inner areas which Berlin lost, as well as healing the wounds left by the

war. During forty years of division the planners pursued separate goals, sometimes making the same mistakes in both halves of the city. We hope to make use of Berlin's growing political influence, and its economic, social and cultural importance in order to restore, repair, renew and modernize the city after years of stagnation and waste. This applies to the reorganization of large infrastructure systems, such as rail and road systems, but also to the numerous small gaps and barren areas which still disfigure the fabric of the city - not to mention, of course, the deep scar where the Wall once stood.

Moreover, the Plan offers an outstretched hand to Brandenburg. Our Land Use Plan fits perfectly into the bounds of the agreement, already drawn up between the Land Brandenburg and Berlin. While our Plan allows 500ha for supplementary trade and industrial areas, this has now become almost 4,500ha in Brandenburg, nine times the amount therefore, to mention only the approved plans. It is clear from this that our Land Use Plan does not hinder any moderate development plan for the entire region, but on the contrary that it challenges it. This year we wish to do away with the principles of a county development programme common to both Berlin and Brandenburg, and put forward a common housing development concept instead, for the narrow band around Berlin where the two areas merge.

The focus of our attention in planning and financial terms is the eastern part of the city, specifically the north- and south-east. The development plans as well as the extension and renovation of the necessary infrastructure have assumed priority so that in 20 years time the new, modern aspect of Berlin will be there. Precautionary planning measures have been taken to meet future needs, specifically the provision for up to 150,000 new inhabitants as well as 60,000 new work places. Now our task is to define priorities for the developments, judging them against economic, ecological and urban criteria. Environmental aspects of urban development are dealt with in the Landscape Programme. This outlines, amongst other things, the creation of 16 new parks as well as 450 kilometres of green swathes throughout the city. These are necessary both for recreation and sport facilities; for the protection of animal and plant species as well as to improve the climate of the city itself.

In November 1992 the government of Berlin passed a detailed plan to secure 21 industrial areas. This is based on the recognition that re-industrialisation is important for the long-term economic viability of Berlin and that a healthy, lively development of the services sector can only be expected on the basis of an adequately strong trading and industrial base.

In this context Berlin is encouraging the settlement of new firms in combination with research institutions, university locations and residential areas of the highest standard. A suitable structural model has been developed in Adlershof/Johannisthal, a 460 hectare site with a long tradition of industry. It has been chosen to locate, amongst other things, the new Science Faculty of the Humboldt University and the research cyclotron Bessy II, in order that a new industrial and commercial structure can be developed. Moreover these facilities will be complemented by 5,000 new flats and a 75 hectare landscaped park.

It is predicted that the demand for various types of office space in Berlin over the next twenty years will necessitate a doubling of the capacity in 1989. It is precisely this extensive growth which must be channelled into a well considered location, where it will boost rather than disrupt the town.

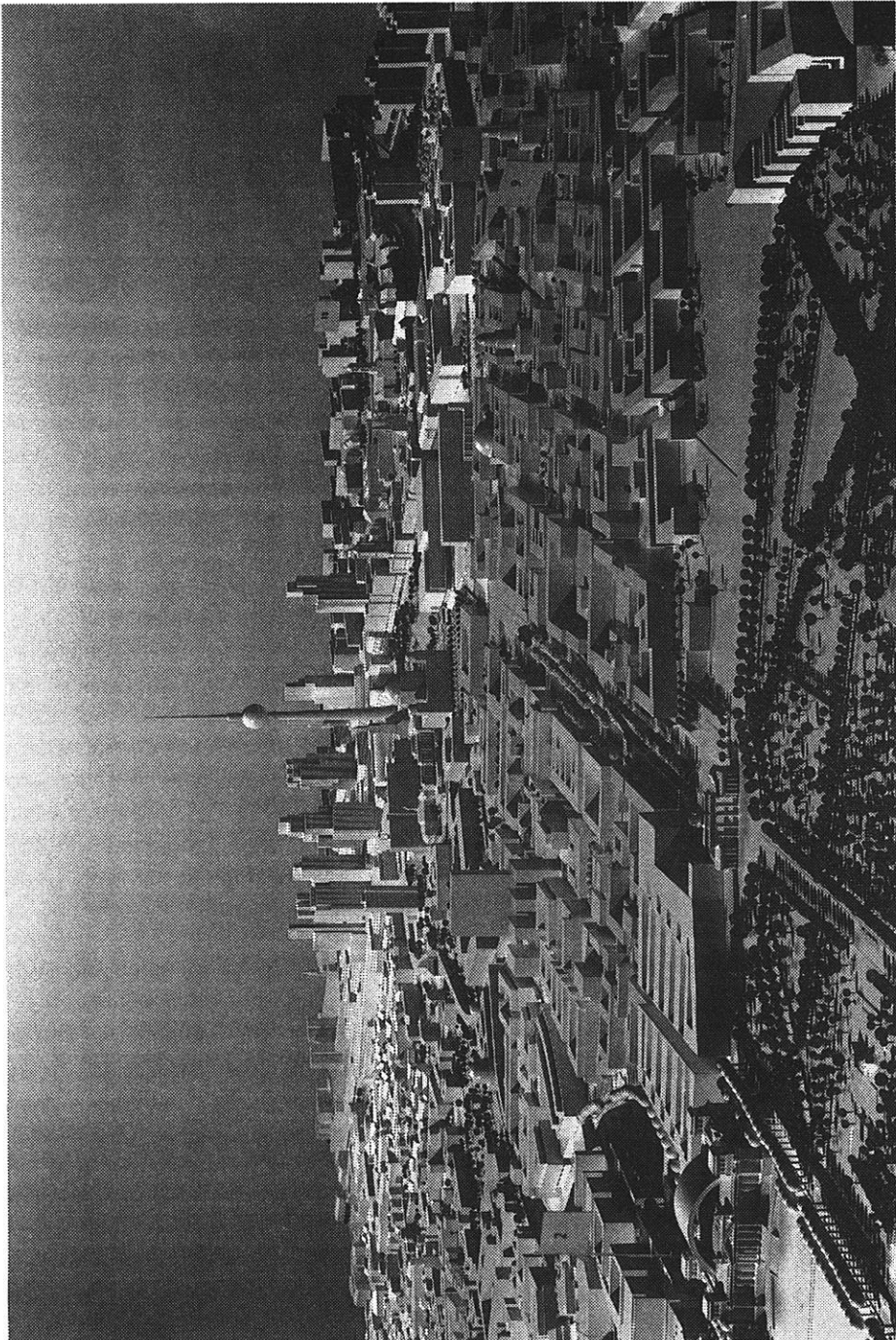
In aiming to meet this demand we wish to concentrate most of the office projects in Berlin along the inner railway ring, specifically at those places where it is intersected by railway lines from the suburbs and outlying areas. The necessary sites for office space have already been designated, as have the areas for industrial and commercial use. Furthermore the sites for the 400,000 new tenement flats which may be required within the next 20 years have also been found. That is to say, all precautionary planning measures have been taken to meet future needs.

Our planning for Berlin the working city is limited neither to the provision of the 500ha for supplementary trade and industry, nor to the doubling of office space in the city, as revealed in the Land Use Plan. We also have a planning strategy for those such places in production work as are now benefiting from the coexistence of science and culture, found specifically in towns. And it also entails the concentration of office space wherever it will enliven and define the city, and neither empty nor dominate it. It is with this in mind that the plan exists to situate office blocks on rail "crosses", and have a purely qualitative growth in the centre.

In preparing Berlin for its role as the capital city we have made considerable progress in a short time (Figure 1). On 20th June 1991 the German Bundestag (federal parliament) gave us the task of planning and constructing the capital in Berlin. Eleven months later we had agreed with the Parliamentary Commission and the Federal Government, on the goals, programme and parameters for the urban design competition to relocate the two houses of the Parliament and the chancellery in the Spreebogen area. Both this competition and that for redesigning the Reichstag were successfully completed in spring 1993. The proposals put forward by the architects Axel SCHULTES and Charlotte FRANK for the integration of the parliamentary quarter, the Spreebogen, into the city, and Sir Norman FOSTER's ideas for the reconstruction of the Reichstag, all do justice to the importance of the task in hand.

The concept for planning the capital city stipulates that Government and Parliament will find space in the heart of the capital. On the contrary, the political institutions, along with other facilities of international standing such as the museums, the Opera and the Humboldt University as well as residential and commercial facilities, will all contribute towards repairing the severe damage suffered by the city and create a lively area rather than merely a governmental ghetto. This criterion is particularly valid for the Spreeinsel, the former site of the Stadtschloss (old city palace), and its immediate vicinity. We have reached an agreement with the Federal Government that in the long term three ministries will be located here. In this historical area, which in the past has always marked the interface between representatives of state and city, we want to create a new type of ministry, suitable for a modern European capital.

Figure 1 Model of Downtown Planning (Berlin - Mitte)



The final design in the urban design competition for the historical centre of Berlin around the Spreeinsel was decided upon in May 1994. After the major competition on the Spreebogen area, the competition to redesign the Spreeinsel was the second part of the town planning preparations for the move. At the same time, it was the last stage in the restoration of Berlin's historical centre. Young Berlin architect and first prize winner, Bernd NIEBUHR's greatest strength was his superb combination of the ministries' demands and those of the town.

However it is not only the arrival of the government and parliament that we have been planning for. In 1993 decisions were also reached in the competitions for the urban development of a number of areas in the east, specifically around the Bahnhof Friedrichstraße, the Hauptbahnhof, and Heinrich-Heine-Straße near the former border crossing. This last project is a prime example of the necessary urbanization of Berlin, entailing the restructuring of a fallow area, where the Wall formerly stood, to create one of the most valuable sites between the historic centre and the neighbouring districts. The regeneration of barren wasteland is also apparent at 'Checkpoint Charlie' where the architectural proposals put forward by Philip JOHNSON and David CHILDS, amongst others, have been chosen for a large-scale development. Along the Friedrichstrasse, north of 'Checkpoint Charlie', we have approximately 15 projects in all, involving architects such as PEI, COBB and UNGERS. It is here that the Lafayette department store, designed by Jean NOUVEL, is presently under construction.

A two-phase urban design competition was launched in May 1993 for the Alexanderplatz. This area to the east, neighbouring on the old centre will in future be the most important urban square in the re-united city. There, in the middle of the city centre and following the basic structure of historic Berlin, an example of modern urban planning will emerge. A decision was reached in September 1993 in which the first prize was awarded to the Berlin architect Hans KOLLHOFF. The buildings here will be taller than elsewhere, in order to make the place stand out from a distance, since this is to become the most important city square for shopping, socialising, leisure, living and services. The square itself is to be the most important of meeting places for the citizens of Berlin. The jury agreed that his urban design with a number of skyscrapers would complement the 360m television tower there, whilst making maximum use of the space available.

The first major project affecting the structure of the re-united Berlin is the development of Potsdamer Platz and Leipziger Platz; alter the Spreebogen the second most important link between East and West Berlin. In 1991 it was the subject of a complicated but relatively short decision-making process. Today the architectural competitions for this area have been completed, and construction is already underway in some parts. Daimler-Benz and Sony, for example, will be erecting headquarters, together with shops, flats and additional facilities to create a new and lively area in the city. Within the framework of Renzo PIANO's urban design concept a selection of eminent international architects have drafted buildings:

KOLLHOFF, ISOZAKI, ROGERS and MONEO amongst others. For the area on the opposite side of Potsdamer Platz. ABB have chosen the design by Giorgio GRASSI.

The vast amount, spatial and temporal, of future projects places new demands on the state of planning in Berlin for the century to come, as was clear from the start. The whole of Berlin has to come to terms with its new-found future. This is why we needed a new way of handling the methods and tools of planning, some of them old, others new.

By setting out well-defined parameters, specifically the Land Use Plan and the Landscape Programme, we intend to ensure that the economy and social structures can develop in a controlled and sustainable manner. Above all, the planning and development of the city must be seen in a wider context, so that a close relationship is maintained between Berlin and the surrounding state of Brandenburg. Only then can the region strengthen its position within Europe as a whole.

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STRATEGIC PLANNING IN BERLIN

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Urban planning in the 90s is going to be much more aggressive than 10 years ago when planning retarded guided by the philosophy and consciousness of absolute preferences for preservation. In times of major structural changes in economy and demography, the dominance of environmental policy is superseded by an increasing dominance of economic transformation processes. In the 80s the ecological scruple against land consumption and spatial demand created a mood of retreat driven by the ideology of social equality. After unification, however, and in the course of the progressive economic transformation process, of increasing in-migration, of competition mentality, and of increasing social segregation (one-third-society), the growing demand on living and industrial space can not be delayed. The backlog demand on space designs a reality which is in sharp contrast to the internal development, to the development of expenses, and the former idea of sustainable development. For example the conversion of relocated intraurban industrial areas, former military areas and the recultivation of farm land takes time, landuse planning cannot go back to these areas for a long time.

The economic pressure on cities leads into a vicious circle polarized by the ecological and social burdens and the necessity of earning tax income (Figure 1). It seems to be that urban planning slides immediately into private business dependency, and cities seem to become extortable (ALBERS, p. 23). The pressure to adjust economic transitions, which lead to an increasing discrepancy between form and function inside of cities and force far-reaching planning activities, converts the relation between public and private planning dominance. In the past, urban planning authorities sometimes cultivated, under the pressure of social stress and fear of technology, a style of partly dirigistic, partly over-democratic behaviour, whose effects have been directed to obey the correctness of administrative procedures and to carry through political ideologies. In times of empty treasury and high public deficits on the one hand side and changing location qualities and increasing mobility of the economy on the other, it seems easy for the big business to take over the leading role in public planning. Deregulation is substituting dirigism, while management and marketing structures control the procedure of planning aiming to the amortisation of investment. There is no doubt, cities like Berlin need private initiatives and investment in order to induce spread effects in all sectors of the society.

Considering the extent of planning necessities in Berlin and having in mind the heteronomy and the subsidized habit of parts of the population during the last 40

years, the initiatives from big business are not sufficient to guarantee success in the structure longed for. For people to be carried away, planning needs partnership and has to rely on the multiplying effects of everybody's contributions. In this respect, the Berliners have not got over themselves yet.

As vital sparks images of the city of tomorrow, guide lines, dreams and visions may function. With it, images can be determined positively as friendly visions like "the service city", "the safe city", "city with new urban life style", or as negative images like horror scenes can e.g. work in the same way: "the average family only consists of a widow" or "after the collapse of the total environment you will find out that Olympic games are not eatable".

The advantages of visions are:

- One can think independently of former guidelines, streams or experiences.
- Visions are more basic than reality and have the character of a signpost, show directions.
- They never show negative implementations. As alternative scenarios they clarify new goals and new ways to reach goals.

Up to now, Berlin has not found any visions. The chance of getting the Olympic Games has been bargained away in the run-up of the formation of pluralistic opinions. Conversely, it isn't easy to set up a visionary slogan which is basically acceptable.

To design visions, a five step procedure is requested (AFHELDT, pp. 1-3):

- The first step concentrates on the analysis of the city's strength and weakness.
- The second step tries to understand the present trends as to structural changes and weights the processes stronger than their products.
- The third step designs a desirable future development.
- The fourth step finds out the quality of conditions and the quantity of niches of different alternatives and calculates priorities.
- The fifth step designs programmes and starts the marketing of the vision. That final step contents the transfer of visions to actions, forces the readiness to act and to run a risk.

Transferring that stage model to the Berlin situation, some of the structural problems of the present slowness will become recognizable.

(1) The analysis of the present situation will indicate that many things are double, others are missing or incompatible. Despite the globalization of the economy and mainstream adjustments in the demographic structure, the real planning problems are completely different from all other cities. Both, the strategies of socialist planning, which tried to set up a new type of city suiting to a new type of society, and of planning for an island situated in an artificial market situation cannot be continued, at best resumed after a 40 to 60 year break. Both the socialist and the artificial principles have to be transferred to the harsh reality of a free market economy. The strength of Berlin under these aspects is the chance for new structuring instead of re-structuring, the weakness of Berlin is again the call for new subsidies, the negative

investment climate, and the waiting for initiatives like the relocation of government and parliament (Table 1). Chances are rare, but they are a precondition to carry through planning measurements.

(2) The results of the present process-analysis are comprehensively documented in literature. Therefore, it is an utopia to believe, especially capitals could escape from globalization and heteronomy. Berlin's economic structure is to be characterized as dualistic and polarized: extreme situations alternate with a 20-year time lag (Table 2).

(3) The third step designs goals. Common goals like an unhurt environment, freedom, self-realization, and search for home and local identity are true for Berlin, too, without any doubt. The Berliner imagination culminates in the statement: "in the frontyard the Kurfürstendamm and in the backyard a chicken-run". Of course, it is a satirical misunderstanding of urban principles. More seriously translated it means: after a period of heteronomy, Berliners want to design their own solution independently from outside and from global, national and regional processes and networks. They try to ignore the globalization effects of all branches of the society, instead of thinking about the way to ignore foreign influence. But for that goal they need to rise their overall productivity.

(4) Desirable goals for Berlin range from reestablishing the former industrial dominance in the economy to a sound environment. In the long run, it is short-sighted for saving jobs and smoothing the process of structural change to lose ground to the adjustment of global trends and integration into new markets.

Other goals are ranging from re-structuring the historic urban process, small scale economy, and full employment to gigantism, standards of global cities and leading positions. Both directions are not qualified for future development considering the previous analysis.

A third vision deals with the concept of concentrated decentralization while a real functioning center as the engine for urbanization processes is missing (REGIOPLAN a.o.). In the past, the two downtowns have been shaped only as virtual centers of their former ideology and economic potential and not as real centers of an integrated regional, national or global hierarchy. However, the distance of some 4 km between both centers is too far to be filled out with core functions, while most of the daily and more specialized central goods and services tend to be sold outside in shopping centers or aren't needed in downtown.

Figure 1

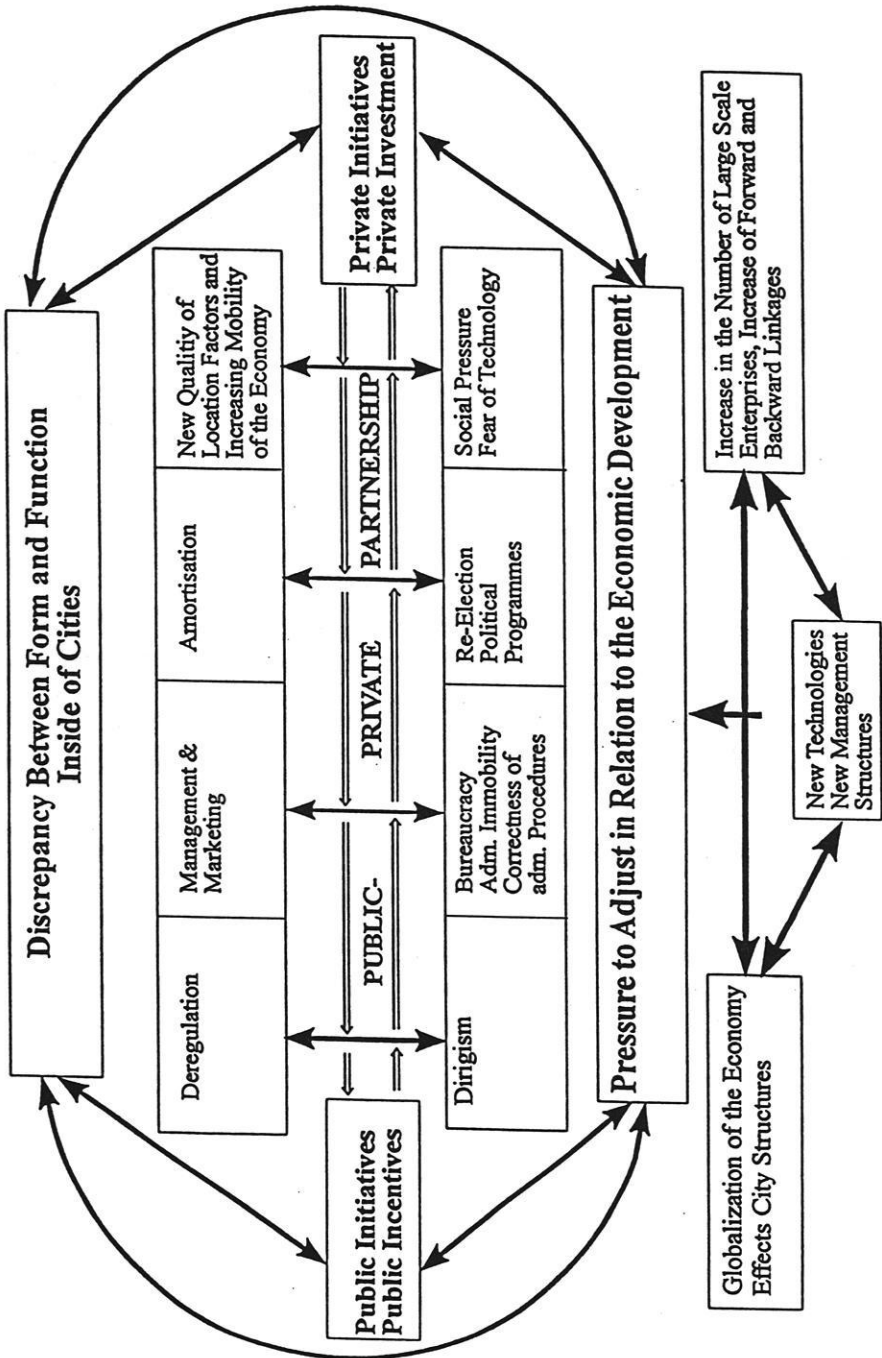


Table 1 Berlin's Present Economic and Demographic Structure - June 1993

	structure	comments
rate of price increase	4.4 %	main portion: rent: 8 %
production rate	- 13.5 %	
investment goods	- 18.8 %	
consumption goods	- 13.4 %	
export 1992	- 15 %	
import 1992	- 8 %	
turnover		
tax turnover (1990/1992)	65 %	5 % in businesses
tax relevant turnover (1992)		
production ind.	30.4 %	
construction	6.1 %	
trade	27.8 %	(50 % retail)
service	27.1 %	
enterprises (1992)		
production ind.	11.0 %	
construction	9.5 %	
trade	26.4 %	1/3 to 1/4 in 10 years retail dominating
service	48.5 %	1/3 to 1/2 in 10 years
average turnover		far below western standards
structural change		from II to III sector (high backlog demand; peak in II after unification)
economic structure (1992)		20 % of all enterprises contribute to 90 % of tax turnover - process of concentration - small scale economy: highly specialized or in retail
Migration 1992		
in-migration	12.356	
out-migration	8.123	
intra-urban migration	25.000	between districts
W-E migration	1.100	
E-W migration	772	
Population change (1991/92)	+ 1.0 %	
demographic portion	- 0.4 %	

Table 2 Berlin's Structural Planning Situation (1990)

	EAST	WEST
Service Sector/ Intra-Urban Centrality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • one center • no real functions • low quality/ quantity of supply 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • no dominating center • wide spread functions • many small scale centers • high quality of supply - medium quality of local demand
Centrality Pattern	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • monocentric hierarchy • non interconnected small scale centers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • polycentric • no hierarchical patterns
Industrial Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • low tech • large scale industries • low qualification standards • full employment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • medium tech • small scale • high tech R&D • medium qualification standards • high unemployment • subsidies, tax-reduction
Social Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • segregation between small top and wide bottom 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wide range of social scale • top class is missing • middle class dominating
Social Infrastructure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • low cost • easy access • low standard 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • high cost • difficult access • high standard
Environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • no/ low environmental control • low investment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • intensive control • high investment
External Relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • high interdependency • economic core with low standard 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • loss of interdependency • economic periphery with medium standard
Planning Ideology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • growth oriented 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • green

(5) The transfer from the ideal to practicability is hard to realize. But, all cities are an integral part of large scale development. That means that the range of self-determination and dynamic decision making of each individual city is limited. But, at a certain time all cities have enough individual scope which can be materialized in competition with other cities in case the marketing starts right in time. The brilliance of simple slogans for a take off of development is needed to catch up the problems - strength and weakness - less complex than planners or politicians put faith in. The

transfer of visions into actions requires not only a creation of consciousness but also their acceptance to understand that decisions for visions are - as a rule - irreversible milestones of future developments. Both components are still missing in Berlin. Berlin is still in want of its unique attitude. The consciousness of its real structural situation is still split into rivaling positions:

- the psychological position: It is the overall hubris to believe that there is no real necessity of external impulses, heteronomy can be avoided, only local politics can set up the frame, and economy has to follow these directions - but not talking about the governmental support and the dependency on the relocation of the government.
- the economic position: In the past, the permanent condemnation of any kind of growth ideology created a climate of inefficiency, low productivity, a low rate of innovation and crusted structures. The re-development of competitive economic structures can not only be seen in favour of an absolutely sound environment. People should be qualified for compromises.
- the alternative position: The emotional situation right after the unification and the show-piece-situation before unification created an attitude to believe in the inalienability of the old hierarchical position, which can be re-established without further efforts. This emotional image could not be directed immediately into a take off of marketing, it rather turned after three years of partly boring discussions into a defensive reaction, peanut-decisions, planning uncertainty and sometimes into destruction. While people believe in small scale actions or are satisfied with actionism, investment needs rentabilities, strives for pioneer wins and follows its own philosophy - just in time. A capital has not only to work for its pure existence, it rather has to stay for all negative circumstances.

Berlin's vision can be designed as: ***take part instead of complaining.***

Therefore, irreversible decisions and contracts as well as real investment in all branches of infrastructure can be seen as milestones for future development. Among these location factors the soft ones play the decisive role. The success of visions, therefore, depends finally on the questions (AFHELDT, p. 2):

- Do visions answer the questions of today and to-morrow?
- Do the visions live in the heads and hearts of leaders and followers?
- Is the city's network and circulation system sound enough for to multiply the vision by participation?

In the following, I am going to present the guidelines of the present state of planning in three different concentric rings shaping the Berlin region. The discussion for each ring will concentrate on the question: What are the strategic and innovative elements of that planning understanding?

Ring 1 (the core and historical suburban zone; Figure 2)

At present there are no major innovative changes inside the hard core and the intra railroad beltline - except an enormous number of small-scale restorations, the re-invention of the property market and alternative models to forecast the demand on land use space. Long-lasting, contradictory and hard discussions in the past about locations like Potsdamer Platz, the bow of the river Spree (Spreebogen), Alexanderplatz or the Spree Island and the question of a central railroad station and of how to detour the Brandenburger Tor have taken place but no definitive decisions have been made yet not to mention any activities. Hundreds of architectural plans, revisions of these plans, endless discussions and informative exhibitions offered a scenario of the upswing of Berlin. Unfortunately, planning strategies have been only considered in one dimension: in the view of architecture which has to fulfill the dirigistic style of blocks, axes and the historic height of eaves. To give rise to planning pluralism that means, by contrast, to design ideas or visions which are able to restructure the entire urban organization in all regional scales and structural sectors. Planners are of the opinion that those concepts which can fundamentally stimulate the network of communication and transport, may provide a high quality of supply of public urban services and professional services and may improve the environmental quality, and need more than buildings, parking lots, streets, parks or business parks. These concepts presuppose confidence in planning, private-public partnership, and the readiness to give up even intimate structures.

It seems as if the planning authorities are playing with bricks having a mentality which is embedded in early twenty century or post-war subsidized economic behaviour and which ignores the ongoing globalization of production and changing management structures as well as the changing markets on the European scale. The idea of comprehensive planning is far away, rather disjointed incrementalism is characteristic (GANSER, p. 59).

Planning initiatives or activities which are able to stimulate in the sense of a perspective incrementalism are rare. Only Mercedes started (October 1993) with the cut with the spade.

Berlin's historical downtown was part of the Soviet sector and thus the right of private land ownership was abrogated. After unification the uncertainty of ownership of the different lots, the rapid growth of land value, the intervention of EC-commissions against indirect subsidies and the protest and demonstrations of population against big business and modern architecture, and finally the changing behaviour of the government and parliament prevented a major take off in a large scale restructuring of the core area. The scrapping between the prescribed image of the historical city on the one side and the profit ideology as the presupposed basic idea of investment on the other side stopped to get initiatives going. Despite all the activities in renovation of façades, building-infrastructure and road surfaces, structural changes and adjustments did not take place. There is no doubt, that

positive decisions and construction activities of the political side and the big business side - and both are dependent on their decisions - would influence the entire economic, social and cultural take off. Since the government was hesitating a long time the initiatives have been taken over now by a group of 30 companies which are able to set their own marks on planning and future structures.

The urban model of the first ring (Figure 2) is oriented on 4 interdependent spatial elements reserved for the tertiary sector (downtown, Ring-Center, Spree-Area, peripheral supplementary areas). This model tries to decentralize the service sector in order to stabilize the core as a location of urbanity.

- The urban center is to be planned as a ribbon between the two former downtowns of Alexanderplatz and Zoo in E-W-direction and a N-S-axis which is planned to become the focal area of the railway network. This ribbon continues to develop the historical pattern of intraurban centrality into a network. It links retail, offices, culture and housing in a mixed landuse pattern. The key-function of this area will be the capital-function. A central triangle between the so-called Spreebogen, the Spree Island and the Kemperplatz builds up three forums as political-cultural centers. The proximity to the central parks of Tiergarten will lead to a close link to national and international operating organizations and businesses.

The nodes of the ribbon, which are able to create a differentiation of locational attractions, are Potsdamer Platz, Friedrichstraße, Alexanderplatz, Zoo, and the future train stations Lehrter Bahnhof and Gleisdreieck. Especially the Potsdamer Platz as the economic counterpart is to be seen as the key-location to develop into a corporate center which attracts dependent and supplementary businesses in front offices and will spread out back offices into the next intensity zone. The spread effect will dominate the land value pattern of the entire Berlin region.

- Because of the concept of deconcentration the development of the ring center will be of great importance. The area of the ring contains some 90 km², one million people and one million jobs and its ground plan is fixed by the extensions of the two core-axes. The top and average rent in this area is up to 50% below the core area. The structure of this area is determined to reduce the daily mismatch of in- and outgoing commuting traffic between residential and business locations. The transportation advantages – the area is surrounded by rapid transit system and the entire Berlin region lies inside a 30-minute isoline driven on highways and a great portion of the built up area inside a 30-minute isoline ridden on public transportation - allow to remove the pressure of demand for central locations.

The capacity of vacant space and space under construction for offices is at present three times and the sum of planned office space is twice as much as the supply inside the core. But, compared to the supply in other German cities the backlog demand on office space would amount to about 10 million m². This number is three times higher than the available and planned office space. Considering the structural problems which indicate that 1/3 of the existing office space is located in buildings not built for office activities, one can imagine the pressure on the residential housing market. Therefore, the Berlin model concentrates on 4 effective service centers at

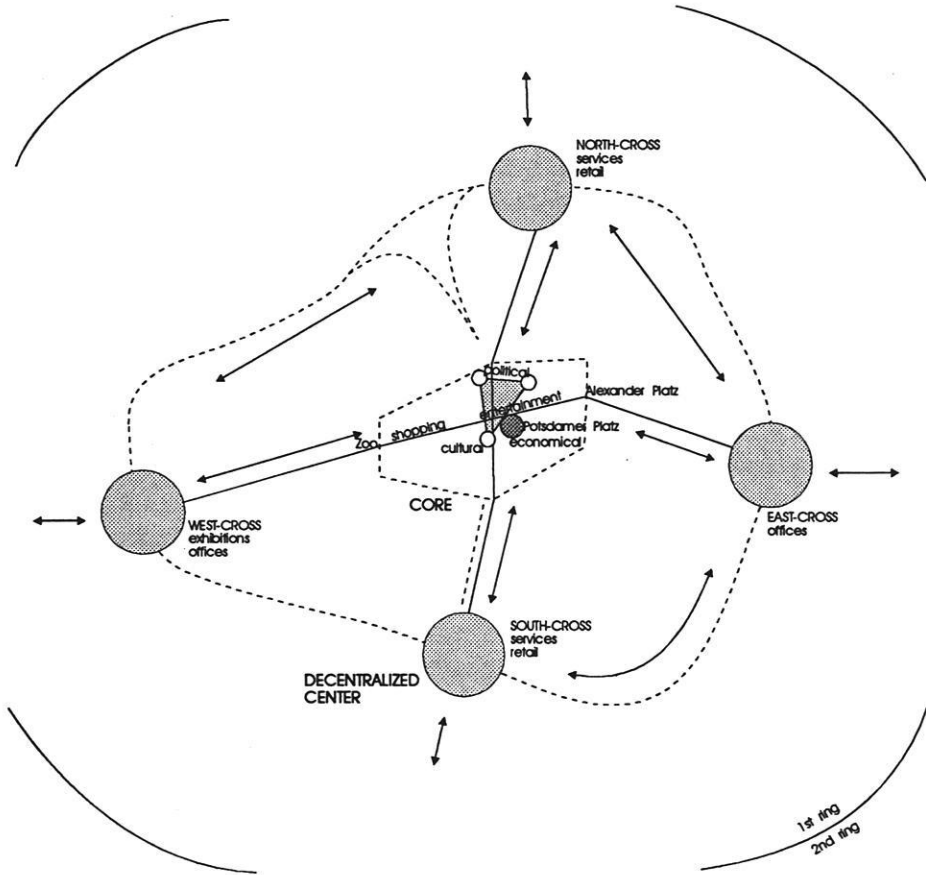
the intersections of the ring and radial rapid transit system. The so-called East and West crosses as public transport intersections will especially attract offices, while the North and the South crosses (in the same function as the other crosses) will be structured as multifunctional urban service centers. This concept tries to balance out the east-west discrepancies not only for office but also for retail space with a deficit of 1/3 to western city standards.

- The third and the fourth zone show best the polycentric structure with a total of 30 middle and 38 lower-ranked centers. They offer partly a well segregated structure of residential, industrial, retail and park areas, and partly the so-called Berlin mixture. The expansion of office space replaces not only residential area but also former industrial space. Therefore, the Berlin senate decided to reserve 21 larger locations exclusively for industries. The decision will prevent a general trend to capitalize abandoned industrial properties by transformation into office space.

Beside the planning ideology to implement a polycentric pattern of decentralized and highly interconnected centers, a real strategic planning can be seen in the concept to design the building sites ecologically acceptable and peaceful for the daily life. The main idea is to create a positive climate of acceptance for all building projects and structural changes. Two strategies are of innovative importance.

- A building-marketing will invite the public to take an interest in and to sympathize with the progress of restructuring. The daily confrontation with the disadvantages and personal consequences of the construction process should be prevented and the public consciousness should be directed towards the future effects.
- Large-scale building sites need their own technical infrastructure. It is necessary to connect these building sites via separate roads and bridges with logistic sites. Instead of projected 40.000 km/day, the transportation by trucks can be reduced to 3.000 km/day. The centers coordinate not only transportation but also the organization of the construction depots and all kind of engineering. The space required for such a center is about five to six times larger than that for the building site. Similar centers for the other major projects at Spreebogen and the main railway station are needed.

Figure 2 Core and Decentralized Centers



Ring 2 (the outer zones to become suburbanized and urbanized; Figure 3)

The main structural changes take place in the second ring. This second ring is completely located within the boundaries of the Land Brandenburg. It represents the economic heart and concentrates most of its population. Therefore, two different concepts will interfere in this area.

(1) The first concept is characterized by the enormous backlog demand. This ring was located under the command economy of the former GDR regime in the lee side of the E-Berlin development. E.g. the supply with space per capita for retail and services amounted to one quarter compared to western standards. Therefore, it should be a first task to redesign an integrated network of central places and to create basic infrastructure in order to attract and to keep human capital.

(2) The second concept is derived from the ongoing suburbanization, which speeds up to an enormous extent. The reason for that development is founded in the frozen inner-Berlin landuse structure as a result of the 40 years of partition and the low re-investment and low productivity of the weakening economy. The built up area, the ecologically protected area of agricultural land, lakes, rivers, forests and parks and additionally some of the administrative regulations left virtually no room for new housing and commercial development.

The pre-second-world-war-development has prestructured a spider-like pattern. The radial part of this pattern consists of major transportation lines which connected Berlin by a rapid transit system with 6 to 7 city-reach sectors. The sectors in between are structured by farm land and forests. The other shaping elements are the rapid transit ring and the highway ring which at present attract the regionally and structurally most effective investment within the entire region. Under superficial aspects it seems that this area develops slowly as a bacon belt at the cost of Berlin's intra-urban-development.

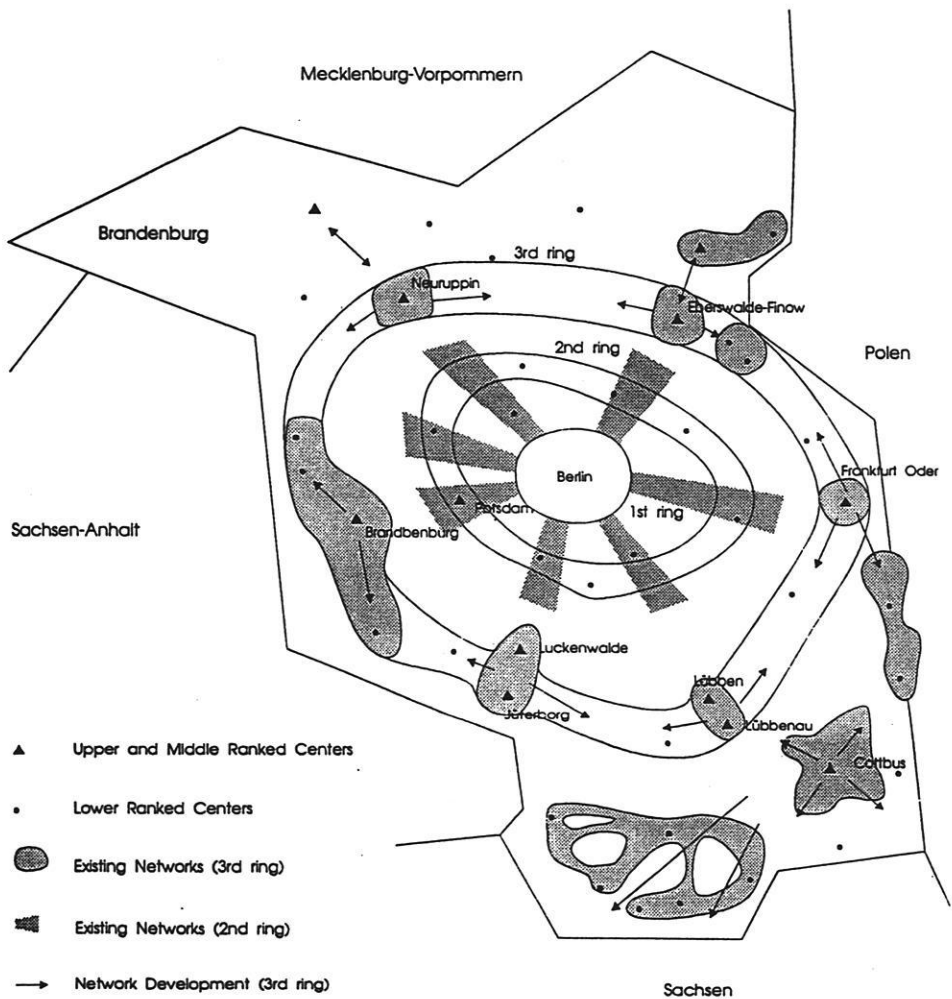
After the unification the process of restructuring and deconcentration of the western economy started towards this belt because of cheap land- and labour-costs and better access to growing markets. In the East, by contrast, the process of reprivatization, restoration and restructuring of the entire economy made it possible that a large number of locations have been released. These areas could be reused for the new-organization of the growing service, office and research and development market but a high portion of these locations are very unattractive for investors, because they are characterized by a low access to important infrastructure, ecological burdens, and – most important – they are not available because of time-wasting administrative regulations. E.g., the average period of time between the date of purchase and the availability to invest in is 9 months.

Therefore, both Länder created strategic development models and founded each an organization to develop a functioning property market and infrastructure which may attract investors and enable them to invest immediately. Both models act as public management organizations but in competition with each other. Just recently they founded a common subsidiary in order to coordinate joint tasks. These organizations function as interfaces between public administration and private investors. They especially strive for short ways through the administrative jungle, ownership problems and planning and building laws and regulations. These are the main problems beside the shortage of valuable properties.

The tasks of the Brandenburg development organization are defined more comprehensively. They also take care for about 100 communities with their projects in housing, restoration and transportation. In times of low private investment they act as the main investor in Brandenburg. They meanwhile developed some 8000 ha for new business parks – that is twice as much as Berlin is using at present.

Both Länder can get a boost from these organizations but in times of weak business cycles, structural deficits, and changing markets both are waiting for investors.

Figure 3 Berlin - (core - suburban zone - urban fringe)



Ring 3 (the urban fringe; Figure 3)

The current confusion in the development of Berlin is based on a series of facts: It has mainly been determined by the fast industrialization, the historical metropolitan competition with London and Paris, and the political consequences and economical effects since World War II.

Before Second World War, Berlin was one of the first cities to develop suburbanization and subcentralization; this was primarily caused by an enormous expansion and in-migration into the city and effectively contributed by the later amalgamation of some 60 cities and communities up to then developing and planning authorities of their own.

But, the urbanization cycle froze at that scale because of the political separation, the island situation in the West and the separate socialist planning ideology about the future structure of cities in the East. What we realize at present is the development of an active land value market, the out-migration of space-consuming industries and services and the replacement of the weakest competitors from valuable locations. That signifies an adjustment to the international development with a time lag of approximately 20 years. This process is aimed at by directing a decentralized concentration of infrastructure in order to preserve space and structure. It is the concept of a third ring of central places which are to absorb up to 40% of the increase in population and 40% of the estimated total number of new jobs (v. EINEM). According to the view of the joint committee of the governments of Berlin and Brandenburg, this concept is to prevent the bacon belt within ring 2.

Similar developments are, in fact, absolutely successful in the southern parts of Germany with the regions of Munich and Stuttgart, where the city cores expand, the industries relocate to peripheries, the infrastructure in the peripheries is improved to urban standards, and where central places within the outer fringe are strengthened (v. EINEM).

The reality of Berlin will prove that it is far too early for such a development due to

1. the lack of quantitative and qualitative economic dynamism being strong enough to reach beyond the first and the second ring.
2. the lack of state-advance payment and incentives to install standards of technical, material and personal infrastructure in Brandenburg so that the central places of the third ring can compete.

This is, however, one of the most essential preconditions to direct capital flows out of the first two rings. There is also a total lack of any pace making and encouraging signs which could have been set by planning and investment decisions nor is there any certainty and continuity in planning what could have set a motivating basis; for example what concerns the question of an international airport or the successful hiring of key-industries. Their forward and backward linkages might especially in the developing of professional services effect a stabilization of the population potentials.

This scenario is by far too ambitious even if its aims seem to be understandable. At the moment the tendency might be experienced that – due to a minor general

demand – Brandenburg and Berlin run a mutual competition thus blocking a necessary joint planning of structure. Berlin should not feel sorry about the relocation of industrial jobs or the withdrawal of taxes as a result of growing shopping centers at plain country side, when, as a counter-effect, the abandoned space can be recycled for reducing the infrastructural deficits and attracting top services and professional industries at the right location. Brandenburg need not hope for important capital functions – except for golf courses where sometimes basic decisions will be made. Despite decentralization and counter-urbanization it is the function of the periphery to provide compensations for core development and to accept lower ranked-central functions.

For both Länder, strategically it seems to be meaningful and necessary to catch up the politically effected time lag in the urbanization cycle by designing a stage plan. The process of decentralization can only be successful if the previous processes of centralization have reached a stage of maturity. Berlin can only take over capital functions and climb up in urban hierarchy, if the suburban periphery is efficiently equipped with modern infrastructure.

As a consequence, the two inner rings have to be restructured first before there is a need for the outer fringe to relieve congestion in the core area. One of the conditions for such a stage plan is to work out a model to merge the two Länder. Certainly, a unified province of Berlin-Brandenburg would risk considerable finance problems, because the loss of the city's state privilege would reduce the governmental transfer payments. A compensation via community transfer payments would not cover the necessary investments for the capital functions.

What is more important (Table 3): not even the small number of positively evaluated location factors can be obtained. First of all the quality of universities, research and development institutions has to be strengthened with Berlin being the main net-exporter of research people in Germany. Because of the still existing backlog demand the expenditures for consumption are too high, while the expenditures for investments are too low. As long as there are no decisive planning activities to merge both Länder, the competition between both of them will increase the deficits of the budget and prevent a functioning mutual cooperation. The main strategic element in planning should be to find a model which concentrates on the importance of soft location factors like the quality of education systems, quality of life, R & D -climate, knowledge, flexibility, and tolerance in order to influence and to diffuse the complex structure of the "product" city.

Table 3 Evaluation of the Berlin Region Location Factors

Location Factors	Evaluation	
	present	future
Job market		
human potential	+	+
qualification	+	o/+
wages	o	o
Transportation/ Accessibility/ Logistic		
airport	+	+
high way	-	o
ICE	-	o
Quality of Life		
landscape	++	++
culture	o	+
housing	-	-
Research and Development		
research institutions	+	++
R&D employment	-	+
Location of Finance	-	o
Cost of Energy	-	o
Exhibition- and Congress-Infrastructure	+	++
Industrial Space	-	++
Economic Climate	-	o
Flexibility		
enterprises	-	o
employees	-	o
administration	-	o
Knowledge on Eastern Europe	+	o
Business Community	-	o
Sum of -	12	1
Sum of +	7	8
Sum of o	2	12

Evaluation Scale: - negative o neutral + positive ++ very positive

Source: Recommendations of the structural-political expert-commission, Berlin 1992

Conclusion

The term of strategic planning is used in very different ways. In the specific situation of Berlin strategic planning should aim at concepts of comprehensive and perspective incrementalism. Visions which will express the potential of qualities of new location factors and which are managed by progressive marketing activities, can work in the sense of those concepts. They especially can initiate a process of circulative and cumulative stimulation to restructure the entire social, economic, and ecologic organization of cities and their related networks.

The planning strategies for Berlin are still in a stage of preconditions. The main strategic element "time" has been wasted, many snowball effects caused by general planning decisions and basic investments and even planning certainty have been missing. Hopefully, the slow procedure will at least create a climate of democratic tolerance and political stability which may attract the next generation of investors. In any case, the image of Berlin-Brandenburg will appear differently.

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CHANGE IN THE URBAN STRUCTURE IN THE FIVE NEW LÄNDER: THE EXAMPLE OF EISENACH

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The poster presents some results of an ongoing project to monitor the changes in the urban system in eastern Germany since 1990 at the example of Eisenach.

I. Introduction

Since 1990, several cities in the former GDR have been investigated, to observe the development of the former east German urban system after the unification of the two Germanys.

The example of the medieval city of Eisenach, which is presented here, has been the subject of two sample questionnaires in the context of field studies in urban planning in 1991 and 1993 by the urban research group of the Geography Department at the Free University Berlin. The long term aim of the project is to monitor the ongoing urban restructuring process in the five New Länder. The change of Eisenach's medieval core, from a city shaped for the last 45 years by socialist urban planning to a newly emerging capitalist city, defined by its supply of high order goods and services in the core, will be demonstrated.

II. Study Area

Eisenach, an old regional municipal centre, is located in Thuringia at the western end of the line Gera - Jena - Weimar - Erfurt - Gotha - Eisenach, approximately 25 km from the former inner German border. This line of regional centres is connected with a relatively good developed railroad and Autobahn connection. The distance to Erfurt, the capital of Thuringia, is approximately 50 km.

Eisenach was founded around the year 1150. It is a historically famous place: Martin Luther resided at the nearby Wartburg; Johann Sebastian Bach was born here. For some centuries Eisenach served as the residence of the Thuringian rulers. In 1852 Eisenach had a population of 10,817. Then, in a dramatic growth, the population rose to 31,580 in 1900 and to 50,464 in 1939. From the 1950s to the 1970s Eisenach's population oscillated around 50,000. In December 1991 only 44,266 inhabitants were counted.

In the period of the industrial revolution several branches of the metal processing industries developed. The "Gründerzeit" was determined by a very fast economic

growth that was combined with a very strong increase of population. The first car manufacturing plant in Eisenach was established in 1898. Since the 1930s the car industry became the most important economical factor in this region and has been till today. Steps in this development were a BMW manufacturing plant in the 1930s and 40s, the East German Wartburg plant after WW II and since 1991 the technologically most modern car manufacturing plant in Europe by Opel (General Motors).

III. Analysis

In 1991 and 1993 two sample questionnaires regarding 700 buildings in the medieval core of Eisenach have been conducted. The questions focused on the usage of the buildings, the architectonic types and the current conditions of the buildings. Building use was differentiated in 123 types of commercial and non-commercial use. For display and analysis reasons, these classes were aggregated into a hierarchy of goods and services of different order. The architectonic types were separated by the age of the building and the constructional type. The building conditions were evaluated and divided into five categories.

In the following results of a comparative analysis of the 1991 and the 1993 data will be presented.

Changes in the commercial structure of the medieval core of Eisenach from 1991 to 1993:

- overall slight increase in the supply of goods and services
- increase of businesses with goods and services of higher order in the main shopping areas (central places)
- a majority of supply with goods and services of a relatively low centrality remain in the most central places of the inner city
- depletion in the supply of goods and services in the outer parts of the medieval core
- decline of commercial building use in construction areas in the south and in the periphery of the medieval core
- increase in the intensity of commercial building use due to the creation of service centres - e.g. clustering of offices of lawyers and physicians

A hierarchy of the supply with goods and services has not yet been established. Tendencies towards the establishment of a central place hierarchy and thus the development from a socialist city to a capitalistic city can be detected. A sign for this development is an increased supply of higher order goods (non-daily demand).

An uprising of new service centres, where different complementing services are clustered together in the same house, e.g. pharmacies and physicians etc., can be observed in the 1993 questionnaire.

Building conditions in the medieval core of Eisenach from 1991 to 1993:

- overall slight improvement of the building conditions
- good building conditions in the main shopping areas due to the commercial use of these buildings
- buildings in peripheral areas of the medieval core remain in very bad conditions
- only a relatively small number of buildings have been renovated or restored in the periphery of the medieval core
- improvement of building conditions along the main connecting roads
- attempts to restore the medieval building substance can be detected
- ongoing demolition process for buildings beyond restoration

The socialist inner city was characterised by a lack of functions. This policy and the general deficiency of funds prevented necessary investments to stop the decay of a lot of the half-timbered houses, characterising the medieval core of Eisenach. With the restructuring process, starting in 1990, functions shifted to the old city core. With the help of private and public investment the valuable medieval building substance, that is characteristic for Eisenach, is currently being restored.

Percentage of vacancies in the medieval core of Eisenach from 1991 to 1993:

- increase in the highest class of vacancy due to an increase in not useable buildings
- increase of vacancies in the southern parts of Eisenach's medieval city core, the current centre of the restoration process
- increase of vacancies in areas currently under-going road construction due to non or only limited access for customers

Many different reasons for the increasing number of vacancies in the core of Eisenach can be identified. First of all, the overall economical situation. The effects of the current recession are strongest in the former GDR. These effects are enhanced by the shut-down of a lot of unsuccessful enterprises, started in 1990. A more local reason for the vacancies can be seen in the restructuring process in Eisenach. The building activities in the city core limit the accessibility of businesses for customers. The difference between the rate of vacancies in already restored parts of the city and parts that are currently in this process are evident.

IV. Conclusions

The example of Eisenach demonstrates some of the current developments and problems in the evolution and emerging of a new urban structure in the eastern parts of Germany.

The issues illustrated here are not only to be seen in the urban context of Eisenach, but also in respect of Eisenach's regional role in the urban hierarchy. Smaller towns like Eschwege, just on the other side of the former border between East and West, are currently much more important and much more attractive for customers than Eisenach, although its population is only half that of Eisenach. It can be hypothesised that Eisenach will sooner or later reach the status of the dominating centre in this region.

Further research and the constant monitoring of the urban restructuring process in Eisenach will give future insights into the development of the new urban system in the five New Länder.