



**National Technical University of Athens
Interdisciplinary Program of Postgraduate Studies
Environment and Development**

***The historical monuments in the urban
environment
From Berlin to Athens***

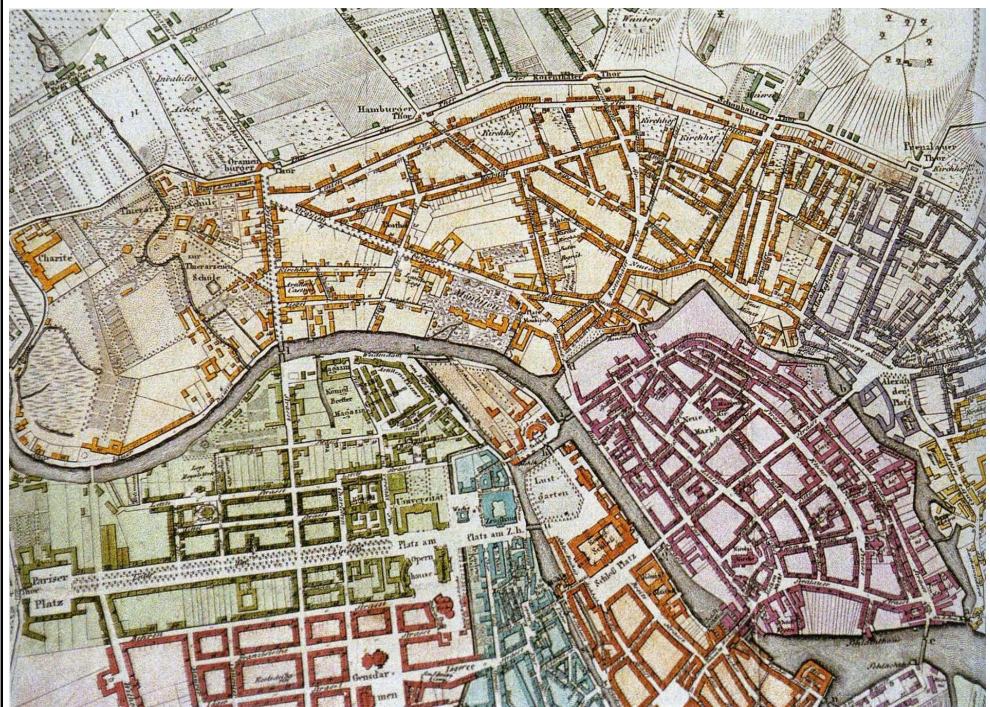
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**Environment
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Berlin/Athens 2010-2011

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Dedicated to my great Berlin friends,

*'Lefebvre was right to insist that the revolution has to be urban,
in the broadest sense of that term, or nothing at all'*

(Harvey, 2008)

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Περίληψη

Οι αρχαιολογικοί χώροι, τα ιστορικά σύνολα, τα μνημεία, τα ιστορικά κτίρια αποτελούν σημαντικά στοιχεία της πόλης, που διαμορφώνουν την εικόνα και το χαρακτήρα της. Ως ιστορικά μνημεία θα μπορούσαμε να θεωρήσουμε εκείνα τα κτιριακά κελύφη ή κτιριακά σύνολα που μπορούν και αποτελούν φορείς και ενσαρκώσεις της μνήμης και της ιστορίας ενός λαού και αποκτούν πολιτιστική, αισθητική, αλλά και συναισθηματική αξία. Σύμφωνα με τη Χάρτα της Βενετίας:

«η έννοια ενός ιστορικού μνημείου δεν καλύπτει μόνο το μεμονωμένο αρχιτεκτονικό έργο αλλά και την αστική ή την αγροτική τοποθεσία που μαρτυρεί ένα ιδιαίτερο πολιτισμό μια ενδεικτική εξέλιξη ή ένα ιστορικό γεγονός. Αυτό ισχύει όχι μόνο για τις μεγάλες δημιουργίες αλλά και για τα ταπεινά έργα που με τον καιρό απέκτησαν πολιτιστική σημασία» (Icomos, 1964).

Πράγματι, τα μνημεία είναι αναπόσπαστα δεμένα με την έννοια του χώρου, ακριβώς γιατί αποκτούν νόημα και λόγο ύπαρξης μόνο μέσα στον τόπο και στο περιβάλλον που τα δημιούργησε, καθώς υπήρξε λόγος που δημιουργήθηκαν εκεί και τότε, αλλά και γιατί φέρουν και μαρτυρούν όλη την ιστορική εξέλιξη του περιβάλλοντος αυτού. Σε ποιο βαθμό όμως μπορούν τα μνημεία και επηρεάζουν την καθημερινή ζωή στα σύγχρονα αστικά τοπία; Με ποιον τρόπο πραγματοποιείται και ποιους σκοπούς εκπληρώνει η διαχείριση τους; Μπορούν να επιτελέσουν το ρόλο τους ως κίνητρα γνώσης για τον πολιτισμό μιας ιστορικής περιόδου και έναυσμα για δημιουργική έκφραση στο παρόν ή λειτουργούν απλώς ως τουριστικά αξιοθέατα, ως ένα μέσο παραγωγής κέρδους μέσα από την εμπορευματική εκμετάλλευση της ιστορίας μιας πόλης; Δημιουργούνται κοινωνικές επιπτώσεις από τις παρεμβάσεις αποκατάστασης και συντήρησης των μνημείων και των μνημειακών συνόλων; Όλα τα παραπάνω ερωτήματα αποτέλεσαν έναυσμα για τη συγγραφή της παρούσας μεταπτυχιακής εργασίας.

Στα πλαίσια αυτά, η υπόθεση εργασίας βασίζεται στην παραδοχή πως η διαχείριση της πολιτιστικής κληρονομιάς θα πρέπει να εξετάζεται μέσα από μία **πολυδιάστατη προσέγγιση**, εξετάζοντας τις εκάστοτε οικονομικές, πολιτικές και κοινωνικές προεκτάσεις, καθώς και τις συσχετιζόμενες ιδεολογικές αναφορές. Θα πρέπει να

δίνεται έμφαση στο κατά πόσο εξυπηρετούνται ευρύτερα αναπτυξιακά σχέδια που έχουν στόχο την τουριστική προσέλκυση στα κέντρα των πόλεων, εντείνοντας συχνά τον κοινωνικό αποκλεισμό για τα χαμηλότερα οικονομικά στρώματα, αλλά και στο κατά πόσο γίνεται σύνδεση με ιδεολογήματα που αποσκοπούν στη διαμόρφωση μιας εθνικής ή τοπικής ταυτότητας. Συμπερασματικά, **η αρχιτεκτονική και πολεοδομική διάσταση, το οικονομικό και πολιτικό πλαίσιο**, αλλά και **οι κοινωνικές προεκτάσεις** είναι στοιχεία που θα πρέπει να μελετώνται μέσα από τη διαλεκτική τους αλληλοσυσχέτιση.

Βασιζόμενη σε αυτό το σκεπτικό, η εργασία επικεντρώνεται στην περιοχή του Spandauer Vorstadt (προάστιο του Σπάνταου) στο Βερολίνο και ειδικότερα στις πολεοδομικές παρεμβάσεις που έγιναν από την πτώση του Τείχους ως σήμερα. Αντιλαμβανόμενοι ότι η πολεοδομική συγκρότηση και οι χρήσεις μίας πόλης καθορίζονται μέσα από την ιστορική συνέχεια, το δεύτερο κεφάλαιο της εργασίας προέκυψε από την ανάγκη μελέτης της ιδιαίτερης πολεοδομικής ιστορίας του Βερολίνου από τα μεσαιωνικά χρόνια ως και τις μέρες μας. Ιδιαίτερη έμφαση δόθηκε στο γεγονός ότι η πρόσφατη ιστορία της πόλης έχει στιγματιστεί από τα χρόνια της διαίρεσης και ως εκ τούτου ο σχεδιασμός του χώρου, αλλά και η διαχείριση των μνημείων αποτέλεσαν μέσο διαμόρφωσης μίας κοινής ιστορικής ταυτότητας, επιτελώντας το χρέος συγκρότησης μίας **συλλογικής μνήμης** που θα προσπερνούσε ή ακόμα και θα διέγραφε τα αόρατα σύνορα που εξακολουθούσαν να υπάρχουν ακόμα και μετά την ένωση.

Το τρίτο κεφάλαιο αποτελεί μια εισαγωγή στην περιοχή μελέτης, εξηγώντας τα κριτήρια και τους λόγους που οδήγησαν στην επιλογή της ως ενδιαφέρουσα περίπτωση για εξέταση. Το Spandauer Vorstadt βρίσκεται σε άμεση γειτνίαση με το κέντρο του Βερολίνου και αποτελεί το παλαιότερο σωζόμενο τμήμα της πόλης, το μοναδικό, στο οποίο έχει επιβιώσει ένα σημαντικό ποσοστό κτιρίων που δημιουργήθηκαν πριν από το 1870 και κατάφεραν να επιβιώσουν από το Δεύτερο Παγκόσμιο Πόλεμο. Πέρα από το ιστορικό οικιστικό απόθεμα, η περιοχή είναι και η μόνη που έχει διατηρήσει τη μεσαιωνική πολεοδομική διάρθρωση και ως εκ τούτου, δίνεται η δυνατότητα της τεκμηριωμένης προσέγγισης του χώρου μέσα από την εξέλιξή του.

Ούσα περιοχή του ανατολικού Βερολίνου, η εν λόγω γειτονιά είχε κατά βάση εργατική σύσταση πληθυσμού, αν και υπήρχε ένα σημαντικό κομμάτι Εβραίων κατοίκων που ασχολούνταν με το εμπόριο. Ιδιαίτερα μετά από την ένωση η περιοχή ανέλαβε να επιτελέσει το ρόλο του ιστορικού κέντρου, ως το μοναδικό τμήμα του παλιού Βερολίνου. Για το λόγο αυτό κηρύχθηκε διατηρητέα σύμφωνα με την παράγραφο 172 του οικοδομικού κώδικα, αλλά και αποτέλεσε μία από τις περιοχές της πρώην ανατολικής Γερμανίας που προμηδοτήθηκε και προωθήθηκε η διατήρηση και προστασία τους στα πλαίσια του προγράμματος Πολεοδομικής Προστασίας των Μνημείων (“**Städtebauliche Denkmalschutz**”). Αξίζει να υπογραμμίσουμε ότι στο Spandauer Vorstadt έγιναν μεγάλες επενδύσεις λόγω της χαμηλής αξίας της γης και των ακινήτων αμέσως μετά την ένωση.

Αφού μελετήθηκαν όλες οι σχετικές διατάξεις, αλλά και οι πραγματοποιηθείσες σημειακές και συνολικότερες παρεμβάσεις στο τρίτο κεφάλαιο, το τέταρτο κεφάλαιο περιέχει τη συμπύκνωση των συμπερασμάτων, βασιζόμενο στην ανάλυση των κατευθύνσεων που κρίθηκαν σημαντικές κατά την διατύπωση της υπόθεσης εργασίας. Έτσι, πέρα από την αρχιτεκτονική διάσταση εξετάστηκε διεξοδικά το πολιτικό και οικονομικό πλαίσιο καθώς και το ιδεολογικό υπόβαθρο στα χρόνια της συγκρότησης του Βερολίνου σε ανερχόμενη πρωτεύουσα της ενωμένης Γερμανίας και έγινε προσπάθεια συσχέτισης με τους χωρικούς και κοινωνικούς μετασχηματισμούς στην περιοχή μελέτης. Ιδιαίτερη έμφαση δόθηκε στις κοινωνικές προεκτάσεις, μιας και οι παρεμβάσεις διατήρησης και αποκατάστασης συνδέθηκαν με φαινόμενα αστικού «εξευγενισμού» που οδήγησαν στην εκδίωξη των εργατικών στρωμάτων από τη συγκεκριμένη γειτονιά, αλλά και στην «τουριστικοποίηση» αυτής, μεταλλάσσοντάς την σε πόλο έλξης επισκεπτών.

Το πέμπτο κεφάλαιο φέρει τον τίτλο: *«Από την πρωτεύουσα της ενισχυμένης Γερμανίας, στην Αθήνα, μια πρωτεύουσα σε κρίση»*. Σε αυτό το «αντί επιλόγου» γίνεται μια προσπάθεια σύνδεσης των συμπερασμάτων από την μελέτη της περίπτωσης του Βερολίνου για την προσέγγιση των ανοιχτών ερωτημάτων που ταλανίζουν την Αθήνα της κρίσης σήμερα. Με ποιον τρόπο και προς ποίου το όφελος θα «αξιοποιηθεί» αναπτυξιακά η πολιτιστική κληρονομιά και το ιστορικό κέντρο, όταν η χώρα βρίσκεται υπό τον ασφυκτικό κλοιό του Διεθνούς Νομισματικού

Ταμείου και της Τρόικας; Ποια έννοια και ποιο ρόλο καλείται να αποκτήσει ο χώρος, σε μια περίοδο όπου ο λαός χρεοκοπεί καθημερινά από τα συνεχή μέτρα λιτότητας, ενώ και τα κοινωνικά αγαθά και η δημόσια γη ξεπουλιούνται παραβλέποντας οποιαδήποτε νομοθετική διαδικασία; Πως θα μπορούσε να ανατραπεί η ζοφερή τωρινή κατάσταση της παράδοσης του δημόσιου χώρου και του κέντρου της πόλης στο κεφάλαιο; Εδώ θα πρέπει να διευκρινίσουμε ότι δεν αποτέλεσε σκοπό η εύκολη εξαγωγή γραμμικών συσχετίσεων ή συγκρίσεων. Πρόκειται εξάλλου για δύο εντελώς διαφορετικές πόλεις και σε διαφορετικές ιστορικές φάσεις. Βασικός στόχος του κεφαλαίου αυτού είναι να αξιοποιηθούν η μεθοδολογία και οι υποθέσεις εργασίας από την περίπτωση του Βερολίνου, ώστε να τεθούν ερωτήματα προς περαιτέρω διερεύνηση για την πόλη της Αθήνας στη σημερινή πραγματικότητα της διεθνούς κρίσης.

Abstract

As historical monument can be characterized any building or set of buildings, which bears the stamp of history and therefore particular national, regional, local or symbolic significance. The historical sets, the monuments and the historical buildings are important elements of the urban environment, which can be identified because of their cultural, aesthetic and emotional value. The Venice Charta defines historical monuments by indicating that

“The concept of an historic monument embraces not only the single architectural work but also the urban or rural setting in which is found the evidence of a particular civilization, a significant development or an historic event. This applies not only to great works of art but also to more modest works of the past which have acquired cultural significance with the passing of time” (Icomos, 1964).

But do historical monuments affect the everyday life of big cities and in which ways are they administrated? Are there any social impacts related with preserving cultural heritage? Do monuments help visitors and tourists to find the ways of producing today's culture through a creative interactivity with the past, or are they a mean of creating profit by selling the city's history? All these questions were the trigger for the preparation of this thesis.

In this context the hypothesis of the thesis is based on the assumption that the administration of historical data has to be examined in a **multidimensional way**, as it is of great importance to study the related interventions in association with the socioeconomic and political context and in interaction with the ideological background. Heritage management and conservation of monuments are usually part of wider economic projects and in most cases connected with tourism development. Moreover they are joined with comprehensive ideological references to national or local identity. Therefore, historic preservation strategies should be examined by taking into account the economical, political and social conditions and the particular ideological level. More specifically, all these aspects should be highlighted in their interrelation: **the architectural and urban dimension, the political, economic and ideological context and also the social repercussions.**

Based on these facts, this thesis focuses on the study area of Spandauer Vorstadt and on the interventions made after the fall of the Berlin Wall. As the historical evolution of a city determines its urban structure and function, a great effort is made in the second chapter in an attempt to deal with Berlin's spectacular urban history from the medieval years till nowadays. Furthermore, we should take into notice that the recent history of Berlin has been marked by the divided years and therefore the urban planning and also the interpretations of monuments had to serve the formation of a unified historical identity and of a collective memory.

The third chapter is an introduction to the study area, Spandauer Vorstadt (Spandau Suburb), explaining the reasons which led to the examination of this particular district of Berlin. Spandauer Vorstadt is located in direct vicinity with the center of Berlin and is the oldest preserved part of the city, the only quarter in Berlin where a substantial amount of pre 1870 buildings have survived the Second World War and therefore it enables the documentation of the impressively historical and spatial characteristics of the urban evolution. Especially after the reunification the Spandauer Vorstadt undertook the deputy role of the old Berlin, of the real city center. For all these reasons it became a preservation area according to the § 172 of the building code. Additionally, the redevelopment process was financed and realized by the **Urban Monument Conservation Program ("Städtebauliche Denkmalschutz")**. We should also underline that great investments were promoted to the study area due to the low cost of land after the reunification.

After having examined all the related legislations, the fourth chapter focuses on the three dimensions, which were set to be important during the formulation of the hypothesis: the architectural dimension of the interventions in the study area, the political and economical context of Berlin in the decades after the fall of the Wall and how these affected the socio-spatial transformation of Spandauer Vorstadt and also the social impacts. There are no universal benefits by preserving cultural heritage and the case of the Spandauer Vorstadt belongs to the phenomena of post-socialist urban transformation with gentrification and touristification processes that were accompanied by an improvement of the urban environment, but also by "social upgrading" and exclusion of the lower income residents.

Finally, the last chapter tries to connect the conclusions drawn from the case study Berlin with the open questions that Athens is facing nowadays, taking into account that it is a capital losing its former glory and facing new challenges. A city in crisis, where projects are no longer subject to any legislative restriction and public land is expropriated. The purpose of that chapter is to find out aspects for further study, considering that especially in this period we have to deal with two capitals in a totally different political and economical situation and that we should take into consideration the factor of the international economic crisis, which is combined with various repercussions and with urban policies that intensify social exclusion.

1. Formulation of a hypothesis

1.1 Introduction

The archaeological sites, the historical sets, the monuments and the historic buildings are important elements of the urban environment, forming its image and character. They bear historical, cultural, aesthetic and emotional value and can affect the life of the modern city. The administration, however, of historical data has to be examined in a multidimensional way. It is of great importance to study these interventions in association with the socioeconomic and political context and in interaction with the ideological background. Heritage management and conservation of monuments come as a result of the general policy that political forces and parties serve. They are connected to wider economic development plans for tourism attraction in the city centers and also to comprehensive ideological references to national or local identity. Based on this hypothesis, this thesis will focus on the study area of Spandauer Vorstadt and the interventions made after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Drawing conclusions from the historical center of Berlin, there will be an attempt to determine a connection with the socio-spatial transformations that take place in the historical center of Athens nowadays, in the new dire reality of the crisis.

1.2 Examining the socioeconomic and political context

In order to understand and study the followed policies of heritage management in a city, we should firstly examine the socioeconomic and political context. We should examine if there has been some kind of transformation in the late twentieth century's capitalism and what this means for the urban planning and the preservation of culture and heritage. More specifically, we should take under consideration the current phase of capitalism, the new conditions in the productive process and the establishment of a new work regime.

According to David Harvey, this is a political - economical transformation of capitalism which inaugurates a new period. A period characterized by flexibility and uncertainty (Harvey, 1990). Almost twenty years ago, before the economical and political results of the fall of the Berlin Wall, he expressed the following perception:

“The breakup of this system since 1973 has inaugurated a period of rapid change, flux and uncertainty. Whether or not the new systems of production and marketing, characterized by more flexible labor process and markets, of geographical mobility and rapid shifts in consumption practices, warrant the title of a new regime of accumulation, and whether the revival of entrepreneurialism and of neo- conservatism, coupled with the cultural turn to postmodernism, warrant the title of a new mode of regulation, is by no means clear... But the contrasts between present political- economical practices and those of the postwar boom period are sufficiently strong to make the hypothesis of a shift from Fordism to what might called a flexible regime of accumulation a telling way to characterize recent history” (Harvey, 1990, page 124).

This new condition of Postmodernity is also reflected upon urban planning and on the role that monuments are acquiring in urban environment. In the last decades of the twentieth century a lot of emphasis has been placed by architects and urban designers on the “symbolic capital”. By this expression Bourdieu defined “The collection of luxury goods attesting the taste and distinction of the owner... It produces its proper effect inasmuch, and only inasmuch, as it conceals the fact that it originates in material forms of capital” (Bourdieu, 1977, page 188). The symbolic capital may be embedded in the built environment or urban form of a city as the portion of its exchange value which can be attributed to its symbolic content. Monuments and historic buildings become landmarks and their symbolic value is estimated to be profitable for the city.

This makes it understandable why culture has been so strongly connected with development plans and especially with mass tourism. A new industry raised in the late sixties: the heritage industry. And this new field of profitability has become a vital part of the economic underpinning of a country. Hewinson claimed that Britain rapidly turned from the manufacturing of goods to the manufacturing of heritage as its principal industry. Museums, country houses, reconstructed and rehabilitated urban landscapes that echo the past have become parts of a change which indicates a “future for the past” (Hewinson, 1987).

This symbolizes an evolution from a manufacturing to an informational, cultural economy fueled by forces of global capital, international tourism and the promotion of comparative development strategies.

Culture became zoned spatially and symbolically as a by-product of economic surplus rather than instrumental in its creation. As Zukin points out, in materialistic terms, emphasizing on culture is a concerned attempt to exploit the uniqueness of fixed capital – monuments, art collections, performance spaces, even shopping streets accumulated over the past. In this sense, culture is the sum of cities amenities that enables it to compete for investments and jobs, forming its “comparative advantage” (Zukin, 1995).

During the last decades, the directives of the European Union emphasized a lot on cultural and heritage tourism as a tool of economic development through the attraction of visitors from outside a host community motivated by the historical, artistic, scientific or lifestyle/ heritage offerings of a community, region, group or institution (Rosenfeld, 2010). Culture has become a huge resource in the post industrial economy and this is reflected upon the use of cultural heritage in the development strategies of the European Union.

The passage to the nineties throws up new facts, as we have to observe the intersection of two major processes. The first is related to the sharp growth in the globalization of economic activity, which has raised the scale and the complexity of transactions, “thereby feeding the growth of top level multinational headquarter functions and the growth of advanced corporate services” (Sassen, 2001). But, while regionally-oriented firms don’t need to negotiate about the complexities of international borders and the regulations of different countries, they are still faced with a regionally dispersed network of operations that requires centralized control and servicing (Sassen, 2001).

The second process that has to be taken into consideration is the growing service intensity in the organization of all industries. This has led to a massive growth in the demand of services by firms in all industries, from mining and manufacturing to finance and consumer services. And as there is a tendency to transfer the production

units to countries where there is cheap labor, the big cities of the western world become key sites for the production of services (Sassen, 2001).

Of course the field of culture and heritage acquires an enhanced role as an industry based on providing services. Based on these facts, it is also vital to highlight that history and heritage is a prominent site of global-local conflict. In a globalized world, where European capitals like Berlin are willing to become global cities, expressing a multicultural character, monuments and historical buildings are supposed to serve this goal and at the same time evince the local identity.

It is easy to understand that telecommunications and globalization have emerged as major forces shaping the organization of urban space. As Saskia Sassen observes, this organization ranges from the spatial virtualization of a growing number of social and economic activities to the reconfiguration of the geography of the built environment for these activities. More specifically, she points out that:

“The growth of global markets for finance and specialized services, the need for transnational servicing networks due to sharp increases in international investment, the reduced role of the government in the regulation of international economic activity and the corresponding ascendance of other institutional arenas, notably global markets and corporate headquarters – all these point to the existence of a series of transnational networks of cities” (Sassen, 2004, page 171).

The agglomerations of firms producing central functions for the management and coordination of global economic systems are disproportionately concentrated in the highly developed countries and more specifically in the kind of cities that could be characterized as global cities. In those cities the concentrations of functions represent a strategic factor in the organization of the global economy.

Considering all these facts one can simultaneously observe, that if in the nineties there was a shift in the use of cultural space, the idea of culture has began to give way to the idea that “creativity” is what matters. Creative cities are supposed to underline the production of experiences with the active involvement of the consumer in the production of these experiences (Richards, 2005). It is of great interest to examine the

role of historical sets under these new circumstances, where the creative class is supposed to rule over productivity.

Many urban managers and city planners have tried to explain the major changes regarding urban and economic development influenced by the theory of the creative class and by Richard Florida's 'The Rise of creative class'. According to Florida, a new class is rising, that is the creative class:

“The creative class consists of people who add economic value through their creativity. It thus includes a great many of knowledge workers, symbolic analysts and professional and technical workers... The core of this class includes scientists and engineers, university professors, poets and novelists, artists, entertainers, actors, designers and architects, as well as the thought leadership of modern society: non-fiction writers, editors, cultural figures, think-tank researchers, analysts and other opinion makers. Beyond this core group, the creative class also includes ‘creative professionals’ who work in a wide range of knowledge –intensive industries such as high-tech sectors, financial services, and business managers” (Florida, 2003, page 144)

It can be clearly understood that the creative class has nothing to do with the Marxist theory and the mode of class analysis, as it doesn't refer to a position in relation to the means of production. The creative class is defined as those whose occupations range from artists and software designers to managers and legal experts.

Richard Florida's work on the creative class has also focused on the means of measuring and hence ranking, what he argues are the most significant attributes for a city to be 'creative'. The three variables that Florida believes to be the most important and endear an area to the creative class is Technology, Talent and Tolerance. The three Ts do not constitute creativity, but are factors of attraction. This attraction of particular labor or occupations to a place, given they are in short supply, is claimed to cause hi-tech industries to move to that location in order to be close to such a labor pool. Culture and creative industries are in this formulation an instrumental sideshow that in turn attracts the workers, who attract the high investors (Pratt, 2008).

It is claimed that traditional manufacturing activities have declined in the so-called developed world. In fact, these industries do not decline; on the contrary, they are growing faster than ever, but they have moved away towards cheaper properties and cheaper labor sources. So the former industrial cities have gradually become 'hollowed out'. This vacuum has been filled by financial service activities and has stimulated a new urban era. Many manufacturing workers were made redundant. An influential line of argument suggests that the competitive advantage of cities is their experience, the promotion of creativity and the consumption of experience. As several cities lose their own manufacturing jobs, it is only natural that they potentially seek to appeal new working fields. Culture and heritage in combination with tourism create a great field of profitability.

This observation should be examined historically. As David Harvey points out, cities have arisen through geographical and social concentrations of a surplus product. Urbanization has, therefore, always been a class phenomenon, since surpluses are extracted from somewhere and from somebody, while control over their disbursement typically lies with the few.

“This general situation persists under capitalism, but as urbanization depends on the mobilization of a surplus product, an intimate connection emerges between the development of capitalism and urbanization... The coercive laws of competition also force the continuous implementation of new technologies and organizational forms, since these enable capitalists to out-compete those using inferior methods. Innovations define new wants and needs, reduce the turnover time of capital and lessen the friction of distance, which limits the geographical range within which the capitalist can search for expanded labor supplies, raw materials and so on. The perpetual need to find profitable terrains for capital surplus production and absorption shapes the politics of capitalism. It also presents the capitalist with a number of barriers to continuous and trouble-free expansion. Capitalists must also discover new means of production in general and natural resources in particular, they need to open up terrains of raw material extraction” (Harvey, 2008, page 24).

Today, capitalism is confronted with a major crisis that affects even the rich countries of the West. This new situation is marked by a new regime of exploitation, which confirms the existence of the passage to a new phase. The crisis that began in highly localized housing markets in the United States in 2007 quickly spread around the world via a tightly networked financial and trading system that was supposed to spread risk rather than financial mayhem. As the effects of the credit crunch spread, it had different impacts from one place to another. It is logical to believe that this will also influence the strategies of heritage management and urban planning, bearing new impacts on the political, socio-economical and ideological level.

1.3 The importance of history/ forming the ideological background

Historic preservation encompasses the range of strategies by which historic structures, such as preservation, restoration, conservation and consolidation, are maintained, managed and manipulated. This is an especially complex and multifaceted phenomenon. It reveals the political processes at work as specific sites are selected as worthy of commemoration, while others are neglected. It also demonstrates how the interpretive surround of a site reflects class ideologies, especially when viewed in comparative perspective (Barthe, 1996).

It would be insufficient not to examine the general socioeconomic and political context by specializing it to the history of the city. The historical past of an area determines the terms and the conditions of the specific expression that a general tendency will present. As we examine the period of the last twenty years, it is important to see the historical evolution, as this is also what influences the ideological background of preserving cultural heritage. There are three main aspects that we should examine as far as the ideological references are concerned: ***the need for collective memory, the importance of historical continuity and the “up lifting” of national moral.***

The Italian architect Aldo Rossi expressed the opinion that monuments are “signs of the collective will as expressed through the principles of architecture, offer themselves as primary elements, fixed points in the urban dynamic” (Rossi, 1982, page 21). He exaggerated the use of monuments in the production of collective

memory. Related to this opinion, Hewinson tried to explain the necessity of preserving the past as:

“a part of the impulse to preserve itself. Without knowing where we have been, it is difficult to know where we going...Continuity between past and present creates a sense of sequence out of aleatory chaos and, since change is inevitable, a stable system of ordered meaning enables us to cope with both innovation and decay. The nostalgic impulse is an important agency in adjustment to crisis, it is a social emollient and reinforces national identity when confidence is weakened or threatened” (Hewinson, 1987, page 47)

As different cities convey distinguishable historical memories, it is easy to understand the existence of various and also distinct ideological bases. The recent history of Berlin has been crucially stigmatized by the fact that the city was divided for decades. In the case of Berlin, the architectural and urban planning and the interpretations of monuments had to serve the need of finding unity in the new capital, creating at the same time a unified historical identity. Since the reunification, Berlin has been confronted with various political, economic, social and cultural challenges. It is a city that has struggled to erase some parts of the past, while maintaining others and also to reposition itself, finding a new image as Germany's new capital and as a modern metropolis. In this whole process of identity and image formation the need for collective memory and historical continuity determine the planning and preserving strategies. The reinstatement of Berlin as Germany's capital was combined with a huge discussion about its new nature and identity as a reunified city that would regain its former metropolitan character. The remembrance of the Golden Twenties became vivid again, searching the city's potential future role as a metropolis comparable to London and Paris.

In order to connect the conclusions drawn from Berlin with the open questions that Athens is facing nowadays, one should not forget that Athens has had to overcome the development status of Greece confronting with the last of the late industrialization. The heritage management is guided by the need for reviving the rich ancient heritage. All the interventions are joined with the "vision" of recovering the ancient glory and with the efforts of “uplifting” the national morale,

underlining at the same time that Athens can overcome the economical, political and social crisis by reviving the past. This is also why the program of the reunification of archaeological sites was promoted in connection with the Olympic Games at 2004, an international event that would improve the image of the city as a worldwide touristic destination, showing at the same time that the Greeks of today can achieve the “glory” of their ancestors. But today Athens is a capital losing its former glory and facing new challenges. It is a capital in crisis, where projects are no longer subject to any legislative restriction and public land is expropriated as long as investments are implemented. The impacts of an urban policy that intensifies social exclusion are various and the ideological background used is what Naomi Klein describes in her book as “the shock doctrine”, meaning the use of public disorientation following massive collective shockswars in order to push through highly unpopular economic shock therapy.

1.4 The social impacts/ the return of capital in the city centers

The social impacts of the interventions are various. There are no universal benefits by preserving cultural heritage. As the main programs refer to the city centers, the whole process is combined with the appearance of gentrification. Areas of the city center, where people of low incomes and especially immigrants used to live, get transformed through urban projects and the preservation of historical monuments to cultural touristic hot spots, changing at the same time their social composition.

So, we have to answer the question: who gets involved in all these changes, and who benefits from all these interventions? Increasingly, we see the right to the city falling into the hands of private or quasi private interests, as it is now constituted, narrowly confined and in most cases restricted to a small political and economic elite who are in a position to shape cities more and more after their own desires (Harvey, 2008).

Of course, the participation of the citizens to the planning procedure varies from place to place. In the case of Berlin, the citizens’ participation involves to some extent the elected representatives of affected groups, the modernization committee, public discussions and questionnaires handed out to residents, including other groups such as the Jewish community.

In the case of Athens, there is little legal participation of the citizens in the decisional procedure, but on the other hand we have the existence of neighborhood resistance movements, that create pressure and can determine the planning interventions. Furthermore, it is of great importance to consider that the choice and prioritization inherent in place – based strategies unavoidably favors some areas more than others. Synergies between culture, finance and politics ultimately benefit institutions, tourists and tourist industry rather than local communities. This may also lead to practices of persecution, of gated communities and private spaces. It widens the socio-spatial divisions and the social segregation of accommodation, meaning practically the return of the capital to city centers.

1.5 To sum up

If political institutions tend to produce and use symbols representing and maintaining power hierarchies, monuments are used as a specific manifestation of symbolic action by political means. This is elaborated in the historic background of each case study and according to the special contingent conditions of embedment in the economic institutions of capitalism. Therefore, historic preservation strategies should be examined by taking into consideration the economic, political and social conditions and the particular ideological background. Specifically, we should highlight all these aspects in their interrelation: ***the architectural and urban dimension, the political, economic and ideological context and also the social repercussions.***

Finally, we should also think whether and at what level the original purpose of upgrading the relationship with the past is fulfilled. Furthermore, whether habitants and visitors achieve an unmediated encounter with history and find the ways of producing today's culture through a creative interactivity with the past or monuments and historic centers totally handed over to the capital.

2. A city of spectacular urban history

“Historical nostalgia in Berlin becomes politically explosive in ways that might dumbfound planners and preservationists elsewhere”

(Ladd, 1997)

2.1 Berlin: from a medieval to a big city

“In Berlin even the remote past cannot escape controversy”

Berlin’s origins are supposed to be placed in the late twelfth century, in the existence of two towns on the opposite sides of the crossing river Spree. The larger town on the right bank was named Berlin and the other, an island enclosed by an arm of the river, Cölln. Gradually, the name Berlin applied to both of the closely allied towns. Although the precise dates aren’t pinned down, the oldest document that clearly identifies either of them comes from 1237, which was regarded as the birth year of the city. Fragments of churches and a small piece of a restored town are all that remain of medieval Berlin. The street pattern and scale of the medieval town has been virtually obliterated, but on the Berlin side one lonely church in the north and a few streets in the south have remained even after the wartime, in which can one still find the ruins of a monastery church and the sense of the old scale of the town (Ladd, 1997). The heart of the medieval town can today be found in the Nikolai Quarter, named by the oldest medieval church of St. Nikolai. This quarter represents the “ancient city” of Berlin, despite the fact that it is brand new. It was recreated in the plan of the architect Günter Stahn authorized by the East German authorities. It was completed in 1987 for the East’s 750th anniversary celebration. As Brian Ladd Points out

“This neighborhood of merchants testified to the vigor of the new middle class at the end of Middle Ages, rising to power in a feudal society and thus illustrating the bourgeois revolution that was a prerequisite for the proletarian revolution that the red Army brought to German in 1945” (Ladd, 1997, page 46).

The early fifteenth century was meant to be the beginning of a new era for the two towns. The territory of Brandenburg was granted by the Holy Roman Emperor to Burgrave Friedrich of the German family of Hohenzollern. Berlin – Cölln had emerged as the leading commercial center of the sparsely settled region. In 1442, the

elector compelled Cölln to hand over land on the north part of the island for the construction of a castle from which he would assert his authority. By the end of the century, the castle had become the permanent residence of the electors of Brandenburg (Ladd, 1997).

Nevertheless, in the seventeenth century the electorate of Brandenburg emerged as one of the most powerful German principalities. In 1640 the elector Friedrich Wilhelm, also known as the Great Elector, came to the throne of Brandenburg. Through his mercantilist policies, he promoted domestic trade and industry, succeeding in enlarging his territorial holdings while strengthening his control over them. A third and then a fourth town were added to the first two towns: Friedrichswerder in 1662 and the Dorotheenstadt in 1674, centered on a grand western boulevard, Unter den Linden, which led from the castle to the Tiergarten. Elector Friedrich the Third, son of the Great Elector, founded a fifth town, Friedrichstadt, that was larger than the others and lain out in blocks extending south from Unter den Linden. In 1709 the five towns were officially united into the unified city of Berlin. Taking advantage of the fact that Brandenburg had acquired the duchy of Prussia, Friedrich was granted the right to crown himself Friedrich I, King of Prussia in the city of Königsberg. Although it was his sixteenth century predecessors that had turned the medieval fortress into a Renaissance palace on the Cölln side of the Spree, it was Friedrich who sponsored an enormous extension of the palace to the west, when the architect Andreas Schlüter designed a new building in 1698. By 1713 the royal palace had largely taken on the form it would have for more than two centuries. However, by that time Berlin was a small city, with a population of 60,000 habitants, a tenth of the size that London and Paris had. While rulers came and went, the palace defined the city center, linking the old Berlin across the river Spree with the Extensions to the west. The new buildings were built taking this into account. Its new façade, with an orientation to the west, marked the eastern terminus of Unter den Linden, which became during the eighteenth century the grand axis for the royal Berlin (Ladd, 1997).

Friedrich II, also known as Frederic the Great, contributed a lot to Berlin's urbanism with the "Forum Fridericinum", a complex of buildings and also an adjoining square

centered on Unter den Linden. The four buildings were not built according to a unified plan. The ensemble is nevertheless very impressive. The state opera house, designed by Georg Wenzeslaus von Knobelsdorff between the years 1741 – 1743 was the first of its kind built as a freestanding building. To the end of his long life, Frederic the Great had insisted in building in ornate rococo forms that had long since fallen from favor in Europe's more fashionable capitals. Because of this, Langhan's Brandenburg Gate, completed in 1791, brought the severe lines of neoclassicism to Berlin (Ladd, 1997). The Brandenburg gate, modeled after the Propylaea of Athens, comprises a double row of Doric columns that frame five openings. The gate's famous feature is the copper Quadriga that was mounted atop it in 1793. It is the most famous German Monument, having symbolic value attached to the historical evolution of the city. Although it was initially called the "Gate of Peace", its identity changed in 1806, when Napoleon defeated Prussia and entered into its capital through the western gate. He also ordered to take down the quadriga in order to join his confiscated art treasures in Paris. The denuded gate became a symbol of Prussian and German resistance. After the defeat of Napoleon in 1814, the quadriga returned to Berlin and the gate of peace became the gate of victory. The architect Schinkel designed then new insignia for the goddess: a Prussian eagle, within a wreath, The Iron Cross. The gate was established as a symbol of Prussia and its capital, so when the entire customs wall was torn down in the 1860s, the Brandenburg Gate remained (Ladd, 1997). Germany was unified under Prussian leadership in 1871, during the days of the ruler Wilhelm the first. The government of unified Germany could be described as pseudo-parliamentary. This term interprets a situation where all males at the age of twenty-five were able to vote for the Imperial Parliament (the Reichstag), but the powers of the Parliament were circumscribed by those reserved for the Emperor (Kaiser) and for the individual states. A peculiar balance of powers was created. The principal author, Otto Bismarck, as an imperial chancellor, desired to combine traditional autocracy and modern representative government in a way that could leave the decisive power to the center. It is understandable that the Reichstag embodied two different hopes: on one hand, it expressed the hopes of the democrats and on the other the need of the autocrats to keep democratic impulse under control.

This was the political situation of an era branded by the industrialization, marked by the entrance to a new century and the passage to modernity (Ladd, 1997).

2.2 Ideas for the new metropolis

The end of the nineteenth century found Berlin in a process of rapid changes. The city was transforming with startling speed to a Big City. This passage to modernism after 1848 was an urban phenomenon that existed in a restless but intricate relationship with the experience of explosive urban growth, strong rural and urban immigration, industrialization, mechanization, massive reordering of built environments and politically based urban movements of which the revolutionary uprisings were a clear symbol (Harvey, 1990).

Nowhere else were these changes so dramatic and clear as in Berlin. The city's



Picture 2.1: The Berlin Mietskasernen around 1900

Source: Senate department for urban environment

population growth is characteristic: a city of 170.000 in 1800 grew to more than a half a million in the early 1850s, to reach almost one million in 1871 and reaching three millions at the turn of the century. In 1919 Berlin became the third largest city of the world, after London and New York, with four million twenty-four thousand habitants (Haußermann, Siebel, 2004). It transformed to a major industrial center, where men and women from the surrounding provinces and beyond poured into in search of work. The most striking growth was concentrated in its metalworking and machinery factories, such as Borsig and a few decades later the

new electric industry became dominated (Ladd, 1997).

The factories at first concentrated by the cities northern gates, but soon spread to every other direction. Around them clustered the city's working class districts, like Wedding in the north and Neokölln in the south. The industrial wealth also created a middle class that was mostly living in the upscale apartments in the west and southwest suburbs (Charlottenburg, Schönefeld, Wilmesdorf). Beyond them, the villa

suburbs, such as Grunewald, Dahlem and Zehlendorf, were located. It was only after 1850 that the pace of building activity fundamentally changed the face of the city. The pressing need to confront with the psychological, sociological, technical, organizational, and political problems of massive urbanization was one of the seedbeds in which modernist movements flourished (Harvey, 1990). The typical transitional zone between the preindustrial town and its countryside was giving way to large factories and imposing blocks of tenements. The economic boom around 1870 gave an enormous impetus to the construction. A private real estate market appeared to respond to the enormous demand for housing. The Berlin tenement's typical form evolved out of private builders' attempts to profit from the demand. The typical five-storey apartment houses gradually became the dwelling place for the working class of the new industrial city. The name that emerged as a label for these tenements was *Mietskaserne*, which means "rental barracks". This type of apartments was the preeminent symbol of Berlin as an industrial city.

By 1905, the average number of residents per building was reaching fifty, which was the highest in Germany (Haußermann, Siebel, 2004). Conservatives were unhappy with the growth of big cities, as this was bonded with the entrance of the working class in the society and with the forces destroying traditional social bonds. For the urban middle classes the tenement homes represented the dark side of urban growth, threatening the march of progress. For the socialists it represented the ugliest product of private property that ruthlessly exploited the working class (Ladd, 1998).



Picture 2.2: Typical Mietskaserne room

Source: Senate Department for Urban Environment

It was the overcrowding in the apartments and the poverty of their residents that gave the *Mietskaserne* its notoriety. Most apartment seekers were poor and most buildings ended up divided into small apartments. Well into the twentieth century, the actual conditions in these overcrowded dwellings were clearly unhealthy, although

improved water and sewage systems had already made an enormous difference. It was clear that Berlin as an industrial metropolis faced huge architectural and urban problems. The “Competition for a Basic Plan for reconstructing the new Big Berlin” in 1910, organized by the city of Berlin and by the Lord Mayor Martin Kirscher, aimed to find a solution to the aesthetic, hygiene and economic problems of the city and to the emerging transport issues. Many architects and urban planners, such as Bodo Ebhardt, Theodor Göcke, Ludwig Hoffman, and Otto March, participated. The first prizes went to the Berliner architect Hermann Jansen and to the architectural office of Joseph Brix and Felix Genzmer. The result of the renowned Competition Berlin (Wettbewerb Berlin) was characterized as a ‘poor’ one, as the number of the participants was relatively low for an international competition and most of them were Berliners (Sonne, 2000).

A decisive step in the industrialization of Berlin had been with the coming of the



Picture 2.3: The typical kitchen of a Mietskaserne

Source: Senate Department for Urban Environment

railroads, beginning in 1830. Technology and capitalism had created both the means and the demand for the many modes of transportation that remade the city. Urban rapid transit came with the elevated rail lines constructed in the 1870s and 1880s, the S Bahn, a circumferential ring and then an east west line across the city center. At the turn of the century came the first subway lines, as well as the growing number of buses, trucks, and cars in the streets (Ladd, 1998).

The cultural scene in Berlin was in a daze even before the Great War (1914 -1918). But it was a result of the war that raised the need for change and

the artists and architects wanted to rewrite the rules. On one hand, there was the autonomy of the German Expressionists, who wanted the free personal expression of the artists and on the other hand, the industrial modernity and the movement “des Neuen Bauens”. Berlin was in the middle of the debate and in the 1920s it was worldwide characterized as a cultural metropolis (Nicolai, 2000). It was the city of the

new theater, the new architecture, new painting, new music, new cinema, and new physics. All this liberation and experimentation evinces not only a cultural, but also a political and social agitation. The turbulent birth of Weimar Republic wasn't of course irrelevant, but promoted the transfer of the new ideas. Neither was the political situation, as the early 1930s found Berlin with street fights between the Nazis and the Communists (Ladd, 1997). The new ideas about architecture envisioned new forms of buildings and housing that would sweep away the Mietskasernen. In a period where war, political turmoil, and inflation didn't encourage the instruction field, the



Picture 2.4: The Carl Legien housing estate

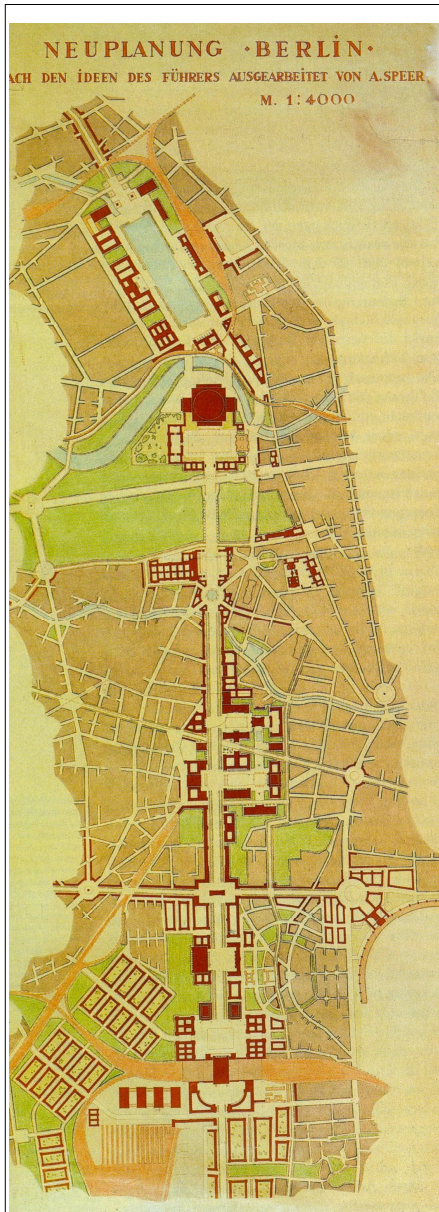
Source: Bätzner N. (2000) *Der Siedlungsbau der 20er Jahre Laboratorium sozialer Ideen und formaler Experimente in the book Stadt der Architektur, Architektur der Stadt Berlin 1900- 2000*

modernist of the 20s proposed to abolish blocks and courtyards and decorated facades in favor of generously spaced rows of sleek buildings that would offer better access to light and open space.

The new municipal building code in 1925 enshrined the goals of decentralization,

reduced densities and abolition of the Mietskasernen. With the support of the Berlin government, building societies constructed several large housing estates in outer districts of the city during the 1920s and the early 1930s (Ladd, 1998). With the concept of achieving the “beauty of the necessary” large housing estates were constructed, such as the Carl Legien in the area of Prenzlauerberg by the architects Bruno Taut and F. Hillinger, the ring house estate Siemens city in 1928 and the White City in the working class area of Reinickendorf in 1928 (by the architects Otto Salvisberg, Bruno Ahrends and Wilhelm Brüning) (Bätzner, 2000). The financial crisis of the 1929 prevented the constructional execution and soon the “Neues Bauen” with the rational practicality of the industrialization and the construction project and

also with the internationalization of the form language was being under attack (Bätzner, 2000).



Picture 2.5: Speer's north- south axel under the directions of the "Führer"

Source: Bärnreuther A. (2000), *Berlin im Zugriff totalitärer Planung*, in the book *Stadt der Architektur, Architektur der Stadt Berlin 1900- 2000*

2.3 Berlin in the years of Hitler

The nationalistic Berlin urban planning aimed at the presentation of power and dominance. Hitler wanted Berlin to be the Reich's capital and had major plans for rebuilding the city. The need to reform Berlin came from the fact that Berlin was not a Nazi stronghold and Hitler was animus against the ideological and political correlations of the city. He and his supporters were influenced by an assortment of resentments and fears of modernity and they expressed an animosity to big cities. This could be easily explained, as the working class gathered in the industrialized centers and the social democrats and the communist parties assumed power (Haussermann, Siebel, 2004).

Not only did Hitler want to transform Berlin to a different city, but he also wanted it to be renamed as Germania. Being too proud to move into former palaces, he avoided the Prussian royal palace and desired new buildings for him and his regime. Architecture fascinated him, but only as an expression of monumentality. His conception of urban planning included an amalgam of ground Parisian boulevards and prominently placed individual structures like those on Vienna's nineteenth century Ringstrasse. As he solidified his hold on power, his thoughts turned into the great

architectural monuments he wanted to leave behind. Together with the Reich capital he also chose other cities like München, Nurenberg, Linz, and Hamburg. The

architect Albert Speer was titled with the special authority of the general planning inspector and Berlin had to acquire the image of the New Germany in view of the Olympic Games in 1936. Speer sought to turn Hitler's ideas into workable form and the two most prominent buildings of the final plan, the domed hall and the triumphal arch, were based on sketches Hitler had made himself during the 1920s (Ladd, 1997). The Speer plan proposed a new monumental center standing largely apart from the existing core. An intersecting pair of grand boulevards had to be constructed: one north-south and one east-west. The east-west axis incorporated the street Unter den Linden (perhaps Hitler's favorite place in Berlin) and its western extension the Charlottenburger Chaussee. The crossing point with the North South axis was placed just west of the Brandenburg Gate (Bärnreuther, 2000). All the obstacles should be removed: rail yards, a section of the Tiergarten, ten thousand apartments. The Platz der Republik (square of the Republic) was renamed Königsplatz (Kings square) and was perhaps the only point at which the plan was incorporated into the existing city. There was also one building that would remain on the great Boulevard, the Reichstag, as Hitler liked its architecture (Ladd, 1997).

The plan had taken its final form by 1938. The redesigned Königsplatz would be a vast square intended to hold a million people. Führer's palace would be located on its western side facing the Reichstag and an enormous hall capped by a dome with a 825 feet diameter would be placed on the northern end. The grand boulevard would be wider than the Champs Elysees in Paris, while a Great-Roman style-Arch would be the counterpart at its southern end. On its walls would be carved the names of 1.8 million Germans who died in World War I. This plan was not exactly original though. The north-south axis represented a new version of a street that had been proposed several times before: by Karl Friedrich Schinkel in 1840, by entries in the planning competition for Greater Berlin in 1910, in a plan developed by Martin Mächler in 1917 (Ladd, 1997). The issue of the house building was relatively underdeveloped and it was only in 1937 when 18.746 apartments were constructed. The house building policy included smaller housing estates (Kleinsiedlungen) in the country. This was a clear expression of the animosity to Big Cities and an influence of the movement of the garden cities (Bärnreuther, 2000).

Generally, the planning for Berlin in these years shared the technocratic rationality of all modern urban societies.

As David Harvey underlines:

“Albert Speer, Hitler’s architect, may have actively attacked modernisms aesthetic principles in his resurrection of classicist themes, but he was to take over many modernist techniques and put them to nationalist ends with the same ruthlessness that Hitler’s engineers showed in taking over the practices of Bauhaus design in their construction of the death camps. It proved possible to combine up- to –date scientific engineering practices, as incorporated in the most extreme forms of technical Bureaucratic and machine rationality, with a myth of Aryan Superiority and the blood and soil of the Fatherland. It was exactly in this way that a virulent form of ‘reactionary modernism’ came to have the purchase it did in Nazi Germany, suggesting that this whole episode, while modernist in certain senses, owed more to the weakness of Enlightenment thought than it did to any dialectal reversal or progression to a ‘natural’ conclusion” (Harvey 2000, page 33).

One thing that should be taken into consideration is the fact that the third Reich could actually impose its plans on a large and complicated city. One of the major Nazi “contributions” to urban planning was the expansion of the Tempelhof airport in anticipation of an enormous increase in air traffic. It was one of the largest Third Reich structures that was expected to survive the war, but during the years of the division it became associated with the U.S military presence. Eventually, the war spoiled Speers and Hitler’s plans and saved Berlin from destruction while subjecting it to another (Ladd, 1997).

2.4 Urban policies in a divided city

After the war the situation in Berlin could be outlined by just a single word: chaos. “The streets were deserted. There were no streets, only furrows that had been reaped out between two rows of ruined houses. The order of things had stopped” (Confurius, 2000).

Berlin had been bombed for almost five years, from June 1940 till the surrender in 1945. The city did not burn to the ground at a single stroke like Dresden, Hamburg or Rotterdam. Its sight reminded a huge field where ruins emerged, as most buildings of the city were constructed in the 19th century and a lot of them were still standing. This situation made the new planning of Berlin imperatively necessary. By the year of the division only one quarter of the rubble had been moved/taken away and it wasn't until 1951 when new apartments began to be build on the east side of the city (Confurius, 2000).

The division of the city separated it into two administrative entities. One was under the control of the Western allies and was associated with the new West German state and the other, the Soviet sector, was a de facto part and capital of the East German state. By the late forties planners worked for one side or the other and plans for the entire city took in an air of fantasy (Ladd, 1998).

The architect Hans Scharoun proposed the first planning project that aimed at the reformation of the city in June 1945. In 1946, the Collective Group submitted the "collective plan" that was strongly influenced by the principles of the fourth CIAM and by the Charta of Athens for creating a functional city. At the same year, Walter Moest and his partners commended the Zehlendorfer plan, which proposed the rebuilding without destroying the existed transport foundation and infrastructure. The plan of Paul Bonatz in 1948 tried to express a synthesis of the collective and the Zehlendorf plan. Last, the general rebuilding plan in 1949 kept the proposal of the collective plan to extend the basic structure along the river Spree, but also the suggestion of the Bonatz plan to establish a northern East–West connection (von Beyme, 2000).

None of them was realized, as the allies had different urban perceptions that began to be more and more diverged as the Cold War intensified. The eastern part was against the English – American theory of the shattered cities, as it provided an isolated life that did not propel the workers to be politically activated. During the Cold War each side sought to free itself from dependence on or contamination by the other side and faced the issue of turning a half city into a whole and autonomous one (von Beyme, 2000).

The German Democratic Republic was founded in 1949 and aimed at naming Berlin



Picture 2.6: The Stalin Allee

Source: Museum für Architektur und Kunst, IBA 1952-57 (<http://www.mai-nrw.de/IBA-1952-57.58.0.html?&L=1>)

its capital, not considering plans extending beyond the soviet sector. Early plans emphasized on development along an east – west axis extending eastward from the Brandenburg gate. Apart from the demolition of the royal palace and the historical rebuilding of Unter den Linden, the main focus was given on Friedrichshein, a devastated district east of the historic center. The East – West Boulevard Frankfurter Allee renamed in honor of Josef Stalin on his seventieth birthday in 1949. The first buildings

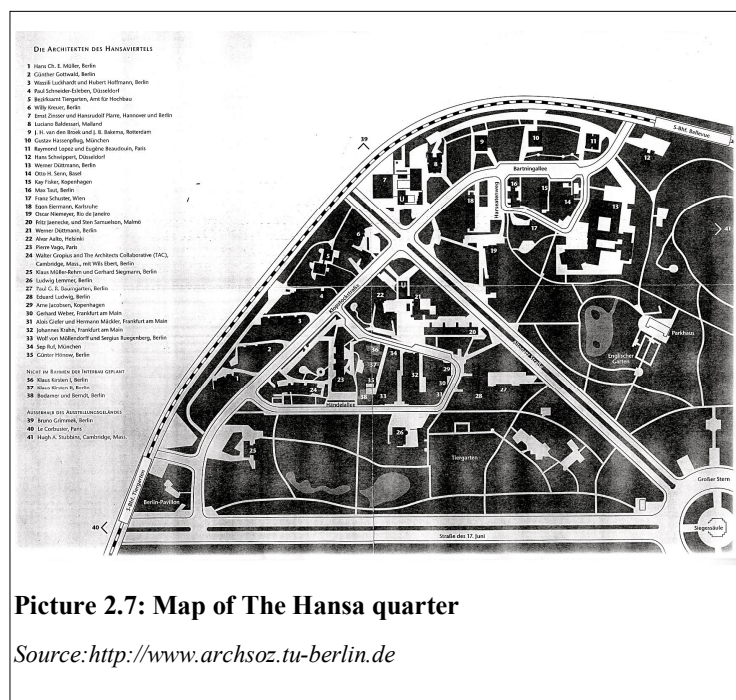
built between the years 1949-1950 were designed by Ludmilla Herzenstein, who was one of Scharoun's associates. They followed entirely the German modernist tradition of the 1920s. In the year 1950 followed a turn in architecture and planning, as it was thought that modernist architecture and functionalist planning acquired a taint of Western capitalist decadence. The USSR had rejected modernist experiments and had turned to an ornate monumentality. In fact, in the spring of 1950 the East German government sent a delegation of planners and architects to Moscow to confer with their Soviet colleagues. According to the new official line, a capital city's design had to display centralization and monumentality. By 1951 construction had began on buildings of the Stalin Allee, but in contrast to Herzenstein's plain gallery apartments, the facades of newer and larger apartment buildings were generously proportioned, articulated vertically and horizontally and profusely ornamented with classical detail (Ladd, 1997). Echoing the era before World War I, they embodied the promise of a new society, in which ordinary workers would be able to enjoy comforts.

It was also in 1950, when the government issued the Sixteen Principles of city planning, that the political and visual importance of the city was emphasized, arguing against the ideas of the modern decentralized city. It was the soviet Anti- Charta of Athens (von Beyme, 2000). Stalin Allee clearly demonstrated the return to classical and that was the first step of the socialist reconstruction of Berlin, characterized as the first socialist Street of the German Capital. Herman Henselmann became the GDR's

most famous architect, although he had been a proponent of the modernist style since 1951. In 1952, the East German government sealed the border between East and West Germany. Electrical grids were separated and telephone lines were cut off. With the building of the Berlin Wall, the city became completely divided at ground level. It soon became obvious that the competition between East and West would determine the planning of postwar Berlin. After 1956 planners tried to avoid projects that would negate their counterpart's work, were the Wall to disappear. To some extent both sides continued to plan as if there was a single city. The West upheld more insistently the fiction of a unity. In the years 1955-1957 they sponsored an international competition in order to gather comprehensive plans for the entire city and that conveyed the intension of returning the seat of government from Bonn to a reunified Berlin (von Beyme, 2000). Although it is easy to understand the political dimension of this act, the practical results were in fact trifling (perhaps with the exception of the

basic idea for the later Kulturforum). In the competition the western ideas of modern, decentralized urban form were expressed. Western investors turned their attention to the area around the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church and the Kurfürsterdamm, which was about to become the closest thing to a city

center. This area became the genuine capitalist showcase with crowds of tourists, expensive shops, coffee shops and bars. Since 1965, the tallest building in the area was the Europa center with the three-point Mercedes Benz star rotating on its roof (Ladd, 1997).



Picture 2.7: Map of The Hansa quarter

Source: <http://www.archsoz.tu-berlin.de>

After Stalin's death, Nikita Khrushchev began to criticize the Stalinist architecture. By the end of the fifties unadorned concrete and steel apartments were the rule in East Berlin. The western part of the Stalin Allee, linked to the Alexanderplatz and to the city center was built up with apartment houses in the new style during the early 1960s. The change in style was connected with Khrushchev's program of "de-Stalinization". In 1961 the Stalin Allee was renamed to Marx Allee and the Stalin monument was removed, leaving no sign that anything had ever stood there (Ladd, 1997). West Berlin's leaders intended to present the "free" Berlin, as a clear alternative to Communism.

The first grand Western Project was the International Building Exhibition in 1957, which was devoted to the reconstruction of the Hansa Quarter, a ruined by the war neighborhood that was centrally located on the northwestern corner of the Tiergarten. Internationally prominent architects, such as Le Corbusier, Gropius, Scharoun and others, designed individual low-rise and high-rise buildings, scattered across the neighborhood, all more or less in the modernist style. As a conscious counterpoint to Stallinallee, the design of the Hansaviertel (Hansaquarter) reflected a deliberate renunciation of axial orientation, centralized order, or anything that smacked of regimentation. But it did share a more practical problem with the Stalin Allee: contrary to its purpose, its construction costs were too high to make it a model for the tens of thousands of subsidized apartments that had to be built in the following years (Ladd, 1998).

The east side answered the dare of the western competition by promoting the initiation of an international competition for the "socialistic reformation of the center of the GDR Capital" in 1958. The most controversial design by Herman Henselmann proposed the need for a dominant structure that could be a television tower. The Politburo denounced the idea that the city's visual focus would be a symbol of modern technology, but a decade later technological modernity had been the East's accepted architectural language and the television tower based on Henselmann's design was in fact built near Alexanderplatz, thus becoming the most famous symbol for GDR. The party leadership favored the creation of an urban focal point in the form of a large government building on Marx Engels Platz, the former site of the royal

palace. Heinz Graffunder and Karl Ernst Swora finally built the palace of the republic between 1974 and 1976 (Hoffmann-Axthelm, 2000).



Picture 2.8: The Hansa Quarter

Source: Museum für Architektur und Kunst, IBA 1952-57 (<http://www.mai-nrw.de/IBA-1952-57.58.0.html?&L=1>)

In 1971 Erich Honecker succeeded Walter Ulbricht as party leader, but he didn't show the same great interest in urban planning. He was responsible for building the Palace of the Republic on Marx-Engels Platz, but his priority was to construct new housing, the enormous satellite cities of mid-rise and high-rise apartment buildings constructed with prefabricated concrete panels. These may have been considered by the westerners as aesthetically inappropriate, but their smooth functioning was retained by several conditions such as full employment and broad range of social services (Ladd, 1997).



Picture 2.9: The palace of the Republic and the Tower of The Television in the background

Source: google images (<http://www.google.com/imgres?q=palast+der+republik>)

West Berlin built also satellite cities in the 1960s and 1970s, the markisches Viertel and The Gropius Stadt, but they were far smaller. In the 1980s the International Building Exhibition in West Berlin was a milestone of the revision of modernism, changing the official policy towards inner city districts. Between 1979 and 1987, IBA new development realized a multitude of new building projects in the context of competitions with international architects. Key aspects were the southern part of Berlin-Friedrichstadt, the southern part of the Berlin quarter of Tiergarten and the Berlin inner harbour Tegel. Its program concentrated on a “critical reconstruction” of the city so that the city was reactivated as a mere concern of architecture and building art (Von Beyme, 2000). This multiyear project of urban redevelopment brought prominent architects to Berlin to design new apartment buildings that complemented their nineteenth century neighborhoods. It also devoted resources to renovation of old buildings giving approval to rediscovery of the Mietskaserne and to the embrace of urban mixture. Returning to the past was a postmodern sign, which also connected the need for urban self-determination with a critical returning to the Corridor streets and

the Block building. Generally, the IBA – old building stock led planning into a new epoch (Ladd, 1997).

2.5 Berlin as a post-wall capital

After the fall of the Berlin wall, the urban planning projects had to confront with the difficult task of reattaching the city's two halves and build the new capital. On June 20 1991, the Bundestag vote by 338 to 320 that the government should return to the new capital. The question now was how the large federal government would be able to fit into the existing buildings and open spaces in the central Berlin. A fierce battle began in order to define the urban traditions of Berlin relevant to its new beginning. This had occupied armies of developers, architects, planners and critics from all over the world (Ladd, 1997).

There were three architects that mostly determined this new start with their projects: Aldo Rossi, Rem Kohlaas and Günter Behnisch. They pitted first against the question of the historical center of Berlin. This included the district between Brandeburger Tor in the north, Kochstrasse in the south, Pariser Platz in the west and Alexanderplatz in the east. The pressure of the investors and the investments didn't offer them any time. So, the way of proceeding focused on the same concept that Josef Kleihues had within the bounds of IBA. "The aim was the economical, urban and architectural reconstruction of the historical center without destroying the identity of Berlin furthermore" underlined the Social Democratic planner Hans Stimmann (Rumpf, 2000). He served the policy of critical reconstruction as city building director between 1991 and 1996. He supplied guidelines for the inner city that restored the outlines of the old streets and squares and required new buildings to conform the old blocks. The newly rebuilt blocks should be divided into individual buildings with identifiable entrances, rules which intended to prevent long and forbidding facades that generate no activity on the street (Ladd, 1998)

Critical reconstruction grew out of long-simmering disconnection with postwar urban development and out of the need to restore Berlin's identity, focusing its essence on the eighteenth century block structure. The projection to the future should be considered as an attempt to recover an image of the past. And this past should provide

what Berlin needed the most: unity and collective memory. So it should be focused on the city's boom in the decades before and after 1900. The city's memory should emphasize on the 1920s, excluding at the same time the Nazis, the Communists and the overwhelming poverty of the period (Ladd, 1998).

This critique towards urban modernism was found not only in Berlin, but also in the rest of the world. The radical changes in labor process, in consumer habit, in geographical and geopolitical configurations and state policies that characterized the last decades of the twentieth century lead to a new condition that couldn't have left urban planning and architecture untouchable. The main points that dominated postmodern urban practices were fiction, fragmentation, collage and eclecticism, all suffused with a sense of ephemerality and chaos (Harvey, 1990). But all these took special forms on the contested historical terrain of Berlin, where behind every decision lies deep suspicion about the political origins. As Peter Marcuse pointed out, postmodern may in fact have served the purposes of power in Berlin (Marcuse, 1998).

Critical reconstruction also raised severe criticism. Daniel Libeskind, architect of the city's new Jewish Museum claimed that Stimmanns rules were transforming the fascinating diversity of the city into banal uniformity. Other critics pointed out that critical reconstruction's version of Berlin's history excluded every facet of East German architecture and planning, representing an attempt to denounce the past and the decades of division (Ladd, 1997).

This statement is not completely untrue and can be proved if we examine the fortune of the DDR's monuments in the post-wall capital. East Berlin contained hundreds of memorial plaques put up by the GDR, as well as dozens of stone and bronze monuments. Everyone in East Berlin encountered these in daily life and the regime had worked hard to make its memorials part of the people's identity and consciousness. The Lenin monument, dedicated by Walter Ulbricht to Lenin's hundredth birthday in 1970, did not only project a political statement, but also functioned as a neighborhood icon, a repository of memories, a vital piece of urban architecture. In 1991, the Berlin government decided to remove it. The fact that the statue was a protected landmark caused a brief furor, but in the end the government still revoked its landmark status. Opponents countered with protest meetings and

demonstrations. Like the Lenin Statue, the Palace of the Republic became a touchstone of the Easters' resentment, as the West tried to claim that it was only the Federal Republic that represented the postwar Germany.



Picture 2.10: The statue of Marx and Engels as it stands today

Source: personal archive

In 1990, the initiative on political monuments of the GDR, a group of art history students from East and West Berlin, promoted the public discussion and the study of the DDR monuments. After the peoples' pressure due to the situation with Lenin's statue the Berlin government established in March 1992 an independent commission to study East Berlin's monuments. The commission concluded that most of these were worth preserving. To its controversial recommendation the commission approved the removal of the single largest East Berlin monument, this of Ernst Thälmann (Ladd, 1997). Marx and Engels still stand in Berlin, but their position and location ensures that they appear more as dynamic figures, than as political symbols. Conclusively, the demand to remove every monument of the GDR declared the victory and dominance of the West, expressing at the same time a very selective approach to the city's

history. As Peter Marcuse implied, what is being constructed in Berlin can be called 'meaning', but it can also be called by its short name: 'power' (Marcuse, 1998).

The efforts of re-planning Berlin were marked by the first worldwide competition of the Federal government organized on 12 June 1992. 835 architectural offices participated at the competition Spreebogen (Spree arc) "for the urban forming of the Spree Arc as a place of the parliament and the regime". Government was not to be isolated from commerce, culture and residence and this demand was fulfilled by Alex Schulte's and Charlotte Frank's plan. The competition managed to bear fruits that could also be realized. The plan included banks of the Spree not only at both ends of the east-west bank but also to the north. The two political separated parts were coming to unification while the aim of diversity was implemented (Rumpf, 2000). After the Spree Arc, the most important competition addressed the Spree Island where the side of the vanished royal palace medieval Cölln and later the GDR's main government building had stood. Despite the 1.105 entries of the international attention, the winning design was doomed to remain on theoretical level, since no one (by that time) seemed capable of making a final decision about the preservation or the demolition of the Palace of the Republic. The competition for "the rebuilding of the Reichstag to German Bundestag" didn't manage to induce the expected results. All the participants were German apart from 14 foreigner participants that were invited. The expected uses spread beyond the spatial level of this historical building. The difficulty was in how to handle the history of the house and because of this none of the three prized plans came to reality (Rumpf, 2000). It was a fact that the palace of the Republic symbolized to a large part of Berlin's population the priority of public space and public life. The idea of combining the seat of the legislature with public theaters and publicly accessible restaurants and entertainment was the exact opposite of what the west government wanted to develop in the West Berlin government center with its fortress-like concept and its careful attention to control access and use (Marcuse, 1998). After many years of debate about the building, the Bundestag decided upon its demolition in 2003. The intensive and controversial discussion concerning the question about the future goals of the urban development in Berlin had taken place for several years, but it was in 1999 that the Senate of Berlin installed the so-called «Planwerk Innenstadt», in order to define general principles for the urban

planning of the city. It aimed to form a strategy for the urban development targeting at the re-urbanization and revitalization of the historical center, as well as of the planning area "City-West". It also drew the guidelines for urban land-use planning according to the Federal Building Code (BauGB).



Picture 2.11: The plannings of Plannwerk Innenstadt

Source: Senate Department for Urban Planning



Picture 2.12: Overlay of the situation in 2003

Source: Senate Department for Urban Planning

More specifically, for the planning area Alexanderplatz (except for the section of Alexanderstraße between Grunerstraße and Holzmarkt) the concept of the architects Hans Kollhoff and Helga Timmermann was incorporated with only minor modifications. It served the concept that the fallow ground between Alexanderstraße and the city railway should be developed with respect to the former course of the city walls in this area (Senate Department for Urban Development Berlin, http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/index_en.shtml). Friedrichstraße and the Potsdamerplatz were also two important districts for the image of New Berlin. Friedrichstraße had lost its identity as a commercial axis during the years of DDR, and this should be regained by becoming the luxury shopping street for Berlin.

Potzdamerplatz had always been a symbolic spot of the West with the European headquarters of Sony and had to be planned in such a way so as to take advantage of the eastern market and, thus, be the second city center. Peter Marcuse criticizes the urban decisions and priorities of the unified Berlin, as well as the promotion of dialogue and discussion. As he clearly remarks, only the form of the construction was open to discussion, not the fact. In addition, he continued by underlining:

“What kind of priority is it to build another government center, a street of luxury shops, a costly and glamorous office center for prosperous businesses, in a city whose unemployment rate is 15%, where anti immigrant agitation is ground in economic insecurity, with a welfare state being dismantled on all fronts? The meaning of the construction that is going on is not in any doubt. Its meaning lies in the fact of its undertaking. This is indeed the ultimate landscape of power, not because of its form but because of the very fact of its construction” (Marcuse, 1998, page 333)

Seven years after the demolition of the Palace of the Republic the place is still a ground zero, exactly like after the war in 1950. The Humboldt Forum, an association established in 2002 by Humboldt University, the Central State Library and the Foundation of Prussian Culture Possessions, regards the rebuilding of the palace as an open culture and communication space that would be called ‘Agora’. In 2008 a competition for the rebuilding took place. The first prize went to the Italian architect Franco Stella, but how this could actually be realized is still being questioned. The political debate for the new use and design of the place remains open and unanswered (Friel, 2010). The urban policies after the reunification recreated the question about who owns and who has a right to the new center of the city. The most important places for the investors were the Alexanderplatz, the Friedrichstraße and the Potzdamerplatz. On the other hand, the most important places for the regime were The Spree arc, the Spreeinsel and Wilchemstraße. Both investors and Regime possess Berlin’s center. It is also logical that the one who possesses can also determine the future of his possession. This may of course be far beyond or even against the public’s well-being and interest. The project of modernization of older housing stock in the East led to rent increases that reached even 70% and by that to the widening socio-

spatial divisions and to gentrification processes. Such a case is also the study area of this thesis. In particular, Spandauer Vorstadt, which accumulates most of the aforementioned characteristics, is the district dealt with, studied and analyzed in the following chapters.

3. The Spandauer Vorstadt

3.1 Introduction to the study area: Location and evolution of the Spandauer Vorstadt

The Spandauer Vorstadt (Spandau Suburb) is located in the vicinity of the center of Berlin, to the north of the Berlin Suburban railway and of the river Spree. The south boundary of the district is the Oranienburger Straße, the west the Friedrichstraße, the east the Karl Liebknecht Straße and the north the Torstraße.



Map 3.1: The Spandauer Vorstadt

Source: Senate Department of urban development Berlin.de

This location has determined the significance of the neighborhood. The close proximity to the museum island, to the regime quarter and the street Unter den Linden and also to the suburb of Prenzlauerberg awakened the evolution of different urban and city functions. Especially after the reunification the Spandauer Vorstadt undertook the deputy role of the old Berlin, of the real city center. The existence of residential constructions and trade constructions and of historical public buildings

coming from the 19th century has marked the image of the district. Moreover, prominent historic architectural monuments like the Sophienkirche, the former Post office, the Saint Hedwig hospital and the former department store Wertheim are of particular architectural import. Today the Spandauer Vorstadt is one of the most famous areas in the centre of Berlin, a neighborhood with a remarkable tourist development, with swanky bars, high class boutiques and rising real estate prices. At the same time it is the oldest preserved part of the city, the only quarter in Berlin where a substantial amount of pre-1870 buildings have survived the Second World War and, therefore, it enables the documentation of the impressively historical and spatial characteristics of the urban evolution. The following table presents some of the basic information characteristics of the study area (table 3.1).

Table 3.1: Basic features of the study area (31/12/2007)	
Expanse	67,6 ha
Plots of land	632
Architectural monumental buildings	108
Apartments	6.293
Inhabitants	8771
<i>Source: Senate Department for urban development Berlin.de</i>	

The history of the area is considered to be really striking. The area during the years 1680 and 1709 was a suburb of the two cities Berlin – Cölln. It is spectacular that it still contains the oldest urban structure, as it was spread irregularly and not in a raster like most other districts. This irregular road-network is a framework that has characterized/designated the Spandauer Vorstadt during the three hundred years of its history and a great amount of buildings also document the urban evolution from the 18th century till today (Hübner V., Oehmig C., 2006).

During the Middle Ages the area was part of the Berlin field march. Before the great settlement it belonged to the elector Dorothea and it was in 1690 when she gave (away) the land and the settlement of the habitants began. The Große Hamburger Straße (Great Hamburger Street) connected the field march with other towns like Ruppin and Hamburg. The Judith Burial was built on that road in 1672 and also the oldest house that still remains standing in the area was built in 1691 on 19 A Große Hamburger Straße (picture 3.1). All this is significant to the importance of that road by that time (Hübner V., Oehmig C., 2006). The completion of the city fortification in 1688 by Gregory Memhardt affected the imaging of the study area. With the extension of the Spandau Gate (Spandauer Tor) the traffic organization changed and so did the traffic link to the Oranienburger Straße. Part of the old road system can still be found around the Mombijou Square. It is important to mention that it was the Spandau gate, which stood at what is now the elevated train station Hakesher Markt, that gave its name to the whole district.

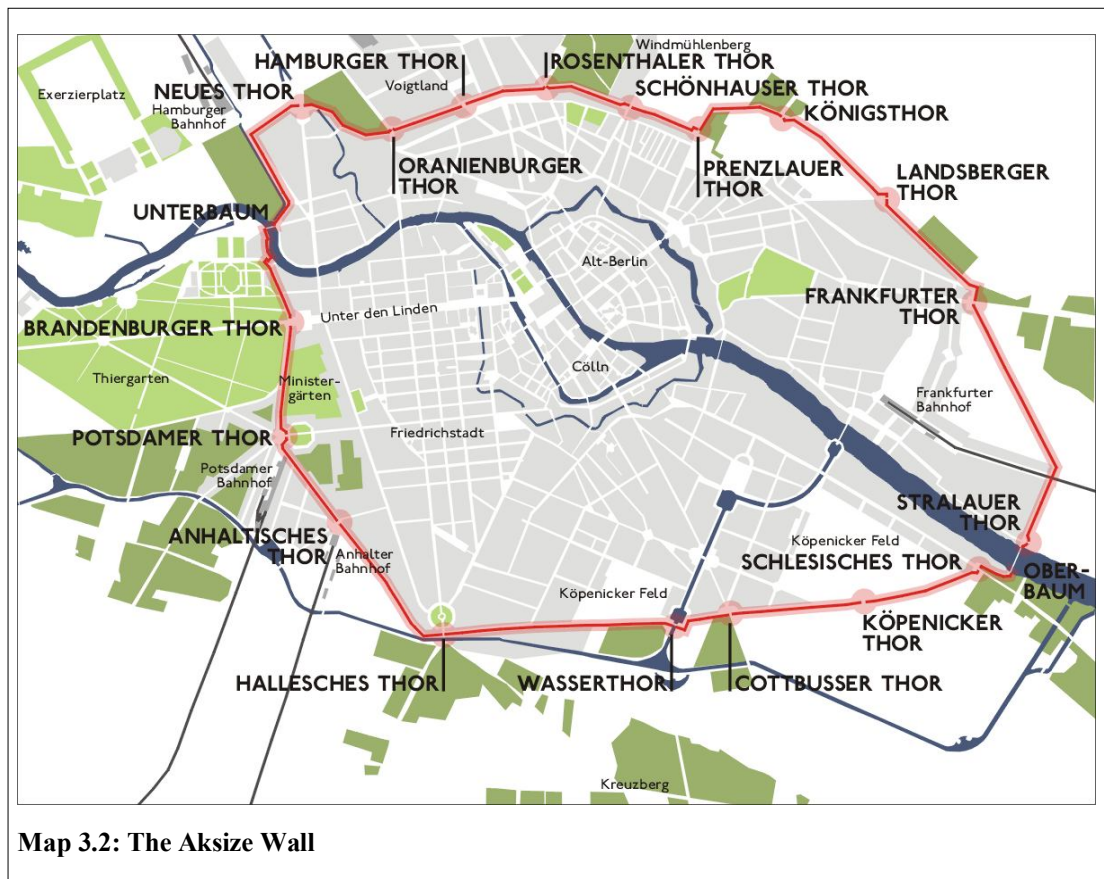
The Aksize wall built between 1732 and 1734 included the whole Baroque Berlin and also the Spandauer Vorstadt (map 3.2). Along the wall and the parallel Torstraße four City Gates were constructed: the Oranienburger Gate (picture 3.2), the Hamburger Gate, the Rosenthaler Gate and the Schönhauser Gate. The wall constructions **were torn down** about 1750 and at the eastern end of Oranienburger Straße the Hacke's Market (Hakescher Markt) emerged, named after the Town mayor Hans Christophe Friedrich Graf von Hacke (Hübner V., Oehmig C., 2006).



Picture 3.1: The oldest house in the area, Hamburger Straße 12A

Source: Hübner V., Oehmig C. (2006), Spandauer Vorstadt in Berlin Mitte, Michael Imhof Verlag, Berlin Landesdenkmalamt, Deutschland

In the years of the liberation war that followed there was stagnation of the construction progress. During the years of Karl Friedrich Schinkel, around 1840, the first oldest Community School of Berlin was built in Hirtenstraße; also, the Fire Station in the Liniestraße and a series of classic apartment houses in the Tucholskystraße. Under the pressure of the immigration new city quarters were established around 1860 and the programmed interventions based on the master plan of James Hobrecht included parts of the district, but did not change its structure (Hübner V., Oehmig C., 2006).

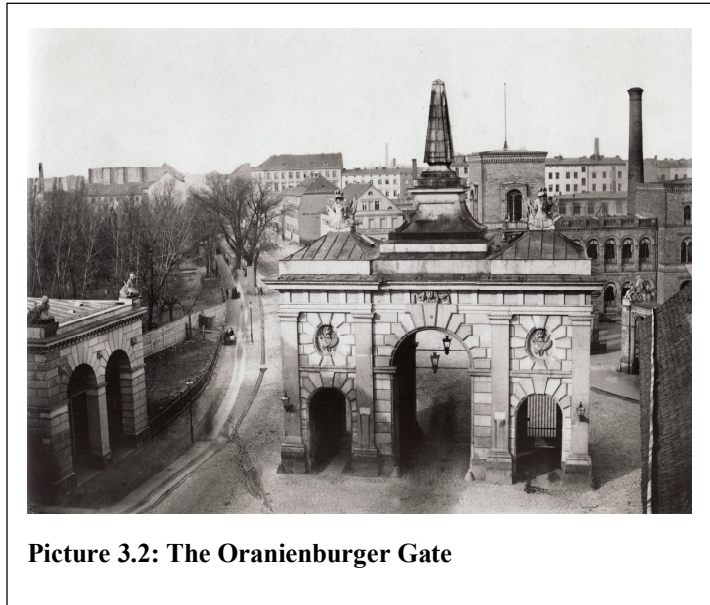


Map 3.2: The Aksize Wall

After the German unification in 1871, many of the two-storey houses were demolished and replaced with bigger tenements. However, the character of the area with the mixing of Industry/manufacturing and housing was preserved. Most of the former repair and assembling shops and manufactures were based in the backyard of the houses. There could be found metal ware production, zinc foundries, brush

factories, cigarette factories, printeries and small breweries (Hübner V., Oehmig C., 2006).

Great construction projects in the 19th century enlarged the city. In 1867, the Judith community erected the greatest Synagogue of Germany in the Oranienburger Straße. The biggest urban intervention around 1900 led to the construction of a traffic and transport connection to the new city district of Prenzlauerberg.



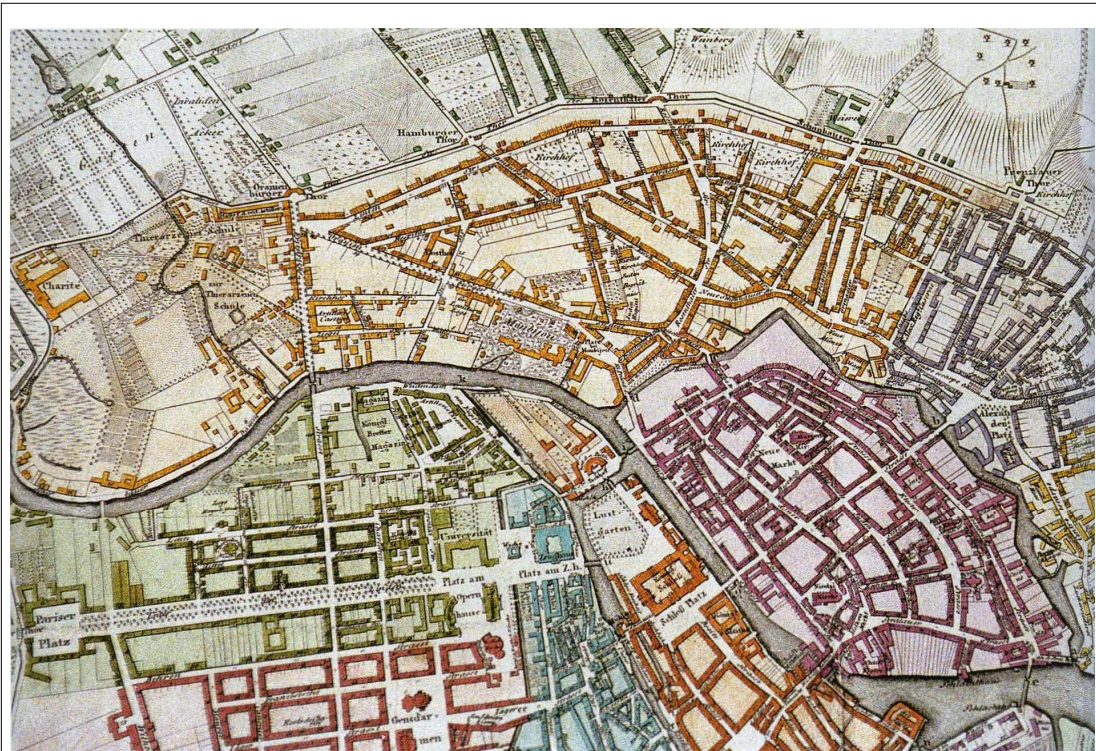
Picture 3.2: The Oranienburger Gate

Furthermore, the Bülowplatz (now Rosa-Luxemburgplatz) was constructed at that time and the famed theater of the Volksbühne designed by Oskar Kaufmann opened in 1914. But the most famous construction of modern architecture was the Kino Babylon, constructed in 1929 by Hans Poelzig on Rosa-Luxemburg Square. The north telephone office built in 1927 by Felix Gentzen was a great example of the German expressionism and other buildings, like the extension of the University women clinic by Walter Wolff built in 1932 and the administration building of the north-south railway by Alferd Grenader raised in 1930, acquired a significant role in Berlin's architectural history (Hübner V., Oehmig C., 2006).

After the Second World War the damages of the district were expanded, mainly in the part that bordered with the Alexander Square. Having undergone few renovations, the buildings in the Spandauer Vorstadt were in a bad state, worse than the late 19th century tenements in the nearby areas. The palace and the Monbijou Park were destroyed, and the gates of the Mombijou Square were standing as ruins. But a great part of the Spandauer Vorstadt weathered the war bombing. Many of the residential

buildings and the small industries were intact and could be reused (Hübner, Oehmig, 2006).

For decades, leading officials of the GDR agreed that the buildings should be pulled



Map 3.3: Berlin center's map of 1818 -The study area is indicated with yellow

Source: Hübner V., Oehmig C. (2006), *Spandauer Vorstadt in Berlin Mitte*, Michael Imhof Verlag, Berlin Landesdenkmalamt, Deutschland

down. In the 1960s, the comprehensive demolition and rebuilding of the Spandauer Vorstadt appeared in different master plans, which were eventually confirmed at a 1973 Politburo meeting (Urban, 2006). The reconstruction activities were therefore restricted to the area around the Hack's Markt (Hackescher Markt) and the Mombijoupark until 1960 and only the Sophien Gymnasium and the clinics in the Ziegelstraße were restored. Nevertheless, around 1960 most of the façades were modernized and this action gave the tenements from different epochs a uniform appearance.

After the European monument year in 1975, the attempts to preserve some parts of the district were upgraded. In 1976, the Politburo announced the “tasks for the development of the capital city of the GDR, Berlin” and ordered the demolition of all

torn down buildings and the integration of well preserved or valuable buildings. The area around Sophienstraße and the adjacent streets Große Hamburger Straße and Hackescher Markt was to be built as a piece of Old Berlin respecting historic traditions, integrating valuable façades, and incorporating workshops for spectacular or rare professions, such as goldsmiths, engravers etc (Urban, 2006). As a result of this, the theme of a historic neighborhood was maintained, being at the same time related to the traditions of the working class tenements.

In 1979, the Politburo revised its previous decision of demolition and rebuilding. Erich Honecker and his colleagues had already passed the Housing Program in 1973 and had also initiated the preservation and redesign of East Berlin's central city districts in 1976. So they now called for a straightforward conservation and most effective use of all inhabitable buildings, including those of the study area. The 1978 rules of demolition foresaw that only buildings classified 'uninhabitable' could be demolished. Concurrently, the officers of Ministry of construction Wolfgang Junker and the top planner Gerhard Schürer were called to revise existing master plans with regards to the demolition and change them so that the new rules would be taken into consideration (Urban, 2006).

Some buildings were announced as listed buildings under protection, but it was ten years later considering the celebrations of Berlin's 750th anniversary in 1987 that important preservation measures were realized. The referring buildings were mostly situated in the area around Sophienstraße. This street was eventually remodeled between 1983 and 1987 by workers of the district-operated repair firm *VEB Baureperaturen Mitte* under the direction of the architect Peter Gohlke, who called the area listed as historic monument. Sophienstraße is a quaint, narrow street, bordered by two three-storey buildings with ornamented stucco facades. The symbolic spot of the street is the baroque Sophien Church surrounded by old trees and an idyllic cemetery. It is also the only Berlin Street with a considerable amount of 18th century buildings, which indicates the differences with the late 19th century working class dwellings (Urban, 2006). It is interesting that the majority of its inhabitants since the 18th century belonged to the bourgeois class, but the political motivation for

remodeling this street was its connection with the struggle of the industrial working class. Since 1905 the building number 18 housed the Berlin Handwerkverein (Berlin Craftsmen's Association). It was founded in 1844 on the nearby street Oranienburger Straße and was located on Sophienstraße since 1863. It was an important force in the Berlin workers' movement. In 1905 the association moved from building number 15 into newly constructed assembly rooms in the back building of Sophienstraße number 18. Here they hosted speakers as famous as Karl Liebknecht, co-founder of the Communist Party along with Rosa Luxemburg, or Wilhelm Pleck, the first president of the GDR. This all explains why this building was on the first national list of protected monuments in 1979. It is also of great interest that it was called the "oldest site of tradition for the Berlin workers movement" (Urban, 2006). A memorial plaque was fixed at the entrance for the 750th anniversary celebrations. The most visible symbol of the association, the lushly ornamented false gable over the entrance gate was renovated in the middle 1980s. By that time the assembly rooms hosted the workshops for the Maxim Gorki Theatre and the state owned carpentry *VEB Holzverarbeitung* (Urban, 2006). But for a great part of the area buildings the plan included the demolition and reconstruction with prefabricated slabs. Evidence of that fact can be found in the reconstruction of the blocks along the Rosenthalerstraße, as well as at the crossroad of Weinmeisterstraße, Münzstraße, Alter Schönhauser Straße and Neuer Schönhauser Straße. The reconstruction with prefabricated slabs ended after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 (Hübner , Oehmig , 2006).

Between 1983 and 1988, Rosenthaler Straße, Linienstraße, Münzstraße and other streets were built up with perimeter block buildings that contained bay windows and slanted roofs. To some extent they managed to blend in with the historical resemblance. The façade structure was also to recall the historical re-partitioning into modules to a non-orthogonal street pattern. Next to the new construction, a number of late 19th century buildings were renovated, but this remodeling mostly concerned front buildings. Although the demolition of backyard wings was planned, it was not carried out eventually, probably due to logistic problems of finding new apartments for the tenants (Urban, 2006).



Picture 3.3: The building of the Berlin Craftsmen's Association on Sophienstraße number 18

The terracotta relief was added in 1905. The handshake above the entrance was a symbol of the German workers movement, associated with the conclusion of a craftsman's contract. In East Germany it also figured prominently the emblem of the Socialist Unity Party and represented the handshake between Social Democratic Party Leader Otto Grotewohl and Communist Party Leader Wilhelm Pieck, which concluded the unification of the two parties in 1946.

Source: Urban F. (2006), The invention of the historic city- Building the past in East Berlin, Technische Universität Berlin, Deutschland

The Spandauer Vorstadt was an example of complex reconstruction. A number of schools, retirement homes, youth clubs, daycare centers, playgrounds, and pocket parks were built next to residences and new shops were integrated in the apartment blocks. It is likely that the rebuilding of the Spandauer Vorstadt was related to Erich Honecker's policy to strengthen the construction field and, thus, 750 new apartments were built. The new apartments had much lower ceilings and smaller rooms, but the height of the buildings and the ornamentation of the ensemble nevertheless referenced in this historic dimensions. The commitment to the historical neighborhood was concentrated on the surface and expressed in the perception of the block perimeter and in

the appearance of historical building outlines and ornamented façades (Urban, 2006).

The significance of the study area relies on the dissimilarity of individual streets and quarters that is not easy to find in other central areas such as Dorotheenstadt and Friedrichstadt, where the built environment is characterized by certain homogeneity. The Spandauer Vorstadt evolved in the course of time independently of the

neighboring districts and managed to maintain its own, remarkable identity. This is not irrelevant to the fact that the whole area is now under preservation order. The preservation of some monumentally interesting buildings during the years 1991-93 is supposed to have contributed too to this decision and to the determination of becoming a preservation area according to the §172 of the building code. This was financed and realized by the program “**Städtebauliche Denkmalschutz**” (**Urban monument conservation**). The main aims of the program were to strengthen the residential function, to renew old buildings according to modern standards, so that the necessary facilities could be provided, to maintain trade locations, to develop public facilities and to improve public spaces, creating parks and green spaces. One of the targets was also that low income households wouldn't be displaced and that the conversions and the new buildings would comply with the unique and distinctive character of the Spandauer Vorstadt. Moreover, the program also tried to involve the affected tenants, shop tenants and proprietors as far as possible to the redevelopment progress (Senate Department of urban development Berlin.de).

During the evolution of the program, a series of buildings were renewed: the schools on Gipsstraße number 23 A, the nursery house on Rückerstraße and the nursery house on Kleine Auguststraße. Furthermore the tenements on 27 Große Hamburgerstraße and 16 Weinmarstraße were modernized, and also the School center on 21 Mitte Auguststraße. The famous Hackesche Höfe was redeveloped and also the new Koppenplatz and the Mombijouplatz together with many small parks and green spaces have set accents (Senate Department of urban development Berlin.de). In addition to all this, it is very important to mention that the Spandauer Vorstadt remains a focal point for investors. The total investments by 2003 are being presented on the following table:

Table 3.2 Investments on the study area (1991- 2003)

Public funding	212,8 Mio Euro
Private funding- new buildings	389,3 Mio Euro
Private funding old buildings	309,4 Mio Euro
Total	911,5 Mio Euro
<i>Source: Senate Department of urban development Berlin.de</i>	

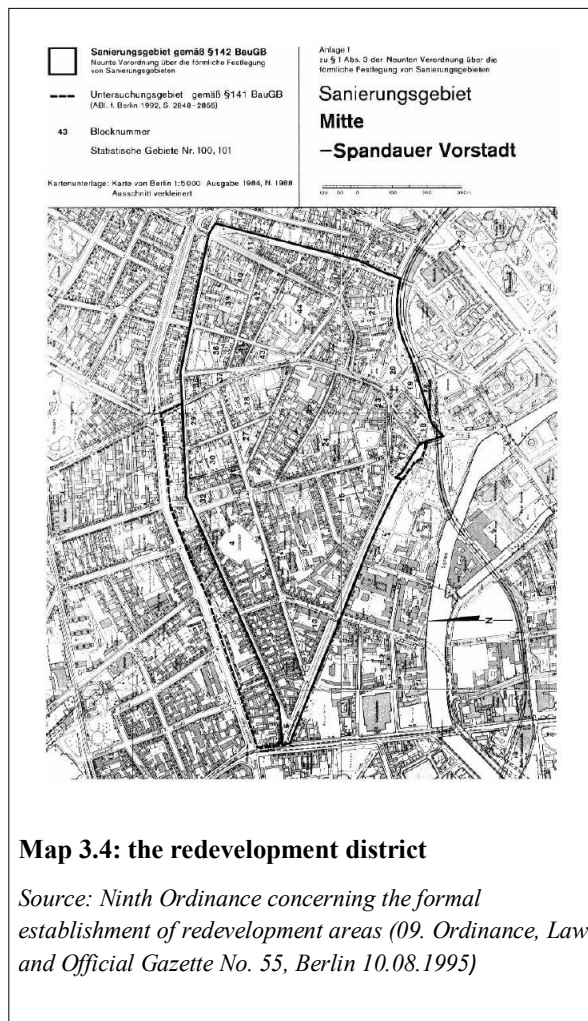
The progress of the program will be examined analytically in the next sub - chapter.

3.2 Related ordinances and regulations

A crucial element of the Berlin city renewal was the establishment of redevelopment areas, primarily found in the eastern part of the city. The Spandauer Vorstadt was also included to the redevelopment area of the center (Mitte). Between the years 1993 and 1995, the 22 districts were officially designated as redevelopment areas according to the law Ordinances 9 - 11. This is translated to a total area of 810.5 ha, 5723 plots of land and 81.449 flats. As a main task of urban development, the urban renewal focused on the upgrading of urban and functional qualities, especially on the housing quality in the inner city and the districts of the center. Moreover, the measures also intended to increase the competitiveness of the chosen areas. *“Therefore, the improving of the residential environment in the central areas was required in order to establish economically stable and socially secure households”* (Senate Department for Urban Development).

At the beginning of the nineties, when the Berlin urban renewal program started, it became necessary to ensure massive funds for vacancy removal, repair and structural upgrade. This stopped the dilapidation of the buildings in the center quarters and the areas became attractive for residence. The study area was formally defined as a redevelopment area according to the ***Ninth Ordinance concerning the formal establishment of redevelopment areas*** (09. Ordinance, Law and Official Gazette No. 55, Berlin 10.08.1995). Apart from Spandauer Vorstadt the districts Helmholtzplatz

and Kollwitzplatz in Prenzlauerberg, the Samaritenviertel in Friedrichshain and the Altstadt/Kiez Vorstadt in Koepenick were also designated as redevelopment areas by that particular ordinance. The Spandauer Vorstadt is no longer considered to be a redevelopment area according to the *Ninth Cancellation Ordinance* (09. Law and Official Cancellation Gazette for Berlin No 2 of 02.09.2008).



Map 3.4: the redevelopment district

Source: Ninth Ordinance concerning the formal establishment of redevelopment areas (09. Ordinance, Law and Official Gazette No. 55, Berlin 10.08.1995)

The study area is also a preservation area according to the §172 of the building code since 1993. According to the **Historic Preservation Law Berlin** (DSchG Bln), a historic structural property is defined as a structural installation or part of a structural installation, whose preservation is in the general public interest due to historic, artistic, scientific or the city's structural significance. The Spandauer Vorstadt is a property area, which is defined as "multiple structural installations or a landscaped area (ensemble) as well as streets, sites and places of interest, as well as open areas and water surfaces thereof, whose preservation would be in interest, even if every single part were not part of the historic property

as such" (Law and Ordinance Paper GVBL., pg 274, April 24, 1995).

3.3 The Urban Monument Conservation Program

As already mentioned the Urban Monument Conservation Program focuses on preserving historic city centers. The federal government initiated this program shortly after the reunification in order to ‘save’ the historic city centers of former Eastern Germany districts in towns and cities like Quedlinburg, Weimar, Rostock, Wismar and Görlitz. Although the subsidies were initially only for historic cities of the East Germany, the program was later extended to the former western Germany as well.

The program targets to protect valuable buildings, historical ensembles or special physical structure with historical, artistic or urban significance. As it is pointed out “it doesn’t focus on the building as an isolated monument but on the preservation of historic city centers as ensembles”. These ensembles may also include buildings and public spaces not classified as monuments (Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, 2000, p7). The financial support is supposed to “ensure and conserve structure and function of threatened historical city centers with monument value” (Bundesministerium für Verkehr, Bau und Stadtentwicklung, 2007, p8). It also focuses on the modernization and repair of valuable buildings and on preserving and redesigning streets and squares or plazas that are of significance to the urban development or are worthy of preservation as monuments. Extra costs will be given for the city center, for arrangement of buildings and their surroundings for trade, services and compatible business and also for the performance of redevelopment agency and other contractors to consultancy of property owners and investors about the adherence to monument conservation rules and local statutes (Fan, 2008).

This promotion program is guided by a group of experts and professionals from different fields and it is supposed to be independent and inter-disciplinary, as it includes experts in architecture, urban planning, culture studies, monument conservation etc. It is important to mention that each state has an expert in the group as a state representative. As far as the financial support is concerned, it is of great interest that during the period 1992 -2007 the federal program spent €1.6 billions. Furthermore, in 2007 €90 millions were provided by the federal government for the former eastern states and the eastern part of Berlin (Bundesministerium für Verkehr,

Bau und Stadtentwicklung, 2007, p9). The program funds can be provided to the areas that are coordinated with the federal government, according to the decision about the adoption of ordinances (paragraph 172 of the Building Code). Reaching a conclusion, the aims of the promotion program are the following:

- △ The sustainable restoration and maintenance of historic buildings, especially to make vacant buildings reusable for residence or commerce
- △ To take reasonable and modern measures for restoration
- △ To provide a reasonable price and good public facilities for residents who are willing to stay and take part in the restoration
- △ To conduct a detailed investigation of cultural monuments at the beginning of restoration including measurement, color document, systematic documentation, details of architecture and suggestions of restoration
- △ The focus not only on the restoration of buildings, but also on making houses habitable again, equipping them with modern conveniences

In Berlin, the program initially addressed the following areas: Spandau and Rosenthaler Suburb (Spandauer and Rosenthaler Vorstadt) in the center of Berlin, the old city Köpenick, the Kietzer Suburb, Friedrichshagen, the residential area Oberschöneweide in Berlin Treptow and the Victoria city in Berlin Lichtenberg. Later, it also focused on other areas such as: Teutoburgerplatz and Ostseestraße in Pankow, Luisensadt in Kreuzberg, Friedrichwilhelmstadt, Dorotheen und Fridrichstadt.

Some of the highlights are considered to be the following:

△ ***The Spandauer Vorstadt***

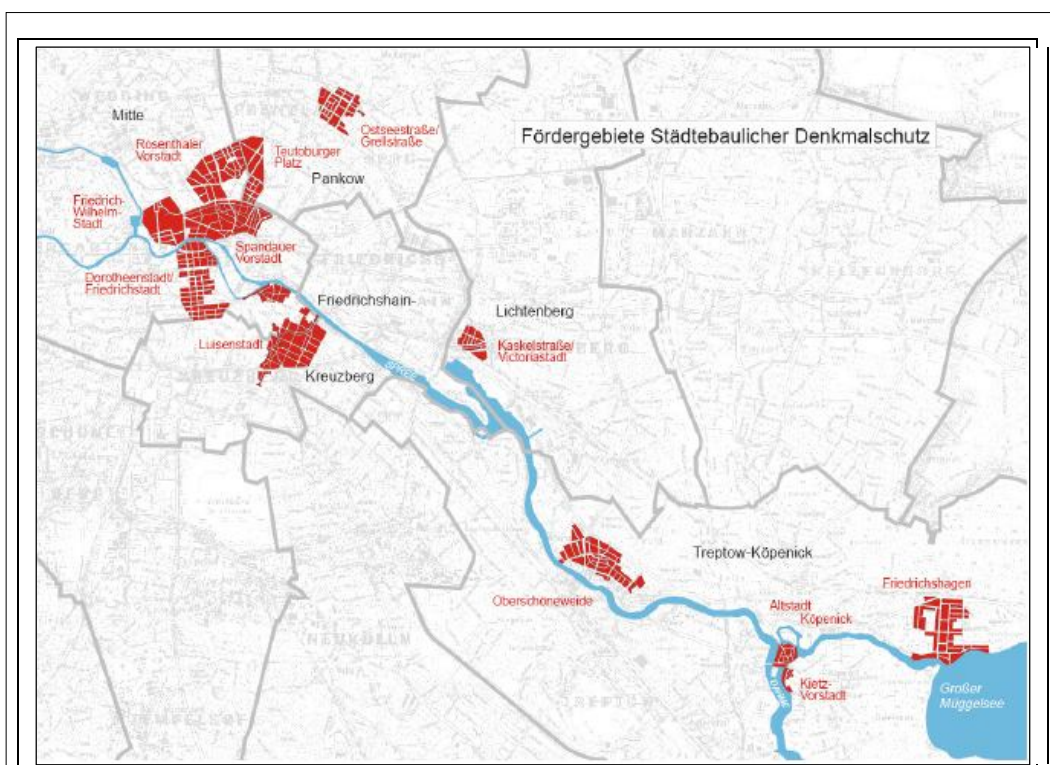
The Neue Schönhauser Straße and the Tucholsky Straße, where historical houses can be found side by side, the recovery of the Cinema Babylon on Rosa Luxemburg platz etc.

▲ *In Berlin Treptow and Köpenick*

The old city in Köpenick with the precious ensembles in the streets, the Kietzer the suburb with its historic buildings from the 18th and 19th century or the Bölcherstraße in Berlin Friedrichshagen with its 26 unique architectural monuments.

▲ *In Berlin Lichtenberg*

The restoration of Tuchollaplatz into a modern town square including historic structures and single details.



Map 3.5: The 12 promotion areas of the program in Berlin

Source: Senate Department for urban development Berlin.de

3.4 The interventions on the study area

Interviewing Mr. Hubert Staroste, head of the **Department of Monuments and Historic Inventory Mediation** was very helpful in order to understand why the study area was announced a preservation area according to the Historic Preservation Law Berlin. As Mr. Staroste pointed out: *“The Berlin law for the protection of historical monuments indicates four criteria: the historical significance, the scientific meaning, the artistic significance and the importance of the cityscape. The content of these general concepts is analytically explained in the current legislation, anyone can read it”*.

But why should we consider monuments important for the urban environment in the first place? In order to clarify this question Mr. Staroste explained that *“each monument must have a historical importance and by that it is meant a testimony of its history, or to say it better that there is history transported through its architectural appearance and structure. There may also be further symbolic values transferred by a building or area such as an architectural historical value or a social historical value, etc. The scientific importance means that something is interesting for the science. Not per se, each building that carries historical information is also of scientific importance. It must be proved that the building can be examined on a scientific level. Then, there is the artistic significance, the special architectural shape of a monument. We should also consider that there are also art monuments, such as sculptures. Finally, the importance of the cityscape means that a building or an area has the ability to affect and influence the urban structure of the city. Here we should clarify that a monument must fulfill the criterion of having a historical significance and can fulfill any of the others”*.

In this context, the suburb of Spandau is the ultimate last closed area of the old Berlin. *“Although it's actually a suburb of the historic medieval Berlin, it is the last closed field and that has led us to put it under protection in 1990 because of its completely clear medieval urban microstructure and also because of the variety of its buildings that come out of different historical periods. Its architectural and urban structure is unique for the Berlin's Inner City”*.

One of the offices involved in the redevelopment program was the the **Coordination Office for Urban Evolution** (Koordinationsbuero für Stadtentwicklung). Therefore, an interview with Mr. Andreas Wilke, urban and regional planning engineer, was necessary, as it helped us understand why Spandauer Vorstadt was chosen as a redevelopment area. Mr. Wilke agrees with Mr. Staroste that the location and the urban structure of the area is what make it of great significance.

As he explained: *“Of course the location, the old city gate and the importance of the road to Spandau. Everything else used to be in a relatively poor condition, there were poor people living in the area. The other important thing is that there has been the moat and they were dependent on the city. This indicates that it was a poor neighborhood. It is important to see that this area is a different case, as it does not resemble the Street Unter den Linden, where one can find buildings to be particularly valuable. But the value here arises from the fact that it is an extension field of the old city. Therefore, this city ground plan with its irregular urban structure, the very small, the very large, the completely irregular plots is of such a great significance”*.

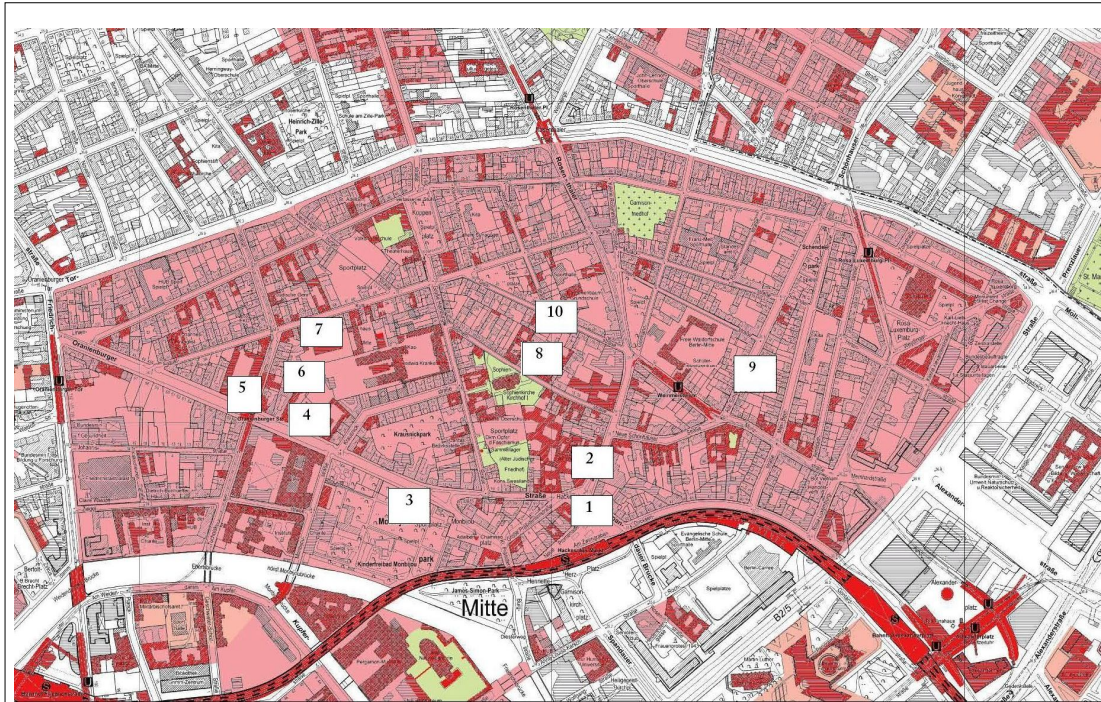
He continues by pointing out that: *“one can observe a totally unusual picture in terms of development; buildings from different periods can be found next to each other. This medley shows that this was not planned, it evolved and that is important for a city like Berlin, which was so extremely destroyed during World War II. The reflection of a development phase could be concerned as a national treasure. That is the important thing; not that it has a great museum or that all buildings are of architectural importance (of course there are some)”*.

Talking with Mr. Wilke made it possible to understand more of the procedure of the redevelopment program. As he believes, it was decisive for the quality that the Spandauer Vorstadt was one of the areas that were very early included in the urban conservation program. Trying to clarify the procedure he noted that *“within the bounds of this support program the landlord receives money. At the beginning seventy percent, later fifty percent of the construction costs and so on. The buildings must be reconstructed according to the directions of the program, and the landlord must submit certain occupancy rights coordinated with the community who lives there and*

also by keeping the rent limited, as agreed by contract for a certain period. This promotion program differs in so far because it emphasizes on the monumental value and substance and therefore it is expensive. Normally one would say, well you can use the program just to get a new paint. My personal opinion is that there is a very important point, that this program could promote and fund an office, a salaried office that specialized on historic preservation, so that every house was examined as a special case. Of course there were directions, priorities and orientations. Firstly, attention was given to houses that had a certain high quality. Secondly, to houses that were ready to collapse and then there were the houses that could be easily applied.”

He continued commenting that *“the Program began around 1990 and the houses were restored with public money and at the same time we had the reassignment laws. This meant there was a very unstable setting. At the beginning, there was the property company with a very restricted ability to act and then the new owners. It was also a situation that people had lost their houses for forty or fifty years and they took them back in a really terrible condition. For those who wanted to get their houses back, the promotion was the only possibility, the only alternative. The majority was convinced to work with the promotion program, as many people wanted to hold their houses. But in the end this wasn’t the case, simply because the price of land had increased and one could make a fortune by selling his old house”.*

In order to examine the progress and the evolution of the program in the area of Spandauer Vorstadt we decided to focus on **ten** basic spots of the study area. An effort will be made to study not only the changes following the architectural interventions, but also those in the productive base, as we can see them by the current uses of the land.



Map 3.6: the ten spots of the study area

Source: Senate Department of urban development Berlin.de

1. The Hack's Market / Hackescher Markt

The Hack's Market has been for more than 250 years the connecting link between the old Berlin City and the Spandauer Vorstadt. The joint and market function and also the attractive position have attached to the place inner city and appeal significance. The square was named after Hans Christophe Friedrich Von Hacke, adjutant general of Friedrich Wilhelm I. During the years of World War II about the two thirds of the buildings around Hack's Market were ruined, or badly damaged. Due to the first redesigned projects two green areas arose between the Neue Promenade and the Zwirngraben. A second phase between 1958 and 1962 included the modernizing of the city image, as the historical architectural ornament was considered to be old fashioned. Because of this, the survived architectural decoration



Picture 3.4: the Hack's Market in 1957

Source: Hübner V., Oehmig C. (2006), Spandauer Vorstadt in Berlin Mitte, Michael Imhof Verlag

remained. Due to the first redesigned projects two green areas arose between the Neue Promenade and the Zwirngraben. A second phase between 1958 and 1962 included the modernizing of the city image, as the historical architectural ornament was considered to be old fashioned. Because of this, the survived architectural decoration

was removed and replaced by steel float finish. The different construction periods were destroyed and the history of the buildings was pushed to the background (Hübner, Oehmig, 2006).

Today the Square is a vivid intersection of five streets and is marked by the existence of the S- Station. With the 2001- 2002 remodeled “Zwirngraben”, a new Town Square was constructed and the landscape was completely transformed. The name Am Zwirngraben still reminds us of the existence of the moat. As the restoration program progressed, careful preservation and restoration interventions took place, as well as quality structural additions that tried to preserve the architectural complexity and to make this junction of the study area alive again, without producing an artificial historic flair (Hübner, Oehmig, 2006).

2. The Hack’s Courtyards

(Die Hakeschen Höfe: Rosenthaler Straße 40-41 and Sophienstraße 6)

The trader, purveyor and glass manufacturer Hans Quilitz was the owner of the big plot of land on Rosenthaler Straße 40 since 1859. His inheritors also received the parcels Rosenthaler Straße 41 and Sophienstraße 6. The owners of the 9000 qm plot, enabled Kurt Berndt and August Endell, a property developer and architect team, to take over the property in 1907.

On the whole, the construction included eight courtyards (situated between the shops of the Hack’s Market and the Sophienstraße). There was one ballroom building in the first courtyard and one storey factory in the second. The other five were housing courtyards and the last, which bordered directly on the Jewish cemetery and on the Sophie churchyard, included commercial premises (Hübner, Oehmig, 2006). The art nouveau architect August Endell designed the colored brick façade of the first courtyard. So was the Neumann festival hall. The first alteration on the buildings was realized by the time that the ownership conditions changed in the 1920s. The Köster AG constructed a false ceiling in the top festival hall so that two floors would arise. The bombing in 1945 destroyed the upper floor over the western staircase and in 1961 followed the façade simplification of the Hack’s Market (Hübner, Oehmig, 2006).

The urban mix, where private residential space, work, entertainment and gastronomy could develop jointly in one living space, has characterized this area for over a century. Before the War, the Courtyards housed: an Expressionist poets' association in 1909 (Der Neue Club), a Jewish Girl's Club in 1916, the Imperial Cinema in 1921, a Jewish Student Canteen in 1913, wine merchants and a family department store. The Nazis forced Jacob Michael, the Jewish owner of the property before the War, into exile in 1933. Since 1977, the Hack's courtyards are under preservation order. The 1990/91 founded company "Hackesche Höfe" e.V was grounded with the essential work of revitalizing the historic mix of commercial, housing and culture in the courtyards and of preventing the vacancy and deterioration in the substance with other cultural uses. Perhaps the most famous effort of monumental preserving is the restoration of the brick August Endell's façade. In exemplary cooperation, builders, architects, authorities, residents and traders realized from the spring of 1995 until the end of year 1996 the repair and modernizing of the building with partial retention of the business enterprise and residential use.

The measures included the restoration of the facades in the first court, the expansion of the former factory on the second floor courtyard, the commercial space on the ground floor of housing courtyards and the coordinated with the tenants housing modernization. The main goal was the achievement of a harmonic co-existence of modern use and monumental conservation. The new street facades were designed by the architects Weiss&Partner and have become a symbol of the market (Hübner, Oehmig , 2006).

The restoration of this heritage building completed in 1997 was a central factor in the emergence of one of Berlin's liveliest quarters since reunification. Since the 1990s, the area around Hackesche Höfe has been synonymous with the vibrant urban renewal of the New Berlin, combining a mix of business and offices, residential housing, entertainment venues, art galleries, boutiques, bars and restaurants. The energy of post-unification of Germany, a quest for renewal and reinvention found its expression



Picture 3.5: The Hack's Courtyards (Die Hackeschen Höfe)

Source: Hübner V., Oehmig C. (2006), Spandauer Vorstadt in Berlin Mitte, Michael Imhof Verlag, Berlin Landesdenkmalamt, Deutschland

in the courtyards. The result is a new entrepreneurial spirit of new urban mix, characterized by cutting-edge creativity in the arts, fashion and design. Everything a postindustrial global city and cultural metropolis would like to offer.

3. The Mombijou square

The characteristic trapezoidal figure of the Monbijou square emerged before the tearing down of the wall and has evolved since 1735 together with the colonization of the study area.

The north part of the square was at the end of the 17th century a Green-land and it was in 1750 when the first town houses were built. At the south section stood the Holz square, which belonged to the Mombijou castle. Directly on the river there were dye works that were later expanded to a Manchester fabric. Today one can witness the



Picture 3.6 : The Mombijou Square

Source: Hübner V., Oehmig C. (2006), Spandauer Vorstadt in Berlin Mitte, Michael Imhof Verlag, Berlin Landesdenkmalamt, Deutschland

resurrection of this town square, which became part of the Mombijou park after the

demolition of the partly damaged Gates of Georg Christian Unger in 1960- 1961 (Hübner, Oehmig, 2006). The new buildings of the 2001/2002 on the plots Mombijou Square 3 and 5 (as also 10 and 11) and the new Pavilions also create a separate Square. By that action the four old houses once again obtained their lost town planning concept. These few old buildings represent the historical memory of the Square, where one can also find the monument dedicated to the poet Albert Camiso. The oldest building of the square is the house on Mombijou Square 2. It was built in 1817 and it was the house of the council fountain maker Friedrich Wilhelm Siegel. In 1841 it was expanded by two floors.



Picture 3.7: The house on Mombijou Square in 1960

Source: Hübner V., Oehmig C. (2006), Spandauer Vorstadt in Berlin Mitte, Michael Imhof Verlag, Berlin Landesdenkmalamt, Deutschland



Picture 3.8: The house on Mombijou Square today

Source: Hübner V., Oehmig C. (2006), Spandauer Vorstadt in Berlin Mitte, Michael Imhof Verlag, Berlin Landesdenkmalamt, Deutschland

During the construction activities in 1999 irregularities in the floor joists above the ground floor and former rafters were found to be marks of the former construction phases and therefore were preserved (Hübner, Oehmig, 2006). During the remediation in 1999 the building expanded by a third floor and a new gable roof with roadside dormers was constructed.

4. The new Synagogue (Oranienburger Straße 30)

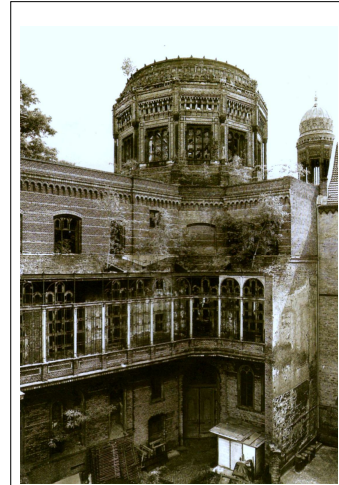
The main synagogue in Berlin was completed in 1866 and was a landmark for the Jewish community. With its 3.200 sitting areas, it became the largest Jewish religious site in Germany. The synagogue was designed and constructed by the architect Eduard Knoblauch and was finished by his son Gustav. Although the synagogue escaped the destruction through the courageous intervention of a police officer in the famous “Kristal night” on 9 November 1938, the bombing in 1943 was the cause of severe damages. The main building was demolished and removed in 1958. In June 1988 the reconstruction of the building was decided and this was followed by inventory control, preservation and partial reconstruction of the ruins. This example of architectural significance re-opened in May 1995 as a “Centrum Judaicum”. The brick façade combined with the modern iron construction is supposed to represent a major work of German Architecture (Hübner, Oehmig, 2006).

Part of the permanent collection of the Centrum Judaicum is a model, which gives an idea of the earlier form of the building. Moreover, historical documents, figure graphs and some recovered exhibits illustrate the architectural history of the New Synagogue and highlight the diversity of the Jewish life in the Spandauer Vorstadt. The outlines of the plan, traced in the open space behind the restored part of the building, give an idea of the enormous proportions of the former main hall of the synagogue. A construction of glass and steel undertakes the former height of the nave in the depth of the first vault and also protects the exposed brickwork with its hub. Through a restrained restoration, the original remains of the historic paintings were preserved in a fragmentary state (Hübner, Oehmig, 2006). The existence of Jewish migrants gave to the district diversity, which was never lost. Not only was the first synagogue built in this area, but also the first Jewish cemetery was established on the Große Hamburger Straße. Another name for the area, the Scheunenviertel (barn district) is associated today with up and coming art galleries and the more bohemian side of Berlin. These aspects are supposed to make Berlin appealing to the creative class.



Picture 3.9: The new Synagogue today

Source: Hübner V., Oehmig C. (2006), Spandauer Vorstadt in Berlin Mitte



Picture 3.10: The new Synagogue in 1988

Source: Hübner V., Oehmig C. (2006), Spandauer Vorstadt in Berlin Mitte

5. The former post office (Postfuehramt: Oranienburger Straße 35- 36)



Picture 3.11: The former post office

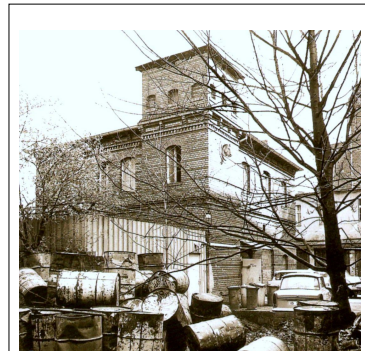
Source: Hübner V., Oehmig C. (2006), Spandauer Vorstadt in Berlin Mitte

The architect Carl Schwalto designed his significant late work in cooperation with his colleague Wilhelm Tuckermann during the years 1875- 1881. The location could be characterized as historical, as there stood the house of the postillions since 1713 and the house of the king's postmaster since 1766. The octagonal dome of the building rises to the high arch over the entrance in forms of the Italian Renaissance. Not only does it dominate the site and but it also acquires the role of an architectural counterweight to the new synagogue. Fine finished terracotta and the turquoise ribbons inlaid with floral motives decorate the yellow brick facades. In the bow wedge on the ground floor portrait medallions of well-

known inventors and explorers have been added from the antiquity till the 19th century. The sculptor Hermann Steinemann created in 1878 a great Terracotta relief of a stagecoach at the courtyard facade. The use of the building was abandoned after 1990 and subsequently it has been used as an exhibition venue, where several temporary art projects, including the Berlin Biennale of Young Art take place (Hübner, Oehmig, 2006).

6. The Heckman's courtyard (Die Heckmannhöfe)

In order to reach the Heckman courtyard one has to come through the archway of the neighboring house. This rental facility was built by the trader and timber merchant Heinrich Franz Carl Köhne in 1887. The former historical plots between the Oranienburger Straße and the August Straße can still be found today. Behind the first inner courtyard, a former sector of economy expands to a small square, where one can also find passage to August Straße. The restoration of the 1999 attempted to recreate the lost historical unit structure, but today the former sheds and garages house shops and restaurants.



Picture 3.12: The Heckmann's courtyard

Source: Hübner V., Oehmig C. (2006), Spandauer Vorstadt in Berlin Mitte

7. The Jewish Girl High School (August Straße 11-13)

A few years before the seizure of power by the Nazis the Jewish Community let the construction of a new building for a girls' school. The building was designed by the architect Alexander Beer, who had also designed the Orphanage in Pankow and the Synagogue by the Fränkel bank. The brick facade expressed the forms of the New Objectivity and steps behind the building line. The staggered facade planes step properly and manage to incorporate the large construction volume with the city



Picture 3.13: The Jewish Girl High School

Source: Hübner V., Oehmig C. (2006), Spandauer Vorstadt in Berlin Mitte

image. The main entrance with its funnel-shape and (with the) decorative ironwork has an inviting role. Before the fall of the Wall it was renamed as the Bertolt Brecht high school. Since then, the restoration and maintenance of the school building are still pending (Hübner, Oehmig , 2006).

8. The Sophie- Gips -Courtyards (Die Gips Höfe: Sophien Straße 20-21)

The Sophie Gips Höfe is considered to be among the courtyards of the area that hide



Picture 3.14: The Sophie- Gips- Courtyards

Source: <http://www.sophie-gips.de>
Figure 3.15: The Sophie- Gips- Courtyards

their simple spatial richness behind house facades.

It is a former textile factory site located in the Spandauer Vorstadt, a site that comprises of a brick building ensemble which frames three courtyards.

As a result of the comprehensive rehabilitation between the years 1995 and 1997, a new semi public trail linkage through the passages and courtyards was constructed. A private passage way leads from Sophienstraße to Gipsstraße surrounded by buildings displaying a striking mix of architectural styles. This makes it possible to walk from the Hake's courtyards to the exit on Sophienstraße 6 and then to access the Gipsstraße.

The former factory spaces surrounding the courtyards have been transformed into spaces which

house small galleries, cafes, loft apartments, offices, artistic ateliers and a radio station. Upon all this stands the 2.500 square meters two-storey penthouse gallery which hosts the collection of modern art owned by the collectors Erica and Rolf Hoffman. Incorporated within this, a contemporary roof extension constructed of steel and glass is the private residence of the Hoffmann's (Capodicasa, 2010).

9. Alte Schönhauser Straße

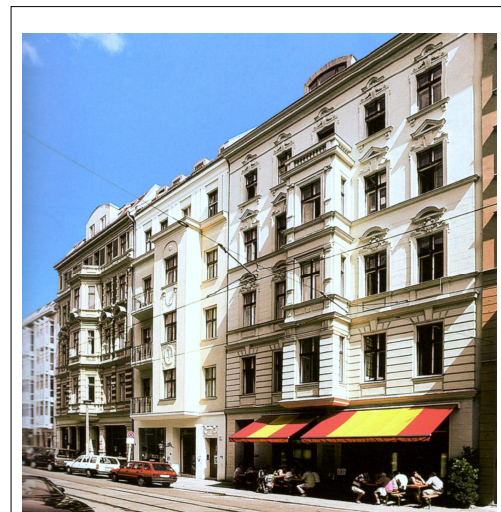
The Alte Schönhauser Allee Straße started from the Schönhauser Tor and led as an avenue through the field market, which was supplying the whole city. Despite this, the

road was by no means a boulevard. The construction of a larger apartment building was laid along the narrow plots to which the pooled house numbers refer today. The former buildings at today's greenery between Alte Schönhauser Straße, Max Beer Straße and Schendelgasse were entirely lost during World War II (Hübner , Oehmig , 2006).



Picture 3.15: The house on number 46 before the repairs

Source: Hübner V., Oehmig C. (2006), Spandauer Vorstadt in Berlin Mitte



Picture 3.16: The house on number 46 before the repairs (left) and today

Source: Hübner V., Oehmig C. (2006), Spandauer Vorstadt in Berlin Mitte

The few historic buildings today contribute to the understanding of urban development and evolution in the area. One of the best examples of the restoration achievement is the building on number 46. The house was built in 1890 and before the repairs in 1997 it was found in a desolate condition. Efforts were made in order to preserve the original decoration of the façade. This apartment is one characteristic example of the bourgeois living culture and the facilities of the late 19th century in Berlin. This type of house included five living and sleeping rooms in the front building, while the bathrooms, kitchen, utility and servant rooms were on the side wing (Hübner , Oehmig , 2006).

10. Gipsstraße 11

At the junction of Joachimstraße and Gipsstraße stands one of the few examples of early neo-classical architecture in Berlin. The sculptor Carl Ludwig Bettkober purchased the contract of sale, according to older buildings for \$2,800. He built the two-storey house in 1800 according to his own needs, but as an artist he totally respected the uncompromising modern design. The facade is characterized by balanced proportions and by the restriction on few articulating cornice, brackets and meanders.



Picture 3.17: The house as it looks today

Source: Hübner V., Oehmig C. (2006), Spandauer Vorstadt in Berlin Mitte



Picture 3.18: The house 11 Gipsstraße: With grey we can observe the parts of the house that are from 1800. The changes are marked with colour.

Source: Hübner V., Oehmig C. (2006), Spandauer Vorstadt in Berlin Mitte

The architect Gustav Friedrich Alexander Stier acquired the house when he received a professorship at the Academy of Architecture. Construction changes by his hand are preserved in the inner part of the house (Hübner, Oehmig, 2006). In 1872 the carpenter Georg Ludwig Mermel set up the cross building in the courtyard and stopped the former two-storey building. A modernization and upgrading of the front building was associated with the store fixtures for a kosher butcher in the ground floor at the beginning of the twentieth century. At the beginning of the 1990s the building was threatened with longtime vacancy. After a comprehensive backup and restoration

from 1994 till 1996, this important architectural monument of the early classicism was saved with the support of the urban heritage funding program. The house reflects in its uses the historical urban development of Spandauer Vorstadt (Hübner , Oehmig, 2006).

4. Conclusions about the redevelopment program

4.1 The architectural dimension

▲ Dealing with historical buildings

The architectural dimension is supposed to be the most successful aspect of the whole redevelopment process. After the completion of the renovation in February 2008, 87.9% of the old buildings that were to be renewed had been radically transformed. During the period of rehabilitation, the erected new buildings that were of high redevelopment potential and were available at the beginning, are estimated to have included 1627 flats (that is more than 73.0%). Moreover, 1187 new apartments were built and the additional housing potential in attics of old stocks gave 428 further new apartments (Dieser, Wilke, 2008).

Mr. Wilke considers the architectural dimension to be the high point of the program: *“High Point is actually the promotion program and that the preservation office got involved. Therefore there was achieved a very high quality and in the bounds of the program, the standards were set and even the private finances in generally followed these standards. A very few old buildings were at the end demolished. As far as I know, you will not find in the whole area a single aluminum front door. This was not achieved accidentally. That did not happen without a reason, without a background. And this is I believe a great success, the quality of the final result. The second what I personally believe that is a success is the relationship between the reconstruction of the street fronts. Even if we did not reconstruct them at certain points, as you also need playgrounds, parking and public spaces, for example in the Gipsdreieck”*.

Mr. Staroste also pointed out that *“the goals that concern the structural restoration were reached in any case. You cannot have a clue, but I know the Spandauer Vorstadt by the time of the fall of the Berlin Wall. It was a neglected in its structural material region. We have managed to save some of the buildings that were scheduled for demolition, as they could get rehabilitated. It was the architectural structure that was managed to get saved. And therefore one can today witness a unique ensemble of the historic old Berlin. From that aspect we can consider the program as a success”*.

The majority of the old buildings in the Spandauer Vorstadt come from periods before the last third of the 19th century; that is, before the many industrial firms were established in Germany changing Berlin into a new metropolis. They are older than the typical “Mietskasernen”. Their ground plans were not standardized, but they were conceived and designed according to the specific characteristics of the plot of land. The old buildings of the historic area were at the end of the redevelopment process as a rule reshaped. The decoration of the facades was simplified and original components of the infrastructure such as roofs and windows were replaced by new parts. A great effort was made in order to sign off this procedure with respect and harmony to the special history of each house.

Describing the situation before the redevelopment Mr. Wilke underlined the following: *“At the beginning of the renovation we had a certain, difficult situation. In the years of the GDR was indeed intended, that a large amount of buildings were neglected. The background for this is that the regime had a very specific goal, which was to supply the population with the best possible living space that was at the same time economical, affordable. This means that you had to get with the least use of resources the most modern homes and led to the solution of prefabricated houses. This also meant that there weren’t the appropriate methods or materials in order to handle with old buildings. In that sense, it was also ineffective if you compared it with what the new buildings could offer. So, all the old buildings were more or less neglected. Every fourth plot was vacant, demolished or ruined in the postwar period. They wanted to maintain certain places, for example, they wanted to preserve the Hack’s courtyards, or the Alte Schönhauser Straße and to continue with the prefabricated buildings. The citizens have stopped this direction. That began in the West, but also happened in the East, but with a delay of ten years”*.

The buildings were renewed with specific, high standards; keeping as many original components as could be preserved and trying to orientate the redesigning towards the historical result. The outcome is a city image of high quality and the buildings are claimed to represent different construction phases due to their formative still elements and due to the colors and the materials used. It is also worth mentioning that it wasn’t

only the aesthetic appearance of the area that was improved through the redevelopment progress, but also most of the apartments were adjusted to the modern housing needs.

The building on Mulackstraße 22 is one of those that originate from the period before the industrial explosion of Berlin and is a characteristic example of an old building in the study area. Originally, it included a central corridor per floor, with a kitchen



every four rooms, others looking to the street and others looking to the garden. The water absorption was located in the hallway and the toilet was in the yard. Normally, there lived a family per kitchen, but it was common to sublet a bed to workers, the so-called “Schlafburschern” (which means, “sleeping young men”). It was typical to deal with a situation of 5 persons per living room, almost forty per floor and 160 per building. Those were more people than the people who live today in the whole block. The old ground plan remained unaltered only due to historical reasons. However, a significant alteration was more than necessary, in order to adjust the apartments to a modern design and use. By merging the rooms, two oriented flats were constructed

per floor and the old house was transformed into a luxurious living option (Dieser, Wilke, 2008).

The renewal of the old buildings was a prerequisite for the area in order to be socially upgraded. Although one of the main targets of the redevelopment process was to encourage the living function in the district, the promotion and the investments made on the building environment were certainly leading to a gradual change of the social composition. It is also relevant to bring up that one of the basic incentives for the state to promote a development program was the expected profits by the real estate industry.



Picture 4.2: the historical ground plan of the old building

Source: Koordinationsbuero zur Unterstützung der Stadterneuerung in Berlin – Bezirksamt Mitte (2008)



Picture 4.3: the new plan after the redevelopment

Source: Koordinationsbuero zur Unterstützung der Stadterneuerung in Berlin – Bezirksamt Mitte (2008)

The following table contains all the information referring to the renewing process.

Table 4.1. Renewing of old buildings in the historical area (End result till 10. February 2008)		
Apartments in old Buildings (before 1918)		
Total number	4.060	
Number of those renewed	3.568	88%
Commercial Buildings		
Total	83	
Number of those renewed	66	80%
New apartments created (in attics of the old buildings)		
Total potential	615 WE	
Equipped apartments	428 WE	70%
Ruined old buildings		
1993	22	
2008	3	
Source: (Dieser , Wilke , 2008)		

On the other hand, in 2001 a change in strategy was implemented, as the available public funds for the redevelopment areas were primarily used in order to improve public facilities and public space. This change of strategy came at a time when the district was marked by a strong contrast between the shine in new splendor facades of private old buildings and the neglected infrastructure of public buildings. The reducing population number about 1998, particularly when it came to children, was contrary to the goals of rehabilitation, which aimed at transforming the Spandauer Vorstadt to an ideal place for families. Specifically, it is partly due to this use of funds for social and cultural infrastructure in the 2000's that at the end of the restructuring a relevant balance between the renovation of private buildings and of public ones could

be reached. The quality improvement since 1998 in parallel with a running strong increase in the number of inhabitants (22.5% by the end of 2007) and a higher proportion of infants (67.7%) reflects a high value rating of the area as a “downtown” residence for families with young children (Dieser, Wilke, 2008).



Picture 4.4: The central house of culture (Das Kulturhaus Mitte)

Source: Koordinationsbüro zur Unterstützung der Stadterneuerung in Berlin – Bezirksamt Mitte (2008), Stadterneuerung in Berlin Mitte: Sanierungsgebiet Spandauer Vorstadt: 1993-2008 Prozess und Ergebnisse

As a further result of this, a significant enhancement of public space and a modern renovation of public buildings were accomplished. After the completion of the redevelopment program the following public infrastructures/buildings were renewed: the Schools on Gipsstraße 23a, on Grosse Hamburger Straße 27 and on Weinmeisterstraße 16, as also the student recreation center on Weinmeisterstraße 15 and the the gym on Gormannstraße 13. The Culture House on August Straße 21 and the rehearsals house on Koppenplatz were also modernized. Finally, the day care centre on Rückerstraße was moved into a new building and the Kita “Kleine Auguststraße” was renewed (Dieser, Wilke, 2005). The table 4.2 indicates all the relevant information.

Table 4.2: Social and culture Infrastructures

(End result till 10. February 2008)

Renewed Buildings	9
New Buildings	2
Total Investment	38,1 Mio€

Source: (Dieser , Wilke , 2008)

^ The new architecture in the historical environment

At the beginning of the redevelopment process, 160 plots of land (almost one every fourth plot) were vacant. There was no block with fully preserved old buildings, the spatial edges of individual blocks were completely dissolved and large wastelands dominated the cityscape.

The previous buildings were destroyed during the war, were neglected for decades, or had been demolished in anticipation of a planned redevelopment. This led to a state where the gaps in the urban space were scattered over the whole area. Incommensurate to this is the number of the new created buildings. They were included in plans for whole sections of road closures, while at the same time filling the gaps even on small plots. It was a main target that all new buildings would manage to insert themselves into the urban setting and would complement the established environment sensitively. In cases where there were spread plots, the building project chose parceling with single structure. Therefore, the orientation to the environment included the use of various design elements. This was not supposed to lead to uniformity of the design and architecture of the new buildings. On the contrary, the goal was to build a city image characterized by variety with every individual building expressed as a consensus design, adjusted to the historical environment. It also aimed to avoid the arbitrary reproduction according to the architectural philosophy of the architects involved. This was only partly achieved and

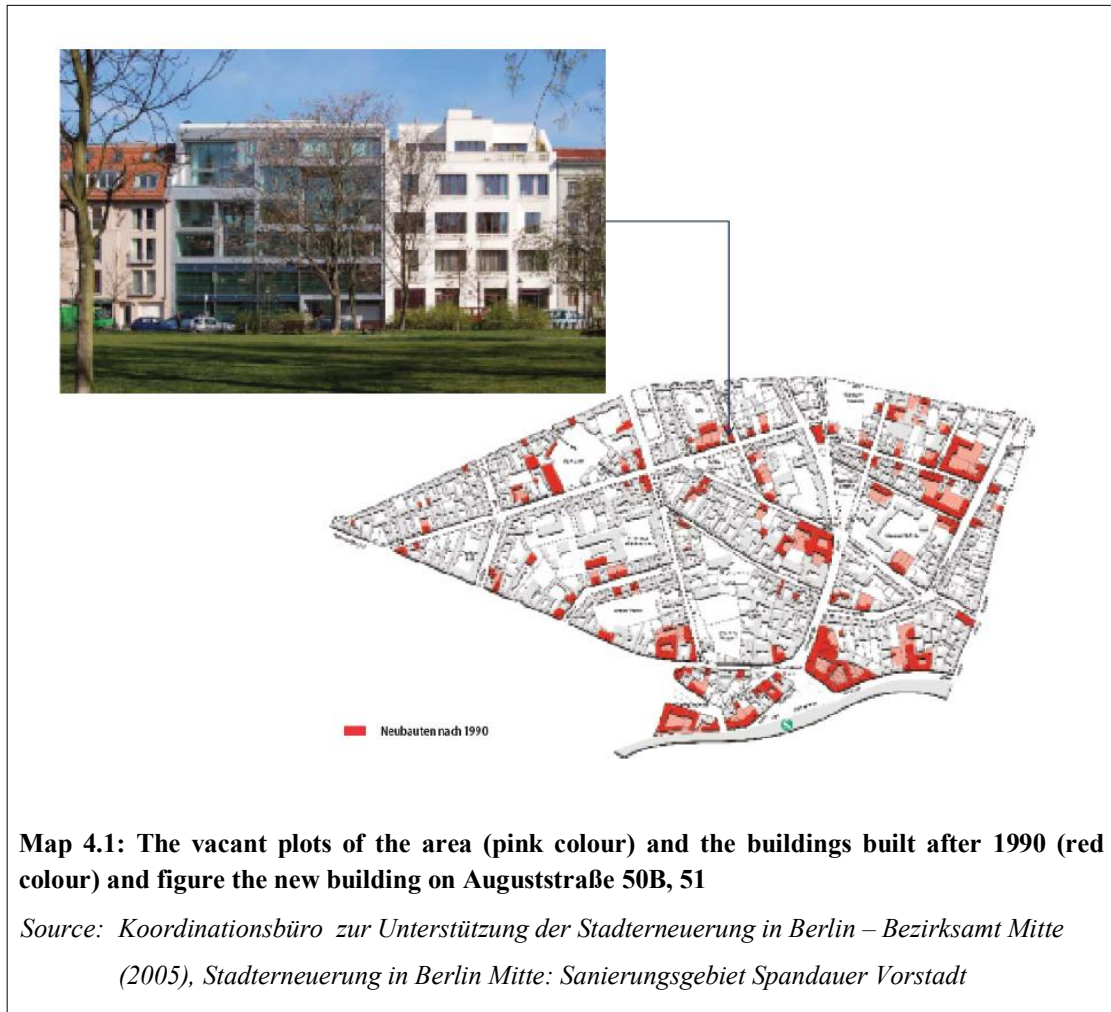
some of the new buildings are considered moot cases. Mr. Wilke considers this to be a negative aspect, as he remarks: *“negative from my point of view are a number of specific buildings, the new buildings, which do not function in the environment and the tendency to big constructions. I know that in the case of the Post Office, the Postführamt, it was very difficult and we had to find a solution together with a very good architect. We seek a solution that would be able to combine this additional building mass, without disturbing the monument and the urban environment. But we can’t control today how these new buildings will be constructed and therefore I have no trust. This is one of the weaknesses”*.

The “Bezirk Mitte”, in connection with the housing association center “Neubauwohnungen” enforced a quota for subsidized new apartments in the area of Mulack, Stein and Alte Schönhauser Straße, which were an alternative for the affected tenants. This was supposed to be a contribution in order to stabilize the residents’ number in the area. By the Hackescher Markt, the urban structure had to be examined as a large area.

Table 4.3 Modern architecture in the historical environment

(End result till 10. February 2008)

New constructed Buildings	129
New apartments created	1187
New underground car parks	52
Total Investments	440Mi.€
<i>Source: Senate Department of urban development Berlin.de</i>	



The master plan map included a set of single-family homes and the twelve houses were finally designed by four architectural offices (Dieser, Wilke, 2008). The old buildings standing in the way of the new constructions, were treated with respect, and were successfully integrated in the new construction projects, as was the case with the expansion of the hospital in St.Hewitt on Krausnickstraße. The new building in the Hakescher Markt 2- 3 presented the proportions of the square structure and acted related to the floor heights and the outline of the adjacent Hackeschen Hoefen. By the case of the new building on Auguststraße, the 154 qm of the area in combination with the eight numbers of the street opening, were the disposal for the architects. With similar operations architects designed very different buildings, so that the living in the

inner city could be individually and simultaneously divertive and various (Dieser, Wilke, 2008).

▲ **Regaining the public space**

One of the main aspects and meanwhile targets of the redevelopment progress was the quality of the public space and the public squares. Many playgrounds, parks and city squares were created or redesigned and partial areas of public road space were renewed. Public spaces mirror the complexities of urban societies. In modern societies open spaces have also changed from being embedded in the social fabric of the city to being part of a more impersonal and fragmental urban environment (Madanipour, 2010). The question raised is whether public spaces can contribute so as to overcome this fragmentation where accessible spaces are created through inclusive processes. Moreover, we should also wonder about whether the public spaces of the city actually serve the public or not. A space that everyone is able to enter and express himself enables the participation in collective experience. Different stages in design, planning, development and management of public spaces have a direct impact on their accessibility and identity. In the case of Berlin, the privatization of green and public spaces isn't the common case. In that sense, open spaces are free and accessible to anyone. Nevertheless, the social and spatial diversity is also reflected on how urban interventions promote the creation of new public and green spaces in each case. This is important in order to understand that the design of public spaces is relevant to the strategic urban planning of the area.

The transformation of Spandauer Vorstadt from a former neglected area to a residential pole for people of higher income would not be achievable without the renewal of public spaces and parks. The quality of a public space is a crucial index for the housing and living conditions especially in inner city neighborhoods and is a decisive factor for the walking and moving ability and the undesirable segregation process. Moreover, in the case of the study area, the medieval urban structure has put new significant criteria for the creation and the redevelopment of such spaces, as the public space development is historically founded in short supply. The streets are narrow and there were usually only a few mostly small squares. This is precisely why the public space has been extremely valuable for the redevelopment program. In this

sense, the realization of numerous projects referring to public spaces is a qualitative leap compared to the situation at the beginning of the restoration. The result included fourteen playgrounds, green areas and city squares, which were created or clasped, and the renewal of the majority of public spaces. The investments are estimated to €8,5 millions. (Dieser, Wilke, 2008).



Map 4.2: The green spaces of the study area and the Mombijoupark

Source: Koordinationsbüro zur Unterstützung der Stadterneuerung in Berlin – Bezirksamt Mitte (2008), Stadterneuerung in Berlin Mitte: Sanierungsgebiet Spandauer Vorstadt: 1993-2008 Prozess und Ergebnisse

Notable examples are the large square “Am Zwirngraben” with a remarkable pedestrian traffic, the gateway to the Spandauer Vorstadt in the Hackescher Markt, the newly redesigned Koppenplatz, the traditional historic restored Monbijouplatz, the Schendelpark, the playground Mulackstraße 9-10, and the completely newly designed and expanded green space and gypsum triangle, the Gormanndreieck (Rosenthaler Straße, Gormannstraße and Steinstraße). The greenery of the Gormanndreieck was once densely built, but was partly destroyed during the war.

In the course of the rehabilitation, the area was transformed into an ideal place for children of different ages, offering spaces for playing and sport activities. The Krausnickpark is also a characteristic case. In the 17th century, the gates of the city's stately gardens were gradually built up as Berlin became larger.

A citizens' association purchased part of the garden between Krausnickstraße,



Picture 4.5: The Krausnickpark in the study area

Source: Koordinationsbüro zur Unterstützung der Stadterneuerung in Berlin – Bezirksamt Mitte (2008)

Oranienburger and Big Hamburger Straße, where the facilities of this club were built, as also a ballroom and an outdoor restaurant (Dieser, Wilke, 2005). In the 1920's, it was sold and converted to the Berlin student's home, but in the course of the renewal in 1996 -1997, it was designed as public greenery. Finally, in the

early 2007 the park in Block Nick Kraus (on Oranienburgerstraße 20) was reformed. Until today, the residents preserve it very well (Dieser, Wilke, 2008).

▲ **Transport organization in a medieval city ground plan**

The profile of most roads in the Spandauer Vorstadt reflects the history of the suburb well before the time of the traffic motorization. Its medieval urban structure signaled a completely different situation compared to other districts of Berlin. Moreover, during the GDR years visitors hardly ever visited the Spandauer Vorstadt, mainly because the historic streets and alleys were combined with many transport problems and could not provide a transport system that would serve the tourist development.

This changed radically after the fall of the wall, especially in the mid-1990's, when the Spandauer Vorstadt began to attain the role of a tourist attraction and evolved to

an epicenter of entertainment and culture. Nonetheless, being a touristic hot spot a number of new problems arose:



Picture 4.6: The intersection of the roads Rosenthaler Straße and Oranienburgerstraße

Source: Koordinationsbüro zur Unterstützung der Stadterneuerung in Berlin – Bezirksamt Mitte (2008)

The Parking shortage, the disturbing traffic by searching a parking space, traffic noise and hazards were increasingly annoying the residents. A survey conducted specifically on the traffic problems of the area, reached the conclusion that their solution was the number one priority for the

inhabitants.

The extreme traffic congestion was a major reason for the former residents to abandon the area. There was an urgent need to take action. Therefore, with the cooperation and the close consultation of the Senate Department for Urban Development and the “Bezirk Mitte”, a new detailed traffic and transport regulation plan was agreed on. The gradual implementation of this concept began in 2002 and ended in 2008 (Dieser, Wilke, 2008). The 2002 parking management measures were the first step of the target actions and a significant reduction in traffic problems was attained. The package of measures also provided a graduated rate concept for almost every road with a tempo pace between 10 and 30 (km/h). The only exception is the region around the Oranienburgerstraße with a tempo pace of 50 (km/h).

Other measures of this concept included the targeted advance payments to the diversion of traffic in the Spandauer Vortstadt, the establishment of a bicycle road (line road), the optimization of loading zones for commercial traffic, the reconstruction of intersections, the sidewalk pre-stretch curves and the installation of site-specific bollards.

In addition, the linings of almost all streets and sidewalks were replaced. After the



Picture 4.7: The traffic management and the speed concept

Source: Koordinationsbüro zur Unterstützung der Stadterneuerung in Berlin – Bezirksamt Mitte (2005)

completion of the measures a higher quality in the road space of the Spandauer Vorstadt is supposed to have been reached, reducing congestion and achieving a much higher safety for the pedestrians. Here we should consider that the total investments for the whole program (which included parking management, the conversion of twelve crossings, the sidewalk extensions and renewals, the renewal of road surfacing tiered rate concept, the loading zones for commercial traffic and the diversion of

traffic) are estimated to €11,3 millions. (Dieser, Wilke, 2008).

4.2 The economic and political dimension

4.2.1 The Berlin city after the fall of the Wall

The unique history of Berlin has consolidated the city as a field of intense political debate. Since the fall of the Wall in 1989 the city has gone through dramatic economic, political and social changes and also through a radical industrial and urban transformation. The fact that in 1994 Berlin became the capital of the reunited Germany also contributed to the tremendous change in the economic and political sphere as well as in the housing and social structures of the districts (Häussermann, Kapphan, 2004). We could also emphasize that this relocation of the German government from Bonn to Berlin has been a major step in the way of reorganizing the whole German urban network (Eckhardt, 2004).

In particular, the urban development and restructuring processes have included large construction projects, which did not just influence, but have clearly altered and reformed the everyday life. It is not irrelevant that Berlin in the nineties came to be known as "**Europe's largest construction site,**" or as the "**construction site of the**

German reunification". The reinstatement of Berlin as Germany's capital also activated a huge debate about its new nature and identity as a reunified city that would acquire a place between the great economical centers of the West, regaining its former metropolitan character. The remembrance of the Golden Twenties became vivid again searching the city's potential future role by reflecting nostalgic views of urban life in pre War Berlin by the time when the city could actually be comparable to London and Paris. At the beginning of the 20th century companies in the fields of electrical engineering, mechanical engineering, vehicle construction like Siemens, Daimler Benz AG and AEG founded corporate headquarters in Berlin and already in 1936 there were almost 574.00 employees in the industry employment, more people than in Hamburg, Munich or Frankfurt (Senatsverwaltung für Wirtschaft, Technology und Frauen, 2010). But could Berlin regain its metropolitan character in the new economical global context?

The rebuilding of urban spaces, the daily adjustments to traffic circulation patterns, and the great volume of demolition and new construction with large scale projects such as Potsdamer Platz and Alexanderplatz were all connected with an ideology of influencing of what is known in German as a "*Heimat*" feeling and reshaping a collective memory (Schwedler,). At the same time the city was claimed to have become a new global city with an interconnecting role between the west and the east and full of expectations of entering the world economy and the gateway function in the European networks (Eckardt, 2004). The debate about Berlin's position in the world economy opened new develop strategies for place marketing, staking out claims to a special position within a highly competitive global market place. Berlin should have its own "panoply of partnership marketing and development agencies" (Cochrane, Jonas, 1999)

It would be better to examine the situation starting from the basics. Berlin is one of the 16 Bundesländer in Germany with 3.443 million habitants living in an area of 892 square kilometers (Amt für Statistik für Berlin und Brandenburg, <http://www.statistik-berlin-brandenburg.de/>). It is important to bear in mind that it is a city- state, as this is relevant to policy strategies that can be formulated at the State level. It formulates its own programs for labor market, housing, education and so on. The former 23

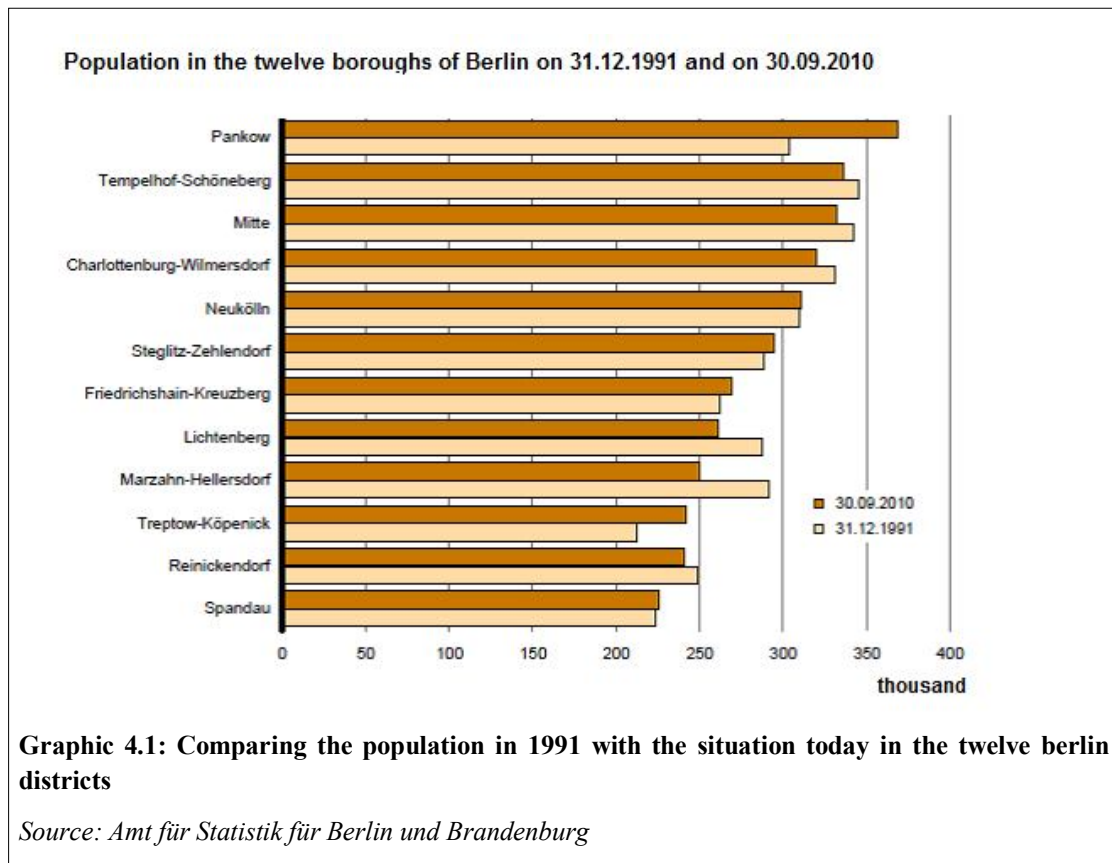
districts (before Berlin's 2001 administrative reform of the city) were only local administrative units without municipal rights. There were twelve districts in the West and eleven in the East. It is necessary to underline that the eastern part is of course the one changing more dramatically since the reunification. One could easily observe that all conditions for urban development have changed. Redistribution of property, new planning laws, new players, new investors including not only private investors but also the federal government, borough administrations and citizen interest groups and new planning concepts have transformed the largely neglected or clear near the Wall areas of the GDR (Häussermann, Kapphan, 2004).

Nowadays, Berlin is subdivided into twelve boroughs (Bezirke). Each borough is subdivided into a number of localities (Ortsteile), which represent the traditional urbanized areas that inhabitants identify with. At the moment the city of Berlin consists of 95 such localities which are often comprised of various city neighborhoods (usually called Kiez in the Berlin dialect) representing small residential areas. Berlin is the largest city in Germany having a population that is almost as high as the population of the two next largest cities, Munich and Hamburg, together. On the contrary, as a state it is a small one compared to other Bundesländer. After the reunification, efforts were made to merge the surrounding state Brandenburg, which is not densely populated, with Berlin. This was expected to reduce the costs and the local competition formulating common planning strategies. Especially because of the suburbanization of people and industries, Berlin wanted to take back the taxes from those who had left the city (Häussermann, Kapphan, 2004).

1990 was the year of big expectations for the growth and development of Berlin. It was expected that the new capital would induce an enormous increase in population and employment. However, things turned out to be very different and during the nineties it experienced a decrease in population, labour force and employment followed by a rise in unemployment and poverty. Studying the statistics today, we can observe that the population of Berlin didn't grow at the expected rate. The graphic 4.1 indicates that in most districts the population declined and only in the area of Pankow we can see a considerable increase.

It is characteristic that the labour force decreased from 1.88 million in 1991 to 1.77 million in 2000 and employment declined from 1.69 million in 1991 to 1.47 million in 2000. These are indicators of the growing economic crisis in Berlin a decade after the reunification. In East Berlin, the decrease in employment was 9 per cent between 1991 and 2000. The collapse appeared between 1990 and 1992 and was established in the years that followed. Most East Berliners commuted to West Berlin, where the decrease in employment was a process that occurred between 1995 and 1998. This tendency could be found in all Berlin districts, but job decline could be observed to be considerably higher in the inner city districts of West Berlin. For example, in the district of Neukölln the number of jobs declined by 22 per cent from 1991 to 1998 (Häussermann, Kapphan, 2004). It is of great importance to mention that Neukölln today could be characterized as an area of intense private investment that is gradually “upgrading”.

Nevertheless, it would not be proper to speak only of a general decreasing tendency in employment. What is of interest is to examine the divergent patterns of development in various economic sectors. More specifically, it is important to see where the loss of jobs is more obvious and which sectors were mostly affected. It is difficult to explain with an integrated approach the phenomenon of the sharp decrease in manufacturing in Berlin during the last twenty years. This has certainly to do with a general trend in the great western capitals, as the technological revolution changed the perception, but also the meaning of space and place and the way production is organized globally. The new big cities, turning into “global cities” became sites for the production of specialized services needed by complex organizations for running a spatially dispersed network of factories, offices, and service outlets, and the production of financial innovations and the making of markets (Sassken, 2001). At the same time, the real production of commodities is transferred to the poorest areas where the human labor is cheaper.



It is estimated that Berlin's industry lost more than 150.000 jobs from 1990 to 2001. The parallel increase in service sector is not of course irrelevant, but it cannot counterbalance the loss of the manufacturing jobs. It is the unemployment of the industrial workers that increased in the region (Krätke, 2004). Nevertheless, in order to analyze the processes in Berlin, one should take into account the different political and social preconditions in East and West part. In West Berlin before the fall of the Wall, manufacturing used to rely heavily upon public subsidies. This changed after the reunification and as the public subsidies were stopped, the sector lost its competitiveness. The situation in East Berlin was in fact different, as it was determined by a radical structural change caused by "the transformation from a centrally managed socialist to a capitalist free market economy" (Häussermann, Kapphan, 2004). So the decline of Berlin as an industrial location should be seen as a combination of the closing production sites in the eastern part of the city with the structural weaknesses of the industries in the western part of the city, which had used the special Berlin subsidies for decades in order to expand its assembly line

production of simple mass products (Krätke, 2004). And as Stefan Krätke points out, this led to a situation where

“ traditional industries like textiles or metal processing and the technology – centered industries like vehicle manufacturing or mechanical engineering have a much lower representation in Berlin than in other urban economic centers of Germany” (Krätke, 2004, page 58).

To sum up, it would be safe to point out that, in general, the economic adjustment of Berlin since the reunification has countermined the old securities of Berlin’s residents in both East and West, as the heavy subsidies which kept West Berlin afloat have gone and the East German state, which offered employment to its eastern residents, didn’t exist any longer. In their paper “Reimagining Berlin: World city, National Capital or Ordinary place?” written in 1999, Allan Cochrane and Andrew Jonas contribute to this by mentioning:

“Employment in the manufacturing industry on both sides of the old divide has collapsed, by over 57 percent overall (from 384.000 in 1990 to 167,00 in 1994) and by over 80 percent in East Berlin, where even the high end research and development activities have collapsed and skilled workers have been trapped with inappropriate qualifications and experience. After a Brief reunification spurt, Berlin has experienced the slowest economic growth of all the new Bundesländer. Berlin’s city government seems to have moved into a permanent state of financial crisis” (Cochrane and Jonas, 1999, page 146).

Today Berlin is indeed a “poor” capital of a state that seems to manage to come as a winner in the current economic crisis. Germany is one of the strongest economies in the European Union. According to the IW Economic Forecast of the autumn 2010, despite the global crisis, the German economy remains in an upbeat mood. The economy has tentatively returned from crisis to normalcy and in 2010, the real GDP is expected to grow by 3 1/4 percent on average compared to 2009. As the effects of this turnaround taper off, the growth rate will abate somewhat in 2011 putting it at 2 percent. Moreover, in 2010 and 2011, expanding domestic demand should contribute to over half of the recovery. Unemployment is regarded to sink to 3 million persons

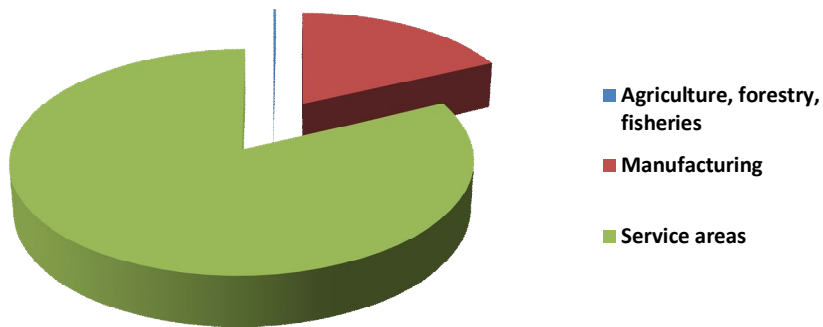
or 7 percent of the workforce, while the increasing revenue will lower the government deficit from 4 percent of GDP this year to 3 percent in 2011 (Institut der Deutschen Wirtschaft Köln, <http://www.iwkoeln.de>). Berlin on the other hand is a city-state with 231.485 unemployed, almost 13.6% of the population and with a debt to the Federal Government that is estimated to reach the 60 billion Euros. In 2007, the federal state of Berlin had a budget surplus for the first time in its history. The surplus was supposed to be used to reduce Berlin's existing debt. Budget forecasts anticipate surpluses over the next few years as well, and the aim is to reduce the state's existing debt by €1.8 billion by 2011. Berlin's financial situation is heavily influenced by the high debt and correspondingly high interest payments. For years now, the Senate has been working to meet this challenge with a consistent budget consolidation course (Berlin economy, <http://www.berlin.de/wirtschaft/>). If we see the productive base of Berlin today then we could surely tell that 82% of the economy is based on the service area, including trade, transport and communications (18.8%), financial, renting and business activities (22.4%) and public and private service (40.8%). The manufacturing, on the other hand, is estimated to 17.8% (Graphic 4.2). If we examine the statistics in the course of time, we can clearly see the decline of manufacturing and the increasing of the service sector. The table 4.4 shows this economic transformation by focusing on the statistics in the years 1991, 1995, 2000, 2005 and 2009 and the graphic 4.3 shows this evolution per decade (Amt für Statistik für Berlin und Brandenburg, <http://www.statistik-berlin-brandenburg.de/>).

But are these facts enough in order to characterize the transformation of Berlin to “a service metropolis”? It is natural that various cities are marked by great differences in their economic profiles and in the organization of their regional economy. As Stefan Krätke believes, these different activity profiles determine the development capacities of urban regions. Berlin is a relatively strong economic area with good prospects in particular fields, but as he points out the city's function as the new German capital has not led to a high concentration of advanced producer services.

Table 4.4: The economic transformation of Berlin					
	<i>1991</i>	<i>1995</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2005</i>	<i>2009</i>
Agriculture, forestry, fisheries	<i>0,2</i>	<i>0,2</i>	<i>0,2</i>	<i>0,2</i>	<i>0,2</i>
Manufacturing	<i>31,7</i>	<i>27,7</i>	<i>22,6</i>	<i>19,2</i>	<i>17,8</i>
Manufacturing industry (excluding construction)	<i>24,1</i>	<i>18,8</i>	<i>17,2</i>	<i>15,8</i>	<i>14,5</i>
Construction	<i>7,6</i>	<i>8,9</i>	<i>5,5</i>	<i>3,4</i>	<i>3,3</i>
Service areas	<i>68,1</i>	<i>72,0</i>	<i>77,1</i>	<i>80,7</i>	<i>82,0</i>
Trade, transport and communications	<i>20,2</i>	<i>19,3</i>	<i>17,3</i>	<i>18,1</i>	<i>18,8</i>
Financial, renting and business activities	<i>13,2</i>	<i>16,8</i>	<i>20,4</i>	<i>22,0</i>	<i>22,4</i>
Public and private service	<i>34,6</i>	<i>35,9</i>	<i>39,4</i>	<i>40,6</i>	<i>40,8</i>
Source: Author's own editing based on facts from "Amt für Statistik für Berlin und Brandenburg"					

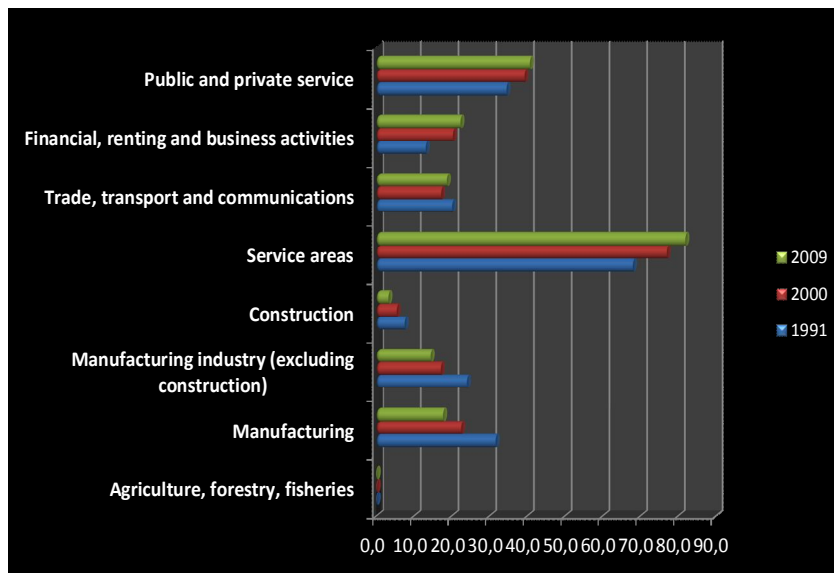
The relative concentration of these services could be found in a much higher level in cities like Munich, Frankfurt, Düsseldorf and Hamburg, which are the prime centers of the advanced producer services in the German regional system (Krätke, 2004). In fact, the largest industrial employers in Berlin are Siemens, Daimler, Vattenfall Europe, BMW Group and Öram GmbH. The table 4.5 includes all the big employers in the industrial field of the German capital.

Berlin's economic sectors in 2009



Graphic 4.2: Berlin's economic sectors. 2009

Source: Author's own editing based on facts from "Amt für Statistik für Berlin und Brandenburg"



Graphic 4. 3: The evolution of the economic transformation in Berlin

Source: Author's own editing based on facts from "Amt für Statistik für Berlin und Brandenburg"

However, we should also consider that Berlin has a strong position in the software industry, which is defined in the German statistics as a service sector activity. Although it is not the production center of microelectronics and data processing technology, like Munich, there is a high rate of growth in that section with more than 1700 related firms. It is also figured that 11,000 companies work in the media and related software, communications sectors, which are wider defined as “creative industries”. This is one of the most important employment areas after transport, biotechnology and medicine (Krätke, 2004). As we will examine in the following pages, Berlin’s image will be based on the industries that promote the city’s creative potential.

As mentioned in the city’s industrial master plan, it is particularly clear that the real gross value of the Berlin industry declined in the early 1990’s. For example, the gross value between 1991 and 1992 declined by about 7.6 percent, when the national average by only 2.3 percent. For some time now, however, there can be observed a reversal of this trend. Since the year 2003, the gross value of industrial Berlin has grown again and in the years 2007 and 2008, it was even stronger than the national average. In 2009, there was a drop in value added because of the economic crisis (Senatsverwaltung für Wirtschaft, Technologie und Frauen, 2010). But where are the future potential fields? The enormous industrial potential of Berlin, according to the directions of the master plan, lies in the areas of trained specialists, knowledge and innovative technologies. Berlin is indeed among the largest and most diverse scientific regions in Europe. There are four universities, the Charité - University Medicine Berlin, seven universities of applied sciences, three art schools, 18 private universities and 60 research centers on teaching, research, and study. The University Investments are estimated to reach about €1.5 billions every year (Senatsverwaltung für Wirtschaft, Technologie und Frauen, 2010). Together with Munich, Berlin is a leading center of the European life sciences sector combining biotechnology with medical engineering firms. We could say that all the branches of the contemporary life sector are strongly concentrated in Berlin (Krätke, 2004). The Charité - University Medicine Berlin is the largest medical faculty in Europe and one of the oldest and most traditional hospital businesses in Germany. Several institutions represent the major national research organizations - Fraunhofer-Gesellschaft,

Helmholtz Association, Leibniz Association and the Max-Planck-Community. In addition, there are eight research institutes of the Federal Ministries. Universities, research establishments and companies in Berlin are closely interconnected (Berlin: Culture, education and science, <http://www.berlin.de/berlin-im-ueberblick/kultur>).

Table 4.5: The largest industrial employers of Berlin	
Company	Employees engaged
Siemens AG	12.620
Daimler AG	6.400
Vattenfall Europe	5.140
BMW Group	2.460
Osram GmbH	2.080
Bombardier Transportation	1.940
Philip Morris GmbH	1.240
Coca-Cola Deutschland	1.100
Storck Gruppe	1.100
ThyssenKrupp AG	1.070
OTIS-Gruppe Deutschland	1.060
Gillette Deutschland GmbH & Co. oHG	1.060
Bosch und Siemens Haushaltsg�r�te GmbH	850
Schindler Deutschland GmbH	830
Source: IHK Berlin, 2010	

The City of Science, Technology and Media Adlershof, Berlin-Buch campus and about 20 other inner-city parks and technology incubators are there to offer the necessary research for industrial firms and the development of new ideas and the transformation into marketable products. It is only rational that there is always a need to find profitable terrains for capital surplus production and absorption. This is what shapes the politics of capitalism after all.

As David Harvey explains:

“If labour is scarce and wages are high, either existing labor has to be discipline – technologically induced unemployment or an assault on organized working class power are two prime methods – or fresh labour forces must be found by immigration, export of capital or proletarianization of hitherto independent elements of the population. Capitalists must also discover new means of production in general and natural resources in particular, which puts increasing pressure on the natural environment to yield up necessary raw materials and absorb inevitable waste. They need to open up terrains for raw material extraction... The coercive laws of competition also force the continuous implementation of new technologies and organization forms, since these enable capitalists to out-compete those using inferior methods. Innovations define new wants and needs, reduce the turnover time capital and lessen the friction of distance, which limits the geographical range within the capitalist can search for expanded labour supplies, raw materials and so on” (Harvey, 2008, page 24).

Access to the scientific and technical knowledge has always been important in the competitive struggle, but nowadays we can see a renewal of interest and focus. It is logical that in a world of ever-changing needs and flexible production, the access to the latest technique and scientific discovery increases the possibility of finding the competitive advantage. In these terms, knowledge becomes the key commodity to be produced and sold (Harvey, 1989). Therefore, science for Berlin is considered to be the Great Future that will help the capital overcome the economic crisis that affects globally the western cities. By 2011, more than €300 million will be invested in teaching and research, as well as 1,000 new university places will be

created. (a total of 20.500) (Berlin: Culture, education and science, <http://www.berlin.de/berlin-im-ueberblick/kultur>).

4.2.2 Cultural industry and tourist development

The new industry formations in the post-Fordist economy came along with changes in all aspects of the social life. The direct confrontation with the rigidities of Fordism came together with flexibility on labour process, labour markets products and patterns of consumption. New sectors of production emerged, new means of providing financial services, new markets, and above all greatly intensified rates of commercial, technological and organization innovation (Harvey, 1990). This all suggested a break from the past not only in terms of employment and production, but also in a cultural turn with the new urban policy seeking to capture, retain and brand the “creative” city. The passage from Fordism and Taylorization of the production to the new condition that Harvey calls “flexible accumulation” comes along with the passage from modernity to post-modernity. Federic Jameson implies in his book, “The cultural Turn Selected Writings on the Postmodern”, that as the great phenomenon of Taylorization, which was contemporaneous with modernism, slowly imposed itself, the division of labour was becoming a method of mass production in its own right, by way of the separation of different stages and their reorganization around the principles of efficiency.

“But now in what some people like to call post-Fordism this particular logic no longer seems to obtain; just as in the cultural sphere, forms of abstraction which in the modern period seemed ugly, dissonant, scandalous, indecent or repulsive, have also entered the mainstream of cultural consumption (in the largest sense from advertising to commodity styling, from visual decoration to artistic production) and no longer shock anyone, rather our entire system of commodity production and consumption today is based on those older, once anti-social modernist, forms” (Jameson, 1998, p 149).

As already mentioned, Robert Hewison observed since the sixties the emergence of a new heritage industry writing his book after hearing that “every week or so somewhere in Britain one museum opens” (Hewinson, 1987). Now we have a more

broadened cultural industry in post-modern cities. Allen Scott observes that by the time, that fordist mass production held away in the cities of the US manufacturing belt, a very different set of relationships between space, culture and economy prevailed from those to be observable today in most post-fordist cities. Nevertheless, we should be careful enough to notice that large fordist industrial cities were not bereft of cultural industry products. But the production apparatus of fordist industry was focused above all on reaping the advantages of economies of scale through the standardization of products and the cultivation of mass markets. In this context, the cultural content of fordist industry depended on the more functional design imperatives imposed by the need for manufacturing efficiency and competitive cost cutting (Scott, 1997).

With the disappearance of local manufacturing industries and the periodic crises in government and finance, culture is more and more becoming the new business of cities. It becomes the basis of their tourist attractions and their unique competitive edge. The growth of cultural consumption, including this of art, food, fashion, music and tourism and all the industries that cater to it, fuels the city's symbolic economy, its visible ability to produce both symbols and space. As Zukin points out, what is new about the symbolic economy since the 1970's is the symbiosis of image and product, the scope and scale of selling images on a national and even a global level and the role of the symbolic economy as speaking for representing the city (Zukin, 1995). As well as it happens with science and knowledge, the quality of urban life is becoming a commodity, as has at the end the city itself. Berlin is a great example that we are living in a world where consumerism, tourism, cultural and knowledge-based industries have become major aspects of the urban political economy. In a post-modern formation of market niches with both consumer habits and cultural forms, the contemporary urban experience is surrounded by a bohemian aura of freedom of choice, but only provided you have the money (Harvey, 2008).

The year 2010 was a new record in the field of tourism for Berlin. With 20.8 million overnight stays, Berlin surpassed its own record from the year before. The number of guests during the same period reached almost 9.1 million. As the Office of Statistics Berlin - Brandenburg announced, the accommodation facilities and athletic fields for

camping holiday reported 10.2 percent increase in overnight stays and 9.5 percent more guests than in 2009. The average length of stay was unchanged at 2.3 days. Visitors from Europe and overseas contributed to the much higher growth more than domestic tourists did. By increasing 13.7 percent, the number of foreign guests reached 3.3 million, almost twice as high as the number of domestic guests that increased 7.3 percent (5.8 million visitors). Notable increases were not only observed in guests coming from traditionally strong countries of Europe like London and Paris, but also by visitors from Norway, Russia and Finland (Amt für Statistik für Berlin und Brandenburg, 2011).

As a cultural tourist destination, Berlin is rich in offering arts, heritage and entertainment with its museum island, the 17 national museums, 300 galleries, the Bauhaus archive, almost 150 theaters, three opera houses, eight orchestras and the 76.000-seat Olympic stadium completed for the World Cup in 2006. Definitely, it is a city that hosts various international events, fairs and conferences including the annual ECHO Ceremony, the Book fair Berlin, the ITB tourism Fair, as well as the international design festival and various fashion fairs. Moreover, the ten-day Berlinale is considered to be one of the most prestigious film festivals and also the annual Transmediale festival is hosted in the city for more than twenty years (London Development Agency, 2006). It is also characteristic that Berlin is the first German city that was appointed a City of Design by UNESCO. The organization describes Berlin as an interface for and intersection between a variety of cultures, lifestyles and traditions, making it an attractive location for creative minds and, as it is precisely written, “a breeding ground for creative ideas ” (Unesco, 2006).

In the report “Searching the creative strategies in the case study of Berlin”, carried out by the London Development Agency in 2006, it is indicated that Berlin’s creative economy is estimated to account for 3,6% of Germany’s GDP, while Hamburg has the highest proportion of “cultural goods production” of all German cities (1.7% of the GDP compared with 1.3% German average). The Enquete Commission of the House of Representatives in Berlin drew the same conclusion in its May 2005 report and recommended that the Federal State of Berlin should acknowledge the potential of the Creative Industries and of creativity as a major production factor in Boosting

economic growth. It also focuses on suggesting the development of cultural cluster for Berlin, as there is already evidence of creative clustering that makes it necessary to find more robust data about the Creative Industries (London Development Agency, 2006).

In the same study, it becomes obvious that the number of people working in segments indicates the level at which the Creative Industries Sector is an important part of Berlin's labour market. Around 22,600 creative enterprises, predominantly SMEs, earned over €18.6 billion in total revenue. This means companies from Berlin's creative industries bring in around 20% of Berlin's domestic product. More than 8% of those employees who are required to pay national insurance contributions (excluding freelancers and independent contractors) work in the various submarkets of Berlin's creative economy. It is inferred that including freelancers and independent contractors, approximately 167,000 employees are permanent to the creative industries job market (Senatsverwaltung für Wirtschaft, Technologie und Frauen, 2005). The following table shows the distribution of revenue, companies and employees in creative subsectors based on facts of 2005.

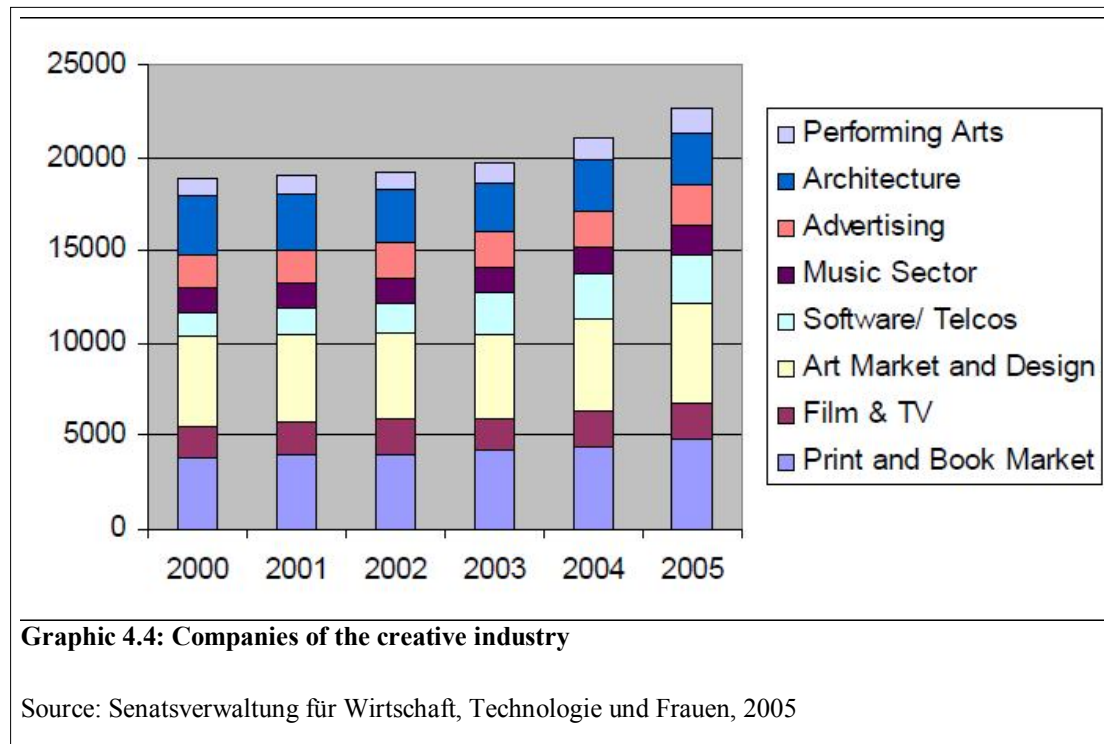
Distribution of Revenue, Companies and Employees in Subsectors 2005:						
Creative Industries Subsectors	Companies	Share Subsector in %	Turnover In T€	Share Subsector in %	Employees	Share Subsector in %
Print and Book Market	4.800	21,2	4.522.005	24,3	27.074	16,2
Film & TV	1.986	8,8	2.535.195	13,6	35.997	21,5
Art Market & Design	5.401	23,9	1.799.915	9,7	17.481	10,4
Software/ Telcos	2.732	12,1	6.613.604	35,6	27.871	16,6
Music Sector	1.515	6,7	1.033.338	5,6	13.564	8,1
Advertising	2.103	9,3	907.106	4,9	17.857	10,7
Architecture	2.874	12,7	650.698	3,5	10.120	6,0
Performing Arts	1.218	5,4	518.106	2,8	17.623	10,5
Total	22.629	100	18.579.967	100	167.587	100

Source: Statistic Data (NACE)/ SenWTF

Picture 4.8: Distribution in Creative Subsectors

Source: Senatsverwaltung für Wirtschaft, Technologie und Frauen, 2005

In addition, the number of companies grew by nearly 3.900 between 2000 and 2005 with the Software and Telco Sector, the Print and Book market and the Art Market to register particular growth. The graphic 4.4 shows the changes in the number of companies related to the creative industry.



Especially when science and new technologies are combined with culture, Berlin finds the new road for regaining its former metropolitan style. Berlin aims to become Germany's media metropolis with leading companies in the communication and media sector to relocate in the German capital. The Media city Adlershof plays an important role to this cluster and the flagship project of Media Spree indicates this tendency as well.

To sum up, Berlin's reputation has thrived as a vibrant, tolerant, creative metropolis, often focusing more on the city's image than its crumbling infrastructure or budget shortfalls. "We are poor but sexy," admitted the mayor Klaus Wowereit with this statement that made Berlin even more famous. However, will this be enough to confront with the upcoming social problems of Berlin like unemployment, or is it more important to cultivate the idea of the future global creative city?

4.2.3 The Real estate factor

As already mentioned above, it was not the changes in the production procedure, but also the technological revolution that altered the perception and the meaning of space. The expansion of financial transactions could not have been achieved without the internationalization of capital, which is the basis of the structure of globalization. The possibility for the capital to be transferred within seconds from one side of the world to another is a qualitatively different new fact that affects the perception of space. At the same time, the lifting of all restrictions for a relatively homogenized economic model-feature that eroded recently and especially after 1990 formed the basis of modern business operations. "This reality created a spatially new global balance of power. New "superpowers" that were part of the periphery of the capitalist world quickly adjusted to powerful economic countries, while others were driven to complete destitution and to social and environmental destruction" (Andritsos, 2010, page 15). However, the side effect of globalization on the housing market is also remarkable. So are the impacts on the "game" of real estate. The huge change is that now the real estate market has no longer 'country' or 'place', but investors, owners and companies from around the world can be involved.

After the reunification and the decision to make Berlin once again the seat of the federal government, a real estate boom exploded in the west, speculating on the city's new functions. West Berlin experienced radical economic changes, as the subsidies that were supporting its role as the "Outpost of the Free World" during the years of the Cold War rapidly disappeared (Häussermann, Kapphan, 2004). Berlin became a prime playground for the activities of professional subsidy hunters in the real estate field. Large national, as well as international firms expected a continuous growth of demand for the new office and commercial space that the new metropolis would need. This, in turn, led to a wave of real estate acquisition and preparation for the imminent exploitation of the land. Large scale building projects covered East German cities and regions, as the German State introduced subsidy regulation for real estate investments in eastern Germany, containing favorable tax regulations (Krätke and Borst 2000, Krätke 2004).

Between 1990 and 1998, nearly seven million square meters of new office space were built in Berlin. Most of them were concentrated in the city's inner urban area (Krätke and Borst 2000). Potsdamer Platz is a typical and perhaps the most famous example of this, as large corporations like Daimler Chrysler and Sony were facilitated by high price government subsidies, in order to acquire land.

But also in the Berlin east center in the area of Mitte one could observe outstanding concentration of building activity. In the early nineties, the Berlin government declared that the city would face a "need" to increase the supply of office space by 11 million square meters by the year 2010, in order to convert the city to a service metropolis. During the years 1990-1998 Berlin built up the largest volume of occupied office space in absolute figures with more than 1.5 million square meters (Krätke, Borst). This exceptional real estate boom in the beginning of the nineties was strongly connected with a large-scale speculation, in which the city's own financial corporation also participated (The Bankgesellschaft Berlin) (Krätke, 2004). It has to be underlined that there was interplay of legal and illegal activities so that the projects were fostered. As Stefan Krätke points out, this "speculative real estate boom" in eastern Germany transformed itself within a few years into a real estate market crisis having large quantities of unoccupied new office space and a very strong decrease in rents for new office space. The crisis was caused during the period of the coalition between the Christian Democrats (CDU) and the Social Democrats (SPD). After the eruption of the financial crisis Berlin passed to the coalition of SPD with the party of Democratic Socialism PDS. What also contributed to this financial crisis was the public financial corporation that was involved in speculative real estate bonds associating with the investments in eastern Germany and the commercial estates (Krätke 2004). This failure of business policy left the city with its huge debt, which the governments are willing to pay by finding money from severe cuts in social expenditures and public services.

Another well-known way of the real estate market to find profitable terrains is the redevelopment and the renewal of central areas. By preserving and upgrading central neighborhoods of the eastern part of the city, two targets could be accomplished at once. On one hand, history could be rewritten in terms of the victorious west,

recreating a past that could offer once again a collective memory and past characterized by unity. Therefore, Berlin should once again become the reunified metropolis of the past and should of course market this period, as well as its historical medieval past. The fact that in the eastern part of the city old buildings had not been torn down in some of the districts was very helpful in this case. Once again, the legislation aimed the investments. A good example for this is the Urban Monument Conservation Program that is associated with the study area. The reinvestment of capital in the central areas was combined in various cases with the upgrading process, which often led to disposition, as the former residents couldn't afford the new prices of land. Due to its spectacular history, Berlin was to face the processes of urban transformations such as gentrification and urban renewal with a delay of twenty years compared to cities like London. The gentrification and commercialization of such a central area will be closely examined for the case of Spandauer Vorstadt in the following chapter.

4.3 The socio spatial transformations in the study area

4.3.1 About gentrification

The process of "gentrification" is highly correlated with changes in the political, economical, social and productive level and also combined with the return of the capital interest in the central areas of cities. As a term it refers to the "redevelopment" of central regions and their regain from higher income residents. The main critical point of view underlines the influx of new social classes combined with the displacement of local people, as a result of the unjustified increase in prices of rents and land values.

The term was firstly used by Ruth Glass in 1964 in her attempt to describe the socio-spatial transformations in London:

“One by one, many of the working class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle classes- upper and lower. Shabby, modest mews and cottages have been taken over, when their leases have expired, and have become elegant, expensive residences...Nowadays, many of these houses are being sub-divided into costly flats or 'houselets' (in terms of the new real estate snob jargon). The current

social status and value of such dwellings are frequently in inverse relation to their size, and in any case enormously inflated by comparison with previous levels in their neighborhoods. Once this process of gentrification starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working class occupiers are displaced, and the whole social character of the district is changed” (Glass, 1964, page 7).

More than 35 years have passed since the term was first used. In the course of time many definitions and approaches were developed and a great debate evolved in an attempt to theorize and explain gentrification. On one hand, we have the production-side explanations and, on the other, the consumption-side explanations.

The Marxist approach emphasizes on the investment of the capital in the built environment. As Neil Smith points out, in a capitalist economy, land and the improvements built onto it become commodities. As such, they boast certain idiosyncracies three of which are particularly important for the discussion on the topic of gentrification. First, private property rights confer on the owner near-monopoly control over land and improvements, monopoly control over the uses to which a certain space is put. From this condition we can derive the function of ground rent. Second, land and improvements are fixed in space, but their value is anything but fixed... Third, while land is permanent, the improvements built on it are not, but generally has a very long turnover period in physical as well as value terms (Smith, 1979).

The process of gentrification is based on the initial degradation of the central areas of cities and consequently on the devaluation and depreciation of the invested in land capital in these areas. The degradation of the urban environment comes as a result of the physical deterioration of buildings, as also by the deficiency and depreciation of basic social infrastructure. This situation contributes to the transformation of the area to an ideal residence place for groups that are low in the social hierarchy and especially immigrants. Due to the negative notation, the region becomes less desirable for residence, especially for the most conservative and less tolerant social classes. Moreover, the deterioration makes the investments in the area insecure, preventing the improvement of building infrastructure. Banks and other financial institutions avoid lending. The credit capital cannot subsidize an area for which there are no

objective conditions of development, in which case the invested in space capital begins to get underestimated, either because it remains inactive, or because the investment returns are too low or even negative. In fact, sometimes the settlement of immigrants and the devaluation of the built environment get in purpose fueled by the representatives of the mortgage capital. In this way, a rent gap is created. The rent gap is the disparity between the potential ground rent capitalized under the present land use (Smith, 1979).

“Disinvestment eventually leads to a substantial disparity between the value or rent of land in its current use and its potential value or rent of land in its current use and its potential value if redeveloped or, in case of gentrification, reused for a different purpose” (Bourassa, 1993, page 108).

This rent gap provides the incentive for investment to return to the city. As Neil Smith points out, it is a back to the city movement by capital, not by people (Smith, 1986). The existence of a large rent gap renders it lucrative for the capital to purchase cheap land for future development. When the above cycle is completed, the central urban land and its uses become mature for investment, since there are possible attractive margins. The development of the region is attempted through private initiatives, government intervention or (through) a combination of those. The private interventions refer to the construction of new buildings or to the restoration and preservation of important existing buildings. Furthermore, change occurs in the production level, as well in the uses of land. State operations related to the improvement of social infrastructures or by improving transport access to the area, help the increasing of potential rents and thereby the increasing of the gap rent. Now the capital reaps the difference, having bought the land at a low value and by exploiting it to an increased one. Gradually, as the phenomenon progresses, the lower economic classes are forced to leave the area, since they cannot afford the increased rents. Their place is taken by the upper economic classes that come to live in their new or renovated homes.

The approaches based on the consumption are grounded on the desire of specific social groups to live in inner cities. The first "gentrifies" appear in the region not only because of financial aspects, but mainly due to cultural incentives. This process is

associated with the fact that in the last decades, the new middle classes are attracted by the urban environment and decadent central areas, which may not provide the quality of living in the suburbs, but have other advantages, such as intense life, tolerance to diversity, easy access to workplaces and clustered downtown activities.

“The new middle class is assuming the responsibility for introducing new consumption models if not new models of consumption. The emergence of the new middle class occurs at a particular saturation, where the function of this the new class is precisely to promote the new consumption ethic. The trendy and the taste-maker emerge as new social types carrying this new societal function” (Jager, 1986, page 157).

This return gives the new value to urban land the center, which the mortgage capital is coming to reap. It should be noted however, that this trend comes from the change in consumption and cultural standards that lead specific groups of the middle class, such as artists or students, to prefer these areas by following a certain pattern of life and entertainment, a Life style often guided by the media or other ideological mechanisms. David Lay underlines in his article “Gentrification and the politics of the new middle class” that this movement to the central city has often been led in space and time by the cultural new class, not the most urbanized of the new class fraction in Canada, but also the most predisposed toward a home in the central city. As pointed out by Zukin, essential precondition for gathering of the bourgeoisie is the process where a cultural pioneer moves into a region to give it cultural legitimacy (Savage M., Warde A., 2005). The cultural capital is created by the appearance of exhibition spaces and art workshops. The cultural character attaches to an area a high cultural and symbolic value attracting the interest of middle and upper economic classes. Culture becomes a commodity, leading the region to obtain economic value, increasing rents and land values, resulting in the displacement of lower-income residents. This, in turn, leads to the expansion of consumerism and the increasing of its social acceptance and transformation of culture to a commodity by developing a cultural industry with an emphasis on leisure and entertainment.

The two differently directed approaches of gentrification, although arguing on where they find the necessary initial conditions for the emergence of the process, aren't

unrelated; on the contrary, dialectical connections can be found. By the early nineties gentrification researchers were fed up with this debate and wanted to move beyond this stalemate, for they believed that both explanations were complementary. Lees was clear by writing that *“I don't want to choose between economic marxism and cultural post-modernism; I want the stability of the former and the instability of the latter. I want to utilize a productive tension between the two”* (Lees, 1994. p.138).

Personally, I totally agree with Neil Smith that in a capitalist economy profit is the gauge of success, and competition is the mechanism by which success or failure is translated into growth or collapse (Smith, 1979, p.88). The existence of a rent gap is a precondition for the capital to invest in a neglected area. But as gentrification should be examined as a process that stems out of the capitalist mode of production, it should be approached taking into account the impact of the economic base on the superstructure. Jameson explains that marxism and post-modernism aren't a peculiar combination, trying to theorize the specific logic of the cultural production of the third stage of capitalism:

“This identification of the class content of postmodern culture does not at all imply that “yuppies” have become something like a new ruling class or a “subject of history” - merely that their cultural practices and values, their local ideologies, have articulated a useful dominant ideological and cultural paradigm for this stage of capital (Jameson, 1998, page 46).

Finally, we should take into account that gentrification is a dynamic changing process that varies from place to place and also from period to period: “gentrification today is quite different to gentrification in the early 1970's, late 1980's, even the early 1990's” (Lees, 2000, page 16).

4.3.2 The transformation of the study area

In the case of Spandauer Vorstadt the prerequisite of low land value existed after the fall of the Berlin Wall. As Andreas Wilke describes: *“every fourth plot was vacant, demolished or ruined in the postwar period... the inhabitants have recognized the quarter of Spandauer Vorstadt as a very worthwhile area and protested against the demolition. After the collapse of the GDR, the suburb was listed as a monumental*

area and was also characterized as a redevelopment area". This historical importance of the area was also an aspect ensuring that the potential rent should get increased, thus a rehabilitation of the area took place. Furthermore, it also fulfilled the need to rediscover the united history of Berlin, leaving the years of the division behind.

Historic preservation contributed to the gentrification process in the study area. As Zukin points out:

"More significant than the impression of architectural homogeneity is the emphasis on culture in constructing new middle-class consumption patterns. By means of historic preservation, the new middle classes parlay a relatively modest investment of time and money into a quasi- bourgeois habitus. They are able to enjoy a solid building stock, often individualized to specific spatial requirements--notably, space that supports working at home. They also participate in the creation in their neighborhood of "a critical mass of pleasant amenity", where shopping and housing provide serious social- and cultural experiences" (Zukin, 1987, page 222).

➤ **The regime of mixed uses**

With the onset of industrialization at the beginning of the 19th Century, large industrial complexes were created on the margins of the city. Due to the radically improved transport links, entire neighborhoods and industrial areas were created in the distant surroundings. The suburb of Spandau was already to a great extent built at that time, so the industrial facilities emerged at the margins, outside the suburb. The – in other cases typical – succession of residential and commercial routes arose only in exceptional cases because of the small size of the plots. These exceptions were concentrated on the Münz and Sophienstraße. But the study area couldn't remain untouched from the changes. As part of this temporal dynamic industrial urbanization, the original urban development of the district was compressed and reformed, as well as central and locally important functions in the areas of economy, administration and culture were supplemented (Krajewski, 2004).

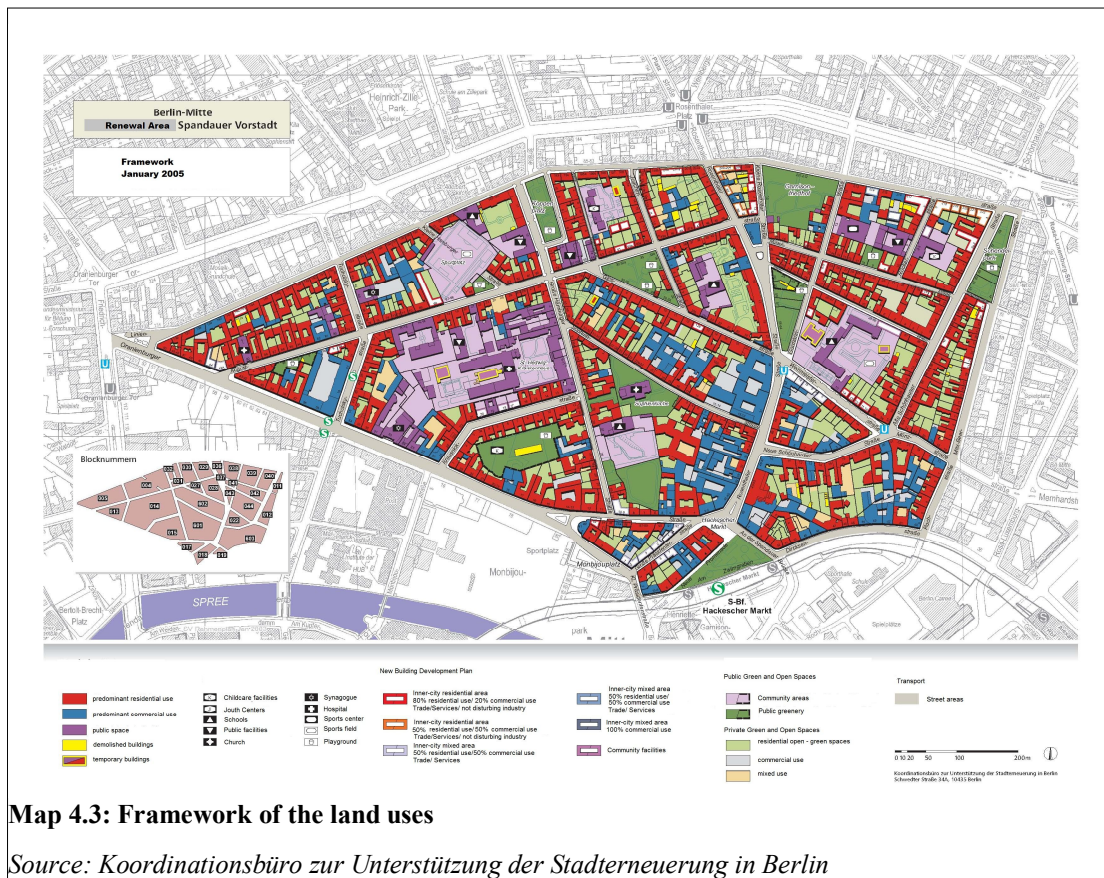
The main influence on the development of the industry comes from the proximity of the area to the shopping and service centers of Alexanderplatz and Friedrichstraße. The Hackesche Höfe is perhaps the most famous trade center of the area till today, as the trade is not to be found behind a residential roof in the inside of the block, but is shown in the representative architecture of the courtyards. The Rosenthaler Straße was a very important shopping street for the north of Berlin with a variety of shops, offices and clinics, but also with large-scale facilities, such as furniture stores and department stores. Some of these houses, such as the department store “Fluß” located at the junction of Rosenthal and Gormannstraße, have disappeared, while others like the Wertheim Department Store are standing only as buildings, but are no longer visible due to structural changes (Dieser, Wilke, 2004).

The concentration of trade and services has been a feature of the Spandauer Vorstadt, as it has always been a central location and therefore extremely attractive for offices and retail. The new regime of mixed uses with a vast majority of trade use has been established more intensively after the redevelopment program. Furthermore, cafes, restaurants, galleries and boutiques also contribute to the “attractiveness” of the district. At the same time, the dominance of these uses after the remediation created a situation where the ability to supply the residents with goods for daily use has been negatively affected.

Due to a sharp growth in the number of restaurants and the recurrence of unauthorized places for entertainment and its disturbing impact on the residential use of the district center, the “Bezirk Mitte” has taken long-term planning steps to control the number of the places for entertainment. The approval for further trade isn’t basically rejected, but the aim is for the places per plot to be reduced in size and number. This is supposed to be a protection against the effects of a mono-structural development of the retail sector and thus is meant to contribute to the securing and increasing the attractiveness of the area for residence. The framework plan for the mixed uses is indicated in a map constructed in 2005 (Map 4.1).

But these measures are not yet established and the most important thing is that there are not any regulations which can change the situation promoted during the last decade. The number of local trade shops more than doubled between the years 1994

and 2000. However, there are deficits in the supply of goods that are for everyday supply. The functional significance that has acquired the district today in the range of gastronomic uses and in specific segments of the medium or higher priced retail shops, such as fashion boutiques and galleries, is a sample of an offering of a challenging – oriented to consumption – area that is as a whole targeting the tourist audience.



The number of catering businesses in the redevelopment area increased in the fivefold between the years 1989/1990 and 2000 (Table 4.6). This led to a situation where a proportion of 9000 restaurant places to 7400 inhabitants was established, while the number of food and beverage outlets (restaurants, pubs, bars and clubs) are claimed to have been around 140 (Krajewski, 2004). This seemed to have crossed the line of a tolerable limit. It is therefore logical that the residents protested about the "outsiders" of the catering and leisure tourism that visit the study area especially in the night.

Table 4.6: The evolution of the restaurant and entertainment industry in the area of Spandauer Vorstadt

Years	Number of the facilities
1989	25
1994	68
1996	78
2000	135

Source: Krajewski, 2004

Focusing more specifically on the area around the Hackescher Markt, a dynamic transformation in the trade factor can be observed. The number of clothing stores doubled between 2003 and 2008. Meanwhile, in the food sector almost every third shop has closed. Remarkable and worth noticing is also that the vacancy rates have been reduced to half, from nearly 41 to 23. Additionally, if we consider the retailers from the arts sector and retail in conjunction with other industrial uses, the retail store businesses could be accounted to 213. This means that 56% of 381 ground floor uses are stores. The age of the shops indicate the dynamics of the neighborhood: Two thirds of them (but only about half of owner-managed businesses) have settled in the neighborhood after 2004. Only one per ten shops operates longer than ten years in the study area (Tschirschky, 2008).

Mr. Wilke believes that this situation was predictable: *“this problematic situation caused by the many restaurants and this touristic explosion had been foreseen. There wasn’t a political or a public backing in order to use a restricted instrument to the demanding extend, as hard as it had to be enforced. Academically, I must say you could have done more about it, but politically, I must say, it is good that we have come so far. We see this of course critical. Not only that the residents were forced to leave, but also that only tourists go to the area. People go there because they have heard about it in the media and they do not know what is actually that they are supposed to see, why they are visiting the place except of the restaurants and the pubs. I worked there for 20 years. I remember in other areas that I have worked; you*

could know all the people in the neighborhood, the people who had the pubs, all knew each other. This was also the case in the Spandauer Vorstadt at the beginning”.

➤ **Creative quarter and touristic hot spot**

The redevelopment program has led to the altering of the area into an attractive urban environment for high income residents and especially for tourists and visitors of the German capital. The transformation of the area to a “hip neighborhood”, where one can find a variety of quaternary services particularly in the culture economy and the media business complements the capabilities of the district. It is a clear tendency in the last years that the area is being transformed into a Gallery Cluster. There were over 80 galleries in 2004 in Spandauer Vorstadt, around a third of Berlin art trading facilities, which is one of the main reasons tourists are attracted to the area (Krajewski, 2004). The existence and development of cultural industry quarters today is arguably connected with the vertical integration and post-fordist dispersal of production to lower cost areas nationally and globally and with the new meaning and facts on space and place as far as communications, technology and new media practice are concerned (Evans 2009, Harvey 1989). Allen Scott pointed out that this new cultural economy of today’s capitalism appears to be entering a new phase marked by increasingly high levels of product differentiation and polycentric production sites (Scott, 1997).

Furthermore, it is quite common that prime creative quarters and culture industries are located in urban heritage locations like Spandauer Vorstadt. The heritage element and impacts were therefore neither explicit nor primarily heritage-preservation in intent. Yet, heritage sites are also linked to identity and national-ethnic cultural rebuilding. Cultural tourism and quarter projects function as symbolic cultural icons playing a very important role in the representation, the visual backdrop for a new high-tech global society.



Picture 4.9: Gallery on the Sophienstrasse

Source: <http://www.google.com/imgres>

As Zukin argues, preserving old buildings and small sections in the city represents the scarce “monopoly” of the city’s visible past. Such a monopoly has an economic value in terms of tourist revenues and property values. Just as an image of historic preservation, when taken out of context has economic value. Therefore, culture should be seen as a powerful means of controlling cities, as a source of images and memories, symbolizing “who” belongs in specific places. This set of architectural themes acquires a leading role in urban redevelopment strategies based on historic preservation or local heritage (Zukin, 1995).

This is often combined with the real estate market, while heritage is used as a backdrop based on regeneration and redundant buildings and therefore lower land values. In addition to this, the fact that an area bears a historic value adds symbolic historic value in combination with a new estate of commercialization by housing creative and media campuses. Buildings, landscape and other monuments, but also residential communities become displaced by property redevelopment and gentrification processes, crowding out by a mismatch between skills and employment in the old and new industries (Evans, 2009).

Mr. Wilke commented on this tendency by saying that *“nowadays the people who own the stores, the restaurants, the pubs have nothing to do with the neighborhood, they just know that they can earn much money. And the second wave doesn’t concern*

the restaurants, but above all the clothes shops, the galleries, etc. These may not bother because of the noise, but one can observe that what was likeable in a street goes now away. The Alte Schönhauser Straße was a very nice street five years ago, with a few original shutters, with unique offers which referred to the people living in the area. This is no longer the case. Now there isn't a single store that applies to the habitants. This is regrettable and the question is what is the meaning of all this. But there are no instruments, no means that allow us to prevent it, or to reverse the situation".

In the same spirit Mr. Staroste believes that there is a close connection between historic preservation and tourist development. As he pointed out: *"If you have a structural redevelopment of a neglected neighborhood which was originally of historical significance then a tourist magnet is created. This is a general tendency: That happened in Rotenburg and also happened in Athens. This is the reality. A radical rehabilitation comes always together with the enhancement of an area. If the historical atmosphere is maintained and further developed, we have a new tourist magnet. As far as the Spandauer Vorstadt is concerned, it is only a tourist magnet. I only go there when I have visitors who want to visit the area. There are certain places, such as the Hackescher Markt, or the Auguststraße where all the galleries are, which are tourist traps. But it is important, I believe, that an effort was made so that the general public becomes conscious of the particular importance of the Spandauer Vorstadt, as the last related historical piece of the old Berlin."*

➤ **When the rents get high: real estate investments and social repercussions**

The recent history of Spandauer Vorstadt could be also characterized as a field of struggle between different actors. After the fall of the Wall, the residents got organized immediately. They had an eminent role in the process of turning the district into a historic area stopping the demolition. They also negotiated towards urban renewal.

As we already examined, West Germany took on a particularly creative and profitable approach to urban redevelopment in the former eastern part. Through the so-called unification contract, which regulated the incorporation of the GDR to the FRG,

owners obtained real estate property. With the “Restitution before Compensation” the eastern public land was supposed to return to its former owners. West German society rested on private property. As one of its pillars, there was no other way around the restitution of property, as the 60% of all real estate was municipally owned – a magnitude at par with Holland or Sweden (Baumert, 2004). The principle of “Restitution before Compensation” never simply meant that former owners could take back their properties. In Spandauer Vorstadt each building had an average of 2.5 owners. Because enacted excessive tax exemptions together with the unification contract, in practice, large real estate companies bought up the wholesale claims of former owners and renovated the buildings (Baumert, 2004).

This was a challenge for the citizens’ initiative, in order to establish and set conditions that could prevent the capitalist valorization of real estate developers. So they held on to their rights as they would be in privately financed urban renewal, whereby tenants had the opportunity and the right to reject rent increases caused by renovation if rents exceeded 20% of their household income (Baumert, 2004). This was very important as they managed to establish a basis from which upper limits to rent increases could be fixed. Furthermore, in order to be secure in case a property owner went to court, it was instituted that rental increases could not exceed one third of the average income calculated from the area residents. Additionally, rent limits were to be adjusted every two years to remain in accordance with new income studies. Property owners characterized the upper rent limits as “socialist one-way streets” and there was a great debate. It is also natural for someone to wonder whether it is possible to force investors to maintain rents defined by the state even after the renovation. Moreover, it is reasonable to wonder to what extent in today’s capitalist system the urban policy could value the residents and their rights over prospective property values (Baumert, 2004).

The case of the Spandauer Vorstadt belongs to the phenomena of post-socialist urban transformation with Gentrification and Touristification processes that are accompanied by an improvement of the urban environment, but also by social upgrading and revaluation of the functional use structure. These aspects are central dimensions of the urban transformations identified in East German regions. This

negotiation-oriented urban renewal of the study area was ultimately combined with high population mobility, without a concurrent displacement of low-income residents like we could see in the 1970's and 80's in West Germany. This can be claimed as a more of a gentle and sensitive post-modern gentrification (Krajewski, 2004).

5. Instead of an Epilogue: From the capital of the “reinforced” Germany to Athens, a capital in crisis

5.1 Modern capitalism, the economic crisis which erupted in 2008 and the effects on the Eurozone

The first decade of the 21st century ends on the verge of a new dire reality. The economic crisis erupted in 2008, spread around the world via a tightly networked financial and trading system, establishing at the same time a situation marked by new regimes of exploitation, sinking billions of workers in despair. Usually as a starting point we consider the collapse of the finance giant Lehman Brothers in September 2008. However, the first signs had appeared two years ago when the bubble of the housing market in many U.S. states burst.

What is distinct with crises in the capitalist system (if we compare them with previous forms of society organization) is that they do not originate mainly from natural disasters or wars, but from the actual operation of the production and the economy. However, for most supporters of capitalism the causes of the crisis still remain a mystery, and are attributed to transient events or failures and deregulation in association with the human nature and greed. Marxist methodology considers the core of the crisis to be the downward trend in the average rate of profit as “an expression which is peculiar to the capitalist production mode of the continuing development of social productive power of labor” (Marx, 1978).

David Harvey believes that “*crises are the ‘irrational rationalizers’ within the capitalist mode of production. They are indicators of imbalance and force a rationalization (which may be painful for certain sectors of the capitalist class as well as for labor) of the processes of production, exchange, distribution and consumption, that may also force a rationalization of institutional structures*” (Harvey, 1978, page 112).

He distinguishes from the standpoint of the total structure of relationships between different kinds of crises: the **partial crises**, which affect a particular sector, geographical region or set of mediating institutions; the **switching crises** which involve a major reorganization and restructuring of capital flows and/or a major restructuring of mediating institutions in order to open up new channels for productive

investments, which can be subcategorized to *sectoral switching crises* which entail switching the allocation of capital from one sphere (e.g. fixed capital formation) to another (e.g. education) and to *geographical switching crises* which involve switching the flows of capital from one place to another. And finally, the **global crises** affect to a greater or lesser degree all sectors, spheres and regions within the capitalist production system. He continues to explain that there have only been two global crises within the totality of the capitalist system, the first during the thirties, which led to Second World War and the second, that which became most evident after 1973 but which had been steadily building up throughout the 1960's (Harvey, 1978).

The crisis of 1970 is also a crisis of the Fordist model of production and consumption. This model brought revolutionary changes in the industrial production based on the standardization of the products, the mechanization of processes, the scientific organization of work (introduced by Taylor) and also the production chain. However, Fordism was not only a production model but also a whole logic about the organization of society, the relationships and the consumption, a model that has largely determined the progress and evolution of all great western cities. Large factories have led to the urbanization, creating large industrial centers, which gave employment to a great part of population, and even entire cities, either directly or through related activities. Although a steady job, steady income and strong unions were never the property of everyone, it can be argued that a great rate had a decent quality of living.

“Ford believed that the new kind of society could be built simply through the proper application of corporate power. The purpose of the five-dollar, eight-hour day was only in part to secure worker compliance with the discipline required to work the highly productive assembly-line system. It was coincidentally meant to provide workers with sufficient income and leisure time to consume the mass produced products the corporations were about to turn out in ever vaster quantities . But this presumed that workers knew how to spend their money properly” (Harvey, 1990, page 126).

Towards the end of the 1960's, it appeared that this growth reached a limit, and the rates of corporate profitability fell. Especially after the crisis of 1970 a gradual

process of excess, appeal and extension of Fordism described as post-fordism or flexible accumulation begins. The word flexible is the flag of the new season, defending that the structural systems of Fordism cannot give the flexibility required by the financial system with a series of transformations taking place. Industrial production is broken down, parts are transferred to countries with cheaper labor, while the western cities remain the most sophisticated pieces together with the revival of subcontracting, domestic companies and sweat shops. The more successful productive sectors are those that combine the new flexible organization with innovative systems and new technologies.

The origins of the current crisis appear in the early 1970's, when the decline of the rate of profit marked the end of the postwar period of high growth. The efforts made since then trying to overcome the crisis include the neo-liberalism in the 80's, the capitalist globalization and the New Economy in the decade of the 90's, and also the great credit expansion. These were combined with policies that abolished workers' rights and led to the shrinking of the social state (Vatikiwtis, 2010). But how was the recent boom brought on?

If we examine the recent story from the beginning, we should underline that the rate of foreclosures on housing in low-income areas of older cities like Cleveland and Detroit was not taken into consideration by the media, because the people affected were of low income and mainly of African-American origin. However, in the period between 1998 and 2006 it is estimated that somewhere between \$71 billion and \$93 billion were lost in asset values from engaging with the famous subprime loans. In 2007 when the foreclosure wave began to hit the white middle class of Florida, Arizona and Nevada, the press began to comment and by the end of that year, nearly 2 million people had lost their homes and 4 million more were in danger of foreclosure (Harvey, 2010).

The question is more up to how the ups and downs of real estate in California and Miami can actually affect the entire financial sphere. Moreover, how can they be associated with the prolonged recession, or with the various "rescue plans" of entire countries? It is true that in order to answer these questions a complex methodology is required, taking into account several factors. The basic position, however, can be

quite simple. The creation of the construction bubble was a component key of the entire economic system. This can explain why the burst of this bubble contributed significantly to the unfolding global crisis. More specifically, the purchase and sale of land and buildings are no longer a parallel and secondary to the basic cycle of industrial capital process, but it is a nuclear part of the modern capitalist economy, linked to a set of processes that have built the political and economic system in recent decades. This is the reason why the decline of this sector is so strongly connected with the decline and crisis of modern capitalism on the whole.

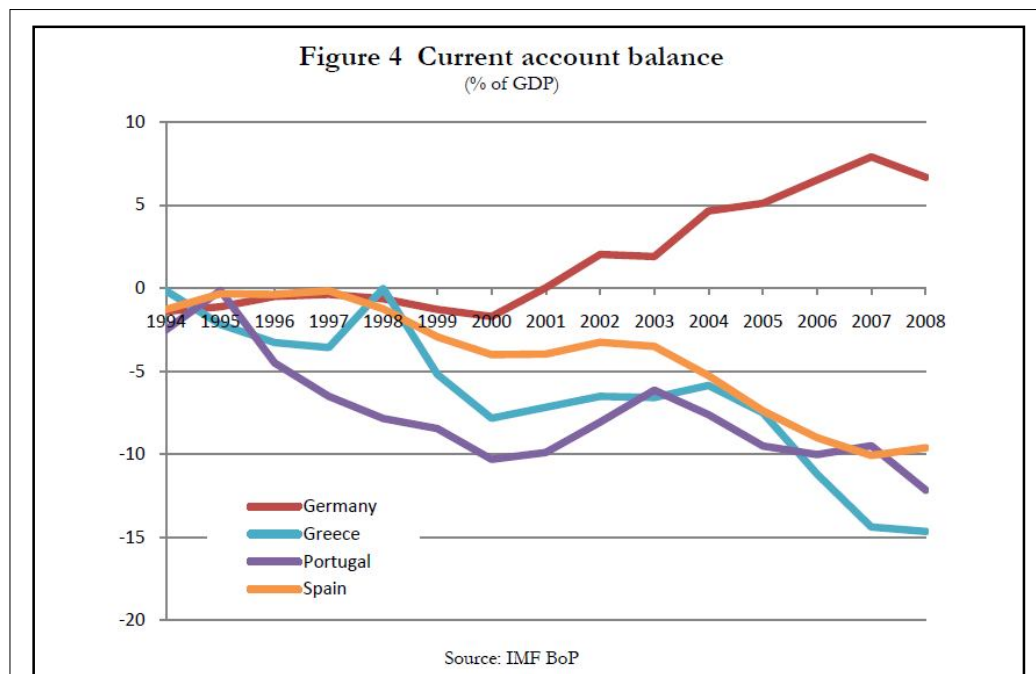
In Greece, the current crisis occurred with a skyrocketing national debt and with the imposition of austerity measures that affect all levels of political, economic and social life. The arrival of the IMF came with vicious repercussions on the daily life, intensifying the already existing social problems due to a deluge of austerity measures. This newfound condition could only but have vicious repercussions on urban landscape. In this context, the issue of space should be seen from the perspective of capitalism's effort to overcome the crisis and find new terrains of profitability.

The debt crisis broke out in Greece in late 2009 mainly due to bad integration of regional countries in the Eurozone. The direct causes, however, can be found in the crisis from 2007 to 2009 due to the speculation in the mortgage lending by U.S. financial institutions and marketing by various international banks in derivative securities. The huge bubble created in the period 2001-2007 brought on the global crisis and the following recession. The state provision of liquidity and capital in the period 2008-2009 rescued the banks in the name of preventing the aggravation of the recession. As it is claimed in the paper “The Eurozone between Austerity and Default”, rescuing the banks has come at the cost of austerity with negative implications for European economies and societies (RMF, 2010). But the result in the Eurozone was that the debt crisis exacerbated the structural weaknesses of the Monetary Union.

In these terms, the debt crisis is the second phase of a major upheaval that began in 2007, which may be called as crisis of “financialisation”. The more mature economies have been “financialised” during the last three decades. Key features for this are the

increasing financial sector in relation to the real production. Large companies have become less dependent on banks and directly involved in the markets. Households are now actively participating in the financial system as regards assets belonging to the elements, but also their loans. The banks have also changed their nature and instead of seeking profits in fees and commissions, they redirected their activities to households rather than businesses. The financial gain has gradually become a large part of total profits. The “financialisation” unfolded in different ways in countries with mature economies, including the European Union (Lapavitsas, 2010).

Germany has avoided the explosion of household debt, which recently appeared in other economically mature countries. The performance of German economy was poor for many years and has brought very heavy pressure on wages and contracts of the German workers. The main source of growth for Germany has been the current account surplus in the country within the Eurozone, not any particular increase in productivity. The surplus was recycled through FDI and the German Bank loans to regional and other countries (Lapavitsas, 2010).



Graphic 5.1: Current account balance of different European countries

Source: "The crisis in the Eurozone", 2010

The consequences for the euro area have been serious. The “financialisation” in the region evolved in the context of monetary union and under the dominant shadow of Germany. The new conditions had crucial impacts on all social levels.

But the current international capitalist crisis is more than a **crisis-channel** and not only a current variation of the capitalist cycle or simply a crisis of the financial sphere. It is the continuity of the crisis of 1973, but at the same time a large incision in that structural crisis which is based on the process of the capitalist production, where the surplus value is created and seconded. The economic crisis of 1973 led the world economy into a long wave downturn with intermediate anemic recoveries (1973-2007), interrupted by intermediate crises: 1982 (oil crisis), 1987 (U.S. Stock crisis), 1992-93 (in Japan), 1997-98 (Russia -East Asia), 2000-1 (New Economy U.S.), reaching the credit expansion of 2001-2006 and the outbreak of this crisis in the mortgage market in the U.S. in the summer of 2007. The assessment of the present-intersection landmark in the history of capitalist crises is based on the unprecedented length, intension and depth of the crisis, and on its transformation from the production to the financial level, which threatens with bankruptcy even capitalist countries. It follows a long period of capitalist restructuring in all sectors (economic, social, ideological, and political) in order to recover the profits of capital. Nevertheless, all efforts have failed and the profit margin runs between wear and incorruptibility confirming the law of the falling rate of profit, as formulated by Marx (Initiative of economists and academics, 2011).

5.2 Berlin and Athens in the new situation: space and culture as a terrain of profitability in the two cities

David Harvey argues that within the framework of capitalism the urban process on the twin themes of **accumulation** and **class struggle** those are integral to each other and have to be regarded as different sides of the same coin-different windows from which to view the totality of capitalist activity. However, as the class character of capitalist society means the domination of labor by capital, it is easy to understand that as long as a class of capitalists is in command of the work process and organizes that process, space also becomes a mean for the purposes of producing profit (Harvey, 1978). The

state of making profit from the land and the housing policies is not of course new. As Engels pointed out in his book *The Housing Question* in 1872:

“The growth of the big modern cities gives the land in certain areas, particularly in those areas which are centrally situated, an artificially and colossally increasing value; the buildings erected on these areas depress this value instead of increasing it, because they no longer belong to the changed circumstances. They are pulled down and replaced by others. This takes place above all with workers’ houses which are situated centrally and whose rents, even with the greatest overcrowding, can never, or only very slowly, increase above a certain maximum.” (Harvey, 2008, page 34)

The huge investments in the urban areas of the globalized market economy aren't uniquely linked to the expansion of financial and real estate, but they can be considered as an integral component of the current operation of cities. The turn in the 1970's, with the historical turbulences and appeals, could not but also transform space and the relationships that govern it. This is the passage from the "modern city", which dominated the urban centers of postwar West, to the new "entrepreneurial city". This transition was "loud and clear" by the end of the 70's. Peter Hall pointed out that the cities were now production machines of wealth and the main and dominant purpose was to grease the machine (Hall, 1994). During this transition, enormous productive forces and jobs were evaporated, and the cities began to seek gainful policies in their effort to become more competitive in the global urban network. The aim is now to attract investment, tourists and residents. Space is no longer simply a receptor of economic and cultural activities, but through design it is consciously used as a catalyst and terrain of developing new production and cultural activities.

The term of the entrepreneurial city was evolved by urban theorists in order to describe these changes and has evolved into a theoretical perspective emphasizing on the competition of cities in the international division of labour and on their need of becoming centres of consumption, which can control and command functions, as well as governmental redistributions (Harvey, 1973). The urban geographer David Harvey was the first to use this conceptual framework. Following Harvey, the mapping of the entrepreneurial city has evolved into a theoretical perspective with three main

elements: the attention drawn to the role of local government in fostering economic development, the emphasis on the entrance of private actors and new ways of organizing public administration and finally the economic globalization commonly used trying to explain the rise of the entrepreneurial city (Dannestam, 2004). To manage political, economical and social pressures such as fiscal crises and high unemployment rates, cities have frequently responded by introducing policy changes, as well as new organizational elements in local government. The exceeding of the modern city, as it is mentioned above, is not only determined by the economic and political changes, but also by the passage from “modernity” to the "postmodern" city and in terms of theory, design and architecture. As Frederic Jameson points out, the postmodernism does not only refer to the aesthetical level, but should be examined in its historical significance.

“The conception of postmodernism outlined here is a historical rather than a merely stylistic one. I cannot stress too greatly the radical distinction between a view for which the postmodern is one (optional) style among many others available and one which seeks to grasp it as the cultural dominant of the logic of late capitalism: the two approaches in fact generate two very different ways of conceptualizing the phenomenon as a whole: on the one hand, moral judgments (about which it is indifferent whether they are positive or negative), and, on the other, a genuinely dialectical attempt to think our present of time in History” (Jameson, 1991, <http://webcache.googleusercontent.com>)

The newfound condition of the crisis today could only but have vicious repercussions on urban landscape. In this context, the issue of space should be seen from the perspective of capitalism's effort to overcome the crisis and to find new terrains of profitability. *“Surplus absorption through urban transformation has an even darker aspect. It has entailed repeated bouts of urban restructuring through ‘creative destruction’, which nearly always has a class dimension since it is the poor, the underprivileged and those marginalized from political power that suffer first and foremost from this process. Violence is required to build the new urban world on the wreckage of the old”* (Harvey, 2008, page 33).

As we examined in the thesis, today the main issue is to make the city attractive. The urban culture has become in itself a commodity, a commodity that cities are trying to sell. Crucial for city branding are two elements that connect it to culture: the importance of the image of the city and its power to influence even the shaping of the city itself and, secondly, the heavy dependence of the city's brand on the city's identity. On the other side, there is the influence of tourism with its broad effects on economic development and the trend towards creating cultural destinations. Urban destinations or at least most cities have possibilities and opportunities to highlight their cultural offering in order to promote themselves. Urban centers seek their competitive advantage, as far as the trends of tourism are bonded with leisure and entertainment and as long as the visitors are connected to business or conventions.

5.3 The conclusions drawn from the case study Berlin

In order to draw some useful conclusions from the case study of Spandauer Vorstadt, one should once again wonder why this area was chosen for the redevelopment program just a few years after the fall of the Berlin Wall and which the strategic plans for the district were. It is important to understand the significance of the study area in order to find out and examine the processes multi-dimensionally, as regards the architectural, economical and political level, as well as the social impacts.

The important aspect that we should focus on is the **historical importance** of the area combined with the spectacular history of the city and more specifically with the critical turn of the reunification. After the years of the division, there was a need for one city center that would recreate the collective memory, reminding habitants and visitors of the medieval past. Spandauer Vorstadt undertook this deputy role of the old Berlin, of the historical city center. As we examined in previous chapters, Berlin searched for ways to regain its place between the great economical centers of the West, rebuilding its former metropolitan character in a period where the reinstatement of Berlin as Germany's capital had activated a huge debate about its new image, role and identity. In this context, the historical part of the city was a number one priority. Moreover, the former eastern areas were an advantageous, profitable field for the constructive capital due to the low value of land. The **Urban Monument Conservation Program** was a regulation tool in order to preserve the historic city

centers of the former Eastern Germany districts. The federal government could premium the redevelopment investments by targeting at the protection of valuable buildings, historical ensembles or special physical structure with historical, artistic or urban significance. One should also take into account the fact that by the end of the cold war the passage of former Soviet areas to a new entrepreneurial era was combined with the rediscovering of their past and history. At the same time, the great western cities had already begun to transform according to the new mainstream image of neoliberalism. We could say that the city itself became a commodity, reestablishing a strong connection between culture, heritage and tourism development. This varied depending on the economical and political situation in every city. Therefore it is understandable that processes which were noticed and analyzed for cities like London in the seventies, were evolving in Berlin with a delay because of the particular history of the division. Nevertheless, it could be pointed out that, in the course of time, Berlin also managed to take advantage of the divided years, “selling” the nostalgia of the eastern part, known in German with the neologism of “Ostalgie”. At the beginning of the nineties, Spandauer Vorstadt was an ideal case for selling the city's history, an area where one could find (or even rewrite) the so wanted common past. The medieval urban structure, the old – but also architecturally interesting – building environment, the productive activities and the historical market function contributed to making it the ideal case for a touristic “old” center.

Considering the investments of a total € 911.5 millions, it is logical to understand that the conservation and redevelopment process was targeting at the transformation of Spandauer Vorstadt from a neglected and destroyed by the war area to a central district with high standards of living. It is important to underline that the private investments for the conservation of old buildings are estimated to € 309.4 millions. The monumental buildings of the area could be characterized as a basic feature of its competitive advantage and, therefore, the high result of the renewed houses was crucial for the future development of the area. Moreover, the conservation contributed to the recreation of a collective memory, as *“monumental buildings mask the will to power and the arbitrariness of power beneath signs and surfaces which claim to expose the collective will and collective thought” (Lefebvre, 1991, 143).*

Spandauer Vorstadt managed to some extent to evolve into an area ideal for families of higher income, but the changes in the productive base and more specifically the appearance of trade and services also altered its character making it more of a touristic hotspot than a residential paradise. Resentments against tourism continue to exist as residents recall the time before the fall of the Berlin Wall when tourists didn't flood the streets in order to have a glance at the neighborhood's buildings and its counter-cultural atmosphere. Many residents are also afraid of the potential changes tourism might bring about, and worry that a further increase of tourism might lead to further displacement.

The phenomenon of this tourist gentrification generally has multiple effects on local communities. Frequently embedded in broader critiques of contemporary urban development policies and practices and their emphasis on competitiveness and entrepreneurialism, tourism development at the neighborhood level has been attacked for co-modifying and exploiting local communities. Culture and heritage become fertile ground for the benefits of developers and other private-sector actors, fueling processes of gentrification and paying little, if any, attention to the needs of vulnerable population groups. The dangers inherent to tourism are so clear that can also ruin the propaganda about the potential benefits that tourism can theoretically bring to isolated neighborhoods.

Dependent on the research question, analyzing tourism development in terms of its economic effects on former disadvantaged neighborhoods implies a number of perspectives. One could focus on an analysis of the jobs and revenues that are generated through tourism, or on an assessment of tourism's effects on land value prices, on financial investments in businesses, houses, commercial buildings, and infrastructures, examining rents and other living expenditures. Nevertheless, what should be clear is the fact that every analysis of tourism's economic effects has to be differentiated between the individual and the collective level, as neighborhoods consist of different social groups and actors and not everyone is affected by tourism development in the same way. Apart from the high prices, the touristic development also creates an unfriendly environment combined with disturbing uses of land, like bars and restaurants. In addition, some have benefited from the high price of land, but

others were forced to leave the study area, as the rents were no longer affordable. There is a common argument that tourism's economic effects on neighborhoods are manifold as tourists pay for accommodation, they shop, eat and drink, pay entrance fees to museums, theaters and concert halls, and along the way frequently alter the property values ascribed to the places they visit. However, the real question is if the residents of the area benefit from this process or not. Not surprisingly, there is relatively little research regarding the tourism's possible economic benefits for low-income residents and other vulnerable population groups.

5.4 The new challenges in Athens

In Greece, for a variety of historical reasons, there were not developed effective procedures on regulating space and urban planning. Urban space was constituted in different ways from those prevailing in countries of the central and northern Europe. This gradually led to a broader social consensus concerning the production of space and the complete lack of urban planning. The basic policy from the end of the First World War was to give full premium in the construction industry without including government funds. This is also expressed in the General Building Regulations of 1955, which augmented the already increased land use rates. Simultaneously, the method of compensation allowed for the burgeoning construction activity without the financial participation of the state. Because of this, we observe the reconstruction of buildings to unacceptable rates of manipulation for most central areas. This development was accompanied by the influx of new residents in the capital region. Due to the lack of production base, but also because of the consequences of the civil war, the countryside became depopulated. The financially stronger settled in the apartment buildings of the center and a smaller part in detached houses. The old villages of Athens began to evolve into suburbs.

So, the historically shaped housing system in Greece and more specifically in Athens was based on two basic mechanisms: **the arbitrary construction** and the **consideration of land** (Batavali et al., 2011). As far as the arbitrary construction is concerned, the relative tolerance and the gradual legalization of the illegal plot have operated compensatory to the non-existence of a privileged housing policy. On the other hand, the compensation policy has radically transformed the built environment

with multiple consequences and side effects on the city and its residents. Despite the various urban problems associated with this policy, it is a fact that it also led to the assimilation of low income groups in the city center and to a mixture of different social classes not only in the same neighborhoods, but also in the same apartment buildings. Of course, the class stratification was obvious, as residents of low incomes would live on the basement and others on the penthouse.

The regulations for the consideration of proprietary plots, the small contractors, the multiple social and economic functioning of urban planning combined with trade, production and services were all aspects which formed the dense, compact, coherent and multi-functional central Athens neighborhoods. For decades, the economic sustainability and conservation of the urban development model was based on one precondition: the establishment of high rates of exploitation of urban land, which in turn made the exploitation of small urban plots profitable, mainly through the consideration. On the other hand, this model of postwar urban development led to the gradual degradation of an urban environment with few open spaces and to the accumulation of functional problems (e.g. traffic, parking). All these had immediate effects on the quality of life in the neighborhoods of the center (Zifou et al., 2011).

From the early 80's, one can observe the problem of the old historical center and also tendencies for an economic and social devaluation of the central districts, even for the few traditionally "high quality" neighborhoods of the middle-class. These trends were reinforced by the systematic promotion of successive extensions of the city and gradually led to waves of mass "flight" to the suburbs. Many residents of the center "escaped" to greener and "better" neighborhoods of the city and historic residential areas like Plaka, Gazi, Metaxourgeio and Kerameikos became "ideal" for the new leisure uses. Initially the old buildings and the low-priced rents made the center appealing for low income residents, but, on a second level, the pressure to find space in the center made these areas preferable, resulting in the investments of capital. So, we can see a series of redevelopment programs, which essentially aimed at reforming the land and building center. Thus, in areas such as Metaxourgio, Psirri and Gazi processes of "regeneration" and gentrification started, where the upgrading and rising prices of land expelled people of low incomes, while shops, amenities and luxury

trade aimed at higher social strata. This growing process of “suburbanization” was not planned or controlled through regulations and it should be underlined that it didn't evolve to the extent it did in other countries. However, it determined the social and economic characteristics of the center and altered the daily lives of the remaining residents at many levels and in multiple ways.

From the end of the 70's till the mid-80's, we can see the first attempts of a systemic reformation of planning policies: the measures were primarily associated with the "healing" of the wounds that the uncontrolled postwar development had caused, highlighting at the same time the improvement and enhancement of public space and the needs for social infrastructure and environmental protection. The dominant ideology created a public debate about the city's "quality of life" (Zifou et al., 2011). In the mid-90's the “modernization” project began and therefore the programmatic and ideological components of design experienced a significant shift characterized by a "false" contradiction. In terms of statements and "official" institutional discourse, spatial planning came together with the promotion of 'sustainable development', as a strategic choice with invocations of economic growth. But at the level of ‘realistic’ policy, the adoption of neoliberal urban policy guidelines - which were formed at an international and European level - established a new paradigm of intervention and a new dominant discourse around the concepts of “competitiveness” and “entrepreneurship”, focusing on the “development perspective” and on the international orientation of the city. The possibilities and perspectives shaped in the period of the Olympic games brought together social groups and business interests, re-defining at the same time the objectives and priorities of the design according to those interventions which promised to bring 'development' and economic growth (Zifou et al., 2011). This orientation also aimed at the upgrading of the international role of Athens, in many cases focusing on consumption and leisure and on the major display of large infrastructure projects without creating opportunities for new productive activities.

Such interventions also included the project for the **Unification of the Archaeological Sites of Athens** that was oriented towards the elevation of the historic physiognomy of Athens. Of course this goal did not simply aim “at the

promotion of monuments”, but also intended “to familiarize citizens (residents and visitors) with historicity as well” (<http://www.astynet.gr/>). The Hellenic Ministry of Environment, Planning and Public Works and the Hellenic Ministry of Culture established the action plan with the foundation of the company “Unification of Athens Archaeological Sites” S.A. in 1997. It involved projects aiming at the enhancement of monuments within the Historic Centre of Athens, and interventions that would reveal the historic face of Athens, especially during the period of the Olympic Games. Consequently, projects like the “Grand Promenade” (pedestrianisation of Dionysiou Areopagitou, Apostolou Pavlou and Ermou Sts) and the enhancement of the Archaeological Sites (the Olympieion, North and South Slopes of the Acropolis, Filopappos Hill, Ancient and Roman Agora and the Kerameikos) have made a new perception of archaeological monuments possible (so much regarding their form, as also regarding the access to them). At the same time, it leads to the touristification of the areas involved and of course, to the displacement of those that could not manage the high rents.

Today the hegemony of the neoliberal policies and now the memorandum consolidate broader mechanisms and procedures that impair the already limited role of planning and design in the development and production of space. The pressure of the IMF for repayment of the Greek debt leads to a requirement for greater exploitation of public land through the ‘Medium-Term Fiscal Strategy 2012-15 (MTFS)’. One of the major components of the law implementing MTFS, is the Privatization Program of public property, which includes, of course, the urban infrastructure and the real estate. The law establishes a privatization agency called ‘National Wealth Fund’ whose sole purpose is to sell or reclaim the public property with the subsequent revenue explicitly reserved for covering the Greek national debt (MTFS, Law 3985/2011). As far as the urban integration of these projects is concerned, ‘Special Projects of Spatial Development of Public Property’ are established and easily approved with presidential decrees issued by recommendation of the Minister of Finance. In the same legal context, approved Master Plans and City Plans can be amended or special deviations from conditions and restrictions of land uses and General Building Rules can be decided (Law 3986/2011, ch.B, art.12, 5). Finally, the required accompanying infrastructure will be funded by the State.

The "notwithstanding" practices and mechanisms aiming at circumventing the lengthy procedures, which were systematically applied during the Olympic Games, were recently translated into processes and structures with the code name «**fast track**» and «**Invest in Greece**». These procedures depend on two main trends. On one hand, they establish a further consolidation of the concentration of powers to the central government referring to issues of territorial development at a local level and, on the other hand, they aim at the strengthening of the private sector in developing space (Zifou et al., 2011). This role does not constitute simply of supporting the implementation of public spatial policies with development initiatives. On the contrary, this role is extended, introducing the private sector as a privileged interlocutor in the processes of formulating and implementing policies and strategic options for the development of the city, based of course on their investment interests.

Today, the “crisis of the center of Athens” is dominated by the following variables: the wider economic crisis that shows very clearly the weaknesses of the political system and the failure of the former development plans. The weakness to promote socio-spatial policies that will support the lower income is evident now more than ever. Additionally, the social impacts of the wider economic crisis are further noticeable: one can observe the rapid increase of homelessness and the difficulties of vulnerable social groups to meet basic needs. social exclusion and new poverty, unemployment and insecurity, racial violence combined with the impairment of a substantial part of the building and housing stock, insufficient social infrastructure and the poor quality of public space. All these mark the urban environment in the center of Athens.

The plans for the center seem to aim, explicitly or implicitly, at controlling the social composition: there are groups that the state wants to remain in central areas and there are those who should rapidly disappear, and some social groups that should become the new residents of a “mainstream” city center, either as entrepreneurs or as visitors-tourists. The ministry through The new ‘Structural Plan for Athens/Attica incentives to strengthen the housing, such as interest subsidies for obtaining mortgages for primary residences, tax reliefs by making mortgages or loans targeting the renovation of buildings in central areas, and also rent subsidies and soft long-term loans for

repairing listed buildings for housing. . As far as the centre is concerned, the plan also suggests the enhancement of the administrative and cultural character of the area, through strengthening small and medium enterprises, attracting productive activities or new creative and artistic kinds of business and improving the areas of touristic interest. All these measures can certainly remind us of the Urban Monument Conservation Program promoted in Germany after the fall of the wall. One could think that the situation in Athens resembles the situation in the former eastern parts of Germany, but there is a great difference one should have in mind and this is the situation of capitalism and economy then and now. At the end of the cold war, many had foreseen the end of the history with the total victory of capitalism as the last economical and political system. In this context we witnessed the construction boom in Germany in the 90's. Today the economic crisis as we examined it is a global crisis and the future of the investments in the center of Athens is still doubtful, despite the fact that the intentions of the state are very coordinated with the pressures of the real estate and the construction fund for new investment opportunities in the city center.

Generally, the program targets the creation a perfect harmony between the actors and the basic goals for creating a desired "downtown": to "re-reside" the center (the question is by whom?), to restore the sense of "security" (for whom?), to strengthen the entrepreneurship '(but who will benefit?) and to re-create appreciation for living and working in the city center (again we should wonder for whom?) (Batavali et al., 2011). This clearly implies that the center is not appropriate for specific groups: immigrants seeking refuge and work in the center, people dependent on substances and homeless. They should be transferred to places outside the center. However, neither the reasons for relocation, nor the necessary social infrastructure could effectively deal with the problems identified. Meanwhile, the center has lost its traditional functions due to the closure of local small-scale traders and artisans and to the removal of craftsmen of traditional professions (Zifou et al., 2011). The role of the state in these attempts is limited to being the one ensuring an attractive environment for the middle class. The desired social groups that typically belong to a middle "creative" class of young entrepreneurs, artists and managers of culture, are supposed to provide the financial and human capital, which will revitalize the center and the

triumphant "retrieval" of the city. However, at the time the memoranda and the austerity measures we observe the proletarianization of these social groups. So, who will reside the center in a period that more and more citizens have become part of the so called "frail" groups that are supposed to "spoil" the beautiful image of the city? This is indicative to the fact that social problems cannot easily disappear, nor can they be swept under the carpet.

Moreover, it is historically proved that the future of the city also depends on the appearance and the evolution of social movements that will fight and demand a different quality of life, without social inequalities. The measures imposed by the IMF, EU and European Central Bank in full agreement with the Greek government, have led to several-day general strikes and other acts of resistance. The most characteristic and recent example is the occupation of Syntagma and other different squares of several Greek towns during the last months; sometimes involving more than 200.000 people. By organizing local movements and collectively organized initiatives, the residents use public space radically, seeking to find ways in order to upgrade their life conditions. As David Harvey points out in his paper:

“The democratization of the right to the city, and the construction of a broad social movement to enforce its will is imperative if the dispossessed are to take back the control which they have for so long been denied, and if they are to institute new modes of urbanization. Lefebvre was right to insist that the revolution has to be urban, in the broadest sense of that term, or nothing at all” (Harvey, 2008, page 53).

The future of Athens is yet to be seen.

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Annex

1. Interview with Mr. Frank Bertermann, resident of the Spandauer Vorstadt

- **When and how was the citizens group of Spandauer Vorstadt (BI SpV) established?**

The Citizens Group of Spandauer Vorstadt was established after the redevelopment program of the area expired. As the Spandauer Vorstadt stopped being a redevelopment area, the citizen's representative group did no longer really function. It was also founded in connection with the development plans in order to secure the housing in the area. These development plans had begun as initiatives against the pubs that overflowed the area. So we founded this citizen initiative, but it is no longer active.

- **Who participated in the BI SpV and how were the decisions taken? Were there different opinions or conflicts?**

As usual in these cases anyone could participate. But of course the majority was people who had been earlier active in the area, habitants or people doing business in the area. So, it wasn't something new. But we should clarify something: the representative of the people affected by the redevelopment program of Spandauer Vorstadt is another story. The BI SpV existed for a short period of time. The representative group had been active since 1991 and assured the citizen participation in the redevelopment process. It was already founded in 1991 - 1992, when the area was declared as a redevelopment area. In all these initiatives there were of course different opinions and there were argues. But they were discussed, and the opinion of the majority was carried outside. In this way, decisions were reached.

- **To what extend did the citizens participation manage to influence or change the decisions during the redevelopment process?**

It is not easy to say. On some issues there where influences, yes, but on others we couldn't do something. It depended on how far we could found connections with the Politian and with people who could in particular affect everything associated with the urban plans. There were successes, but of course there were also failures.

- **Which agencies, offices and working organizations got involve in the project?**

Significantly the Coordination Office for Urban Evolution (Koordinationsbuero für Stadtentwicklung). They were commissioned by the State of Berlin to handle the whole remediation management. There where also independent offices and of course someone from the Senate Department for Urban Development, who was responsible for the area and finally people from the rehabilitation management (Sanierungsverwaltung).

- **What were the main concerns of the residents?**

That was something that changed over the years. The process started in 1992 and ended in 2008. It is logical that the concerns differed in different periods. Larger issues were the whole problem with the pubs, the noise and also the traffic problem was a big topic for a long time. But the parking problems were eventually solved. The most important and serious topic was how we would be able to live here, in an area that was becoming a tourist magnet, with more and more visitors every year.

- **Did the restructuring process lead to a rent increase?**

Rents were increased and this was of course inevitable, since the area became interesting for investors. It is worthy to mention that in a research rents all over Germany were compared and as far as Berlin was concerned, the Koppenplatz, which is here just around the corner, was founded to be the second most expensive address. Many owners' occupied apartments that were reconstructed and the apartment rents did definitely rise in the last years. This is a field the redevelopment project failed to manage.

- **Were the habitants and social groups of a lower income forced to abandon the area?**

Yes, in principle yes. People who were affected by the restructuring process were actually forced to leave as they couldn't handle with the new prices. Others have left voluntarily, others not. But one can't speak of a violent amotion, it was a gradual process. On the other hand it's clear that since the rents increased so rapidly, some had to find a new home in an area where the rent was affordable.

- **To what extent has the process influence the everyday life in the Spandau Vortstadt?**

The situation is quite different. To be honest it is totally different. It was a totally dilapidated area after the fall of the wall, where most of the houses were in a really bad condition and were more or less ready to fall apart. Today the whole area has been completely renovated, but at the same time completely offered to the increasing tourist demand and to the tourist investments. Especially the individual trades are now currently appealing only to the tourists. They don't serve; they don't refer to the residents, when they sell shoes for 300 € or pants for 250 €.

- **How can you foresee the future of the area considering that the redevelopment program has been repealed?**

Things can't change so much anymore. Nowadays, the bars are no longer in the lifestyle fashion, so I think we will not have others opening in the future. But of course there are already enough pubs in the district. The apartments are now rehabilitated and I expect that the rents will continue to be very expensive. Today we have more galleries than we used and I believe that they will get more. But I don't expect rapid changes any more. Everything that could change has already happened, has already changed.

2. Interview with Mr. Hubert Staroste, head of the Department of Monuments and Historic Inventory Mediation (State Heritage Office- Landesdenkmalamt)

- **The Heritage Office Berlin is divided into three departments. You are head of the department of Monuments and Historic Inventory Mediation. What are your main responsibilities?**

Our main tasks are to record the heritage inventory and to systematically research the Berlin monuments. We are then responsible to show to the public all this monument knowledge and the Berlin monument topography, which we update and manage here in the office. Therefore we make publications, and we have special collections, archives, databases and also the library for the general public. The monument lists, the memorial card, the monument database are three main instruments that we are responsible for and they are also digitally accessible on the Internet for each user and also on the intranet of the Monuments Office for each employee.

- **Which are the criteria for a building or an area in order to be designated as a monument?**

The Berlin law for the protection of historical monuments indicates four criteria: the historical significance, the scientific meaning, the artistic significance and the importance of the cityscape. The content of these general concepts is analytically explained in the current legislation, anyone can read it.

Each monument must have a historical importance and by that it is meant a testimony of his history, or to say it better that there is history transported through its architectural appearance and structure. There may also be further symbolic values transferred by a building or area such an architectural historical value or a social historical value, etc. The scientific importance means that something is interesting for the science. Not per se, each building that carries historical information is also of scientific importance. It must be proved that the building can be examined on scientific level. Then, there is the artistic significance, the special architectural shape of a monument. We should also consider that there are also art monuments, like sculptures. Finally, the importance of the cityscape means that a building or an area

has the ability to the effect and influence the urban structure of the city. Here we should clarify that a monument must fulfill the criterion of having a historical significance and can fulfill any of the others.

- **For what reasons, do you think, the Spandauer Vorstadt was entirely characterized as a monument ensemble under protection (par 172 of the Building Code/1991-1993)?**

The suburb of Spandau is the ultimate last closed area of the old Berlin. Although it's actually a suburb of the historic medieval Berlin, it is the last closed field and that has led us to put it under protection in 1990 because of its completely clear medieval urban microstructure and also because of the variety of its buildings that come out of different historical periods. Its architectural and urban structure is unique for the Berlin's Inner City.

- **Spandauer Vorstadt was also a redevelopment area within the City Renewal plans. Has the State Heritage Office participated in the decision process of rehabilitation/redevelopment?**

Because the Spandau suburb was a listed as a monumental area, we were automatically involved in the decision process. This means that we participated to all decisions that were taken, they may referred to town planning issues, to architectural issues and of course to heritage management aspects. Because of the monument protection legislation we participated to the whole process.

- **What other offices, organizations or agencies took part to the rehabilitation process?**

If you examine the framework of this program, you can see that the redevelopment program was promoted by the Federal Ministry of Construction and was focused on the restoration and preservation of historical old towns in the eastern states (East Berlin). The converging conservancy was the federal government. But we also participated, and also certified architects. We didn't supervise and support the project so personal. They have decided on the basic details, but it was here where all the

guidelines were decided, we pinned the frame in which the further actions could be realized.

- **What were the main goals of the program? Were they achieved?**

The goals that concern the structural restoration were reached in any case. You can't have a clue, but I know the Spandau suburb by the time of the fall of the Berlin Wall. It was a neglected in its structural material region. We have managed to save some of the buildings that were scheduled for demolition, as they could get rehabilitated. It was basically the architectural structure that was managed to get saved. And therefore one can today witness a unique ensemble of the historic old Berlin. From that aspect we can consider the program as a success.

- **How do you see the connection between the historic preservation and the tourism development in the area?**

There is a close connection. It is clear. If you have a structural redevelopment of a neglected neighborhood which was originally of historical significance then a tourist magnet is created. This is a general tendency: That happened in Rotenburg and also happened in Athens. This is the reality. A radical rehabilitation comes always together with the enhancement of an area. If the historical atmosphere is maintained and further developed, we have a new tourist magnet.

- **Do the citizens of Berlin come in touch with their history through the preservation of monument?**

As far as the Spandauer Vorstadt is concerned, it is only a tourist magnet. I only go there when I have visitors who want to visit the area. There are certain places, such as the Hackescher Markt, or the Auguststraße where all the galleries are, which are tourist traps. But it is important, I believe, that an effort was made so that the general public becomes conscious of the particular importance of the Spandauer Vorstadt, as the last related historical piece of the old Berlin. This message was partly transported

through the rehabilitation, but also through the advertisement through the media and the publications, so that everyone goes there with his tourist visitors. Interesting is also that all young people go there. This is so exciting. If a district is attractive to the younger generation, this shows that this area is alive and has a promising future.

- **What do you think about the future of the area?**

One can't of course see far into the future, but the structures as they are now, show that it will continue to be a high-priced segment for the purposes of tourism, in the sense of having creative, artistic and commercial functions as also high-priced housing. This has just happened. This situation cannot easily change. The development in this direction is to a great extent completed, and one can't expect big changes. There will be no production in the area. The original functional mixture, which has marked the Spandauer Vorstadt, as it was a mixed area of residence in combination with small commercial and hand trades, is now gone. I expect the situation to remain as it is today because of the importance of the location of the area and of the development of creative and artistic industries.

3. Interview with Mr. Andreas Wilke, employee of the Coordination Office for Urban Evolution (Koordinationsbuero für Stadtentwicklung)

- **What is so special about the Spandauer Vorstadt?**

Of course the location, the old city gate and the importance of the road to Spandau. Everything else used to be in a relatively poor condition, there were poor people living in the area. The other important thing is that there has been the moat and they were dependent on the city. This indicates that it was a poor neighborhood. It is important to see, that this area is a different case, does not resemble the Street Unter den Linden, where one can find buildings to be particularly valuable. But the value here arises from the fact that it is an extension field of the old city. Therefore this city ground plan with its irregular urban structure, the very small, the very large, the completely irregular plots is of such a great significance. Moreover, one can observe a total unusual picture in terms of development, buildings from different periods can be found next to each other. This medley shows that this was not planned, it evolved and that is important for a city like Berlin, which was so extremely destroyed during the World War II. The reflection of a development phase could be concerned as a national treasure. That is the important thing. Not that it has a great museum or that all buildings are of architectural importance (of course there are some).

- **What was the situation before the redevelopment process?**

At the beginning of the renovation we had a certain, difficult situation. In the years of the GDR was indeed intended, that a large amount of buildings were neglected. The background for this is that the regime had a very specific goal which was to supply the population with the best possible living space that was at the same time economical, affordable. This means that you had to get with the least use of resources the most modern homes and led to the solution of prefabricated houses. This also meant that there weren't the appropriate methods or materials in order to handle with

old buildings. In that sense, it was also ineffective if you compared it with what the new buildings could offer. So, all the old buildings were more or less neglected.

One should also consider that the Spandauer Vortstadt, wasn't an area of the Mietskasernen, as it's too old for that. It was in the first half of the twentieth century when the housing conditions were pathogenic, very dirty and unhygienic, as Hegemann describes them in his book about the stone Berlin (Das steinerne Berlin). Later in the twenties and the fifties this was replaced by the idea that we all want a city with green, with light, air and sun. By that time people wanted to move into the new buildings and the demolition of old districts wasn't considered as something negative.

It is interesting to examine the pieces that have been constructed. Every fourth plot was vacant, demolished or ruined in the postwar period. They wanted to maintain certain places, for example, they wanted to preserve the Hack's courtyards, or the Alte Schönhauser Straße and to continue with the prefabricated buildings. The citizens have stopped this direction. That began in the West, but also happened in the East, but with a delay of ten years. The inhabitants have recognized the quarter of Spandauer Vorstadt as a very worthwhile area and protested against the demolition. After the collapse of the GDR, the suburb was listed as a monumental area and was also characterized as a redevelopment area.

- **Which were the main goals of the program? At what point where they reached?**

There were basically three associated targets: the first was the physical preservation of what was still standing. This was achieved. As far as I know we might had four or five demolitions, no more. These were either because nothing could be technically done. The second task was to obtain the residential function of the neighborhood, which has partly achieved until the end of the redevelopment program. The third goal was to hold the existing population. This wasn't managed, especially after the end of the program. But this is also something that we don't have the means in order to ensure it.

• **According to what procedure did the redevelopment process take place in the Spandauer Vorstadt?**

It was decisive for the quality that the Spandauer Vorstadt was one of the areas that were very early included in the urban conservation program. Within the bounds of this support program the landlord receives money. At the beginning seventy percent, later fifty percent of the construction costs and so on. The buildings must be reconstructed according to the directions of the program, and the landlord must submit certain occupancy rights coordinated with the community who lives there and also by keeping the rent limited, as agreed by contract for a certain period. This promotion program differs in so far because it emphasizes on the monumental value and substance and therefore it is expensive. Normally one would say, well you can use the program just to get a new paint. My personal opinion is that there is a very important point, that this program could promote and fund an office, a salaried office that specialized in historic preservation, so that every house was examined as a special case. Of course there were directions, priorities and orientations. Firstly, attention was given to houses that had a certain high quality. Secondly to houses, that were ready to collapse and then there were the houses that could be applied easily.

The Program began around 1990 and the houses were restored by public money and at the same time we had the reassignment laws. This meant there was a very unstable setting. At the beginning there was the property company with a very restricted ability to act and then the new owners. It was also a situation that people had lost their houses for forty or fifty years and they took them back in a really terrible condition. For those who wanted to get their houses back, the promotion was the only possibility, the only alternative. The majority was convinced to work with the promotion program, as many people wanted to hold their houses. But in the end this wasn't the case, simply because the price of land increased and one could make a fortune by selling his old house.

• **What other offices, or Organizations, or agencies participated in the rehabilitation process? The State Heritage Office for example?**

The State Heritage Office not much. Our office stood at the beginning, before the planning. We were working there since 1993 supporting the Berlin Senate Department for Urban Development and the district of the City (Bezirksamt Mitte) in the preparation, execution and settlement of urban renewal. Of course there were also private owners that were involved.

- **How do you see the development of the area today?
The blended mixture of commercial, amusement industries etc?**

Negative. The problem is that is more and more difficult to deal with this development. In theory, you can certainly make more. But the pressure of the private owners is great, and then politics cannot do so much. We have tried since 1997 to make a development plan which will allow us to limit the number of the pubs and the bars and bring them to zero. These plans are being now in 2010 - 2011 determined and are still in a much unformed phase.

This problematic situation caused by the many restaurants and this touristic explosion had been foreseen. There wasn't a political or a public backing in order to use a restricted instrument to the demanding extend, as hard as it had to be enforced. Academically, I must say you could have done more about it, but politically, I must say, it is good that we have come so far. We see this of course critical. Not only that the residents were forced to leave, but also that only tourists go to the area. People go there because they have heard about it in the media and they do not know what is actually that they are supposed to see, why they are visiting the place except of the restaurants and the pubs. I worked there for 20 years. I remember in other areas that I have worked; you could know all the people in the neighborhood, the people who had the pubs, all knew each other. This was also the case in the Spandauer Vorstadt at the beginning. Nowadays the people who own the stores, the restaurants, the pubs have nothing to do with the neighborhood, they just know that they can earn much money. And the second wave doesn't concern the restaurants, but above all the clothes shops, the galleries, etc. These may not bother because of the noise, but one can observe that what was likeable in a street goes now away. The Alte Schönhauser

Straße was a very nice street five years ago, with a few original shutters, with unique offers which referred to the people living in the area. This is no longer the case. Now there isn't a single store that applies to the habitants. This is regrettable and the question is what is the meaning of all this. But there are no instruments, no means that allow us to prevent it, or to reverse the situation.

• What were, according to your opinion, the high points of the program and what the weaknesses?

High Point is actually the promotion program and that the preservation office got involved. Therefore there was achieved a very high quality and in the bounds of the program, the standards were set and even the private finances in generally followed these standards. A very few old buildings were at the end demolished. As far as I know, you won't find in the whole area a single aluminum front door. This isn't accidentally. That did not happen without a reason, without a background. And this is I believe a great success, the quality of the final result.

The second what I personally believe that is a success is the relationship between the reconstruction of the street fronts. Even if we did not reconstruct them at certain points, as you also need playgrounds, parking and public spaces, for example in the Gipsdreieck.

Negative from my point of view are a number of specific buildings, the new buildings, which do not function in the environment and the tendency to big constructions. I know that in the case of the Post Office, the Postführamt, it was very difficult and we had to find a solution together with a very good architect. We seek a solution that would be able to combine this additional building mass, without disturbing the monument and the urban environment. But we can't control today how these new buildings will be constructed and therefore I have no trust. This is one of the weaknesses.