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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 In times of major structural changes in economy and demography, the dominance of environmental policy is superseded by an increasing dominance of economic transformation processes.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

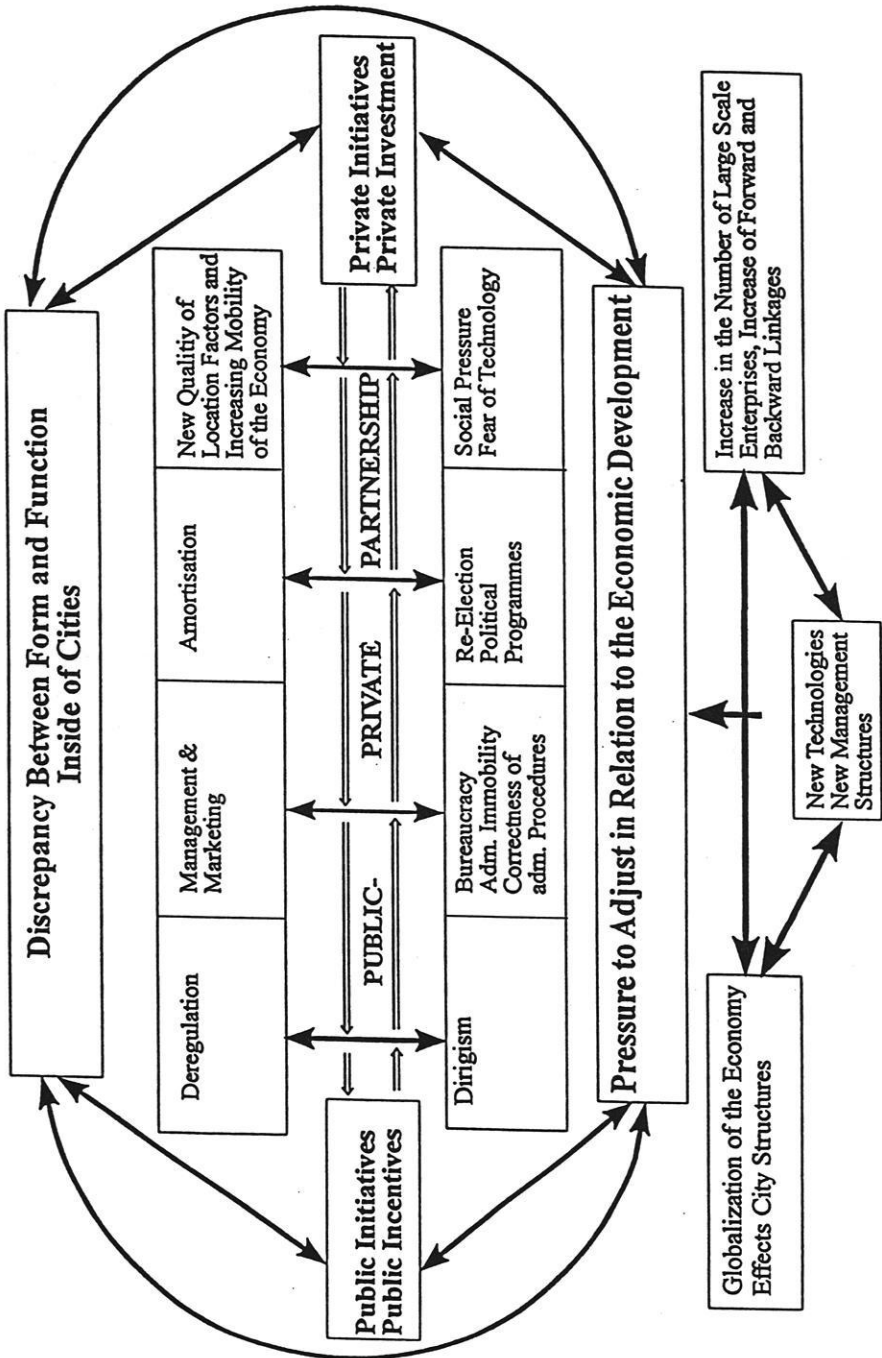


Table 1 Berlin's Present Economic and Demographic Structure - June 1993

	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)

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

(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 km<sup>2</sup>, 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 m<sup>2</sup>. 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

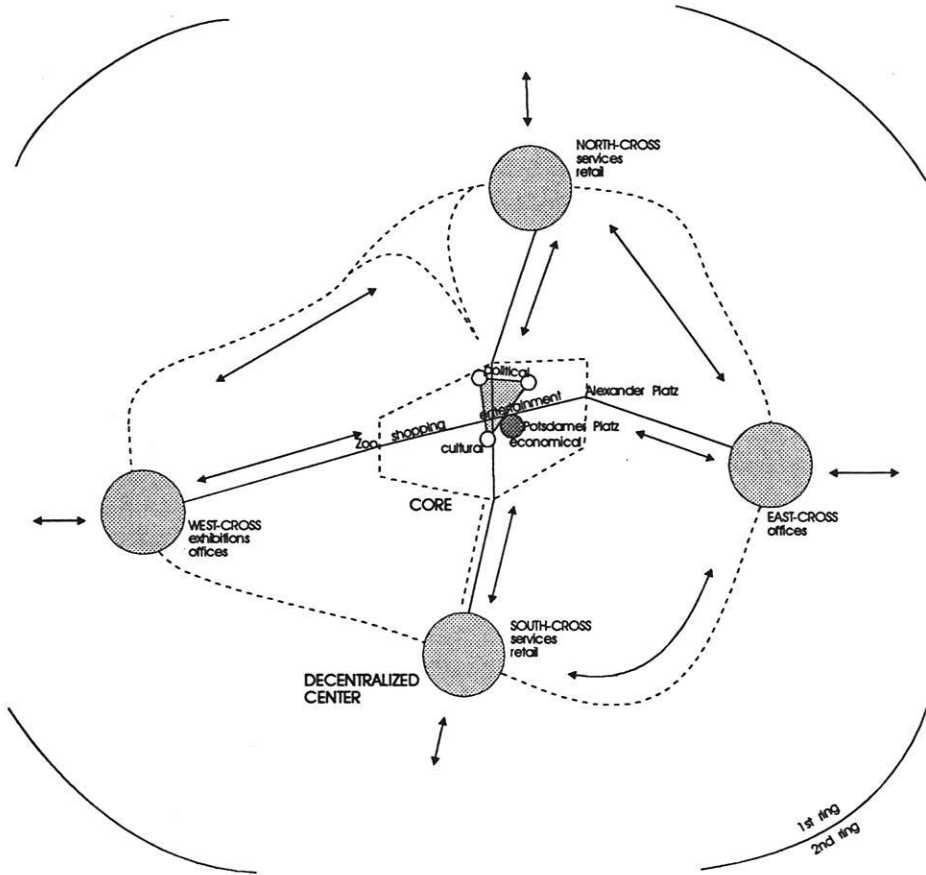
the intersections of the ring and radial rapid transit system. The so-called East and West crosses as public transport intersections will especially attract offices, while the North and the South crosses (in the same function as the other crosses) will be structured as multifunctional urban service centers. 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.

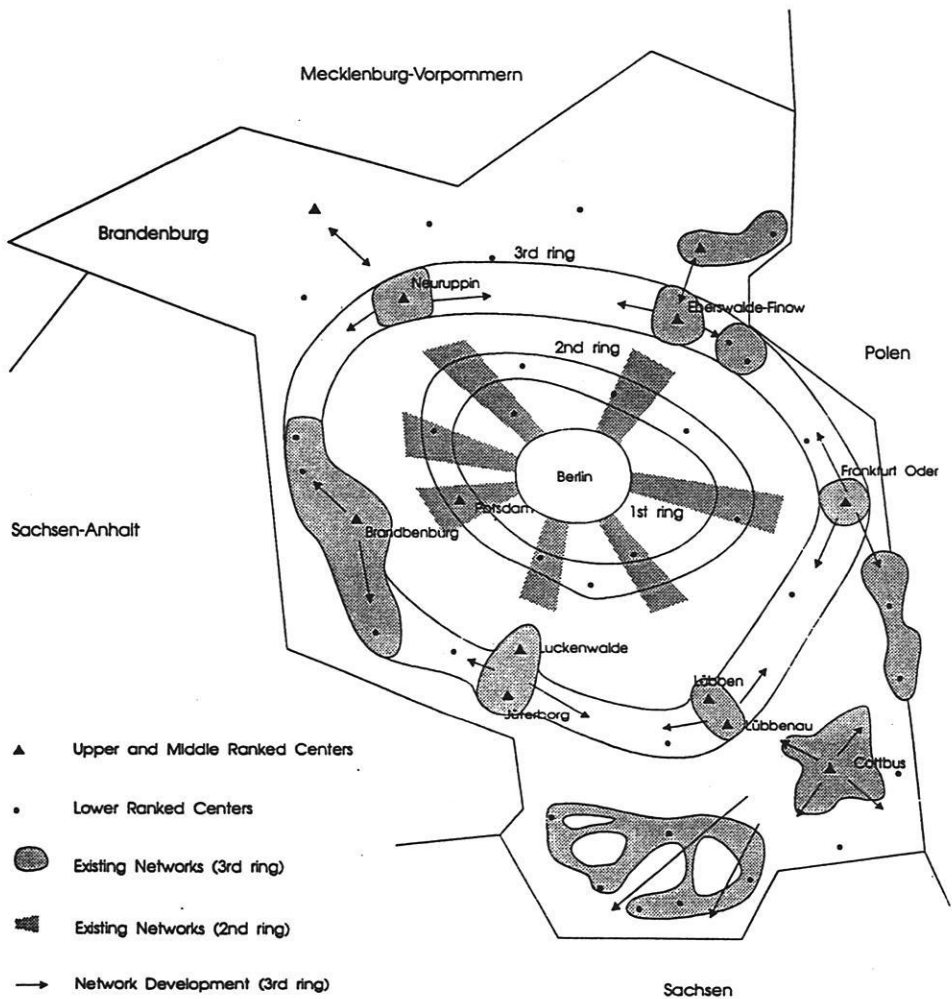
After the unification the process of restructuring and deconcentration of the western economy started towards this belt because of cheap land- and labour-costs and better access to growing markets. In the East, by contrast, the process of reprivatization, restoration and restructuring of the entire economy 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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